

**Brazilian narratives and public diplomacy: Identity and diplomatic discourse in Lula administration**

Paulo Nassar  
Gustavo Carbonaro  
University of São Paulo – Brazil

**Abstract**

Our research proposes a reflection on how diplomatic discourse establishes a plot to national identity and contributes to build a narrative of country, having the Brazilian government of Lula as a great example. This narrative needs a strong public diplomacy and has much influence on PR inside and outside organizations.

Our research proposes a reflection on how the diplomatic discourse establishes a plot to national identity and contributes to build a narrative of country, influencing much of the PR work inside and outside organizations. Faced with an increasingly interdependent and connected world, the narrative of country needs a strong public diplomacy and the support of an autonomous, creative and pragmatic international insertion to establish itself. In this context, Brazilian government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) repositioned Brazil internationally and put foreign policy at the service of its national project.

The strategy adopted by the government was to enhance self-esteem, strengthened by the idea of the emerging Brazil, the Latin American solidarity, and the rapprochement with Africa to change some narrative figures of the symbolic network of national identity, and try to overcome its many contradictions. From the analysis of 24 discourses of Brazilian diplomacy<sup>20</sup>, it was settled an interdisciplinary theoretical path to demonstrate the interrelationships between narrative of country, diplomatic discourse, and national identity, revealing the structure of the Brazilian national myth.

The government of President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) deliberately used national foreign policy to reshape Brazil's metanarrative<sup>21</sup>, the image that Brazilians have of themselves. "Foreign policy helps to reflect our image, but not only that image that we have, but the image of Brazil that we want", as defined by Celso Amorim<sup>22</sup>, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lula's government. During this period, it was determined that foreign policy would be one of the pillars of government, acting as "a mirror that reflects the image and self-esteem of a country" in the words of the President Lula<sup>23</sup>. From the beginning, the government took the decision to use foreign policy to rebuild Brazil's narrative in the world, with intent to also modify our self-image of the country.

Aware of the potential foreign policy to act on national self-esteem, which did not happen in the following government, Dilma Rousseff's, Lula has positioned Brazil in an overcoming logic of division between developed and under development countries, strengthening the Brazilian identity, in particular, and of the South countries, in general, to modify the structures of global governance. Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also known as Itamaraty, the government implemented a diversification policy of partnerships, strengthened South-South relations and positioned the country as the leader of a possible change to the undeveloped countries.

This strategy was established in a context of intensification of global interdependence process in an already digital world and marked by uncertainties of War on Terror<sup>24</sup>. The

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<sup>20</sup> All the speeches presented in this paper were written in Portuguese and translated freely by the two authors of the paper.

<sup>21</sup> We will use in this paper the term *metanarrative* as a great abstract conceptual scheme (BENDASSOLLI, 2007) which adds throughout it, many small reports that are represented by it. It would be like *metareport*, in the sense given to it by Lyotard (1991), a central and aggregator report on a particular topic (NASSAR, 2013th), a narrative of the narrative (GENETTE, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2004, pronounced by the Minister Celso Amorim.

<sup>23</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2004, pronounced by former president Lula.

<sup>24</sup> Counter-terrorism strategy implemented by the United States after the attacks of September 11, 2001.

international agenda had been expanded and the interrelations between internal and external issues in national societies and media spaces, accentuated. "Ladies and gentlemen", said the President in 2004, "we now live under the sign of an unstable and uncertain globalization".<sup>25</sup> Given this scenario, understanding what message the foreign policy strategy wants to convey to Brazil and the world, in terms of identity, is essential so that we can reflect on the construction of the metanarrative of country.

The world lives a moment in which "the old identities, which for so long have stabilized the social world, are in decline", as states Stuart Hall (2011, p.7), and national boundaries are just "one of the dimensions in which power and counter power operate"<sup>26</sup> (CASTELLS, 2009, p.43). A brief analysis of the society demonstrates that there has been, in recent decades, a shift of part of the power relations of nationalized spaces, isolated by boundary lines, for the global society. This movement, made possible by "new engineering systems"<sup>27</sup>, as described by Milton Santos (2008, p. 81), is part of the debate that Castells brings in his book *Comunicación y Poder* (2009) when he says that relations can exist in "concrete social structures that form from spatiotemporal formations" and that these formations, in the contemporary world, "no longer are located primarily at national level, but they are local and global at the same time" (p. 43).

These circumstances, where the State does not cease to exist or lost its functions, but starts to share with the globalized space the administration of which Castells calls *power* and *counter power*, the questions focused on foreign policy and its influence on national metanarrative start to have even more importance. "Today", reported Lula in 2003, "the Brazilians realize that most of the issues on the international agenda have a direct impact on their lives".<sup>28</sup> There is an interplay between narratives constructed in the international scope, announced through social representations and mediatization<sup>29</sup>, and the narratives that form the national character<sup>30</sup>, both with influence over the construction of Brazilian metanarrative.

The narrowing of this relationship extends the space of debate between the State – active agent of international relations – and its citizens – who suffer the consequences of the way the

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<sup>6</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2004, pronounced by the President Lula.

<sup>26</sup> Castells (2009) calls *power*, the power relations already established and *counter power*, the ability of stakeholders to challenge and transform power relations established.

<sup>27</sup> Milton Santos uses the term *engineering systems* as a synonym for a set of working tools and productive forces in general (including man) - the *fixed* ones - which are increasingly interconnected and interdependent, which would make the division of labor geographically extended and complex, providing the basis for *flows* increasingly globalized.

<sup>28</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2003, pronounced by former president Lula.

<sup>29</sup> The effect of mediatization used in this work is the mediatization as the institutionalization of social logics (HJARVARD, 2012), such as personalization of social representations in a discourse.

<sup>30</sup> The national character would be inherent in the Brazilian quality, which sets them apart from national character of other countries.

country is internationally inserted, participating only indirectly in this process<sup>31</sup>. Foreign policy, thus, becomes an important instrument to help "the Brazilian nation, the Brazilian people, to make a picture of themselves and a picture of their place in the world".<sup>32</sup> The international insertion strategies of the country and the identity projects related to them become increasingly the object of constant dispute between the political forces of the State and society, with the official narrative constantly being questioned by multiple counter narratives.

It is necessary, therefore, a reflection on how the narratives that make up the Brazilian diplomatic discourse establish a storyline about national identity. In a government that sees foreign policy as part of a national project, the diplomatic discourse becomes a manifestation privileged space of the national culture as the country's position in the international community and, in parallel, before its own citizens. It is, through the relationship between identity and diplomacy, the role of foreign policy in the nation project intended by the government.

In Brazil since the mid-1990s, but especially in the first decade of this century, the debate on foreign policy has been expanded and occupied prominent spaces in the media, the academy, in relevant groups of Brazilian society and even in everyday conversations. "The greatest international challenge that Brazil faces today is to manage its own ascension", wrote Matias Spektor (2012) in *Folha de S.Paulo* newspaper column. Spektor (2012) further added: "The emergence of the country as an actor that matters for the maintenance of order in the world, is new. Only 15 years ago, the weakness and dependence were its trademarks".

Itamaraty was not alien to this debate. In a discourse to the graduates of Instituto Rio Branco, in his first year in office, Lula stressed that "the discussion forums on diplomacy and foreign policy are multiplied"<sup>33</sup>. The following year, the President again pointed out that "foreign policy is increasingly gaining ground in the minds of Brazilian citizens. The diplomacy of democratic Brazil should mirror the reality of our society, with its demands and possibilities, with its wealth and deficiencies"<sup>34</sup>. Unlike most of the reflections on foreign policy in this work, the democratization of the debate is something that also lingers in the government of Dilma Rousseff, albeit timidly. In his opening discourse of the event "Dialogues on foreign policy"<sup>35</sup> in 2014, Ambassador Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil,<sup>36</sup> recognized the growing importance of the issue for society: "the foreign policy issues have

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<sup>31</sup> Individuals have an action increasingly recognized internationally, with active role even in international courts of justice, but their role is not yet consolidated, especially on issues related to the development of standards and rules met by the states.

<sup>14</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2006, pronounced by the Minister Celso Amorim.

<sup>33</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2003, pronounced by former president Lula.

<sup>34</sup> Graduation discourse of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco in 2004, pronounced by former president Lula.

<sup>35</sup> The event "Dialogue on Foreign Policy" was organized between February 26 and April 2 by Itamaraty as part of the effort of the Ministry to give greater transparency to their activities and increase the space for dialogue with society.

<sup>36</sup> Luiz Alberto Figueiredo was the foreign minister of Dilma's government between August 2013 and December 2014.

mobilized more and more interest and attention within the country. (...) The diplomatic dialogue is today also a dialogue inside the country".<sup>37</sup>

In modern democracies, as stated by the former minister, the interaction between the external and local environment is essential for the development of the country's narrative, which makes diplomacy also back up to its internal audiences. This connection, which becomes increasingly intimate, leads to a relationship between the state bureaucracy, which historically has difficulty communicating, and people, highlighting the importance of including in the development of the country's narrative, the identity narratives daily produced by the society it represents.

If it is politics that organizes the *polis*, as Aristotle says in his classic *Politics* (2006), it is the foreign policy that organizes the narrative of the State - herein understood as *polis* expanded. This narrative organization, currently goes through multidirectional communication flows, including those that ascend from the social base to the Itamaraty, body which is responsible for assisting in the development, implementation and promotion of national metanarrative, representing and negotiating on behalf of Brazil.

The development of the country's narrative focused on foreign relations - core of the problem analyzed in this work - is related to the construction of a worldview that expresses, at least in a utopian vein, the global set of interests of a society. To ensure its legitimacy, the foreign policy of a State must assimilate subjective elements that make it possible for citizens to identify with the institutional discourse. Such elements have been defined historically by nationalism (developed in opposition to other nations and outside the scope of this work) and by national identity, which shows the interrelationship between society and the metanarratives within the nation-state. The concepts that define the Brazilian foreign policy are no exception, and as part of the narrative that places Brazil in the world and opposite Brazilians, also assimilated national identity traits.

The role of narrative in the construction of diplomatic discourse, which is the discursive manifestation of foreign policy, and its relationship to national identity is, still, unexplored territory by the Academy. Some Brazilian works that permeate the theme, as the book of former Foreign Minister Celso Lafer (2001) and the paper of Ambassador Luiz Felipe de Seixas Correa (2000), are much focused on building an image for those who sees Brazil from outside, what could be called as an international country's identity. Other works, such as Marcela Vecchione Gonçalves (2005), dealing with the exclusion of ethnic minorities in the foreign policy narrative, while authors such as Maria Regina Soares de Lima (1990), José María Arbilla (2000) and Letícia Pinheiro (2000) address the issue only marginally, not making the relationship between diplomacy and identity their central point. It may be noted, by the existing works, that the interrelation between diplomatic discourse and national identity is not very common in Brazil.

In the same way that foreign policy scholars do not usually look at its object of the narrative perspective, narrative theories are not usually used for the study of diplomatic discourses. Focus of most authors, as Todorov (2006), Propp (2014), Derrida (2008), Genette (1996), Barthes (2010) and many others who are dedicated to the theme, is almost exclusively based on the literary analysis. The same can be said of studies about identity that despite being sociological analysis closer to the proposed herein, do not directly address the relationship made in this work.

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<sup>37</sup> Discourse given by the then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado, at the opening session of the "Dialogue on Foreign Policy", on February 26, 2014, at the Itamaraty Palace in Brasília.

Even from the perspective of communication sciences and Public Relations, there is a shortage of works within the inter-relationships proposed in this study. There are undoubtedly many theses, dissertations and articles involving identity and media, but they are generally focused on how this identity - often elaborated as the projection of a country's image - is transmitted in the very media platforms, whether from journalism or advertising and propaganda.

The lack of work with the interdisciplinary approach, which relates the theories of identity and foreign policy of the narrative point of view is precisely what prompted the production of this work. A theoretical course was proposed, which flirts with diverse areas of knowledge to answer the central question of this study: how Brazilian diplomatic discourse relates to the national identity and contributes to the definition of a country's narrative. For the study of Brazilian identity, alerts Eneus Trindade (2012), "communication issues depart from an interdisciplinary understanding"<sup>38</sup> (p. 23), with interfaces in political science, social sciences, international relations and social psychology, to try to understand the design of the study object - the diplomatic discourses.

The cohesive element used, which connects the various fields, is the narrative, which, as communication object, establishes bridges between the signs of national culture and the Brazilian diplomatic discourse to demonstrate, in reverse, how this diplomatic discourse becomes a privileged space for the construction of national identity. Thus, "by the possibility of open relationships in the dialogue between the various disciplines, we believe we are facing a development that can be tailored to the requirements of an interdisciplinary work", as taught by Trindade (2012 p. 24).

The period selected for analysis, the two terms of government Lula (2003-2010), is quite fertile on the bridges built between diplomatic discourse, public diplomacy and national identity. There is a perception, in the formulators of Brazilian foreign policy, that the lack of tact for international relations of the current government Dilma, is putting into question the legacy of the previous government in foreign policy, although there is international political capital for Brazil to remain relevant (even if in decline) for some time. The foreign policy of Lula, in addition to its increased productivity on the international stage, was able to identify possibilities of contribution of the diplomatic discourse for its identity project in a clear and consistent manner, while also contributing to national development.

To check the proposed relations, 24 diplomatic discourses made during the Lula administration (2003-2010), which had Ambassador Celso Amorim as Minister of Foreign Affairs, were analyzed. Four main themes were chosen for the categorization and analysis of the content of discourses: *Latin America*, *Self-esteem*, *African Brazil* and *Emerging Brazil*. Each of these themes has contributed, in some way, to the construction of the country narrative desired by the Brazilian government, and to verify this connection, these themes were studied from reflections on the national identity and the Brazilian foreign policy history. Although the sample includes the eight years of government, it is still limited and, therefore, it does not allow generalizations that go beyond the period studied.

There was, at the outset of the work, several possible categories to be analyzed. The selected ones are, however, those that most say something about a national project that tries to change the symbolic perception of whom are Brazilians. The *Emerging Brazil* arises as valuation factor of *Self-esteem* of the Brazilian, complemented by assigning greater importance to identities

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<sup>38</sup> Trindade (2012) refers to the study of Brazilian identity in television advertising, but we believe that the inference to our study is legitimate and consistent with the author's goals.

that relate to the accumulated history of the country, *Latin America* and the *African Brazil*. "The foreign policy of my Government mirrors and will increasingly mirror, the confident and supportive Brazil we want to build. It is up to the diplomat to being the interpreter of this desire for change and renewal", Lula said at the graduation discourse of Formation Course of diplomats at Instituto Rio Branco, 2004.

Without having a theory previously chosen to perform the analyzes, it was decided for the theoretical construction from empirical evidence, which approximates this work to the *grounded theory*, as explained by authors such as Glaser and Strauss (1967). To identify and analyze the relationships between identity and diplomatic discourse in shaping a country's narrative, a qualitative research was carried out, based on content analysis, inspired by the theories developed by the French researcher Laurence Bardin (2011). From the selected discourses, a categorization was made within the four proposed themes, with the help of the research support software NVivo<sup>39</sup>, which is only a facilitator of the process and, therefore, does not eliminate a thorough analysis to reach final categorizations that were analyzed at work in light of the theories proposed.

As object of analysis in this dissertation - the diplomatic discourse - tends to be politically oriented, there were views that diverge from the official, called in this work counter narratives. It is not intended to make comparisons and questions about the narrative strategies of Lula government's foreign policy or its counter narrative. It is sought, indeed, to demonstrate that the identity spaces related to the Brazilian diplomatic discourse are in constant dispute in society, especially after the foreign policy has entered the Brazilian political debate with major role.

In the period analyzed, which highlights the identity relationship between Brazil and Latin America; the idea of a country coming from the periphery, but emerging, BRICS<sup>40</sup> member and protagonist of a new multipolar world order; of a solidary country aware of its historical debt to the African Brazil; and the idea of national self-esteem being worked on constantly by Itamaraty's discourse, there was, simultaneously and systematically, a production of a narrative contrary to that presented by the government, although leaving from the same point of origin: the tradition of Brazilian foreign policy. The main critics of the Lula government's foreign policy were Celso Lafer, Luiz Felipe Lampreia, Rubens Ricúpero, Paulo Roberto de Almeida and Rubens Barbosa<sup>41</sup> (JAKOBSEN, 2013, p. 275), in addition to the former Brazilian president himself Fernando Henrique Cardoso, whose identity project is the inspiring source of most counter narrators herein.

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<sup>39</sup> NVivo 10 is a QSR International software that supports qualitative and mixed research methods. It lets you gather, organize and analyze content interviews, group discussions, surveys, audio, social media and web pages.

<sup>40</sup> The term BRICS has its origin in 2001 when the British economist Jim O'Neil pointed Brazil, Russia, India and China as the four countries that emerge in the near future as good investment opportunities. In 2006, the countries indicated by O'Neil were articulated to formalize the BRIC acronym, so far without South Africa to improve the links between emerging countries. South Africa joins the group in 2011, forming the acronym BRIC, which is now used.

<sup>41</sup> Celso Lafer was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Fernando Collor de Mello (1992) and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (2001-2002); Rubens Ricupero was Minister of Environment (1993-1994) and Minister of Finance of Itamar Franco (March to September 1994) and UNCTAD Secretary General (1995-2004); Luiz Felipe Lampreia was Foreign Minister of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2001); Rubens Barbosa was a career diplomat and the last position he held was of Ambassador to the USA (1999-2004); and Paulo Roberto de Almeida is a career diplomat and a university professor (JAKOBSEN, 2013, p. 275).

Understanding the alternative identity proposal proposed by the counter narrative, albeit superficially, represents an important step in the understanding of the very identity project that we analyze in this work.

The main criticisms identified in these authors begin with the existence of a foreign policy "ideologized and partisan" (JAKOBSEN, 2013, p. 276), which would have contaminated all the government's actions in international relations. There are exceptions made to most of the positions taken by Itamaraty over the two terms of President Lula, as the search for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, the priority given to MERCOSUR, the exacerbation of presidential diplomacy, "unnecessary" opening of embassies in countries with little international expression and Brazilian applications to international bodies (JAKOBSEN, 2013, p. 276). Celso Lafer, former Foreign Minister, accused the Lula government of misrepresenting the Brazilian foreign policy, applying a policy that would be a government policy, which would move away from national interests *de facto*. "The foreign policy tends to be in Brazil and other nations, a State policy, and not a government or party policy - as it has occurring in the Presidency [of] Lula" (LAFER, 2009), he said. This change, also for Lafer (2009), with respect to identity "that historically guides Brazilian foreign policy", would go against "the elements of continuity" of Itamaraty (JAKOBSEN, 2013, p. 284). Another common criticism, highlighted by Rubens Ricupero, is the excessive role of the President and the leading role of Marco Aurélio Garcia, special advisor to the President of the Republic for international affairs of Lula, in the national foreign policy. To Paulo Roberto de Almeida, "there were a lot more moves than achievements, or according to the well-known phrase, much more perspiration than inspiration. (...) A rotund diplomacy in gestures, but less grand in facts "(2011, p. 106-107). The basis for these criticisms, according to Jakobsen (2013, p. 293), is in a different systemic analysis of the official, especially the role that Brazil, as average power, should take on the international stage.

The intent of this study is to propose a theoretical path that is coherent and consistent to support the empirical analysis of identity traits that make up the Brazilian diplomatic discourse, regardless of their political or ideological orientation. Identity manifestations in discourse are articulated, according to Trindade (2012), in his interdiscursivity, "the text analysis perspective in its structure, its aspects of internal coercion", and in his interdiscursivity, "which refers to the subjective aspect and historical context of discourse" (p. 27-28). We take, as a starting point, an analysis of narrative theory and then progress to the relationship between the four proposed themes - *Latin America, Self-esteem, African Brazil and Emerging Brazil* - in interdiscursivity of diplomatic discourse of government Lula, through narratives figures of Gérard Genette (1972). Such figures, as constraints of narrative setting that produces the country metanarratives, are in constant political tension and are part of different social interests, which leads us to observe them from the point of view of discursive formations of Foucault (2008), in order to understand the conflicts that surround them, including (though not limited to them) the counter narratives, within what Trindade (2012) referred to as interdiscursivity.

This confrontation around the country's narrative also generates a social representation system, a mental model, as presented to us by the theories of social psychology Serge Moscovici (2010). This mental representation is embodied as a discursive symbol of a country's metanarrative through the construction of a myth (BARTHES, 2010): the national myth.

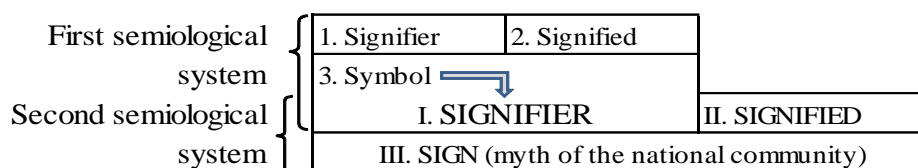
From this perspective, one can say that there is, in the narrative structure formed by the associative mechanism of the nation's social representations, the formation of the national myth in a space that Barthes (2010) called "second semiologic system" (p. 205). There is the appropriation



of a symbol (the community), consisting of a signifier and signified<sup>42</sup> that already exist in an earlier semiologic chain<sup>43</sup>, and impression of a new meaning (the idea of the nation state) to form another symbol (one domestic community) as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

*The Formation of Barthes Myth in His Second Semiologic System*



The creation of the national community symbol, in Barthes second semiologic system, allows us to define the set of social representations linked to that imagined community as part of the narrative path for the formation of national myth. This allows us to analyze how the symbolic network<sup>44</sup> of national identity is formed. We try to discuss how this theoretical scenario presented manifests itself in the reality of the country, especially on the issue of Brazilian foreign policy, and how it is indicative of a state project to build a narrative for the Brazilian national identity.

This work also intends to place the foreign policy studies, in relation to identity, from the perspective of building a mediated narrative, which again brings us to Communication and Public Relations. Mediatization herein is understood as the institutionalization of social logics (HJARVARD, 2012), such as personalization of social representations in a discourse. When Itamaraty, as Brazilian institutional entity builds a determined discourse, it mediates - directly or indirectly - a whole segment of devices of the government and society, which may or may not join the mediated logic by it.

All the theoretical framework presented was the basis for the analysis of 24 pre-selected diplomatic discourses: 8 statements made by Brazil in the annual sessions of the General Assembly of United Nations in New York, between 2003 and 2010, traditionally opened by a representative of the Brazilian<sup>45</sup>; and the 16 discourses made by the then Foreign Minister Celso Amorim (8) and

<sup>42</sup> The signifier is the acoustic image, a phoneme sequence which refer to the signified, which is the concept or idea of something (SAUSSURE, 1993, p. 80).

<sup>43</sup> Barthes (2010) refers to the first semiological system as "linguistic system, the language (or modes of representation that are compared with)", which he called "object language", as "it is the language that the myth makes use to build its own system", which would be the second semiological system (p. 206).

<sup>44</sup> French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis, in his book *The imaginary institution of society* (1991), argues that the world is "inextricably intertwined with the symbolic". Not that everything is directly a sign, as he warns, but many of the "material products without which no society could live" are impossible outside of a symbolic network, which is found primarily in the language, but also, "in another degree and in another way", in the institutions (CASTORIADIS, 1991, p. 142).

<sup>45</sup> There is, in the General Assembly of United Nations (UN), an unwritten tradition that a Brazilian state representative performs the opening discourse of the annual session of the Assembly. Although there is no consensus of dates nor reasons for the tradition, the fact is that since the 1940s, Brazilian representatives are responsible for the opening discourse of the annual debate of the General Assembly of United Nations.

by President Lula (8) at the graduation of Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco<sup>46</sup>. By the relevance of the selected authors and by the synthesizer potential of selected discourses, it is believed that the selected sample has been sufficiently relevant to disclose the image that Itamaraty wanted to project in the studied period, allowing inferences presented in this paper.

In analyzing the texts, *Emerging Brazil* arises as valuation factor of *Self-esteem* of the Brazilian, complemented by assigning greater importance to identities that relate to the accumulated history of the country, *Latin America* and the *African Brazil*. "The foreign policy of my Government mirrors and will increasingly mirror, the confident and supportive Brazil we want to build. It is up to the diplomat to being the interpreter of this desire for change and renewal", stated at the graduation discourse of Formation Course of diplomats at Instituto Rio Branco, in 2004.

Table 2 shows that there is a certain pattern in the demonstrations in each category. The changes, however, are very noticeable, especially by comparing the discourses over the years and those that were made by the same person.

Table 2  
*General Results: Categories per Discourse Analyzed*

Year	Author and location	Latin America	Self-esteem	African Brazil	Emerging Brazil
2003	<b>Lula</b> 58th session of General Assembly of United Nations	3	8	1	12
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	9	3	3	9
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	2	3	1	6
2004	<b>Lula</b> 59th session of General Assembly of United Nations	7	5	1	12
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	0	6	0	1
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	5	6	1	12
2005	<b>Celso Amorim</b> 60th session of General Assembly of United Nations	2	4	2	8

<sup>46</sup> Those approved in the diplomatic career entrance exam (CACD) are sworn as diplomats and automatically enter at the Formation Course of Instituto Rio Branco.

	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	0	14	0	4
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	16	0	6	13
2006	<b>Lula</b> 61st session of General Assembly of United Nations	2	1	2	16
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	0	4	0	0
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	1	6	0	5
2007	<b>Lula</b> 62nd session of General Assembly of United Nations	2	4	1	14
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	1	2	0	1
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	9	6	1	13
2008	<b>Lula</b> 63rd session of General Assembly of United Nations	4	3	1	9
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	3	4	1	5
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	7	5	5	6
2009	<b>Lula</b> 64th session of General Assembly of United Nations	2	7	0	12
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	1	3	1	2
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	2	4	0	2

2010	<b>Celso Amorim</b> 65th session of General Assembly of United Nations	6	7	5	15
	<b>Celso Amorim</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	5	6	2	9
	<b>Lula</b> Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco	1	13	1	6

### Final Remarks

If we live in an increasingly fluid environment (BAUMAN, 2003), complex (MORIN, 2005) and globalized, understanding the relationships between identity and foreign policy - from the narrative point of view - not only helps to reveal the role and legitimacy of country narrative in contemporary times, but also contributes to broaden the research scope of the Communication and its interrelations with other important sciences for understanding the social environment, including Public Diplomacy. Only an interdisciplinary approach enables us to an understanding of the world we live in for a transforming action, albeit within an object of study designed for specific disciplines such as Communication, Public Relations, Narratology and Public Diplomacy.

What we see in the discourses and we prove in numbers found in the analysis is a willingness to establish, through diplomatic discourse, a narrative of national identity. It is noteworthy that the applied strategy is not based, as one might suppose at first, on the stereotypes to project Brazil onto the world, however much they also serve the central idea. What was sought was a change in the self-perception of Brazilian and in the image that the foreigner had of the country with a foreign policy that, regardless of the rights and wrongs, repositioned the country in the world and contributed to the construction of a new Brazil, both for abroad and for the own Brazilian people.

The four selected categories - *Self-esteem*, *Latin America*, *African Brazil* and *Emerging Brazil* - are a clear scenario for the reconfiguration of some social representations that make up the figurative core of national identity. Perhaps this is the real contribution of Lula government's foreign policy narrative for the Brazilian identity. Could this also be the root of great dissatisfaction with the international performance of Brazil in government Dilma that did not know to continue the process of identification between global action and local self-esteem.

What was observed was a confluence between a good historical moment and decisions that sought to take maximum advantage of that moment, in terms of development or self-esteem. The world tended toward multipolarity, with the legitimacy crisis experienced by the United States after the attacks of September 11, 2001<sup>47</sup>, Europe's option for the enlargement of the European Union, the rise of China etc. In Brazil, the election of a former trade union leader, who has his life

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<sup>47</sup> At first, the post-September 11 attacks world seemed headed for a restriction on multipolarity, with the invasion of Iraq without UN authorization and the War on Terror. What we saw, however, was a weakening of the great powers, despite the continued taking unilateral decisions, they had always their legitimacy questioned. That did not mean, however, a strengthening of UN, but paved the way for strengthening the *soft power* of emerging countries.

story almost based on the plot of the trajectory of the hero, and the return of a more robust economic growth stimulated the confidence of the Brazilian. Lula's government knew how to take advantage of the situation and, with consistency and a conscious and pragmatic strategy, implemented its identity project systematically, with foreign policy as one of its main lines of action. "Without that opportunity their powers of mind would have been wasted, and without those powers the opportunity would have come in vain", wrote Machiavelli (2000) in immortalized stretch in policy analysis worldwide.

It is noteworthy that Lula's project for domestic policy would be difficult to sustain for long, with the attempt of mass inclusion of the excluded in the consumer market, without touching the privileges of elite, as stated Eliane Brum in an article published in the newspaper *El País*. "This was a powerful spell that worked while Brazil grew, but, whatever the performance of the economy was, could only work for a limited time in a country with historical arrangements to be made, and an abysmal inequality", said the journalist (BRUM, 2015). Although in the case of foreign policy, the room for maneuver was greater, the occasion should continue contributing so that the result of the choices would also work.

The strategy of Lula's foreign policy is evident in the analysis of diplomatic discourses of the period. The main objective was to promote Brazil's repositioning in the collective symbolic network, internally and externally, through the enhancement of self-esteem. As demonstrated in the analysis of this category, all the other three subjects were used to strengthen national self-esteem: the *Emerging Brazil* had, as its objective, to occupy a privileged place in the international arena and to promote local development by means of international relations; *Latin America* showed the Brazilian that, from the local reality, one could build legitimate and interesting policies for the country; and the theme *African Brazil* showed a historical and disinterested solidarity, which favorably filled the space between the first and second semiologic system of national myth in relation to its African roots. Technical cooperation with these two regions was also an important element for the psychological valuation of the country, historically recognized as a technology importer, led Brazilian science and knowledge to different countries, helping the local development and strengthening of Brazil's *soft power* through science.

The leading category in the international integration developed in Lula government is therefore *Self-Esteem*. All other actions seem to serve the purpose of valuing the Brazilian national self-esteem, changing the discursive formations that contribute to anchor the idea of country in the collective imagination.

*Emerging Brazil* brings the development vector towards the center of the Brazilian foreign policy thinking, especially for the search of a pragmatic multilateralism. The diversification of partnerships served the interests of the country over the years analyzed, with a significant increase in international trade with both countries of North and South, which helped to strengthen the discourse of self-esteem. Counter narrative, in this case, accused the government of idealizing foreign policy, applying a "third worldism" in the fashion of 1970s and distancing Brazil from its western roots. The most curious of counter narrative strategies of the period is that in many cases, the government was accused of being tied to ideologies of the Cold War, but the same ideology was much appreciated on the western side.

This criticism was also made to approach with Latin America and Africa, two pillars of Brazilian foreign policy, but in an adapted form. With regard to our region, the main criticism ranges from closer ties with the Bolivarian and subordination to them. In the case of *African Brazil*, there is a misunderstanding of the reasons of such attention to countries that would be insignificant for the international integration of the country. The impression one gets from the counter narrative

is that we will finally succumb to the "disease of Nabucco", as the Brazilian famous writer Mário de Andrade would say. Both categories, however, attach great contribution to enhance the self-esteem and national identity: the idea that the autonomous projection from the periphery is possible. Both work thus as a remedy to combat the "disease of Nabucco", not its opposite.

Working together to reframe the symbolic network of Brazilian national identity, the four categories contributed to an identity project that sought to break some historical features of the national character. Some of these base characteristics, such as "bovarism" of which Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2009), mentions, the "tragedy of Nabucco", Drummond (SANTIAGO, 2003) or the complex of mutts of Nelson Rodrigues are all in one way or another, related to low self-esteem of the Brazilian people. Not that foreign policy has completely alienated people, so that they lose the ballast with reality and we were forced to accept reality without question. There was a match in various economic and social indicators that supported the identity project of the government and fed back the same over the two terms of President Lula.

Thus, an optimistic country narrative was created, a hope that the country's future, as desired by Zweig (2006), or that paradise imagined by the first inhabitants of these lands (HOLANDA, 1998) were finally in the near horizon. We would, therefore, overcome several structural deficiencies that accompany us from the colony (PRADO JUNIOR, 2010), through a strong and active state, as proposed by Celso Furtado (2003), contributing to modify some narrative figures that make up the national myth.

Overcoming our fundamental contradiction between local reality and the Universalist pretensions, finds in foreign policy, a way forward. Historically, Brazilian diplomacy has always positioned itself in defense of universalism and multilateralism as a way of development of the countries and a balanced global governance. This attitude is even expressed in the Brazilian Constitution, as one of the constitutional principles governing international relations of the country which establishes "cooperation among peoples for the progress of humanity" as one of its pillars. It shall be added to this performance on the international scenario, elements that contribute to strengthen local elements of Brazil, advancing on a necessary balance of national wills in their insertion in the world.

The diplomatic discourse would thus be an important manifestation space of identity traits and would collaborate to overcome national contradictions. In addition to the struggle for strengthening the local element, with categories *Latin America* and *African Brazil*, we have a counterbalancing by strengthening the insertion of local in universal, with *Emerging Brazil*. After all, if we are "emerging" is because we are moving to occupy a place of which is already on the surface, the developed countries.

In overcoming national antagonisms, a new contradiction within the country's narrative that is intended to build through the diplomatic discourse. Dichotomy between developed and under development countries is fought to overcome a mental block that it is possible to move forward without the rich countries, but at the same time, it is characterized as a country that is moving to occupy a place in the "club" of the favored ones. Celso Amorim would defend himself, probably, saying that Brazil's commitment to multilateralism and change in global governance would not make us an arrogant and judgmental power, like most of today's developed countries, but this would not eliminate the contradiction of discourse.

If, in a globalized world, there is an undeniable universalizing cultural pattern, it does not act necessarily against the existence of national cultural centers. The confrontation between the particular and the universal is not a destructive movement at its core. On the contrary, the liquid world opens space for the organization and the structuring of a diverse cultural narrative that, in

the strategies of Lula's government, was sought by the enhancement of self-esteem. The country's narrative is not necessarily in opposition to the cosmopolitan one, as was believed in the debates of some *Brazilian Interpreters*. There is, as proposed by the Brazilian Anthropophagic Movement, assimilation moments of "foreign" and reject moments of external influence, in a dialectical movement that will eventually enter the Brazilian narrative in the harmony of civilization.

The data collected and presented were essential so to have security to state these findings. The category with the highest number of references, *Emerging Brazil*, formed the basis for the enhancement of *Self-Esteem*, the second with more quotes. *African Brazil* and *Latin America* are inserted into the logic of *Emerging Brazil* - with its specificities, of course - and also worked to give due emphasis on *Self-Esteem*.

In an increasingly interdependent and connected world, metanarrative of country needs the support of an autonomous international position and an active public diplomacy, creative and pragmatic to continue to outperform its many contradictions. The reporting period, related to the eight years of Lula's government, was enough to start a process that is long and painful, as it is not easy to overcome contradictions that are part of the national myth and of a whole set of social representations, reproduced in time by discursive formations. To pursue this goal, foreign policy must reflect not only the country's image today, but also the image we want for Brazil tomorrow.

There is no doubt of the contribution that diplomatic discourse can give to the country's narrative and its identity project, enhanced by the performance of Public Affairs and Public Diplomacy. It must, however, be at the service of a well-defined strategy, which builds narrative figures able to influence the figurative core of national identity. The choice of Lula's government, analyzed herein, was to value the Brazilian self-esteem with a focus on overcoming an inferiority complex that accompanies us since the independence of Brazil and, thus, altering not only the narrative of Brazil, a point which was attempted to be emphasized in this work, but in a way, the entire system of global governance.

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