

## **Distribution Agreement**

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter now, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Alyssa Forsyth

April 13, 2021

Portuguese News Portrayal of the National Health Service (NHS) through the First Wave of  
COVID-19: A Textual Analysis

by

Alyssa Forsyth

Ana Catarina Teixeira  
Adviser

Spanish and Portuguese

Ana Catarina Teixeira  
Adviser

Ellen Idler  
Committee Member

Karen Stolley  
Committee Member

2021

Portuguese News Portrayal of the National Health Service (NHS) through the First Wave of  
COVID-19: A Textual Analysis

By

Alyssa Forsyth

Ana Catarina Teixeira

Adviser

An abstract of  
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences  
of Emory University in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements of the degree of  
Bachelor of Science with Honors

Spanish and Portuguese

2021

## Abstract

### Portuguese News Portrayal of the National Health Service (NHS) through the First Wave of COVID-19: A Textual Analysis

By Alyssa Forsyth

Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), an infectious disease caused by the virus SARS-CoV-2, has swept the world with fear. Global chaos and uncertainty substitute for normality. During this time, the media has influenced the human response tremendously, with the news deemed as a reliable source for gauging its severity and perceived threat. In this thesis, I compare articles published by four different Portuguese news sources across the political spectrum, *Público*, *Observador*, *Correio da Manhã*, and *Diário de Notícias*, based on their discussion of the Portuguese National Health Service (NHS) initiatives during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic to gauge the perceived success of its response. Although the political distinctions of left and right might not be as polarized in Portugal as in other countries, there are evident differences in the discussion of the NHS among speculated left- and right-leaning news sources, which have been emphasized even more dramatically during the pandemic. Considering the political leanings of the news sources, it is expected that they will interpret the response of the health care system in contrastable manners. I will analyze the selected Portuguese news articles for the language, tone, and content utilized in their reaction to the response of the Portuguese NHS during the first wave of COVID-19, from mid-March to early May. This analysis will highlight the selective nature of the media by evaluating which information news sources choose to include and exclude. Through this selectivity, some biases can be unpacked, which is important to achieving news literacy.

Writing this paper contemporaneously provides insight that can only be gained at the time of the event and that is not tainted by knowledge of the outcomes, such as the long-term changes to the NHS. The evaluations and comparisons conducted in this research are the result of extensive reviews of various articles published on the websites of the four news sources. The goal of this thesis is to compare articles covering the same topics across news sources by analyzing word-choice, tone, and content to identify differences in their approaches, ultimately establishing the importance of news literacy in the modern world.

Portuguese News Portrayal of the National Health Service (NHS) through the First Wave of  
COVID-19: A Textual Analysis

By

Alyssa Forsyth

Ana Catarina Teixeira

Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences  
of Emory University in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements of the degree of  
Bachelor of Science with Honors

Spanish and Portuguese

2021

## Acknowledgements

To start, I would like to thank Dr. Ana Catarina Teixeira for helping me along the process to stay motivated and to produce the best work that I can. She not only provided me with thorough and extensive feedback and considerations on my research, but she is also the reason that I continued with studying Portuguese in my undergraduate career. Without her constant support, I would not have exhibited my fullest potential in this thesis. I am very grateful for the time and effort that you extended to me for the duration of this project.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to Dr. Ellen Idler, who helped me to consider aspects of the health care system that I had not previously taken into account. Thank you for offering your expertise on this matter and for pointing me toward some wonderful sources.

Thank you to Dr. Karen Stolley for being part of my committee and for leading me toward a comparison of this research with a related study regarding the Spanish flu pandemic. Through your guidance, I was able to add valuable considerations on the topic of journalism ethics.

Also, I would like to express my gratitude to my peer, Gwyneth Tefft, for taking the time to give me feedback on my thesis and for supporting me along the journey. I greatly appreciate all your help.

Thank you to Bella George and Shiva Dhanasekar for always being a source of support and reassurance throughout this process. I value you both very much and am grateful for your encouragement.

Lastly, a huge thank you to my family for always encouraging me to do my best and for having faith in me. I am so grateful to have such a strong support system in my life. I appreciate you all more than you know.

## Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Methodology.....	3
Scope and Validity of My Research Goals.....	5
Advantages and Limitations of Discussing a Contemporary Event.....	7
Chapter I: The COVID-19 Pandemic, the Portuguese NHS, and the Role of the News.....	10
COVID-19 Overview.....	11
Pathogenesis.....	12
Symptomology.....	13
Transmission and Prevention.....	14
Prevalence and Mortality.....	16
Societal Effects.....	17
COVID-19 and Health Care Systems.....	18
First Wave of COVID-19 in Portugal.....	20
First Wave Definition.....	20
Portugal's Response in the First Wave.....	22
Description of the Portuguese National Health Service (NHS).....	23
History.....	24
Structure.....	25
NHS 24 (SNS 24) Line.....	28
Quality.....	28
Economics.....	30
Politics.....	31
Relationship with the Private Sector.....	33
Immigrant Health Care.....	34
Political Spectrum in Portugal.....	35
Basic Political Structure.....	35
Parties.....	37
Polarization.....	38
News Sources Selected for Research.....	40
Political Orientations.....	41
Popularity and Circulation.....	42
Agência Lusa.....	42
Journalism Ethics.....	43
Concluding Remarks.....	44
Chapter II: Comparison of the Portrayal of the Portuguese NHS across Portuguese News Sources.....	46
Methodology Review.....	47
NHS Support Score Ranking System.....	51
Portuguese News Portrayal of the NHS During the First Wave of COVID-19.....	52
Reactions to the Involvement of the Private Sector.....	52

Private Hospitals Accept COVID-19 Patients from the NHS: Necessary or Complementary?.....	53
Response to State Coverage of Private Hospital Costs if Referred by the NHS.....	57
Different Perspectives on the PS Interview with the Minister of Health, Marta Temido, about the NHS Turning to the Private Sector.....	59
Variable Description of Test, Equipment, and Resource Availability in NHS Hospitals.....	63
Equipment: Absent or Rationed?.....	64
Access to COVID-19 Diagnostic Tests: Does Portugal Have Enough?....	69
Positioning of the Appeal to Gain More Physicians in the NHS.....	72
Recognition of Immigrant Health Care Access.....	75
Health Benefits to Immigrants with Pending SEF Requests: Language and Attitudes Toward the Right to Health Care.....	77
Coverage of the Council of Europe Recognition of Portugal for Immigrant Regularization.....	80
Success of the NHS 24 Line.....	82
Number of Calls Answered: Acknowledging the Line’s Successful Adaptation or Dwelling on the Faults of the Past?.....	82
Descriptions of Experience with the NHS 24 (SNS 24).....	84
Turn to Other Means for Care After Trouble with NHS 24 (SNS 24)....	87
Results.....	90
News Portrayal of the NHS Through the First Wave: Success or Failure?.....	92
Concluding Remarks.....	93
Conclusion.....	95
Scope.....	98
Response to Personal Biases.....	98
Selection of Four News Sources.....	98
Arrangement of News Sources on the Political Spectrum.....	98
Implications.....	99
Future Directions.....	100
Opinion Articles.....	100
News Response to State of Emergency.....	100
Other Measurements of NHS Support.....	101
Table and Figures.....	102
Works Cited.....	106



## Introduction

Located on the Iberian Peninsula with Spain as its only neighbor, Portugal has been a nation of incredible interest during the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite its geographical location next to a COVID-19 hotspot, during the first phase, Portugal was regarded as a success by several sources internationally. According to the newspaper with the highest circulation in Spain, *El País*, Portugal was “exemplary<sup>1</sup>” during this time (“Ejemplar Portugal”). The numbers tell it all. In May 2020, Portugal had roughly five times less deaths from COVID-19 per million than Spain (Linde and Barrio). In fact, the cumulative number of deaths from COVID-19 were similar to that of Spain for other nearby European countries, including Italy, the United Kingdom, and France, with Portugal as an exception (Roser et al., “Portugal: Coronavirus Pandemic”). Portugal’s unique geography and unexpectedly low numbers of COVID-19 cases during the initial phases of the pandemic make it an interesting case study. It is curious that the nation prevented the transmission of a communicable disease within its borders, despite its close proximity to a hotspot, and while the other nearby European countries struggled. Some have claimed that Portugal’s success was due to its fast reactions after observing what occurred in other countries around the world (Linde and Barrio). Part of this response involved of the health care system, which was widely discussed in the Portuguese media during the pandemic.

Throughout the pandemic, the media has tremendously influenced a global response. With the great uncertainty of the outcomes of the outbreak, people turn to the news for answers. While there is abundant information circulating social media platforms, the news is perceived as the most reliable source for gauging the severity and perceived threat of the virus. The impact of the news was observed in a similar instance in which the influence of newspapers in European

---

<sup>1</sup> This was translated from Spanish (“Ejemplar”).

countries during the influenza A (A/1H1N1) pandemic was evaluated, and it concluded that the press amplified reactions to the virus (Rossmann). The different presentations of the virus in the media shaped the reactions of individuals within multiple levels of society. Similarly to what occurred during the A/1H1N1 pandemic, our perception of COVID-19 has been constructed largely by the news.

Along with the rest of the world, Portugal has been impacted by COVID-19, and journalists have taken the lead on investigating and distributing the relevant information. This information takes several forms. Occasionally, authors will write opinion pieces in which their subjective views and ideologies are apparent. However, the majority of news sources try to project an objective outlook, but there is often some biased information that emerges as a result of the political affiliations of the publishers. As is the case in the United States, the Portuguese news publishes biased content, which can be owed to its left- or right-orientation on the political spectrum. Sometimes these biases may arise unintentionally, but they may also be the result of framing that is far from accidental (Barros). In any case, news articles reveal more than just the information about which they claim to present. When articles centered around a certain topic are compared across news sources, left-leaning and right-leaning alike, the underlying biases are made more obvious and can be analyzed based on word-choice, tone, and the content that was chosen to be included and excluded.

When it comes to a topic such as COVID-19, which has impacted almost every aspect of normality, there are many directions in which the journalists can proceed. Though a wide range of COVID-19 subtopics have been addressed in Portugal's media, this thesis focuses on the portrayal of the National Health Service (NHS)<sup>2</sup> during the first wave of COVID-19 in

---

<sup>2</sup> This has been translated from the Portuguese "Serviço Nacional de Saúde (SNS)".

Portugal's news, considering the political leanings of the different news sources, as well as their desired changes in the health care system as a result of the perceived successes and failures of the NHS's response to the pandemic.

Despite the exemplary reaction of Portugal during the first wave of COVID-19, the NHS was not necessarily praised in the Portuguese media for its actions. Even though Portugal was able to contain the virus well when compared to other countries around the world, the Portuguese people still suffered because of this disease. The deaths and societal devastation caused by the virus were felt by the people. Additionally, regardless of its relative success during the first wave of the pandemic, the pre-existing issues of the NHS were amplified even more than before. While issues of the role of the private sector and immigrant health care, for example, were already present, the pandemic forced them to be addressed. By choosing Portuguese news sources in this thesis, I have chosen to analyze articles written from an internal viewpoint, which I do not necessarily expect to coincide with the praise of the Portuguese NHS from international sources.

### ***Methodology***

In this thesis, the overall question that I answer is the following: how is the Portuguese NHS portrayed in the Portuguese news throughout the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic? I will answer this question by first conducting a research literature review in Chapter I, establishing a foundation for understanding crucial information relevant to the question. Following this, I will perform a textual analysis in Chapter II, which will include the response to the overarching research question.

To unpack this larger research question, Chapter I will provide the background information necessary for an understanding of the textual analysis presented in Chapter II. I will use various

research papers to help us understand the health care system in Portugal, COVID-19, the political spectrum in Portugal, and the four news sources that I will be evaluating. Chapter I involves research from a large range of disciplines, including sources from journals of medicine, political science, sociology of health, and journalism. I will ask: 1) What is COVID-19? 2) How am I defining the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal? 3) What is the Portuguese NHS? 4) What is the political structure in Portugal? 5) What are the political orientations and circulations of the news sources that I will use? Answering these questions is critical to unpacking the primary research question of this thesis, which requires the integration of cross-disciplinary knowledge.

In Chapter II, I will conduct a textual analysis of articles published on the websites of *Observador*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Público*, and *Diário de Notícias* between March 18 and May 2, 2020, what I am defining as the first wave of COVID-19. I will select only articles that discuss the NHS and will compare the discussion of the NHS in these articles across news sources. Particularly, I will pay attention to the differences that may be attributed to the political orientations of the news sources. The four topics based on which the news discussion will be compared are 1) the involvement of the private sector, 2) the availability of medical equipment, tests, and resources, 3) immigrant health policy, and 4) the success of the NHS 24 helpline. I compare the discussion of the NHS across the four news sources based on language and the content that was chosen to be included and excluded. To attain quantitative data, NHS Support Scores are assigned to each article on a scale of 1 to 4, from least to most supportive. Through this comparison, I will answer: 1) How does the discussion of the NHS vary across news sources? 2) How do the news sources portray the response of the NHS? The responses to these questions will point toward the ideological differences of the news sources and the presence of

non-objective news coverage in Portugal, and they will uncover the importance of cross-referencing for readers of the news.

As a college graduate, I recognize the importance of news literacy, and this thesis is a call to action. Acknowledgment of the variable phrasing and manners in which one can address the same story is essential to grasping the truth. I intend to evoke curiosity and attentiveness in my readers as they encounter news stories. I hope to encourage them to utilize several news sources across ideological standings to approach the truth. The first step in achieving news literacy, which I define as distinguishing the truth from the deceptive, is recognizing that the same event can be described in many ways, which I exhibit exhaustively in this thesis.

### ***Scope and Validity of My Research Goals***

In April 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) applauded Portugal's appropriate reaction to COVID-19 ("OMS Diz que Portugal"). Its success is largely owed to the fast response of the government in enforcing shutdowns of events and public transportation, and restricted access to parks and beaches (Oliveira and Fernandes). This response is reflected in the initial low number of COVID-19 cases and mortalities, which I will describe later. Although Portugal responded effectively to COVID-19 when compared to most other countries in the world, the pandemic has drawn attention to flaws in the Portuguese health care system. I will elaborate on some of these deficiencies in my description of the NHS. From an economic standpoint, Portugal is still recovering from the global recession of 2009-2011, which forced government to cut spending in the health sector. These economic issues have only been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, which is leading the world to enter yet another recession. With decreased funding, limited resources, and a heightened demand for health care,

the NHS is being overextended (Shaaban et al.). As a result, the NHS is facing criticism from various sources, including news articles.

With the current media spotlight on the COVID-19 pandemic, there is a lot of discussion surrounding the topic of 'fake news'. Most commonly, we hear about this 'fake news' in the context of the spread of false information on social media. However, even trusted news sources maintain non-objective views that have alternative interpretations, which should push people to have a more skeptical lens when reading, especially when the focus is on controversial topics. The susceptibility of individuals to believing the fake news supports the validity of my research goal in that it reveals how trusting people are of the information on the internet and speaks to the importance of evaluating the information posted across news sources for consistency and accuracy. If people are influenced by fake news, then they would most likely succumb to the political ideologies of the news sources that they read during the COVID-19 pandemic. A United States study supported that misinformation is not only spreading about the pandemic, but people are believing it to be true (Pennycook et al.). Another US study found that the news could influence stay-at-home behavior during the pandemic (Simonov et al.). Both studies support the vulnerability of individuals during this time and the inclination to trust almost any information surrounding the pandemic. This reveals that biased news sources can impact the understanding of the pandemic and produce polarized responses, strengthening the importance of my research.

Portugal is not spared from the effects of fake news. News literacy consists in the understanding that an individual has of the news content, as well as the inclination to read the news and identify sources. According to a recent study, Portuguese individuals with high news literacy tend to believe the news, except for that on social media platforms. Compared with other countries, Portugal actually has one of the highest levels of trust in the news. As one could guess,

higher levels of education are associated with higher news literacy, and therefore, less susceptibility to the effects of fake news. Those less vulnerable to believing fake news have a greater reliance on cross-referencing sources and a tendency to assume critical stances (Paisana et al.). This finding reveals the importance of news literacy in the Portuguese population to identify biases and avoid succumbing to them.

In this thesis, the textual analysis calls attention to the selectivity and biased nature of the media. Although I compare news articles discussing the Portuguese NHS's response to COVID-19, I will not analyze the efficiency and success of its initiatives in this thesis. Instead, I will evaluate the discussion of the NHS during the COVID-19 pandemic between mid-March and early May in articles published by four different news sources: *Observador*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Público*, and *Diário de Notícias*. This analysis will be conducted based on the information chosen to be included and excluded in the article, as well as word-choice and tone, among articles from each news source that discuss the same topic surrounding the NHS.

### ***Advantages and Limitations of Discussing a Contemporary Event***

For this thesis, I have chosen to research an event that is happening now, which can help to both supplement this research, as well as hinder it. These advantages and limitations underly the scope of this thesis. Since I am researching this topic contemporaneously, starting in March 2020 and concluding in April 2021, my research overlaps with the time period that I am covering in this paper, March 18 to May 2, and the effects of COVID-19 are ongoing, through the end of this research. Discussing this event now somewhat restricts my research because of the potential for biases and lack of long-term knowledge and studies, but it also provides me with an edge in certain regards, such as my first-hand knowledge of COVID-19 and ability to ask the right questions as a result. Both of these will be discussed in this section.

Covering a contemporary topic is accompanied by some limitations as a researcher. One such limitation is, ironically, the abundance of resources surrounding the topic. There is an overwhelming amount of information that can be discovered at the time of the event (Berridge; Doublee). It is nearly impossible to cover every single published article, so this presents some hindrances since a limited scope must be used. Another concern with contemporary history is that there is not enough time between the event occurrence and the research for the researcher to hold an objective perspective (Doublee). This is less of a concern for my project since I do not live in Portugal at the time of COVID-19. To correct for bias, I will be especially cautious in my discussion of the pandemic and will have my writing reviewed by others to identify any statements that have been swayed by my personal experience. A third challenge is that contemporary research can only be explored through a narrow lens, since the long-term effects of the event have not yet been witnessed (Doublee).

While researching a contemporary event is not without its challenges, it can also provide some advantages. To counter the statement that ignorance to the long-term effects of an event is problematic, I argue that writing contemporaneously means that my research will not be biased by knowledge of the outcomes. For example, the focus of this research is not how the Portuguese health care system will respond to its criticism, so my analysis of the news discussion of the NHS will not be as polarized. Additionally, living through the pandemic means that I have a unique perspective in writing about it since I can directly see some of the effects that it has. For example, I hear about how symptoms manifest in individuals and have affected populations, so I know some of the appropriate questions to ask when writing about it. Although, I do not live in Portugal, so my experience is much different from that of Portuguese citizens during this time. Nonetheless, first-hand experience with the societal impacts of COVID-19 gives my research



different insights. Covering a contemporary event is of paramount importance to future understanding. Without this type of research, future historians would be limited in their exploration of the period.

As one can see, there are both hindrances and benefits of researching a current event, but most of the limitations can be given a positive spin and used to the researcher's advantage. Acknowledging the limitations that can accompany contemporary research, I argue that in the case of my research, the advantages far outweigh them. Chapter II of my thesis is not impacted by any personal ideologies nor experiences, given that I do not live in Portugal and have no prior exposure to Portuguese news sources nor the NHS. However, in experiencing the pandemic firsthand in the United States, I fully grasp the far-reaching consequences that COVID-19 has taken on society. As a result, I can ask appropriate questions about the pandemic, reaching from pathogenesis to its effects on employment, for example. Therefore, my research benefits from and is enriched by its contemporary nature.

## **Chapter I: The COVID-19 Pandemic, the Portuguese NHS, and the Role of the News**

Referring to the Spanish flu, Ryan Davis states, “[T]he first news stories to report on the epidemic function as a beginning, suggesting to readers an inchoate plot structure” (30). Davis discusses the ability of the news to shape the mass perception of the epidemic. Especially in the beginning phase of the epidemic when the minds of the people are clean slates with no preconceptions or expectations, it is easy for the news to steer their thoughts. Due to the trust that the Portuguese people place in the news, the news also must have possessed a very critical role during the vulnerable times of the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal. It was a period of novelty, during which time the news had the power to illustrate for the people exactly what the virus was, how it manifests, and how it was changing society. This was possible because the news investigated and discussed stories surrounding the topic of COVID-19 before most people knew of anyone else who had it first-hand. Therefore, the news controlled an important power of telling these stories first and setting the tone so that the people could react. Especially during the time of COVID-19, when health care is a huge focus around the world, Portuguese journalists discuss the NHS frequently and comment on its reactions to the COVID-19 pandemic. Since Portugal was regarded as having a model response to the pandemic, some of this feedback was positive. However, Portuguese journalists also use the lens of the pandemic to identify flaws in the health care system as a whole. Later in this thesis, I will address the differences underlying the news discussion of the NHS through the course of COVID-19. To set the foundation for understanding of this question, in Chapter I, I will address the following questions to set the stage for my primary research: 1) What is COVID-19? 2) How am I defining the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal? 3) What is the Portuguese NHS? 4) What is the political structure in Portugal? 5) What are the political orientations and circulations of the news sources that I will

use? Exploring these questions is critical to my later textual analysis. We must unpack these questions to follow along with the news discussion associated with COVID-19, the NHS, and political aspects of the NHS during this time.

## **I. COVID-19 Overview**

Before diving into the Portuguese health care system, it is important to understand COVID-19 from its symptomology to its wide-reaching effects on society so that the reactions of the Portuguese news to the initiatives of the NHS can be better grasped.

This year has been dominated with talk of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), a disease that originated in Wuhan, China in December of 2019. The pandemic has led to enormous changes in the day-to-day lives of many people globally. Living through it currently in the United States, I can say that it has been an incredibly strange time. Many schools have moved to an online format, and my synchronous classes have been conducted on the video chat service, Zoom. Masks are mandatory in most establishments, and many large events such as concerts and big festivals have been canceled. Citizens are being asked to stay at home and to avoid high-risk situations, such as air travel and parties. Because of the feeling of social isolation and stress from health and financial concerns resulting from the pandemic, mental health concerns, such as symptoms of depression and anxiety are becoming more prevalent (Cullen et al.). These are challenging times for everyone, given the severity of the disease compounded by the social difficulties that accompany it, which disproportionately impact the disadvantaged.

Needless to say, COVID-19 has startled the unprepared world, presenting health care systems and society as a whole with sudden challenges, testing our resilience at the individual and national level (Cucinotta and Vanelli). This pandemic is uncharted territory for the relatively young Portuguese democracy. It is especially frightening since one out of five individuals are

asymptomatic and can still transmit the disease to others (Nogrady). COVID-19 has even been placed in the political spotlight to debate the mandatory use of masks and implementation of stay-at-home orders in many countries, including Portugal. Anti-mask sentiments were not helped by the Portuguese Directorate General for Health (DGS) Graça Freitas, who claimed in March that they are not beneficial and give a false sense of protection to the user (“Diretor-Geral da Saúde”). She was not alone in this claim, as WHO also stated in March that masks should not be used by individuals who are not infected, especially given the shortage of masks at the time (Howard). On May 4, the use of masks was mandated inside of establishments and public transportation (“Covid-19: Uso de Máscara”), and on October 23, masks were mandated in outdoor public spaces (SIC Notícias and Agência Lusa), but there are still individuals who protest it. However, compared to anti-maskers in the United States, there are relatively fewer in Portugal (Neves).

### ***Pathogenesis***

To understand societal reactions to the pandemic as well as the symptomology of COVID-19, it is helpful to know how the disease infects its hosts. COVID-19 is a disease that is caused by the positive-sense, single-stranded RNA virus, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). Although coronaviruses are common in the environment and usually cause only mild upper respiratory symptoms, SARS-CoV-2, in particular, can cause horrible symptoms in its victims. When SARS-CoV-2 infects the human body, it uses its viral spike (S) protein to bind to ACE2 receptors on the surface of the host cell in order to enter. Once inside, it replicates and suppresses innate immune reactions of the host cell (Romano et al.). Furthermore, SARS-CoV-2 may mutate the host cell such that it constructs filopodia covered with virus, facilitating transmission to other cells (Lee). As is the case with most coronaviruses,

SARS-CoV-2 mostly infects cells along the respiratory tract, including the nasal and alveolar epithelia (Hou et al.). This is because the virus spreads through aerosols and droplets, which are typically inhaled. However, ACE2 receptors are found throughout the body in a variety of cells, so extrapulmonary manifestations of this disease are possible. SARS-CoV-2 can have widespread effects, affecting the brain, eyes, kidneys, liver, gastrointestinal tract, cardiovascular system, endocrine system, and skin (Gupta et al.).

### *Symptomology*

The symptoms of COVID-19 reveal the severity of the disease and explain the fearful societal response that has forced the NHS and other global health care systems to respond quickly. Individuals infected with SARS-CoV-2 display varied symptoms, with some mimicking a common cold and others that can be life-threatening. One of the most common defining symptoms of SARS-CoV-2 infection is the loss of smell and taste, as about 80% of infected individuals have reported this symptom (“Five Things to Know”). Among the most worrisome symptoms are problems with breathing, chest pain, and trouble speaking or moving (“Coronavirus: Overview”). Additionally, SARS-CoV-2 can lead to severe pneumonia and acute respiratory distress syndrome (ARDS) if it moves down to the lower respiratory tract to replicate (Gupta et al.).

Although many report symptoms of the respiratory tract, the extrapulmonary symptoms show the vast effects that COVID-19 can have by nature of its ability to enter cells through the ACE2 receptors found in many cells throughout the human body. Although some extrapulmonary symptoms have already been mentioned, to follow is a list of more extrapulmonary complications of COVID-19 using medical terms. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but it includes symptoms that have been described in the literature as being

associated with SARS-CoV-2 infection. Some cardiovascular complications from SARS-CoV-2 infection include myocardial ischemia, myocardial infarction, myocarditis, arrhythmia, cardiomyopathy, and cardiogenic shock. Among the immune and blood effects are thrombotic complications and cytokine-release syndrome. Complications affecting the kidneys include acute kidney injury, electrolyte abnormalities, proteinuria, hematuria, and metabolic acidosis. COVID-19 may also lead to problems with the GI tract, liver, and gall bladder, causing nausea, diarrhea, vomiting, abdominal pain, mesenteric ischemia, GI bleeding, and suppressed appetite. Some symptoms affecting the endocrine system are hyperglycemia, ketoacidosis, euglycemic ketosis, and severe complications in individuals with diabetes. COVID-19 may trigger issues with the neurologic and ophthalmologic systems are headache, dizziness, anosmia, ageusia, myalgia, fatigue, stroke, encephalopathy, encephalitis, Guillain-Barré syndrome, and conjunctivitis. Individuals with COVID-19 may even express some dermatologic symptoms such as erythematous rash, urticaria, chickenpox-like vesicles, maculopapular rash, chilblain-like lesions, and livetoid and/or necrotic lesions (Gupta et al.). This list provides an idea of the range and severity of the COVID-19 symptomology, which can help us to understand why this pandemic has been widely discussed in the news.

### ***Transmission and Prevention***

Not only can COVID-19 have severe symptoms, but it can be transmitted very easily, and that is why it has caused a global crisis. According to WHO, SARS-CoV-2 spreads through nasal fluids and saliva, so covering one's mouth when coughing or sneezing can help minimize its spread ("Coronavirus"). Specifically, it spreads through aerosols, which are defined as being smaller than or equal to 5 $\mu$ m, and droplets, which are greater than 5 $\mu$ m. The easy transmission of

the disease is one of its scariest characteristics, and why drastic measures, such as social distancing and quarantining, have been implemented around the world.

Even though COVID-19 can spread quite easily, there are several preventative measures that can be taken to reduce the risk of transmission. The recommended preventative measures explain the mask and stay-at-home mandates that have been ordered in many countries, including Portugal. There are many ways in which a person can avoid catching SARS-CoV-2, but the most effective include staying at home when possible, avoiding interactions with others who may have contracted the virus, hand washing, and maintaining good hygiene (“Protect Yourself”). While implementing all these measures is ideal, it is not very practical. People may need to buy groceries, go for walks in the neighborhood, or seeing a physician, all of which involve a risk for encountering others. In these situations, keeping a distance of six feet from other people and the use of masks is important. Masks help to minimize the viral dosage to which a person is exposed. Although they do not entirely block the virus from entering one’s respiratory pathway, they reduce the quantity. N95 masks are very effective at preventing contraction of SARS-CoV-2, as they have electrostatic properties that attract the virus. However, cotton masks are still a fairly effective alternative and are more accessible. They do not have a charge to attract viral particles, but they still block some of the virus from passing. The dosage of SARS-CoV-2 that is necessary to cause illness in an individual is unknown, but a study conducted in March 2020 found that N95, medical, and homemade masks may block up to 99.98%, 97.14%, and 95.15% of the virus contained in aerosols ( $\leq 5\mu\text{m}$ ), respectively (Ma et al.). Although the masks do not entirely prevent the virus from passing through, they minimize one’s exposure to SARS-CoV-2 and reduce the risk that one will contract the virus. This supports that masks are effective, contradicting the antimaskers that were mentioned earlier.

### *Prevalence and Mortality*

The global numbers of confirmed deaths from COVID-19 show that transmission has not been well-prevented. As of December 7, 2020, there was a total of about 67.6 million reported COVID-19 cases globally and 1.5 million deaths. This is the cumulative count, with a mortality rate around 2.5% (Lindo). Over the course of this research, from March 18 to May 2, there were around 3.2 million confirmed cases and 238,461 deaths (Ritchie et al.). One limitation with these numbers is that not everyone receives a COVID-19 test, so not every infected individual is accounted for in these numbers. Since not everyone displays symptoms, this is a prominent issue.

Through the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal, there was a total of 24,742 confirmed cases and 1,021 deaths (Ritchie et al.). According to a research study conducted within the first couple of months of the pandemic, there were about 8 to 11 cumulative deaths per 100,000 population in Portugal. While these numbers are lower than countries such as the United States, Spain, and Italy, they are still higher than 20 of the 32 countries included in this study (Knafo). Therefore, Portugal was able to contain its number of deaths from COVID-19 relative to countries such as the US, Spain, and Italy, but it still had more than many other countries that were studied by Knafo. Considering its proximity to Spain, these numbers are quite impressive.

It is important to note that these numbers may not be entirely reflective of the Portuguese reality with COVID-19. At the beginning of the pandemic, tests were especially limited in Portugal, so there may have been far more cases in reality than were accounted for in the numbers. Therefore, the real initial numbers of COVID-19 cases may have been larger than what was reported. However, from March 1 to April 24, there were more than 320,000 COVID-19 tests in Portugal, which is more than many other countries in Europe (Ferreira et al.). Whereas Portugal performed 34.16 total tests per thousand population as of April 24, Spain, Italy, and the



United Kingdom had only 22.15, 27.16, and 9.34 total tests per thousand, respectively (Roser et al., “Coronavirus (COVID-19)”). With an abundance of tests available, Portugal was then able to better track how many individuals were infected. Also, a recent study found that between March 1 and April 22, the reported number of mortalities from COVID-19 in Portugal was 3.5 to 5 times higher than what can be attributed to the disease. This implies that COVID-19 has indirectly led to more mortality than would be expected in a typical period in Portugal. Interestingly, no significant excess mortality was found through this model for individuals under the age of 55 (Nogueira et al.). In this case, excess mortality describes the number of deaths that occur during the COVID-19 pandemic, not only from the disease but from all causes, that exceed what is typically anticipated. This is conducted through a comparison study with mortality information from previous years. Through this analysis, it is possible to have a fuller understanding of the effects of the disease that are not directly attributed to COVID-19 infection in official reports. If excess mortality is observed, then this may suggest that the death counts that are reported are lower than the actual counts due to deficiencies in the reporting system. It may also be caused by decreased access to health care for other conditions during this time (Giattino).

The number of confirmed cases and deaths from COVID-19 are revealing as to how well countries have contained the spread of the disease, but it is important to recognize that there may be other factors that are not being considered in these counts, such as excess mortality and those who do not get tested but have it. Nonetheless, these estimates provide an idea of the extent to which the pandemic has affected nations around the world and why society has responded in the way that it has. Now, these societal effects should be explored further.

### ***Societal Effects***

As one can recognize from the frightening symptoms and highly contagious nature of the disease, COVID-19 has led to a large societal response. There have been global changes spanning from agriculture to entertainment. As hotels and restaurants have shut down in response to the pandemic, the need for agricultural production has, likewise, declined. The prices of goods have decreased 20%. Agriculture is not the only sector to be impacted by the pandemic. Many small businesses have been forced to close as their patrons are in lockdown or having economic troubles of their own. Businesses have been forced to let many of their employees go as they struggle to stay open with less customers. In 74 municipalities of Portugal, there were more than twice the number of unemployed individuals in April 2020 compared to the number in April of the previous year (Shaaban et al.). For those in the tourism, hospitality, aviation, and entertainment industries, the pandemic has been an unanticipated occurrence that has led to hardship (Nicola et al.). During this time, people are less inclined to travel or spend money on non-essentials. In a country such as Portugal, with a high dependency on its tourism industry, the pandemic has especially impacted the economy. In 2019, tourism accounted for about 15 percent of Portugal's GDP. During the pandemic, in July 2020, the number of tourists declined 64 percent under what was observed the previous year ("Despite the Revival"). This may have contributed to the large amount of unemployment in Portugal in 2020. As can be seen in these few examples, COVID-19 has devastated much of society, extending beyond those that are directly impacted, like COVID-19 patients or hospital workers.

### ***COVID-19 and Health Care Systems***

The pandemic has served as a hindrance to the normal productivity of the global health care systems. Due to the emergence of COVID-19, patients have needed to cancel their elective surgeries and treatments to prevent infection and to not overwhelm the busy health care staff

during this time. In this way, even indirectly, COVID-19 has been detrimental to global health, keeping patients from receiving non-emergency treatment. Because of this, telemedicine has become popular for consultations with physicians, in which video or audio calls are used to provide patients with medical advice and prescriptions. For example, in Portugal, NHS 24 (SNS 24) is a telephone line available for Portuguese residents to screen for symptoms and to get medical advice for non-emergency circumstances. It existed long before the pandemic but has played a crucial role during this time. During the COVID-19 pandemic, NHS 24 has served as a method for medical staff to screen for symptoms without bringing all suspected COVID-19 patients into the hospital or clinic. While telemedicine is wonderful for its convenience, it also presents some limitations, such as connectivity issues and camera quality if video call is used. While COVID-19 has presented unforeseen challenges to the world of health care, it has also served as a test to make some systems even more resilient (Iyengar et al.).

Over the course of the pandemic, researchers have developed recommendations for the prevention of transmission based on observation and prior knowledge of infectious disease spread. These recommendations may help with understanding the comments in the news regarding the NHS based on if they followed them or not. According to these researchers, an effective health care system should stay updated on new research, regarding both epidemiology and the reactions that other countries had. Another recommendation is educating the public, and, particularly, at-risk groups, on how to prevent transmission. Of course, the media can contribute to this. Containing infected patients is critical to stopping the spread of SARS-CoV-2, as well as monitoring the population for new cases. Health care systems must be prepared to take in many infected patients who are at a greater risk for severe symptoms. It is recommended that large social gatherings should be canceled, and people should isolate themselves. Also, health care

telephone lines can be used for discussing any symptoms and evaluating health conditions that are non-urgent to maintain social distancing while still helping patients (Heymann et al.).

The pandemic has affected global health care systems tremendously, but the focus of this research from now on is strictly on COVID-19 in Portugal during the first wave. Grasping the global effects of the pandemic helps with the knowledge that the disease has had vast effects and is being discussed around the world. It also assists with a comparison of the response of Portugal's NHS to the rest of the world. Nonetheless, this thesis concentrates on Portugal only and the discussion of its NHS in the news during the first wave of COVID-19, which means the rest of the world will be excluded from further discussion in this paper. What exactly constitutes the "first wave" of COVID-19 in Portugal?

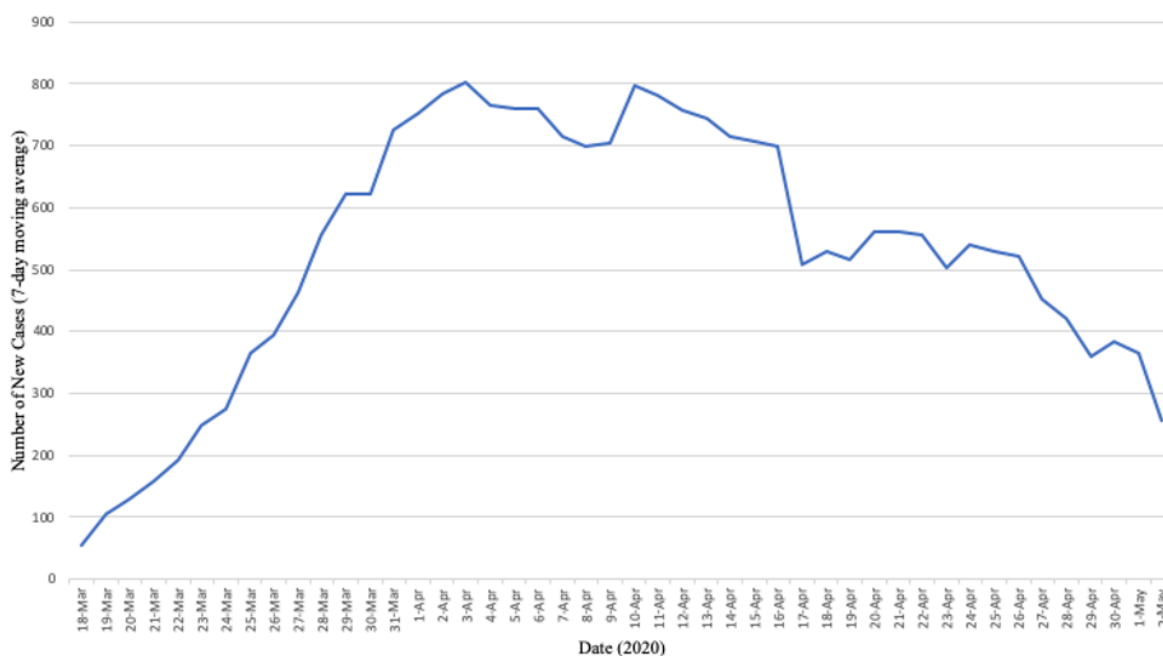
## **II. First Wave of COVID-19 in Portugal**

The emergence of COVID-19 as a global pandemic raised concerns globally about its potential outcomes and how to best contain it. For this reason, the first wave of COVID-19 is especially important for an analysis of the reaction of a health care system to the pandemic. Understanding the timeframe for this research and how COVID-19 affected Portugal during this period are essential to fully comprehend the scope of this project, as well as some of the events that unfolded in Portugal during this time.

### ***First Wave Definition***

This thesis covers news articles published during the first wave of COVID-19. However, there is no clear consensus in the literature on what is considered the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal. Therefore, it is essential that I define what I consider to be the first wave and what parameters I have used. My definition of the first wave coincides with the first state of emergency in Portugal, which extended from March 18, 2020 to May 2, 2020. Similarly, a study

that examined the number of inpatient hospitalizations during the first wave of COVID-19 also referred to the first wave as being between March and May 2020 (Rocha et al.). I selected these dates because the incidence of cases started to rise more starting in mid-March and dropped significantly by early May (see figure 1).



**Figure 1.** First wave of COVID-19 in Portugal. Seven-day rolling average of new cases in Portugal from March 18, 2020 to May 2, 2020.

To appreciate why this research covers the period from March 18 to May 2, it is important to be aware of how the first wave was carried out in Portugal. The Minister of Health announced the first two cases in Portugal on March 2, 2020. The government started acting the day after this announcement to contain the virus quickly. Other countries in Europe, including Spain, had already been infected, so Portugal was aware of its fast spread. As cases slowly rose in Portugal after a few days, events started to be canceled on March 9. Classes were no longer held in-person at schools. Just a few days later, on March 11, the number of cases was 59. This was also when WHO announced that COVID-19 was a pandemic. On March 18, the President of

the Republic declared a state of emergency for a period of 15 days (Ferreira et al.). The state of emergency, announced by President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa on March 18, allowed the government to enact policies that restrict the activities of the population and businesses when cases were climbing and COVID-19 posed a big threat (Yeung et al.). When cases continued to rise, the state of emergency was extended two times. The first renewal, on April 3, was passed due to: “the verification of a continuous situation of public calamity” (“Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 22A/2020”). The second renewal, on April 17, was approved for the same reason (“Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 23A/2020”). Once the number of new cases declined to satisfaction, the state of emergency was lifted on May 2.

I selected to research the first wave of COVID-19 since this was the period when the pandemic was novel and global health care systems were forced to act quickly. Health care was in high demand with only a short warning. Therefore, the first wave was a vulnerable time for health care systems. It tested their abilities and limitations, forcing them to improvise to find solutions.

During this period in Portugal, the flaws of the NHS were highlighted most dramatically. The current Portuguese health care system was presented with an issue that it had never faced since its birth: a widespread disease with potentially life-threatening symptoms and very easy transmission. Without much of a warning, the NHS was required to care for an abundance of patients presenting symptoms that are, in some cases, challenging to treat, and with scarce equipment. Therefore, the reaction of the NHS during the first wave of COVID-19 best reflects its raw integrity and competence.

### ***Portugal's Response in the First Wave***

During the first wave, Portugal's neighbor, Spain, was one of the countries that was most affected by COVID-19, making it even more impressive that Portugal was able to keep its case prevalence low initially. According to a mathematical model that evaluated the efficiency of 31 countries in containing the virus within 100 days of its origin, Portugal had an efficiency score of 88.1%, which was above the mean of 83.3%. The study also estimated that Portugal had 12 efficient days of lockdown and that it needs to utilize its resources more efficiently by 11.9% (Breitenbach et al.). Portugal has been regarded as an example for others by several sources, both nationally and internationally (Schmitt and Massimino; "COVID-19: Ranking Europeu"), and its success is owed, in part, to the fast reaction of the government and widespread awareness that led to greater caution in the population. Some have attributed the nation's successful response to the transparency of the government with the situation. The daily and weekly newspapers were updated daily by the government on new epidemiological information so that they could share the information with the public. The citizens were given information on the pandemic at the same time and same day, so they were reliably being updated. Because the government was transparent about what was happening, the citizens were able to better prepare and protect themselves (Ferreira et al.). With the combination of government transparency along with the observation of the situation in other nations, Portugal was able to respond well in the first wave. While the initiatives taken by the NHS contributed to Portugal's success, it is not a perfect system.

### **III. Description of the Portuguese National Health Service (NHS)**

To further understand the effects of the COVID-19 on the NHS, it is essential to be cognizant of how the NHS functions. During the COVID-19 pandemic, as health care demands have increased in the population, the holes in the health care system have been brought to light.

These flaws are aggravated by a combination of strain from both restricted finances and increased demand. The following sections will include background on the history, structure, NHS 24 line, quality, economics, and politics of the Portuguese NHS. It will also describe its relationship with the private health sector and immigrant health care.

### *History*

The current health care system in Portugal is relatively young and has only a short history. In fact, democracy was only recently re-established in Portugal. Portugal had a democratic republic from 1910 until António de Oliveira Salazar's authoritarian Estado Novo regime in 1933. This regime ended with the Carnation Revolution in 1974 (Durães 433). After the revolution, the government transitioned back into democracy over the course of two years. Along with this transition to democracy came reforms to the health care system. The NHS was established five years after the Carnation Revolution, in 1979 (Simões et al., "Portugal: Health System").

The first building block for the modern Portuguese health care system was in 1946 when the first social security law was passed, providing health care to some employed residents and their dependents (Simões et al., "Portugal: Health System"). However, the formation of the current health care system is largely owed to the 1974 revolution. Following the Carnation Revolution, the health care system transitioned to the universal model, which was established in 1979 (Simões et al., "Portugal: Health System"), recognizing health care as a human right: "The right to health protection" ("Portugal 1976 (rev. 2005)" 31). This acknowledgment was also made in the 2005 constitution, which declared the right of all residents to health care and medicine (Boslaugh).



Although there have been many reforms to the NHS<sup>3</sup> since its establishment in 1979, there was one that was particularly notable. In 2011, there were significant reforms were made after the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for a loan of EUR 78 billion to assist their struggling economy from the 2008 financial crisis. The government was then focused on building a more efficient and less expensive health care system. Since a goal of the reforms was to decrease costs, health care worker wages were also decreased and remain lower than in the private sector and other EU countries (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). Because of the low salaries, NHS doctors will often move to the private sector, where there are opportunities to make more money. The NHS continues to be minorly reformed, but it is very possible that the weaknesses brought to light during the COVID-19 crisis may lead to extensive reform, especially when these weaknesses have been discussed in the widespread media, such as the news.

### ***Structure***

The health care system in Portugal is composed of 1) the National Health Service (NHS), 2) health subsystems, which cover individuals of certain professions such as civil servants (ADSE), and 3) voluntary health insurance (VHI). While all legal residents have access to the NHS, non-residents and visitors must use private insurance (“Health Insurance”). The NHS encompasses mostly primary care, acute and specialized care, whereas the private sector frequently covers dental care, diagnostic services, renal dialysis, and rehabilitation with some public funding. For this reason, around 26% of the population has private insurance as well, so they have double coverage. In some cases, triple coverage is possible with the NHS, health subsystem, and VHI (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). While this research primarily

---

<sup>3</sup> For a full history on the reforms of the Portuguese NHS, visit <https://www.sns.gov.pt/sns/servico-nacional-de-saude/>

focuses on the NHS, awareness of the other two components of the Portuguese health care system is also important.

The Portuguese NHS is a universal health care service that follows the Beveridge model, as it is covered mainly by taxation (Van der Zee and Kroneman). However, it is becoming more common that patients pay co-payments, called ‘taxas moderadoras’ in Portuguese, for certain services (Durães 440). In addition to co-payments, other out-of-pocket payments have also become more frequent, such as direct payments for certain consultations and medicinal drugs. Of the 35% private health expenditure, 80% is from out-of-pocket payments (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”).

Health subsystems cover individuals falling under certain occupational categories, such as civil servants (public) and bank employees (private). Its beneficiaries compose between one-fifth and one-fourth of the Portuguese population (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). These health subsystems are mostly covered by both employees and employers. Perhaps the most crucial public health subsystem is the ADSE, which insures public servants. The subsystems exist as residues from the social welfare system that preceded the current universal health care system.

Voluntary health insurance (VHI) supplements the NHS but does not act as a complete alternative to it. VHI allows for accelerated access to health care services like elective surgery and medical provider selection, which is typically based on availability in NHS facilities (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). As of 2015, around 2.7 million individuals had VHI, compared to 500,000 in 1990. One reason for the supplementation of private insurance along with the NHS may include the long wait times in NHS hospitals, However, these increased

numbers are perhaps indicative of imperfections or deficiencies in the NHS, some of which I will describe later.

Additionally, the leadership involved with the health care system will be necessary for the textual analysis on the discussion of the NHS in the news since different leaders and roles may be mentioned in the texts. The Ministry of Health oversees most aspects of the health care system and is advised by the National Health Council and professional associations (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). It is responsible for creating and evaluating health policies, as well as reviewing services provided by both public (NHS) and private systems. The Ministry is more closely involved with the NHS, as it controls its organization, finances, and evaluation (“Portugal,” *EHFCN*), and it has authority over all NHS hospitals (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). The current Minister of Health is Marta Temido, appointed by Prime Minister António Costa (“Costa Remodels the Portuguese”). Under the leadership of the Ministry of Health, the five regional health administrations (RHAs) are in charge of the management of the NHS for mainland Portugal, assuring the quality of care in their respective regions (North, Centre, Lisbon and the Tagus Valley, Alentejo, Algarve). The autonomous regions of Azores and Madeira both established regional health services<sup>4</sup> (“Autonomous Region of Madeira”).

Structurally, the Portuguese health care system is not without its issues. One of the biggest concerns is the inequality of the system in terms of geographic distribution of services and access to private health care. Of the EU countries, Portugal has some of the greatest health inequalities, which corresponds to its somewhat high Gini coefficient (0.34), indicative of some income inequalities (<0.2= perfect equality). To the first point, there are more health care workers located in large cities and along the coast, as well as unequal distribution of equipment

---

<sup>4</sup> Serviços Regionais de Saúde (SRS)

and resources. Secondly, while the NHS covers many basic health services, those who can afford private health insurance can access more resources and medicinal drugs. This leads to the wealthier receiving better health care than the poor, which reveals capitalism even in a system that pursues a socialized medicine model.

### ***NHS 24 (SNS 24) Line***

The NHS 24 line is the phone line used to contact the Portuguese NHS. It is available 24 hours per day, every day. This line is, generally, used for symptom screening and to refer people to NHS hospitals. Depending on the health necessity, there are three types of medical professionals that may assist calls. Most often, nurses answer the phones and provide advice to callers as to how they should handle their situation. This job is part time for them, as they are also required to actively work in a hospital. In cases of poisoning and medication issues, pharmacists will advise the caller (“How SNS 24”). Finally, psychologists help individuals to relieve stress and mental health concerns as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic (“Mental Health”).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the NHS 24 line received an overwhelming number of calls. In early March, instead of the 4,000 daily calls that it normally received, the line received 40,000 calls per day (“How SNS 24”). During the first wave of COVID-19, this new influx of calls led to a frustration among NHS 24 callers when they were unable to easily reach the health care professionals on the other end of the line. However, the line was not accustomed to handling such a large number of daily calls and was unable to answer all of them in a timely manner. This situation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II of this thesis.

### ***Quality***

Knowledge of the quality of the NHS compared to other nations and to quality indicators is key to understanding the discussions of the NHS in the news, as the journalists may present some of the same successes and issues with the system. It is important to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of the NHS on a more objective and comparative level before looking at opinionated news articles on the subject. Although the health care system promises free universal health care, many Portuguese citizens are unhappy with the NHS (Santos and Khan). This is evident by the number of private hospitals that have started, which I will discuss in greater detail later. What sparks this dissatisfaction? Several methods can be used to assess the quality of a health care system. There are a lot of measures that fall under the category of “quality”, and it is also a largely subjective term. Therefore, I will first address some statistics and compare them to the EU averages. I will then use some OECD Health Care Quality Indicators (HCQI) to further supplement an understanding of the system’s quality.

Statistics can be quite insightful and help us gauge the quality of a health care system, although it is important to note that there are many factors involved that cannot be contained in simple numbers. First, the proportion of health care workers relative to the population is highly important. Portugal has 442.6 physicians per 100,000 population, which is greater than the EU average of 349.6. Despite the availability of physicians, there is an insufficient proportion of nurses. For every 100,000 population, Portugal has 637.8 nurses compared to the 864.3 EU average. Second, the amount of hospital beds indicates how many patients can be treated, and by extension, the availability of health care to the patients. Portugal has less hospital beds per 100,000 people than are available in most other EU countries; however, it still has more beds than the UK and Spain which follow a similar NHS model. Third, I would like to mention some demographics that suggest the success and quality of Portugal’s health care. As of 2013, Portugal

had the lowest fertility rate (1.2) of the EU (mean: 1.5). However, in 2014, the life expectancy in Portugal was 81.3 years, which was greater than the EU average of 80.9 years. Interestingly, women were expected to live for 6.4 years longer than men on average, and this is compared to the EU average of a 5.5 years. All these statistics can be used to gauge the quality of the NHS on a comparative level with the rest of the EU, but other quality indicators can support the existence of other flaws and strengths of the system.

Next, I will use the OECD Health Care Quality Indicators (HCQI) to further assess the quality of Portugal's health care system. These indicators were established in 2002 to evaluate the quality of global health care systems ("Data for Measuring"). The OECD averages can be compared to those in Portugal to establish the relative success of the system. In Portugal, it was found that there was a higher rate of fatality after acute myocardial infarction (heart attack) and ischemic stroke than the OECD average. Portugal has decreased complications with obstetrics compared to the OECD average. There are also low numbers of asthma, diabetes, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease cases, indicating good primary care. Finally, Portugal has high immunization rates. For example, the vaccination rates for measles and diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis are 99 percent, compared to the 94 percent EU average for these vaccines. For Hepatitis B, the immunization rates in Portugal are 98 percent, whereas the EU average is 93 percent. In the case of the influenza vaccine, the rate is 61 percent for Portugal and 44 percent for the EU average (OECD/European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies). Overall, it can be noted that there is a mix of health statistics pointing toward both strengths and weaknesses in the Portuguese health care system. Acknowledging these characteristics of the NHS will help in understanding the comments that are made in news sources during the first wave of COVID-19.

### ***Economics***

Of course, quality of the NHS is an important factor that may influence popular opinion, but economics also contribute to the opinions of the Portuguese citizens, including journalists. In 2015, 9% of Portugal's GDP was applied toward health care, which is similar to the EU average. Furthermore, it spent EUR 1,989 per capita on health care, which is less than the EU average of EUR 2,797 (OECD). Of the health expenditures, 66% was spent on the NHS, and 35% went toward the private sector, including co-payments, direct payments, and private insurance. In 2014, the pharmaceutical expenditure was 1.23% of GDP. This reflects a decrease from previous years, which was realized by shifting toward generic pharmaceuticals.

The pay and job satisfaction of health care workers may play a role in the quality of care provided, and the extent of job satisfaction can be exacerbated by a crisis such as COVID-19. The NHS doctors are paid as government employees that receive fixed salaries. Because many physicians are unsatisfied with their pay through the NHS, about half also work in the private sector. NHS nurses are paid a fixed annual salary. Since a nurse shortage exists, they can work more hours and can also work in the private sector along with the NHS. The general dissatisfaction with pay from health care workers in the NHS may be discussed in news articles during the first wave of COVID-19, as chaos has distressed the health sector especially.

### ***Politics***

Considering that news sources have different political orientations, it is essential to recognize the huge role that politics play in the health care system. While government leadership over the different components of the health care system have already been mentioned briefly, the passing of new policies and specific plans have not. This section will mention some important leadership, the National Health Plan, and partisan opinions on the NHS. The topic of the NHS is very political, and the universal right to health care is even addressed in Article 64 of the 2005

constitution: “The right to health protection shall be fulfilled by means of a national health service that shall be universal and general and, with particular regard to the economic and social conditions of the citizens who use it, shall tend to be free of charge” (“Portugal 1976 (rev. 2005),” 31).

The government is responsible for the formation of health policies and decisions, and the parliament supervises these decisions. Professional associations also contribute to decisions surrounding health. The Order of Physicians<sup>5</sup>, composed of physicians, sets the standards for becoming a physician. It is responsible for licensing medical doctors so that they can practice in Portugal (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). Similarly, the Order of Nurses<sup>6</sup> is the nurse analogy and establishes the professional expectations for nurses (“O Que é a Ordem?”). Also, Portugal highly regulates pharmaceutical products, medical technology, and the education and training of health care workers. More specifically, INFARMED, created in 1993, is responsible for the regulation of medicinal drugs and equipment. Their role is important to note for the later discussion of the NHS regarding medical supplies during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Understanding the government objectives for the health care system is important for gauging its success in completing these goals, as well as seeing if the government’s hopes for the NHS matches the needs of the citizens. The Directorate-General of Health (DGH) both created and implements the National Health Plan (2012- 2020), which establishes goals for the health system. Currently, the plan is concentrating on producing health equality and providing quality services. More specific aims of this plan are to reduce the number of deaths before 70 years of age by 20%, increase health at age 65 by 30%, and decrease rates of noncommunicable diseases.

---

<sup>5</sup> Ordem dos Médicos

<sup>6</sup> Ordem dos Enfermeiros



Partisan differences regarding the NHS highlight the importance of acknowledging the political orientations of the news sources used for the textual analysis portion of this thesis. When establishing the NHS in 1979, the left-wing parties, the Socialist Party (PS), the Communist Party (PCP), and Popular Democratic Union (UDP), voted for it, whereas the right-wing parties, the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and Democratic Social Center (CDS), did not support it. The right-wing parties want the private sector to have more power, instead. As the political environment shifts in Portugal with each cycle, aspects of the NHS shift, especially in its relationship with the private sector (Simões et al., “The 2019 Health Basic Law”). Currently, with Portuguese Prime Minister António Costa from the Socialist Party (SP), the health care system has shifted away from the private sector more, with Costa wishing to rely on private health care only circumstantially, on the basis of necessity. In 2019, he supported the creation of the new Basic Health Law, replacing the one established by the PSD and CDS in 1990. The older version of this law pushed for more involvement of the private health care sector. The reform of this law, supported by Costa, involved greater separation of the public and private sectors, which was opposed by the right-wing parties (Augusto and Fronteira). In summary, the right-wing parties tend to oppose the NHS more than the left-wing parties because of their inclination toward greater involvement of the private sector, and thus, toward a lower role of the public sector.

### ***Relationship with the Private Sector***

Voluntary health insurance (VHI) serves as a complement to the NHS. It appeals to Portuguese citizens for several reasons. In private hospitals, there is a lower wait time, ability to choose the health care provider, and greater comfort. Also, VHI covers some specialties. The dentist is almost exclusively covered by private insurance (Mateus). It is for these reasons that

26% of Portuguese citizens have private insurance in addition to the NHS (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). In conclusion, while the NHS covers essential medical needs, the private sector supplies individuals with greater luxuries and a larger range of coverage. However, not everyone has the means to afford private insurance, leading to health disparities even in a universal health care system.

### ***Immigrant Health Care***

Undocumented immigrants draw to light other health inequalities in the Portuguese system. Granted by Article 64 of the Portuguese Constitution, all residents have the right to health care. These residents may be native or foreign to Portugal. However, this right to health care for all is conditional. The Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service (SEF) is responsible for overseeing activity at the borders, establishing immigration status, and related actions. They control the regularization process, which grants immigrants legal status. Notably, asylum seekers are provided the same access to health care as Portuguese citizens (“Portugal: Assessing Health-System”). However, immigrants who have not gone through the regularization process can utilize the NHS if they supply evidence that they have lived in Portugal for at least 90 days. Those who cannot provide such documents may still gain access to the NHS in certain conditions. Some of these include critical health care, cases of transmittable diseases that could place other citizens in danger, maternal and child health care, immunization, and health care for migrant children who are 12 years old or younger (“Portugal: Assessing Health-System”).

While Portugal takes an integrative approach to immigrant health care, there are some difficulties that prevent immigrants from taking advantage of this right. In a study performed by the WHO to analyze the immigrant experience with health care in Portugal (“Portugal: Assessing Health-System”), health staff claimed that the intense administrative procedures, along with the

potential costs associated with seeking health care, deter many undocumented immigrants from utilizing this resource (“Portugal: Assessing Health-System”). The consequence is that undocumented immigrants face inequalities in accepting their right to health care.

During the COVID-19 pandemic in Portugal, immigrants with pending legal statuses with the SEF were provided temporary access to public services, including the NHS. The pandemic forced this issue of immigrant health care to be addressed, and the rights of immigrants were acknowledged by the government, at least for the duration of the pandemic (“Covid-19: Alterações”). The topic of immigrant health care during the first wave of the pandemic in Portugal is discussed in more detail in Chapter II of this thesis, due to its wide coverage in the news and its highly political nature.

#### **IV. Political Spectrum in Portugal**

It is clear from the aforementioned involvement of the Portuguese government in the health care system that politics are critical to the discussion of news articles surrounding the topic of the NHS. This section will improve understanding of the Portuguese government and political spectrum so that the political orientations of the news can be better understood.

##### ***Basic Political Structure***

Knowledge of the political structure in Portugal, including the key leaders and the power distribution, provides necessary background since news articles often mention government involvement in the NHS. As mentioned previously, after the Carnation Revolution in 1974, Portugal transitioned into a constitutional democratic republic, and their constitution was published in 1976. There are three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial.

The executive power is vested in the President and Council of Ministers. Popular vote determines both the presidential outcome and the Prime Minister (Durães, 436). The President

serves a five-year term, whereas the Prime Minister serves for four years. Some roles of the President include commander in chief and determining the Prime Minister. Currently, the President is Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Whereas the President handles the armed forces, the Prime Minister oversees the ministers and is the face of the Portuguese government. The current Prime Minister is António Luis Santos da Costa (“Portugal: Government”), and he is part of the Socialist Party (PS).

The Assembly of the Republic, the parliament, has the legislative power and is elected by popular vote through a closed-list system (“Portugal: Government”). The 230 members of parliament serve for a term of four years (Simões et al., “Portugal: Health System”). Assembly members can amend laws and the constitution.

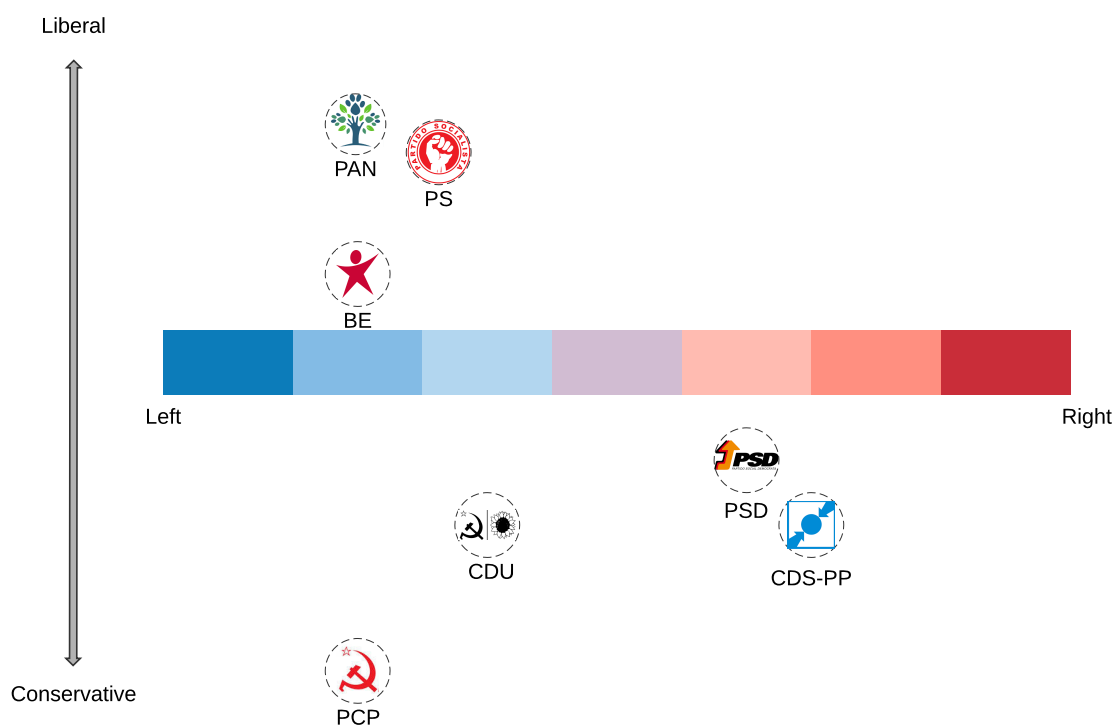
The Supreme Court and Constitutional Court hold the judicial power. The President nominates Supreme Court justices, who are then appointed by the parliament and can serve for life (“The World Factbook: Portugal”). The Assembly of the Republic also determines 10 of the Constitutional Court judges, and established Constitutional Court judges elect the remaining three. New judges are elected every six years. The Supreme Court of Justice has the power to put the President, Prime Minister, President of the Assembly of the Republic, or fellow justices on trial for violations of the law during their time in office, and they can reconsider established laws. Constitutional Court judges evaluate legislature to assure that it holds up to the principles outlined in the constitution (“Portugal: Government”).

Understanding the structure of the Portuguese political system is essential to gauging the different powers that political leaders have, which will be useful for the textual analysis in this thesis. The Prime Minister is the face of the Portuguese government, so his political orientation must be recognized in order to estimate the main stance of the government as a whole, While the

Prime Minister has been mentioned with his party, the significance and stance of this party and others must be further described.

### *Parties*

Various party leaders are mentioned in news articles that will be discussed regarding the NHS in Chapter II. Therefore, the heads of these parties and their stance on the political spectrum must be described. The two most popular parties are the Socialist Party (PS), which is center-left and led by Prime Minister António Costa, and the Social Democratic Party (PSD), which is considered to be center-right and led by Rui Rio (“The World Factbook: Portugal”). Assunção Cristãs runs the People’s Party (CDS-PP), which is a right conservative party. The Unitary Democratic Coalition (CDU), headed by Jeronimo de Sousa, encompasses the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Ecologist Party (PEV), of which Heloisa Apolonia is in charge. The CDU is a leftist party with conservative ideologies. Catarina Martins is the coordinator for the Left Bloc (BE), which is a left liberal party. People-Animals-Nature Party (PAN), represented by André Silva, is a left liberal party (“The World Factbook: Portugal”). Although there are other parties, only the main ones, listed here, are necessary for this thesis, as the news only tends to discuss these. Figure 2 demonstrates different Portuguese party orientations described here based on their left/right leaning, as well as their relative conservative or liberal ideologies.



**Figure 2.** Spectrum of political parties in Portugal. Adapted from:

<https://www.tsf.pt/especiais/europeias-2019/ja-sabe-em-quem-vai-votar-este-teste-ajuda-o-a-encontrar-o-partido-certo-10919013.html>

### ***Polarization***

The terms “left/right” and “liberal/conservative” will be mentioned frequently in the discussion of the political orientations of the news sources. It is important to recognize that these words have different meanings in Portugal than they do in the United States. In the United States, we often associate the left-wing with liberal ideologies and the right-wing with conservative ideologies. However, as can be noted in Figure 2, there are parties that are left-wing conservative, such as PCP and CDU. This is because in Portugal, conservative means to resist change (Sande) and tend toward traditional values. The PCP and CDU hold conservative

ideologies in the sense that they wish to uphold the values of traditional communism. This clarification is necessary, given that in the United States, our definition of conservative tends to fit the right-wing strictly. In Portugal, the term “liberal” also refers to right-wing parties, the exact opposite of its associations in the United States. This is because “liberal” has a different meaning in the Portuguese context. In Portugal, those with liberal ideologies support less involvement of the government (Ramos and Monteiro 135). Whereas in the United States, that fits our definition of conservative.

The political environment is not highly polarized in Portugal, so I must preface my textual analysis in Chapter II by mentioning that news sources tending toward one side may not be so strongly against the other side’s views as one would expect. A 2011 study claimed that in Portugal, the amount of education, media exposure, and political interest are lower when compared to other European countries and the US (Freire and Belchior). The study revealed that these factors may contribute to the relative lack of political anchoring among Portuguese citizens. Nonetheless, the study indicates some ideologies that may have an influence on left/right self-placement in Portugal. Firstly, religion played a big role in determining a strong inclination toward either the left or right, with more religious individuals leaning right than left. Also, pro-choice individuals were found to lean left more frequently than not. Even though these factors are important to political anchoring, partisan orientation was the most deterministic agent. In Portugal, citizens associate wealth and business to right-wing politics, so individuals who support more capitalistic ideas tend to lean right politically (Freire and Belchior). Despite these findings, compared to other countries, Portugal has more left/right ambiguity.

Portuguese citizens do not tend to be extreme to the left or the right. A study by the same researchers further supported this idea by showing that in Portugal, the left/right self-placement

of Members of Parliament (MPs) does not align with that of the general population. According to this study, the general population is less likely to see differences between the left- and right-wing than MPs. Furthermore, the MPs are more likely to base their decision on policy preference than electors (Freire and Belchior). These findings illuminate how the political left and right are not well-understood by the general population and may bring to light the lack of extreme polarization in Portuguese politics. Furthermore, the two most popular political parties, PS and PSD, are center-left and center-right, respectively. Both only slightly stray from the center, so there are weak distinctions between them, which further demonstrates the existence of low ideological polarization (Moreira).

Portuguese news sources carry similar left/right ambiguity. According to a recent study, there is a low presence of populism in Portuguese politics, but it has recently taken on a larger role as social media has grown in popularity. Portuguese newspapers typically refrain from declaring candidate preferences, but media populism still exists. *Correio da Manhã*, with 8% populist elements in its articles, was found to have more populist tendencies than *Observador* (6%) and much greater ones than *Público* (2.9%), even though none of these news sources had very pronounced signs of populism (Salgado). The relatively centered stances of the news sources in Portugal may indicate that their discussions of the NHS will contain similar content.

## **V. News Sources Selected for Research**

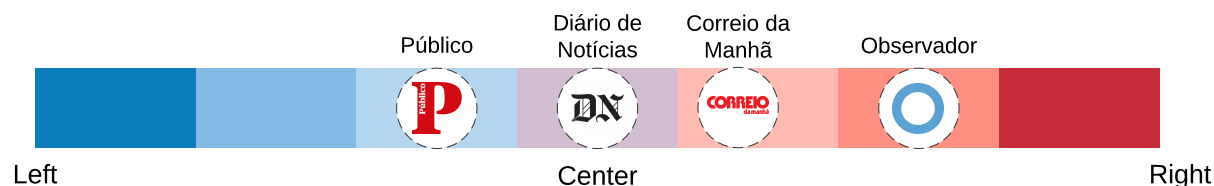
People do not tend to read primary sources or official reports. Often, they find sources such as online newspapers or televised news to summarize the major points from the primary sources. It is up to journalists to decide which information should be included in that summary and which information should be excluded. That is why acknowledging the political tendencies of news sources is crucial. The events that they choose to cover reflects their personal opinions,



and politics can influence those opinions. As in the United States, Portugal's news sources usually tend toward certain ideological perspectives. Although the spectrum is not as polarized as in the US, it is still important to know the orientations of the news sources before analyzing their discussion of a politically charged topic, such as the health care system.

### ***Political Orientations***

Recognizing the political orientations of the news sources is useful for being aware of the content that they choose to include and exclude from their coverage of certain events. For my analysis, I selected news sources of different political orientations, with *Observador* and *Correio da Manhã* considered right-leaning (Moura; Taylor), *Público* considered left-leaning, and *Diário de Notícias* considered centrist (Taylor). Of these, *Correio da Manhã* and *Público* are considered center-right and left, respectively, whereas *Observador* is more polarized to the right. Figure 3 illustrates the speculated political orientations of these four news sources. However, like the political environment in Portugal in general, there is political centralization among the news sources as well (Oliveira). Of course, the journalists deviate from the center regarding some issues, but their personal opinions, nor the opinions of the paper as a whole tend to entirely drive the article. In opinion (“op-ed”) pieces, ideological perspectives are more evident than in other articles run by the paper. These op-ed pieces are written by an individual of a certain career path, who may be a doctor, a politician, a journalist, or even an artist. These pieces are meant to unpack the opinion of that individual. Nonetheless, the published opinions of the writers “reflect the opinion of the newspaper” (Davis), since “journalists’ freedom of opinion is completely illusory... [they have to] say what the firms want or resign” (Juan Pujol in *El Debate*, qtd. in Davis). If we take this to be true, then the opinion pieces can reveal a lot about the political standing of the news source as a whole.



**Figure 3.** News sources arranged on a political spectrum.

### *Popularity and Circulation*

News sources that are more popular will reach more people, and therefore, have greater influential abilities. With this logic, I chose these four news sources because they are the most popular newspapers in Portugal. *Observador* is a popular online newspaper. In March, it had 13,962,705 global online viewers. This number decreased in April to 1,685,768 and further in May, to 9,199,495. Still, there were many more viewers in these months than any other month from January to July 2020. This is likely because March was the month in which the pandemic chaos began in Portugal, and people went to the news to learn more about the situation (“Audiência 2020,” 2020). While the online audiences for the other three newspapers are not publicly available, the circulations of their printed copies can be compared. *Correio da Manhã* has the greatest paper circulation of the three (“Correio da Manhã (Portugal)”), with 86,075, *Público* has a circulation of 32,679 (“Público (Portugal)”), and *Diário de Notícias* has the lowest, with 12,951 (“Diário de Notícias (Portugal)”). These four news sources are among the most popular in Portugal, and thus, have the most influential role on the Portuguese population.

### *Agência Lusa*

All four of the news sources publish articles from the Agência Lusa. Agência Lusa is a Portuguese news agency that both publishes news stories and distributes them to other publishers, both nationally and internationally. An English-language analogy is Reuters, whose articles are featured in newspapers such as the New York Times. According to the Lusa website, it is the largest news agency in the Portuguese language (“Quem Somos”). Importantly, *Correio da Manhã*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Público*, and *Observador* have all published articles from the Agência Lusa. Because this agency sends the same article to several news sources, they occasionally publish articles that have the same content. Often times, the title or the subhead will vary across sources, as different information was selected to be highlighted in these sections by the news source that published it. At times in my Chapter II textual analysis, I utilize articles written by the Agência Lusa and published across several sources to draw attention to the distinct ways in which the news sources decided to portray the same information. This is crucial to establishing the differences among news sources and highlights the critical role of journalists in covering a story.

### ***Journalism ethics***

The importance of my thesis research can be supported by the fact that news influences the behavior of the population. The news is critical to shaping the reactions of society. In any circumstance, the media influences the perceptions and reactions of its audience. During a pandemic, the effects of media are amplified even further as society relies on it for answers. As Ryan Davis mentions in his book, referring to the Spanish flu, “the initial news coverage establishes certain expectations about how the epidemic will play out and thus projects some sense of meaning” (Davis 30). Journalists have the power to influence how people respond to a crisis, such as the pandemic, and thus, have some degree of control over the health and safety of

the population. As can be witnessed in the current pandemic, some people will decide that they do not care if they get sick, and as a result, they run the risk of infecting others. The news can help to form these opinions by selecting to exclude comments about how dangerous SARS-CoV-2 infection can be, and instead, implying that COVID-19 is not a threat. Furthermore, if the journalists have this power, then it is critical to know that the news is giving us the full truth and does not exclude critical information. Therefore, journalists should follow certain ethics when covering a pandemic, prioritizing the health and safety their readers. The power of journalists to influence behavior of the masses explains why my thesis explores an important topic and why this research is significant during the period of COVID-19.

## **VI. Concluding Remarks**

In Chapter I, I have tied together important the analysis to come in Chapter II. I have established the severity of the COVID-19 pandemic, which forced the NHS to respond rather quickly to a novel situation. This allowed news sources to comment on the NHS in its most vulnerable state, in a pandemic for which it was not prepared. Not only were there more patients entering the NHS hospitals at this time, infected with the virus, but also, there was more hysteria and fear in the Portuguese society in general. Even those unaffected by COVID-19 frequently called the NHS 24 line, uncertain and afraid of what to expect. Essentially, the NHS was placed involuntarily in a challenging examination of its skills and capabilities, constantly under the watching eye of the media.

The media has an important duty to report events and other stories to the general population. The general population does not tend to obtain information from long and detailed primary sources, but they learn about current events through the news. The news summarizes primary materials, plucking from them what they deem important and neglecting

the information which they do not find necessary. News sources identify what is important and what is not in different ways. Therefore, the story read from one news source may not match the content of the story found in another. The information selected by the news sources is not coincidental, but the product of ideologies, biases, and agendas rooted in cultural and individual differences. However, these differences do not tend to arise as much within news sources as they do across news sources. This is evident in the news in the United States, as it is clear which news sources are left- and right-leaning. News sources often have a political orientation, which attracts writers and readers of similar ideologies. This creates an echo chamber in which writers and readers only utilize news sources that match their ideologies, reinforcing their pre-existing ideas, without exploring sources containing alternative perspectives. Such an echo chamber produces a limited lens through which to view the world and does not allow for full intellectual potential to be reached. This attraction to news sources that reflect a person's ideologies also exists in Portugal. For this reason, news sources draw in authors of the same ideologies, further polarizing the source. This polarization can be observed in the Portuguese news, accentuated especially in the discussion of controversial topics, such as the success of the NHS through the first wave of the pandemic.

The NHS has political connections and is present in the constitution, responding to the right of all to access health care. In establishing the NHS, the right-leaning political parties did not support its creation. These political aspects of the NHS, combined with the placement of the four news sources across the political spectrum, bring to question the differences in the discussion of the NHS in the news.

## Chapter II. Comparison of the Portrayal of the Portuguese NHS across Portuguese News

### Sources

On March 27, 2020, *Público* published an article (Trigueirão et al.) named “Coronavirus: hospitals distribute equipment a little at a time<sup>7</sup>.” The following day, an article by *Observador* (Pereirinha) titled “What still lacks in the hospitals: recycled, rationed, or improvised masks, suits, and glasses” covered the same issue but with much more critical language. When reading the *Público* title, we do not feel strongly toward or against the NHS, instead, the title has an appearance of a neutral standing toward the health care system. On the other hand, the *Observador* title leaves us feeling as though the NHS is incapable of protecting its users. Examples like this demonstrate the importance of the wording of titles. Without even reading the article, we have an indication of how the NHS will be discussed within them.

The word-choice and tone of titles is essential in a textual analysis such as the one in this thesis. Through the lens of the title, the true sentiments of the news agents are revealed. At times, it can be challenging to decode the tone of the title without first comparing it to others that are similar. After evaluating the titles side-by-side, these differences in word-choice and tone become very evident. Over time, patterns in the chosen word-choice and tone appear, allowing us to draw conclusions about the ideological perspectives of news sources. The goal of Chapter II of this thesis is to compare the discussion of the NHS across four different news sources of different political leanings, *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Correio da Manhã*, and *Observador*, during the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal.

---

<sup>7</sup> For the purposes of this project, I have provided all the translations. In the instances in which I deal with close analyses of certain word choices, I will also include a footnote with a direct quote in Portuguese.

The creation of the Portuguese National Health Service (NHS) was not unanimous, as some right-leaning parties did not support it. As mentioned in Chapter I, when the decision of the NHS was being made in 1979, the PS, PCP, and UDP, all left-wing parties, voted for it. However, the right-wing PSD and CDS did not. This lack of support for the NHS has continued into the present day for some. While its main goal is to realize the right to health care, which seems indisputably worthwhile, it has some shortcomings, which were accentuated with the suddenly high demand for the NHS in the first wave of COVID-19. With the chaos of a frightened population and heightened emotional states, the NHS was forced to respond both quickly and effectively. With the need for rapid transformations in the system to adapt appropriately to the COVID-19 situation, some imperfections in the NHS were brought to light, stemming from both preexisting and novel issues.

The pandemic has increased the news conversation about the national health response, including the role of the NHS. In Chapter II, I will answer the following two research questions: 1) How does the discussion of the NHS vary across news sources? and 2) How do the news sources portray the response of the NHS? To answer these questions, I chose four topics relevant to the NHS to compare across sources. Among the discussion of the NHS in the news emerged four important matters, which are 1) the involvement of the private sector, 2) the availability of medical equipment, tests, and resources, 3) immigrant health policy, and 4) the success of the NHS 24 helpline. All of these will be expanded upon in the sections to come, along with comparisons of the discussion of these topics across the four news sources studied in this thesis.

### ***Methodology Review***

The four topics selected for research were chosen based on three criteria: 1) coverage across all four studied news sources, 2) relevance to the NHS and its discussion, and 3) potential for

controversy. However, there was a long process that preceded the decision to focus on the four topics. The process that I utilized for discovering my current topics is detailed below, beginning with a search for COVID-19 articles that ultimately landed me comparing 10 articles from each news source, *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Correio da Manhã*, and *Observador*, to respond to my research questions. Importantly, I read all the articles in Portuguese. For the purposes of this thesis, I provide some English translations of titles and other important quotes from the articles.

The first step that I took to gauge prevalent topics on COVID-19 in Portugal was focusing on three titles on the cover of each paper that were related to the COVID-19 pandemic in Portugal. I chose to concentrate on the splash and strapline titles, those belonging to the first, second, and third biggest news stories, because they are the ones that the newspaper wants to be seen the most and that they perceive to be the most important. If I encountered another, smaller title that appeared frequently, then I also took note of it. I created a list of keywords that appeared frequently, scanning each title for potential topics. I used this process for the news sources *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *Correio da Manhã*. Importantly, *Observador* is an online newspaper, so I did not have access to covers for this source.

After taking notes of the titles that I saw from the three news sources, I began to read the articles. For *Correio da Manhã* and *Público*, I selected 10 articles each associated with the biggest titles on COVID-19, for a total of 20 cover articles. For March and April, I chose four articles from each month to read from each news source. For May, I selected two articles from each news source. *Diário de Notícias* has a weekly newspaper, so I chose articles corresponding to all seven of its splash and strapline titles, and then another three articles to read from other cover titles. Since I did not have access to *Observador* covers, I searched “COVID-19” between the dates March 18, 2020 and May 2, 2020 and selected 10 articles: four from March, four from



April, and two from May, paying particular attention to those with topics that I encountered from the other news sources. During this phase of research, I read 40 articles and analyzed each.

At this point, I began searching the websites of the four news sources for articles. On the *Correio da Manhã* website, I researched under “News” articles, filtering for articles on COVID-19 between the dates of the first wave. Again, I chose four articles from March, four from April, and two from May. I conducted a similar process for *Diário de Notícias*. On the *Público* site, I received “*Público Hoje*” emails and read the top articles for four days in March, four in April, and two in May. For *Observador* articles, I used a similar process and found four articles from March, four from April, and two from May. At this point in my research, I took notes on a total of 80 sources, although I read many more.

After gaining background on the COVID-19 coverage in the news sources, I was interested in further exploring COVID-19 topics related to the NHS since the NHS seemed to be among the most controversial subjects covered during the pandemic. Since I am performing a textual analysis, looking to compare the discussions in the news of the most controversial topics, the NHS was a great match because it uncovered a contrast between the ideologies of different news sources. Still, I had to select a few subtopics within the realm of the NHS and COVID-19 to narrow my focus. I searched each of the online news sources for articles tagged with “SNS” and “covid-19” from March 18 to May 2, 2020, and I read 30 articles from each source. I listed the keywords from each article that I read and identified which ones I saw the most frequently. By the end of this preliminary phase of research, I reviewed 200 articles total.

After reading all these articles and reviewing them carefully, I found four topics that were selected based on their 1) coverage across all four studied news sources, 2) relevance to the NHS and its discussion, and 3) potential for controversy. These topics were 1) the involvement of the

private sector, 2) the availability of medical equipment, tests, and resources, 3) immigrant health policy, and 4) the success of the NHS 24 helpline. Each of these four topics contained three subtopics, with the exception of immigrant health policy, which only had two subtopics due to limited coverage on the matter. These subtopics were often singular events on which all four of the news sources wrote, which were selected based on the same criteria as the topics. I selected subtopics to narrow the scope of my comparisons. In limiting my scope to a singular event or subtopic, I could reveal variance in the coverage of the same story between news sources.

Finally, I compared the discussion of the news sources on the subtopic to answer my research questions. Each new subtopic was a clean slate for the news sources. I tried not to hold onto findings from a previous subtopic comparison during my analysis by focusing on objective word-choice and content evaluation for each new subtopic. If two or more articles had the same title, which often occurred in cases where the Agência Lusa authored both, I started with those. According to the Agência Lusa website, it is the biggest news agency in Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking world. It distributes articles to other publishers, sometimes leading to an overlap in the content published by the news sources (“Quem Somos”). By looking at the differences in what they chose to highlight in the subhead, I could see what the news source wanted readers to gain from it. Then, I compared the article content to see if there were any differences there. After, I looked to see if the article content was the same across articles. If two articles had the same content, I would compare their titles to see what the news source wanted to highlight. I am interested in unpacking titles because they are arguably the most telling component of the article since they emphasize what the news source wants you to see, as anyone who encounters the article will gain a first impression from the title. It sets the tone for the rest of the article. Following this, I compared all the titles and subheads. The content analysis was the

final step. I read the articles thoroughly, paying particularly close attention to areas where the NHS was mentioned. I compared the 40 articles based on word choice, tone, and what they chose to include and exclude. To create quantitative data, I formed a ranking system.

### ***NHS Support Score Ranking System***

At the end of each news topic analysis, I include a rating that quantifies the level of support for the NHS present in the article. The support score is assigned on a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 being the most supportive and 1 being the least (see table 1). If two articles have the same attitude toward the NHS, then they will be assigned the same ranking and one of the four numbers will be excluded from the ranking for that topic. I created and utilized this strategy to attain quantitative data, which can facilitate the identification of patterns that the news sources follow.

The number is assigned to each article based primarily on the title, followed by the subhead, and finally, the article content. I chose to give the title priority because it is the most important part of the article, which is easily visible to everyone who comes across it. The title is the part that the news sources want to use to catch the attention of readers, and they often include the information that they find to be most valuable. Therefore, the title is highly indicative of the perspectives of the journalists. Additionally, some articles share the same body text as they are written by the Agência Lusa, an agency that distributes news articles to publishers with unlisted authors, making the selected title and subhead that much more important. The articles usually will only differ in their titles, subheads, and minor format editing, if at all. The comparison of articles from the Agência Lusa is a strength of this project, as it strikingly reveals the aspects of the news stories that the sources wish to display to readers. This number assignment was critical to the data analysis used to deduce my findings.

### **Table 1. NHS Support Score Rubric**

Score	Features	Example
4	Contains distinctively supportive language and/or content unmistakably included to support the NHS. Has no critical language and/or content.	“‘I <b>owe my life</b> ’ to the NHS: the testimony of someone that recovered from coronavirus” (Miranda)
3	Contains language that is not explicitly supportive but includes content that uplifts the NHS. Has minimal or no critical language and/or content.	“100 tons of <b>protective equipment arrive</b> on Tuesday” (Agência Lusa, "Cem Toneladas")
2	Contains minimal or no supportive language and/or content. May have some language or content that is critical of the NHS.	“Portugal is already rationing coronavirus tests. Growth rate of the disease is ‘ <b>cloaked</b> ’” (Balança, “Portugal Já Está a Racionar”)
1	Contains distinctively critical language and/or content unmistakably included to criticize the NHS. Has no supportive language.	“What still <b>lacks</b> in the hospitals: recycled, rationed, or improvised masks, suits, and glasses” (Pereirinha)

## I. Portuguese News Portrayal of the NHS During the First Wave of COVID-19

### *Reactions to the Involvement of the Private Sector*

On April 30, 2020, the four news sources covered a story on the Minister of Health, Marta Temido, stating the need for help from the private sector amid the hectic pandemic times. While *Público* and *Correio da Manhã* utilized the title “NHS is going to turn to the private sector to recover activity, says Minister of Health” (Agência Lusa, “SNS Vai Recorrer”), both the *Diário de Notícias* (Agência Lusa, “Marta Temido Admite”) and *Observador* (Penela) articles state that the Minister of Health “admits” this help from the private sector. The language used in the latter set of articles implies a prior lack of transparency of the situation at-hand. It also leads the NHS to appear weak, with little option but to depend on the private sector, whereas the *Público* and *Correio da Manhã* articles do not leave readers with this impression. This word-choice is subtle yet leaves readers with a strikingly different perception of the event.

When it comes to health care politics in Portugal, the discussion of the relative involvements of the public and private sectors are nearly inevitable. It should be noted that the right-wing in Portugal tends to want more involvement of the private sector and a smaller role of the government. On the other hand, the left-wing firmly supports the public sector, such as the NHS, and seeks greater government involvement in general. With *Correio da Manhã* and *Observador* leaning right, *Público* leaning left, and *Diário de Notícias* in a centrist stance, the news sources are expected to react differently to the involvement of the private sector during the pandemic. In the example above, these differences are illustrated clearly, especially when comparing *Público* to *Observador*.

There were three key subtopics that were covered by *Público*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Observador*, and *Diário de Notícias* between the dates March 18, 2020 and May 2, 2020 that involved discussion of both the private and public health care sectors. In the following sections, these three subtopics will be evaluated: 1) Private Hospitals Accept COVID-19 Patients from the NHS: Necessary or Complementary?, 2) Response to State Coverage of Private Hospital Costs if Referred by the NHS, and 3) Different Perspectives on the PS Interview with the Minister of Health, Marta Temido, about the NHS Turning to the Private Sector. In this part, I will compare the discussion of the NHS across *Público*, *Correio da Manhã*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *Observador* articles for each of the three subtopics<sup>8</sup>.

A. Private Hospitals Accept COVID-19 Patients from the NHS: Necessary or Complementary?

---

<sup>8</sup> 12 total articles will be used to analyze this topic, constituting roughly 23% of the available articles about the private sector in Portugal from March 18, 2020 to May 2, 2020 from the four news sources.

The private sector is described as a complement to the NHS; however, during the pandemic, this description became a bit more controversial. In late March 2020, private hospitals began to accept COVID-19 patients from the NHS to reduce strain on the public hospitals. On April 4, 2020, private hospitals had assisted 2,270 patients suspected of having COVID-19 and had admitted 112 new patients that day (“COVID-19: Hospitais Privados Têm”). The pandemic forced a greater collaboration between public and private hospitals, to an extent, unifying the health care system. All four news sources covered this topic, but the articles took different approaches and were not all published on the same day, as this was a topic of continued interest. In this part, I compare the four articles, acknowledging that there may be differences between them owed to their variable publishing dates. Nonetheless, this comparison is critical, as the discussion of the involvement of the private sector varies from source to source.

The articles on this topic by *Correio da Manhã* (Agência Lusa, “Hospitais Privados Prontos”) and *Observador* (Agência Lusa, “Hospitais Privados Prontos”), while relatively neutral toward the NHS, exhibiting neither supportive nor critical connotations, still imply that the NHS requires the help of the private sector. These articles have the same titles and body text; however, the *Observador* article subhead is less supportive of the NHS. Both were initially written by the Agência Lusa and were published on March 24, 2020. Since the articles were both written by the Agência Lusa, this means that the only differences between them were established during the editing process. This is important since the news sources used the same content and desired to highlight different aspects of it. Comparisons of articles from the Agência Lusa uncover the agendas of the news sources very drastically because even though the body text of the articles is often identical, the news sources intentionally select different information from the article to be emphasized in the title and subhead. Through the this editing process, the news

sources can reflect their different ideological perspectives. The title is “Private Hospitals Ready to Receive and Treat the Infected and Alleviate NHS.” While this title refers quite neutrally to the NHS, it should be noted that the end of the title implies that the NHS was overwhelmed and needed help. This gives readers the impression that the NHS is not self-sufficient, whereas the private hospitals are painted as heroic. These two articles that shared the same title included different article subheads. The *Correio da Manhã* subhead stated, “New guidelines have been established for the private sector in compliance with the DGS standard for the mitigation phase.” It is very neutral, maintaining objective language, and does not refer to the NHS. The subhead in the *Observador* article restated what was mentioned in the title, including that the private hospitals relieve the NHS, and it added that the private hospitals will “comply with the DGS standard for the mitigation phase”. The body text was the same in both articles, with the exception of small formatting edits, such as the layout of dates and times. None of the content differences are relevant to my research question.

On the other hand, the *Público* article excludes the topic of the need for relief in the NHS from the title, which does not leave readers with the impression that the NHS is unable to stand independently without help from the private sector, which the *Observador* and *Correio da Manhã* titles implied. The article (Maia, “Hospitais Privados Vão Receber”) was published a few days before the other two, on March 21, 2020, and referred to the private sector as a complement to the NHS. The title of the article is “Private hospitals are going to receive COVID-19 patients.” This is almost the same as the title in *Observador* and *Correio de Manhã*, but it does not mention the NHS. The NHS is not mentioned in the subhead of this article either. Instead, the subhead states that “measures will be taken on patients who are diagnosed in private hospitals”, in addition to the number of confirmed cases in Portugal on the day the article was

published. The body text of the article leaves readers with the impression that private hospitals will complement the work of the NHS without implying a necessity or urgency for assistance as the other two articles did.

Lastly, the article being used for comparison in *Diário de Notícias* (Agência Lusa, “Cinco Hospitais”) is very neutral in its references to the NHS. It is not covering the exact same topic as the other three articles and was published later than the others, on March 26, 2020. It mentions specific private hospitals that were accepting COVID-19 patients who were referred by the NHS. I selected this article because *Diário de Notícias* did not publish an article that resembled the other three on their website, and the one that I selected covered the same general topic for analysis, which is the acceptance of COVID-19 patients in private hospitals in Portugal. The title translates to “Five private hospitals in Lisbon, Porto, and Algarve can already receive the infected.” Its subhead simply expands on the title, including the numbers of intensive care beds and availability in the hospitals, without mentioning the NHS. The body text of the article only mentions the NHS once and in a neutral manner, one in which the tone and language neither possess supportive nor critical elements. It simply stated that there were dozens of other private hospitals that would also perform surgeries and procedures that could not be done in NHS hospitals (Agência Lusa, “Cinco Hospitais”). In this example, the article is mentioning the NHS as part of a factual statement, without criticizing nor supporting it.

In this case, the largest point of contrast among the news sources rests in the discussion of the reliance of the NHS on the private sector. Whereas *Observador* and *Correio da Manhã* used language to indicate a necessity of the private sector to aid the NHS, *Público* and *Diário de Notícias* described the private sector to portray it as a complement to the NHS. Although *Correio da Manhã* and *Observador* published very similar articles, the one by *Observador* was slightly



less supportive of the NHS, given that it included the need to relieve the NHS both in its title and subhead. On the other hand, the *Correio da Manhã* article stated this only in its title. *Público* and *Diário de Notícias* both maintained neutral stances on the NHS, making them relatively more supportive of the NHS than the other two articles (see table 2). Across the four sources, the general portrayal of the NHS is one of failure. This is because the *Observador* and *Correio da Manhã* articles slightly criticize the NHS, and the other two news sources remain neutral, leading to a net description of an unsuccessful NHS. This is evidence that the Portuguese news depicts the involvement of the private health sector as a failure on behalf of the NHS.

#### B. Response to State Coverage of Private Hospital Costs if Referred by the NHS

As NHS hospitals were overwhelmed with the new changes that the pandemic brought along, they sought help from private hospitals. However, since not everyone in Portugal has private insurance, it was necessary for the coverage of the services to be arranged. It was decided that if a patient was referred to a private hospital by the NHS, typically by the NHS 24 line, the private hospital services would be covered. On April 11, 2020, all four news sources posted articles about the state's coverage of private hospital costs for COVID-19 patients who were referred by the NHS.

While the articles published by *Correio da Manhã* (Agência Lusa, “Estado Assegura”) and *Diário de Notícias* (Agência Lusa, “Covid-19. Estado só Assegura”) were written by the Agência Lusa and contain much of the same content, small differences in the titles and subheads lead the *Diário de Notícias* article to assume a less supportive stance in respect to the NHS. Notably, the titles differed very slightly but in an important way. The article on the *Correio da Manhã* website is called “State ensures private costs if patients with coronavirus are referred by NHS.” On the *Diário de Notícias* website, the title is “Covid-19. State **only** ensures private costs

if patients are referred by NHS.” This seemingly subtle word addition changes the tone of the title. Whereas the title of the *Correio da Manhã* article leaves the impression that the State is generous to cover the private costs, the *Diário de Notícias* article implies that they were expecting more from the NHS. This tone is carried into the sunhead as well. The *Correio da Manhã* subhead restates the information in its title, neutral or even grateful to the NHS. However, the *Diário de Notícias* subhead elaborates further on its title by saying, “The National Health Service will only pay private hospitals for treatment of patients referred by the State. Not those that looked for private care on their own initiative.” The body text of the articles was mostly the same since they were both from the Agência Lusa, containing only formatting differences, and was neutral toward the NHS.<sup>9</sup>

The *Observador* article on this topic (Gonçalves, “Quem Paga a Conta”) maintained a mostly neutral stance. Its title is “Who pays the bill in the private sector? Marta Temido asks another question: ‘Who would pay before?’” The subhead mentions that the State will cover COVID-19 patients referred to private hospitals but **only** when the NHS has referred them. The word “only” is used, as was in the title of the *Diário de Notícias* article, indicates that this coverage is limited. The body text of the article is neutral, including all the important information about the NHS that was present in the other articles. It contains the defense of the Minister of Health on the reasonability of the fact that the NHS does not pay for patients who chose to use private hospitals before first being referred by the NHS. Since the article did not exclude her explanations, it is relatively neutral overall.

---

<sup>9</sup> Attached to the end of the *Diário de Notícias* article was a section discussing other topics from the Minister of Health’s press conference that were not directly relevant to the NHS and this thesis, so I did not analyze that part.

The *Público* article (Maia, “Estado Quer Pagar”) title is seemingly supportive of the NHS: “State wants to pay the private hospitals up to 13 thousand euros per COVID-19 patient to be transferred by the NHS.” This article’s subhead differs the most from that of the others. It translates to “Maximum value is foreseen for patients hospitalized with ventilation for more than four days. Administrator of the Grupo Lusíadas Saúde explains that the initial agreement was different from what is not being proposed to the private entities.” The subhead has neutral implications toward the NHS, and the title appears supportive of the NHS’s coverage of private hospital costs. In the body text, the article clarifies that the NHS will pay for only those who were referred by public hospitals.

Under this subtopic, differences in the discussions of the news sources were brought to light. The word-choice of the titles subtly revealed the variable stances that they had. The articles published by *Público* and *Correio da Manhã* are the most supportive of the NHS, given the positive implications of their titles. These place equally on their NHS support scores. The *Observador* article is the next most supportive of the NHS, since the title remains neutral; however, the subhead uses the word “only,” indicating a limitation of this coverage. Lastly, the *Diário de Notícias* article seems the least supportive, given its title which pointed toward failed expectations of the NHS on this topic by using the word “only” (see table 2). In this subtopic, the NHS is painted as a success, as the support from *Público* and *Correio da Manhã* outweigh the negative implications presented in the other two articles.

C. Different Perspectives on the PS Interview with the Minister of Health, Marta Temido, about the NHS Turning to the Private Sector

The differential coverage of an interview with Marta Temido revealed the variable support of the public and private sectors that the news sources possess. A couple of months after the initial

declaration of a State of Emergency in Portugal, the NHS was still adapting to the challenges with which it was presented. As with health care systems around the world, tackling these adjustments was a struggle. During this time, collaboration and unity became important, especially regarding health care. On April 30, 2020, Marta Temido, the Minister of Health who is affiliated with the independent party, stated on the Socialist Party (PS) podcast, called “Política com Palavra”, that the NHS could not resume normal operation without help from the private sector. Due to the large demands of the NHS during the COVID-19 pandemic, the other areas of care had been neglected. The number of COVID-19 patients had overwhelmed public hospitals. For this reason, the NHS required assistance and appealed to the private sector for help in taking patients. This story was published by all four news sources on the same day.

The articles published by *Correio da Manhã* (Agência Lusa, “SNS Vai Recorrer”) and *Público* (Agência Lusa, “SNS Vai Recorrer”) have the same title and are both from the Agência Lusa, but the *Público* subhead appears more supportive than that of *Correio da Manhã*. The title states that the Minister of Health, Marta Temido, said that the “NHS is going to turn to the private sector to recover activity.” The subhead of the two articles differs, indicating that the news sources wished to highlight different aspects of the content. Whereas *Público* victimizes the government, calling it a “target for critics”, *Correio da Manhã* inserted a quote from Marta Temido stating that the NHS would not be able to recover without the help of the private sector. This was the only substantial edit made in the two articles, with the only others being small spacing and spelling changes.

*Diário de Notícias* published an article (Agência Lusa, “Marta Temido Admite”) with a title that carries more critical implications than those present in the articles from *Público* and *Correio da Manhã*. It is called “Marta Temido Admits that the NHS is Not Going to Be Able to Respond

Alone After Covid”. It includes the accusative verb “admits”, referring to the Minister of Health’s discussion that the “NHS will not be able to respond alone post-COVID-19”. This choice of verb implies a prior lack of transparency, which is now being confessed. The subhead discussed that the Minister of Health thought that the NHS could not recover alone and that it would require help from the private sector. Additionally, this subhead included that Temido thinks that “the resumption of public service must begin with outpatient surgery.” Even though the title and subhead of this article are different from those of *Público* and *Correio da Manhã*, the article was written by the Agência Lusa, and the content of the article is the same, with only a few insignificant edits.

In this instance, *Observador* is the least supportive of the NHS and the Minister of Health. The title of the article published by *Observador*, “Minister of Health Says that the NHS Will Not Be Able to Respond Alone After Covid and Admits Resorting to the Private Sector” (Penela), bares similarities to that of *Diário de Notícias* and includes the claim from the Minister of Health that the NHS would not be able to respond after the pandemic without help from the private sector. Rita Penela, the author of this article, chose to highlight the weakness of the NHS instead of a more neutral title as was used in *Público* and *Correio da Manhã*. The impression that arises from the title points toward the culpability of the NHS, especially featured in the choice of the verb “admits”, which also appears in the title of the *Diário de Notícias* article. Overall, the title by *Observador* leaves the reader with a sense that the NHS is incompetent, and the private sector is the solution to its problems. This sentiment is further augmented in the subhead, which mentions, “the Minister of Health does not ‘believe’ that the NHS is sufficient in the post-outbreak period.” Furthermore, the subhead includes that this would still be the case even if there were no more COVID-19 cases. It also offers the information that the private sector may help.

Lastly, the subhead states that Marta Temido said that the mortality counts from both COVID-19 and not “can be reviewed” for accuracy.

The body text of the *Observador* article contains more criticism of the NHS and is, thus, inconsistent with that of the other three articles. Whereas the other articles include Temido’s statement that “there are areas in which only the NHS can respond”, Penela chose to exclude this positive remark and, instead, focused on the more critical quotes from Temido. The *Observador* article contained a quote from the Minister of Health acknowledging that the NHS has its weaknesses and that it will never be enough. This is even mentioned in the first sentence of the article, with Temido saying that it will be an “enormous difficulty” for the NHS to return to normality. The other three articles did not include this terminology. It seems that *Observador* concentrated most of the article on the Minister of Health’s recognition of the imperfections of the NHS rather than her other commentary in support of the NHS. Thus, this *Observador* article includes predominantly negative information from the interview and portrays the NHS as less of a success than the other articles in this subtopic.

Overall, considering the amount of support and criticism from each article, the NHS was not portrayed as a success in the news discussions of the interview with Marta Temido. Based primarily on the titles and subheads published by each news source, I will produce a rating of relative support of the NHS. In this case, *Público* was the most supportive of the NHS, victimizing the government and choosing to omit phrasing that would make the NHS seem incapable. Second was *Correio da Manhã*, since it selected a neutral title that matched that of *Público*. However, because its subhead included more implications that the NHS was insufficient, it was slightly more accusative than *Público*. *Diário de Notícias* places third in its level of support of the NHS in this article, given that it utilizes accusative wording, such as the

verb “admits,” and highlights weakness in the NHS. Finally, the article by *Observador* is the least supportive of the NHS (see table 2). Not only does it include the same accusative wording as *Diário de Notícias*, but it highlights the insufficiencies of the NHS both in the title and in most of the subhead. Given the use of the verb “admits” in two of the four articles and subtle criticisms in three of the four articles, the NHS was not painted as successful in regards to this subtopic. This is evidence of disapproval of the reaction of the NHS and the Minister of Health to the first wave of the pandemic in the news.

**Table 2. NHS Support Scores for the Involvement of the Private Sector**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Private Sector	A	3	3	2	1
	B	4	1	4	2
	C	4	2	3	1
<p><i>Note:</i> Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 12 articles were used for this topic.</p>					

### ***Variable Description of Test, Equipment, and Resource Availability in NHS Hospitals***

While the private sector involvement was a huge topic of controversy, perhaps the greatest news commentary on the NHS during the first wave of the pandemic referred to the availability of COVID-19 diagnostic tests, medical resources, and equipment, such as masks, ventilators, and gloves. Especially in NHS hospitals, these items were limited. It is interesting to see how the discussion of test, equipment, and resource availability varies by news source. In fact, this topic produced some of the most evident disparities in the Portuguese news discussion during this time. The contrast between *Observador* and *Público* became the most striking, as *Observador* criticized the supply harshly, while *Público* defended the NHS. In one *Observador*

article (Pereirinha), the equipment supply was continually described as lacking, whereas its *Público* counterpart (Trigueirão et al.) emphasized that equipment was simply being rationed. Thus, one difference in the discussion of medical equipment availability became the use of the adjective “rationed” versus “lacking” in relation to the supply. These two words have different implications, as the first makes it sound as though the situation is under control, whereas the latter is cause for concern.

Under this topic, three subtopics will be analyzed: 1) Equipment: Absent or Rationed?, 2) Access to COVID-19 Diagnostic Tests: Does Portugal Have Enough?, and 3) Positioning of the Appeal to Gain More Physicians in the NHS. These three subtopics will be compared across news sources in this section to draw to light the conflicting opinions and stances of the news sources<sup>10</sup>.

#### A. Equipment: Absent or Rationed?

In the midst of panic and uncertainty surrounding the novel COVID-19 pandemic, in Portugal, a huge area of concern was the equipment availability in NHS hospitals. People were worried that there would not be enough ventilators or protective equipment to meet demands. Stories surrounding the availability of equipment were, thus, shared in the news. For the discussion of equipment supply at the NHS hospitals, I selected articles published toward the beginning of the first wave, from March 27 to March 28, 2020, during which time the equipment availability was particularly limited. The different topics on which the articles focus can reveal their impressions of the NHS and its competence in handling the COVID-19 pandemic.

---

<sup>10</sup> Three news articles from each of the four news sources will be used for this comparison. The 12 articles constitute about 8% of the available articles on the topic of test, equipment, and resource availability from the four sources between March 18, 2020 and May 2, 2020.



The *Correio da Manhã* article (Agência Lusa, “Cem Toneladas”) is supportive of the NHS, focusing on positive news about the equipment supply. It describes the shipment of protective equipment into Portugal. Its title translates to “100 tons of protective equipment arrive on Tuesday.” This title takes an optimistic approach by including information on the arrival of equipment rather than on the lack of equipment in facilities. Its subhead follows a similar pattern, expanding on the title by specifying which type of equipment will arrive. The body text provides the details of the shipment and statements from various officials about its arrival. The collective attitude of the article toward the NHS is neutral, but since the article focuses on optimistic aspects of the equipment going to the NHS, it can be interpreted as supportive.

The *Diário de Notícias* article (Henriques, “Oposição Começa”) concentrates on criticism of the NHS equipment supply. Its title is “Opposition starts to strengthen criticism of Costa.” This article, while not entirely centered around the NHS, discusses the criticism of Costa based on the equipment shortage at the NHS hospitals. Notably, this appeared in the paper publication on the cover, however, not as the main story. It primarily concentrates on the shortage of equipment in NHS hospitals, and how medical officials have responded to this. The body text of the article includes the opposition of doctor, nurse, and pharmacist officials to the statement by António Costa that nothing is lacking, and the COVID-19 situation is under control. The officials claim that there is not enough protective equipment for health care workers to make them feel safe at work. The Order of Physicians is a body composed of physicians that establishes the criteria for becoming a certified doctor in Portugal, and they represent doctors in political matters. In response to NHS hospital conditions, the Order of Physicians official attacked the Ministry of Health for their faulty efforts in establishing even basic health safety measures. Following these accusations, the article includes a refutation from the director for infectious

diseases at Curry Cabral Hospital, Fernando Maltez, that while equipment has been rationed, it is not lacking. Although the article includes both sides of the equipment argument, based on the attention to negativity in the title, it offers a pessimistic view on the situation. By choosing to focus on the critics of the NHS, the article also seems to criticize the NHS.

In the article titled “Coronavirus: hospitals distribute equipment a little at a time” (Trigueirão et al.), *Público* justifies shortcomings of the NHS and defends it. It emphasizes the rationing of supplies, supporting the NHS by negating the claim of an equipment shortage. The article covers the rationing of medical supplies in the NHS hospitals. Notably, the title mentions rationalization rather than shortage of equipment. This terminology was used by Fernando Maltez to defend the NHS in the *Diário de Notícias* article, so it does not carry negative connotations as the words “lack” or “shortage” do. The article subhead says, “Nurses tell how protective equipment has arrived. The material appears but at a great cost, and because of this, they speak of rationalization.” The first sentence is optimistic, discussing the arrival of equipment. On the other hand, the second sentence mentions the difficulties of the equipment being expensive and the need to ration it. In the first paragraph, the article briefly discusses the Prime Minister’s statement that there is no shortage of equipment in the hospitals, accompanied by the subsequent complaints of the medical officials that they lack protective equipment. This signifies that *Público* is not simply ignoring the areas in which the government is lacking, but it includes more justifications for these shortcomings than complaints. The article then includes Fernando Maltez’s statement that there is rationalization in the hospitals but no shortage. Following this statement, the article says “True” and defends it with a statement from a nurse at Curry Cabral hospital, who claims that while fears of equipment shortage existed, the reality is that equipment is simply being rationed. While this defends the efforts of the NHS during the

pandemic, another quote states that the NHS has always had a shortage of equipment and that this is not a new occurrence. Overall, this article includes information that is both to the favor of the NHS and against it, but the main impression that it leaves is in defense of the NHS.

Finally, *Observador* published a rather critical article on the equipment supply of the NHS. It is called “What still lacks in the hospitals: recycled, rationed, or improvised masks, suits, and glasses” (Pereirinha). Clearly, this article draws attention to the insufficient equipment supply in the hospitals. It indubitably carries criticism toward the hospitals, pointing toward their weakness in using the verb “lacks.” The article subhead continues these complaints:

“Disinfectant locked in lockers, expired masks, equipment rationing and lots of improvisation. The Government has bought more material, but until it arrives, there are many things missing.” This entire text makes readers feel fearful and upset with the conditions of the NHS hospitals. The content incorporates complaints from health care workers about the shortage of equipment. This article also discusses the quote from Fernando Maltez, mentioning that he did not think that there was “lack of any type of personal protective equipment.” Importantly, *Observador* left out the part of his quote in which he described the difference between shortage of equipment and rationalization. Instead, they immediately counter the short excerpt from his quote with a counterstatement from an anonymous health care worker, explaining the lack of protection that he or she feels at work due to the low availability of materials.

Following some other similar stories from health care workers, the *Observador* article mentions the Prime Minister’s reassurance that there is not and will not be a shortage of equipment because the government has already purchased more. The article returns to the doubts and fears of health care workers at NHS hospitals due to the current lack of protective material. It includes a quote in bold font that translates to, “‘Everything is lacking, everything is lacking’,

but in some places more is lacking than in others.” What the *Observador* article has chosen to highlight in this article, which is illustrated perfectly in the emphasis on this quote, is the criticism of the NHS hospitals. Contrary to the view on rationalization seen in the *Público* article, the *Observador* article uses a quote from the director of the Nurses Union, Emanuel Boieiro, that “it is not a matter of rationing. There are places that lack material, it is not a question of being in stock and not being supplied, it is really non-existent.” Furthermore, the article includes the percentage of health professionals who have been hospitalized for COVID-19 in Portugal, which was “at least about 8%” at the time this was published. This is to indicate that health care workers are at greater risk for contracting SARS-CoV-2, supposedly because of a lack of protective equipment in the hospitals. The article repeatedly includes complaints from hospital workers and oppositions to the Prime Minister’s statement that there is no equipment shortage. It contains a lot of criticism directed toward the conditions of the NHS hospitals.

The net impression of the NHS left behind by the language and content of these four articles is not one of success. The most dramatic difference in viewpoints is seen in the comparison of the *Público* and *Observador* articles. The claim of equipment shortage versus rationalization has become a political topic, and this is reflected in the differences between these two news sources and their opposing political orientations. The most critical, and therefore, least supportive article written about the equipment situation in the NHS hospitals is the one by *Observador*. Due to the negativity in the *Diário de Notícias* article title, it is the second least supportive toward the NHS. The *Correio da Manhã* article was centered around a different event than the other three articles, so it cannot be as easily compared. Nonetheless, its title is slightly optimistic, and its body text is neutral, leading it to be the second most supportive of the NHS out of the four articles. Lastly, the *Público* article directly defends the NHS and, while it includes

a criticism as well, the article is the most supportive of the NHS overall (see table 3). Three of the four articles contained information that was critical of NHS, and thus, the news did not portray it as successful in terms of its equipment supply.

B. Access to COVID-19 Diagnostic Tests: Does Portugal Have Enough?

As how the equipment supply was discussed in the Portuguese news, so was the availability of tests for COVID-19. It is clear that performing diagnostic COVID-19 tests is necessary to preventing the spread of the disease. Considering that one in five people present no symptoms, tests become even more important. I chose articles from each news source that were published on either March 23 or 24, close to when the selected articles on equipment were published.

The article by *Correio da Manhã* is called “Portugal is already rationing coronavirus tests. Growth rate of the disease is ‘cloaked’” (Balança, “Portugal Já Está a Racionar”). This title mentions the word “rationing”, which does not necessarily have negative connotations but does not imply stability either. Furthermore, the word “cloaked” insinuates deception. The subhead proceeds with the idea that there is a low number of COVID-19 tests in Portugal, stating, “Never before have so few COVID-19 analyses been conducted in the country.” In the body text of the article, there are statements from Jorge Buescu, a mathematician who has created models for COVID-19 at the University of Lisbon, that point to a shortage of tests which has forced rationing. It mentions that less tests were performed on March 24 than the day before, and even though there are less COVID-19 tests, the number of cases continued to rise. According to this article, the real value must have been greater than what was reported, leading to the numbers being “cloaked.” At the end of the article, a statement from António Sales, Secretary of State for Health, is included which says, “he has been ‘increasing’ the testing capacity in the NHS to 2500

tests per day.” This last sentence shows the efforts being made on part of the NHS, although the rest of the article stresses the problems with the number of tests being performed.

In *Público*, the story on COVID-19 tests (Freitas and Campos) defends the NHS. It appears as “We don’t have tests for everyone, that is unrealistic.” This title is a quote from pulmonologist Filipe Froes. Interestingly, the subhead of this article contradicts the one in *Correio da Manhã*. The first part states, “Access to diagnostic tests has increased, but priorities need to be established.” The body text first stresses the importance of testing, based on advice from the director-general of the WHO. Then, it includes the quote from a medical professional that appears in the title, which acknowledges that having enough tests for everyone is “ideal” but “unrealistic.” Instead, the article mentions that priority of the tests is given to people who are suspected of having COVID-19 based on their symptomology. The article includes the same quote from António Sales that appeared in *Correio da Manhã* that the NHS can perform 2500 tests per day, adding that the private sector also can conduct 1500 tests per day. There is also a part of the article that addresses that there were fewer daily tests for COVID-19 being performed, which does not allow for insight into the true number of COVID-19 cases. This was only discussed in a single sentence, whereas *Correio da Manhã* based most of the article on this statement. If there are fewer daily tests being performed, then this indicates that access to the tests has also decreased, contradicting the article subhead. Nonetheless, the article is supportive of the NHS, maintaining a positive outlook on the number of tests performed at NHS hospitals, while still remaining realistic.

On March 23, 2020, *Diário de Notícias* posted a neutral story on COVID-19 tests (“Ovar Pede ao Governo”) on the news digest page. It is titled “Ovar asks the Government for more tests to detect the disease. There are 83 cases in the county.” The body text describes that the mayor of

the Aveiro district, Salvador Malheiro (PSD), requested that the Ministry of Health provide more COVID-19 diagnostic tests in the municipality of Ovar. COVID-19 has especially affected Ovar, and the mayor stresses the importance of COVID-19 testing in the reduction of cases. This article is neutral in its tone toward the Government, but it does imply that the municipality is not satisfied with its current supply of tests. Overall, this article describes a dissatisfaction with the number of COVID-19 tests with which it is supplied, without directly criticizing the government, which portrays the NHS as slightly unsuccessful in providing enough tests for the people in Ovar.

*Observador* published a blatantly critical article called “‘Political speech is not the truth. Portugal should be doing more tests’, says a DGS source” (Branco and de Almeida Dias). This quotation in the title attacks the Government and politicians who defend the current amount of testing performed. Using information from a DGS source, the subhead says, “Government guarantees that the capacity to test is being increased, but a DGS source says that there is a ‘discrepancy between a political discourse and reality’: ‘Portugal has few tests.’” In the body text, again, António Sales is mentioned, claiming that the “capacity for testing” is being augmented. The authors of the article immediately refute this, declaring, “the numbers do not show this” in bold font. It further accuses the Government of being inconsistent with their information on the number of tested being conducted, listing the numbers stated by the Secretary of State and by the Prime Minister, which do not match each other. The article moves forward to say that “[t]he confusion adds up to a complaint,” as a DGS source claims that these political statements are not true. *Observador*, therefore, is denouncing the transparency of the government. It alludes to deception on behalf of the government, not only about the number of tests, but also how the government deals with suspected cases. To further contribute to this

claim, a quote from the president of the National Association of Public Health Doctors, Ricardo Meixa, was included, claiming that he “regrets the lack of ‘hard data’ and ‘transparency’” with the number of tests. Then, the article insinuates that Portugal is not a real success story, since there are not enough tests available to gauge the real number of cases in the country nor to identify and contain the virus. It states, “The strategy seems to impact <sup>11</sup>other countries that are doing many more tests than Portugal, in proportional terms, becoming authentic success stories.” Also, since only those with symptoms are being tested, it produces an unrealistic number of cases, as those who are asymptomatic are not included in the count. This article is directly critical of the government, and by extension, the NHS.

There is a large variation in the discussion of test capacity in Portugal during the first wave of COVID-19. Once again, *Público* is, by far, the most supportive of the NHS in this case, as it concentrated on the positive while evading the negative facts of the testing situation. Second is *Diário de Notícias*, whose article was largely neutral with slightly negative connotations toward the testing situation. The *Correio da Manhã* article focuses primarily on the shortcomings of the testing being done in Portugal and is, therefore, the second least supportive of the NHS. Lastly, based on the strong language and accusations present throughout the *Observador* article, it is the least supportive of the NHS (see table 3). Considering that three of the four news sources focused on negative aspects of the COVID-19 diagnostic test supply in Portugal, the net portrayal of the NHS is as a failure, at least in this respect.

### C. Positioning of the Appeal to Gain More Physicians in the NHS

---

<sup>11</sup> Esbarrar



As the pandemic strained the NHS, there was a need for more assistance in the hospitals. As a result, the official<sup>12</sup> of the Order of Physicians made a statement to the media, asking for licensed physicians who retired or dropped their position at the NHS to rejoin the hospitals during the time of need. The Order of Physicians is composed of physicians and is responsible for setting the standards for licensing of medical doctors. For further evidence of differences in the discussion of the supply of equipment, tests, and other resources, I included the articles' discussions of the physician response to NHS hospital conditions. The chosen articles all refer to a single event, which is the physician response to the appeal from the Order of Physicians official to reinforce the NHS during the pandemic. These were all published on March 27, 2020.

Two of the articles were written by the Agência Lusa, therefore overlapping a lot in their content. However, the articles have different titles and subheads. The *Correio da Manhã* article (Agência Lusa, "Mais de 4500") is titled "More than 4,500 doctors responded to the call to strengthen (reforçar) the NHS during the coronavirus pandemic." Without much difference, *Público* used the title "Coronavirus: more than 4,500 doctors responded to the call to strengthen NHS" (Agência Lusa, "Coronavírus: Mais de 4500"). These titles do not differ notably in manners important to the research question of this thesis. However, the subheads utilize distinct approaches. While the *Correio da Manhã* article focuses the subhead on the request of the Order of Physicians to the services to "allow more balance between periods of work and rest of doctors," *Público* highlights that the Order of Physicians official "appealed to doctors, who left the NHS or retired, to return to hospitals to help fight covid-19." Whereas *Correio da Manhã* concentrates on a problem in the NHS hospitals, *Público* includes an appeal to attract more doctors to help the NHS. The body text of these articles is nearly identical, with the exception of

---

<sup>12</sup> Bastonário

small formatting and spelling differences. Included in the body text are the topics mentioned in the combined titles and subheads of both articles, but it is interesting to see which topics each news source found to be most notable.

In a *Diário de Notícias* article titled “76 deaths and 4,268 cases of covid-19 in Portugal. ‘Peak will not be an isolated moment in time, but a plateau’” (Nunes, “76 Mortos”), the section of interest, imbedded in this article, reads “More than 4,500 doctors will strengthen the NHS.” There is no subhead for this section of the article, so the body text becomes the second most important area for analysis. In the body text, the piece begins by explaining that the Order of Physicians official calls for more doctors to get involved in the fight against COVID-19. It additionally mentions that a similar movement happened through the Order of Nurses, which successfully increased the number of NHS nurses by 1,200. The content focuses on the importance of receiving help during this time and the appeal to doctors, so it is perceived as supportive of the NHS.

Similar to *Diário de Notícias*, *Observador* included this story (Gomes, “Mais de 4.500”) in a small section, but in its live blog. The live blog is a posting with several short updates of the day under one large title. The authors of the blog postings are *Observador* journalists and the Agência Lusa. The overall title is “Unites States passes barrier of 100,000 infected (and Trump takes action), and Italy has record number of deaths – as it happened,” with a small section of interest called “More than 4,500 doctors respond to the appeal of the Order of Physicians official and are available to strengthen the NHS.” As with the *Diário de Notícias* article, there is no subhead. The body text first restates the title in different words and then includes the appeal from the Order of Physicians official to put aside differences and come together to fight against the pandemic.

The body text across the four articles barely differed. None of the articles reveal sentiments toward the NHS in the content nor wording. However, the formatting should be noted. Since the appeal to doctors to work in the NHS is in support of the public hospitals, the positioning of these articles and, therefore, ease of access to this content, is important. Both *Diário de Notícias* and *Observador* positioned the story as part of a larger, unrelated thread of stories. For this reason, they both rank as least supportive of the NHS in this case. *Público* and *Correio da Manhã* both published the story as articles, which means that their positioning shows the same level of support. However, their subheads differ, with *Público* expressing greater support for the NHS (see table 3). The overall portrayal of the NHS in these four articles is neutral, meaning that the NHS is not painted as a success nor as a failure in this subtopic.

**Table 3. NHS Support Scores for Test, Equipment, and Resource Availability**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Test, Equipment, Resource	A	4	2	3	1
	B	4	3	2	1
	C	4	2	3	2
<p><i>Note:</i> Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 12 articles were used for this topic.</p>					

### ***Recognition of Immigrant Health Care Access***

Immigration policy is a huge topic for political debate. During a pandemic where the right to health care needs to be recognized more than ever, the overlap of immigration and health care is especially important. It has been discussed in the Portuguese news as new policies emerge due to the pandemic. On March 28, 2020, the access of immigrants with pending regularization statuses to the NHS was covered in the news. While the other three news sources referred to

these people as “immigrants,” the *Observador* article used the term “undocumented foreigners<sup>13</sup>” (Agência Lusa, “Covid-19: Governo Legaliza”), a far less welcoming term. Whereas “undocumented” is a more politically correct word than “illegal” for describing immigrants, the latter half of the term is more problematic. Referring to immigrants as “foreigners” pushes them into a separate category of “others,” which does not welcome their integration into the national health care system. This is one example of the importance of language use in news articles, as the audience gains a difference sense from the wording of the *Observador* article relative to the others.

In this section, I will analyze articles published by the four news sources during the first wave of the pandemic for their discussion of immigrants and the right to health care. Through this comparison, the political perspectives of the news sources on the NHS and the right to health care can be evaluated. Interestingly, there were few articles published on the topic of immigration relative to the discussion of the interactions of the public and private sector and of the equipment availability during the first wave of COVID-19<sup>14</sup>. However, due to its incredible importance, I included this topic in my thesis with two subtopics: 1) Health Benefits to Immigrants with Pending SEF Requests: Language and Attitudes Toward the Right to Health Care and 2) Coverage of the Council of Europe Recognition of Portugal for Immigrant Regularization. Throughout this section, I will point to similarities and differences in the discussions of immigrant use of the NHS in the first wave of COVID-19 in the Portuguese news.

---

<sup>13</sup> Estrangeiros

<sup>14</sup> To compare the news discussion of immigrant health care, a total of six articles were utilized. These articles consisted of roughly 18% of the available articles published on this topic between March 18, 2020 and May 2, 2020 by the four news sources.

A. Health Benefits to Immigrants with Pending SEF Requests: Language and Attitudes  
Toward the Right to Health Care

In late March, the Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service (SEF) granted temporary residence permits to all immigrants with pending residency requests (“Covid-19: Alterações”). This includes access to the NHS and other public services. Because this news story is not exclusive to the NHS, the references and discussions of the NHS are minimal. However, most of the articles included the NHS or the right to health care at least once, deeming a comparison possible.

The article by *Público* seems to recognize the right to health care to all, including immigrants. The title of the article published by *Público* (Henriques, “Governo Regulariza”) is “Government regularizes all the immigrants that have pending requests in the SEF.” It carries a neutral sentiment toward the Government and does not mention the NHS. However, the article subhead builds from the title and discusses the relation of this story to the NHS. It states that those who carry these temporary residence permits will have access to the NHS and other services. The reference to the NHS is brief and neutral. Nonetheless, the subhead seems to be in support of the regularization since it contains a quote from Minister Eduardo Cabrita, saying that it is a “duty” to unite the people during this crisis. The body text describes that immigrants will have access to the NHS and the right to health care. The word “right” in the context of health care is especially important, as it implies support of the NHS by validating the backbone of the universal health care system: health care as a right to all.

With a similar title to the *Público* article, *Diário de Notícias* stated “SEF regularizes all the immigrants with pending situations” (Marcelino, “SEF Regulariza”). There is a slight change of wording between the two, but they bare a close resemblance. Both are worded neutrally and

do not mention the NHS. Despite the similarities in the titles, the subheads varies quite dramatically. In *Diário de Notícias*, the subhead does not mention the NHS nor does it contain any evidence of an opinion toward the regularization of immigrants. It maintains a neutral stance and simply elaborates on what was mentioned in the title. In the body text of the article, the access to the NHS and right to health are explained in the form of a quote from the SEF, which was also present in the *Público* article. It's inclusion of the right to health care is important to note, as it is potentially indicative of support of the NHS, but the article is otherwise neutral.

While the other two articles did not discuss health or the NHS in their titles, the one published by *Correio da Manhã* (Agência Lusa, “Governo Anuncia”) states, “Government announces that immigrants that never filed for regularization have right to health.” The expression of the “right to health” indicates support toward universal health care, the basis of the NHS, which is established in the constitution. The subhead has a neutral tone and does not continue the discussion of the “right to health” nor does it include information relevant to the NHS. At no point in the body text of the article is the NHS discussed specifically, although three different quotes acknowledge the rights of all to health care, which reveals support of the NHS and its charter.

Finally, the *Observador* (Agência Lusa, “Covid-19: Governo Legaliza”) title is perhaps the least descriptive of the four, as well as the least supportive of the situation. It reads, “Covid-19: Government legalizes undocumented foreigners<sup>15</sup>.” It is direct but not highly expressive. Additionally, the term “foreigners” should be acknowledged. It draws attention to the fact that the immigrants are not native to Portugal and has unwelcoming implications. In the subhead, what was excluded from the title was effectively present. It describes the government

---

<sup>15</sup> Estrangeiros

regularization of immigrants with pending requests in the SEF and that it provides these foreigners with the same rights awarded to other citizens. Although the subhead mentioned “rights”, the rights to health care specifically were not addressed, and these are the most pertinent to the COVID-19 pandemic. While the body text of the article does not mention the right to health frequently, it includes two of the same quotes that were used in the *Correio da Manhã* article that discuss this right.

Although the titles and subheads of the four articles varied in their inclusion and exclusion of the discussion of the right to health care, all of them included quotes in support of these rights. With limited discussion of the NHS across these articles, it is challenging to gauge their support levels. In regard to immigration, the news sources largely assumed a neutral position. Nonetheless, based on the inclusion and exclusion of the NHS and right to health care in the articles, I ranked the four news articles on their relative support of the NHS. Since *Correio de Manhã* included the “right to health” in its title, this is ranked the most supportive of the NHS in this case. *Público* is the second most supportive because it includes a supportive quote in its subhead alongside the mention of the access of immigrants to the NHS. While *Diário de Notícias* excluded the NHS and right to health care from its title and subhead, its body text contained a quote about the access to the NHS and right to health care. Therefore, it is ranked the third most supportive of the NHS. Lastly, the *Observador* article was the least supportive (see table 4) as it did not mention the NHS at any point and only referred to the right to health care twice. Additionally, its description of immigrants as “foreigners” alludes to a perception of them as “others” and is far from welcoming. Overall, the NHS is portrayed in these four articles positively, as all of the news sources show variable levels of support of the NHS by mentioning the right to health care, the charter of the NHS, in their articles.

## B. Coverage of the Council of Europe Recognition of Portugal for Immigrant Regularization

Two of the four news sources reported on the reaction of the Council of Europe to the Portuguese regularization of immigrants during this time. Both articles were written by the Agência Lusa and were published on March 30, 2020. Although the body text of the articles mostly overlaps, the titles, subheads, and edits are different. While only two of the four studied news sources included this story on their website, they are *Público* and *Observador*, which are politically left-leaning and right-leaning respectively. Therefore, this comparison may produce valuable information.

The very supportive article by *Público* (Henriques, “Coronavírus. Conselho da Europa”) has the title “Coronavirus. Council of Europe and Roberto Saviano praise Portugal for regularizing immigrants.” The subhead of this article first focuses on the Italian writer Roberto Saviano’s support of the initiatives that Portugal took with immigrants during the pandemic, encouraging other European nations to use Portugal as an example. Then, it proceeds to discuss commentary from the Council of Europe’s Commissioner for Human Rights, “who speaks of ‘good practice’”. The body text elaborates on the praise received from Saviano and the Council of Europe. After, it explains what the regularization of immigrants during this time involves and includes that they will have access to the NHS and the right to health care. Since the article describes the NHS as being “praised” from two different sources, it demonstrates high levels of support for the NHS.

Similarly, *Observador* published the article (Agência Lusa, “Conselho da Europa”) with the title: “Council of Europe salutes Portugal for regularizing immigrants.” However, this article entirely omits Roberto Saviano. Additionally, its subhead is very different. Instead of elaborating on the title, it describes the situation of immigrant regularization similarly to how it was



discussed in the “Covid-19: Government legalizes undocumented foreigners” article. In the body text, the NHS and right to health care were not mentioned. Therefore, this article, while supportive of the NHS, was less supportive than that of *Público*.

In both of these articles, the NHS was portrayed as a success; however, the *Público* article was more supportive. The body text of the articles overlapped but had many important differences. The *Público* article included praise of the regularization of immigrants in Portugal from two directions: an important Italian writer and the Council of Europe. On the other hand, the *Observador* article only included support from the Council of Europe and focused much of the body text and the entire subhead on explaining what the regularization of immigrants entails, rather than in what ways the Council of Europe applauded them. Another interesting difference between the two articles was word choice. In the *Público*, the word “praise<sup>16</sup>” was used in both the title and first sentence of the body text, where “salute<sup>17</sup>” was used in those places in the *Observador* article. The word “praise” has stronger positive connotations than the word “salute”. Because the regularization of immigrants grants them access to the public health services, support of this policy implies support of the NHS. Therefore, since the *Observador* article exhibits less support of the regularization of immigrants than *Público*, *Público* is ranked as more supportive of the NHS in this case (see table 4).

**Table 4. NHS Support Scores for Immigrant Health Care**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Immigrants	A	3	2	4	1
	B	2			1

<sup>16</sup> Elogiar

<sup>17</sup> Saudar

*Note:* Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. Six articles were used for this topic.

### ***Success of the NHS 24 Line***

The NHS 24 (SNS 24) line is the helpline available for Portuguese residents to contact the NHS. During the pandemic, it has been used for the initial screening process for COVID-19 symptoms. If the callers exhibit symptoms, they are sent to the NHS hospitals. As of April 2020, those who contacted the NHS 24 line could also be referred to private hospitals (Agência Lusa, “Estado Assegura Custos”). With the chaos in the very beginning of the pandemic, there were complaints that the NHS 24 was not answering calls or abandoning them and that the wait time was too long. Articles published before even the first wave of COVID-19, in early March, began to cite these issues with the phone line (Campos and Barros). Still, through the first wave of COVID-19, this phone line was a topic of discussion in the news.

In this section, the representation of the NHS 24 line in the news will be evaluated across sources. Articles from each news source<sup>18</sup> will be compared on the basis of three subtopics: 1) Number of Calls Answered: Acknowledging the Line’s Successful Adaptation or Dwelling on the Faults of the Past?, 2) Descriptions of Experience with the NHS 24 (SNS 24), and 3) Turn to Other Means for Care After Trouble with NHS 24 (SNS 24). Using these subtopics, I will compare the discussion of the success of the NHS 24 line across the four news sources.

#### A. Number of Calls Answered: Acknowledging the Line’s Successful Adaptation or Dwelling on the Faults of the Past?

---

<sup>18</sup> To compare the discussion of the NHS 24 line, 10 articles were used. This represents about 30% of the available articles published between March 18, 2020 and May 2, 2020 by the four news sources on this topic.

During the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal, only two of the four studied news sources published an article on the number of calls taken by the NHS 24 line, *Correio da Manhã* and *Diário de Notícias*.

The *Correio da Manhã* article (Agência Lusa, “Linha SNS 24”) focuses on the wonderful manner in which the NHS 24 line has adapted to the pandemic. It is titled “NHS 24 line answers over 18,000 coronavirus-related calls per day.” This was published on April 1, 2020. While the title is neutral, the subhead includes a justification from António Sales claiming that this is “a time of adaptation.” The body text discusses that Sales used the NHS 24 as an example for a service that has adapted well to the conditions of the pandemic. He declares his “pride in the National Health Service,” citing the NHS 24 as being “one of the...most transformed” NHS tools. The article mentions Sales’ acknowledgement of the initial struggles of the NHS 24 line, but mostly concentrates on his satisfaction with the transformation that has been made. This article exhibits support of the NHS and NHS 24 especially.

The *Diário de Notícias* article concentrates more of the article on how the NHS 24 line was unsuccessful in early March. On March 31, 2020, *Diário de Notícias* published an article (Nunes, “Linha SNS24”) on this topic called “NHS 24 line answers more than 300 thousand calls in March.” The subhead says that the NHS 24 line can answer 18 thousand calls per day according to the Shared Services of the Ministry of Health (SPMS). The body text begins with the initial complaints about the NHS 24 line that it missed calls. Following this, the article cites quotes from the SPMS that the NHS 24 has been in a substantially higher state of demand than before the pandemic. It also mentions that on March 9, the NHS 24 did not answer 60.4% of calls. However, the article shifts to include quotes from the SPMS that the NHS 24 has improved. It finishes by saying that NHS 24 is still the “preferred method of contacting health

services about COVID-19 symptoms.” While the article includes both criticism and support of the NHS 24 line, most of the article centers around the complaints that the line faced before its improvements. For this reason, the article leans more towards criticism of the NHS 24 rather than praise.

*Correio da Manhã* and *Diário de Notícias* covered the same information in these articles, but the manner in which they described the information differed significantly. While *Correio da Manhã* primarily includes praise of the changes made in NHS 24, the *Diário de Notícias* article spends most of the story on the issues with the line in the past. The tone of the *Correio da Manhã* article is much more supportive of the NHS 24 than that of the *Diário de Notícias* article, securing the ranks of these articles as most and least supportive of the NHS, respectively (see table 5). The net impression of the NHS produced by these two articles is one of disagreement, as each article negates the portrayal of the NHS created by the other.

#### B. Descriptions of Experience with the NHS 24 (SNS 24)

News sources have included stories of successes or failures with the NHS 24 line throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. In this case, identifying articles as being supportive or critical of the NHS is directly related to 1) whether they selected to write about a success or failure with the line and 2) the language and attitude portrayed in the story toward the NHS.

One example of a failure is given in the *Correio da Manhã* article “40-year-old professor dies of coronavirus after complaining about the NHS 24 line” (Laranjo) Even from the title, it is clear that the attitude toward the NHS is reproachful. It implies that the NHS 24 is at partial fault for the death of this professor. The subhead provides background on the professor and mentions that after failure to contact the NHS 24 line, she resorted to a Facebook group for help. The body text describes that the professor, Áurea Silva, had an autoimmune condition that was under

control until her husband contracted SARS-CoV-2. When she attempted to call the NHS 24 line, no one answered, leaving her to ask a Facebook group for help. She was concerned about her husband since he was exhibiting symptoms, even though he already received negative test results for COVID-19. Áurea also received a negative test result after having problems with her respiratory system, diagnosed as pneumonia. A few days later, she showed more symptoms, got tested again, and it came back positive. She was hospitalized for three days before passing. This story appeals to the emotions and places some blame on NHS 24 for not assisting her. Therefore, this article is critical of the NHS.

On the other side, *Público* published a supportive article (Miranda) with the title “‘I owe my life’ to the NHS: the testimony of someone that recovered from coronavirus.” While the title does not directly mention the NHS 24 line, but rather the NHS as a whole, the helpline is part of this story. The article has no subhead, but it has a video from the patient embedded in the page. His quote regarding the NHS 24 line is “I called NHS 24, and they sent me immediately to Hospital São João.” The description of the fast response of the NHS 24 line indicates support. The phone line was part of his overall pleasant experience with the NHS considering the situation. The body text restates this experience, including quotes from him that the “hospital seemed ‘perfectly prepared’” to handle patients with COVID-19. He continuously praises the NHS and its health professionals for the care that he received. This article strongly supports the NHS, from its helpline to the preparation of the hospital.

*Diário de Notícias* did not publish an article surrounding a personal story with the NHS 24 line during the first wave, nor does the website have many articles on the NHS 24 line at all, but it did publish one called “Website for the NHS 24 line evaluates symptoms and gives advice about covid-19” (Nunes, “Site da Linha”) The subhead translates to “In the tool ‘assess

symptoms,' it is possible to obtain information and advice about the new coronavirus.” Using the phrasing “it is possible” implies that this addition is advantageous for users of the NHS. The body text discusses the creation of the NHS 24 website, which can now be used to screen for symptoms. Although it is not a replacement for the NHS 24 line, and the line still must be used to receive more specific advice and hospital referrals, the website can help to relieve anxiety in those questioning if they have symptoms. The article is very neutral, but it describes a new aspect of the NHS 24 experience, which is portrayed as beneficial to the community.

Lastly, *Observador* published a neutral story (Pereirinha and Martingo) that mentions experience with the NHS 24 line called “How the lives of six recovered from COVID-19 are. They are cured, but they maintain the same level of caution.” The subhead does not include information relevant to the discussion of the NHS, as it simply elaborates on the title. The body text mostly discusses how the six people who have recovered from COVID-19 continue to remain cautious, even though they have already had the disease. Their reason is because immunity to the virus was under studied, so it was unknown if they could contract the virus again. However, the section of this story that is relevant to the NHS 24 line describes how after one woman developed a fever, she called the NHS 24 line many times to assess her symptoms. The nurses on the line first told her that her fever may be due to her recently removed stitches, dismissing that it may be due to COVID-19. After she was unable to taste or smell, she contacted NHS 24, and they sent her to be tested. The story mentions NHS 24 neutrally, but the inclusion of the first unsuccessful call indicates slight issues with the service.

In this case, the most drastically different discussions of the NHS are in the *Correio da Manhã* and *Público* articles. *Público* tells the story of a man who is grateful to the NHS for saving his life, leading this article to be the most supportive of the NHS. At the opposite extreme,

*Correio da Manhã* essentially blames the NHS 24 line for not helping a woman who ultimately died, making this article the least supportive. *Diário de Notícias* published an article on the NHS 24 that is neutrally toned but that has positive implications for users of the NHS, so it is the second most supportive. Finally, the *Observador* article is mostly neutral in its discussion of the NHS 24 line, but it has a slightly negative representation of the experience using it. Therefore, it is the second least supportive article (see table 5). The overall portrayal of the NHS is neutral in the discussions of experiences with it, since the negative and positive comments from the four articles omit each other.

### C. Turn to Other Means for Care After Trouble with NHS 24 (SNS 24)

Due to the issues with the overwhelmed NHS 24 line, people turned to other means for care. In the news discussion of this topic, the dissatisfaction with NHS 24 is often mentioned. In this comparison, I will assess these articles, paying particularly close attention to the discussion of NHS 24.

*Correio da Manhã* and *Observador* both published the same story, which did not portray the NHS 24 line well. It was written by the Agência Lusa, under different titles. *Correio da Manhã* addressed the story with the title “The sick with coronavirus symptoms who were unable to contact NHS24 went to the pharmacy” (Agência Lusa, “Doentes com Síntomas de Coronavírus”). In the subhead section, it states, “Survey was carried out by the Public Health Institute of the University of Porto on the adaptation to Covid-19.” The very similar title by *Observador* is “The sick with coronavirus symptoms who were unable to contact NHS24 went to the pharmacy more, says study” (Agência Lusa, “Doentes com Síntomas que Não”). The subhead highlights that the survey participants went to the pharmacy more frequently than they could get in touch with NHS 24 lines and that health professionals went to the family doctor

more often than other participants. The differences between the titles and subheads of these two articles are not important to this thesis. The findings of this survey are discussed in the body text of the articles. They say that symptomatic participants who failed to reach the NHS 24 line went to the pharmacies more frequently than those who successfully contacted NHS 24. These articles also includes that those who were surveyed most often used a family doctor and NHS 24.

Additionally, they incorporate a statistic from the survey findings that 43% of participants who attempted to contact the NHS 24 line were unsuccessful for “reasons independent of their will.” Furthermore, a quote from the findings is included, which says, “This failure did not seem to be reflected in an increase in the demand for face-to-face care...when compared to what was reported by participants who managed to contact the Line.” This reveals inconsistencies in the NHS 24 response, which cannot be contributed to higher in-hospital demand. While the tone and word-choice of the body text is neutral toward the NHS, the included statistics do not reflect well on the NHS 24 line.

A similarly neutral article was published by *Público* (Henriques, “Covid-19. Há Mais 50%”), called “Covid-19. There are 50% more calls for family doctors than for NHS 24 lines.” Instead of focusing on the shift of patients from the NHS 24 line to pharmacies, it describes the now higher demand for family doctors than for NHS 24. The article subhead adds that while the number of hospital visits remained about the same since March 25, there are half the number of NHS 24 and family doctor calls. This article was published on April 17, 2020, after the initially high demand for the NHS 24 decreased. The body text dives into the statistics from the survey. It first mentions that family doctors are contacted 50% more than NHS 24 lines for COVID-19. This article takes a different perspective than the other two by elaborating on what was mentioned in the subhead, regarding decreased demand for calls to the NHS 24 line and family



doctors. In addition to this approach, it also explains the findings from the survey surrounding the turn to pharmacies after failure to contact the NHS 24 line. This article matches the tone and neutrality of the other two previously mentioned articles, including mostly the same information. However, as was the case of the other two articles, this one implied inconsistencies in the reliability of the NHS 24 line, and therefore, did not portray it as a success in this regard.

On a slightly different topic, *Diário de Notícias* published a supportive article called “Hospitals bet (apostam) on video calls to respond to covid and late appointments” (Nunes, “Hospitais Apostam”), which describes video calls as a potential solution for effectively monitoring patients from a distance. The subhead explains how video calling to monitor COVID-19 patients treated at home has started in Ovar, with the goal of extending this service to the rest of Portugal. While the majority of the article focuses on this innovation, there is a section that described the current situation with the NHS 24. According to the article, the NHS 24 line had 8,000 incoming calls daily and had a “wait time of less than a minute,” as guaranteed by the SPMS (Shared Services of the Ministry of Health) president. Since the pandemic, the SPMS president claims that now the NHS 24 line can answer 2,000 calls at a time, whereas it used to have the capacity to answer only 200. He further expresses the newly high demand for the helpline as a reason for its initial shortcomings. The article concludes with information suggesting that the NHS 24 has improved and now offers more services. Overall, this article shows support to the NHS 24 line through its inclusion of statements from the SPMS president defending it.

The *Diário de Notícias* article is the most supportive of the NHS 24, including justifications for the long wait time in March and reassurances from the SPMS president that these issues have been resolved. Due to the relatively consistent information and tones across the other three

articles, those all have equivalent attitudes toward the NHS. They receive an NHS support score of two, weighing slightly towards the less supportive end of the scale (see table 5), considering their implications of the inconsistent response from the NHS 24 line and resort to other means for health care. In all, the net portrayal of the NHS 24 line was as a failure. This is because three of the four articles tended toward being less supportive of the NHS.

**Table 5. NHS Support Scores for the NHS 24 Line**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
NHS 24	A		2	3	
	B	4	3	1	2
	C	2	4	2	2
<p><i>Note:</i> Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 10 articles were used for this topic.</p>					

## II. Results

Based on the findings from the NHS Support Score Ranking System (see table 6), *Público* was found to be the most supportive of the NHS during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. Considering its left-wing political orientation, this is not surprising. Following *Público* was *Correio da Manhã*, which was unexpectedly supportive of the NHS despite its tendencies toward the right. Next was *Diário de Notícias*, which tends to be politically centered. Finally, *Observador* showed the most criticism of the NHS and was found to be the least supportive. It is firmly politically oriented to the right, so this was expected.

The results of this research indicate high levels of divergence in the manners in which stories are expressed in the news. Some topics had greater divergence than others. Overall, the topic of test, resource, and equipment availability in NHS hospitals contained the most variance. Whereas

*Público* remained consistently the strongest supporter of the NHS in this case, across subtopics, *Observador* tended toward being the most critical of the NHS in this discussion, The discussion of equipment and diagnostic test availability were the most distinguished across sources. The second topic with the most variance was the discussion of the private sector. Yet again, *Público* tended toward the most supportive position and *Observador*, the least. The PS interview with Marta Temido was the subtopic within the private sector discussion which led to the biggest distinctions between news sources. The topics of immigrants and the NHS 24 line both resulted in the weakest variance between news sources. They were also discussed less frequently in the news, which points to lower interest and, perhaps, fewer issues with these topics in the news.

**Table 6. Summary of NHS Support Scores Across Topics**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Private Sector	A	3	3	2	1
	B	4	1	4	2
	C	4	2	3	1
Test, Equipment, Resource	A	4	2	3	1
	B	4	3	2	1
	C	4	2	3	2
Immigrants	A	3	2	4	1
	B	2			1
NHS 24	A		2	3	
	B	4	3	1	2
	C	2	4	2	2
	Total:	34	24	27	14

*Note:* Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 40 articles were used for this project.

### **III. News Portrayal of the NHS Through the First Wave: Success or Failure?**

Provided the variation in the portrayal of the NHS across articles within and across news sources, this is a multifaceted question. Overall, the discussion of the NHS focused on its flaws. In the discussion of the equipment availability, most of the news sources identified that the equipment needed to be rationed, or even that it was lacking. On the topic of tests, the same occurred. Most of the news articles on the NHS 24 line included the complaints of long wait times or failure to contact health care providers. While there were several articles across the board that supported aspects of the NHS, it is clear that all of the news sources are not entirely satisfied with the service. *Público* often published articles that applauded the NHS, but even it did not paint the NHS as being perfect. Failure may be too strong of a word to summarize the portrayal of the NHS during the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal. From what I read in the four news sources, I do not believe that any of them would use the word “failure” to describe the system as a whole. The reality is that the way the NHS is illustrated in the news is intermediate between success and failure, tending more toward failure than success.

From the perspective of someone who has never used their services, after reading numerous articles on the NHS, I have the impression that the service lacked resources and was unable to assist calls in the beginning of the pandemic due to an incredibly high demand. However, from the articles, I can justify these inconveniences, explaining them as being conditional. The NHS was thrown into a novel situation for which it was not prepared, much like how the United States and other countries did not know how to adequately prepare for the pandemic. Initially, Portugal’s response was regarded as exemplary, but this does not mean that its NHS was perfect.

Toward the end of the first wave, it appeared that the NHS was able to recover from the initial shock of the changes, and it adapted. The government ordered more supplies and tests, and more health professionals were employed in hospitals and for the NHS 24 line.

It is clear, however, that the news is not a single, unified entity, but it is composed of many distinct contributors, each with their own opinions. While the overall picture painted of the NHS's reaction tends to be more negative than positive, the news sources were scattered in their opinions. *Público* sat on the more positive end of the support scale, whereas *Observador* laid on the opposite end. It is not that the *Público* articles always directly praised the NHS, nor that the *Observador* articles consistently bashed it, but they consistently used certain wording and included specific content which led to these placements. The subtleties in the articles added to make more evident the political orientations and positionings of the news sources on the topic of the NHS. Therefore, its portrayal in the Portuguese news varied from source to source, but the net impression of the NHS tended to be more negative than positive during the first wave of COVID-19.

#### **IV. Concluding Remarks**

In conclusion, the perceived success of the NHS varied tremendously across news sources, and even across topics within news sources. Nonetheless, patterns of support were identified in this research, supporting that *Público* tended to applaud the NHS the most, whereas *Observador* more often took a negative view on the NHS. These findings are consistent with my expectations of the news sources, given their respective left and right leanings. The other two news sources were fairly centered, with *Correio da Manhã* in a slightly more supportive stance. This was not expected since it is a right-leaning news source, and *Diário de Notícias* is centrist. However, the difference in the NHS Support Score between these two news sources was not dramatic. Overall,

while there are many factors at play, the variations witnessed in these news stories are likely owed to the distinct ideologies of the news sources.

Many times, the articles chose to focus on negative aspects of stories, perhaps because those are the ones that attract the most attention. This is a marketing strategy that should not be ignored. People are drawn to bold, dramatic statements. Whether the titles truly reflect the sentiments of the news source or not, the readers still pick up on the way in which things are portrayed in the news. Therefore, very strongly worded titles are, in many cases, highly dramatized by the publishers, leading to an exaggeration which may not properly reflect their true sentiments and ideologies.

It is clear from the discussion of the NHS in the Portuguese news that there are many ways in which to present the same information. Many of the subtopic comparisons involved the news discussion of the exact primary source. Interestingly, different impressions arose from reading such articles. This emphasizes the importance of this thesis, which calls to attention the subjectivity present in articles, even those that intend to be objective. Each individual's subjective experience feeds into her perception and interpretation of material. It is for this reason that news literacy is important, and one of the first steps to achieving this is through the identification that biases exist in any written piece. This should not deter one from seeking knowledge through the news, but awareness of subjectivity is important, and facts should be checked across sources.

## Conclusion

An interesting case study, Portugal has shown that the relative success of a nation does not imply internal support. Even though Portugal was said to respond appropriately to the first wave of COVID-19 by outside sources, the Portuguese news constructed an image of failure of the NHS during this time. Furthermore, variance existed in the news discussion of the NHS during the first wave of the pandemic in Portugal, with some sources taking a more critical stance and others assuming a supportive one. To summarize, in this thesis, I revealed that 1) the news tended to discuss the NHS negatively throughout the first wave of COVID-19 in Portugal and 2) differences existed in the discussion of the same story across news sources.

An understanding of these findings can be facilitated through a comparison of the health care systems of Portugal and the United States. To prepare myself for this research, I studied sources that compared health care systems around the world to that of the health care system with which I am more familiar, that of the United States. The more I learned about global health care systems and after watching the *Frontline* episode “Sick Around the World,” I was astonished to find that the United States is considered to have the health care system of a poor nation. According to the episode (“Sick Around the World”), most other wealthy countries have a system in place that includes universal health care. They have a system that acknowledges the human right to health care, which the United States currently fails to do. Whereas the United States has a health care system that bankrupts hundreds of thousands of its citizens each year (Reid), the National Health Service (NHS) in Portugal follows the Beveridge<sup>19</sup> “socialized medicine” model, which provides health care to all its residents through taxation. The nature of

---

<sup>19</sup> In the Beveridge Model, health care is provided to the citizens by the government through taxation. It was first created in the United Kingdom in 1948.  
[https://www.pnhp.org/single\\_payer\\_resources/health\\_care\\_systems\\_four\\_basic\\_models.php](https://www.pnhp.org/single_payer_resources/health_care_systems_four_basic_models.php)

this paper is not comparative; however, I mentioned this fact to open the eyes of readers in the United States and support why many other nations have selected a universal health system, including Portugal. Although the NHS model costs less to the country than the US model and covers all residents, it is not entirely perfect.

The imperfections of the NHS are made evident by the overwhelming negativity surrounding the NHS in the Portuguese news throughout the first wave of the pandemic. This can be compared to the reaction of United States news, which was shown to similarly form a negative image of health care during this time. A recent study found that the news discussion of residential care during the pandemic was not supportive, describing low transparency and portraying the system as the enemy (Allen and Ayalon). It is also valuable to consider the influence of political orientations on the reactions to COVID-19 initiatives in the United States. Another study found that people in the United States supported or criticized government reactions to COVID-19 based on their liberal/conservative orientation. Those with conservative ideologies were more likely to believe that the pandemic was discussed too frequently in the media. On the other end, those with liberal ideologies thought that the government needed to respond more thoroughly to COVID-19 (Christensen et al.). Although a United States study analogous to mine has not been published yet, based on the lack of support in the media for residential care and differences in support based on liberal/conservative orientations, I would expect a similar negative portrayal of the health care system in the United States media, with more support from conservative sources than from liberal ones.

Why is it that the universal health care system of Portugal has faced criticism in the news during the first wave of the pandemic just like the health care system of the United States, which bankrupts its people? Relatively, the Portuguese people are fortunate to not face enormous costs



for health care. However, humanity functions to always search for flaws, which allows for improvements to be made. Furthermore, the news strives to grab the attention of its readers, which would not occur if they continuously praised the NHS. People are drawn to major news stories, which often times cover the most fear-inducing, or otherwise emotional, topics. In the case of the novel COVID-19 pandemic, one way to attract readers is by criticizing the NHS and creating emotions of anger, distrust, and fear.

While the news worked to divide Portugal during this time, turning the people against the government and the NHS, the nation, in many regards, became more unified. Even though Portugal was considered an example to follow in the first wave of COVID-19, the pandemic still devastated the country. It has tormented the people, hurting their health, the economy, and societal structures. Through this shared struggle, the people of the Portuguese government set aside their differences to fight against this monster. In several manners, the pandemic brought the country closer together, creating a stronger national identity. For example, private hospitals accepted patients from the NHS to help in the struggle of the virus. Retired physicians returned to work in NHS hospitals to assist during these hard times. Undocumented immigrants were able to gain access to certain services such as the NHS. These are just a few examples of the ways in which the pandemic has forced certain issues to be addressed such that the nation could achieve its most fortified, consolidated form.

The difference between the portrayal of the NHS by the news and the government also calls attention to the importance of cross-referencing sources, an essential component of news literacy. The narrative configured by the news is one of division and criticism, whereas the government creates an account of unity and setting aside differences to meet a common goal: protecting the

people from a dangerous pandemic. This thesis highlights the biases and agendas contained in the Portuguese news, which can be generalized to all forms of media and writing.

### *Scope*

#### **Response to Personal Biases**

As concluded from the findings presented in this thesis, all writing includes biases influenced by the culture and ideologies of the individual. Born and raised in the United States context, the U.S. culture influenced my perception of the political spectrum and the health care system here. To respond to my own biases, I chose to study the role of the Portuguese news on the Portuguese health care system, which was an intentional act. In selecting topics to which I have no personal connection, I was able to avoid biases produced by pre-existing notions of the Portuguese news or health care system. I had no knowledge of the Portuguese NHS nor political spectrum prior to conducting this research.

#### **Selection of Four News Sources**

I chose to compare four news sources with high circulation and diverse locations across the political spectrum. The choice to examine popular news sources offers the opportunity to explore what Portuguese citizens are likely to read. These are the news sources that have a large audience and that have great influence as a result. I intentionally selected news sources with high readership for this reason. Another research paper could perform similar methodology on news sources that are less mainstream, but this would provide different findings that were not of interest to me in this particular project.

#### **Arrangement of News Sources on the Political Spectrum**

The manner in which I selected news sources, choosing those with high circulation and variable political leanings, led to one left-leaning source, one centrist source, and two right-

leaning sources. *Público* was the only left-leaning source that I used in this research because it is the only left-leaning news source in Portugal with high circulation. This perhaps point to a right-wing political preference among Portuguese citizens.

### ***Implications***

My research offers a few valuable considerations regarding the use and interpretation of the news. First is the identification of the diverse language and content included in the coverage of the same event across news sources. Secondly, it reveals the variance that exists between and within news sources. Thirdly, it establishes the importance of addressing these conflicts in news discussions and cross-referencing to achieve news literacy.

Through the textual analysis in Chapter II, it is evident that news sources often differ in their word choice, tone, and content when covering the same story. This is an important observation that can be generalized beyond the case of these four Portuguese news sources. No two authors recount an event in the exact same way, so their language will differ based on their personal ideologies, which are impossible to fully suppress. On a larger scale, the findings of this thesis reveal that some news sources tend to consistently rest in a certain position on the political spectrum. Despite slight internal variance, this research shows that the news sources were fairly consistent in their support or criticism of the NHS. While *Público* was often more supportive of the NHS, *Observador* tended to be much more critical. Identifying these macroscale differences is the first step to achieving news literacy.

News literacy involves the utilization of the findings of this research. After identifying that differences exist in the description of a story, cross-referencing becomes essential to uncovering the full story. News literacy allows us to remain rooted in the events of the world without drifting toward one biased side or another. It permits us to construct our own opinions,

free from the push that reading only one story may present to us. Becoming consumed by a single perspective can lead to an echo chamber, in which one's ideologies are reinforced by a news source that reflects similar opinions, without seeking points of view outside of one's comfort. Not only does this behavior result in a polarizing force, but it also narrows the lens through which one can observe events. A lack of news literacy creates an inaccurate perspective of events and a false sense of knowledge. This thesis asserts the importance of news literacy by demonstrating the polarization and variance of perspectives that exists in the Portuguese news.

### ***Future Directions***

Since the research in this thesis provides highly valuable information regarding the importance of news literacy, further steps should be taken to support and augment these findings. In this section, I highlight the future directions in which I would like to take this research.

### **Opinion Articles**

In future research, I hope to explore the following questions: What do opinion articles add to the discussion of the NHS in the news sources? How do these tendencies align or conflict with the findings of this research? News sources choose to publish articles that reflect the ideologies and opinions that the paper wishes to portray to the public. Therefore, for the comparative nature of this research, it would be interesting to investigate how the views of the NHS in opinion articles converge or diverge with the findings of this paper. Opinion articles offer a highly subjective point of view, which may be valuable to expand upon in future research

### **News Response to the State of Emergency**

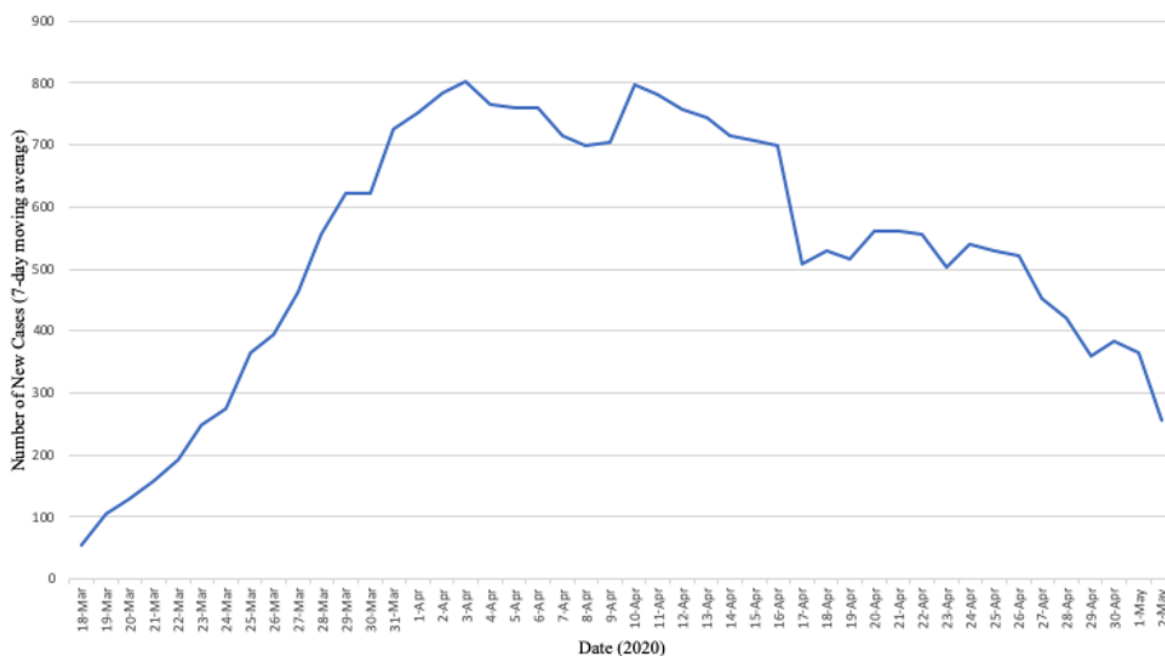
The State of Emergency in Portugal was a topic that was widely discussed in the news, but which I did not include in this research. In another project, I would like to answer: What is the support level of the news sources in regard to the declaration and implementation of the State

of Emergency in Portugal? How do the relative support levels of the news sources match or conflict with the findings of this research? The addition of a new topic to my research would enrich my data and could help to further support the findings.

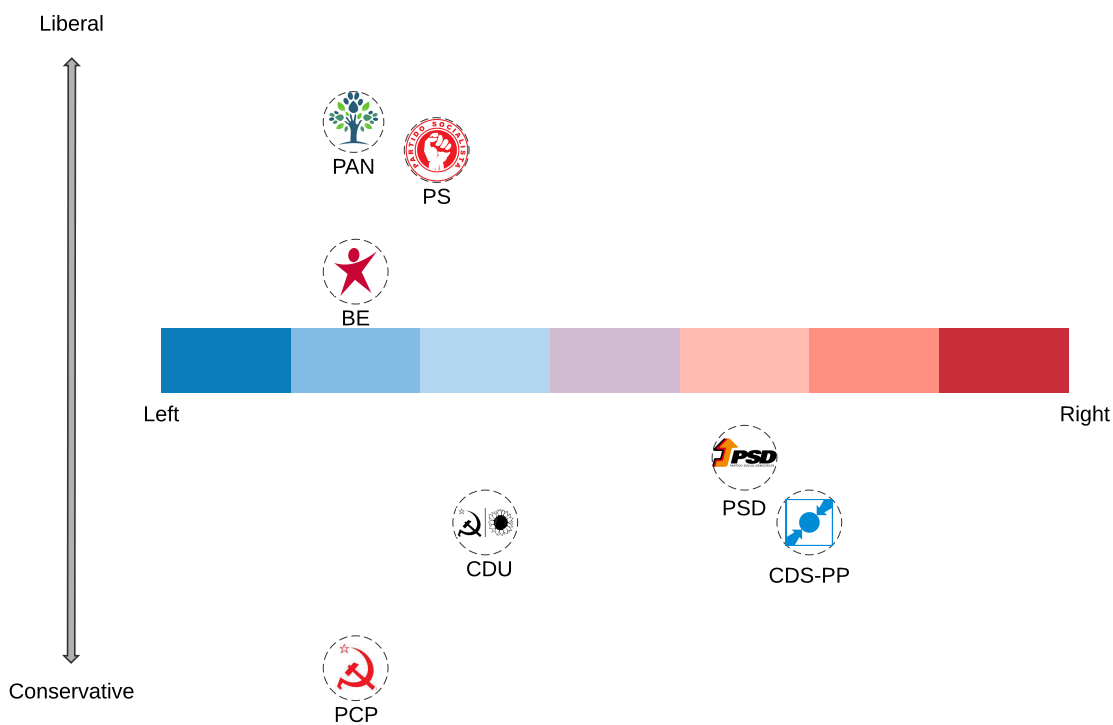
### **Other Measurements of NHS Support**

Lastly, I would want to investigate the following in the future: How do other measurements of NHS support coincide or conflict with my findings? It would be valuable to compare the articles using Sentiment Analysis. This program breaks text into phrases and ranks the tone, or “sentiment,” of the segment. It has been used to gauge the attitude of Twitter posts toward certain products (Agarwal et al.) and may be similarly capable of evaluating the attitude of the Portuguese news toward the NHS.

### Tables and Figures

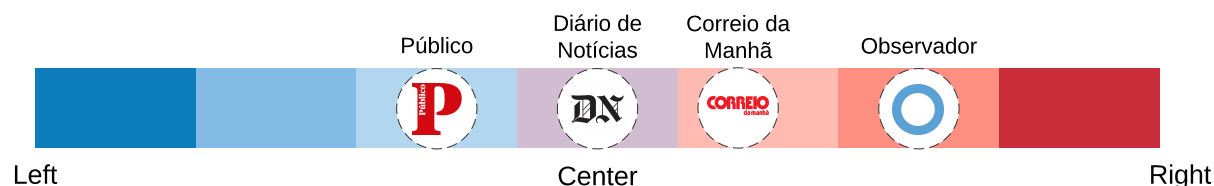


**Figure 1.** First wave of COVID-19 in Portugal. Seven-day rolling average of new cases in Portugal from March 18, 2020 to May 2, 2020.



**Figure 2.** Spectrum of political parties in Portugal. Adapted from:

<https://www.tsf.pt/especiais/europeias-2019/ja-sabe-em-quem-vai-votar-este-teste-ajuda-o-a-encontrar-o-partido-certo-10919013.html>



**Figure 3.** News sources arranged on a political spectrum.

**Table 1. NHS Support Score Rubric**

Score	Features	Example
4	Contains distinctively supportive language and/or content unmistakably included to support the NHS. Has no critical language and/or content.	“‘I <b>owe my life</b> ’ to the NHS: the testimony of someone that recovered from coronavirus” (Miranda)
3	Contains language that is not explicitly supportive but includes content that uplifts the NHS. Has minimal or no critical language and/or content.	“100 tons of <b>protective equipment arrive</b> on Tuesday” (Agência Lusa, "Cem Toneladas")
2	Contains minimal or no supportive language and/or content. May have some language or content that is critical of the NHS.	“Portugal is already rationing coronavirus tests. Growth rate of the disease is ‘ <b>cloaked</b> ’” (Balança, “Portugal Já Está a Racionar”)
1	Contains distinctively critical language and/or content unmistakably included to criticize the NHS. Has no supportive language.	“What still <b>lacks</b> in the hospitals: recycled, rationed, or improvised masks, suits, and glasses” (Pereirinha)

**Table 2. NHS Support Scores for the Involvement of the Private Sector**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Private Sector	A	3	3	2	1
	B	4	1	4	2
	C	4	2	3	1
<i>Note: Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 12 articles were used for this topic.</i>					

**Table 3. NHS Support Scores for Test, Equipment, and Resource Availability**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Test, Equipment, Resource	A	4	2	3	1
	B	4	3	2	1
	C	4	2	3	2
<i>Note: Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 12 articles were used for this topic.</i>					

**Table 4. NHS Support Scores for Immigrant Health Care**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Immigrants	A	3	2	4	1
	B	2			1
<i>Note: Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. Six articles were used for this topic.</i>					

**Table 5. NHS Support Scores for the NHS 24 Line**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
NHS 24	A		2	3	



	B	4	3	1	2
	C	2	4	2	2
<i>Note: Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 10 articles were used for this topic.</i>					

**Table 6. Summary of NHS Support Scores Across Topics**

Topic	Subtopic	<i>Público</i>	<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Observador</i>
Private Sector	A	3	3	2	1
	B	4	1	4	2
	C	4	2	3	1
Test, Equipment, Resource	A	4	2	3	1
	B	4	3	2	1
	C	4	2	3	2
Immigrants	A	3	2	4	1
	B	2			1
NHS 24	A		2	3	
	B	4	3	1	2
	C	2	4	2	2
	Total:	34	24	27	14
<i>Note: Each cell represents one news article, with numbers denoting the NHS support score assigned to each. 40 articles were used for this project.</i>					

## Works Cited

- Agarwal, Apoorv, et al. "Sentiment Analysis of Twitter Data." *Proceedings of the Workshop on Language in Social Media*, 23 June 2011, <https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W11-0705.pdf>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Agência Lusa. "Cem Toneladas de Equipamentos de Proteção Chegam na Terça-Feira." *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/cem-toneladas-de-equipamentos-de-protecao-chegam-na-terca-feira?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/cem-toneladas-de-equipamentos-de-protecao-chegam-na-terca-feira?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Agência Lusa. "Cinco Hospitais Privados de Lisboa, Porto e Algarve já Podem Receber Doentes." *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/pais/cinco-hospitais-privados-de-lisboa-porto-e-algarve-ja-podem-receber-doentes--11989331.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Agência Lusa. "Conselho da Europa Saúda Portugal por regularizar imigrantes." *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/2020/03/30/conselho-da-europa-sauda-portugal-por-regularizar-imigrantes/>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Agência Lusa. "Coronavírus: Mais de 4500 Médicos Responderam ao Apelo para Reforçar SNS." *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/27/sociedade/noticia/coronavirus-4500-medicos-responderam-apelo-reforcar-sns-1909765>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Agência Lusa. "Covid-19. Estado só Assegura Custos no Privado se Doentes Forem Encaminhados por SNS." *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/poder/covid-19-estado-so-assegura-custos-no-privado-se-doentes-forem-encaminhados-por-sns-12059398.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Agência Lusa. "Covid-19: Uso de Máscara Passa a Ser Obrigatório a Partir dos Dez Anos nos Transportes e na Escola." *Público*, 15 May 2020,

<https://www.publico.pt/2020/05/15/sociedade/noticia/covid19-uso-mascara-passa-obrigatorio-partir-dez-anos-transportes-escola-1916826>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Doentes com Sintomas de Coronavírus que não Conseguiram Contactar SNS24 Foram Mais à Farmácia.” *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/doentes-com-sintomas-de-coronavirus-que-nao-conseguiram-contactar-sns24-foram-mais-a-farmacia?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/doentes-com-sintomas-de-coronavirus-que-nao-conseguiram-contactar-sns24-foram-mais-a-farmacia?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Doentes com Sintomas que Não Conseguiram Contactar SNS24 Foram Mais à Farmácia, diz Estudo.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/2020/04/17/doentes-com-sintomas-que-nao-conseguiram-contactar-sns24-foram-mais-a-farmacia-diz-estudo>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Estado Assegura Custos no Privado se Doentes com Coronavírus Forem Encaminhados por SNS.” *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/estado-assegura-custos-no-privado-se-doentes-forem-encaminhados-por-sns?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/estado-assegura-custos-no-privado-se-doentes-forem-encaminhados-por-sns?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Governo anuncia que imigrantes que nunca deram entrada de processos têm direito à saúde.” *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/governo-anuncia-que-imigrantes-que-nunca-deram-entrada-de-processos-tem-direito-a-saude?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/governo-anuncia-que-imigrantes-que-nunca-deram-entrada-de-processos-tem-direito-a-saude?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 5 January 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Covid-19: Governo Legaliza Estrangeiros em Situação Irregular.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/2020/03/28/covid-19-governo-legaliza-estrangeiros-em-situacao-irregular/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Hospitais Privados Prontos a Receber e Tratar Doentes e Aliviar SNS.” *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/hospitais-privados-prontos-a-receber-e-tratar-doentes-e-aliviar-sns?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/hospitais-privados-prontos-a-receber-e-tratar-doentes-e-aliviar-sns?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Hospitais Privados Prontos a Receber e Tratar Doentes e Aliviar SNS.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/2020/03/24/hospitais-privados-prontos-a-receber-e-tratar-doentes-e-aliviar-sns/>. Accessed 5 January 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Linha SNS 24 Atende Mais de 18 mil Chamadas por Dia Relacionadas com o Coronavírus.” *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/linha-sns-24-atende-mais-de-18-mil-chamadas-por-dia-relacionadas-com-o-coronavirus?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/linha-sns-24-atende-mais-de-18-mil-chamadas-por-dia-relacionadas-com-o-coronavirus?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Mais de 4500 Médicos Responderam ao Apelo para Reforçar SNS Durante Pandemia de Coronavírus.” *Correio da Manhã*, [https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/mais-de-4500-medicos-responderam-ao-apelo-para-reforcar-sns-durante-pandemia-de-coronavirus?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/mais-de-4500-medicos-responderam-ao-apelo-para-reforcar-sns-durante-pandemia-de-coronavirus?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 15 March 2021.

Agência Lusa. “Marta Temido Admite que SNS Não Vai Conseguir Responder Sozinho ao Pós-Covid-19.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/poder/marta-temido-admite-que-sns-nao-vai-conseguir-responder-sozinho-ao-pos-covid-19-12136345.html>. Accessed 5 January 2021.

Agência Lusa. “SNS Vai Recorrer Mais aos Privados para Recuperar Atividade, Diz Ministra da Saúde.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/04/30/politica/noticia/sns-vai-recorrer-privados-recuperar-atividade-ministra-saude-1914557>. Accessed 5 January 2021.

Agência Lusa. “SNS Vai Recorrer Mais aos Privados para Recuperar Atividade, Diz Ministra da Saúde.” *Correio da Manhã*, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/sns-vai-recorrer-mais-aos-privados-para-recuperar-atividade-diz-ministra-da-saude>. Accessed 5 January 2021.

Allen, Laura and Liat Ayalon. “It’s Pure Panic’: The Portrayal of Residential Care in American Newspapers During COVID-19.” *The Gerontologist*, vol. 61, no. 1, February 2021, pp. 86-97, <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnaa162>.

“Audiência 2020.” *Observador*, 2020, [https://s3.observador.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/07160905/audiencia\\_obs\\_jul2020.pdf](https://s3.observador.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/07160905/audiencia_obs_jul2020.pdf). Accessed 21 September 2020.

Augusto, Gonçalo Figueiredo and Ines Fronteira. “The Portuguese Parliament Has Approved a New Health Basic Law.” *The Health Systems and Policy Monitor*, 2019, <https://www.hspm.org/countries/portugal25062012/livinghit.aspx?Section=2.3%20Organization&Type=Section#:~:text=In%20September%202019%2C%20the%20Portuguese,the%201990%20Health%20Basic%20Law.&text=In%20contrast%20with%20the%201990,private%20management%20of%20public%20facilities>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

“Autonomous Region of Madeira, Portugal.” *World Health Organization*, 2018, [https://www.euro.who.int/data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/373156/rhn-madeira-eng.pdf](https://www.euro.who.int/data/assets/pdf_file/0007/373156/rhn-madeira-eng.pdf). Accessed 15 March 2021.

- Balança, Miguel. “Portugal Já Está a Racionar Testes ao Coronavírus. Taxa de Crescimento da Doença Está ‘Camuflada.’” *Correio da Manhã*,  
[https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/portugal-ja-esta-a-racionar-testes-ao-coronavirus?ref=Pesquisa\\_Destaques](https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/portugal-ja-esta-a-racionar-testes-ao-coronavirus?ref=Pesquisa_Destaques). Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Barros, Susana. “Quando um Governo de Esquerda Assusta os Media– A Formação da ‘Geringonça’ nos Jornais.” *Observatorio*, vol. 13, no.1, 2019,  
<https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS13120191362>.
- Berridge, Virginia. “Researching Contemporary History: AIDS.” *History Workshop*, no. 38, 1994, pp. 228-234, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4289328>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Boslaugh, Sarah E. “Portugal.” *Health Care Systems Around the World: Comparative Guide*, SAGE Publications, 2013, pp. 371-374, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781452276212.n138>.
- Branco, Carolina & João de Almeida Dias. “‘Discurso Político Não é o da Verdade. Portugal Devia Estar a Fazer Mais Testes’, diz fonte da DGS.” *Observador*,  
<https://observador.pt/especiais/discurso-politico-nao-e-o-da-verdade-portugal-devia-estar-a-fazer-mais-testes-diz-fonte-da-dgs/>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Breitenbach, Marthinus C, et al. “Efficiency of Healthcare Systems in the First Wave of COVID-19- A Technical Efficiency Analysis.” *Munich Personal RePEc Archive*, no. 101440, 1 July 2020, <https://mpa.ub.uni-muenchen.de/8872/>.
- Christensen, Sarah, et al. “Political and personal reactions to COVID-19 during initial weeks of social distancing in the United States.” *PLoS ONE*, vol. 15, no. 9, 24 September 2020,  
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0239693>.
- “Coronavirus: Overview.” *World Health Organization*, 2020, [https://www.who.int/health-topics/coronavirus#tab=tab\\_1](https://www.who.int/health-topics/coronavirus#tab=tab_1). Accessed 18 September 2020.

- “Correio da Manhã (Portugal).” *Europa World* online. London, Routledge. Retrieved 19 September 2020. <http://www.europaworld.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/entry/pt.dir.245>
- “Costa Remodels the Portuguese Government with Four New Ministers.” *Spain’s News*, 2018, <https://spainsnews.com/costa-remodels-the-portuguese-government-with-four-new-ministers/>. Accessed 17 March 2021.
- “Covid-19: Alterações no Atendimento ao Público do SEF no Controlo de Fronteira.” *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF)*, <https://imigrante.sef.pt/covid-19/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “COVID-19: Hospitais Privados Têm 2.200 Casos Suspeitos e 112 Doentes Internados.” *Associação Portuguesa de Hospitalização Privada (APHP)*, 4 Apr. 2020, <http://aphp-pt.org/covid-19-hospitais-privados-tem-2-200-casos-suspeitos-e-112-doentes-internados/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Cucinotta, Domenico, and Maurizio Vanelli. “WHO Declares COVID-19 a Pandemic.” *Acta Bio-medica: Atenei Parmensis*, vol. 91, no. 1, 2020, pp. 157-160. doi: 10.23750/abm.v91i1.9397.
- Cullen, Walter, et al. “Mental Health in the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *QJM: An International Journal of Medicine*, vol. 113, no. 5, May 2020, pp. 311-312, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1093/qjmed/hcaa110>
- “Data for Measuring Health Care Quality and Outcomes.” *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*, <https://www.oecd.org/els/health-systems/health-care-quality-indicators.htm>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Davis, Ryan A. *The Spanish Flu: Narrative and Cultural Identity in Spain, 1918*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013.

- Delgado, Manuel. “COVID-19: Ranking Europeu Confirma o Sucesso Português e o Inexplicável Erro Britânico.” *Visão*, 6 July 2020, <https://visao.sapo.pt/opinioao/ponto-de-vista/2020-07-06-covid-19-os-melhores-paises-num-ranking-europeu-confirmam-o-sucesso-portugues-e-o-inexplicavel-erro-britanico/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “Despite the Revival, COVID-19 Continues to Dictate the Pace of the Portuguese Economy.” *CaixaBank Research*, 6 Oct. 2020, <https://www.caixabankresearch.com/en/economics-markets/recent-developments/despite-revival-covid-19-continues-dictate-pace-portuguese>. Accessed 17 March 2021.
- “Diário de Notícias (Portugal).” *Europa World* online. London, Routledge. Retrieved 19 September 2020. <http://www.europaworld.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/entry/pt.dir.246>.
- “Diretora-Geral da Saúde Alerta para Falsa Sensação de Segurança das Máscaras.” *Direção-Geral da Saúde (DGS)*, 22 March 2020, <https://covid19.min-saude.pt/diretora-geral-da-saude-alerta-para-falsa-sensacao-de-seguranca-das-mascaras/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Doublee, Stephanie. “Problems of Contemporary History.” 3 Aug. 2016, <https://stephaniedoublee.wordpress.com/2016/08/03/problems-of-contemporary-history/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Durães, Teresa. “Portugal.” *World Health Systems: Challenges and Perspectives*, edited by Fried, Bruce, and Laura Gaydos, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Health Administration Press, 2012, pp. 433-452.
- “Ejemplar Portugal.” *El País*, 24 Abr. 2020, [https://elpais.com/elpais/2020/04/24/opinion/1587742508\\_687527.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2020/04/24/opinion/1587742508_687527.html). Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Ferreira, Paula A, et al. “Pandemia da COVID-19 e Políticas Públicas de Saúde em Portugal: Entrevista com Paulo Alexandre Ferreira.” *Revista Interdisciplinar de Saúde e*



*Educação*, vol. 1, no. 1, 30 June 2020.

“Five Things to Know about Smell and Taste Loss in COVID-19.” *Vanderbilt University Medical Center*, 21 May 2020, <https://www.vumc.org/coronavirus/latest-news/five-things-know-about-smell-and-taste-loss-covid-19>. Accessed 7 April 2021.

Freire, André, and Ana Belchior. “Ideological Representation in Portugal: MPs’–Electors’ Linkages in Terms of Left–Right Placement and Substantive Meaning.” *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1-21, DOI: [10.1080/13572334.2013.736784](https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2013.736784)

Freire, André, and Ana Belchior. “What Left and Right Means to Portuguese Citizens.” *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 9, 2011, pp. 145–167, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1057/cep.2009.14>

Freitas, Andrea Cunha and Alexandra Campos. “‘Não Temos Testes para Todos, Isso é Irrealista.’” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/24/ciencia/noticia/nao-testes-irrealista-1909096>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Giattino, Charlie, et al. “Excess Mortality During the Coronavirus Pandemic (COVID-19).” *Our World in Data*, 12 March 2021, <https://ourworldindata.org/excess-mortality-covid>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Gomes, João Francisco. “Mais de 4.500 Médicos Respondem a Apelo do Bastonário da Ordem dos Médicos e Disponibilizam-se para Reforçar SNS.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/liveblogs/covid-19-jair-bolsonaro-critica-neurose-de-fechar-tudo-e-garante-que-nada-acontece-com-os-brasileiros/#liveblog-entry-479046-scroll>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Gonçalves, Mauro. “Quem Paga a Conta no Privado? Marta Temido Faz Outra Pergunta: ‘Quem é que Pagaria Antes?’” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/2020/04/11/quem-paga-a->

- [conta-no-privado-marta-temido-faz-outra-pergunta-quem-e-que-pagaria-antes/](#). Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Gupta, Aakriti, et al. “Extrapulmonary manifestations of COVID-19.” *Nature Medicine*, vol. 26, 10 July 2020, pp.1017–1032, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41591-020-0968-3>.
- “Health Insurance and the Healthcare System of Portugal Explained.” *InterNations*, 23 Apr. 2020, <https://www.internations.org/go/moving-to-portugal/healthcare>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão. “Coronavírus. Conselho da Europa e Roberto Saviano Elogiam Portugal por Regularizar Imigrantes.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/30/sociedade/noticia/coronavirus-conselho-europa-roberto-saviano-elogiam-portugal-regularizar-imigrantes-1910153>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão. “Covid-19. Há Mais 50% de Contactos para Médicos de Família do que para as Linhas SNS24.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/04/17/sociedade/noticia/covid19-ha-50-contactos-medicos-familia-linhas-sns24-1912618>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão. “Governo regulariza todos os imigrantes que tenham pedidos pendentes no SEF.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/28/sociedade/noticia/governo-regulariza-imigrantes-pedidos-pendentes-sef-1909791>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Henriques, João Pedro. “Oposição Começa a Endurecer Críticas a Costa.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/edicao-do-dia/28-mar-2020/oposicao-comeca-a-endurecer-criticas-a-costa-11997334.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

- Heymann, David L., and Nahoko Shindo. "COVID-19: What is next for public health?" *The Lancet*, vol. 395, no. 10224, 2020, pp. 545-545. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)30374-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30374-3)
- Hou, Yixuan J., et al. "SARS-CoV-2 Reverse Genetics Reveals a Variable Infection Gradient in the Respiratory Tract." *Cell Press*, vol. 182, no. 2, 23 July 2020, pp. 429-446, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cell.2020.05.042>
- "How SNS 24 Turned into a Responsive Contact Center Overnight." *Altitude*, Serviços Partilhados do Ministério de Saúde, Altice, Oct. 2020, <https://www.altitude.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Case-Study-SNS24.pdf>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Howard, Jacqueline. "WHO Stands by Recommendation to Not Wear Masks if You are Not Sick or Not Caring for Someone Who is Sick." *CNN*, 31 March 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/03/30/world/coronavirus-who-masks-recommendation-trnd/index.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Iyengar, Karthikeyan, et al. "Learning opportunities from COVID-19 and future effects on health care system." *Diabetes & Metabolic Syndrome: Clinical Research & Reviews*, vol. 14, no. 5, 2020, pp. 943-946. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dsx.2020.06.036>
- Knafo, William. "COVID-19: Monitoring the propagation of the first waves of the pandemic." *4Open*, vol. 3, no. 5, 17 May 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1051/fopen/2020005>.
- Laranjo, Tânia. "Professora de 40 Anos Morre com Coronavírus após se Queixar da Linha SNS 24." *Correio da Manhã*, <https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/professora-de-40-anos-morre-com-coronavirus-em-apenas-3-dias?ref=Pesquisa Destaques>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

- Lee, Jack J. “Coronavirus-Infected Cells Sprout Filaments that May Spread the Virus.” *Science News*, 20 July 2020, <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/covid-19-coronavirus-infected-cells-sprout-filaments-spread-virus>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Linde, Pablo and Javier Martín del Barrio. “Portugal and Spain: Same Peninsula, Very Different Coronavirus Impact.” *El País*, 11 May 2020, [https://english.elpais.com/spanish\\_news/2020-05-11/portugal-and-spain-same-peninsula-very-different-coronavirus-impact.html](https://english.elpais.com/spanish_news/2020-05-11/portugal-and-spain-same-peninsula-very-different-coronavirus-impact.html). Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Ma, Qing-Xia, et al. “Potential Utilities of Mask-Wearing and Instant Hand Hygiene for Fighting SARS-CoV-2.” *Journal of Medical Virology*, vol. 92, no. 9, 31 March 2020, pp. 1567-1571, <https://doi.org/10.1002/jmv.25805>
- Maia, Ana. “Estado Quer Pagar a Privados Até 13 Mil Euros por Doente de Covid-19 a Transferir pelo SNS.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/04/11/sociedade/noticia/estado-quer-pagar-privados-ate-13-mil-euros-doente-covid19-transferir-sns-1911944>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Maia, Ana. “Hospitais Privados Vão Receber Doentes de Covid-19.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/21/sociedade/noticia/hospitais-privados-vaio-receber-doentes-covid19-1908809>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Marcelino, Valentina. “SEF Regulariza Todos os Imigrantes com Situações Pendentes.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/pais/sef-regulariza-todos-os-imigrantes-com-situacoes-pendentes-11999464.html>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Mateus, Augusto, et al. “Setor Privado da Saúde em Portugal.” *Fronteiras XXI*, Augusto Mateus & Associados, Millennium BCP, June 2017, <https://fronteirasxxi.pt/wp->

<content/uploads/2018/02/Estudo-Sector Privado da Sa%C3%BAde em Portugal.pdf>.

Accessed 15 March 2021.

“Mental Health– SNS 24.” *Lisbon Project*, <https://lisbonproject.org/mental-health-sns-24/>.

Accessed 15 March 2021.

Miranda, Teresa Pacheco. “‘Devo a Vida’ ao SNS: O Testemunho de Quem Recupera do Coronavírus.” *Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/04/07/sociedade/video/devo-vida-sns-testemunho-recupera-coronavirus-20200405-175134>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Moreira, Diogo. “Esquerda e Direita na Política Europeia: Portugal, Espanha e Grécia em Perspectiva Comparada.” *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, no. 60, 2009, pp. 135-139.

Moura, Paulo. “Os intelectuais de direita estão a sair do armário.” *Público*, 15 June 2014, <https://www.publico.pt/2014/06/15/portugal/noticia/nao-lhes-caem-os-parentes-na-lama-por-serem-de-direita-1639615>. Accessed 21 September 2020.

Neves, Céu. “Quem são os Antimáscaras? Em Portugal, são Poucos.” *Diário de Notícias*, 30 Aug. 2020, <https://www.dn.pt/vida-e-futuro/quem-sao-os-anti-mascaras-em-portugal-sao-poucos-12565927.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Nicola, Maria, et al. “The socio-economic implications of the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19): A review.” *International Journal of Surgery (London, England)*, vol. 78, 2020, pp. 185–193. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijssu.2020.04.018>

Nogrady, Bianca. “What the Data Say About Asymptomatic COVID Infections.” *Nature*, 18 Nov. 2020, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-020-03141-3>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Nogueira, Paulo J, et al. “Excess Mortality Estimation During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Preliminary Data from Portugal.” *Acta Médica Portuguesa*, vol. 33, no. 6, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.20344/amp.13928>.

Nunes, Rita Rato. “Hospitais Apostam em Videochamadas para Responder ao Covid e a Consultas em Atraso.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/edicao-do-dia/24-abr-2020/hospitais-apostam-em-videochamadas-para-responder-ao-covid-e-a-consultas-em-atraso-12108751.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Nunes, Rita Rato. “Linha SNS24 Atendeu Mais de 300 mil Chamadas em Março.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/pais/linha-sns24-atendeu-mais-de-300-mil-chamadas-em-marco-12013297.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Nunes, Rita Rato. “Site da Linha SNS 24 Avalia Sintomas e dá Conselhos sobre a Covid-19.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/pais/site-da-linha-sns-24-avalia-sintomas-e-da-conselhos-sobre-a-covid-19-11968403.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Nunes, Rita Rato. “76 Mortos e 4268 Casos de Covid-19 em Portugal. ‘Pico não será um Momento Isolado no Tempo, mas um Planalto.’” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/pais/76-mortos-e-4268-casos-de-covid-19-em-portugal-724-nas-ultimas-24-horas-11993604.html>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

OECD/European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies. *Portugal: Country Health Profile 2019, State of Health in the EU*, OECD Publishing, Paris/European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies, Brussels, 2019, [https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/health/files/state/docs/2019\\_chp\\_pt\\_english.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/health/files/state/docs/2019_chp_pt_english.pdf).

- Oliveira, José MP. “Não Há Jornais de direita nem de esquerda em Portugal.” *Público*, 6 June 2016, <https://www.publico.pt/2016/06/06/sociedade/opiniao/nao-ha-jornais-de-direita-nem-de-esquerda-em-portugal-1734159>. Accessed 19 September 2020.
- Oliveira, Marta, and Carina Fernandes. “Managing the Coronavirus Pandemic in Portugal: A Step-by-Step Adjustment of Health and Social Services.” *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, vol. 12, no. 5, 2020, pp. 536-538, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/tra0000879>.
- “OMS Diz que Portugal Está a Agir de Forma Correta.” *Direção-Geral da Saúde*, 2020, <https://covid19.min-saude.pt/oms-diz-que-portugal-esta-a-agir-de-forma-correta/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “O Que é a Ordem.” *Ordem dos Enfermeiros*, <https://www.ordemenfermeiros.pt/a-ordem/o-que-%C3%A9-a-ordem/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “Ovar Pede ao Governo Mais Testes para Detecção da Doença. Há 83 Casos no Concelho.” *Diário de Notícias*, <https://www.dn.pt/mundo/canada-e-o-primeiro-pais-a-renunciar-aos-jogos-olimpicos-de-2020-11969175.html>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Paisana, Miguel, et al. “Trust and Fake News: Exploratory Analysis of the Impact of News Literacy on the Relationship with News Content in Portugal.” *Communication & Society*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2020, pp. 105-117, doi: 10.15581/003.33.2.105-117.
- Penela, Rita. “Ministra da Saúde Diz que SNS Não Será Capaz de Responder Sozinho ao Pós-Covid e Admite Recorrer a Privados.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/2020/04/30/ministra-da-saude-diz-que-sns-nao-sera-capaz-de-responder-sozinho-ao-pos-covid-e-admite-recorrer-a-privados/>. Accessed 5 January 2021.
- Pennycook, Gordon, et al. “Fighting COVID-19 Misinformation on Social Media: Experimental

- Evidence for a Scalable Accuracy-Nudge Intervention.” *Psychological Science*, vol. 31, no. 7, 2020, pp. 770-780, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797620939054>.
- Pereirinha, Tânia and Ana Martingo. “Como são as Vidas de Seis Recuperados da Covid-19. Estão Curados mas Mantem os Mesmo Cuidados.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/especiais/como-sao-as-vidas-de-seis-recuperados-da-covid-19-estao-curados-mas-mantem-os-mesmo-cuidados/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Pereirinha, Tânia. “O Que Ainda Falta nos Hospitais: Máscaras, Fatos, e Óculos Reciclados, Racionados ou Improvisados.” *Observador*, <https://observador.pt/especiais/o-que-ainda-falta-nos-hospitais-mascaras-fatos-e-oculos-reciclados-racionados-ou-improvisados/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “Portugal.” European Healthcare Fraud & Corruption Network (EHFCN), <https://www.ehfcn.org/members/portugal/>. Accessed 7 April 2021.
- “Portugal: Assessing Health-System Capacity to Manage Sudden Large Influxes of Migrants.” *World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe*, 2014, [https://www.euro.who.int/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0016/265012/Portugal-assessing-health-system-capacity-to-manage-sudden-large-influxes-of-migrants.pdf](https://www.euro.who.int/_data/assets/pdf_file/0016/265012/Portugal-assessing-health-system-capacity-to-manage-sudden-large-influxes-of-migrants.pdf). Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “Portugal: Government.” *Michigan State University*, 2020, <https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/portugal/government>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “Portugal 1976 (rev. 2005).” *Constitute*, [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Portugal\\_2005.pdf?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Portugal_2005.pdf?lang=en). Accessed 15 March 2021.



“Protect Yourself.” *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)*, 8 March 2021,

<https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/prevention.html>.

Accessed 15 March 2021.

“Público (Portugal).” *Europa World* online. London, Routledge. Retrieved 19 September 2020.

<http://www.europaworld.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/entry/pt.dir.248>

“Quem Somos.” *LUSA*, <https://www.lusa.pt/about-lusa>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Ramos, Rui and Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro. “Liberalism in Portugal in the Nineteenth Century.” *In*

*Search of European Liberalisms: Concepts, Languages, Ideologies*, edited by Michael

Freeden, Javier Fernández-Sebastián, and Jörn Leonhard, Berghahn Books, 2019, pp.

135-160.

Reid, T.R. *The Healing of America: A Global Quest for Better, Cheaper, and Fairer Health*

*Care*, The Penguin Press, 2009.

“Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º22A/2020.” *Diário da República Eletrónico*, 2 Apr.

2020, <https://dre.pt/application/file/a/131068190>. Accessed 17 March 2021.

“Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º23A/2020.” *Diário da República Eletrónico*, 17 Apr.

2020, <https://dre.pt/application/conteudo/131908498>. Accessed 17 March 2021.

Ritchie, Hannah, et al. “Mortality Risk of COVID-19.” *Our World in Data*,

<https://ourworldindata.org/mortality-risk-covid>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Rocha, João, et al. “Inpatient Hospitalizations during the First Wave of COVID-19 in Portugal.”

*Portuguese Journal of Public Health*, 3 March 2021, <https://doi->

[org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1159/000514163](https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1159/000514163).

- Romano, Maria, et al. "A Structural View of SARS-CoV-2 RNA Replication Machinery: RNA Synthesis, Proofreading and Final Capping." *Cells*, vol. 9, no. 5, 24 Apr. 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3390/cells9051267>
- Roser, Max, et al. "Coronavirus (COVID-19) Testing." *Our World in Data*, 2020, <https://ourworldindata.org/coronavirus-testing>. Accessed 17 March 2021.
- Roser, Max, et al. "Portugal: Coronavirus Pandemic Country Profile." *Our World in Data*, 2020, <https://ourworldindata.org/coronavirus/country/portugal>. Accessed 17 March 2021.
- Rossmann, Constanze, et al. "The Mediated Amplification of a Crisis: Communicating the A/H1N1 Pandemic in Press Releases and Press Coverage in Europe." *Risk Analysis*, vol. 38, no. 2, 31 May 2017, pp. 357-375, <https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.12841>.
- Salgado, Susana. "Where's Populism? Online Media and the Diffusion of Populist Discourses and Styles in Portugal." *European Political Science*, vo. 18, 2019, pp. 53-65, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-017-0137-4>.
- Sande, Paulo de Almeida. "Uma Crónica Conservadora Sobre um País Conservador." *Observador*, 27 Apr. 2015, <https://observador.pt/opiniao/cronica-conservadora-um-pais-conservador/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Santos, Eleonora and Shahed Khan. "Patients' Satisfaction with the NHS: A Novel Indicator for Portugal." *International Journal of Healthcare Education & Medical Informatics*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2018, <http://dx.doi.org/10.24321/2455.9199.201803>.
- Schmitt, Alexandra and Elisa Massimino. "A Migrant Model to Follow: Portugal's Response to the Coronavirus." *Center for American Progress*, 10 Apr. 2020, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2020/04/10/482998/migrant-model-follow-portugals-response-coronavirus/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

- “Serviço Nacional De Saúde.” *SNS*, República Portuguesa, 2020, [www.sns.gov.pt/sns/servico-nacional-de-saude/](http://www.sns.gov.pt/sns/servico-nacional-de-saude/).
- Shaaban, Ahmed N, et al. “COVID-19: What is next for Portugal?” *Frontiers in Public Health*, vol. 8, no. 392, 21 August 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2020.00392>.
- SIC Notícias and Agência Lusa. “Máscaras Passam a Ser Obrigatórias na Rua.” *SIC Notícias*, 23 Oct. 2020, <https://sicnoticias.pt/especiais/coronavirus/2020-10-23-Mascaras-passam-a-ser-obrigatorias-na-rua>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- “Sick Around the World.” *Frontline*, produced by Jon Palfreman, 15 April 2008, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/sickaroundtheworld/>. Accessed 15 March 2021.
- Simões, Jorge, et al. “Portugal: Health System Review.” *Health Systems in Transition*, vo. 19, no. 2, 2017, pp. 1-184, [https://www.euro.who.int/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/337471/HiT-Portugal.pdf?ua=1](https://www.euro.who.int/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/337471/HiT-Portugal.pdf?ua=1).
- Simões, Jorge et al. “The 2019 Health Basic Law in Portugal: Political Arguments from the Left and Right.” *Health Policy*, vol. 125, no. 1, Jan. 2021, pp. 1-6, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthpol.2020.11.005>.
- Simonov, Andrey, et al. “The Persuasive Effect of Fox News: Non-Compliance with Social Distancing During the Covid-19 Pandemic.” *National Bureau of Economic Research*, no. 27237, 2020, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w27237>
- Taylor, Ben. “A Guide to Newspapers in Portugal.” *Property Guides*, 3 May 2017, <https://www.propertyguides.com/portugal/news/guide-newspapers-portugal/>. Accessed 19 September 2020.
- “The World Factbook: Portugal.” *CIA*, 5 March 2021, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/portugal/#government>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Trigueirão, Sónia, et al. “Coronavírus: Hospitais Distribuem Equipamento a Conta-Gotas.”

*Público*, <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/27/sociedade/noticia/coronavirus-hospitais-distribuem-equipamento-contagotas-1909679>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

Van der Zee, Jouke and Madelon W. Kroneman. “Bismarck or Beveridge: A Beauty Contest

Between Dinosaurs.” *BMC Health Services Research*, vol. 7, no. 94, 26 June 2007, <https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-6963-7-94>

Yeung, Jessie, et al. “March 18 Coronavirus News.” *CNN*, 18 March 2020,

[https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-outbreak-03-18-20-intl-hnk/h\\_c38629e1d89e56217884d93ed029ed2e](https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-outbreak-03-18-20-intl-hnk/h_c38629e1d89e56217884d93ed029ed2e). Accessed 15 March 2021.