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## Revolution and Memories

edited by

*Manuel Loff*

*Isabel Menezes*

Walking Through the Revolution: A Spatial Reading of Literary Echoes

Ana Isabel Queiroz, Daniel Alves

Discourses of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution

Sandi Michele de Oliveira

Psychosocial Trauma Transmission and Appropriation in Grandchildren of Former Political Prisoners of the Civic - Military Dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990)

Ximena Faúndez, Ximena Goecke

Knowledge and the Experience of Women Living Underground During the Portuguese Dictatorship

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Social and Psycho-political Impacts in the Social Construction of Political Memory of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship

Soraia Ansara

Women's Experiences: Memories of Portuguese Revolution

Sónia Dantas-Ferreira

The Portuguese literacy campaigns after the Carnation Revolution (1974-1977)

Isabel Pereira Gomes, José Pedro Amorim, José Alberto Correia, Isabel Menezes

What to Change - How to Have Influence? Children's Ideas About Exercising Power and Participating

Arja Virta, Marjaana Virta

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**Contents**

<b>Editorial</b>		<b>2-3</b>
<b>Featured Topic</b>		
	<b>Walking Through the Revolution: A Spatial Reading of Literary Echoes</b> <i>Ana Isabel Queiroz, Daniel Alves</i>	<b>4-16</b>
	<b>Discourses of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution</b> <i>Sandi Michele de Oliveira</i>	<b>17-25</b>
	<b>Psychosocial Trauma Transmission and Appropriation in Grandchildren of Former Political Prisoners of the Civic – Military Dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990)</b> <i>Ximena Faúndez, Ximena Goecke</i>	<b>26-39</b>
	<b>Knowledge and the Experience of Women Living Underground During the Portuguese Dictatorship</b> <i>Cristina Marques Nogueira</i>	<b>40-50</b>
	<b>Social and Psycho-political Impacts in the Social Construction of Political Memory of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship</b> <i>Soraia Ansara</i>	<b>50-60</b>
	<b>Women’s Experiences: Memories of Portuguese Revolution</b> <i>Sónia Dantas-Ferreira</i>	<b>61-68</b>
	<b>The Portuguese Literacy Campaigns After the Carnation Revolution (1974-1977)</b> <i>Isabel Pereira Gomes, José Pedro Amorim, José Alberto Correia, Isabel Menezes</i>	<b>69-80</b>
<b>Article</b>		
	<b>What to Change – How to Have Influence? Children’s Ideas About Exercising Power and Participating</b> <i>Arja Virta, Marjaana Virta</i>	<b>81-91</b>
<b>Review</b>		
	<b>Review of the Book: Ross, Alistair (2015). Understanding the Constructions of Identities by Young New Europeans: Kaleidoscopic selves. New York/ Abingdon: Routledge</b> <i>Akif Pamuk</i>	<b>92-93</b>



## Manuel Loff, Isabel Menezes

### Editorial: Revolution and Memories

In the 1970s, soon after the 1968 whirlwind that swept most of the planet, Southern Europe went through a wave of democratisation, the first since the anti-Nazi *Liberation* period at the end of WWII. Authoritarian regimes fell in Portugal (1974), Greece (1974) and Spain (1976-78), although democracy was built in each of these countries following very different procedures. In Portugal, a democratic military coup opened the gates to an unstoppable political and social revolution, while in Spain and Greece – as it would happen almost ever since in Latin America and Central-Eastern Europe – democratisation was essentially gradual, and involved a complex and often contradictory negotiation held by the military and political elites of these regimes and some of the opposition forces in order to build up a post-authoritarian regime.

Despite the different nature of these democratisation processes, every post-authoritarian society faces somehow similar problems when it comes to deal with both collective and/or individual memories of the past. Many European citizens “have lived through (...) oppression, and name it so, others feel its legacy as a part of their own personal memory, and others still, having lived it or not, do not recall their experience or the memory they have inherited as *oppressive*” (Loff, 2010, p. 55). These very diverse memories, all of which are socially re-constructed every time they come out into the public sphere, co-exist, even if its conflicting nature is many times denied and seldom assumed as a potential basis for citizenship education (Ferreira et al., 2013).

This issue celebrates the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Portuguese *Carnation Revolution* but expands beyond the Portuguese case as it welcomes papers dealing with the relationship between memory, oppression, democratisation and political change in Latin America. It similarly includes papers from a variety of disciplines (e.g. Education, Memory Studies, Political Psychology, Literature and Cultural Geography), discussing and contrasting memorial discourses of different generations and social and political groups, both on the “dark times” they have lived through, and on the “strong memories” –

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as opposed to “weak” ones, as defined by Traverso (2005, p. 54) – resulting from intense and enthusiastic moments in which they felt they were taking their lives into their hands. Interestingly enough, almost half of the papers focus on women and their specific role in historical processes of resistance and change until recently too much perceived on a male perspective.

The volume starts with a walk through the revolution where Ana Isabel Queiroz and Daniel Alves combine literature and geography to propose an educational historical excursion, *Walking through the Revolution: a spatial reading of literary echoes*. The authors suggest a trail “made up by nine places of remembrance” that are combined with “literary works refer[ing] to events that happened between the eve of April 25 and May 1, 1974” including “the most iconic military actions and popular demonstrations that occurred in Lisbon and the surroundings”. In a volume that celebrates the 1974 Revolution, this interesting combination between literature and space demonstrates how cities can become places to re-experience historical memories (like true *lieux de mémoire*, as Pierre Nora (1989) classically calls them) and how informal education experiences can foster critical citizenship.

The research by Sandi Michele de Oliveira, *Discourses of inclusion and exclusion in the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution*, demonstrates how a critical reading of commemoration discourses is essential, and reveals the absence in the power narratives of the revolution of “the themes and participants by groups who were most directly involved in the Revolution”. She refers to “actors” as “the ‘Captains of Abril’”, i.e. the young captains who prepared the 1974 revolution, “the retornados” i.e. the Portuguese equivalent to the French *pieds-noirs*, former colonists who chose to return to Portugal after the decolonisation, and the “retornados-emigrantes”, i.e. those colonists who left the newly independent African countries but chose to migrate to another country, namely South-Africa or Brazil. In the author’s perspective counter memories and discordant voices should be explicitly acknowledged in education not only because they “provide immediacy, poignancy and authenticity”, but also because they allow for a more complex and deep understanding of the significance of the historical events, both the ones that we want to celebrate, and the ones we must not forget.

The following paper, by Ximena Faúndez and Ximena Goecke, deals exactly with the transgenerational risks of silencing and forgetfulness. In *Psychosocial Trauma Transmission and Appropriation in Grandchildren of Former Political Prisoners of the Civic – Military Dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990)*, by analysing “the narratives of the grandchildren of victims of the Civic-Military Dictatorship in Chile” who reveal how psychosocial trauma is transmitted and internalized in families

of former political prisoners. This trauma appears to be amplified by the lack of an open political and social discussion that also impacts on how families and individuals silence and avoid the traumatic events – leading the authors to consider that “transition to democracy in Chile has been an incomplete process” made evident in “the lack of truth and justice regarding human rights issues”. This absence leaves on individual actors, such as teachers, the responsibility of addressing human rights and citizenship education but in a societal context that clearly does not favor a narrative that includes “the political identities, specific experiences and points of view of those victims”.

Cristina Nogueira also looks at the experience of resistance to oppression, but considering *Knowledge and the experience of women living underground during the Portuguese dictatorship*. Based on a series of interviews with women, militants of the Portuguese Communist party, living in hiding (1940-1974), as well as the analysis of published autobiographical narratives and other documents, Cristina explores the different roles women had to play in underground, revealing how gender inequalities were expressed and lived. The educational effects of these experiences relate not only to literacy and practical knowledge but also to deep identity transformations that generated specific subjectivities. Again, the relevance of actor-centred perspectives in memory studies and citizenship education appears as an essential part of remembering and celebrating historical events.

In *Social and psycho political impacts in the social construction of political memory of the Brazilian military dictatorship*, Soraia Ansara makes an analysis of the political memory of community and union leaderships, and also detects the tendency for forgetfulness and to avoid confrontations with the past. In this case, she reveals the role of “several ‘underground memories’” (Pollak, 1989), built by the working classes, which contradict the versions disseminated by the official memory and enhance the social movements’ capacity for action as a strategy of resistance and political struggle of the movements today”.

Sónia Dantas-Ferreira also considers memories of the Portuguese revolution by interviewing 11 women who were married to servicemen during the Colonial War. In *Women’s experiences: memories of Portuguese Revolution* she explores their visions on work, family, education, politics and social life, and on the changes brought about by the Revolution, but also confronts their expectations and dreams with the current situation – thus also revealing how the high hopes generated by the revolution were only partially confirmed. As the author states, “the meaning of the past is always a meaning shaped and dialectically re-shaped by this present on behalf of a possible Future. And, in this sense, these women’s memories draw a present resulting from a postponed Future in a past in which the promises to come shine brighter than the light they throw to Now”.

Finally, the last paper considers the experience of *The Portuguese literacy campaigns after the Carnation*

*Revolution (1974-1977)* that “aimed to address the problem of extremely low levels of education and high levels of adult illiteracy”. Isabel Pereira Gomes, José Pedro Amorim, José Alberto Correia and Isabel Menezes expose some of the tensions in the uses of Paulo Freire’s theory and methods and explore the lived experiences of literacy campaigns through the eyes of two young women, at that time, who participated in these initiatives. Again, gender inequalities and poverty emerge as particularly atrocious during the dictatorship and, not surprisingly, the impact of these literacy campaigns for older women is emphasised. But the young literacy mediators, in line with Freire’s vision, still refer to this as a life-changing event that generated “high levels of hope and political mobilization”.

On the whole, most of the papers we have gathered here deal with narratives which, especially when they deliberately try to express a collective identity, tend to consolidate, as well as represent, *communities of memory* (Booth, 2006). Because the past is, in fact, always an *artifact of the present* (Lowenthal, 1985). The role of remembrance is, as Hannah Arendt would put it, to “save human deeds from the futility that comes from oblivion” (1961, p. 42). And these narratives of the past are an essential part of how we define ourselves as citizens (Haste, 2004) and, whether acknowledged or not, they play a central role in the on-going debate regarding the nature and quality of democracies today.

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## Walking Through the Revolution: A Spatial Reading of Literary Echoes

This paper presents an embryo of a literary guide on the Carnation Revolution to be explored for educational historical excursions other than leisure and tourism. We propose a historical trail through the centre of Lisbon, city of the Carnation Revolution, called *Walk through the Revolution*. The trail aims to reinforce collective memory about the major events that occurred in the early moments leading to the coup. The trail is made up by nine places of remembrance, for which literary excerpts are suggested and which are supported by a digital research procedure. A set of seven fixed and observer-independent categories are used to analyse the literary contents of 23 literary works published up to 2013. These literary works refer to events that happened between the eve of April 25 and May 1, 1974. At the same time, literary descriptions are explored using a spatial approach in order to define the literary geography of the most iconic military actions and popular demonstrations that occurred in Lisbon and the surroundings. The literary geography and the cartography of the historical events are then compared. Data analysis and visualization benefit from the use of standardised and quantitative methods, including basic statistics and geographic information systems.

### Keywords:

Literary geography, digital humanities, contemporary history, Carnation revolution

### 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 Events, people and places

The most powerful and haunting visions of historical events sometimes come to the general public through creative productions, committed to highlighting or representing them. Literature is one of these main vehicles, as are cinema or historical re-enactments. An extensive list of literary works on political crises, conflicts, wars and revolutions from all over the world can be found in which occurrences in the fictional plot are presented in actual geographical places, and sometimes depicting real events.

Literary representations in this context are a repository of memories and rich material for understanding historical events and people's attitudes towards these events. Their potential for research and education results, not only from alternative descriptions of facts from which sensitive reminders are a part, but also from a testimony of ideas, values and attitudes. Recent research identified these as a major vehicle in reconstructing the memory of historical events, even better than memorial buildings, the current form of preserving historical memory until the Second World War (Hepworth 2013, p. 12).

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None of the views of literary fictional texts is scientifically historic because the author cannot willfully evade the fictional review of the narrated facts (Ceia 1998, pp. 69-70), sometimes risking to distort peoples' perspectives of those events. Nevertheless, they also have advantages over other documentary texts by giving meaning to the elements of the narrative. Miguel Real (2012) described contemporary Portuguese novels as a part of the "entire social" that always reflects the harmonious or inharmonious general sense of the history of society and culture in which it operates. Hubert Zapf (*apud* Muller 2011, p. 78-79) emphasises the role of fiction in shaping and improving the concrete systemic relations in which the subject is, and needs to be, embedded, holding a cultural rather than an individual potential. Therefore, not surprisingly, many authors have raised the potential of the novel to the study of history (e.g. Seixo, 2004; Fuster García, 2011) or combined novels with other material sources for researching natural and cultural changes (e.g. Foster, 2002; Queiroz, 2005). Since the late 1990s, through an interdisciplinary movement, researchers have sought to explore "subjective geographies through the spatial representation of qualitative, or fuzzy, data" (Cooper, Gregory, 2011, p. 89). More recently, Alves and Queiroz (2013) developed a digital methodology that studies literary places and the evolution of literary space in the context of the contemporary urban history of Lisbon.

Cultural memory is built up by memories of "events which are relevant to the self-understanding and present interests of the group" (Goodbody, 2011, p. 57-58) such as the collective experiences subsumed in prose fiction, drama and poetry. These experiences are "connected with the thoughts that come to us from the social milieu" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 53) and "crystallize meaning around events, people and places, blend factual and textual recall with imagination" (Goodbody, 2011, p. 59). These elements are the objects of those who study the experience of place from fictional texts. Those for whom "[f]ictive reality may transcend or contain more truth than the physical everyday reality" (Pocock, 1981, p. 11).

## 1.2 Spatial reading and the construct of memory

The collective memories of historical events have, to a great extent, been studied through literature. A quick review of this highlights research on the French Revolution (Ferguson, 1994), the Holocaust (King, 2000), the Spanish Civil War (Ferrán, 2007) and the Portuguese colonial wars (Moutinho, 2008), among others. Despite their undoubted relevance, a spatial reading that relates literary places to territory is absent. The same applies to the existent literary studies that evoke the Carnation Revolution as a subject of analysis, as they mainly explore the evolution of Portuguese literature in the following years or decades as the result of a different political environment (e.g. Lourenço, 1984; Sapega, 1991; Kaufman, Klobucka, 1997; Roani, 2004).

In the last years, space and place have had a new position in literary studies. Franco Moretti (1998) published a broad study of the places mentioned in the European Novel 1800-1900. Years later, he advocated a quantitative approach to literature, extracting data from texts to graphs, maps and trees, as a basis for interpretation. His choice was determined by the demand for objectivity: “quantitative work is truly cooperation: not only in the pragmatic sense that it takes forever to gather the data, but because such data are ideally independent from any individual researcher, and can thus be shared by others, and combines in more than one way” (Moretti, 2005, p. 5). Besides this, geocriticism (Westphal, 2007) and literary geography introduced literary atlas products that “set up a new literary history of Europe” (*The Literary Atlas of Europe* - <http://www.literaturatlas.eu/en/>) or “connect literature to the territory, fostering the mutual appreciation of literary works and places, and contributing to leisure and tourism” (*LITESCAPE.PT - Atlas of literary landscapes of mainland Portugal* - <http://paisagensliterarias.ielt.org/>). In these products, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and web technologies push research to new methods, offering dissemination and educational tools. The study of spatial dimensions embedded in texts, profits from the development of visualisation tools and therefore gains insight into why an attribute happened.

Literature on historical events reconnects individuals with spatial references. Associating facts with places, writers foster “processes for making places meaningful in a social medium” (Crang, 1998, p. 44) or transform space into a “complex social formation” (Ayers, 2010, p. 1). Readers gain an interlinked experience of time and place that allows them to describe historical places, despite never having visited these.

Knowing ‘where’ is also a crucial element for memory retention of stories and facts. Semantic memory, which is part of long-term capability, is the memory of meanings, understandings and other concept-based knowledge. It depends on the processing and encoding of sensory input that has a particular connotation or that can be applied to a particular context, or that is tied to physical objects, space and places (Halbwachs apud Hepworth 2013, p. 89). Therefore, literary depictions of historical places have a high educational and cultural interest.

Together with monuments, museums, commemorations, symbols and documentaries, literary works are themselves with a potential impact in the formation and consolidation of modern collective identities (Colmeiro 2011, p. 21).

The idea that the development of individual intelligence requires a social (and cultural) embedding is the base of the concept of ‘social situatedness’ (Lindblom & Ziemke, 2002). Recalling Vygotsky’s cognitive development theory in this field (Vygotsky, 1978), literary readings might be considered a ‘mediated act involving a psychological tool’ that is the intermediate link between stimulus and response operating in the internalisation of social speech and/or historical memories.

For all these reasons, this paper advocates that history becomes more appealing to students and the public in general through non-historiographic channels and traditional passive teaching methods. While a representation of the past, literature promotes reflection and critique about common narratives of historical events. Its references to historical places and landscape descriptions are a kind of enjoyable manual that brings into the present the experience of a time that has passed. To guide readers through time and space. It is time to combine the already popular practice of following literary trails which connect people to places, described by great writers, providing an in situ discovery of historical events, while walking through their actual stage. There is no question that ‘educational trips’, ‘field observation visits’ or ‘study tours’ – also leisure visitation and tourist excursions – increase knowledge of a particular subject and, more important, increase the desire for knowledge (Krepel & DuVall, 1981).

## 1.3 Carnation Revolution’s literary echoes

Eduardo Lourenço stated that revolutions are major consumers of active imagination. It happens, he wrote, especially when it comes to a dreamed revolution emerging like a miracle, as the Carnation Revolution (1984, p. 7). Reflecting on a different time and geography, Priscilla P. Fergusson also justified the prevalence of this topic in the literature: “[r]evolution proposed such a seductive model for literary interpretation because it constructed social change simultaneously as a function of time and of space, the very elements that form the foundation of any narrative. Revolution is the perfect chronotope that fixes the interaction of historical time and space in a work of literature” (1994, p. 4-5).

From the beginning of the twentieth century Lisbon was the stage for major political and social revolutionary events, among others, the regicide in 1908, the republican revolution in 1910, the revolt against Pimenta de Castro of 1915, the *revirinho* uprising against the dictatorship in 1931, and the Carnation Revolution in 1974 (Farinha, 1998; Rosas, 2010). The latter was the one event that made the “revolutionary Lisbon” emerge in the historiography (Rosas, 2010), although the expression had been used much earlier in a memoirist text (Costa, 1935). The Carnation Revolution became a literary topic in contemporary fiction. It was published by

several known Portuguese writers, who lived the moment, but also by promising young writers who were born under democracy. Narratives are filled with allusions and episodes relating to the most significant transformation of the political regime in recent times. They reverberate, not surprisingly, in the imaginary of the city where the major events took place. The same occurred in the nineteenth century with Paris and the literary echoes of the French Revolution, alive in the great works of Flaubert, Hugo, Vallès and Zola, with subsequent consequences for urban development of the city. In this regard, Priscilla P. Ferguson wrote: “[f]rom the background of cultural performance, Paris moved to centre stage, and it did so through urban narratives that focused importantly, if not exclusively, on revolution as the deciding factor in the changes marking Paris on virtually every street.” (1994, p. 4)

#### 1.4 Aims and objectives

Following an interpretation of Pierre Nora’s thoughts which assumes collective memory as an affective memory (Le Goff, 1992, p. 95), this paper aims to analyse an extended literary *corpus* in which events related to the Carnation Revolution are depicted. By comparing the fictional and the actual geography, we discuss how historical facts are preserved in this repository of collective memory.

From a content analysis of the literary works and by georeferencing the places mentioned in texts, this paper presents an objective process to explore a large volume of data that is fully replicable and comparable. It focuses on literary representations of the actual occurrences, such as military movements, occupations, clashes between opposites, public appearances and popular demonstrations, taking place in Lisbon and the surroundings between the eve of April 25 to May 1 of 1974. We refer to this period as the “week of prodigies”, according to writers Lídia Jorge and Filomena Marona Beja<sup>1</sup>. The period began with the military coup carried out by MFA (Movement of Armed Forces) that received the overwhelming support of the people, leading to a mostly bloodless and peaceful revolution that overthrew the dictatorship that had ruled Portugal for 48 years. This culminated with the celebration of Labour Day, already with Portugal as a free country, with a great popular demonstration.

This paper values the Portuguese literary texts and, from these, it provides the future with an extra tool for reinforcing the Carnation Revolution’s collective memory: an embryo of a literary guide on the Carnation Revolution that supports a historical trail through the main events that occurred in the centre of Lisbon on April 25. It identifies a few places of memory through which activities of remembrance can be set forth, answering to the following research questions:

- What and how are the occurrences, institutions, messages, public figures, media, icons and emotionality represented in the literary *corpus*?
- How do literary locations match with the actual geography of the historical events?

There have been previous attempts to build a spatial reading of Lisbon’s urban memory (e.g. Freire & Lousada, 2013). However, no other outcome ever explored the evocative capacity of the literary text and its historical attractiveness.

#### 2. Material and methods

The literary *corpus* is a sample of 23 fictional writings in the Portuguese language published up to the end of 2013 (Appendix 1) and chosen among other things for their mention of the occurrences of the “week of prodigies”, a continuous dissemination and a relevant literary impact on society. Propagandistic works published during the years after the major revolutionary events which failed to rise above mere factual representation have been excluded. To the eight volumes from the collection of fictional narratives commissioned to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution by the Caminho editors (1999), we added another 15 literary works in which the “week of prodigies” is part of the narrative, or mentioned by characters as a relevant earlier period of their lives. Some of the most known contemporary Portuguese writers are represented. Among these: José Saramago, António Lobo Antunes, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, Mário de Carvalho, Teolinda Gersão or Lídia Jorge.

In order to highlight the geography and the meaning of the “week of prodigies” in their literary representations, a methodological practice was used combining reasoning and interpretation with a quantitative application of the subjects studied.

We set up a matrix of seven fixed and observer-independent categories to conduct a conventional content analysis of the whole literary texts (Table 1). From each work, a set of excerpts with the required “Occurrences” plus six other categories (“Institutions”, “Messages”, “Public figures”, “Media”, “Icons”, “Emotionality”) were identified. This covers the entire representation of the Carnation Revolution within the literary works (but not their entire texts).

Literary descriptions are spatially referenced to one or more locations wherever place-names are mentioned in the set of excerpts. The number of times a certain location explicitly appears is ignored because of its closer link to stylist options rather than the relevance of places in the narrative. A literary map is produced with this information and then compared with a map of the Revolution compiled by the project *Lisboa em (R)evolução* (<http://atlas.fcsh.unl.pt/omeka/geolocation/map/browse>). This last map presents a detailed geography of the events improving previous work (e.g. Mascarenhas & Reis, 1998, pp. 154-161).

Strengthening the appealing character of literature for understanding and memorisation of history, we designed a historical trail supported by literary descriptions. This trail takes ‘remembering’ to mean putting pieces back together (as *re-membering*). A sequence of text fragments are associated with an itinerary of “places of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*) to describe, explain, reflect



and question the more relevant historical events that took place in the “revolutionary Lisbon”.

Table 1 – Classification of categories for content analysis

Category	References to the...	Code
Occurrences	<b>real or fictional events taking place between the eve of April 25 to the May 1, 1974, such as military movements, occupations, clashes between opposites, public appearances and popular demonstrations.</b>	OCC
Institutions	<b>bodies and organisations linked to the ousted regime or to the revolutionary events mentioned by either their real or fictional names.</b>	INS
Messages	<b>slogans, posters, signs, mural paintings, press releases, speeches and other texts, including transcripts of verse, containing greetings, clarifications and claims.</b>	MSG
Public figures	<b>known persons associated with the ousted regime or the revolutionary events, mentioned by their real or fictional name, and also type-figures, such as the anti-fascist militant or political police informant.</b>	FIG
Media	<b>role of newspapers, radio or television, as information centres and broadcasters’ of the news of events.</b>	MED
Icons	<b>elements which later became the icons of the Carnation Revolution, such as the song, <i>Grândola, Vila Morena</i> and the red carnations.</b>	ICO
Emotionality	<b>spontaneous feelings of fear and anxiety (the most in the early stages), and enthusiasm, happiness and euphoria.</b>	EMO

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Content by categories

By auditing the literary discourse against the content analysis categories (Table 2), only eight works of a possible 23 have the seven different categories [1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 23].

There are evocations or descriptions of the more relevant true occurrences recorded during the “week of prodigies”:

- April, 24: the radio broadcast of the song *E Depois do Adeus*, the first trigger signal for the coup [12 and 23];

- April, 25: the radio broadcast of the song *Grândola, Vila Morena*, the second signal confirming the ongoing process [12 and 23]; the movement of military vehicles coming in to the capital city [17]; occupation of the main media, such as radio and television studios [1, 9, 10, and 12]; mobilisation and contacts between military forces supporting the regime and the revolutionaries [1, 4 and 7]; troops on the roads and the streets of Lisbon, particularly in the strategic locations of governmental power, such as Terreiro do Paço square, Carmo square and in front of the headquarters of the

secret police PIDE/DGS, in António Maria Cardoso street, among others [all]; the people in the streets, watching and participating in the events [all except 1, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17 and 20]

- April, 26: people in the streets, watching and participating in the events, including the concentration near the headquarters of the PIDE/DGS, clashes and the secret police’s surrender [1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 21]; people concentrating on the prison of Caxias, where political prisoners were released [2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 21]; television presentation of the Military Board (Junta de Salvação Nacional) [4 and 10];

- April, 28 and 30: the return of political exiles (such as Mário Soares, leader of the Socialist Party, and Álvaro Cunhal, leader of the Communist Party) [4, 9, 10 and 22];

- April, 29: the publication of the Military Board’s decision decreeing Labour Day as a national holiday [10];

- May, 1: Labour Day celebration, with demonstrations and meetings [3, 9, 10 and 11];

Content analysis reveals a maximum of times for MSG (n=21). There are frequent references to slogans that call for freedom, democracy and unity, and acclaim the military revolutionaries. The more expressive popular shouts are the following:

- «li-ber-da-de li-ber-da-de li-ber-da-de», words separated by drawn-out syllables to indicate enjoyment of the moment [7];

- «LIBERDADE. VITÓRIA!», words in uppercase for expressing joy at the victory [9];

- «O povo unido jamais será vencido» [10] or «O Povo! Unido! Jamais-será-vencido!» [11], expressing the collective sense of unity and trust in the popular will; «o povo está com o MFA» [1] or «Viva a aliança povo-MFA» [10], proclaiming the people’s support to the military revolutionaries;

- «Eme-Efe-A! Eme-Efe-A!» [11], spelled the acronym of the military movement (MFA) which the writer affirmed to be the acronym of the revolution itself; «Vitória! Democracia! Liberdade! Povo Unido!» [11], together in celebrating the wishes of a free democratic regime;

- «VIVA AS FORÇAS ARMADAS», «INDEPENDÊNCIA DAS COLÓNIAS E REGRESSO DOS SOLDADOS», «FINALMENTE PORTUGAL, AMOR, JUSTIÇA, LIBERDADE, NÃO À GUERRA COLONIAL, PAZ, TRABALHO, PÃO», «RECONHECIMENTO IMEDIATO DA REP. GUINÉ-BISSAU» [10], various slogans spelled in uppercase, allegedly displayed on Labour Day demonstrations, demanding freedom, peace, labour and food, the end of the colonial war and the independence of the colonies.

Among these 21 works, 14 mention the MFA statements broadcast on radio in the early hours of April 25. The Military recommended the inhabitants of Lisbon to stay at home. They explained the objectives of the troop movements and expressed the will that there be no bloodshed, assuming an action of liberation. The first announcement was transmitted at 4:26, but the fifth and sixth announcements were more reflected in literature texts. These were issued at 7:30 and 8:45, and were the

first ones to clearly establish the political goal of the movement. They therefore resound more in the radio listeners' memories. The works of Almeida Faria [3], Álvaro Guerra [4], Lobo Antunes [7], Carlos Brito [8], Filomena M. Beja [9] and José Saramago [14] even transcribe part of these announcements that always began by an identification of the new holders of power - «Aqui posto de comando do Movimento das Forças Armadas» - and ended up with a nationalist salute - «Viva Portugal».

The media's role is highlighted, mentioned 18 times out of a possible 23, not just by the radio emissions which provided the signals for the military coup and spread the first news, but also by the newspapers and television. José Cardoso Pires [11] wrote that people concentrated in front of the GNR (National Republican Guard) headquarters (Quartel do Carmo) followed the events elsewhere by listening to the radio. In the works of Almeida Faria [3] and Álvaro Guerra [4] characters went to the office of *República* (a prestigious newspaper against the dictatorship) to find out news about the coup.

Songs and carnations are the symbols of the "week of prodigies". Several works mention the gift of red carnations to the soldiers on April 25 and the flowers placed in gun barrels [2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16 and 23], the symbolic image of a revolution almost without shots, violence and bloodshed. Among the songs heard during these days, *Grândola, Vila Morena* is still the hymn to liberty and popular will. This song by José Afonso (Zeca Afonso, the most recognised protest singer of the period of the dictatorship) is mentioned in six works [4, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 23]. Álvaro Guerra [4] and José Saramago [12] even transcribe the first four verses: "Grândola vila morena/ terra da fraternidade/ o povo é quem mais ordena/ dentro de ti ó cidade" On the other hand, J. Cardoso Pires [11] mentions people concentrating in Carmo square: "[u]m mar de gente a entoar Grândola Vila Morena, um imenso coro a declarar solenemente a terra da fraternidade diante dum quartel de malditos onde se tinha refugiado o Governo".<sup>2</sup>

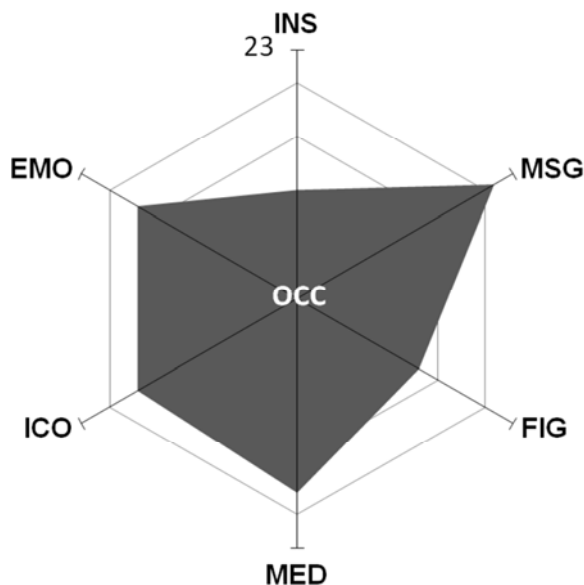
Since the early hours of the April 25, many people ignored the MFA's pleas to stay at home and came to the places where the events were happening. Literary works included in the *corpus* mainly express the popular support for the military coup. Fear would have ended [3, 4 and 16]; hope and joy would be the dominant feelings [4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 22 and 23]. But Almeida Faria [3], António Lobo Antunes [7], José Saramago [12], Mário de Carvalho [18] and Rui Zink [21] call upon characters that react against the revolution or distrust it, representing different political views and interpreting the great social tensions generated at that time. Also depicting the times that followed, Urbano T. Rodrigues [23] wrote: "[o]s mortos-vivos de ontem escutando a rádio em ansiedade, nas suas casas, vão tornar-se pessoas diferentes. Alguns até se hão-de mascarar de democratas."<sup>3</sup>

Table 2 – Occurrence of the seven categories per literary work

Literary works	OCC	INS	MSG	FIG	MED	ICO	EMO
[1]							
[2]							
[3]							
[4]							
[5]							
[6]							
[7]							
[8]							
[9]							
[10]							
[11]							
[12]							
[13]							
[14]							
[15]							
[16]							
[17]							
[18]							
[19]							
[20]							
[21]							
[22]							
[23]							

Figure 1 shows the data structure according to the content analysis procedure. The frequency of the seven categories is quite similar except for INS (n=10) and FIG (n=13). Amongst descriptions of the events and facts, literary representations of the Carnation Revolution emphasise above all the symbolic and dramatic dimension contained in the icons and messages, and the emotions experienced by the people. The military men of the revolution (e.g. Salgueiro Maia, Otelo, Spínola), the deposed leaders Marcelo Caetano and Américo Tomás and the institutions involved (identified by their name or acronym, like «MFA», «Junta de Salvação Nacional», or «PIDE/DGS») were mentioned less than other aspects in the analysed narratives. The literary portrait emphasises the collective over the individual, the anonymous over the personified and the emotional over the rational, as these excerpts testify: "[n]ão sei descrever o dia de hoje: as tropas, os carros de combate, a felicidade, as palavras de alegria, o nervosismo, o puro júbilo" [14]<sup>4</sup>; "(...) neste momento há um poder que cai e outro se levanta, e a vida inteira não chega para conter este instante, há uma música subindo, uma voz, uma canção, uma embriaguez de festa partilhada, de repente nada mais é igual ao que foi sempre, há tanques de guerra subindo as ruas, mas a guerra acabou e as pessoas abraçam os soldados levando flores na mão" [22].

Figure 1 – Relationship between the occurrences (OCC) and the other categories of content in the literary corpus



There is a monotonic increasing relationship between the number of categories and the number of literary locations mentioned in each work (Appendix 1). Spearman rank-order coefficient reveals a strong correlation between these variables ( $r_s$  0.8631;  $p$ -value  $< .01$ ). Works with richer content for the target period are also those with a greater number of locations for the events described. More than 20 locations are found in the works of Álvaro Guerra [4] and Filomena M. Beja [9]. José Cardoso Pires [10] and Urbano T. Rodrigues [23] however have each of the seven categories. All tell the experiences of their characters among the people of Lisbon, going from place to place, following the main events and participating in popular demonstrations. Only five works of a possible 23 do not mention any locations: in [6, 15, 18 and 19], the characters are outside Lisbon; in [20], a remembrance of the events of April 25 1974 occurs in a totally destroyed Lisbon, short on geographic references.

### 3.2 Mapping the Revolution with GIS

#### 3.2.1 The literary geography vs. the historical geography

There is a substantial difference between the total number of locations mentioned in the literary corpus ( $n=71$ ) and the total number of historical places geo-referenced ( $n=43$ ). This difference can be partially explained by the focus on military and political operations applied to collect the geography of the Carnation Revolution in the project *Lisboa em (R)evolução*. The only exceptions are the popular demonstrations which occurred near the headquarters of the PIDE/DGS, the release of prisoners in Caxias and the reception of Mário Soares and Álvaro Cunhal. Instead, the writers seem to have given more relevance to the individual and

collective experiences of the people of Lisbon when depicting the military operations.

This has an impact in accounting for matching Carnation Revolution's sites and literary geography, as shown in figure 2. Of all the literary locations 61% ( $n=43$ ) do not match any historical sites. Nevertheless, 65% of these sites ( $n=28$ ) match the literary locations. These results clearly suggest that the literary representations are influenced by the actual geography. But they also indicate the creative exercise of authors who diversify the literary space of revolution adding a number of locations because of their close link with the fictional experiences of the characters. These include pathways with less relevance to the movement of troops and to smaller popular demonstrations.

Historical events are dispersed, noticeably in the city and its surroundings, corresponding to military objectives which, although relevant to the MFA, often went unnoticed by most of the people. Thus, these aspects have tended to remain outside of the collective memory or have been forgotten. In literary representations, there are also under represented drives of regime supporters, such as the occupation of some streets in the city-centre by forces of GNR and the 7th Cavalry Regiment, the meeting of some ministers in Monsanto after fleeing Terreiro do Paço, or the encounter between MFA and Américo Tomás, the overthrown president at his home in Restelo, to take him into exile. The stories seem to disregard the losers, confirming the well-known cliché that "history is written by the victors".

We shall notice a representative example of the relationship between the historical events and their literary depiction. The events prior to the radio broadcast of the song *Grândola, Vila Morena* (April 25 at 00:20, Radio Renascença, Rua Ivens), that acted as the second signal for the beginning of the military operations, are not spatially referenced. The fact that these were mere tactical objectives (including the Practical School of Military Communications or the Practical School of Military Administration) shrouded in secrecy and discretion, removed them from a direct impact on the public space and on the citizen attendance and participation, and from other features that are more often portrayed in the literature.

Figure 2 shows a concentration of locations within the city-centre (highlighted). This is the core of the "revolutionary Lisbon", where we found 42% ( $n=30$ ) of the literary locations and 35% ( $n=15$ ) of the Carnation Revolution sites. Furthermore, 73% of Carnation Revolution sites in this area ( $n=11$ ) match literary locations, which is far different from the 41% ( $n=17$ ) outside this area. This shows the geography of the Carnation Revolution captured in the literature over the last 40 years, was mainly in the core-area, where it was the most depicted in line with the real events.

Figure 2 – Carnation Revolution's sites vs. its literary geography

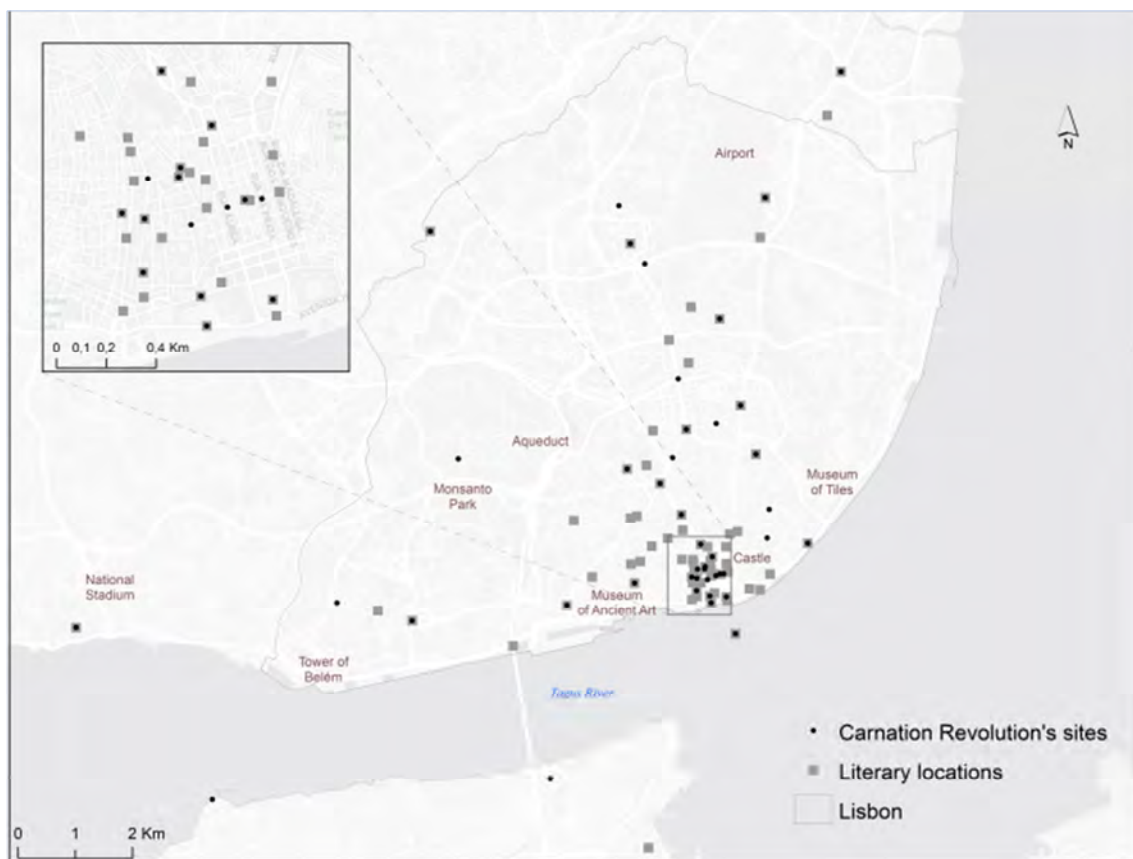


Figure 3 – Literary locations' frequency per classes. The top ten are marked from A to J ( $f \geq 5$ )

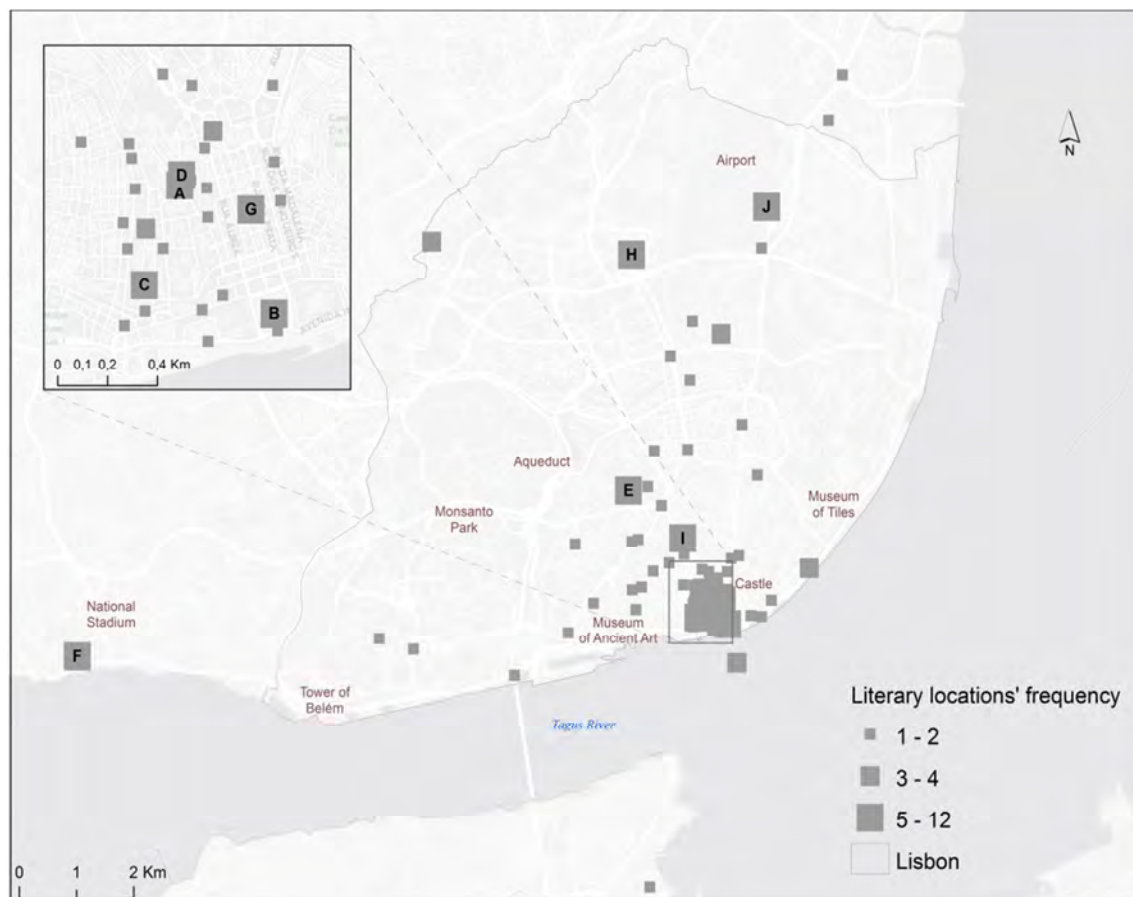


Table 3 - The top ten of literary locations (f ≥ 5)

Ref.	Literary locations	Frequency
A	Largo do Carmo	12
B	Terreiro do Paço	10
C	Rua António Maria Cardoso	8
D	Quartel do Carmo	8
E	Rádio Clube Português	8
F	Prisão de Caxias	7
G	Baixa	5
H	RTP - Estúdios Lumiar	5
I	Avenida da Liberdade	5
J	Aeroporto da Portela	5

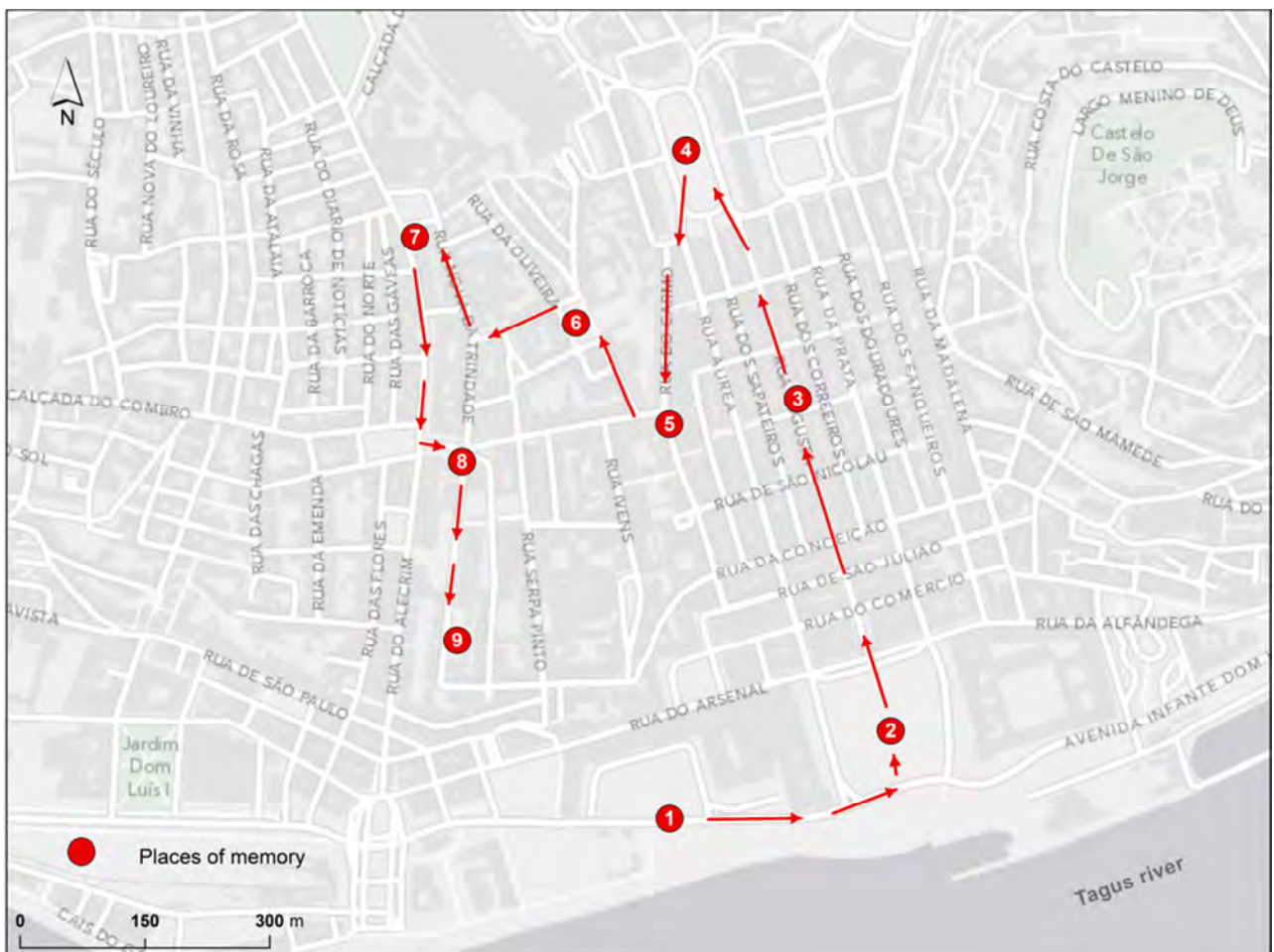
3.2.2 Places of memory

Figure 3 shows the frequency of each literary location in the 23 works analysed. Locations in the city centre are mentioned more often. Among the top ten literary locations (f ≥ 5, see Table 3), half of these are in the core of the “revolutionary Lisbon”.

The core corresponds to the main political, economic and social space of Lisbon. Here occurred the most dramatic moments of the military rebellion and the spontaneous popular demonstrations, which transformed the military coup into a revolution (Ferreira 1994; Reis 1996; Rosas 2010).

Largo do Carmo (f=12) is the most prominent location in the literature. This emphasis could be even higher if we combined its frequency with references to Quartel do Carmo, the headquarters of GNR (f=8). Together, both locations are mentioned in 65% of the works (n=15). This is followed by Terreiro do Paço (f=10) and Rua António Maria Cardoso. The crucial acts for the regime takeover happened in these four locations. Still in this core-area, Baixa corresponds to a set of large and bustling streets and downtown squares where people demonstrated their support for the MFA. Outside of this, the other five locations have strong strategic and iconic meanings. Two of these are related to information control and dissemination: RCP – Rádio Clube Português, the radio station which broadcast the MFA’s announcements, and RTP – Rádio Televisão Portuguesa, the Television studios (at that time located in Lumiar neighbourhood). Avenida da Liberdade (meaning Liberty Avenue) is Lisbon’s main boulevard and a place of popular demonstrations of rejoicing. Prisão de Caxias was the prison where political prisoners were held by the deposed dictatorship and they were liberated on April 26. Finally, the Airport (Aeroporto) that was occupied by the military revolutionaries was also a place for the arrival of political refugees and leaders of the opposition on April 30.

Figure 4 – Walk through the Revolution: a historical trail in the centre of Lisbon



Literary representations strongly associate the Carnation Revolution with the centre of Lisbon. These are spatially defined by the key sites of this historical plot in a significant number of works.

Despite this, depictions are not always similarly located across the literary *corpus*. Different scenarios are related to the experiences of characters over the "week of prodigies". 59% of the literary locations (n=42) are mentioned in only one work; 18% are mentioned in only two works.

The Carnation Revolution earns a particular extended space in four of the literary works (more than 20 locations in each). Three of these [4, 9 and 10] not only describe the early events of the "week of prodigies" but the sequence of the major events, which includes: the liberation of the political prisoners, the arrival of the political refugees and the huge demonstration of May 1 outside the core-area of the "revolutionary Lisbon"; [23] describes in detail a journey of a character in inner conflict: his romantic relationship ends painfully on the day the longed freedom begins.

#### 4. Memories from a week of prodigies

The early moments of the Carnation Revolution are described as a very positive historical event in the Portuguese fiction. This is not oblivious to the fact that it finally introduced democracy and, among other changes, ended the colonial war, the secret policy and censorship. The latter being the hardest constraint on intellectuals who were victims for the 48 year-long dictatorship.

Literary works reflect the collective memory, retain it and, potentially, magnify it to an audience who has not lived those events. By an exertion of literary skills to communicate facts and feelings, the novels, the stories and the play, previously analysed, present vivid descriptions of the occurrences referenced to places (focused on the centre of Lisbon, as we see above), and gave them a strong meaning. Through these readings, the events and their locations can be aggregated into a web of memories representing our understanding of this historical event.

Seeking to contribute to a "scientific history on the basis of collective memory" (Le Goff 1992, p. 95), we

suggest a remembering procedure that follows current academic arguments about the emergence of collective memories: "we think and talk about changes in the world around us, we weave together discrete episodes to create a narrative. Events along the timeline of this narrative are connected by associations" (Lee *et al* 2010, p. 1).

Places of memory are the staging points of the historical trail we call *Walk through the Revolution* (fig. 4). These were chosen according to the relative and relevant content of the literary excerpts selected from the alternatives found in the *corpus* and their geographical coincidence with facts recorded by other historical sources (Appendix 2). The sequence was established in order to build a spatial narrative that respects the chronology, helping people to feel the environment and associate episodes among themselves and with their locations (Table 4). The complete trail has 2.5 km long and its duration is dependent on the time dwelt at each point, and on the readings conducted onsite.

With the same literary material, it would be possible to add more places of remembrance to the historical trail, or to create alternative appropriate narratives. Obviously, this paper does not exhaust all options for exploring the literary *corpus* on the "week of prodigies". Rather, the intention is to encourage the appreciation of literature as a historical support and repository for a specific range of values, beliefs and traditions which unites individuals through an idea of a shared past. This procedure has become increasingly relevant in contemporary rushed societies, characterised by oblivion and superficiality, on the treatment of the achievements of recent history. Lisbon, its inhabitants and its visitors, will benefit from celebrating these past memorable days toward understanding the present and, hopefully, reinforcing the political and social consciousness. As Le Goff (1992, p. 99) stated, "[m]emory, on which history draws and which it nourishes in return, seeks to save the past in order to serve the present and the future. Let us act in such a way the collective memory may serve the liberation and not the enslavement of human beings."



Table 4 – *Walk through the Revolution: a spatial narrative with nine places of memory*

Historical trail	
1	<p>Arsenal/Ribeira das Naus/ Rio Tejo  <b>Commissioned to overthrow the regime, troops enter the city of Lisbon [17, 70].</b>  <b>The early moments were dominated by a great military tension with an unanticipated outcome. [7, 83 and 206]; [9, 96]; [16, 40].</b>  <b>People questioned the political orientation of the coup. [4, 25]; [7, 232]; [8, 49 – 51]; [10, 70].</b>  <b>The events are recorded by the cameras of common people and professional photographers. [9, 95]; [20, 162].</b></p>
2	<p>Terreiro do Paço  <b>Lack of freedom, poverty and the colonial war were motivations to ending dictatorship. [2, 20]; [21,109].</b>  <b>The pro and anti-government military found themselves in front of the ministries without any clashes. Also, the frigate stationed in the Tagus river refused to fire on the troops parked in the square. [10, 81]; [11, 338].</b></p>
3	<p>Baixa/Rua Augusta  <b>People in the streets report the events to family and friends by phone. Many others stay at home: schools and factories remain closed. [5, 184]; [8, 54]; [9, 94]; [14, 311]; [17, 76].</b>  <b>The announcements of MFA are more and more enlightening about the aims of the revolution [8, 51]; [11, 338].</b>  <b>Outside the capital, the country follows the events reported listening to the MFA, protest songs and military marches broadcast by radio. [1, 29]; [3, 146]; [6, 49]; [13, 350- 352]; [19, 92 and 97].</b></p>
4	<p>Rossio  <b>On this square, a florist distributed to soldiers a consignment of red carnations, a delivery she no longer expected to undertake; others followed her, seconding the euphoria of the population and celebrating the revolt. [9, 97]; [10, 87].</b>  <b>Even those men from the military that are reticent or afraid in the early moments, decided to join the MFA. Only a few stay supportive of the regime. [7, 212 and 216].</b>  <b>Groups discussed the events, and the names of those responsible for the military coup began to emerge. [23, 25].</b></p>
5	<p>Rua do Carmo/Rua Nova do Almada  <b>Rumours about what was going on spread in the whirl of events. [4, 23]; [10, 81].</b>  <b>Military forces together with people in the streets showed their trust in the win. [3,116]; [7,233]; [9, 97]; [18,106]; [23, 23].</b></p>
6	<p>Quartel da GNR/Largo do Carmo  <b>Largo do Carmo is the most emblematic location of the events that occurred on April 25. Hundreds of people concentrated in this square saw the main events. For hours, people gave speeches, sang and shouted slogans. [2, 22]; [3, 99]; [4, 24 - 26]; [7, 193,198, 200 and 203]; [10, 91]; [11, 344-348]; [23, 22].</b></p>
7	<p>Misericórdia/República  <b>Insights about the coup arrived early in newspapers. [12, 46, 73 and 120].</b>  <b>People eager for more information drove up to their offices and bought the new issues. [4, 23]; [23,19].</b></p>
8	<p>Chiado  <b>Happiness and unity spread through the city. Over the day, more and more people left home and came to the city centre saluting the MFA and the end of the dictatorship. [9, 106]; [11, 341-342]; [14, 311]; [15, 133]; [16, 48]; [22,124]; [23, 21].</b></p>
9	<p>PIDE-DGS/Rua António Maria Cardoso  <b>People and the military rebels surround the headquarters of the secret police. It was the one of the most tense moments of the coup and one in which there was bloodshed. [2, 62]; [9, 99]; [10, 108-114]; [11, 349]; [13, 354].</b></p>

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Lídia Jorge call April 25 the "day of prodigies" and use this as the title for her first novel, *The Day of Prodigies*, 1979; Filomena Marona Beja subsequently extended the designation to the period until the 1st of May (*Bute daí, Zé!*, 2012, p. 99).

<sup>2</sup> "A sea of people forming a huge choir that solemnly declares the land of brotherhood in front of a quarters of the damned where Government had taken refuge".



<sup>3</sup> “The living dead of yesterday are eagerly listening to the radio at home but they will become different people. Some even should wear a mask of Democrats.”

<sup>4</sup> “I cannot describe this day: the troops, the tanks, the happiness, the words of joy, the nervousness, the pure elation”.

<sup>5</sup> “[a]t the moment there is a power that falls and another that rises, and a lifetime is not enough to contain this moment; there is a soaring music, a voice, a song, a drunkenness of shared party; suddenly nothing is the same as it has always been; there are tanks up the streets, but the war is over and people embrace the soldiers with flowers in hand.”

Appendix 1 - Literary *corpus*: fictional writings mentioning the Carnation Revolution

	References (year of 1 <sup>st</sup> edition)	Genre	Categories	Locations
[1]	Alexandre Pinheiro Torres, 1999, <i>Amor, só amor, tudo amor</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	novel	7	4
[2]	Alice Vieira, 1999, <i>Vinte cinco a sete vozes</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	5	4
[3]	Almeida Faria, 2014, <i>Lusitânia</i> , Lisboa: Assírio e Alvim (1980)	novel	6	6
[4]	Álvaro Guerra, 1998, <i>Café 25 de Abril</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1986)	novel	7	23
[5]	António Lobo Antunes, 1994, <i>A morte de Carlos Gardel</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1994)	novel	5	3
[6]	António Lobo Antunes, 2000, <i>As Naus</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1988)	novel	4	0
[7]	António Lobo Antunes, 2000, <i>Fado Alexandrino</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1983)	novel	7	14
[8]	Carlos Brito, 1999, <i>Vale a pena ter esperança</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	7	3
[9]	Filomena Marona Beja, 2010, <i>Bute daí, Zé!</i> , Lisboa: Sextante (2010)	novel	7	29
[10]	Germano Almeida, 1999, <i>Dona Pura e os Camaradas de Abril</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	novel	7	25
[11]	José Cardoso Pires, 1999, <i>Alexandra Alpha</i> , Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote (1987)	novel	7	8
[12]	José Saramago, 2006, <i>A Noite</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1979)	play	5	4
[13]	José Saramago, 2002, <i>Levantado do Chão</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1980)	novel	5	1
[14]	José Saramago, 1986, <i>Manual de Pintura e Caligrafia</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1977)	novel	4	1
[15]	Lídia Jorge, 1985, <i>O Dia dos Prodígios</i> , Mem-Martins: Edições Europa-América (1980)	novel	4	0
[16]	Maria Isabel Barreno, 1999, <i>As vésperas esquecidas</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	6	8
[17]	Mário de Carvalho, 1999, <i>Apuros de um pessimista em fuga</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	2	1
[18]	Mário de Carvalho, 2003, <i>Era bom que trocássemos umas ideias sobre o assunto</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1995)	novel	2	0
[19]	Mia Couto, 1999, <i>Vinte e zinco</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	4	0
[20]	Patrícia Reis, 2011, <i>Por este Mundo acima</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (2011)	novel	3	0
[22]	Rui Zink, 1995, <i>Hotel Lusitano</i> , Mem-Martins: Edições Europa-América (1986)	novel	3	1
[21]	Teolinda Gersão, 1982, <i>Paisagem com mulher e mar ao fundo</i> , Lisboa: O Jornal (1982)	novel	5	4
[23]	Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, 1999, <i>O último dia e o primeiro</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	7	27

Appendix 2 - April 25-26, major historical events on the centre of Lisbon (adapted from "Lisboa em (R)evolução" website)

1	<p>Arsenal/Ribeira das Naus/ Rio Tejo</p> <p><b>Early morning, military forces assigned to the regime approach the rebels (MFA) parked nearby; in the Tagus river, a Navy frigate received orders to fire on the MFA forces who besieged the ministries but it refused to comply; at 10:00, another military force arrived to fight the MFA troops but the soldiers refused to shoot; meanwhile, people know what is happening because of the announcements transmitted by radio.</b></p>
2	<p>Terreiro do Paço</p> <p><b>The rebels control the ministries located in this square and police forces (PSP) start to obey Salgueiro Maia, one of the heroes of the revolution; the ministers ran away and the rebels controlled the situation: then, the Salgueiro Maia column moved out of Terreiro do Paço to Carmo Square where the President of the Ministers Counsel (Marcelo Caetano) and other political leaders were hiding.</b></p>
3	<p>Baixa/Rua Augusta</p> <p><b>Against the pleas of the MFA regularly broadcast by radio, people came to the street and surrounded the armed forces in large demonstrations of joy; military vehicles cross the streets. Several forces of the regime stationed in Baixa's streets, gave up as the news of the rebels movements start to spread and more people walked through the city centre.</b></p>
4	<p>Rossio</p> <p><b>At 12:00, the euphoric population surrounded the pro-government forces that tried to stop the Salgueiro Maia column making them inoperable, fraternising with the soldiers who afterwards joined the MFA; throughout the morning, other military groups abandoned the pro-government commands.</b></p>
5	<p>Rua do Carmo/Rua Nova do Almada</p> <p><b>At 12:15, surrounded by a crowd of civilians, the Salgueiro Maia column climbed the Rua do Carmo.</b></p>
6	<p>Quartel da GNR/Largo do Carmo</p> <p><b>The Salgueiro Maia column arrived at Carmo Square at 12:30 and began a five hour siege of the GNR headquarters and negotiations for the surrender of the government. Meanwhile more and more people gathered in and around the square. During the negotiations, two bursts of machine gun were fired against the façade. Finally, Marcelo Caetano surrendered to General Spínola and he was sent to exile.</b></p>
7	<p>Misericórdia/República</p> <p><b>After several decades, newspapers published their first issues without censorship. All the main news and communications facilities were in the hands of, or controlled by the MFA.</b></p>
8	<p>Chiado</p> <p><b>The number of people circulating and bunching in the streets and squares around Chiado was such that pro-government forces loyal to the regime, who had tried to siege the Carmo Square, ended up quitting as they could not manoeuvre their vehicles while some of the soldiers began to mingle with the population.</b></p>
9	<p>PIDE-DGS/Rua António Maria Cardoso</p> <p><b>The siege of the headquarters of the political police began on the morning of April 25 but with little success. In the evening, after the MFA proclamation on television, people gathered in larger numbers around the headquarters; guns from inside the building were used against the crowd leaving 4 killed and 45 wounded. More military forces arrived but the trapped police agents only surrendered on the morning of the next day.</b></p>

Sandi Michele de Oliveira

## Discourses of inclusion and exclusion in the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution

This article takes a discourse analytical approach to elements of the 40th commemoration of the Portuguese Revolution, focusing specifically on the absence of themes and participants by groups who were most directly involved in the Revolution, either as actors (the “Captains of Abril”), the *retornados* (Portuguese nationals “returning” to Portugal in the aftermath of the 1974 coup) and *retornados-emigrantes* (those who left Africa during this period but went on to live outside Portugal). The analyses center primarily on the speech by Portuguese President Cavaco Silva, given as the official opening of the 40th anniversary of the military coup of 25 April 1974, which brought the authoritarian regime of 48 years to an end. This examination, combined with other speeches of Cavaco Silva, newspaper reports, analyses of the integration of *retornados*, and a commemorative TV miniseries on the Revolution, provide the evidence for the argument that important voices of the Revolution were muted or silenced in the official commemoration of 2014. Finally, the relevance of actor-centered perspectives on commemoration is laid out for educators.

### Keywords:

commemoration, retornados, Portuguese diaspora, Captains of April, emigrants, luso-tropicalism

### 1 Introduction

On April 25, 2014, Portugal commemorated the 40th anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution. For some, it was a time of remembering the end of dictatorship and isolation. For others, notably those who had lived in the former Lusophone African territories at the time, the commemoration revived recollections of the trauma and turmoil of the period. The estimate of the number of *retornados*, those returning to the Metropole from the soon-to-be-former Portuguese territories in Africa, is broad: 500,000, often quoted as the official statistic (e.g., Almeida 2014), to 1 million (Godim, 2013). The number of Portuguese who emigrated is no less impressive: between 1960 and 1975 approximately 1.5 million Portuguese left the country (Prof2000, n.d.). Portuguese Government statistics indicate official numbers for the 1960s at nearly 650,000, and numbers in the 1970s at approximately 393,000 (Secretário de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas, 2013). It is impossible to say how many of the *retornados* emigrated, bypassing the authorities and thus not entered in the official record. By the 1990s, the office of the Foreign Ministry providing support to emigrants and to the Portuguese communities in the diaspora (*Instituto de Apoio à emigração às Comunidades Portuguesas*), estimated that 4 million Portuguese were living abroad, accounting for more than

a third of the nation’s population (Council of Europe 1994, p. 18).

Consequently, the commemorative events of 2014 were also a reminder of one of Portugal’s postcolonial challenges: What does it (now) mean to be Portuguese? What place do the *retornados* and Portuguese living in the diaspora play in the nation’s sense of self? This article examines discourses of inclusion and exclusion at commemorative events of the 40th anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution. The notion that anyone “need” be excluded brings to mind three questions one can pose about commemorative events generally: For *whom* is the commemorative event and *whose needs* does it serve? *How* should the event be commemorated? Whose are the *legitimate voices* and who “should” be silenced?

The discursive analysis of commemorative events has generated a lot of interest in the past couple of years. Recent studies have focused on constructions of memory (Alves et al. 2014; Duncan 2014; and Ümit Üngör 2014); the (re)construction of “truth” or “history” (Billig & Marinho 2014, as well as Hladki 2014); and Zuev & Virchow (2014) present a group of articles examining how participation in national events is an instance of identity performance. One paper in the collection, Leal (2014) contrasts Azorean vs. mainland Portuguese participation in Portuguese-centered events in Toronto, noting that commemoration in diasporic communities is not monolithic among people of the same national origin. Mininni, Manuti & Curigliano (2012) consider commemorative acts as “discursive resources of historical identity.” While each of these perspectives offers valuable insights to the analysis of commemorative events through the lens of its participants, this article examines the relative invisibility of both the principal actors of the Revolution as well as a sector of the population most affected by the Revolution itself at the time—those residing in one of Portugal’s overseas territories in Africa.

### 2 Background of the study

Initially, this was to have been a study comparing experiences, practices and memories of the 1974 revolution at three moments in time—the events of

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1974, the subsequent three years, and the approaching 40th anniversary of the Revolution.<sup>1</sup> Three demographic profiles were identified among participants aged 45 and above: those living in one of the former Portuguese overseas provinces in 1974 who now reside in Portugal (*retornados*), those living in Africa in 1974 who returned to Portugal but later emigrated (*retornados-emigrantes*), and those who have always lived within the geographic boundaries that currently define Portugal. Participants aged 44 and younger were divided into two categories—those who live in Portugal and those who lived abroad. As they did not personally experience the events of 1974, they were asked to reconstruct what they remembered others having told them about the period in question.

The total number of participants in the study, 54, was much smaller than anticipated, as the study was promoted in several Facebook groups reaching approximately 30,000 people, as well as forwarded through personal channels and a few blogs. In hindsight, the number of participants might have been higher if the study had been designated “Memories of the Portuguese Revolution” rather than “Memories and Commemoration of the 25th of April.” As few participants in the study engage in activities of commemoration on an annual basis, perhaps other potential participants felt that the questionnaire was not directed to them.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the study for its original purposes, a number of issues came to light in the responses of those who in 1974 lived in Africa and currently live in the diaspora to prompt me to refocus attention on the discursive practices surrounding the commemoration, the subject of this article. Participants were asked how long it took for them to feel their life had become “normalizada” (normal). Fully half of the 16 people in this category responded “Never”—their lives have never returned to their definition of normalcy, independently of their educational level, professional status or current place of residence. The second most frequent response was “10 years,” while the shortest recovery time, mentioned by a single participant, was “5 years.” Despite the lack of participation in commemorations of the Revolution, nearly all maintain their Portuguese citizenship travel to Portugal at least once per year, and decided to be included in this study.

The *retornados-emigrantes* experienced the revolution and its aftermath in a unique way. Theirs were the lives most affected by the coup, as they were forced to leave stable, middle-class lives for the insecurity of the Metropole and, later, further upheaval and adaptation as emigrants. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974, they witnessed the coup at a distance, both geographical and for many, temporal as well, as with no TV the news came by ham radio and word of mouth. Several informants said they only learned of the Revolution the following day. Most of the participants in the study left Africa in 1975 during the “hot summer,” the term for the period of greatest exodus of *retornados*. As a result, they had a front row seat in the aftermath of the coup, experiencing housing, job and food shortages, as well as discrimination, resentment, and a sudden loss of social status. They later

left Portugal, between 1975 and 1988, and currently live in Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Holland, New Zealand, the U.K., and the U.S.

Having decided to focus on the *retornados-emigrantes*, it may therefore seem a bit antithetical to focus on a commemorative event in which the population in question does not participate, but the data led me to pose a question similar to González-Espitia’s regarding the construction of national identity in the 19th century in the newly formed countries in Latin America: “What type of nation [here, commemorative event] arises when the memory is marked by catastrophe, shame, or destruction?” (2009, p. 35). These were certainly the by-products of the Revolution. While the term *retornado* was created in 1975 with the creation of the agency to help those “returning” to Portugal, the statistics are unclear as to the number of people leaving the African colonies already by June 1974 (Matos, 2010). Barreto (2002) claims that, in order to mask the instability caused by the massive flux of Portuguese to and from the Metropole, as well as from the colonies directly to other countries—estimated as 7% of the entire population in a single year—the Government was lax in collecting exact data on these numbers (Barreto, 2002, p. 8). Further complicating the situation, was the flexibility as to which groups would be counted as *retornados*. For Portuguese agencies, only those with family ties to Portugal would be given support through the IARN (Institute for the Support of Returning Nationals).

Taking a macroperspective to the events of 25 April 1974, three groups stand out: the military captains who carried out the coup; the *retornados*, whose lives were forever changed; and the emigrants, whose physical departure from the country was a relief to the country’s infrastructures and subsequent remittances provided economic relief to family members left behind. As a result, this article explores the degree to which the contributions and experiences of these groups were acknowledged, made visible in the official commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the revolution, in 2014. Would there be any acknowledgement of the roles they and others in similar situations played in the construction of a new national identity and the new democratic regime?

This article examines speeches made by President Cavaco Silva on 25 April 2014, with references to his speeches on 10 June 2013 and 2014, June 10th being the commemoration of the Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities. Similar discourses regarding the role Portuguese in the diaspora can and should play as citizens can also be found in the presentation of the *Conselho da Diáspora Portuguesa* (Portuguese Diaspora Council), created by Cavaco Silva in 2012. Supporting evidence is further found in the commemorative TV miniseries *Depois do Adeus*, which tracks the life of a *retornado* family from Angola’s path to integration in Portugal, newspaper articles on the aftermath of the Revolution and discussions of the role the Captains of April association should play in the commemoration ceremony.

### 3 Discourses and practices of inclusion and exclusion

Events were scheduled throughout 2014 to commemorate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Revolution—lectures, debates, conferences, and expositions. However, a search of the terms “retornado,” “diaspora” and “emigrant” crossed with “25<sup>th</sup> of April,” Portuguese Revolution commemoration, and so forth, suggests that neither the *retornados* nor the emigrants were the central focus of any well-publicized event. From this evidence alone, it is impossible to know whether this was a result of a particular strategy or simply reflects a position that these groups are irrelevant. In the eyes of the sociologist Rui Pena Pires, writing for local papers such as *Jornal da Madeira* on April 24, 2014, the *retornados* are an “*assunto de memória*” (a “thing of the past”). To him they have become invisible, as their skills allowed them over time to move into positions of authority. His focus is clearly on professional integration, rather than emotional connection. This finding is in contrast to Machado’s (2011) work on the creation of memories and post-memories by children of *retornados*. His conclusion is that psychological integration has not taken place, that a sense of belonging in Portugal has not fully developed. The finding that the lives of so many of the participants have never become “normal” is in line with Machado’s.

Pires’ perspective, however, fits the national narrative that Portugal is at peace with itself and national unity and democracy are the law and spirit of the day. This is the thrust of most of Cavaco Silva’s official commemorative speech of 25 April 2014. Cavaco Silva was not the only speaker at the Parliament on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April. But as Portugal’s highest-ranking public official, it serves as the keystone official narrative of the event and therefore is the object of analysis here. Cavaco Silva refers to democracy (by noun, adjective or adverb) 25 times and liberty 7, while contrasting post-1974 Portugal with the dictatorship (mentioned 4 times). Although he alludes to the fact that other interpretations of the past exist, other views of history and of paths not taken, he makes no comment regarding the type of discord and places them in the framework of a successful democratic regime:

É legítimo contestar opções que se fizeram ao longo destes quarenta anos. Contudo, temos de ter presente uma realidade muito simples: só podemos contestar e criticar tais opções porque vivemos em liberdade e em democracia.

It’s legitimate to contest decisions which were made during these 40 years. However, we have to keep present in our minds a very simple reality: we can only contest and criticize such decisions because we live in liberty and under democracy [*translation mine*].

At the same time, he urges for continued education about the dictatorship, so that younger generations, who have not experienced the hardships of a dictatorial regime, will be aware of them.

One such contested decision involves the commemoration itself: the role that the “Captains of April” would play in the ceremony. The term “Captains of April” refers to the group of soldiers who planned the coup and were responsible for its success. The polemic was in

Parliament: should they be allowed a speaking role, or merely be silent witnesses to the event, serving as visual symbols of the Revolution? For Vasco Lourenço of the 25th of April Association, the decision would be determined by political expediency. He felt that there was fear that the Captains would speak against the government, pointing to its departure from the ideals of the Revolution. This fear was not entirely unfounded, given Lourenço’s position from the time the Pedro Passos Coelho became Prime Minister in 2011 (government took office in (The final decision was that would not be granted a voice, despite the urgings of former presidents Ramalho Eanes (*Jornal do Sol* 2014) and Mário Soares (*Diário de Notícias* 2014), who also cited political reasons for their exclusion: he referred to the government as “anti-25 de Abril,” as for three consecutive years the captains had not been allowed to participate actively (i.e., speak) during the official ceremony. As the Captains of April Association declined the invitation to serve merely as a visual reminder of the role of the military in the events of the 25th of April, they were excluded from the official ceremony. Instead, the association planned its own commemorative event in Largo do Carmo, near the military quarter to which Marcelo Caetano fled once the coup was under way. Among those participating in this “parallel” ceremony was Mário Soares.

In the official ceremony Cavaco Silva makes no mention of the Captains of April, the very elements that made possible the implantation of democracy at that moment in time. Instead, he says:

...devemos dirigir uma saudação especial às Forças Armadas, que, nas alturas decisivas da nossa História, sempre souberam estar ao serviço de Portugal e dos Portugueses.

...we should give a special greeting to the Armed Forces, which, in the decisive moments in our History, always knew how to provide service to Portugal and the Portuguese.

This statement, while not a lie, distorts the historical record. While the statement itself might be made by an official at any time and be considered true, in this context it is a clear reference to the military’s role in making democracy possible. While those knowledgeable of the events would be able to identify the distortion, younger members of the audience, as well as the international public, would not necessarily realize that he had effectively given credit to the military as a whole. In doing so he transformed the nature of the coup, giving it the status of an official military action sanctioned by the generals, as opposed to the operation which was clandestine both in terms of the Caetano government and the military itself. In this way, his apparent inclusionary discourse masks an exclusionary act.

Not only does Cavaco Silva disguise the prime actors of the coup, he also skirts the issue of those whose lives were so drastically altered through the turmoil of the times. At no times does he use the words *retornado*, *emigrante* or *África*, but there is a moment when it seems he is referring to *retornados*, as when he turns his attention to the past and declares, “We successfully integrated many thousands of Portuguese coming from the African territories that became independent.”<sup>19</sup> This



statement appears to reduce the hundreds of thousands of *retornados* to mere thousands. He continues: “Without traumas or complexes, we built a fraternal alliance with the new countries that affirms the value of ‘lusophony’ in the entire world [translation mine].<sup>iii</sup>” At the end of the second sentence it becomes clear that he is referring to an influx of people of African descent post-independence, but for listeners who presumed from the first sentence that he was speaking of *retornados*, “without traumas or complexes” must have sounded as a dismissal of their feelings. In this way, while Cavaco Silva appears to have trivialized their experiences (cf. Todorov 2004), in reality he has diminished them to the point of invisibility, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, the narrative Cavaco Silva promotes is one of Portugal welcoming its formerly far-flung citizens back into the fold in a nearly seamless process. We can easily extrapolate that the voices which must be silenced are those that promote a different picture of events.

In turning his attention to the future, Cavaco Silva refers to those in the “Diaspora” as “strategic assets” (*ativos estratégicos*), a business term often referring to inanimate objects essential to a company’s productivity, such as equipment, tools, patents, etc. (e.g., CRIE, n.d.). As he has revealed in his yearly speeches on the Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities (Oliveira 2013), he is unwavering in his focus on what the Diaspora can contribute to the Nation. Parenthetically, an argument could be made that by referring to emigrants as strategic assets his discursive strategy is similar to colonial powers discussing their resources in the far-flung reaches of their empire, but this is a topic for another article. Indeed, Cavaco Silva makes no mention to the role that massive emigration played in creating economic stability in Portugal through remittances (equivalent to 10% of Portugal’s Gross National Product in 1982, according to PORDATA), as well as easing the strain on the country’s infrastructures by leaving the country (see Telo, 1997, p. 161 for discussion of emigration as the most important factor in the democratization of Portuguese society).

Despite his inclusion of those “in the diaspora” late in the speech, 40 seconds into his 23,5 minute speech he states that “in all the Country, Portuguese are celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> of April because it brought us liberty.” He does not say that Portuguese around the world are celebrating, despite the large number of celebrations held in Portuguese diasporic communities. At this moment, only those residing in the country are deemed relevant (i.e., discursively included). One can easily argue that this choice is natural, given that the events occurred on Portuguese soil and led to a democratic regime in this country. However, he is accustomed to referring to those in the diaspora as Portuguese, both in his 10 June speeches commemorating the Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities, as well as when speaking of the Portuguese Diaspora Council (Conselho da Diáspora Portuguesa), created by him in 2012 (see Oliveira 2013 for a broader discussion of his use of elite members of

the diaspora as strategic assets for the country), although he does not grant them the same status. In his speech of 10 June 2013 Cavaco Silva (Silva, 2013) makes a distinction between *portugueses na Pátria* (Portuguese at home) and *portugueses na diáspora* (Portuguese abroad), calling those in the diáspora to “do their part” in helping Portugal face the financial crisis, because “Portugal is doing its part” (*Portugal está a fazer a sua parte*). It is an example of cognitive dissonance to claim that those in the diaspora have obligations as Portuguese when help is needed, yet can be excluded when the country is celebrating. Based on this distinction as well as other evidence, Oliveira (2013, p. 70) hypothesizes that for Cavaco Silva, the “Portuguese at home” and the “Portuguese abroad” represent two levels of citizenship, with those in the diaspora taking second place.

Certainly the most prolonged attention to the *retornado* experience within the commemoration of the Revolution as a year-long mega-event was the television miniseries *Depois do Adeus* (“After the goodbye”), broadcast in 26 episodes by RTP (Rádio Televisão Portuguesa). *Depois do Adeus* is the name of the song that was Portugal’s entry in the Eurovision song contest of 1974, won by Abba in early April of that year. As *Depois do Adeus* was often heard on the radio, the planners of the coup decided that it should be played at a specific time on a radio station they would control to serve as the signal to the troops that the coup would take place. This miniseries, first broadcast in 2013 and rebroadcast in 2014, focuses on a Portuguese family living in Angola. The first episode, entitled “The End,” begins in mid-July 1975, the middle of the “hot summer.” A coup takes place in Angola that convinces the family to move to the Metropole.

The miniseries is described as “the true portrait of a period that was everything, except fiction! [translation mine]<sup>iv</sup>.” While the series is anchored in reality through the use of archival footage, and addresses problems of finding employment, dealing with discrimination and local bureaucracies, within a mere 11 months the family finds stability. The final episode, taking place in July 1976, coincides with the Olympics. The last conversation is between the parents of the *retornado* family. Maria do Carmo says to her husband, “Our lives begin again today, Álvaro. Our home is here now.” He responds: “But Angola will always remain in our hearts.” At this moment the scene shifts to the Olympics and we watch the end of the 10.000 meter race, in which Carlos Lopes came in second place, giving Portugal its first Olympic medal. The final words of the series are those of the Portuguese announcer, translation mine: “All of us are rooting for and suffering with Carlos Lopes. This is also a victory for Portugal” (RTP, 2012).

By associating Portugal’s victory in the Olympics with the integration of a family of *retornados*, we are left with a narrative that the newly defined, smaller-sized Portugal has quickly absorbed the *retornados* and has unified around common goals and national identity, which is in line with Pires’ (2014) conclusion, discussed above. Statistics are lacking which would demonstrate the pro-

portion of *retornados* who were effectively assimilated after 11 months. However, data from the participants in this study, combined with interviews, conversations and observations personally conducted during my residence in Lisbon in 1977-78 suggest that four years after the Revolution there was still significant turmoil and distrust of the *retornados*.

#### 4 Discussion and conclusions

Research on commemoration is naturally focused on those who participate in the events. McCrone & McPherson (2009), among others, view the commemoration of the home country's national days as a means of making a link between so-called "dislocated communities." Presumably, however, the desire to forge and strengthen that link is based on a sense of shared background (see, for example, Morawska, 2011). In the case of *retornados* who had never resided outside Africa before the Revolution, their shared space, or home, is not Portugal, but rather Africa. If their stories are not a part of Portugal's national narrative—if their experiences are not officially celebrated in Portugal, why would they wish to commemorate the date in their adopted country? After all, the narratives of their personal trajectories and experiences function as "counter-memories" (cf. Hladki, 2014), or alternative readings of history. Their narratives evoke several controversial aspects of Portugal's still recent past: Empire and the Colonial Wars, the lack of infrastructures in the Metropole, resentment towards the *retornados*, and so forth. Counter-memories are a disruption to the process Ümit Üngör refers to as "fine-tuning national memories" and "muting" the past (2014, p. 154).

The idea that history will be fine-tuned and the sharp lines of its past "muted" is a partial answer to the question adapted from González-Espitia, "What type of commemoration arises when the memory is marked by catastrophe, shame, or destruction?" One way to move forward is to either ignore the most turbulent part of the past or to trivialize its importance, to avoid giving voices to counter-memories and counter-narratives—to weave a narrative which shows democracy as a product, not a process. In this case, outside elements "must" be quickly assimilated into the whole. Each time an event is commemorated, there is a new opportunity to revisit the event and emphasize different aspects, revive old memories or create new ones. Soutelo (2009) analyzes revisionism of the 25th of April during the time when Cavaco Silva was Prime Minister (1985-95). Ribeiro (2011) and Billig & Marinho (2014) examine the (unsuccessful) efforts made by the government on the 30th anniversary of the Portuguese Revolution (2004) to change the popular slogan "25 de abril é revolução" to "25 de abril é evolução." In 2014, political actions taken with regards to the organization of the official ceremony served to silence the voices of those whose memories, trajectories and actions at the time do not fit the harmonious narrative created in 2014.

The discourse of unity and integration has been a feature of Portuguese self-understanding, i.e., national

identity construction, for decades. It is found in the ideas of luso-tropicalism—a view developed by Freyre (1933) throughout *Casa Grande e Senzala (The Masters and the Slaves)*—that the Portuguese were better colonizers, as they were more tolerant than other colonizing powers, more able to mesh their values than others, more willing to mix their blood. Over time this idea has been expanded to refer to the ability of the Portuguese to become well-integrated and successful when abroad (Silva, 2013), as well as a firmly held belief that they are tolerant to foreigners living in Portugal (Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008). Thus, Cavaco Silva's use of the word "integration" when speaking of the Africans who went to Portugal after their country's independence fits into Portugal's self-image in the world. However, Vala, Lopes & Lima (2008) demonstrate that while luso-tropicalism has had an effect on Portugal's self-image and self-understanding, and serves to promote a public "anti-prejudice norm" (2008, p. 291), subtle prejudice, racism and discrimination continue to exist (see also Oliveira [2011] on the reception of Pakistani immigrants in Portugal). In Cavaco Silva's speech a unified message is accomplished through selective discursive strategies by effectively excluding the groups whose memories and experiences would provide or suggest a counter-narrative. This exclusion is masked, in some cases, however, by discourse which is apparently inclusive, as in the case of mentioning the Armed Forces, but not acknowledging the specific soldiers and actions that the commemorative event is ostensibly being celebrated.

In her 2009 article "Negotiating a national memory: the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum," McLeod refers to the museum as an "ideal example of a space in which a nation can be seen to be actively negotiating its historicized identity" (2009, p. 157), and notes that one of the museum's greatest challenges is dealing with the inherent ambiguities and contradictions in the history of the Empire (2009, p. 158). I would argue that the *retornados* are the embodiment of such contradictions and ambiguities of the Portuguese Empire, that the lack of enthusiasm for commemorating the 25th of April is easily understood, as is the invisibility of the *retornados* and the emigrants in the national commemoration of the 25th of April. This is not to say that the *retornados* in the diaspora are necessarily disconnected from Portugal. The participants not only keep their Portuguese documents current and visit Portugal at least once per year, but they participate in Facebook groups that highlight some aspect of their Portuguese experience, although that experience may be rooted in their time in Africa: communities where they lived or schools they attended. The fact that they were willing to participate in the study is an indication of some degree of belonging to the larger community, and we can argue as well that it serves as a performance of their identity as Portuguese. But, for the *retornados-emigrantes*, the Revolution brought an end to a way of life that was comfortable and initiated a period of turmoil that for some continues until this day.

Considering again the commemoration of the Revolution as a celebration of national identity, McLeod's

reference to a space (in our discussion, a moment) “in which a nation can be seen to be actively negotiating its historicized identity” is highly pertinent. Each year the country has the option to determine anew the voices to be heard or silenced in order to promote the narrative which the government and participants wish to promote. For the 40th anniversary, the experiences of the *retornados* (those currently residing in Portugal) were presented as evidence of successful reintegration into Portuguese society, while the *retornados-emigrantes*, at least for Cavaco Silva, fell into one of two categories: the retired or the “strategic assets” which may still be of service to the Nation.

In the introduction to this article, several questions were raised regarding the nature of being Portuguese, the place that *retornados* and Portuguese in the diaspora play in the nation’s sense of self, the role of commemoration and the voices to be considered legitimate. While complete answers to these questions fall outside the scope of this article, the analyses presented here suggest some possible answers and avenues for additional study. From this brief examination of events, conducted primarily through the prism of the *retornados-emigrantes*, we can suggest that a national commemoration such as the one analyzed here can serve several purposes, but the official commemoration is for the dominant political party, which promotes its version of reality as the “legitimate” or, perhaps more accurately, the “legitimized” voice of history. These same authorities likewise determine the voices to be silenced, or de-legitimized. It is through this process that the arbiters will determine the groups and individuals who will be silenced, the issues which will not be addressed, the stories that will remain or become untold. In 2014, the stories of the *retornados*, the *retornados-emigrantes*, and the Captains of April, while not completely silenced, were an insignificant part of the master-narrative of the Portuguese Revolution presented by the country’s president.

### 5 Considerations for educators

One of the ongoing tensions within sociology involves the weight given to individual vs. holistic explanations for the understanding of social behavior and events. Actor-centered sociology occupies an intermediate position between these two poles, providing a compromise between “mechanistic” views of the individual (rational) actor (e.g., Adi, Amaeski & Nnodim, 2007) and holistic perspectives in which the actions of the individual actor need not be mentioned in the analysis (see Zahle & Collin, 2014 for a current presentation of the debate between various approaches along the continuum between these two poles, and Little, 2012 for a short presentation on actor-centered sociology). In this section, dedicated to educators working with commemorative events, we will present the rationale for this focus.

According to Little (2014), three considerations in actor-centered sociology are prime: a) that the role that individual actors play in constituting society must be

recognized; b) that broader social explanations must be consistent with the “activities and interactions of individual actors” (referred to as “microfoundations”); and c) that among the individual actors meriting research attention are “ordinary persons.”

Throughout this article we have argued that, through actions and discursive practices, relevant voices of the Portuguese Revolution were muted or silenced at the official commemorative ceremony. We referred to the creation of a master-narrative for the commemoration and, by extension, for current official memories of the event being commemorated. As a result, certain relevant actors of the Revolution (e.g., the Captains of April) were excluded from the ceremony, as they would be allowed to be seen yet not heard. Instead, a narrative was created that might convince casual listeners that the military as a whole was responsible for the Revolution, and mere thousands of people from Africa were assimilated into Portugal (Continent and Adjacent Islands), rather than the half to one-million people who left the former African colonies.

We attributed the actions on the part of Government officials to a desire to minimize the effect of counter-memories and personal trajectories that run counter to the master-narrative that the Government wished to create. We brought into the discussion some of the stories of the *retornados* and *retornados-emigrantes*; we examined official discourses of the President of the Republic; and we noted the contributions of former Presidents who urged the inclusion of the Captains of April—politicians who were active at the time of the Revolution and are now viewed as Elder Statesmen. Our focus on individual narratives and discourses is an acknowledgement that actor-centered approaches have a valuable role to play in understanding complex social phenomena and display the ways that both “ordinary” and well-connected individuals have roles in the constitution of social events.

The fact that master-narratives can be created that serve to diminish the voices of “others” is a reminder that commemorative events serve as ideological tools for those in power. It was to the Government’s advantage to promote the idea that the word *retornado* need no longer exist, because “all” have been integrated. To cease using the word is to ignore the reality that well over a half million Portuguese encountered. It is by actively seeking these voices and including them within the scope of the communicative event that the nuanced reality of the event, in this case the Revolution, is preserved. Indeed, without these counter-memories, the adage that history is written by the conquerors becomes an easy answer for justifying the silencing the discordant voices of the “others.”

Beyond context and nuance, what do these voices “add” to the study of the commemorative event? They provide immediacy, poignancy and authenticity, as well as a small measure of insurance that their voices will be woven into the “permanent” history of the event. The importance of a focus on voices can be seen in the 2015 Memorial Day digital commemorative exhibit of the





Holocaust Educational Trust, called “70 Voices: Victims, perpetrators, bystanders.” While Maws (2015) focuses on the dynamic use of smartphones and tablets as an integral part of the commemoration, and a way of keeping those voices vibrant, we find the focus on multiple voices creates a polyphonic sense of the period, which is equally important as the technology. More specifically this exhibit highlights how we come to a greater understanding of the “whole” through the presentation of the views of individuals participating in and/or witnessing the events of the time.

Broadly speaking, commemorative events can be divided into two categories—events we wish to celebrate or remember (e.g., the end of dictatorial regimes), and those we do not wish to forget (e.g., the Holocaust). One may wonder whether these types of commemoration should be handled differently by educators. On a superficial level, it may seem that the analysis of events considered incontestably celebratory (e.g., Independence Day), need not incorporate individual voices beyond the identification of “heroes.” However, commemorative events mark *changes in the status quo*. For this reason, no matter how positive the event is presumed to be, there are always counter-voices to be heard and understood, as we have shown with the commemoration of the Portuguese Revolution. It is with the fuller picture that we understand better not only the events of the time, but some of the constraints on full participation in the commemoration itself, as well.

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### Endnotes:

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<sup>ii</sup> Integrámos com sucesso os muitos milhares de Portugueses vindos dos territórios africanos que se tornaram independentes.

<sup>iii</sup> Sem traumas nem complexos, construímos com os novos países uma aliança fraterna, que afirma o valor da lusofonia no mundo inteiro.

<sup>iv</sup> Original text: Depois do Adeus - Uma parte da história que muitos portugueses desconhecem - Um outro lado do pós-25 de Abril e a vida dos retornados na nova série de época da RTP. "Depois do Adeus" o retrato fiel de uma época que foi tudo, menos ficção!



Ximena Faúndez, Ximena Goecke

## Psychosocial Trauma Transmission and Appropriation in Grandchildren of Former Political Prisoners of the Civic – Military Dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990)\*

This article introduces and discusses a research which sought to comprehend, through the analysis of the narratives of the grandchildren of victims of the Civic-Military Dictatorship in Chile, the phenomena of transgenerational psychosocial trauma. The research involved 14 grandchildren of former political prisoners (FPP), between 18 and 25 years old, both from the Metropolitan Region of Chile and from the Araucanía Region. It considered life story as the productive technique, and applied a narrative analysis to the sample collected. The results of this study allow us to state that the life story of the grandchildren of FPP is included in a logic of transgenerational transmission and appropriation of the psychosocial trauma. Which implies that inside the families of FPP still persists the avoidance and silence dynamic around the torture's experience, determining the relationship of the grandchildren with the traumatic experience. Also, the results show that there are important gendered features to take into consideration while listening to the narratives of transgenerational transmission.

Este artículo presenta y discute una investigación que buscó, a partir del relato de los nietos de víctimas de la dictadura cívico-militar chilena, comprender el fenómeno de la transgeneracionalidad del trauma psicosocial. En el estudio participaron 14 nietos de ex presos/as políticos/as, de entre 18 y 25 años de edad, procedentes de las regiones Metropolitana y de La Araucanía. Se usó el relato de vida como técnica de producción de información y se realizó un análisis narrativo. Los resultados de este estudio permiten plantear que la historia de vida de los nietos de FPP de la dictadura cívico-militar chilena se inscribe en una lógica de transmisión y apropiación transgeneracional del trauma psicosocial. En las familias de FPP persiste una dinámica de evitación y silencio en torno a la experiencia de tortura, la que determina la relación de los nietos con dicha experiencia traumática. Finalmente se discuten los resultados considerando una perspectiva de género.

Dieser Artikel dokumentiert eine Untersuchung des Phänomens des Generationengedächtnisses psycho-sozialer Traumatisierungen anhand von Erzählungen der Enkelkinder von Opfern der chilenischen Diktatur. In dieser Studie nahmen 14 Enkel im Alter zwischen 18 und 25 Jahren (Frauen und Männer) früherer politischer Gefangener teil. Die Opfer stammten sowohl aus der Hauptstadtregion als auch aus der Provinz La Araucania. Die Ergebnisse der Studie erlauben, die Lebensgeschichten der Teilnehmer im Kontext einer Logik der Übertragung und Aneignung psycho-sozialer Traumata von einer Generationen an die nächste verstehen. In den Familien der Opfer bleibt eine Dynamik der Verdrängung und des Verschweigens als Reaktion auf die Erfahrung der Folter bestehen, die die Beziehung der Enkel zu dieser traumatischen Erfahrung bestimmt. Diese Ergebnisse machen auch deutlich, dass die Generationenübertragung stark durch Geschlechterspezifika beeinflusst wird.

### Keywords:

Transgenerational transmission, civic-military Dictatorship, psychosocial trauma, political prison, torture, gender, education

### 1 Introduction

Torture is an extreme kind of exposition to violence, the effects of which largely surpass the descriptive repertoire of physical and psychological aggression involved in. It implies planned actions, which are applied over a subject

with the purpose of destroying his/her beliefs and convictions, taking out of them the core elements which used to be the base of his/her identity (Viñar, 2006). The traumatic character of torture is based on the unexpected simultaneous impact of multiple life-threatening stimulus, and the subsequent subject, family and social group disorganization (Lira, 1990).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) state that nobody should suffer torture or wicked treatment. Nevertheless, under the civic-military Dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet, torture was a systematic practice. Ninety-four percent out of 28.459 cases presented to and legitimated by the first National Commission for Political Prison and Torture (CNPPT, 2004) claimed they had been exposed to torture, being their testimonies convergent in the methods and techniques applied, the places where it happened and the institutions and agents of the State involved. According to the Commission final Report:

...almost everybody thought that prison and torture had devastating effects in their lives. To the mental and physical effects it was added a disturbance of their social, affective and sexual relationships, which frequently tended to damage family and couple

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ties, causing in many cases insurmountable ruptures. (CNPPT, 2004, p. 495).

During the Chilean civic-military Dictatorship, tortured survivors had to reintegrate themselves to a social and family life affected by silence and negation of the political violence, together with the impunity of the State agents involved in them (Faúndez & Cornejo, 2010). This produced both, in the direct victims as well as in their families and social environment, consequences which have persevered through the years and marked the relationships they keep with each other.

The complexity of the diverse forms of political violence traumatic impact have demanded from thinkers, researchers and professionals dealing with victims in therapy, new conceptual and clinical frameworks. The challenge is to find out alternative concepts both to "psychological trauma" from psychoanalysis, and to the "post-traumatic stress" from the medical tradition. New concepts were needed to express the inner features of this phenomena and provide efficient orientation for clinical treatment of the victims.

In Latin America, the concept of psychosocial trauma is highlighted by the works of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1990), who states that the main feature of the experiences of political violence is that both their origin and consequences are located within social relationships. Therefore, speaking about "psychosocial impact of political violence" emphasizes the idea that this kind of trauma always affect social relationships, though there may be differences in its expressions among people and groups (Cornejo, Brackelaire & Mendoza, 2009; Morales & Cornejo, 2013) Several investigations have shown that this psychosocial trauma produced by political violence has effects not only in direct victims but over generations of descendants. A phenomena which has been called "transgenerational trauma transmission" (Volkan, 1996).

Among the authors of those studies, there isn't consensus regarding how to label the children of the victims. Some researchers don't think about them as a "second generation", because they may be considered as first generation too, if they were there, as witnesses, while their parents suffered threat, house raid, detention, and when they were killed or made disappeared. Nevertheless, in this article we have decided to label former political prisoners as first generation; their children as second generation and their grandchildren as third generation.

This article is based in a research done in Chile, with the purpose of understanding the way psychosocial trauma is transmitted and integrated into the life stories of the third generation of victims of political prison and torture during the last Chilean dictatorship (1973-1990).

### 1.1 Historical context

In 1970 a popular socialist candidate, Salvador Allende, was elected President of Chile. A sociocultural "revolution of expectations" that had developed slowly for a couple of decades, moved people and pushed the UP to promote deep changes. Chile at that time was changing very fast, introducing new relationships among generations and genders, new cultural habits and techno-

logies and expanded democratization and a great hope of social change. That ended in a violent way in 1973, when a *coup d'état* happened and a civic-military government ruled for seventeen years.

At the beginning, they acted with extreme brutality and indiscriminated violence. Massive numbers of left wing supporters and government leaders were taken to prison or killed. Huge centers were used to concentrate prisoners, like stadiums of military infrastructure. The idea was to inflict a full overcome of any possible resistance and to use terror as a way to keep order and discourage protests or other kind of resistance.

Later, they chose a more selective repressive policy. They followed specific groups, killing the most important leaders of the Communist Party mostly in 1976 or MIR leaders between 1974 and 1975. Also they attacked opposition leaders, exercising a strong control over civic rights, which were suspended for the most part of the seventeen years period. This stage ended around 1978.

After 1978, *State Terrorism* -based on the *National Security Ideology*-, was practiced efficiently. Any effort to surpass the order imposed was suffocated violently. Resistance of any kind, like massive protests in the early eighties and any attempt to reorganize unions, students organizations or political parties<sup>1</sup> or movements, suffered harassment and violence, though many of them finally managed to persevere. Any emergent leader was subject of continuous acts of threatening, arbitrary arrests and even killing. In that context, terror and torture were used as a method of social disciplining, and systematically applied.

Gender had some influence too in the kind of violence experienced. Therefore, it is important to highlight the fact that most of the women prisoners' experiences were marked also by sexual abuse and rape. Sexual political violence, as it has been called lately, was highly common and had severe effects on women's subjectivity, and through them in their families and Chilean society.

It is important to notice that this civic-military regime produced its own counter-revolution. Instead of a quick putsch they persevered in government and promoted deep changes in almost every area of social life. They intervened in all the areas of the economy, opening it as widely as they could while reducing the State's ownership and participation and introducing neoliberal economy even in the sensitive zone of welfare (health, retirement, housing and education). They changed the Constitution, the Labor Code, State institutions, redistributed population over urban areas through "eradications", and reduced social investment of any kind. This new socioeconomic model, imposed under fire and threat, produced high levels of social suffering, increasing the painful psychosocial effects of living under dictatorship and repression.

In March 1990, the civic-military Dictatorship formally ended, and a long transitional period started. Exiled people were allowed to come in again, and a hard process of searching for truth and justice started. Since then, the so called Rettig Report produced a first *official* explanation of the former period and recognized a list of about 3,000

people who disappeared or were executed, in 1991. A second one, almost fifteen years later, known as the Valech Commission, produced a list of about 35,000 people tortured and imprisoned for political reasons during those 17 years of Dictatorship – a list which is known to be partial because of fear, the difficulty to demonstrate this condition, and also because of the passing of time. Nevertheless, human rights claims are still far from being concluded yet.

### 1.2 Transgenerational psychosocial trauma transmission

There are different concepts which describe psychosocial trauma. Albeck (1993) refers to it as the “inter-generational” traumatic features; Danieli (1998) works with the “multi-generational” trauma concept, and finally, Volkan (1996), based on Freudian principles, came up with the “transgenerational” trauma concept. In this research we applied the concept of *transgenerational transmission of trauma*, the most commonly used term in specialized literature.

From the Systemic Theory point of view, two different processes have been emphasized regarding family development: *multigenerational patterns* in the family and the processes and events of the *family life cycle* (Lev-Wielse, 2007). Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (2003) sustained also that certain *relational guidelines* are transmitted to the members of the family through each other’s loyalty and indebtedness. These authors argue that there are *invisible loyalties* inside the families, which may explain some *structured expectations* inside the family group, in relation to which all members acquire a compromise. These loyalties mould and lead individual’s behaviour.

Regarding the second and third generations, there have been also some theories which have tried to explain transgenerational transmission. Some of the main frameworks for the study of this topic have been provided by the Holocaust experience. After that violent process, some major psychosocial consequences’, like persistent deterioration, occurred in victims’ family relationships. The first publication on the effects of the Holocaust on the second generation corresponds to Rakoff (1966) and since then, there have been an important number of articles that support the existence of transgenerational transmission of trauma.

Initially, research focused on the psychopathological aspects of the second generation of Holocaust survivors and identified the presence of symptoms such as depression, anxiety, phobias, guilt and separation anxiety, associated with pathologies in their parents (Rowland-Klein, 2004) Children of survivors experienced these symptoms and suffering very frequently, which led researchers to explore their family relationships, and they came up with three main findings. First, lack of parent’s emotional availability (Krystal, 1968 & Wardi, 1990 cited in Chaitin & Bar-On, 2002). Second, problematic communication patterns, either too much communication or absolute silence on the experiences of traumatization (Danieli, 1998). Finally, the survivors’

involvement in the lives of their children, making autonomy extremely difficult (Barocas & Barocas, 1973).

Regarding military dictatorships in Latin America, it has been developed an extensive research on the effects on the victims of political persecution, their families and descendants of second generation. In Argentina, Edelman, Kordon and Lagos (1998) identify two types of effects on the children of the disappeared ones. On the one hand, the lack of underpinning for the development and growth of children due to the disappearance of one or both parents, which may lead, for example, to show traits of social adaptation, assuming adult roles. And secondly, they have highlighted the impacts on the personal identity of the second generation.

In Chile, professionals dedicated to victims’ care, have studied the consequences of trauma both in direct victims of political violence and in their families (Becker, 1994; Díaz & Madariaga, 1993; Huneeus, 1991; Morales, 1991) As for the transgenerational transmission specifically, they have examined the effects of extreme trauma in children of politically persecuted persons during the military dictatorship (Becker & Díaz, 1998; Biedermann, 1991; Brinkmann et al., 2009; Díaz, 1991, 1995; Faúndez, Estrada, Balogi & Hering, 1991).

Becker and Díaz (1998), Díaz (1991, 1995) and Faúndez et al. (1991) agree that the former political prisoners’s trauma is incorporated into a kind of *relational dynamic* which makes difficult the process of individuation and identity formation of the children. Then, children raised in those families have been and still are confronted with a series of mandates, expectations and legacies that impact directly into the realization of their life projects. It has been observed that families cannot tolerate individuation in teenagers because it rewrites the feelings of loss and grief that have not been processed yet.

Studies made in other areas, such as Marianne Hirsch’s works on “*Postmemory*”, have also contributed to the knowledge of transgenerational *cultural* transmission of highly traumatic experiences. Hirsch highlights the fact that youngest generations may keep not only loyalty, but also feel a “*sense of living connection*” with their ancestors past, through a “*repertoire of embodied knowledge*”, as Diana Taylor has called it, which has marked the subjectivity of the descendants. Those memories were transmitted in a way which produced an imagined, indirect experience made out of fragments: stories, images and behavior, so deeply and affectively transmitted that may have not only determined but also replaced part of the own descendants’ experience memories with the ones of their ancestors.

Postmemory’s connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation. To grow up with such overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one’s birth or one’s consciousness, is to risk having one’s own stories and experiences displaced, even evacuated, by those of a previous generation. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic events that still defy narrative reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present.” (Hirsch, pp. 107, 2008).

### 1.3 Third generation: Grandchildren victims of political violence

Holocaust trauma transmission researches, up until the third generation, are scarce, since most of the research has focused on the transmission between the first and second generation (Lev-Wiesel, 2007). However, evidence on trauma transmission to third generation has increased, mostly through the works developed by Bar-On and colleagues in Israel (Chaitin, 2000). Research has also been developed with the third generation in Germany (Rosenthal, 1998) and the USA (Bender, 2004).

Chaitin (2000) highlights the fact that each generation gives different meanings to the Holocaust. Third generation of family members of survivors living in Israel believe that the Holocaust is not an issue that can be easily forgotten. Either through commemorative activities and school learning, many young people have become active participants in learning from their grandparents, often silenced within their families. Bar-On introduced the concept of *partial relevance* to refer to the level of importance of the Holocaust in third generation descendants. According to him, for the members of the third generation, *the past is important but does not explain all phenomena in their lives* (Bar-On, 1989 cited in Chaitin, 2000).

In the United States, Bender (2004) supports the implementation of the concept of *partial relevance* to refer to the impact of the Holocaust on children and grandchildren of survivors. Furthermore, this author points out the need to study the impact of the Holocaust on the identity of the third generation, and hypothesizes that *historical facts that have not been directly experienced by an individual may generate identity marks*.

In Germany, Rosenthal (1998) developed a study comparing family discourses about the past associated with the Holocaust. In his study were included members of three generations of families of victims of the Holocaust, Nazi perpetrators families and families of Nazi sympathizers. Regarding to Holocaust victims' grandchildren, Rosenthal (1998) notes that their narratives are reluctant to acknowledge the sufferings endured by their grandparents. Grandchildren are unable to imagine their grandparents in situations of extreme suffering, which may have them lost dignity or risked death to themselves or other family members. Rosenthal (1998) interprets this as a response of self-protection but also relates it to the guilt that these grandchildren are facing the inability to relieve the suffering endured by their grandparents.

The results of those studies are consistent in indicating that traumatic experiences caused by political violence have transgenerational effects. The dynamics of avoidance and silence surrounding the traumatic experience characterized the relationships within families of the victims, determining the relationship of the grandchildren with the traumatic experience.

## 2 Research

In the context of the completion of a doctoral thesis in psychology, an investigation was conducted to understand the phenomenon of psychosocial trans-generational trauma in grandchildren of former political prisoners (FPP), of the Chilean military dictatorship. The research was qualitative, since this methodology allows an understanding of social phenomenon in dynamic, local and historical terms (Sandoval, 2013; Sisto, 2008).

It involved 14 grandchildren of FPP, eight women and six men, with an average age of 21,4 years and 14 years of schooling. Eight of them were from the Metropolitan region and six from La Araucanía. All of them middle class. In twelve cases, the FPP was the grandfather and in two cases was the grandmother. In four of the 14 cases the FPP grandfather had died before the study. In all cases the FPP grandparent or other family member was involved as an activist in a human rights group.

Life story was used as a technique for producing information. It is defined as a storytelling that the subject makes on his/her life or part of his life (Cornejo, 2006). This technique provides a diachronic approach to the subjects and their contexts, adding time, processes and trajectories in the biographical narratives, which enables us to get a transgenerational perspective, which is the main objective of this study.

Life stories were conducted between May 2010 and January 2011. A common initial motto was used for all participants. This methodological choice aimed to stimulate a life story building by the grandchildren, promoting a reflection and description of their relationship with the grandparents' story. The motto was:

Tell me the story of your life as a grandchild of a person who suffered political imprisonment during the Chilean military dictatorship. Take as long as you want for this. I won't do any questions. I'll just take some notes which may be helpful to ask you later today or in our next meeting.

After evaluation and approval of the research project by the Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology at the Catholic University of Chile, the contact process and participants' recruitment began. This was done in two stages, first through contact with key informants, FPP leaders, and human rights organizations. Informants had no direct contact with grandchildren, so that through their grandparents or parents got their names and phones. Then, the researcher called by phone the potential participants, to inform them about the project and to invite them to participate.

With each participant there were three meetings, which lasted between an hour and an hour and a half each. The sessions were conducted by the researcher according to criteria of non-directivity, having a warm listening and empathic understanding (Cornejo, Mendoza & Rojas, 2008).

The meetings were held in places and dates previously agreed with each participant. The interaction between participant and researcher was dynamic. The first three cases were used to adjust the strategy to produce information. The second meeting was held 15 to 20 days

after the first one, allowing the transcription of the accounts and inter-analysis meetings in between.

Participants signed an informed consent, where they authorized the recording of each meeting. These recordings were transcribed by removing any other information which might individualize them. It was decided to retain the transcript as faithful as possible to the story, keeping failures in language, hesitations, using everyday language, pauses, interruptions, silence, laughter, and all other possible data recorded, which helped to describe meticulously the dialogic process of co-construction of the story (Roulston, Marrais & Lewis 2003).

Given the dialogic nature of life stories, and because of the sensitive topic of our study, which was capable of arousing emotions in participants and researchers (Lee, 1993), it was decided that the production conditions and the dialogue interaction (Cornejo, Besoain & Mendoza, 2011), in all the stages of production, analysis and interpretation of the life story. For this purpose, three listening devices were developed, following the proposals of Cornejo (2008) and Legrand (1999) who consider the subjectivity of the narrator and the narratee, as well as the physical conditions in which this interaction takes place.

The first device used was the *reflective notebook*, where the researcher took notes on the dialogue interaction and the production conditions of the life stories. The second corresponds to the *research field notes* taken by the assistants who listened and transcribed the stories; these were focused in listening the process of narration and the interaction between participant and researcher. The third is the inter-analysis process, developed at research meetings with the three research assistants. At these meetings, the transference and countertransference aspects which were implied in the interaction were analyzed and discussed.

The analysis of the life stories was developed in two stages. First, each case was analyzed in a *multi-dimensional* perspective, following a unique pattern based on interdisciplinary contributions from the theory of interpretation (Ricoeur, 1995) and discourse analysis (Jofré, 1990). This stage of analysis allowed to investigate if preliminary categories were suitable, and allowed the development of new categories. At this stage, it was considered not only the life story, but also the reflective notebook and the field notes transcribed, together with the reflections made in inter-analysis meetings. Therefore, all the information collected, from all stages of the process, were supposed to give greater analytical density to the conclusions drawn.

In a second step, each singular report was analyzed transversely, through a process of conceptualization, reduction and data processing based on the Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It allowed the construction of axis of analysis and transversal hypothesis which helped to answer the research questions.

## 2.1 Results

The results of the investigation with the grandchildren of FPP of the civic-military dictatorship in Chile were organized in four dimensions which, taken together, produce an account of the phenomenon of transgenerational transmission of psychosocial trauma. Each dimension was focused on a relevant aspect of the phenomenon, and emerged from the data analysis. They are going to be described below.

### 2.1.1 Grandchildren's life narration: transmission and appropriation of the history of political imprisonment and torture.

The first dimension shows that the grandchildren of former political prisoners, during the process of building their life stories, located themselves in a variety of positions regarding to the history of political imprisonment and torture of his grandparents. It ranged from a distant one to another of proximity and ownership of their relative's story (for more details to see Faúndez, Cornejo & Brackelaire, 2014a).

#### Narrator as witness

At the beginning, grandchildren of FPP started building up their stories as a *witness narrator*. This means they expressed themselves as a third party, without feeling involved in it. They were giving testimony for something that it is considered true and they can tell as witnesses, as observers. They start their stories telling it as past, a distant story, which is owned by parents and grandparents. It is an inherited story, that they have rebuilt drawing data from family narrations and silences.

From what I was told, my grandfather was taken when he lived in the country, up there, the soldiers looked for him there, and brought him down, while kicking him. (Jorge, E1, 6)

In their narratives, there was a strongly predominant use of the third person: it / them, which is related to telling the other person's story. The main characters of the story are the victims, who suffered the surprise of unjustified coercive treatment and violation of their rights, by their perpetrators. Raids on family home, kidnapping in the street, violent arrests and subsequent political prison are described. These descriptions emphasize the inequality of power between victims and perpetrators.

Ehm, we were on a normal day at home, true..., everyone in the house [...] And, and, according to what my grandfather told me, and all my uncles, eh military personnel arrived Right? And obviously they took... took arrested my grandfather [name of grandfather] and no one really understood why, but they took him away. (Jenny, E1, 10-12)

Here, in the first stage of the story, the testimonial description of the facts prevails, in the sense described by Leonidas Morales (2001) since grandchildren try to rebuild the event and report the suffering experienced by the victims. With that purpose, they build up a discourse which not only highlights the power relations associated with political violence, but also they speak on



behalf of FPP. Grandchildren offer their testimony just like a witness, or a third party, reports a crime in a lawsuit between two contenders. They tell the story striving to simply state "what happened", performing detailed descriptions of "facts", and avoiding their own interpretations on them. They try not to speak about the emotional impact associated with the fact that the characters in the story narrated are their own grandparents.

### **Narrator involved**

As grandchildren advance in the construction of their stories, that neutrality and lack of emotional engagement –just like the typical witness who tells another tragic events of the past of another person- begins to disappear, and a less neutral version of the family history emerges. Grandchildren suddenly take the place of a narrator involved in the story; they show a more personal version of the family history, and express their own emotions and thoughts. Facts are then interpreted and connected from their own point of view as grandchildren.

And I think that's not easy to talk, I find that... well, my mom wasn't able to speak about it for some time, she locked herself in her room (...) I think that it is a sensitive issue. I don't think that it is a subject that you come up immediately the next day. It comes like a whole process of healing, reflecting, and getting relief... because people need to take it out, or this thing keeps inside... keeps inside... so, eh... the moment you take it out you too... you release yourself" (Alejandro, E3, 96).

"Rage. Anger. Pain because of my grandfather. But about them rage. I do not know if they have ... it's just that I cannot understand how there were so many bad people, who did these things... then I say it should have been something good, it should have been someone who didn't want to do harm either, someone who was forced to, and to them –maybe- who knows what did they do to make them torture others. But I cannot let that feeling of rage go, rage against them [lower voice] I just can't. (Andrea, E1, 69).

Pain is an emotion that is expressed and updated in the meetings with the researcher, while trying to grasp the physical and psychological scars left by torture, not only in their grandparents but also in their parents. Grandchildren also expressed their anger, regarding to the torture experience suffered by their grandparents, as an emotion that is channeled towards the torturer. Torture and torturers are presented as irrational concepts, and they demand major efforts to be somehow understood by the grandchildren. They question themselves about the limits of human behavior, and they constantly wonder -without getting an answer- how a human being is able to torture another?

### **Narrator as main character**

At the end of their life stories, grandchildren take the place of a main character narrator, and talk about themselves as part of the story they are telling. They very frequently use the pronoun "I". They speak about their political – social involvement. Their engagements and future plans. They introduce themselves as community/social/political leaders. They speak about their professional choices and their life projects, which

are interpreted as inspired by the life stories of their FPP grandparents.

I belong there in [name of the commune] to a group, a social movement, where I have comrades who are ranging from communists, and even more to the left! They say they belong to the Front<sup>ii</sup> ... until DC<sup>iii</sup> [...] So I belong to this organization since 2006, when I was almost 16. Then, we used to go to talk with the regional Director of Culture, we went to the Ministry, or spoke with the Governor...at the end we gave the first battle...we stopped the bidding of the land, because it was a public space ..." (Alejandro, E3, 217).

"... Later, when I become a teacher, I would like to raise awareness about these situations... but even more... that's why I want to become a teacher, because you get in a relationship with so many people that it is more possible to inform them and make them think. I want to make them "click", to open their eyes beyond the computer or TV, you know... because today, youth over all, they don't care about nothing else but partying, well... drugs also, they are so present in them... [...] these small details are very important, because from what you can tell o what you could transfer to them maybe, this things may not happen again... (Andrea, E2, 88, E3, 44).

Finally, at this stage, grandchildren introduce themselves as leading actors in history and in some cases show themselves as social agents of change. Speaking of their political-social acts, commitments and future projections, grandchildren realize that they have built up an identification with the image of their FPP grandparent. They make efforts to integrate the FPP traumatic experience into their own life story. Grandchildren give new meaning to the story of their grandparents, and despite the damage it implies, they reflect on the importance of their testimony today.

The stages described allow grandchildren to reach the last meeting with the researcher developing a relationship with those memories which we may call "appropriation of FPP story", which means that the grandchildren bear family history as part of their own personal history.

### **2.1.2 The origin of the traumatic story of political imprisonment and torture: the scene of detention**

The second dimension, recognizes in the stories of grandchildren fragments of textual images (Rancière, 2008/2011) which together make up a scene (for more details see Faúndez, Brackelaire & Cornejo, 2013). This scene points to the arrest of their grandparent; where the fragments of images are connected through the integration of sensitive data, such as physical characteristics of the protagonists and witnesses as well as places where the narrated events occur. These textual images are rebuilt, and at the same time imagined by the grandchildren, drawing them from the story and the silences of their family history, since no one was direct observer of the experience.

Ehm, it was that ... at that time in 1973 he was engaged in what it was. He is a master, a master carpenter, he was devoted to that... My grandmother was pregnant at the time, she was expecting one of my uncles... eh and he came out that morning, came out because he always got up very early, he was very hard working. He got up and went out to fetch some wood, wood... woods and he left with his wheelbarrow, very early, and when he was walking down the streets of the town [a town close to the mountain range in the south of Chile] a car stopped, a police car, and arrested him. His wheelbarrow

was left behind, thrown there, without speaking to anybody, without telling him why he was being arrested, but with violence and they took him to became a prisoner, arrested (Valeska, E1, 4).

... One night, specifically my grandparents, were in the business... that business was downstairs, it was a restaurant, and upstairs it had twelve pieces [...] They used to live, all of them, upstairs [...] So, one night they were... they were all lying in bed on the second floor, when the militaries arrived. They came in at once, like this, like out of nothing, no explanation, "like Peter at his own home", they got the book of visits, the register of who has visited the house... because obviously it was the register of who used to go there, and it was... [...] He was crossed out, because he was -let's say it like this- he was identified as a socialist, a communist or an extremist. Because of that, he was popularly considered as of the same party. So they got him, my grandfather... they entered to his room and took him out, in pajamas, in underwear and a white shirt, and he didn't know anything... (Eduardo, E1, 11-17)

The arrest of grandparent comes up, in the grandchildren stories, as an event that started the traumatic family history, and the interpretation of the occurrence of it involves also an unexpected breakdown in family history. This event destroys the possibility of development and continuity of the grandparents' life, but it also has a direct impact on the family history and in the grandchildren's life.

The arrest itself, may be defined as the source event of the traumatic history, in the sense described by Legrand (1993). This role is linked to its unexpected occurrence. The arrest of the grandparent, by agents of the State, has a temporal dimension, when it suddenly appears on the phenomenal world of the family. However, this event paradoxically does not create anything new, rather it destroys what existed before and its a prelude to the unspeakable that is going to happen later. Its unique and unexpected occurrence, breaks up daily life and what was usual within family experience. The effects of this event have a direct impact on family history, with negative, deep and long lasting effects on the family system as a whole.

That arrest corresponds to the first act of abuse of power over the grandparent. After the arrest, the families of FPP lost all contact with their loved ones, who were violently taken away from them and transferred to secret detention centers where they remained as hostages for some time. Speaking about the detention, grandchildren deliver very detailed descriptions of where this happened (eg, house, street, field) and describe certain objects present in the scene (eg, clothing, weapons, military vehicles) and the main characters and witnesses involved, and even provide information on their behavior and some interpretations about them.

The story about the arrest is built on three stages: political imprisonment and torture, and grandparent's return, and it has an heroic sense. The events described by the grandchildren in this way, follow the same pattern described by Campbell (1972) in his cultural analysis of the adventure of the hero: departure, initiation and return (Faúndez & Hatibovic, 2015).

### 2.1.3 Violent detention/hero departure

The arrest of the grandparents is described by the grandchildren as a violent and surprising act which make

the whole family a victim. Military, police or other state agents violently raid their home in search of the grandparents, and any act of opposition was punished with beatings, insults or threats by armed officials. After the raid is effective, and the grandparent was arrested, they left the whole family steeped in fear and confusion (for more details to see Faúndez & Hatibovic, 2015).

... My uncle was younger. When they wanted to take my grandfather handcuffed, my uncle threw himself at the feet of the "milico" for them not to... not to take my Tata... for them not to take him away. And the "milico" pointed him out with a shotgun, saying he better left because if not he was going to kill him. And my uncle began to cry and all... and my grandfather cried. That was the most traumatic event that my uncle had to go through. (Heidi, E2, 123)

### 2.1.4 The political imprisonment and torture / heroic initiation

The narrative constructed by grandchildren about their grandparents' traumatic experience can be interpreted as the initiation process of the hero. This stage consists of a series of tests, pain and suffering, that transform the grandfather into a person different from what he was.

And I won't assume that they didn't do anything to him. I mean, obviously he was tortured. But when he arrived home he never spoke with anybody. And my grandmother said he never... that he arrived "different". (Alejandro, E1, 22).

Torture is denounced by the grandchildren, but they fail when trying to represent it. They cannot integrate into their accounts specific temporal and spatial parameters around the torture experience, parameters which are necessary for the reconstruction of the experience. Hence it happens in contrast with the rebuilding of the arrest of the grandparents, already mentioned. Faúndez (2013), suggests that torture is an impossible story for the grandchildren, because it is a story that fails to recreate or replace the magnitude of the events associated with it.

### 2.1.5 The return of "another" person / The Return of the Hero:

The return of the grandfather after political imprisonment, is often subject to external aid, offered in most cases by the spouse. It is described by some grandchildren, as a return to life. Then they notice that the grandparent had come to life, their family had integrated again; but... grandparents are not the same: suffering has changed them. The grandparent is now a holder of a secret, a mystery that remains silent, inside family.

My grandfather was someone that...that used to speak a lot, who was very affectionate. But when he arrived he never said a word of what they did to him. Not even to his friends, which are still alive. Never to nobody. Nobody ever said what... what happened to him. Or about what happened there. Nor he talked about what happened there, about torture details... or what really happened there" (Alejandro, E1, 22).

"... She felt the Coup changed her, changed her husband, that is what she feels. Later he left her for another person. But when he came back, she felt she had another husband. So it is different... you sleep with a husband and eight months afterwards you are lying beside another person, until he finally left home. (Eduardo, E3, 60)

According to the account of the grandchildren, the return of the grandfather after the traumatic imprisonment reveals the suffering endured. His face, physical appearance and behavior show the harm suffered. They are not the same as before, and furthermore, they don't relate in the same way than before to their family. Grandparents have physical and psychological signs of torture, and remain silent about this experience (Faúndez & Hatibovic, 2015).

## 2.2 Transmission-appropriation of the history of political imprisonment and torture of grandparents

In life stories of these grandchildren, it was possible to distinguish between means of primary and secondary transmission and appropriations. The primary ones, correspond to different ways of psychic interplay between generations, ranging from oral history of family history of political imprisonment and torture, to silence associated with certain aspects of the story. The secondary means correspond to other forms of transmission, such as books, music, movies and documentaries, which differ among the grandchildren, but are recognized by them as important elements for the reconstruction of the history of political imprisonment and torture (for more details to see Faúndez, Cornejo & Brackelaire, 2014b).

### 2.2.1 Narration and family silence as the primary means of transmission-appropriation of history of political imprisonment and torture

The oral narration of family history of political imprisonment and torture, is the one that was built up by family members -which belong to the parents and grandparents generations- about the experience of political imprisonment and torture. That experience it is primarily characterized by suffering and injustice spanning different generations. The family member which is the most noticeable presence in the construction of this oral story is the son or daughter of the former political prisoner grandfather, ie the father or the mother of the narrator. But this tale of family history also draws on the contributions of other family members. Its construction depends on the existence of permanent links with members of the family: parents, uncles and grandparents, which may facilitate the constant physical encounter between all of them, allowing the emergence of fragments of and the subsequent development of the story's reconstruction.

Eh, I don't know, I think... I think I was born knowing these things. Hey, my mom always, always tells eh, how terrible it was to go there, and then turn around and leave my grandfather just there. (Marcela, E1, 148)

In most cases, this oral history of family history of political imprisonment and torture is limited to the description of the events associated with the political imprisonment and torture. Like the home raid, the subsequent arrest of the grandparent, release and return of the grandfather from the prison. Emotions surrounding

these events fail to become integrated into the story, either because of lack of processing or because of the fear that the expression of these emotions could harm children or grandchildren.

Likewise, torture is not explicitly incorporated in the narrative of the family history of political imprisonment and torture. It is a fact which has no evidence, no witnesses. Grandparents are the only ones who know this experience and have generally kept quiet about it; silence which has also been kept also by other members of the family. This is conjugated with the building of a fragmented story, discontinuous, descriptive and with a lack of reflections on the causes and meanings attributed to the political imprisonment and torture of grandparent.

This allows us to suggest that those characteristics of oral story of family history of political imprisonment and torture are due to the psychological limits while thinking and representing experiences such as torture (Puget, 2006) Just like the active establishment of denial and emotional freezing are measures to control the damage that knowledge of torture may produce in younger generations.

I do not know what kind of torture they had inflicted on him. I know that he was tortured, yes, but do not know what was that they did to him, or how long it was on each detention. I was not told. Whenever they talk about the issue I tried not to investigate further, because I knew they were already making an effort, in telling. Also, I didn't want to become invasive with my parents, or with my uncles, when they are talking to me about it. Because I know it's still painful for them. (Millaray, E1, 128)

As there is a bond between family members, it is very difficult for them to tell or to hear the story of the family history of political imprisonment and torture, characterized by the sufferings and injustices reported by their parents and grandparents. Therefore, developing certain communication patterns is necessary. They are built up in an intergenerational dynamics. Grandchildren become loyal members of their families, they learn to listen the fragmented, enigmatic, full of silences and interruptions, family narrative. Because of the emotional load of this experience, they are invited to identify themselves with the story, and not to ask about this, as a way to protect their parents and grandparents.

... I find that it is not easy, it is a sensitive issue, an issue that costs, which is hard and it also takes dedication, because I also good if I see that my mom is sad not you ever wonder more... (Alejandro, E3, 99)

Thus, through the story of family history of political imprisonment and torture, grandchildren not only appropriate their own family history, but also assume certain *family loyalties*. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1983/2003) suggest the existence of frames of *invisible loyalties* inside families with past characterized by suffering and injustice. This would imply the existence of *structured expectations* inside the family, in relation to which all members acquire a *compromise*. These invisible loyalties *act as a mandate*, shaping and directing the behavior and identity formation.

Consequently, it is possible to argue that the transmission of family history contributes to the



formation of the identity of the grandchildren; an identity which bears invisible loyalties to the family history of political imprisonment and torture.

### 2.2.2 Cultural productions as transmission media-ownership side of the history of political imprisonment and torture

The stories of grandchildren give awareness on the presence of streaming media-appropriation of history of political imprisonment and torture of grandparents, as an alternative to oral account of family story. There are some cultural productions that contribute to the process of transmission and appropriation of the violent experience of political imprisonment and torture: books, music and documentaries on the military dictatorship; and them, together with other kind of products, as well as participation in activities of human rights groups, consist in what was called secondary means. These provide information that allows grandchildren to respond and generate new questions, regarding the history of political imprisonment and torture of their grandparents.

Some grandchildren said they have read the report of the CNPPT, which includes the testimonies of victims of political imprisonment and torture during the military dictatorship and granted their recognition as former political prisoners. Others admit they have seen documentaries or TV shows associated with the era of military dictatorship. Others said that the lyrics of some songs of protest, created during the dictatorship period, generated questions in them about family history of political imprisonment and torture. In this way, grandchildren bear the need to know and try to understand what their families lived, specially their grandparents. This media are inquired by the grandchildren, in search of information which may be integrated to the family and social life. Most of the times, it involves media that is accessible and part of the familial or social culture to which they belong.

But I felt this need to know strongly when I reached Eighth (Primary) grade and First (Secondary) grade [...] First, I think, it was music. [...] Huh? Because of folk music, Inti Illimani' and all those things... because of the stories of the songs and so, and because I heard my dad singing those songs [...] And in Eighth, First grade... when they started to tell me more, not because of my age, but just because that's the way things were then, and because I got more into this instrumental music and Inti Illimani at that time started telling me things. Since then, they started telling me things, telling... and furthermore, just like I told you the other day, I started to look for the origin of the song 'Testaccio market'. Then I had questions about being an exiled or a fired person and things like that; why people went out of the country. what was the dictatorship, ...questions that came out because of the music and not because somebody told me anything about it. (Eduardo, E2, 215-220)

Participation in political demonstrations and social activities commemorating the *Coup d'etat* anniversary every September 11th, allowed some grandchildren to integrate their family history in the historical and social context of the country. This participation initially appeared to be mediated by the family. Some grandchildren, noted that since they were children they

had attended these activities, mainly because their parents and grandparents or to participated in them. However, over time, many decided to continue doing it, and participated more actively in these or other public demonstrations and protests, because they believed it helps them express their emotions and to express publicly their rejection regarding violations of human rights committed during the civic-military dictatorship.

4- The torture scene: the impossible story of the traumatic history of political imprisonment and torture Grandparents' torture, while denounced by grandchildren, fails to be represented through words, as well as integrated into their specific temporal and spatial parameters. narratives that allow the reconstruction of this experience, unlike what does the story of the arrest, release and return of the grandparent from political imprisonment (for more details to see Faúndez, Brackelaire & Cornejo, 2013).

I think my grandfather was not like that. As I read his report, from the major collection of testimonies, I think that he was like that because they changed his mind. That is, after living something so... maybe he even lost every hope of leaving that place alive, that is... maybe he went out because he was lucky ...I don't know... maybe they were resigned to die ...because they endured torture. (Eduardo, E1, 221)

It is usually mentioned the impossible narrative or the impossible scene of torture, because it is a story that fails to recreate or replace the magnitude of the events associated with this. To grandchildren it isn't possible to speak about torture inflicted upon their grandparents, and about the physical and psychological characteristics of the victims and perpetrators, because this is well known only for those who witnessed the experience, maybe because for them it is impossible to represent this experience.

Despite the impossibility of telling torture, grandchildren refer to it from its consequences, defining it as an event that destroys, which produces an absolute break, irreparable damage to the lives of their grandparents, leaving permanent marks on the victims and their families for generations.

It is possible to interpret that the testimony of the survivor, which is transmitted to the grandchildren of former political prisoners, is constructed from a non-place of articulation between the living and the speaker, between bodily materiality that survives as rest and that voice that seems anchored in the former subjectivity expropriated. Grandchildren are heirs of a family history which includes political imprisonment and torture, and that it is expressed through a process of paradoxical and incomprehensible transmission to them which cannot be represented.

... I don't know how to explain it. I know you still cannot find one, one, one explanation because my grandfather used to repeat me so much, so often these stories, because every time he repeated them he cried. He was so moved... When he was sick, he got crazy and he went back, he went back on time until that date. I don't know... I don't know... I cannot find an explanation. How...how...how...[ ] how could something be so traumatic that left him like that for the rest of his life ... (Valeska, E1, 27)

It is possible to state that, unlike what happens in the story of the raid on the home and subsequent arrest of grandfather, torture is an event whose occurrence -- although it is recognized by the grandchildren-- they cannot fully represent the experience. They fail to communicate and fail to integrate into their narratives the specific parameters that allow the understanding of this. It is an event of irrepresentable nature. Therefore, it is called the *impossible scene*, because it is a story that fails to recreate or replace the magnitude of the events involving torture. However, grandchildren can refer to the destructive consequences or permanent markings produced by those experiences inside the family. They point out that torture meant a break, an irreparable damage to the life of their grandparents, who radically changed their way of being and acting upon that experience. Grandparents have physical and psychological signs of torture, but it is impossible to talk about this experience.

### 3 Discussion of the results

The results of this study showed that life stories of grandchildren of FPP from the civic-military dictatorship in Chile, are part of a logic of transgenerational transmission and appropriation of psychosocial trauma. The results also points out that in FPP families a dynamic of avoidance and silence surrounding torture experience persists and determines the relationship of grandchildren with their traumatic experience.

These results are consistent with studies developed with third generation of victims of political violence in Israel (Chaitin, 2000), Germany (Rosenthal, 1998) and the USA (Bender, 2004). The grandchildren of FPP Chileans, like their parents, are faced with a story or family traumatic memory that becomes partly their own identity. In this sense, the political imprisonment history can be defined as an identitarian relevant memory (Haye & Carvacho, 2011), leading to the younger members of the third generation to identify with the traumatic family history and assume the position of FPP grandchildren.

The grandchildren of FPP of the Chilean military dictatorship, have been and still are being confronted with a past of suffering and injustice which was directly faced by their parents and grandparents. At the same time, they have been confronted with a speech installed in the post dictatorial society which, from the perspective of grandchildren, denies the experience of suffering that their families had to go through. That is evident when we notice that the main mean used for transmission of the political imprisonment experience was the oral history account, which is characterized by fragmentation, lack of contents and silences.

In general, grandchildren said that were their parents, uncles and grandparents who lived or witnessed directly the political imprisonment experience, the main builders of the FPP story. Outside the family system, grandchildren accuse the absence of mediators, a fact that makes it difficult to integrate their personal and family history in the social context.

Given the fragmented family story, and lack of social recognition about the history of PPT, grandchildren responded through their own stories, positioning themselves as heirs to a family legacy, a brand new identity, and assuming the main characters' position, of a story that continues to be built up nowadays.

Probably the gender of the FPP grandparent is also relevant to understand this experience. However, from the results of this study we cannot refer to it in depth yet. While analyzing the 14 cases studied, we considered 2 FPP women. It is interesting to notice that, when speaking about their grandparents' experience, most of them tend to focus the story of men. In a case were both the grandfather and grandmother were arrested, the grandson spoke almost exclusively about the experience of the grandfather. The same happened in the case where the grandmother was the only detainee from among the members of the family. Here the narrator referred exclusively to the political participation of the deceased grandfather, and not to the story of the arrest of his grandmother. This is consistent with the lack of visibility of women when studying about this period.

On another hand, the structure of this narratives, organized according to the heroic path, though observed in the material collected, tends to follow a narrative strategy which is more common in men who suffered different traumatic experiences than in women. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce gender analysis in future studies, which may help to discriminate which are the main relationships and differences when analyzing the narrative of women and the way they transmit their memories to younger generations. Studies on other events, for example the Holocaust, have shown some significant differences between them. For example, in those studies it is possible to perceive that the heroic dimension --related to an individual path-- is less emphasized by women, which tend to focus in themselves as being part of a collective.

These results open a wide variety of possible interpretations. One of them is the increased silence that exists within families and Chilean society, associated mainly with violence against women during the military dictatorship (CNPPT, 2004). It highlights the need to address the experience of transgenerational transmission of trauma from a gendered perspective. Consequently, it is suggested to continue studying the phenomenon of transgenerational trauma psychosocial, deepening the experience of FPP women, which could be achieved by developing research designs that focus exclusively on this phenomenon. For example, through the inclusion criteria and exclusion of participants, it could guide the selection of grandchildren only to those whose grandmothers were FPP.

Finally, results allow to interpret some grandchildren's appeal to the metaphor of the hero, to describe the experiences of detention and political imprisonment suffered by their grandparents. In these cases, the experience is described as Grandpa heading to an unknown place, where it is subjected to cruelty. Thus, as in the epic hero, FPP may be meant as an experience in



which a person is subjected to severe pain and suffering. The return of the grandparent is often subject to external assistance for spouses and children, and is described as a return to life.

#### **4 Some reflections on psychosocial trauma transmission and education**

Transition to democracy in Chile has been an incomplete process. Failure to close this political period has a strong connection with the democratic deficit, strongly related to the persistence of the political and economic structure inherited from the Civic-Military Dictatorship, and the lack of truth and justice regarding human rights issues. In this area, measures like the imprisonment of a few middle range officials and torturers, the so called "Rettig" (1991) and "Valech Comission" (2004) reports, and the creation of new institutions like the Human Rights Institute (INDH) and the Museum of Memory and Human Rights (inaugurated in 2010) have not been successful to accomplished that closure too.

One of the indicators and consequences of such failure is the lack of an assertive inclusion of both human rights and civic education, and the weak historical narrative about the period included in the national educational curriculum. Major changes in the national curriculum happened few years after 1990 election of President Aylwin and the Concertacion de Partidos por la Democracia coalition, which started the transitional process. The decision taken regarding these issues were partly moderated by the need to keep the consensus and partly by the ideological limits of the coalition itself. They decided to eliminate the subject of civic education. To include in the same subject history, geography, economy and some elements of the former civic education, but mostly focused on children's rights and community issues. Transversal values and attitudes would reinforce this teaching.

The introduction of human rights topics and historical processes associated to them, even from another geographic frameworks, like the Holocaust, has been also problematic. For a long time there was not a textbook for the level where this topic had to be taught and nowadays there is only a small reference to the topic on them. Even now, ten years after the UN agreement on Holocaust education and commemoration, there is no public policy regarding that topic.

Moreover, according to law, City Councils are in charge of what is left of public education at the local level, and can choose between the materials suggested by the Ministry of Education or provide their own materials. Wealthy City Councils led by right wing majors have chosen to use books where topics like the Holocaust and the Dictatorship are avoided or misrepresented.

Therefore, most of what can be done in this area depends exclusively on teachers. According to their own interest and capabilities they may choose to give more emphasis to human rights education, in different subjects. And in the history class, they can choose to highlight these topics over, let's say, major political currents, economic issues or military strategy, and choose methodologies which may stimulate inquiry,

dialogue and awareness in the students. But, again, there is a strong lack of preparation and support for innovative practices inside schools, both public and private. Teaching about the period is still considered as "doing politics" inside the school. Inquiry and debate is scarcely promoted. Pacific resolution of problems is also barely developed. When compared with the human rights educational policies, curriculum, materials and teacher' training of our neighbor country Argentina, which lived a similar kind of Dictatorship in the same period, Chile is decades behind.

On the other hand, most of the measures taken by the State recognize FPP as victims, but have avoided the narrative of the project that mobilized them before the Coup d'état. No faces or personal experiences are shown to give students a sense of "human experience". Testimonies, both in person or to be read or watched, are out of the classroom. Even the Museum keeps silence of the political identities, specific experiences and points of view of those victims, they appear with no ideological and historical background. Terror narrative is emphasized over the experience of conflict between different political projects and its violent resolution in the midst of Cold War, which could have been solved, in a better democratic framework, through pacific methods and democratic tools.

State doesn't seem to be connected clearly to those violent episodes too. Narrative tends to naturalize conflict and subsequent violence, and to charge with responsibility only individuals. Most of the texts spend more pages talking about economic advances and social transformations in an idealized version, without mentioning State Terrorism and the need to replace it with a strong democratic State.

In this context, though still a matter of research, it is easy to understand why there is a lack of social narrative which may help FPP descendants to develop a more healthy relationship with their family past. As Boris Cyrulnik (2003) has proposed in his studies, resilience requires a narrative that helps to integrate the fragments produced by trauma, and affection to contain the emotional needs of the traumatized ones. We believe that the same kind of exercise should be applied to their descendants, when the cause of trauma is a social traumatic event. Being a victim is a social stigma, which produces different (undesired) effects than those (positive ones) which may be produced when recognized as legitimate actors which were treated unfairly and violently. This recognition may give them back some identity and agency which may be healthy also for their families. It may encourage breaking up silence and social isolation, foster more dialogue and debate and less guilt. And also, it may help increase the weak levels of democratic depth which our democracy has been showing in the last decade. Nevertheless, research on Dictatorship long-term psychosocial consequences and its social effects is just beginning.



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## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup>Forbidden until the second half of the 1980s.

<sup>ii</sup> "The Front" or "Popular Front", created in 1936, was a successful political coalition which joined the Socialist, Communist and Radical parties. It elected Pedro Aguirre Cerda as President 1938-1941. It had continuity through FRAP for two more elections (1941 and 1946), until "the treason" of President Gonzalez Videla (1946-1952) who proscribed



the Communist Party in 1948 as a result of the international alignments of the beginning of the Cold War.

<sup>iii</sup> DC=*Christian Democratic Party*, founded in 1957; Eduardo Frei Montalva became its first President for the period 1964-1970, just before Allende.

<sup>iv</sup> "Milico"= popular expression for soldier.

<sup>v</sup> Famous Chilean band, originally connected to the Communist Party and part of the highly productive movement called "Chilean New Song".



Cristina Marques Nogueira

## Knowledge and the Experience of Women Living Underground During the Portuguese Dictatorship

**“A course of instruction will be the more successful the more its individual phases assume the character of experience”**

**Hugo Von Hofmannsthal**  
***Buch der Freunde***

This paper assumes that formative processes are not limited to the school context or model but that other life contexts and experiences, even if not intentionally, have educational effects. These informal formative contexts and experiences can play a key role individual's development, resulting not only in superficial changes, but also in deep changes in terms of subjectivity and identity. Our research involves clandestine militants of the Portuguese Communist Party during the dictatorship, and explores the type of knowledge acquired during their hiding experience (1940-1974) that allowed them to resist and survive over long periods. As our focus is the experience of women, based on narrative discourses of women (or about them) we will consider the role and status of women in hiding. The discourses were collected through several published autobiographical narratives and mainly interviews where we tried to identify the learning processes, the people seen as significant for knowledge acquisition, and also how knowing, knowing how to do and knowing how to be were constructed during living in hiding.

### **Keywords:**

Memory, experimental formation, resistance

### **1 Introduction**

This article uses the biographical method as a way to hear people's voices, to bring their knowledge and their experience, their lives – often condemned to silence or at best confined to the ghetto of profane knowledge – into the space of erudite knowledge. Our topic was not accessible in documents or archives. We wanted to hear the very people who have lived underground talk about their training processes and their experiences, in short, about their life in hiding. Inherent to this option was also our concern to understand the meanings attributed to living in hiding, from the point of view of their own education/training. However, the research process involved, besides interviews, content analysis of documents that the interviewees mentioned or shared with us.

In this regard, the perspective of Ferrarotti (1983) is of particular interest by bringing both the researcher's and participants' subjectivity to the ground of scientific research. Ferrarotti seeks to avoid a social fragmentation and an exclusion of the meanings attributed by individuals to social life. His broad vision of History as "historical life" (Ferrarotti, 1983, p. 183), not restricted to the traditional view of the elite of history conceived as political history, but "including the full dimensions – economic, social, socio- and psycho-anthropological – that through complex intertwining give rise to a relational dialectic that is not predictable or

ascertainable based on a purely theoretical calculation" (ibid); this also implies a "rupture" in so far as it involves a critical commitment towards those who have been "marginalized in history." It is a history in which the "subject re-enters" through his/her life stories and that generates an understanding of the "lived" world different from classical historiographical perspectives. A similar view is assumed by Paula Godinho when she states that

looking at individuals as beings with the capacity to change the course of history, seeing them as social agents that can take ownership of situations and alter them according to their own interests is to recognize that inventiveness is a weapon in relation to hegemonic incorporation. (2004, p. 91)

Michelle Perrot (1998) states that "current developments of the so-called 'oral history' are, in a way, a women's revenge" (p. 17), as women became more visible with biographical methods – the traditional historiographic narrative leaves little room for women by favoring the public sphere (politics, war) where women are generally absent. Therefore, our approach also seemed important to uncover the lives of the most clandestine of the underground militants: women. Given the relative absence of women in the existing research, this is an exploratory research that involved interviews with underground women and the analysis of diverse documents.

Our knowledge of a former clandestine women was the basis for a of snowball sampling as each interviewee shared additional contacts. The only feature that we considered essential was the existence of a broad period of life in hiding. Whenever possible, other features were heterogeneous – the specific historical period in hiding, gender, and whether they assumed management or executive tasks – in order to grasp, as much as possible, unique point of views points of view. As already mentioned some documents provided by the interviewees

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were also included. Some of the documents, were published autobiographical writings that were read before the interviews as a way to prepare the interviews and further our knowledge of a reality that was far in both chronological and anthropological terms. The transcripts of the interviews and the documents were the object of content analysis to identify the main themes/categories.

On the whole, we interviewed nine people that added up 164 years in hiding and 63 years, 7 months and 20 days in prison during the fascist regime in Portugal. Periods in hiding ranged from 7 and 34 years, and in prison from 0 (as some were never in prison) to 17 years. They were born in different historical periods, from 1914 to 1946, from diverse social backgrounds. They dived underground – an expression they themselves use to talk about starting to live in hiding – in the 1940s or 1950s even if some had already some political activity or were in prison for their political beliefs.

## 2 Women and the underground

The Portuguese fascist regime was established on 28 May 1926 by a military coup. From 1933, with the approval of a new Constitution, the dictatorship adopts the name of "Estado Novo" (New State); it was the longest lasting in Europe, having come to an end only 48 years later on 25 April 1974. For almost five decades, this system managed to withstand several threats, including the impact of the Spanish Civil War, the end of World War II with the subsequent defeat of fascist regimes in Europe, the removal of Salazar<sup>i</sup>, who for decades was the face and spirit of the regime, a long colonial war (1961-1974) that has wasted a significant part of the country's human and financial wealth, and also the resistance across the country, either through several coup attempts or through social movements that over the years had taken various forms led by diverse layers of the population.

For 48 years, Portuguese people suffered repression, censorship, lack of freedom, illiteracy, child labour, and an economic system that fostered poverty and hunger. In 1941, a survey conducted in rural areas by FNAT (National Federation for Happiness at Work), a government agency, on infant nourishing concluded that:

Infant nourishing is poorest and neglected. Even by the early few months, infants are already given food used by adults. As the little children do not have teeth to grind food, mothers, or even strangers, often first chew the food, then take it out of their mouths by hand, and very often dirty, introduce it into the children's mouth. In such a way, they provide children with bread, sardines, etc., often mixed with wine. (cit. in Rosas, 1998, p. 57)

It is in this context that many men and women decide to fight against the regime, as the existing repression did not prevent the opposition and resistance from taking on various forms, sometimes latent, but also active forms of resistance, defiance and even open confrontation with the regime.

It is now widely accepted that for much of the time of "Estado Novo", the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)

did play a key role in the resistance to the regime. Most often, existing social struggles were triggered, coordinated and led by the PCP, and the movements of the "democratic opposition" counted upon its influence and the mobilizing work of its members. Hermínio Martins believes that:

The 'resistance' is by far the opposition strategy that has higher costs under an authoritarian regime. Repression against this opposition mode is so severe and inevitable, and rewards so uncertain and remote, that there are few organizational structures daring to adopt it. With the exception of the Communist Party, only the 'national liberation' movements successfully have developed such a strategy. (2006, p. 60)

The underground referred to in this text is the clandestine political activity during "Estado Novo", more precisely the unlawfulness that communists were forced to carry out their political activity. The clandestine organization of the PCP included a network of clandestine safe houses; the number of houses is undefined and difficult to estimate due to the constant mobility of underground members. However, it was probably variable over time, depending on the greater or lesser strength of the organization.<sup>ii</sup>

Clandestine life demanded a mimetic stance according to the environment where people would temporarily settle in. For this camouflage to become effective, underground members played out a role in accordance to local customs and moral values of the "hosting" communities. Therefore, it was common procedure for the "clandestine settlement" to consist of a heterosexual couple, where the male element would assume a credible and plausible work activity for the hours and absences he was required to do, while usually the woman would take on the role of a "housewife". Daily life in hiding depended on a strict discipline of the organization, materialized into "conspiracy rules" that generated a normativity underlying all life situations in underground. Even the simplest of aspects, such as clothes or personal appearance, had to comply with these rules. Men should always be well shaven and combed, wear a suit, tie and hat, according to the social status and style of the time.

Clandestine houses were generally on locations that would allow for good outward visibility, so that surveillance would be possible, as well as allowing for a possible escape if necessary, and they were equipped with the bare minimum, in order to allow a speedy "dismantling of the installation". However, there was a special care in decorating the home entrance hall as it had to portray an coherent image with the profession and status outwardly pretended. Later, from the 1960's, it was common for house rentals to include furniture and, as mentioned by Sofia Ferreira, underground conditions improved gradually, keeping with the evolution taking place in society even for the sake of defending the organization:

Now, lately ... in the early days, it was rather more difficult because we had no TV set, some had a radio set, but lately our Party, our Party improved the organization, improved the economic conditions, and even for the Party's protection there was a need for us,

particularly in large towns, to have some means. Someone would go into a house pretending to be a teacher ... and not having a television or a radio set, or a fridge, well... the Party protection conditions imposed better conditions for its employees. Telephone, we would usually rent, the house usually would be under a furnished rental and had a phone. The last houses I rented here in Lisbon, were all fully furnished (... ") (Sofia Ferreira)

Going underground could be something done by a couple, when one member decided to become a clandestine militant and the other would join him/her, as mentioned by António Dias Lourenço on reporting his own going underground experience:

Then, one day, he goes to my home in Vila Franca and asks me, and I had a wife and two daughters, and then he came and said "look, if the Party needs you full-time, would you be willing...", "mate, the Party is my life; whenever the Party wants", "then, and when could you?", "whenever you want," "why, you could be available tomorrow?" "yes, yes, it can be tomorrow" and so it was. [My wife and my daughters] came with me underground but I did have to find an acceptable explanation to give at the factory (...). (Dias Lourenço)

It happened, however, that single men and women would go underground on their own. In such cases, in general, a couple of clandestine members would be set up together so as to enable a picture of a "standard" household. The objective was to become fully inserted within the surrounding social environment in which they lived be it a working-class neighbourhood, a middle class or a rural area; the professional activity, the life story and even the appearance and clothing would vary accordingly. As moving was frequent, given the organization's needs as well as for avoiding detection by the police, underground people's stories and identities were being frequently changed. Behind every person in hiding there was a false identity, a name that was not her/his own name and a whole fictional story that successively changed and should be kept consistent at all costs, serving as a camouflage and mimicking the surrounding environment. Maria Luisa Costa Dias, referring to life in hiding, describes it as "a game that demands a lot of self-control, sharpness, a strong psychological sense and the capacity of perspective-taking, looking at facts and people through the eyes of both their reality and ... ours" (1982, p. 61). Margarida Tengarrinha considers that:

We almost ran the psychological risk of a split personality or losing individuality by burying our own true identity for so many years and so deeply, and credibly assuming the name, origin, social background and even the physical appearance that corresponded to the story we told to rent the house and get acquainted with the neighbours. Neighbours were a big issue. To be nice but not too much. To inspire trust but not trust them. To say enough but be careful not to contradict oneself. (2004, p. 62)

It should be considered that while living in hiding the group identity outweighed the individual identity. Indeed, "to belong to a culture, a nation, a group, implies being acknowledged as similar to others on key features seen as essential but rarely explained" (Kastersztein 1997, p. 32). In hiding, the *resistant identity* would have to override all other dimensions of identity, and the belonging and integration into the group would force the setting of objectives and the use of strategies that would

demonstrate this belonging and loyalty to the group. This identity was forged on strong and deep beliefs.

Sometimes it happened that the couple would be joined by another clandestine element, publicly introduced as a cousin, an uncle, a mother or a brother; however, the most common would be for the safe house to be composed by a couple, fictitious or not. The political endogamy was reinforced by day-to-day experiences, often resulting (but not always) in the fictional couple becoming a *de facto* couple:

I started dating ... it was not a dating, it was a ... how shall I say it? It was an affection that we began to feel and then, after about a year or even less ... the comrades also noticed our affection, our way of working with each other. One day, nearly a year later, "look there, what about if we become partners...and," and there it was, I had a bit of ... I was used just to be with my mother, I had never been with a man, and I was a bit stunned ... But I liked him. I liked him so much that ... I had never liked another young man so much. Well, then we got together and started to be a couple (...). (Teodósia Gregório)

When there were children, at certain age (usually at 6 or 7 year old but sometimes earlier) they were to be separated from their parents, because it would become dangerous to live with a child who begins asking indiscreet questions or making undue comments to third parties. There were two alternatives: either the children were sent to the USSR to the International School of Ivanovo (Interdom), where they were educated together with other children from the most diverse parts of the world, or they were handed over to a family relative, often their grandparents. This separation from the children would last for many years and, in many cases, sometimes children were left ignorant of their real parents' identity, as stated in Sofia Ferreira's account of this episode:

Some women were many years without seeing their children, there is a case that I remember a lot, one of our comrades, the wife of António Gervásio, Maria Cabecinha, who was arrested for many years, and had also remained many years working underground. She had left her son with her mother when he was small and did not see the child for many years, and then the Party organised a contact with the child and when she met him, the child, the child came to her and said "oh! I have a new mother". Because he lived with his grandmother, and grew up, he was little boy, he now saw his mother and was very happy "oh, I have a new mother." This is an example, but there were more cases. (Sofia Ferreira)

Until the mid-1950s, early 1960s, the tasks of women clandestine were of a quite different nature from those of men. Men should establish the liaison between the party cells (grassroots bodies) and the party hierarchy as well as with activists that were in charge for developing and organizing mass actions such as strikes, protests, demonstrations. Women would essentially be in charge of in-house tasks, such housekeeping and management of the available budget, and "house protection" tasks, primarily focused on the surveillance of the area outside the house, with a particular care to any suspicious person or movement. Women should also assure the contact with neighbours to build trust, but never to confide, to promote proximity within certain limits, to gather knowledge about their lives without sharing. Women ensured

the survival and the objective conditions that made the on-going resistance possible.

The "house protection" was, therefore, essential as the safe house represented the maximum security space. José Dias Coelho remembers that "each time the clandestine leaves home it might mean a separation for many years from his/her partner and comrades. Danger might lie in waiting around a corner, in a street, wherever ..." (1974, p. 40). So, one of the essential "house protection" tasks was to indicate to the other member of the household (the man), if he was absent for more than one day, that the house was free of danger, not surveyed or visited by the police, and that he could return safely. This was done through the use of specific signs such as drawings or stones in the surrounding areas; afterwards, when telephones became numerous, a telephone call could be made. It was also the task of the women to destroy incriminating documents in case the police invaded the house; documents should be placed next to a box of matches and other inflammable material, so that a quick destruction would become possible.

If the man did not return on schedule, there were also rules to be followed: leaving of the house, as this could mean it was identified by the political police; and go to a prearranged location, contacting or awaiting contact from the party organization that would give new instructions. Waiting involved great anxiety, as there was no knowledge of what had happened to the partner:

I knew [that my partner had been arrested], because he went to a meeting at nine-thirty in the morning and by late evening he had not returned, he was supposed to come back in the afternoon, so I immediately deduced, and I was not wrong, that he had been arrested.

I left [home]. What I had to do was to leave; I went to the home of some comrades, for a while, waiting to see if someone from the Party would make contact with me to tell me what had happened to him. Because he could be arrested, but he could also have been run over, could be in a hospital, you know, several things could have happened. (Teodósia Gregório)

When a companion was arrested<sup>iii</sup>, the woman would frequently set up a new Party safe house with another man, once again assuming the role of a "normal" couple, as recalled by one of the interviewees:

[After my partner was arrested] I lived in a room with my son; that was in August, and then, in December, I set up another safe house with another comrade." (Teodósia Gregório)

Sometimes, in addition to household chores and "house protection", other tasks were also performed like typing and printing, but also renting houses or disassembling "facilities". Sometimes women took on tasks in the party "technical apparatus", working in clandestine typographies:

The first task I did for the Party when I went underground was joining a clandestine typography. It was located in the municipality of Figueira da Foz, at Lavos, in a small house in a farm, it was an typography where we printed "O Militante", a tiny newspaper, flyers and manifestos and so on. So, I was in these printers with two comrades until 1948. (Sofia Ferreira)

Nonetheless, as working outside was not the most frequent situation, the "female comrade of the house" had to struggle against monotony, isolation and routine since, like any clandestine, she had no contacts with her family. These were mediated by the party organization, and sometimes months or even years passed without getting news:

Then I would write on small sheets of tobacco rolling paper. I would write a small note "mother, rest assured, all is well." And it was my father who read these tiny rolling paper notes that comrades delivered (Teodósia Gregório)

Underground party members had to be, above all, disciplined actors, able to represent their role without making a "faux pas" (Goffman, 1999), with high levels of self-control not to betray the acting constantly demanded by living in hiding.

The number of women progressively declined as the party hierarchy increased revealing a clear gender gap. This could be related with the lower levels political and ideological commitment given that many of these women were peasants or workers who never went to school. Others were only living in hiding to be with their husband and not for a political reason. But the asymmetry of roles in gender relationships was also favoured by the underground situation as the couples did everything to mimic their surrounding environment which had a clear and unequal "labour division" between men and women Sofia Ferreira who went underground in 1946, assumed organisational tasks in 1955 and integrated the Central Committee, therefore taking on leadership tasks, in 1957, emphasizes the difficulty of the organizational work of women, without raising suspicions about the organization:

Women did not go [into organizational tasks], because it was very difficult at the time, in the 1940s, it was very difficult for a woman, specially in the countryside, a woman walking on the street at night to have a meeting with a man, because we would go alone, we had a meeting in a street, we could not go to a coffee shop, it was the so-called street meeting, and that would draw attention and was dangerous for women. (...) Also, in those days, for economic reasons, locations and distances, Party comrades used the bike a lot ... therefore the work of women was very difficult in the organization during these times. Later, by the years of the late 1950's, 60's and 70's, there were already more women in the party organization (...) (Sofia Ferreira)

Aware of this inequality, the PCP leadership found it necessary to raise the militants' awareness of their potentially discriminatory attitudes. Thus, the resolutions from the II Illegal Congress, held in 1946, considered the weak participation of women as due to:

the still dominant view among our comrades that women are inferior to men. It's hard to say that this concept exists in the head of communists, in the ranks of our Party. But so it is, comrades, and this should not surprise us or shock us. This is a burden of tradition and education on our people aimed at removing woman from the social and political life and at condemning her to children, pans and the Church. (cit in Gorjão, 2002, p. 133)

This concern with women's involvement in organizational tasks continued for many decades; in October 1972, a newsletter from the Secretariat of the Central Committee, addressed to the "female comrades of the Party houses", it can be read:

Dear Comrade:

Your life in a party house, your work and vigilance that make possible its existence and its protection, are among the difficult, dangerous and stressful tasks that our members perform. You rightly do deserve appreciation and recognition from the Party.

Experience shows however that:

- a) Often, no other tasks are given to comrades in these conditions, in addition to household chores and daily surveillance;
- b) Comrades are not regularly asked to help in other tasks, or encouraged to take use their free time to study "(Letter of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PCP, addressed *At female comrades of the Party Houses*, dated October 1972).

According to Pacheco Pereira (1993), the 1960s student protests led to changes in the social composition of underground women with a higher recruitment of students and women with higher education. These two factors changed the role of communist underground women since the 1970s. The fact that this is a recurring theme in documents from the PCP leadership over several decades indicates that the party leadership was concerned with the situation. Similarly, social changes in women's roles and attitudes towards women favoured a greater involvement in organizing and leadership tasks.

Underground press included, from January 1946 to 1956, the newsletter *3 Páginas* ("3 Pages") directed to and written by "illegal women friends"; it was replaced by "A Voz das Camaradas das casas do Partido" (The Voice of Party Houses Women Comrades) published until 1970, totalling 50 issues. These newsletters intended to value the political training of women militants, by encouraging them to study and preparing them for the possibility of performing other tasks beyond the household chores and "house protection". Like other clandestine publications, newsletters had training objectives, providing useful information on how certain tasks should be performed, with special attention to "conspiratorial precautions". The text, written in a style that today sounds patronising, also intended to value the tasks performed by the underground women, as well as fighting their isolation by providing each one with the notion that she was not alone but rather was very much a part of a collective body. Through texts and articles written by the women themselves, the exchange of experiences was encouraged. Studying was strongly encouraged and valued as a way of preparing for action on future tasks. In the first issue of the bulletin *3 Páginas* we can read:

We feel, dear friend, that in your militant life there is something missing that sometimes makes you feel sad and doubtful. This doubt about being or not helpful to the Party, this ill feeling, results from you being disconnected from the general problems of our Party and of not applying yourself to studying. Although in a Party house (and being there shows that you are doing a lot for the Party) you, dear friend, have not followed, by reading our press or in conversations with home friends, the workers' struggles led by our Party (...) By publishing *3 Páginas* we seek to assist you in your preparation as a militant so that you can develop any aspect of our Party's activity, be

it the task that you now perform, or other future tasks. The task you are currently performing is important and you must feel proud of it. Through this task you not only make it possible for the other comrades in the house to work for the Party, but you also ensure their safety against fascism, against the Police. But tomorrow there will be other tasks for which you must be prepared (...) So, friend, since at the present moment you cannot develop yourself by delivering other practical organizational tasks, you have to take advantage of your time by studying. You need to know 'those things' that your companion or friends of the house know. And you can achieve this effortlessly and quickly. (*3 Páginas*, nº1, January 1946).

The discussion over the role and status of underground women must take into account the policy framework regarding women in the "Estado Novo" that involved both public and private spaces in an attempt to shape "the mentality of the Portuguese" (Salazar cit. Ferro in 2003: 90). According to the ideological principles of "Estado Novo", the concept of citizen is replaced by "natural groups necessary for individual life and that constitute the political society" (Salazar cit. in Belo et al, 1987: 264). The family is at the basis of society, and the head of the family (i.e., the man) holds political rights, including the right to vote, because he is the one "who is responsible for a home, and usually knows best what suits him than the literate who does not know life" (Salazar cit. in Ferro 2003, p. 93). Thus, women existed socially not as "an intervening element in public affairs, but rather as just a family member", in the context of a political order that "used gender difference as class difference" (Belo et al, 1987, p. 272). The social space was hierarchically divided according to the authoritarian principles of the regime and the woman should be reduced to maternal functions and home care. In an interview with António Ferro, in 1932, Salazar was asked about the role reserved for women in the renewal of mentalities he was intending with "Estado Novo",:

To the single woman who lives without a family or having to support the family, I think should be given all legal facilities to provide for her livelihood and the livelihood of her dependents. But the married woman, like the married man, is the family foundation, a fundamental basis for the work of moral renewal. Inside the home, of course, the woman is not a slave. She must be nurtured, loved and respected because her function as a mother, as the educator of the children, is not inferior to that of men. In countries or in places where the married woman competes with the work of man - in factories, workshops, offices, independent professions - the family institution, that we consider the cornerstone of a well-organised society, threatens ruin... (Ferro, 2003, p. 90)

In 1933, Salazar defends the same viewpoint arguing that "the work of married women and even of single woman, integrated in a family but with no responsibility for it, should not be promoted: there was never a good housewife who had not a lot to do" (cit. in Matos, 2004, p. 194) and also "let therefore the man struggle with life outside, on the streets ... and the woman defend it, bring it up in her arms, inside the house ... I do not know which of the two has the most beautiful, the highest and most useful role" (cit. in Almeida, 1999, p. 125).

Yet reality contradicted this idea: if many women were housewives, working women were a reality as shown in the work of Maria Lamas, "The Women of My Country", published in 1948. The existing poverty did not allow

women to remain at home raising children, and side by side with men they were working as factory workers, farmers, fish sellers, boat-rowers, gorse carriers, charcoal sellers, dressmakers, typists, telephone operators, pharmacists, analysts, house servants, etc., doing hard and heavy duties. The labour market structure required the extensive use of female and child labour in some sectors like for example the textile industry, based on low wages. Ana Barradas (2004), in her work "The Clandestine Women", indicates that the 1940 census referred 2,039,151 active women and 2,276,859 active men. Of those, 129 759 women worked in mechanical, manual or industrial occupations; 25 040 in trade and services; 29 559 in education, arts and science, and 1 219 000 in agriculture and livestock. Yet, Salazar had never ceased to understand women's paid work as an inevitability that should be resisted to. The regime's ideological project included a much-flaunted model for the private space founded on the family based on legitimate marriage with legitimate children, with the woman playing her most noble mission: to be a wife and a mother.

It could be expected that an organization that fought against the regime, its action and ideological principles, should have a clear distance and rejection regarding the "Estado Novo". Thus, it may seem paradoxical that, once in hiding, the role of women would be rather reserved to the domestic sphere. However, as mentioned earlier, the protection of the organization meant that the underground roles should follow the practices advocated by the regime and "naturalized" in society, according to the existing hegemony. And the dominant ideology looked at the woman as a member of the family rather than as a citizen with full rights. On the other hand, we cannot but consider that underground militants were not immune to the existing social values and practices, and therefore many of these values were implicitly present in their gender relationships, a situation acknowledged in the resolutions of the 1946 Congress. Therefore, we can conclude that the traditional gender culture that reduced women to a minor role, inferior to men, surpassed the egalitarian position advocated by the Party. It is also important to note that, in the interviewees' statements, the "Party" is viewed as an entity in itself that is larger than the individuals that compose it – and the protection of the Party seems to justify, in the discourses of the women themselves, the gender inequalities of life in hiding.

### 3 Underground formative processes

To become clandestine, there was a need for acquiring certain knowledge that could be acquired by multiple and varied processes. Our analysis of living in hiding as a knowledge development process, rests on several assumptions. The first assumption is that training and learning are central and ongoing across life and result both from formal, non-formal and informal experiences in various relational and material contexts. These experiences can generate profound changes in one's identity and subjectivity. Learning in underground contexts is,

therefore, diversified and involve several types of knowledge: knowing, involving a more conceptual dimension, knowing how to do, the know-how related to a particular activity, and the knowing how to be, that includes the relational domain and also attitudes and values. We follow here Nóvoa's perspective that "training is always a process of individual transformation in the threefold dimension of knowing (knowledge), knowing how to do (skills) and knowing how to be (attitudes)" (1988, p. 128). Nevertheless, this typology of different kinds of knowledge, even if of interest from the point of view of the researcher, appears obviously mixed, merged and intertwined in the discourses of underground women.

Our second assumption is that knowledge, as Bernard Charlot (2000) puts it, should not be conceived as an object that exists outside the individual, but rather refers the activity of the subject him/herself and the relationship s/he develops with him/herself, with the world and with others. There is no knowledge but within a relationship, since "there is no knowledge if not for a subject, there is no knowledge if not organized according to internal relationships, there is no knowledge if not produced within an 'interpersonal confrontation'" (2000, p. 61).

Our third and final assumption is that knowledge is constructed with and through experience, involving multiple, diverse and complex relationships, that do not generate a division between theoretical and practical knowledge. L. Toupin (cit. In Courtois, 1995, p. 41) considers that experiential knowledge is a "pragmatic knowledge, shared within a community of belonging" and Pineau (1991) speaks of a local knowledge created through action. Experiential knowledge is built in the context of a relation with the world and involves transformation in action, cognition and relationships. Therefore, experiential training includes not only cognitive and instrumental learning, but also existential dimensions and identity, that is, it can provide transformations at three levels: in what one thinks, in what one does and in what one is.

Learning in the underground occurred in a complex manner through a diverse set of experiences that enabled the internalization of knowledge, without the conscientization of the processes involved. In addition to non-formal learning processes, such as literacy, reading or studying, informal education processes and experience were central in the development of certain behaviours, attitudes, and ways of being and living distinctive of the underground context. In this respect, the formative process resembled a "socialising process" (Dominicé, 1988, p. 60) in which, learning occurred through direct contact with other male and female underground comrades, observation and performance of specific tasks, as when Sofia Ferreira describes how she learn to work in a typography "I did as they did". Other comrades were, in fact, quite significant in knowledge development: Teodósia Gregório mentions the importance of having lived in the first clandestine house with a woman who shared her expertise "she started telling me, look,

we have to do this for the house, we have to defend the house (...) then she started telling me that I should learn how to read, she would give me a half hour lesson or so." Her female comrade assumed the role of a true "teacher" of how to live in hiding. And her male partner is also referred to as important for her learning: "he also helped me, even to learn how to read, every day we took a little bit of time aside for him to give me a reading lesson, to make a copy, to do a dictation, to do maths."

Margarida Tengarrinha, in a published autobiographical work, reports in detail some of the learning she had to do when going underground, and she stresses the importance of some male comrades in the process:

When in early 1955 'we dived in', as the party jargon called going into hiding, I was full of revolutionary ideas but knew very little about domestic chores which practically I had never done. Learning the ways of protection and the rules of clandestine work went hand in hand with the most basic learning of housewife tasks and cooking, of which I had very rudimentary notions, like all students and girls of the bourgeoisie at that time. (...) Jorge Pires, a man with a very practical sense, became aware of our difficulties (...) Then, our classes started on how to manage a salary, by putting in an envelope the monthly fixed expenses and then dividing the remaining for each week. Which products were cheapest and the best way to cook them and make them last a few days, as there were no fridges (...) I learnt from him how to do a 'lye' with grated soap and sodium borax in a pot of boiling water that we would empty onto bed sheets and other white linen (...) at the same time, he taught us important protection rules, the necessary mindfulness to maintain with neighbours and in street meetings, the different ways to allow entry to comrades by signalling that the house was not being watched over and many other fundamental recommendations so as to evade the repressive network set up by PIDE against clandestine militants (...) Vilarigues knew very well all kinds of meat and knew how to give good advice on good but cheaper types of meat (...) (2004, p. 37, 38, 39)

Those who lived underground developed very diverse skills and knowledge necessary for survival, some prosaic and very far from the romantic idea of great revolutionary tasks, but nonetheless essential for organization's survival and the on-going struggle. For instance, it was vital that women would learn how to manage the available budget, which was quite scarce; these problems were harder at certain periods (particularly during World War II, as the underground militants had no ration coupons), or as a result of the geographical mobility:

Over those two months I had to adapt myself in addition to doing the shopping, the housework that was totally different, and I also had to manage the money, the little money we had. We had very little money and I had to manage it (...) (Teodósia Gregório)

However, some women took on tasks on the "technical apparatus" and had to learn new skills – in some cases also favouring their political training because of the nature of the task, such as typography – beyond house chores and "house protection" tasks:

I had to do the typographic composition, those little letters, the writing, the copying of the text onto the press, and I also did this work, copying from the text and then writing, and then just like them [the men], printing. That was that, in addition to the home duties, the shopping and the things for the house (...)" (Sofia Ferreira)

The learning of conspiracy rules and "house protection" was extremely important so that the house would not fall

into the hands of the police and consisted of monitoring the surroundings, contacting neighbours and the consistently maintaining the whole fabricated story:

I learned to do the house protection, I had to pay close attention, you could see a person and we had to know what that person came to do, what that person was doing, I mean, that sort of things we had to be very attentive to. (Teodósia Gregório)

In addition to the "house protection" there were numerous precautions to be taken when going out, particularly doing "cuts" to mislead the police in the case they were being followed, meaning to take several transports to different locations until reaching the right destination:

When I was going out, I also disguised myself with scarves, make-up and all that (...) Then, I had to do several 'cuts'. (Teodósia Gregório)

The organizational tasks implied contacting with and relating to different people from varied social and cultural backgrounds thus promoting different kinds of knowledge:

In the organizational tasks we are no longer at home, we no longer have the task of the house, we do have the task that we call the street task, which is the task of linking up with the organizations, the comrades, establishing communication from the Party, to the comrades and the cells. At that time, here in Lisbon, I had the building industry, I had the railways workers, I had clusters of women organizations, the MDM. (...) [When I was given organizing tasks, I controlled a lot of] different people, generally nucleus or a comrade of a sector, or it was another comrade from another sector. I, for example, was once in contact with a nucleus of comrades from the press which José Saramago belonged to (...). (Sofia Ferreira)

The underground, not allowing for a "normal" life with the possibility of establishing contacts with different people and situations, did not prevent those with organization tasks from paradoxically having the possibility to contact with people and groups with different material and cultural capital, something seen by clandestine men and women as very enriching.

As regards the more theoretical and conceptual knowledge, it is noteworthy that the very party organization encouraged the study and acquiring of such knowledge. Many women went underground without being literate and it was in the context of hiding or the prison that they became literate through companions with higher academic qualifications. One of the interviewees stated that it was on her first clandestine house that she began learning how to read:

Aida at the time started telling me to learn how to read, she would give me a half-hour lesson, so to speak, writing, beginning to write, beginning to contact with books and so on. She got to teach me reading and writing and she was practically the one giving me explanations and then I would remain a bit more time copying, doing as she had done. (Teodósia Gregório)

The importance given by the party organization to studying can be understood as a way of allowing individuals, who did not have a high level of formal education, to acquire, by studying and reading, a cultural



capital that would allow them to reach an equal footing with representatives of dominant social groups, holders of a higher formal education. Furthermore, literacy was necessary for the fulfillment of some party tasks, including for typographic work and for studying Party documents, seen as necessary to acquire political awareness:

How could party cadres, party members be trained underground, with the kind of life they had? It was by studying our materials. How did I train myself and how did I gain political and ideological consciousness? It was in the Party, in my practical activity, and studying. If we do not study, if we do not address the problems, they do not leave your mind (...) And so, in the past it was like that, it was by studying the Party materials, we studied the Party materials, "O Militante"<sup>iv</sup>, the clandestine "O Avante!"<sup>v</sup>, the reports of the Central Committee meetings, brochures, all that was at the basis. We also had theoretical books by Marx, Lenin, that we also read and studied, but we read fundamentally the Party materials that were targeted at our concerns. And, then, with other materials, so as to complete our theory and our ideology, to confirm, so to speak. (Sofia Ferreira)

It should be stressed that when going underground, political consciousness was sometimes very limited and it was in the context of their own clandestine life that raised their consciousness, in particular by reading and studying, which was always encouraged by the organization:

I was told exactly what it was like. The Party counted a lot on the honesty and authenticity of people, their backgrounds; at that time, I had little political awareness, hardly any. I had the minimum (...) that it is a party that is illegal, that is persecuted by the government, by the regime and in danger. (Sofia Ferreira)

Teodósia Gregório and Sofia Ferreira were recruited for the clandestine cadres through their families. Both had already taken part in some political actions, in one case through the father, in another through the sisters, but they still remember how big their ignorance was of clandestine life. However, their choice to go underground resulted from their earlier experiences in rural areas, the work from sunrise to sunset and the awareness of the extreme poverty and social injustice prevailing in the country.

The discourse of women in hiding shows that the development of knowledge regarding relationships, attitudes and values was fundamental to remain in a clandestine situation. The ability to overcome fear, loneliness, longing and isolation; the ability to induce trust in others without ever trusting them; the ability to exert self-control and autonomy on decision-making in difficult situations; solidarity and loyalty to the organization, well in evidence in the speech of one of the interviewees, who referring to someone who denounced others in prison says "he was denounced by a guy who betrayed him, was arrested and betrayed miserably", were attitudes fostered by underground life. It is worth stressing that one of the main tasks of a clandestine was not to talk while in prison. Talking meant denouncing others and so it was synonymous for treason. With betrayal came the exclusion from the collective, clearly indicated by the interviewee through using the adjective "miserably", but it was mostly him(herself that s/he who

betrayed had to be accountable to – the accountability of those who saw their resistance identity breaking up like a house of cards, while losing their references. Teodósia Gregório recalls her need to overcome fear in some situations:

That's it, I could do it. In fact, [of] all the houses, that one was the worst for me. Besides other things, we were feeling something about those guys going around, and we knew it was them. So much more so as two or three comrades had been arrested right there, very close to the house, so for sure they were the guys and I knew, I had the clear awareness it was the. But, well, I managed to get things around, they did not arrest me nor did they arrest any comrade, no, fortunately it did not happen. And then, it was with this whole thing that, come on, as we sometimes say, how is it possible to do certain things, how is it possible to have had cold blood to make such a whole series of things (...) but there were so many things; but the one when I have had a deeper feeling that I was about to be arrested were these two and I felt fear. (Teodósia Gregório)

Sofia Ferreira, on the other hand, mentions interpersonal relationships as being fundamental to form her political consciousness and to the feeling of unity that existed between militants:

That's it, and that is the way we have been shaped into, and then, I mean, the Party's own life and the comrades and the Party's conduct, our relationships, our fraternity, our solidarity have helped to form these cadres who maintain still today a bond of awareness, connection, fraternity, solidarity, love, love of our struggle and our cause, because those difficult conditions have united us, united us a lot, and there are things that it is hard, very hard to erase, isn't it? (emotionally). (Sofia Ferreira)

#### **4 Knowing how to be – the necessary pillar for staying underground**

Living in hiding implied taking on a life project, since the overthrow of the dictatorship appeared uncertain and distant. It demanded the learning and acquisition of knowledge in the cognitive, physical and relational domains, related to the interconnected and complementary domains of knowing, knowing how to do and knowing how to be. Knowing was strongly encouraged by the organization in its appeal for study and reading. Through clandestine documents and newspapers, the markedly political works such as those of Marx and Lenin and literature too, where Soviet realism had a central role, particularly through Maxim Gorky, and the Neo-Realism, with Soeiro Pereira Gomes and Alves Redol, a shared imagery was created that serves as a distinctive feature that aggregates and personifies group members. It should be noted, however, that this "culture" of reading and study was not exclusive for those who were underground, and did extend to all the opposition to the dictatorship. Knowing how to do is especially mentioned in what regards "conspiratorial precautions", the rules women had to meet in order not to fall into jeopardy. It is noteworthy that the discipline that prevailed in the organization did require these rules to be strictly enforced. The clandestine theatre, the play to which they were constantly committed, the "make-believe game" that led them to play different characters is the aspect that is most highlighted in these statements. Knowing how to be appears as the most valued aspect: indeed, the terms "*responsibility*", "*understanding*", "*dedication*",



"love to the struggle", "confidence", "sacrifice", "brotherhood", "solidarity", "discipline", "risk", "loyalty" and "fear" turn up repeatedly in the discourse of underground women. It is in the realm of being, of values and attitudes that knowing how to be an underground is really about. Being a resistant and being underground meant taking on a life project that involved "having an ideal", "love to the struggle and the cause" and "wanting to contribute to change and build a new society." This required "to have a high degree of discipline", spirit of "sacrifice", "confidence in the Party," "responsibility" and "dedication". The context of the underground was one of permanent "tension", "risk", demanding "cold blood" and ability to overcome "fear" but, at the same time, it was both a "fraternal" and "solidarity" context. These characteristics and values could already be present before, but they were consolidated and reinforced by living in hiding and even more central than other types of knowledge. It was through daily practice, the performed tasks, the precautions to be taken, the theatre to be represented, the solidarity to be demonstrated that these women have slowly become resistant, clandestine women within their own country.

## 5 Conclusion

Educational research should consider non-formal and informal modes of education and experiential training to uncover ignored and forgotten training modes and to understand how each person lives their training, because "more important than thinking about forming adults is to trigger a reflection on how each adult forms him/herself, that is, how each one appropriates her/his experiential heritage through a dynamic of 'retrospective understanding'" (Nóvoa 1988, p. 14). In a broad perspective, history of education can also include the story of processes and training contexts that occurred at certain times in specific social and historical contexts.

This paper deals with the stories of women in hiding – and gender is a significant category in historical analysis because it assumes "the fundamentally social quality of distinctions based on sex" (Scott, 1986, p. 1054), recognizes the importance of personal and subjective experiences in history, and implies "a commitment to a history that included stories of the oppressed" (p. 1054). Gender inequalities are obvious in the testimonies not only because underground women had to accommodate to traditional gender roles to protect the clandestine organization of the Communist Party, but also because they seem to have assumed even less visible roles than those of men, mainly in the private sphere, such as house protection and domestic tasks. In some cases, this might have implied a challenging redefinition of their identity as women and resistant –clearly, an undercover resistant in an already clandestine situation. The need to become separated from their children and the emotionality and pain that still today these memories involve is also revealing of the extreme personal costs often undergone by these women and the identity conflicts they went through. This paper gives a very preliminary contribution

to this discussion, but shows how important it is to uncover the role of women in clandestine resistance.

Our research and the collection of testimonies of women in hiding during the Portuguese dictatorship becomes relevant also because these memories are fading as time goes by. Their lives are part of our history that, although chronologically so close, is a distant anthropological reference, since historical, cultural, political and ideological references have changed significantly. Therefore it is important to give visibility to "anonymous" people as actors of history, since today's education for democracy and citizenship depends on knowing the past so that we can envision the future.

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### Endnotes:

<sup>i</sup> In September 1968, Oliveira Salazar had an accident (falling off a broken chair) and had to leave his governing role. He was exonerated from office in on 27 September of the same year and replaced by Marcelo Caetano as President of the Council.

<sup>ii</sup> A headcount of "party houses" mentioned in "*60 Anos de Luta ao Serviço do Povo e da Pátria*", published by the PCP, shows the existence of 295 "party houses" between 1936 and 1974 and 80 clandestine printers between 1935 and 1974. However, this number might be lower than the reality.

<sup>iii</sup> It's important to note that that prison visits were not possible as they were in a clandestine situation; even when family members were not in hiding visits were not necessarily allowed, either because the marriage had not taken place or a child was not legally recognised.

<sup>iv</sup> "The Militant" was a theoretical character bulletin intended for Communist militants.

<sup>v</sup> "Avante!" was the central organ of the PCP. Avante! issued 464 editions between 1941 and 1974, unlike other underground newspapers issued irregularly.



Soraia Ansara

## Social and Psycho-political Impacts in the Social Construction of Political Memory of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship

This article refers to a research on the political memory of the military dictatorship in Brazil, held in three Brazilian cities (Belo Horizonte, Curitiba and São Paulo) in which we analyzed the social and psychopolitical impacts caused by the dictatorship as well as the redemocratization process in building the political memory of community and union leaders. The study revealed two important legacies that were found in the reports of interviewees: the first one refers to police repression, impunity, and authoritarianism still present in Brazilian society; the second legacy refers to the existence of a political memory built by social movements and communities that care about passing on, to the new generations, the events that occurred during the military dictatorship.

Research has clearly shown that there is no single memory but several "underground memories" (Pollak, 1989), built by the popular classes, which contradict the versions disseminated by the official memory and enhance the social movements capacity of action as a strategy of resistance and political struggle of the movements today. To the extent that this fight is assumed by other spheres of Brazilian society it may contribute to memory policies in the fight against forgetting.

### Keywords:

Political memory, authoritarianism, military dictatorship, memory policies

### 1 Introduction

The Brazilian military dictatorship, with all its repressive apparatus, has left many legacies for future generations, both negative - which remain in Brazilian society as remnants of an authoritarian and repressive society and represent a setback for the advance of democracy - and positive - stimulating the resistance practices of social movements.

The present article refers to part of a research on the Memory of the military dictatorship and repression in Brazil in which we seek to analyse the collective memory that was built from the process of Brazilian redemocratization in order to identify what has remained in the memory of generations that came after the repression period, that is, we seek to understand how repression appears in the collective memory of people who participate in trade union movements or community organizations, therefore having a political engagement.

It is noteworthy that the military dictatorship in Brazil included the period from 1964 to 1985 and, unlike other Latin American dictatorships, the Brazilian dictatorship was not embodied in the figure of a single dictator, but had alternating military chiefs in control of State and power through indirect elections. Thus, the president was indicated by an Electoral College – and this gave a democratic mask to the military regime. This sequence of military governments had, according to Sandoval

(1994b), three phases: the first from 1964 to 1968, covering the governments of Castelo Branco and Costa e Silva; a second phase, between 1969 and 1974 during the government of General Emilio Garrastazu Médici, characterized by a strict political repression and accelerated industrialization; and a third phase, from 1974 to 1985, characterized by a period of political opening, including the governments of Ernesto Geisel and João Batista Figueiredo, which marked the beginning of the democratization of the political system, with the end of bipartisanship and the uprising of strike activities and social movements.

However, like other dictatorships in Latin America, the Brazilian dictatorship was characterized by the suppression of constitutional rights, intervention in trade unions - by the strict censorship that imposed obstacles to free information and limited cultural events, reaching politicians, artists, publishers, teachers, students, lawyers, trade union leaders, intellectuals and religious representatives - prohibition to any kind of protest or social mobilization and a strong political persecution and repression to those who stood against the military regime. In Brazil, the dictatorship was based on the National Security Doctrine (Doutrina de Segurança Nacional, DSN) which was not limited to the defence of the country in facing a supposed "communist aggression" but, as Alves (1984) points out, referred to the "inside enemy", in other words, the intent to ensure National Security implied the elimination of internal communist aggression which meant direct repression of organizations and social movements and the constant surveillance of all institutions and sectors of society. In the name of National Security, during the military regime, arrests, torture and death were justified.

While the Brazilian military dictatorship strongly repressed social movements a strong resistance to the regime was established through the underground organization of many social movements and struggles for amnesty and human rights, which started in the dictatorship period and lasted throughout the democratization period.

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In 1985, in the beginning of the redemocratization process social movements started to intensify their struggles, bringing back public statements with more freedom after a twenty-one year lapse. This period was of fundamental importance for our study since our research participants were born and/or experienced this post-dictatorship period, meaning that their memory was built under the impact of the redemocratization process and an official speech that blamed the military to work as political openness protagonists and the process of "stretching" of the regime. This speech produced a mute on the resistance of social movements in the crisis of the political system of military rule.

The discourses analysed in this article were collected between the years 2003-2005 in three Brazilian cities (Belo Horizonte, Curitiba and Sao Paulo). The criteria for choosing these cities was not based on the statistical significance of a given "sample" of the population, but on the meanings of political events assigned by some social categories belonging to a *locus* that we consider of great importance to a study in the psychopolitical perspective. This *locus* consists of union and community leaders (adults who have not lived repression and were politically motivated). We chose São Paulo for being one of the cities that suffered major impact during the repression time in Brazil and for considering it emblematic of the pivotal Rio- São Paulo area, where the main political repression centres were located and where there were major political movements at that time; the city of Belo Horizonte, for being considered "the cradle of the military coup", where the civil and military ruling staff of the Minas Gerais State articulated the military coup; and at least one city of southern Brazil, Curitiba, which suffered a smaller impact than the state capitals of south eastern Brazil, such as Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte. In this study, we used semi-structured individual interviews<sup>i</sup> with three community leaders and three union representatives from each city - in a total of eighteen interviews. The reports were organized according to the goal of highlighting the *marks* left by the past, what has been *maintained* by the generations that preceded us, the events and collective practices in which the individuals found and find meaning (Bartlett, 1995), mainly their collective experiences in communities and social and trade union movements that contributed to the construction of their memories.

Therefore, throughout this article we will analyse the social and psycho political impacts caused by the dictatorship and by the *redemocratization process*, emphasizing two important legacies found in the reports of the interviewees: a) the first refers to *police repression, impunity, and authoritarianism*, yet rooted in Brazilian society through political institutions, policemen and even within community organizations and movements in which the leaders participate; b) the second - especially important for social movements - the *existence of a political memory built by the social movements* that contests the official memory and worries about transmitting to the future generations the events occurred during the military dictatorship.

We understand that history is a representation of the past, and an intellectual operation that breaks the memory collective bonds, as it crystallizes on the official history writing. Memory, in turn, is a phenomenon always current that keeps the bonds between what was lived and the present. As stated by Decca, "The memory is the life, always saved for the alive groups in their name, and it is in permanent evolution, open to dialectic of the memory and the oblivion" (Decca, 1992: 130), especially because it exceeds the limits of historiography and opens a multiplicity of versions about the past.

Differentiating the story that opts for the great events and the official memory disseminated by the discourse of the military government this study emphasizes the underground memories, those silenced and denied by the official discourse.

## 2 The legacy of dictatorship: police repression, impunity, authoritarianism

Although we live in a democracy, the discourses of our interviewees showed that the years of the Brazilian military dictatorship are still present in the Brazilian society, since dictatorship affected all Brazilian people, not only the ones who lived at that time but later generations, and considering that much of what we have today is the heritage from the military regime. In their memories, there are several critical aspects.

### 2.1 The lack of a democratic political consciousness

Community and union leaderships admit that the repressive past still remains in authoritarian but camouflaged forms in our society, in the political environment and also in the social movements in which they participate, through the attitudes of certain leaders. "Much of what we still live today is a heritage of that period. The very difficulty that we have to create political and democratic consciousness was affected a lot due to the military regime". (Anderson - union leadership)

It (the dictatorship) continues somehow, half hidden, but it continues today in our midst, (...) in the political arena. We can see that clearly. So I think it's a way to stay, (they) want to stay in power, want to continue dominating the entire political line in which we live, right? So I think it continues there, permeating our environment, in a much more hidden way. (Luciara - community leader).

The interviewees point out that social movements still have much to do to achieve true democracy, to reach a democratic political consciousness with greater autonomy in which the Brazilian people, effectively, can decide the course of the country. The democratic experience in Brazil is still in early stages, the "*democratization process*" marked by many political tensions and conflicts was completed only in 1988, with the promulgation of the new Constitution which established democratic principles in the country.

Although the Constitution of 1988 is well advanced regarding social rights, from an economic point of view it maintained a conservative profile as long as it guaranteed many privileges to business elites. Even though the New Republic policy did not break up with the policy of the military period, as the country continued tutored by

the Armed Forces and open to foreign capital and multinational companies, press censorship was abolished, traditional left parties such as: *Partido Comunista Brasileiro*, PCB and the Partido Comunista do Brasil, PC do B syndicalism and the big unions such as CUT (Central Única dos Trabalhadores) were fully legalized, consolidating the period of democratic transition, and ensuring the election campaigns and direct elections for president. However, advances in Brazilian new Constitution still have not been converted into more democratic practices and relationships, remaining something to be learned and built, and revealed in the speeches:

If we put it on paper, how long did the democratic period last in the country? It comes down to recent times. So, since the so-called 'discovery' of Brazil, we don't have it. It is very easy to just blame others, since the Portuguese colony, but in fact we did not have a period of democratic experience. Because this is something which is also built, this matter of consciousness. It is something that we are starting to build at this moment and with great difficulty. (...) we have a lot further to go in order to reach independence itself, mainly regarding autonomy and political consciousness, so that we can say Brazilian people is effectively, democratically deciding the path of the country. (Anderson - union leader)

## 2.2 The experience of a false democracy

The discourses showed the absence of a democratic political consciousness is the result of their own experiences in a false democracy or a "so-called democracy" as interviewees refer to the current democracy that co-exists with a repressive apparatus that is, in itself, still a form of dictatorship:

And today what we live is a false democracy. Because there is repression in a certain way, but as we live under this cloud of democracy we think it's okay. But people are dying, the Movements are being massacred, repression continues operating in our society. (Fabiola - community leader)

Eliana states that Brazilian people have not rooted democracy as a value and that dictatorship was responsible for all the social exclusion experienced today in Brazil. And despite being very positive as to the worth of the organization and struggle of social movements, she criticizes the movements themselves for not having worked more democratic values:

So today I see that we have not rooted in Brazilian people democracy as a value we cannot give up, and that the dictatorship was a bad time; a moment of darkness and lack of political and financial transparency which today turns into immense social, economic losses; it increased social exclusion and sent people out of the country; that today those who still demand to leave, it is on the account of that, it is still a reflection of that. The bottom line is we have not rooted it. I think our movements, despite all their greatness and all their worth, they did not deal with that, and they could not cope with this task. Maybe it's because of the necessity to manage immediate matters, and they forget it. (Eliana - union leader)

## 2.3 The concentration of power that introduces the idea of politics as something bad, is nefarious

For leaders the large concentration of political power, power abuse and corruption in different political and institutional spheres lead to the idea of politics as something bad, a harmful thing that conducts to disbelief

in politics and to a lack of will power from the population in getting involved in political issues and even discussing those issues.

I think today there are still some marks, I notice the harm that the dictatorship has done to my parents, my brothers and to the generation I am a part of. The dictatorship still hurts because it left these marks, of power concentration, saying that politics is a bad thing, that politics is a nefarious thing, not a subject to set you free (Emerson - community leader)

One thing, I think of the very conception of politics. People say 'Oh, I do not like politics'. I use to say 'you might not even like petty politics, because politics you do from the time you get up to the time you lie down'. Therefore, the political issue of coexistence, of fighting for your rights, of maintaining your rights is a daily matter. It's something that people have to do as survival. Omitting yourself and allowing people to do it, then, I mean, you might not even like the petty politics that some politicians do and the vast majority of politicians do. So, in that sense, today you see that people are far more politically accommodated (Armando - Union leader).

## 2.4 The fear of getting organized - social demobilization

Although we live in a democracy, there is today, according to our interviewees, a fear of speaking, of participating and engaging in collective action which comes from the fear of repression. There are few people who expose themselves or who decide to expose themselves because they are afraid of being ... As in the dictatorship, those who were distinguished in leadership were repressed, they are afraid of being pressed (Armando - union leader). The fact that there was punishment to those opposed to the military regime, who wrote or spoke criticizing it, makes, even today, many people afraid to make their criticism, to voice their opinions, to participate and even fight for their rights.

For example, the question of going out talking or writing an article for something. If it were at that time I could be punished somehow for writing it, but today I'm not going to do it either because someone might want to harm me later with it. So I kind of keep that fear, you know, it can be in writing or even saying something; I get a bit of fear (Celi - community leader)

In addition, due to extremely repressive actions, a fear of repression was produced and still stands as a demobilizing element regarding the participation of many people in social struggles. As we can see from the memories of Sandra and Eliana, remnants from the dictatorship period are evidenced still existing today, specially the fear that leads many people to not get involved in popular struggles. "Today people do not fight because they are afraid of that time, you know". (Sandra - community leader)

And the after effect is the submission of the people. The fear to struggle, to bear a confrontation, to seek their rights, you know? I participate in some meetings where I see that people are afraid of facing any authority or pretended authority (Eliana - union leader)

During the military regime in Brazil, as pointed out by Irene Cardoso (2001) there was the implementation of a "political terror" by the State that was characterized "by the construction of the total arbitrariness, by the creation of the potential enemy", spreading fear and producing the "silencing" of the Brazilian population, and

this strategy precluded politics itself since it intimidated political actions.

The political terror takes the form of a technique of silence production, from censorship going through the silencing of society through fear up to the maximum extent of its expression, when 'it kills death itself', in the disappearance procedures - disappearance of people, of their bodies, of their names, of their legal existence (Cardoso, 2001, p. 156).

With all this repressive strategy, this fear extends itself to other spheres of social life and is likewise expressed in other personal and social relationships that are still structured hierarchically in our society; such relations are still established between superior and inferior, between the principal and the obedient.

Examples abound, the authoritarianism that is present in the political organization of Brazilian society - despite the advance of democracy in the post-military dictatorship time - is reproduced, even today, in other social institutions such as the school that maintains, for the most part, an absolutely authoritarian relationship among principals, teachers and students, based on threat, punishment and fear: the problems in schools, unfortunately, are still solved with scream, with the imposition of norms and not through dialogue; we still find principals that centralize in themselves all the school organization in a bureaucratic way, ignoring completely community participation. The absence of a distribution or socialization of power - the director is part of a monarchic structure where he is the big holder of the power, establishing extreme relations of ordination and submission.

Authoritarianism inhibits the actions, imposes silence and causes fear to express opinions. Fabiola speaks of a collective fear, lived today by the population and which is the legacy of that military period and that is reflected on the way the police operates:

I think the military process left scars in society, that are present until today, a collective fear, even to participate politically. And as I work in the area of Law and I am in the Social Protection Department the issue of policing and popular safety, still has a police identity, the security is made by the police, and I think this feature comes from the military process. I mean, you do not work public safety through social projects, you work through policing, repression yet. So it is still very strong in Brazilian society, even though we live a democratic process. We still lives, in effect, a process of repression of marginalized classes. It is the marginalized people dying! So we still live under the influence of that military period. (Fabiola - community leader)

It should be noted that in so-called enforcement agencies the whole police structure remains exactly as it was during the military period. The police, when addressing people considered "suspicious", does so by using great violence, both physical and moral, guided almost always by prejudice against blacks and poor people. Although there is freedom to speak out publicly, governments still make use of police repression to contain strikes or evict families, using the most brutal violence, through shock troops against unarmed civilians. This police action is an attack against democracy and essentially against human rights, and it is identified by the interviewees as remnants of the dictatorship we live

with in our society, remnants that, according to Emerson, are bound to sacrifice the coming generations:

The state military police forces have many remnants of the dictatorship. A lot of things in this country come top down, the laws are made pretty much top down precisely because of the remnants of dictatorship. The poor do not have access to information; do not have access to freedom due to this hideous dictatorship, right. So, I think we will suffer, we suffer and Brazil will still suffer to get rid of this process. It will take some time to leave this brand of dictatorship behind. Some generations will still go by, who knows our children, maybe our grandchildren, to be born free of that process, of the mark. (Emerson - community leader)

## 2.5 The repressive position in strikes and popular demonstrations

The repressive and authoritarian attitude that still remains in Brazilian society spreads in situations of strike and popular demonstrations. The interviewees report they have gone through similar cases, with abuse of authority and police repression in strikes of their trade union categories or during mass demonstrations. The fact is that the repressive practices remain, considering that today strikes as well as land occupations and other demonstrations are repressed by shock troops, in a treatment of law and civil issues - such as the right to strike, the right to claim land and housing, and the very right to claim - as a police issue, sometimes as an army issue, fostering a culture of violence which is far from being eliminated.

For Victor, the repression is a legacy that survives on ostensible actions practiced by organs of public security that still uses torture practices showing the inefficient public security which, in your way of acting, generates repulse of the population:

I believe, especially when it comes to that public security area, we feel that at certain times, the military police adopts practices that were used at that time, you know, of torture. Recently, television reported this in a town. Then an investigation was opened and so on, but literally, military police has made use of torture practices in order to obtain confession. I think this might be a legacy that still survived. Lots of actions, especially military actions in this country today, adopt some of that repression system, but they should not, because the role, not only of the police but also of the army, should not be that at all, it should be integrating with the population, having the closest proximity to the population. (Victor - union leader)

Although these generations did not directly experience the "political terror" imposed by the military dictatorship, the "scars" of the recent past become evident and they subsist in the "underground memories" (Pollak, 1989) built by popular classes, which contradict the versions disseminated by the official memory.

## 2.6 The concealment of events through media manipulation

The union leaderships are aware of the ideological manipulation used by the military dictatorship in order to hide the repressive events and they recall mainly the use made of the World Cup in 1970:

Ah, how do you say, the full support of media to the military bosses, both to cover up certain things, not to disclose, but also to try to make up a situation. This is the case of the 1970 World Cup that they beautified, right. They gave wide disclosure and celebration as if

everything in the garden was rosy here and it was not. You had no freedom, but there were those, in the mass media who were the instigators. There was the same repression even in the cultural environment, the torture, the deaths, the exile (Ronaldo - union leader)

It is noted that the interviewees, even though not having directly experienced this past, feel affected by it, since the legacy left by the military regime, such as the police repression, social demobilization and impunity, all still have repercussions today in the social and political life of the Brazilian society. In this sense, the speech of José is quite illustrative and it also reinforces the relationship between past and present, showing how this past is brought in to the experiences of the present:

I believe there are repercussions because the history of people is brought to the present time. I believe it has repercussions. Many times people still fear the past. It is a marked past, so deep that we see the engagement of the Brazilian people; (...) we see that the Brazilian people still bear a mark of dictatorship, which is a mark of ineffective organization of their social movements. I think it carries on; actually, we carry it on through laws today. We managed to place the people on the streets to overthrow Collor<sup>ii</sup>, but that was a long struggle. The history of the dictatorship still hangs on the history of Brazilian people. (José - union leader)

The experience from the past has a strong implication in the construction of collective memory, as Connerton (1999, p. 4) pointed out "our present experiences depend to a large extent on the knowledge we have from the past and that our past images suit the legitimization of the present social order". For this author, the present experiences are linked to objects of the past, so that "we will live our present in different ways according to the different pasts we can relate it to" (p. 2).

From this perspective, the past experiences shared by our interviewees within their groups - may them be trade unions, social movements, communities, neighbourhood associations - contribute to the construction of a political memory that enhances the struggles of the present time.

## 2.7 Impunity and human rights violations

Impunity is also responsible for the continuity of the violation of human rights, considering that the failure to punish those who were responsible for torture demonstrates the inefficiency of the State in solving the acts of violation of human rights that occurred throughout the whole repressive period. We refer here to the lateness in turning public the files of the military dictatorship and in punishing those who committed torture and assassination of militants who opposed to the regime. Many of these torturers remained unpunished and held positions of trust in local, state and federal governments. Regarding human rights violations by the Brazilian State, we still come across the use of torture and spankings by police officers in abuse of police authority, by means of threats, constraints and physical aggression. That can be confirmed by the complaints of similar cases human rights in organizations, where we find several of these incidents. Evidently, in cases of substantiated violation by the State, the situation is even

worse, since the State should be the main responsible for ensuring the physical integrity and security of citizens.

Armando speaks of the necessity of not hiding *the opening of the archives* from the population. He advocates the opening as an act that means "to open wide the wounds or impositions of the dictatorship". And he ends up saying that making it public will help us understand the logic of the military power:

The burning of files at the air force base of Salvador (in December of 2004) was another ingredient, an additional edge of what had already been conducted for two weeks concerning the intention to open the files or not, of what is confidential<sup>iii</sup> and what is not then there is a number of things. In fact, we will be working with wounds. You will open, open wide the wounds or impositions of the military dictatorship, that is, it is true authoritarianism, right.. (Armando - union leader)

Many files of that time were destroyed at the end of the dictatorship - including the episode in 2004, as pointed out by Armando, when the press reported the burning of files at the Air Force base of Salvador in Bahia. In 2012, with the release of the files to public consultation at the Brasilia National Archives, it was made public that many files stored in secrecy were destroyed by order of the government of João Figueiredo (1979-1985). These orders departed from the main agency information of the military dictatorship, the National Information System (Sistema Nacional de Informação, SNI), extinct only in 1990, at the end of the government of José Sarney (1985-1990).

The investigation of the facts, rescuing the trajectory of the dead and missing people of this recent period is important, not only from the point of view of the right of their families to demand the government account on how and why their sons, fathers, brothers or partners died, but also to clarify how the facts really happened and not as the military regime intended them to be told:

Tracking, digging out and uncovering mark the willingness to bring up the pieces of bodies and truth that are lacking, thus assembling proofs and completing what was unaccomplished by Justice. The remains of the missing people - remains of the missing past - must first be discovered (un-covered) and then assimilated: that is, reinserted in a biographical and historical narration which admits their evidence (...) (Richard, 1999, p. 328).

During the democratically elected governments that followed, in 2003, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva takes office - the first Brazilian president emerging from the trade union movement. In his government, human rights issues started to be discussed, especially by the National Office of Human Rights (Secretaria Nacional de Direitos Humanos), which was directly linked to the General Secretariat of the Presidency. This office, together with representatives of civil society and in partnership with other Ministries, composed the special committee to analyse and determine whether or not the files held by the federal government should be released.

The persistence of Human Rights groups and of the Family Members of Political Dead and Missing Persons Commission to commence an investigation and reveal



the deaths and disappearances of the military dictatorship period were fundamental to the constitution of a National Truth Commission (Comissão Nacional da Verdade, CNV), after almost 30 years since the end of the dictatorship. Created from the Law 12528/2011 and established on May 16, 2012, the Commission, on the one hand, represents an important step towards the inquiry of the crimes committed during the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship and a breakthrough in the reconstruction of the political memory of that repressive period. On the other hand, however, we cannot avoid pointing out the limitations of such inquiry, as it has repeatedly been denounced by representatives of the Group *Tortura Nunca Mais*, in Rio de Janeiro.

Since its opening the National Truth Commission (Comissão Nacional da Verdade, CNV) has proposed to investigate the serious human rights violations and the repressive acts perpetrated in the period from 1946 to 1988 (referring to civil between 1937-1945, military dictatorship from 1964-1985 and the beginning of democratization), and to establish a communication path with society as well as partnerships with government agencies and civil society organizations. After two and a half years the results are available in the final report on the Internet ([www.cnv.gov.br](http://www.cnv.gov.br)) that was officially presented on December 10, 2014, the International Human Rights Day. However, this report deserves a specific study and a more accurate review, which we intend to do in due time, once it does not clarify everything that was concealed during the military regime, generating many controversies. Such controversies regard certain proposed solutions, especially in relation to the political missing persons and the access to all files of the apparatuses of repression that corroborated the atrocities committed, and also concerning how, where and by whom they were practiced (Coimbra, 2013)

The opening of the dictatorship files is a right to memory that allows the victims and their families the access to the information that concerns their lives. This information is under the confidential protection of the State power and its opening makes it possible that the violations of human rights are investigated by Justice. We believe that the disclosure on the atrocities perpetrated against those who were opposed to the regime intends to stop State political violence, enabling the denunciation of the severe violation of human rights, avoiding the repetition of past mistakes and the concealment of facts and information relevant to the consolidation of democracy and the transparent relationship between State and society.

### **3 The existence of a political memory built by the social movements**

In this study we developed the concept of political memory which is collective in our understanding in the sense it is advocated by Halbwachs (1990), in other words, it's constructed by the from the social groups and regarding the current political context.

The collective memory does not match all the representations of the past, but can be understood as the selection, interpretation and transmission of certain representations, specifically produced and stored at a certain point of view.

However, we can't talk about a single collective memory, since society is composed of a plurality of groups, who design and reconstructs the memory, giving new meaning to the past from their values and interests. In this process there are conflicts and disputes in the interpretation and meaning of the past enabling us to understand why some reports disappear and others are converted into hegemonic accounts.

When we say that there is a political memory it means there is mutual influence between the political consciousness and the construction of memory, so that the memory stimulates the political consciousness and provides forms of collective action, the same way as political consciousness can be crucial in constructing political memory. In the political participation process, the subjects became aware of their past, their social and political reality by constructing a political memory that empowers and mobilizes them to participate in the current political struggles. This kind of close relationship between the construction of the community and union leaderships with their political behaviour is an aspect of the political memory, especially because we understand that the political memory perspective is different from the one experienced by collective memories, in other words, the prism of political behaviour (Ansara, 2005; 2008).

We must emphasize that this political behaviour is closely linked to the formation process of political consciousness which consists in understanding "(...) the interrelated social psychological dimensions of meanings and information that allow individuals to make decisions as to the best course of action within political contexts and specific situations" (SANDOVAL, 2001, p. 185).

The idea above enables us to understand - as suggested by Sandoval (1994a) - how through political consciousness, the subjects are not only subjects but also political actors since they begin to participate in the society. Thus, these actors' political memory has the function of activating and enhancing collective action.

The memories of our respondents gave evidence of certain aspects which denounced political and ideological manipulation strategies of memory, through what we have called *oblivion policies* established along the military dictatorship, from the construction of a consensus which produced the official memory; including amnesty processes, which hindered the clarification of political crimes in order to erase the memory and act as if nothing had happened; to the burning and destruction of documents in order to hide the acts of terror from the population (abductions, illegal arrests, torture, murder and occultation of the remains of corps) which imposed the silence and oblivion.

Our research notes that, throughout the process of Brazilian democratization, several policies established an official memory that used all the ideological devices to lead to oblivion of what happened during the military

dictatorship (1964-1985) and to erase the marks of the resistance and the popular class struggle in an attempt to hide from the Brazilian society the history of the "losers", as if they didn't belong to the politic scenery. The official memory, since the military dictatorship time, justified the generals' authority and the state violence by the utilization of ideologies as the instauration of the social order, the warranty of national development over the meaning of "economic miracle" and the nation sovereignty preservation. The official memory made a single version of the past, neutralizing the social conflicts, universalizing specific interests, naturalizing historical facts and relativizing the use of violence use, making the population believe that the military regime was one of the best periods lived on the Brazilian history, since it filed the peace, the order and the national balance.

It can be said that there are continuity and rupture around the political memory of repression in Brazil that manifest themselves in different versions that reveal how real battles for memory. Kaiser (2005) classifies the memory of the transition in three possible groupings: the version of the military, which maintains today's speech that the military defended the Brazilian population of the communist threat and subversion; the position of the human rights movement that reconstructs the memory of the victims denouncing the atrocities committed by the dictatorship and demanding the investigation of crimes under international law and the consensus memory, the result of negotiated transition from dictatorship to democracy that has an intermediate position, a memory that exposes a limited insight into the crimes of the dictatorship. While acknowledging the excesses committed during the dictatorship, the consensus speech questions the extent of repression and advocates forgiveness. Thus, the consensus memory aligns the policy of silence and oblivion favoring the official memory (Telles, 2007).

Although the process of handling the "official memory" - which was based on the propagation of terror and fear or concealment of political violence events - has produced alienation and the demobilization of the vast majority of the Brazilian population which does not get involved in policies actions, our data showed how the experience of participation enabled the reconstruction of a *political* memory capable of breaking the alienation through the criticism of the official memory and by empowering the people who currently participate in social movements to continue the struggle against all kinds of repression and authoritarianism.

In order to show how such a memory was configured we must point out some elements which allow us to state the union and community leaders have built a political memory clearly opposed to the official memory which predominates in the imaginary of the population.

### 3.1 The knowledge of the past enhances the action of social movements today

Speaking of the military dictatorship, the interviewed leaders pointed to the repression imposed by the military regime in Brazil and highlighted that the union and

popular movements have organized themselves and fought against repression assuming the risk of being tortured or killed, therefore they deserve recognition of Brazilian society.

What also calls the attention is those people's enthusiasm to keep their hope and will to struggle against dictatorship what enabled us to celebrate the direct elections "as diretas"<sup>iv</sup> even if there was a coup by the Electoral College it was for sure a victory for the working class. (José – union leader)

For most trade unionists and community leaders, the victory against the dictatorship is attributed to the working class and social movements which have began their organizing force during the dictatorship and had stronger power than today. They pointed out that the struggle for freedom, the confrontation against repressive governments, social injustice, authoritarianism and corruption demanded organization of the movement. Knowing that many people shed their blood and lost their lives fighting for freedom, drives them to struggle and make them realize that there is still much to do.

I think that it make sus realize that there is still much more to do. And I think today through the organization of the people, social movements, pastoral, ecclesial base communities, you can at least experience what drove them to lose their lives for a justice cause, for freedom. So I think this drives. (...) So I see it has much to do with the recent popular organization. If we organize ourselves as a popular movement or as a community it is because we believe that it is possible to do something different. Another world is possible, another Brazil is possible through organization (Luciara - community leader)

In this sense, knowing the past and the example of those who struggled against the dictatorship still remains among the people who are struggling today, and provides the continuity of history. The relation between past and present which is relevant for building the political memory appears in the comparison they make between one period and another showing how the struggles of the past mobilize movements in the current struggles.

(...) But I also believe, that this change will only come with an organized people, the people on the street and then the role of the social movements is essential. And then this image of struggling for freedom, of facing governments is important because these people also overturned a military dictatorship.(...) It means, our role here in this movement is to organize people to overthrow this thing called capitalism. .... (Edilson-union leader).

The last fighting spirit, which mobilized the people to "overthrow the dictatorship", is a reference that enhances the movement to overthrow is capitalism and neo-liberalism, whose strategy is presented in a subtle form of domination, making it difficult to identify against what one is fighting, something that, according to them, was evident in the period of dictatorship.

The willpower that mobilized those who fought against the dictatorship was also more effective because the "enemy" (the military regime, with its repressive techniques) was concrete, visible.

The memories that bring back events, that are rebuilt and kept for the social and union movements, coming from those who are predisposed to act against the repressive mechanisms and who are opposed to political conformism, to submission and to the emphasis on order that justifies repression. In this sense, memories are able to transform the past knowledge into new political practices in the near future.

### **3.2 The importance of political consciousness - the struggle against forgetting**

We realize that knowledge of the military dictatorship and repression occurs when these individuals start to have political consciousness through participation in the union and movements, as they learned about the dictatorship in meetings, seminars promoted by social movements and communities in which they participate, in positions of leadership training in the "popular schools"<sup>v</sup>.

From the moment you're been part of a movement, part of a community, it is necessary to have this interest to know what is our history, what our roots are. I attended many training meetings that gave me that support to know a little more about what has led us today to organize as a community. I knew the story through popular movements. I think preserving this memory of the dictatorship within the social movement is essential, transmitting this memory to the new generations. (Luciara – community leader).

The community and union leaderships built a *collective memory* which lies within the *memory social landmarks* that, according to Halbwachs (1990), refer to the groups they belong to and act as memory supporters. Those groups keep the military dictatorship's memory alive by this shared past that is remembered through their educational and political activities, motivating the new leaders to be aware of the importance of knowing the past to act in the present. It is about a collective memory, which its particulars and its relations with political action, that builds as a political memory that recognizes the resistance force of the social movements that fought against the military dictatorship. The processes lived and shared by groups and social movements that refer to past events are memories that are particularly important for social movements and groups in the present. (Fentress & Wickham, 2003: p. 15). Therefore, we cannot separate the construction of political memory, groups and social movements, as we understand that the constructions of the past are supported by collective structures, as pointed out by Halbwachs (1990, 2004) and created by social actors, whether groups or individuals. In this perspective, the collective memories depend on the relationships that these social actors establish and develop with the family, social class, social movements, the school, the church, political parties, etc.

### **3.3 Those who have experienced political violence and torture gave a citizenship lesson in for the country!**

The interviewed contrast the courage of political militants and of the people who suffered political violence showing that the generation fought and faced the

dictatorship must be recognized and revered, because it gave a citizenship lesson to Brazil.

This leaves us enthusiastic because you think about the violence that these people suffered! And at the same time something outstanding is the courage of these activists, these people. These people actually gave a citizenship lesson to Brazil! (Emerson - community leader)

Despite recognizing the existence of the dictatorship sequels, such as fear that lead many people to not get involved in popular struggles, this fear does not deter them to participate in social movements.

### **3.4 The conquest of freedom and the apprenticeship for the future**

This achievement, obtained through suffering and struggle, was a learning experience that brought prospects for the country and allowed people a glimpse of what Brazil is today and how it can be different: "I think the importance of people meeting and knowing a little more about the history and the country has to do with having more prospects, more solutions, a chance to build something different and also to value the organization itself." (Luciara - community leader)

"(...) I did not experienced it, or had family members who have experienced it. But now, as I have a political role, I also have a certain identity with the political struggle of the people who gave their lives for this cause (...), including a more critical view of the military police, authoritarian experiences, policies. I would say this more critical view, politically. (Fabiola - community leader)

### **3.5 The memorial spaces created by communities and social movements**

Community leaders living in Perus - one of the neighbourhoods in which the study was carried out in district of São Paulo - indicated that they learned of the dictatorship because of existing clandestine cemetery, where usually local communities and social movements celebrated the events of the period of military dictatorship in Brazil. The simple fact that there is a common ditch in the cemetery of Perus o, might not be enough to evoke the memory of what happened during the dictatorship. However the activities organized by local groups, communities, Church, Human Rights Movement convert this space into a memorial space, "a place of memory," where they celebrate and reflect on the victims of the military regime in Brazil.

Regarding celebrations, Paul Connerton (1999) points out that it is through commemorative ceremonies - using the performance - that the knowledge of the past is transmitted and preserved. For him such ceremonies allow us to "see that the images of the past and the knowledge of the past are remembered, transmitted and stored for performances (more or less) rituals" (Connerton 1999, p.45). In this regard, Connerton (1999) discusses the important role of celebrations held as a resource to make memory of past events, such as the celebrations held in Mass Grave Perus Cemetery in São Paulo, mentioned by respondents. In addition to being a resource used to evoked memory, memorial spaces

and celebrations are active processes of collective memory, as Cardoso (2001, 2000) rightly points out.

However, celebrations and commemorations may allow social groups to revive the memory of significant events, generating awareness of the past, but also how they can be used by the ruling powers to keep the official memory. This warning is made by Ricoeur (2003), stating that there is an abusive political use of national celebrations, the great dates characterized by victories and defeats and that are clearly linked to manipulation and exploitation of memories, such as the celebrations of the "Discovery of Brazil", the "abolition of slavery" and the "Revolution 1964" (term officially attributed to the Military Coup of 1964), among others.

In fact, what comes up when we highlight the memorial spaces created by communities and social movements, such as the Clandestine Cemetery in Perus, is the dispute of different versions that are attributed to the past, these senses that deny the great national holidays, which do not relate to the struggles of the popular classes. These examples confirm the importance and the need to develop policies that, as suggested Perrone (2002, p. 109), "create and maintain memorial spaces that help build and nurture a collective memory", which questions the versions established as official memory and, at the same time, understand that building a political memory brings to public attention the tensions between history and the stories of individuals, the global and the local, the private and the public, the State and Social Movements.

Memories of union and community leaders show us that the reconstruction process of the past dictatorship is done through the political awareness and participation in social movements and own memory devices built by these movements, as the courses, seminars, trainings, celebrations etc. In other words, their memories are reconstructed under a political consciousness that makes this memory a political memory. It is, therefore, a dialectical process in which the collective memory works as a consciousness vehicle, for people to recover the historical memory, to take the authenticity of this past and link it to the present time and , to a personal and national project (Martín-Baró, 1998, p.171).

Knowing the past enables society not to remain passive, accepting the events as inevitable, and contributes to not repeating past mistakes. In this sense, the political memory reconstruction process breaks with fatalism. In this perspective, the memory policy plays a key role in the process of political participation of social actors working today in the social movements, since it enables those generations to discover selectively those "elements of the past that have been effective ways to defend the interests of exploited classes and returning again to be useful for the purposes of struggle and conscientization" (Fals Borda, 1985, apud Martín-Baró et al., 1998, 301).

Therefore, based on memory built by community and union leaders, we can say that knowing the past increases the power of intervention, and stimulates collective actions, since these collective memories can

recognize what was in the "underground" of history as something lost, veiled, hidden.

#### 4 Final considerations

In this article we elucidate the political memory of military dictatorship and repression in Brazil built by community and union leaders, trying to show that the presence of two major legacies in their memories: a) police repression, impunity, and authoritarianism; b) the existence of a political memory built by social movements and communities. The memory of these leaders reveal a past built by forgotten memories, memories not told in official narratives, but which are now told by themselves as a resistance policy that enhances memory to continue the fight against political authoritarianism, domination and injustice, seeking a society that is really fair and democratic.

This reconstruction allowed to understand memory as a strategy of resistance and political struggle, that is, as a battle between antagonistic versions of a dictatorial political period that marked the life of the participants and the history of the Brazilian society. Therefore, the study shows that the process of building political memory is a real struggle against forgetting that brings us to the debate on the importance and the need to create "memory policies" that counter the "oversight policies" established throughout the dictatorship and the Brazilian democratization period. (Ansara, 2012)

Among the legacies of the dictatorship evoked this political memory, we identified at least five strategies used by repressive apparatus in their forgetfulness policies:

a) the manufacture of consensus or collective consensual memory - clearly present in the policies established in the process of transition from dictatorship to democracy, in which the post-dictatorial regime sought to defend and restore national harmony, based on the consensus of speech. This strategy attempts to erase the past and promote forgetting by hiding the crimes committed by the dictatorship and erasing the memory developed by resistance struggles against the dictatorship;

b) amnesty processes - seeking civic peace, reconciling enemies in order to establish social harmony by institutional forgetfulness, through the amnesty process that puts an end to all ongoing processes, suspending all the lawsuits, preventing the determination of political crimes and erasing the memory, as if nothing had happened.

c) the political and ideological manipulation - while acts of violence proliferated throughout the country, the military regime used political and ideological manipulation to hide these events from the population. This manipulation was practiced by the official media, the formal school, football (World Cup 1970 - that overshadowed the events), the imposition by fear, the economic miracle and patriotism preached by the regime.

d) the burning of files - many of the era files were destroyed at the end of the dictatorship.

e) impunity - Brazil does not punish the torturers and murderers of the period, as in other Latin American countries, and although the Brazilian government has acknowledged its responsibility for the crimes committed during the dictatorship, this recognition has not reached those who died in clashes with police and those who committed suicides motivated by the regime, this recognition was not extended to all victims of the regime.

These strategies attempted to hide the repressive acts and also the violation of human rights committed by the state, assigning a normal character to the events as if they had not occurred; establishing dictatorial power relations as natural, invisible and even unconscious, alienating and falsely justifying dictatorship as necessary for 'maintaining social order'.

However, the memory of the past of resistance and struggle mobilizes the political actors of the new generations to the collective action of the present. Therefore, we cannot deny that we are facing an extremely important legacy: political memory built by social movements that challenge us to think about memory policies that include the demands of the movements for building a popular memory or a "memory of the losers", by groups and minorities who create new supporters and places of memory, through discourses, demonstrations, celebrations, rituals, the systematic organization of existing own files and the struggle for opening the dictatorship's files.

The discussion of the political memory is still fresh in Brazil and has intensified since the creation of the National Truth Commission, which by making public its first report again opened this debate. However it is not just the work of this committee, but should be expanded. Politics of memory can strengthen public structures of the civil society and expand the meaning of the public debate trying to heal the wounds caused by the past and build a collective memory that counteracts the official memory. In other words, clarifying the killings and political disappearances that occurred during the period of the Brazilian military dictatorship, building and maintaining memorials spaces that help build and nurture a collective memory that questions the established versions, so that the politics of memory is assumed as an activity of utmost importance in the fight against oblivion policies (Perrone, 2002) and, accordingly, pointing out to the construction of new social practices.

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## Endnotes

i All interviews have complied with the ethical standards of the Ethics Committee in the research, and the subjects signed the Instrument of Consent. All names are fictitious.

ii First president elected by direct vote, in 1989 and deposed through impeachment in 1992.

iii Many files of different military organizations were considered confidential and sensitive, thus becoming subject to the confidentiality of the Decree 4,553 / 2002 which extended the boundaries of all the categories of "sensitive documents relating to the security of society and the State" (reserved, confidential, secret and top secret) for 50 years. This decree, considered unconstitutional, was repealed only in 2012.

iv José refers to the movement known as Direct Elections Now, that mobilized several sectors of Brazilian society at large street demonstrations, with the claim "Direct elections now!" In the years 1983-1984. This move did not result in direct elections, as the government is an electoral college which indicated Tancredo Neves for president. His unexpected death before assuming the presidency brought to power his deputy José Sarney, who ruled Brazil from 1985 to 1989. Direct elections were only implemented in 1989, this election that elected President Fernando Collor de Mello.

v These "public schools" are those alternative schools of leadership training organized by ONGs (Organizações Não Governamentais, in English, NGOs), churches or collective social movements.

Sónia Dantas-Ferreira

## Women's Experiences: Memories of Portuguese Revolution

In this article I attempt to analyze the social memories of wives of soldiers in service on April 25th 1974, through the methodology of analysis recommended by Adele Clarke (2005), using data collected in 11 interviews conducted between 2005 and 2008 under a PhD project. As a conceptual framework I adopt the perspective of social memory in the tradition of Halbwachs (1992) and following Marc Augé (2001) and Paul Ricoeur (2004), which emphasizes the social and collective memory and points out the dynamic role it plays in building a meaning to the world. This analysis takes into account the dimensions of work, family, education, politics and social life, social and economic conditions and the expectations and dreams on which the interviewees draw comparisons between 1974 and the present and also produce judgments.

### Keywords:

social memory; revolution; women's experiences

### 1 Introduction

In 2014, the Revolution of Carnations turned 40 and, exactly as on the 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> anniversaries, there were many celebrations and more or less mediated moments, with new and old actors, rediscovering - directions, (un)spinning memories and stories. This commemorative impetus lies in the need to make sense of the past as a way to understand the present and think about the future, both individually and collectively. This is why people always call on their memory in this ongoing process of world meaning-making and identity building.

April 25<sup>th</sup>, as an event recorded in the Portuguese collective memory and therefore subject to different representations in the current political-ideological framework, is therefore established as a *place of memory*. In this paper, I attempt to analyze the social memories of wives of soldiers in service on April 25<sup>th</sup> 1974, through the methodology of analysis recommended by Adele Clarke (2005; 2006), using data collected in 11 interviews conducted between 2005 and 2008 under a PhD project.

The method suggested by Adele Clarke (2005) has its roots in *Grounded Theory*, and like Charmaz's (2000) works, seeks to apply the methods of *Grounded Theory* as flexible, heuristic strategies in which attention to meaning allows for a more interpretive, constructive, insightful understanding of the phenomena in question (Clarke and Friese, 2007).

This is a process of flexible reflexive analysis since the categories of production process and subsequent construction of the interpretative framework is permanently exposed to the examination and comparison of data, and the emergence of new, divergent or contradictory elements, may lead to a

reorganization of categories and even resizing the questioning of the phenomenon. This form of analysis and interpretation of data thus also contributes to define the qualitative nature of the study, since it assumes an analytical description of the data (Maroy, 1997) according to an analysis grid drawn from the content of the interviews (Silverman, 2013)

Our goal is to make sense of the experience of these "women of April 25<sup>th</sup>", from the point of view of the meanings they attribute to the revolution and to what extent these change and organize their knowledge and relation with the "world", linking them to the broader processes of political, economic and social changes both in Europe and all over the world, resulting from the increase of globalization.

### 2 Memories of April: Between the singular and the collective

Studies of memory, as a transdisciplinary and theoretically diverse field, seek to answer questions related to how social memory is associated to the rationale of celebrations, of forgetfulness and remembrance of remarkable collective moments such as the revolution of April 25th (Olick, Vinitzki-Seroussi & Levy, 2011)

The concept of *collective memory*, referring to Halbwachs (1992 [1952]), emphasizes the social and collective character of memory and assumes it plays a central role in the construction and maintenance of social identity. However, it is important to acknowledge the fact that Halbwachs (1992 [1952]), though shifting the study of memory (until then considered as a purely individual act) to the field of knowledge of the social, makes the action of the subject that recalls (which is also the person who forgets) dependent on social determinism and considers social identity as something stable and constant in time. But despite the social and collective memory, different social groups (and different individuals) share different memories of the same event, giving them a meaning that runs between the individual and the collective, the personal and the social.

When considering that memory has a dynamic role in the production, reconstruction and forgetfulness of the world (physical, social and symbolic) where the subject moves and without which the subject does not recognize himself or herself, here one considers memory as a cultural system of assignment of meaning (Olick and Levy, 1997), allowing the connection between individual

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experience and construction of meaning of the world, by reference to a common conceptual map which is shared by a group (Irwin-Zarecka, 2007).

Thus, memory allows the recollection of the past through the look at the present and gives meaning to the world, to social practices and gives thickness to identity(ies). As Ricoeur (2004) states recognition of something as past is a privilege of memory and in that process there is a collapse of past / present and future time. Memory is then presented as knowledge, being a dynamic process of (re)creation and (re)meaning, whereby, over time, not only is the group identity kept but also it is reconstructed in a process that adjusts to change, thus getting close to the Bourdieu's conceptualization of *habitus* (2002 [1972])

This shared memory is shown in socio-cultural practices of a group or community (celebrations, monuments, political speeches, artistic activities ...) and is built from a game of inclusion / exclusion, remembrance and forgetfulness that translates the relationships of power (domination) among the social actors in a given place and historical time.

April 25<sup>th</sup>, as an event recorded in the Portuguese collective memory and therefore subject to different representations in the current political-ideological framework, allows a multiplicity of discourses and memories that reflect the complexity of social relationships between different actors in an ongoing process of conflict and negotiation between hegemonic politics and against memory (according to Foucault's concept, 1980 [1977]). It is interesting to see how in this *memory redemption* process for the public arena, which fills the commemorative logic of the 40 years of the revolution, the female perspective, the women's voices, has assumed a prominent place as a result of a seizure process of the discourse of an excluded/made invisible by the dominant speech(es) group.<sup>i</sup> April 25<sup>th</sup> 1974 is the only time in the social-historical path of Portugal with repercussions both at political, social and cultural practices levels, and regarding the construction of identities, discourses, imaginary, narratives and memories that still allows the direct listening of the meaning constructed by certain social actors.

### 3 Women's voices: Between the revolution and the present

As part of my PhD project I have conducted several qualitative semi-structured interviews to women who, by April 25<sup>th</sup> 1974, were in a love relationship with military men, in order to find out aspects related to identity as far as its articulation with the construction of the memory of the Portuguese revolution.

The interviewees belonged to one of three groups considered in the research project: women of career officers; women of militia officers and women of sergeants and enlisted (militia or career), thus allowing to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the strongest aspects / dimensions in each of those groups.

From all the interviews I conducted, this article focuses on 11 of them, and the interviewees have different

features in terms of place of living, education, occupation, socioeconomic status and age, as well as the military situation of husbands / boyfriends at the time of April 25<sup>th</sup>.

From the analysis of all the respondents we can see that they are between 52 and 66 years, the majority belonging to the age group 50-55 years. It is in the group of wives of professional soldiers that the average age is higher. Moreover, most of the respondents currently live in the same town where they lived on April 25<sup>th</sup>, though not always their town of birth. On the other hand, there is a great diversity of situations in terms of education, as well as the socio-economic and job level of the interviewees. Most interviewees has a job in teaching, but some do not have a paid job and others have low-skilled jobs (supermarket cashier, maid, textile worker). As far as education is concerned there is also the same diverse pattern; from illiterate to an interviewee who has a PhD.

Most of these interviewees are in some way linked to education, due to methodology (method "snowball"), to my own family and social condition (a teacher among several generations of teachers) and to the extraction of the interviewees' class (in which the women with relationships with officers of compulsory military service they themselves attended university and the women with relationships with career officers are mostly primary school teachers). The fact that I use a selected sample has several implications. For example, for most of these women, their work experience takes place in the school and the analysis they made of the changes perceived are related to different dimensions of teaching.

Despite the uniqueness of the individual experience, path and experience related by each of those participants, it was possible to find a pattern, both in their personal experience and memories of April 25<sup>th</sup> and the revolutionary period and in the way those experiences are / were included in the construction of their personal and social identity.

In this article, I present only partial results of the analysis I carry out, focusing my attention on the categories related to perceived changes in Portuguese society from April 25<sup>th</sup> 1974 onwards and on these women's dreams and expectations (fulfilled and unfulfilled), which thus shape the assessment they make of the current situation of the country.

#### 2.1 The wish to end the war

The war, the colonial war in which the country was involved, is present in every speech. On a personal daily level, like the air we breathe, a veil that covers everything.

Guilhermina<sup>ii</sup>: I was very happy when I learned that the soldiers who would give independence and come back, were no longer going back. We thought April 25<sup>th</sup> was a good thing, considering the war ... My two brothers had been there...

In 1974, the colonial war was going on for over a decade and set the time and living of Portuguese people. In close relationships – family, friends, co-workers and student colleagues, dating – there was always the army issue, the compulsory military service in a war context,





determining wishes and options, sowing anxieties and fears, defining paths.

Joaquina<sup>iii</sup>: That anxiety, it was as if we were saying: "oh, they [the soldiers] are coming back earlier..." and I said "Yes, I wish!" ... That's it, that was the only goal! And there was nothing else! (...) And then the war situation was very complicated, wasn't it? That, too, for me, as I say, made me live and feel the war itself a little... not directly! I lived through two situations: my brother's - who is also in the navy- and my uncle's, who were navy officers.

Therefore this issue keeps coming up in the interviews, not so much as a critical thought on the "war issue" but more as a condition inextricably entwined with the unraveling of each of these women's personal history, which cuts across the socio-economic, cultural, political and geographic contexts in which they move.

Xana<sup>iv</sup>: And the fact that there was no war, we had the children and then we began thinking that they would be going to war, like, "Oh, I had to have two children" ...

Sónia: And boys for that matter...

Xana: And boys ... "poor things, in a few years they'll be fighting this war" ...

## 2.2 Living politics in public arena

During the revolutionary period, public sphere became an important setting, a political arena where people demonstrate and stand for their ideas.

Sónia: ... You still used to go there to general meetings, to get information ...

Berta<sup>v</sup>: Yes, yes, I used to go to all of them, I was just beginning to participate, I began participating, didn't I? That's it and I was ... and I personally was very happy and very calm and ... that's it and I think most people ... might feel just like me, but there were a couple of minorities that were afraid, because they had other ...

But apart from the commemorative side of the demonstrations, there is also a more cautious assessment, before the explosion of initiatives and the immense diversity of social and political movements.

Sónia: And in Viseu, in general, do you think anything has changed?

Joaquina: See, I even think ... Quite honestly, I don't want to be talking about the present now, but doing an analysis, I think people - how should I say? - got out of control ... (...) It looked as if they didn't even care about the state they were in! Some of my friends who were close to the end of their pregnancy went up to the crowd gathered in the barracks ...

Sónia: And then there were demonstrations?

Joaquina: Exactly! Much euphoria, people, many movements ... But if I could change my path and avoid those places ... Perhaps to be on the safe side, to avoid getting overexcited. I was never very ...

The political debate, as a method of social and public participation and living becomes a major issue in the daily life, it becomes a common shared social practice.

Sónia: Do you think that at that time, people spoke more about politics ...?

Berta: Much, much more ... They spoke ...

Sónia: It was a current everyday subject ...

Berta: It certainly was.

This debate is based on the possibility of access to information regarding the situation within the country,

provided by the media, among which radio plays an important role.

Gabriela<sup>vi</sup>: Exactly. Well... news, we came home and everyone wanted to listen to the news, whenever there were no news everyone was disheartened because we got used to having news every day.

And this information without prior censorship and diverse according to the different points of view present in the political scene of the moment, feeds the political debate and feeds itself on it.

Sónia: *But the information, you read a lot of information on newspapers ...*

Josefina<sup>vii</sup>: *Yes, more detailed and free, that's for sure, yes ... More detailed and free, because we, before April 25<sup>th</sup>, the information we got was ... It was chopped, wasn't it, therefore, the information was not enough for us to be really well informed, so ... And after April 25<sup>th</sup>, I think so, I mean, that part ...*

But the political intervention that crosses all interviews, far beyond the ideological and political positioning of the participants, refers to voting; to participation in elections which begins at this point and lasts to this day.

Joaquina: *After that, I joined in in terms of elections. Never failed one, either with or without him [husband]. As I told you, I would go alone giving no explanation to anyone [laughs].*

## 2.3 Changes in family relationships

When we think about the perception that the respondents have as far as changes in family relationships are concerned we can find some aspects that already reflect a positioning of the policy dimension prior to the revolution. In a strongly Manichean context, families nestled for the *establishment* or for the *opposition* and thus at home in family life either the rule of silence, prohibition based on fear that prevailed before April 25<sup>th</sup>,

Quitéria<sup>viii</sup>: Because ... And I attended ... high school in a religious school, and in my family, a boarding school run by nuns, and therefore I only was in the family home during holiday periods, in my family there was no talking about politics, it was the typical family where no one spoke, because one could not speak and because one was afraid to speak, and so it was an absolutely forbidden subject, wasn't it?

or even subversive opposition transgression gave way to political debate also in the family environment, with a strong impact in family dynamics and representations, questioning the (till then) unchallenged parental authority.

Gabriela: And so on a daily basis, home relationships between family and so there was much talk about politics, but I ... My father always liked to talk about it at home, though ... It's funny that my father before April 25<sup>th</sup>, used to comment under the counter, didn't he? ... Then with all these changes later he turned out to be ... much more rightwing than what I expected, he began saying ... he began thinking that it was already an exaggeration..

Sónia: People began taking sides ...

Gabriela: Exactly and it often ended in an argument! In a respectful way, but ... we often ended up arguing because he was also starting to get closer to one side and I thought we were at a time when these ideas should already have been set aside and he was still very conservative, wasn't he?

Another dimension of family relationships where we can account for changes is the relationship with/education of children, both in the relational dimension between parents and children, in educational practices, in communication but also in the access to education opportunities.

Sónia: And, for example, think about your girls education. Do you think it was very different from what you had?

Sofia<sup>ix</sup>: It was different ...

Sónia: Why do you think it was different?

Sofia: In my time I didn't have the chance of going to school and they did, didn't they?

Sónia: But beyond that, besides the possibility of attending school?

Sofia: There wasn't so much talking ...

However, the perception of change is, in the words of many, linked to more negative dimensions as the *lack of respect* resulting from too *much freedom* that holds up a vision of a post-revolutionary Portugal as a chaotic and disruptive country.

Sónia: In terms of relationships with the children, for example, do you or don't you think something changed with April 25<sup>th</sup>?

Joaquina: If my answer goes back to till 10 years after April 25<sup>th</sup>, I'd say they haven't changed much! We were able to pretty much balance things! But from there on there was a very big change. There started much lack of respect, I think too much freedom, a lack of connection between parents and children ... [children] who have come to see that there was an independence: "April 25<sup>th</sup>, let us also become independent from family"! That's a totally different thing! And I think that this is still happening today. I realize that things are already starting to change again ... But I think people began giving their fifteen, sixteen year-olds - even then - tremendous freedom. [They would say] "You are already living in a free world!" But, no way, we were not living in a free world. There are many ways we can break free. I think, as I said, that in those early days it was natural for parents to loosen the leash a bit and all that. But ten years later I began to see everything was out of control, even at school level.

Last but not least, changes also cross intimate relationships, expressed in part on changes in practices and behaviours in dating, in which once people maintained (an attempt to) a social control on intimacy and romantic relationships that claimed sex as only acceptable after marriage.

Sónia: How did you use to date?

Guilhermina: [sigh] Look, at that time before he went to Angola, I had my little sister who used to chaperon, that thing of protecting, right? It wasn't proper for young couples to wander by themselves. That's the way things were then ... I also did it, I also used to accompany my sister [name of elder sister] and after all ... I wasn't much of a guardian and she [younger sister] also did not guard me much [laughs].

## 2.4 Changes in the workplace

Most of these women have or have had a job, mainly in education, as I said earlier. And since in schools several social practices (from organizational logics to relationship dynamics between different social actors, conveyed through the ideology and the teaching / learning methodology) are brought together it is interesting to note that these women identify the workplace as a changing place at different levels.

A change gale runs schools. Changes in the way how they are run, with the headmaster's authority being

challenged and the participation of all being strongly on the agenda.

Beatriz<sup>x</sup>: And I thought "this isn't going to be so [that easy]" and the man did not go away even then the man ended up having to be really ...

Sónia: Discharged ...

Beatriz: Discharged, I mean then it was so, the army were very strong, weren't they? So eventually they ended up going there.

Beatriz: ... Oh, and then meanwhile, - when the headmaster left, the oldest person was appointed, because it was the oldest person, the one working in the school the longest, and then ... it was a long time before routine ...

Sónia: Of course ... It was a bit ...

Beatriz: It was a bit tricky, but much has changed, really changed.

However, this change in the practices of decision-making and authority is not always well accepted, showing the permeability of the working world to the revolutionary process and the inevitable (re)positioning of people regarding this process, at a time when politics pervaded the whole social life.

Sónia: And at school, were there many changes at school?

Josefina: At school ...?

Sónia: But classes went on at school, or ... Because there were some which stopped classes at the time ...

Josefina: I have no idea, I cannot remember, I don't remember ... I know we began having meetings, there were meetings for everything, people gathered, debated, and ... funny! There were four or five couples at school who took very extreme positions, kind of very leftwing, right? And they managed to frighten the rest of us, who still did not know very well where to stand ...

Changes in school were mainly in the relationship between the different actors, especially co-workers and students.

Sónia: And what can you remember of that time and the following days at work, had much changed?

Gabriela: Big changes, many general meetings of teachers ... and with students, general meetings of students, and we sure did things then that today I think no one dared to do ...

Gabriela: At school there were a lot of changes, school has changed a lot ... relationships with students and co-workers and all that ...

These changes were also embodied in the way the teaching / learning process came to be understood, in the way the school "education" comes to be assessed: the university, for example, becomes a place of access to the "working classes".

Quitéria: ... Among older teachers, I think there was a great eagerness for change and practices that actually changed their paths, let's say traditional,... In our relationship with students, there were also unforgettable and very, very stimulating things ... The years following April 25<sup>th</sup>, when I started my career, we used to teach at night till absolutely unbelievable hours, we used to teach all day long on Saturdays and it was ... it was a very rewarding very exciting experience, there were real student-workers, something which is not common nowadays, and when there are it is often a disguise, isn't it? And there were - we were also very young, weren't we? - And so there was a ... - we ourselves were learning a lot, even the subjects we were teaching, and all that - and that's why it was a really exciting time ...

And also there was change in the way school as an institution is linked to the social and political context in which it operates: there was an outside control over the

pedagogical practices, showing once again the permeability of the working world to revolutionary context.

Sónia: What about school, were there any problems at school, weren't there many changes?

Xana: At school, there were many ... It was very funny, because I was working with this colleague who was very strict and I remember that as early as the second day, there comes a lady and that tells me so: "Look now Mrs ... "- I was going to say the name of the colleague but I no longer recall, it is not important -" ... now she cannot beat the kids, it is now banned from this school "[laughs] . Look, it was the funniest thing I remember from the school [laughs], "now she cannot beat the kids, because it's forbidden "[laughs]. And I told her "Look, you have to be careful, because I was told this."

## 2.5 Changes in the country

Beyond statistics that indicate changes in the living conditions of the Portuguese (Barreto, 2000; 1996), how are changes in the country over the years perceived? Some of the changes relate to the socio-economic conditions, changes experienced in terms of purchasing power, the material conditions of life, reflected from the experience of these women's world, their world.

Sónia: When you look back, do you think your life has changed a lot with April 25<sup>th</sup>?

Guilhermina: Well, for me, I'm in a better situation. My situation ... I'm better ... because I think when I was a little girl there was more poverty, we were many brothers and sisters...

Sónia: And overall, in the country, have things changed?

Guilhermina: Well, oh Ms Sónia, I don't understand things very well, I don't know, but as far as I can see I think people live better now. People have four TV sets, one in each room, as is my case. I own a car., I think I live better now than when I was single [and lived] with my parents. (...) I think that life is better now than when I was very young. It was true poverty, I didn't even have shoes to wear! I think that in those days it was terrible! My mother also says that there was only one sardine for I don't know how many to eat. Jesus! Now we eat sardines and even gives some to cats! [laughs]

When accounting for changes that April 25<sup>th</sup> produced, interviewees often have as a time reference for this comparison the time of their childhood, a pre-revolutionary time, since it is already as adults that they all live April 25<sup>th</sup>.

Diana<sup>xii</sup>: Because there was hope that people's life would really improve quite a lot! And it did and it did! There's nothing to do with today's poverty with the poverty I knew in my childhood! Nothing to do! It is true that it improved a lot! Now everything is far better! In my village there were so many barefoot...People walked around in rags, barefoot, ehh, only the third grade was compulsory in my time ... I remember that barefoot children were going to school ... I was attending the third or fourth grade, I don't quite remember, when the Ministry of Education or the government or I do not know who sent a compulsory rule that children were required to go to school with their shoes on.

But changes are also perceived from the work conditions (again, in education), through the social value that work is granted in the revolutionary context and the consequent amendment of compensation statute.

Xana: Wages were soon raised three times ... We went just from four thousand escudos to for twelve thousand! Even the support staff..., I remember, later, however, I came to Vildemoinhos, I was getting nearer ...

Changes in the country are also perceived at mentality level, stuck in the "cultural revolution", of which television is an example, a reference.

This change is expressed through greater intervention of people, once *fear and shame* were overcome, enhancing the joy and communication.

Sónia: What do you think the country gained?

Sara<sup>xiii</sup>: It gained, the country is different ... today we can say no, we can say that as far as culture is concerned things are bad, that people are really consumerist, that people are different, that they are not supportive, there is much that can be said, but I don't agree! I think there was a very big change of mentalities, of ... I think ... one can see! Just watching TV programs, before and after April 25<sup>th</sup>, there is a huge difference! The sadness, I know they were black and white and this adds to the sadness, doesn't it ?. But I think all this ... I think people are happier, people are more outgoing, people ... I remember the first time I went to a union meeting! I remember it was held here at school Gomes Teixeira, the first time I went to a union meeting. Exactly when I began working in [school name] in 75. People were not used to talking, people were not used to speak up ... This is over! Today people have their views, have their rights, they can actually speak up. We, the ones who were born before, we were afraid. We were ashamed, so in this regard I think it was very positive.

Changes in the country's development – one of the programmatic areas of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA)<sup>xiii</sup> program – are also valued in a diachronic and also socio-spatial (rural / urban) comparison.

Sónia: Do you think the country today is generally better than it was before April 25<sup>th</sup>?

Sara: It is! Even with all this crisis, I think so, just go to the villages, for example, at local level there were changes, really huge changes. I think one of the great advantages of April 25<sup>th</sup> was precisely at local level, although we can say, "well, only when there are elections do local authorities do this or that" ... but no, I think there was a big change, small towns grew, people changed ... the way they dress, the way they behave, the way they talk ... no, I think Portugal is not the same any longer! It is not my Portugal, no it isn't!

The starting point for the assessment of *what* and *how much* the country developed after April 25<sup>th</sup> is, again, the experience, the life path of the interviewees is used as a reference matrix of change.

Diana: Now that the country has improved, greatly improved! I used to have a five hours travel between Coimbra and Viseu, by train! The third class carriages, which students and military used to travel in, had wooden benches! Exactly the same as in Public Gardens! It took five hours! ehhh, transport was a nightmare. Roads were - I threw up a lot on the way to Penacova and the roads there to Mogadouro and all that, there were a lot of turnings - and that's it, now it's all far better! In my village there were so many barefoot people ...

## 2.6 Between expectations and a Future waiting to be fulfilled

The expectations that these women had as far as the revolution is concerned are intrinsically related to the hopes and dreams of each one, reflecting their social and political place at the time and their life path to the present.

Therefore, this review of expectations refers to a confrontation with who they were then and who they are now, a moment in which they see themselves fully and seek meaning for their identity.

From all the fulfilled expectations, freedom appears as a common denominator, presented in different ways (freedom to speak, freedom to vote) in all the speeches.

Sónia: But now, looking back at what it was like at the time, you told me that it was a joy, your expectations and reality, how do you assess them today, seen from this distance ...?

Berta: Oh, I think ...

Sónia: Do you think it was positive, negative ...

Berta: I think it was positive ...

Sónia: What are the most positive aspects ...

Berta: Oh, freedom, freedom ... and democracy, to vote, the power to say what you want, whether bad or good, you know? I think so, now ... of course I think there's still missing ... Because we are still very young, it doesn't seem so, but we still have a [young democracy] ... And, indeed we haven't learnt all we should learn ...

Sónia: In terms of democratic experience?

Berta: Yes, yes, I think so ... I think ... responsible freedom is a very complicated thing, you see ...

And beyond this collective dimension of freedom, shown in the opportunity(ies) of publicly expressing one's views and in political participation, there is also the more subjective dimension of the experience of freedom, the possibility of building a civic consciousness, which guarantees a critical look at the changes elapsing in Portuguese society.

Sónia: And do you think that the expectations you had then ended up being fulfilled?

Quitéria: Largely, yes I think so. I also think that today it is also an issue that has much to do with the individuality of each one of us, what each one of us was able then to integrate in his/her life, isn't it?, today the somewhat radical speeches that at that time made sense, don't today. But I think it was good that it happened, and great that it happened when I was twenty years old! Because those who were children at the time didn't quite understand many things, even those who were taken to the demonstrations and such [laughs], but for the people who were twenty years old and who got involved in anything of the sector they were in, I think it was an absolutely key experience and that made us have a very strong judgmental awareness in relation to all forms of regression of things we consider essential, and which today, around us, are found everywhere, and in all sectors, aren't they?, I think it does not make any sense the nostalgic speech "poor fellow and I don't know what," it also doesn't make much sense telling in much detail what really happened, because people don't want to know, because the practice of having a living memory wasn't a common thing, something that I, personally, I am sorry for not having.

Despite the unanimous assessment that the country is better and the certainty that the country earned a future with April 25<sup>th</sup>, there remains a bitter taste for that future that was never fully completed, evident in the analysis of current conditions in the country.

Sónia: And what about the expectations you had at the time?

Gabriela: The expectations I had ... I mean, in many ways, I think there is no doubt that we are much better, is there? But in other things, I think we are falling back into that "routine" again, that "Just some are in charge" and the others are just here and it's all facade in many things, isn't it? By the end of the day, we cannot, after all, make what is fair, what is right win because we come across those lobbies that control everything and then we don't get to change many things that are wrong, do we?

An analysis that is all the more judgmental as social transformation expectations were higher, as the interviewees questioned more the direction the

country has taken, consider themselves more part of the "losers of November 25<sup>th</sup>"<sup>xiv</sup>.

Sónia: and now when you look back at what the expectations of the time were, what do you think ...

Diana: I feel it was ... There was a coup ... and then, as Vasco Gonçalves<sup>xv</sup> used to say, "either revolution or counter-revolution!" That's it! We entered the counter-revolution! Then many tried to take advantage of the situation! Many people registered in certain political parties, well, each one chose his/her best situation. But we can see a lot of corruption ... and news are coming through, aren't they? This time it was a lady working in the town hall in Porto, but news keep coming about some or others ... We can see that there was much opportunism, many people who entered a political career just to make money or just to gain power and it was ... It is a complete disappointment! For me, it is! But, but, that's it, lots of money came from grants and such... Where is it? And inequality, for God's sake! I earn far better than many people, don't I? There is no money for pensioners, for poor people ... who have a tiny raise of two or three thousand escudos... when these raises actually go ahead, but that's nothing compared with the increase of the cost of living! And yet no one ever questions the big salary raises that ... or the huge salaries that some people have ... well! And then there is the accumulation, the accumulation of very well paid positions ... someone is this company's CEO and also the minister I don't know of what ... This is a shame! ...

Sónia: Don't you think that concerning the expectations you had ...

Diana: No! Not for me, no! I was very disappointed with the progress of the democratic process. I think that for democracy and the people's right to vote, some people were given the right to exploit the people!

But the feeling of bitterness is also present in a more conservative view as far as the transformation of habits and the use of collective and individual freedom.

Beatriz: And above all, I think ... there is now ... I think it shows, and it is no longer just these last few years, it has been going on, some exaggeration in the way you use this freedom! Freedom is the freedom to say whatever you feel like, to treat people as you fancy, so I think ... that there was a loss of values ...

But and in spite of everything, "democracy is the worst of all systems except for all the others.", as it is sung by Sérgio Godinho<sup>xvi</sup>.

Sónia: Do you think the country is better now? Is it worse?

Gabriela: I don't think ... We usually say that the country, sometimes in some respects, the country was in need of another April 25<sup>th</sup> [laughs] but in the aspect ... the aspect in which there ... we can see, it is well known there are things that are wrong in the country, aren't there?

And now the situation, as it is a democracy, it is impossible we get here and say: "Look this will end from now on ... and let's get this all straight again, shall we?"

### 3 Further thoughts

Though April 25<sup>th</sup> is the frame matrix in which all the interviewees see themselves and freedom is its founding act, the fact is that none of these women considers that "April was fulfilled," even if freedom has been. And whatever the degree to which honey turns into gall, the fact is that social inequality, the gap between the richest and the poorest, the exercise of political power further and further away from people's participation and outside their control, the political influence games are issues set out by the interviewees, issues that reflect a critical point of view regarding the direction the country has taken

which, in that sense, does not match their ideals at the time.

Beyond the timeline of the revolution, where the things that stand out are the end of the war (permanent, but not as fast as expected) and the absolute achievement of the D of Decolonization (which ended in 1999 with the independence of East-Timor), there is the outline of a Future with changes experienced in social practices: in living conditions, in relationships within the family, in the work world. A Future made of a changed country, in which the interviewees permanently make a pre-revolution past talk with the revolution period and with a present turned into Future.

These changes, and as far as values are concerned, reflect the individual and collective experience in the field of education, politics, practice of freedom. People question citizenship, political practice translated into "petty politics", school as a difficult place to manage, the exercise of individual freedom without collective responsibility.

The methodology adopted to listen these women's experiences and memories is in itself a process of production of sense and meaning, a moment of informal education for the respondents themselves and making them aware of significant moments of their lives.

The fact of working with a specific group of respondents involved in teaching also allowed memories and records of experienced transformations in the educational field, particularly in school education.

The meaning of the past is always a meaning shaped and dialectically re-shaped by this present on behalf of a possible Future. And in this sense, these women's memories draw a present resulting from a postponed Future in a past in which the promises to come shone brighter than the light they throw to Now. Portugal is now a country like many others in the developed world, but, somehow, this doesn't fulfill these women's expectations. They expected a differentiated path for the country, which began with the promise of a revolution. Because, as Sérgio Godinho states in a song called *Freedom*: "There is no freedom for real with no freedom to change and decide" and that Future was Now.

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## Endnotes:

- <sup>i</sup> The publication of the book "*Capitães de Abril*" from Ana Maria Fonseca and the TV series "*Mulheres de Abril*" produced for RTP are examples of this process.
- <sup>ii</sup> 52 years old, housewife, her husband was in the army (as private) on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>iii</sup> 53 years old, accountant, her husband was in the navy (as seaman) on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>iv</sup> 60 years old, teacher of 6-10 year-olds, her husband was a career captain on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>v</sup> 54 years old, teacher of 12-18 year-olds, her husband was a Second Lieutenant on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>vi</sup> 54 years old, teacher of 12-18 year-olds, her husband was a second lieutenant on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>vii</sup> 60 years old, pharmacist, her husband was a career major on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>viii</sup> 53 years old, Full Professor, her boyfriend was a second lieutenant on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>ix</sup> 67 years old, housewife, her husband was a Corporal on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>x</sup> 56 years old, teacher of 12-18 year-olds, her husband was a second lieutenant on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>xi</sup> 58 years old, teacher of 12-18 year-olds, her ex-husband was a second lieutenant on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>xii</sup> 66 years old, teacher of 6-10 year-olds, her husband was a career major on April 25<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>xiii</sup> The Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was an organization of lower-ranked left-leaning officers in the Portuguese Armed Forces which was responsible for the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974
- <sup>xiv</sup> After the military coup in Lisbon on April 25, 1974, Portugal went through a turbulent period, commonly called the *Continuing Revolutionary Process* (PREC), marked by constant friction between liberal-democratic forces and leftist/communist political parties. This phase of the PREC lasted until 25 November 1975, the day of a leftist coup followed by a successful counter-coup by moderates.
- <sup>xv</sup> Vasco Gonçalves was prime-minister during the Continuing Revolutionary Process (PREC). He was connected to leftist/communist political parties.
- <sup>xvi</sup> As a reference to the song lyrics by Sérgio Godinho, who is poet, composer, and singer and is one of the most influential popular musicians in Portugal.

## The Portuguese literacy campaigns after the Carnation Revolution (1974-1977)

This article presents a description of the major campaigns of adult literacy in the revolutionary period in Portugal, between the years 1974 and 1977. The campaigns aimed to address the problem of extremely low levels of formal education and high levels of adult illiteracy, and were organized by different movements, from the military to political youth organizations. In all cases, Paulo Freire's theory and methods were an important reference to these initiatives of popular education even if, in some cases, these were clearly top-down approaches, while others advocated a bottom-up perspective. We will start by an analysis of the rationale of these movements based on documents produced at the period and a literature review. Then, retrospective interviews with two women participating in these campaigns are used to illustrate these experiences and their perceived impact on themselves and the adults involved. Not surprisingly, the impact of these literacy campaigns is perceived as significant both for the population, particularly older women, but mainly for the young literacy mediators who seem to have experienced this as a life-changing event. Even though this is a preliminary stage of the research, results suggest the significance of gender inequality and poverty as markers in the lived experience of these campaigns, and the high levels of hope and political mobilization of the young people involved, even with various degrees of ideological commitment.

Cet article présente une description de grandes campagnes d'alphabétisation des adultes dans la période révolutionnaire au Portugal, entre les années 1974 et 1977. Les campagnes visaient à régler le problème des très faibles niveaux d'éducation formelle et des niveaux élevés d'analphabétisme des adultes et ont été organisées par différents mouvements, de l'armée à des organisations politiques de jeunesse. Dans tous les cas, la théorie et les méthodes de Paulo Freire ont été une référence importante pour ces initiatives d'éducation populaire même si, dans certains cas, ces approches ont été clairement de haut en bas, tandis que d'autres plaidé pour une perspective de bas en haut. Nous allons commencer par une analyse de la justification de ces mouvements fondés sur les documents produits à la période et une revue de la littérature. Ensuite, des entretiens rétrospectifs avec deux femmes participant à ces campagnes servent à illustrer ces expériences et leurs répercussions perçues sur eux-mêmes et les adultes impliqués. Sans surprise, l'impact de ces campagnes d'alphabétisation est perçue comme importante tant pour la population, les femmes âgées en particulier, mais surtout pour les jeunes médiateurs de l'alphabétisation qui semblent avoir fait de cette expérience comme un événement qui change la vie. Même s'il s'agit d'une étape préliminaire de la recherche, les résultats suggèrent l'importance des inégalités entre les sexes et la pauvreté comme marqueurs dans l'expérience vécue de ces campagnes et les niveaux élevés d'espoir et de mobilisation politique des jeunes impliqués, même avec divers degrés d'engagement idéologique.

### Keywords:

Literacy campaigns, democracy, conscientization, Paulo Freire

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### 1 Introduction: The *Revolutionary Period in Progress* and the emergence of literacy campaigns in Portugal

The Portuguese Carnation Revolution (1974) paved the way for the flourishing of a creative, energetic, and cooperative climate that brought the Portuguese society to an intense participatory movement, with the development of a myriad of initiatives attempting to deal with the deep problems faced after the collapse of the longest dictatorship in Western Europe (1926-1974) – that was characterized by the lowest level of compulsory education in Europe, very high levels of adult illiteracy, and high rates of health problems including infant mortality. This social environment was particularly intense between the years 1974 and beginnings of 1977 – the so-called *Revolutionary Period in Progress* (PREC), when vigorous and diverse social movements emerged, concerning, among others, literacy, political socialization, sanitary education, cultural mobilization, and the rehabilitation and construction of infrastructure such as kindergartens, schools, houses and sanitation. Figure 1 portrays an example of the literacy campaigns that occurred in the most remote areas of the country at the time, the Portuguese interior North region.





Figure 1. Literacy campaigns in Trás-Os-Montes, September of 1974 (retrieved from [http://memoriacomhistoria.blogspot.pt/2009\\_04\\_01\\_archive.html](http://memoriacomhistoria.blogspot.pt/2009_04_01_archive.html))

Many of these initiatives focused on getting to know the real country, with the goal of shortening the distance between intellectual work and manual labour. One of the main initiatives of this movement of “going towards the people” (Oliveira, 2004a, 2004b) during this period was headed by the *Armed Forces Movement* (MFA) responsible for the revolution, in the *Cultural Promotion and Civic Action Campaigns*, reflected in one of its participants’ testimony:

As you know, in October we started our (...) Campaigns. We thought that this action beside the people was critical for several reasons: on the one hand because we actually did not [accurately] know the country we had, [they] didn’t let us know the country and, therefore, [one] can’t make a revolution in any country when one doesn’t know the reality of that country. (*People’s Daily*, 17/03/1975, p. 20, cit. in Almeida, 2007, p. 119)

Figure 2 captured another moment of these campaigns in the Portuguese Centre region, within the scope of *Operation Beira-Alta*, which was one of the longest and most complete of all of these MFA campaigns.

In the midst of this amalgam of laborious collective participation activities, the focus of this article is on the literacy campaigns. The justification for this choice is related to the need to gather these experiences in organized and detailed memories, given its relevance in a context where the population had an illiteracy rate that was around 26% (Candeias, Paz, & Rocha, 2007).

In fact, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, Portugal had fallen far behind in adult literacy in comparison to other European countries. In 1800, Portugal had, like other southern European countries, an illiteracy rate of more than 90% (Carneiro, 2000). In 1900, this rate decreased to 75%; in Spain it was 65%, in Italy 56%, while in other countries the situation was very different: in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany, in France and in England it ranged between 10 and 30% (Carneiro, 2000; Nóvoa, 2005). In 1925, in Portugal, it remained at 64%,

while in Spain it was 35%, in Italy 25% and in France 5% (Nóvoa, 2005). During the dictatorship, from 1930 to 1970, the rate decreased about 40%, “in an average of 10% per decade” (Correia, 1998, p. 87). However, this decrease was very diverse for different age groups.



Figure 2. Cultural Dynamization and Civic Action Campaigns conducted by the MFA in the Centre region, retrieved from <http://citizengrave.blogspot.pt/2012/12/a-ida-ao-povo.html>, and originally published in the magazine “Visão História” [Engl. “Vision History”]

During the dictatorship, mostly between 1932 and 1953, the first legal provisions specifically related to literacy were launched, such as night classes for adults and the most visible initiative, under the name of Popular Education Plan, which encompassed the National Adult Education Campaign. Barcoso (2002) refers that this campaign served two main goals: on the one hand, it contributed to the reduction of the illiteracy rates, and, on the other hand, it served as a vehicle for the inculcation of the values of the New State (God, Country, Family, was the prevailing motto of those times), which are evident in the campaign’s fundamentals: “(...) we will form men and women morally and physically balanced, true, loyal, fair, firm, working, resourceful, loyal to their country and their faith... Christ and his Gospel. Portugal and its Empire. The Authority and its hierarchy. The justice and its laws. (Leite & Pinto in *The Campaign*, 25, p. 4)” (Barcoso, 2002, p. 38).

These provisions have not resolved, however, the issue of illiteracy among adults, especially older women (see Table 1). It should be noted that the illiteracy rate refers to people with 7 or more years or with 10 or more years, depending on the census, and therefore reflects the effects of schooling of children. In fact, a closer look at the adult population, with 15 years old and more, and according to the Census of 1970 (see Table 1), shows that illiteracy was more frequent among women (22% of men and 35% of women older than 15 were unable to read); illiteracy was more frequent among the older ones, at least one out of four men with 45 years old or more and one out of four women with 30 years or more were unable to read. It has to be stressed that in those days at least half of the women with more than 50 years old were illiterate.



Table 1. Population unable to read, by age group and gender

Age group	Men unable to read	Total men	%	Women unable to read	Total women	%
15-19	11255	355490	3,17	10590	375410	2,82
20-24	10565	297945	3,55	15545	330095	4,71
25-29	13580	241340	5,63	28045	277395	10,11
30-34	38360	250355	15,32	70525	283630	24,87
35-39	52200	262665	19,87	93605	293075	31,94
40-44	61860	261040	23,70	106585	290345	36,71
45-49	64565	242785	26,59	114650	270445	42,39
50-54	65810	209280	31,45	117350	235320	49,87
55-59	80610	206185	39,10	132190	233565	56,60
60-64	81285	184055	44,16	137230	226095	60,70
65-69	63005	140065	44,98	114840	186185	61,68
70-74	44140	94250	46,83	89040	139470	63,84
75 and more	49295	98230	50,18	119445	174560	68,43
Total	636530	2843685	22,38	1149640	3315590	34,67

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1973).

As such, it is not surprising that this concern with adult illiteracy has appeared significantly in PREC. As Correia (2000, p. 6) states, in those days,

The educational problem in the context of Western Europe [was] defined (...) around the concern to ensure, in a fair way, the formation of citizens [who were already] integrated in democracy, while in Portugal, what [was] at stake [was] a definition of education which simultaneously contribut[ed] to the formation of democracy and legitimize[d] the exercise of democracy within the educational space itself.

A sign of this analysis is the draft (as it was never approved) Decree-Law establishing the National Literacy Plan, discussed in July 1975 by the 5<sup>th</sup> Interim Government (which lasted only a month), that reflected the concern of instituting a liberating literacy and a concept of lifelong learning:

A literacy campaign in Portugal should be: 1) a fundamental part of popular mobilization and of the project of releasing all fears, passivity, individualism, and naive and fatalistic consciousness (...); and 2) the principle of a system of permanent education. (cit. in Stoer, 1986, p. 173)

The practical implication of these ideas was increasing access to education, which “also developed and involved a greater implication of education at the local [level] and unschooled educational dynamics that intentionally sought to contribute to the improvement and building of local communities and cities in search of their emancipation” (Correia, 2000, p. 8).

So, the debates over education were openly and explicitly ideological, in line with the highly politicized flavour of that revolutionary period – in fact, the 1976 Constitution assumed that the development of a socialist society was the ultimate goal of education (Menezes, 1999), even if one cannot speak of a “real” education policy but more of the management of sectorial

educational problems (Bettencourt, 1982) or a crisis management policy (Brederode Santos, 1985). Nevertheless, the revolution had an important impact in eliminating non-democratic values from the curricula, dignifying the teaching profession, granting more autonomy to the schools and creating a system of democratic management, valuing the educational role of the community and supporting the access and progression of deprived groups of students (Grácio, 1981). The literacy campaigns – that include military-led initiatives, the MFA campaigns (Almeida, 2007), and the Student Civic Service (Oliveira, 2004a, 2004b), but also other movements – were part of this immediate strategy to deal with the huge need for improving the educational levels of the population and combating adult illiteracy. However, very few references can be found to other literacy-related actions, thereby justifying the relevance of this research, particularly in its contribution to the organization and understanding of this dimension of post-revolutionary movements, exploring their rationale and methods.

## 2 The adult literacy movements within the scope of PREC

During the so-called *Revolutionary Period in Progress* (PREC, 1974-1977), we can identify four main movements that had explicit concerns about adult literacy, although they included actions in several other areas. In Table 1 we present the foundations of these movements and their timelines, based on information taken from Mogarro and Pintassilgo (2009), Almeida (2007) and Stoer and Dale (1999). We will start by considering the main characteristics of these movements based on a review of the literature and document analysis, and then discuss how Paulo Freire was (paradoxically) invoked as a reference for their design and implementation.

Table 2. Generic characterization of post-revolutionary movements with actions in the field of adult literacy

	Organization	Timeline
<b>Literacy and Sanitary Education Campaigns</b>	<i>National Pro-Union of Portuguese Students (Pro-UNEP)</i>	Summer'74
<b>Cultural Promotion and Civic Action Campaigns</b>	<i>Armed Forces Movement (MFA)</i>	Autumn'74 – Summer'75
<b>Student Civic Service</b>	<i>Ministry of Education and Culture</i>	Spring'75 – '77
<b>Alfa Movement</b>	<i>Union of Communist Students (UEC)</i>	Summer'76

### 2.1 Literacy and sanitary education campaigns

These campaigns were organized by the *National Pro-Union of Portuguese Students (Pro-UNEP)* and included “students (...) from various leftist movements” (Stoer, 1986, p. 172). Under the title “Student Unity with working people”, the Pro-UNEP declares the beginning of a “literacy campaign and sanitary education among the population” relying on “the support of the MFA, the Ministry of Education and Health, Democratic Movement, Unions, Cooperatives, popular collectives”

(*Newsletter of the Pro-UNEP Committee*, 1974, p. 9). Affirming the post-revolutionary drive, this movement argues the need to “conquer the whole students’ [aggregate] so that they are massively incorporated in brigades, which will invade the countryside and villages of our land” as “the Portuguese student youth [should] collaborate in the reconstruction of our country, where the legacy of fascism left heavy stains that [should] be erase[d]” (*Newsletter of the Pro-UNEP Committee*, 1974, p. 9). It is thus clear that in these initiatives “a markedly ideological dimension (...) [was] assumed by the pedagogical discourse” (Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 2).

The *Pro-UNEP Committee* correspondingly reaffirms that this activity falls under the “need to rapidly expand and consolidate the ongoing democratic process” and to that extent it considers “to be entirely fair that students during the holidays provide their input to the process of reconstruction and democratization of our country” (*Newsletter of the Pro-UNEP Committee*, 1974, p. 9). After the recruitment of students, this Committee organized training courses for participants in literacy campaigns, advertised in their newsletter and also in the media. This document also stated that these training sessions for literacy would be “coordinated by prof. Lindley Cintra (...) following the Paulo Freire’s method – adapted to the specific Portuguese situation” (*Newsletter of the Pro-UNEP Committee*, 1974, p. 9).

With regard to the *Sanitary Education Campaigns*, they had a more specific character, and were primarily intended for medical students:

these initiatives also serve to put future doctors in direct contact with the health reality existing in Portugal – breaking the detachment between the Universities and the existing reality, giving us a better training so that we can come to play an actuating role in the transformation of medicine in Portugal. (...) However, we will incorporate with the country’s other students in the literacy initiatives and campaigns of dissemination of popular culture – initiatives which are integrated within the scope of the activities of the future National Union of Portuguese Students. (*Newsletter of the Pro-UNEP Committee*, 1974, p. 9)

This effort carried out by “young students [who] believed they could change the world, the reality of the country and, simultaneously, to build democracy” (Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 11) found several resistances along its action, because these agents “were identified with communism and evil acts and immoral behaviour were assigned to them” (p. 12). The research by Mogarro and Pintassilgo offers some very vivid descriptions of these resistances found at the locations where the campaigns were implemented:

In the [North] region (...) clerics reacted very badly to the campaigns’ work (...) In this state of mind, it is easy that campaign elements are pebbled (...) or as (...) nearby the house where there were Sanitary Education sessions, “armed” people with hoes and sticks could be seen (...) two threatening shots in the air were thrown. (*Meeting*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, number 1, October /1974, p. 6, cit. in Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 12)

These campaigns had its high point during the summer of 1974 and two years after they were continued by the *Alfa Movement* (Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 13), which will be addressed below.

## 2.2 Cultural promotion and civic action campaigns.

These campaigns were organized by the *Armed Forces Movement*, specifically by its 5<sup>th</sup> Division. Residually dedicated to literacy, its objectives mainly consisted in the democratization of society through cultural development and bringing the military close to the people, in an action of “political legitimation of the military movement” (Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 10). The campaigns focused on projecting a unique culture, which was “born from the people” (*Newsletter of the MFA*, 25/10/1974, cit. in Stoer & Dale, 1999, p. 77), envisaging the “transformation of the political culture of the country” (*Newsletter of the MFA*, 25/10/1974, cit. in Stoer & Dale, 1999, p. 77). This inextricable connection between culture and revolution is well reflected in the *Handbook for Literacy* (BASE, 1977, p. 8), which compiled the philosophies and methodologies of adult literacy in this period:

For us, culture is closely linked to the transforming action of [humankind] on nature; the transforming [collective] action of [humankind] towards their journey of liberation, deep and integral, from any and all dominations (...) because for us there is no revolutionary process without [a] cultural process.

Propaganda for these campaigns was diverse, supported in various formats, such as posters, stamps and postage stamps, as well as caricatures. Figures 3 and 4 depict two examples of propaganda surrounding this initiative, clearly demonstrating the goal of rapprochement between the MFA and “the people” through the cultural dimension.

The *Newsletter of the MFA* (12/11/1974, cit. in Stoer, 1986, p. 155) reiterates this concern of rapprochement between the military and the people through culture:

Once again in perfect unity with the *Armed Forces*, we must win the *battle of culture*, which is not only what the books teach us. Schools go out to the streets and the streets go into the schools, through the music bands, folklore, orchestras, songs, dance and poetry, theatre, circus, cinema, crafts, plastic arts.



Figure 3. Propaganda poster of MFA initiatives, authored by João Abel Manta (retrieved from <http://casacomum.net/cc/visualizador?pasta=04791.036>)

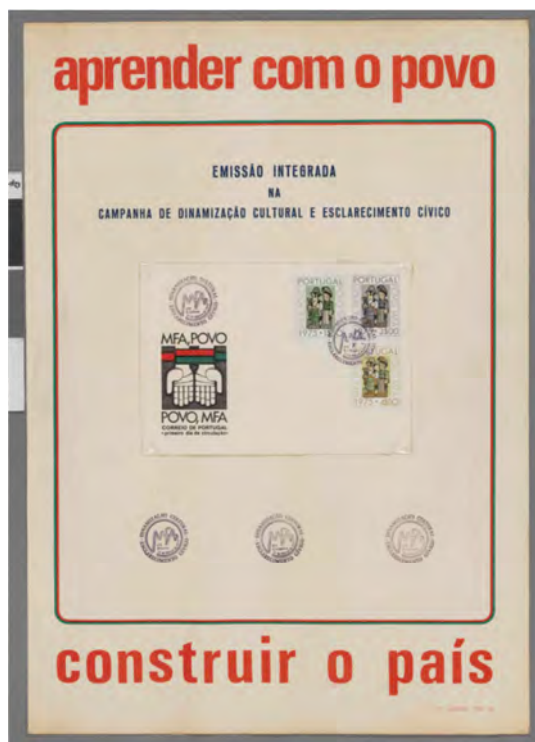


Figure 4. Stamp collection on MFA initiatives, 1975, entitled “learning with the people, building the country” (retrieved from <http://casacomum.net/cc/visualizador?pasta=04791.025>)

The military were then seen as educators and, at the same time, as individuals who also needed to learn from the people, as stated in one of the public speeches of Vasco Gonçalves, Prime Minister during these campaigns:

The military is first and foremost an educator, but educators need to learn from those who they seek to help (...) The military when they return (...) from these sessions, they are more politicized themselves, are more aware of their duties, are more democratic; we also

democratize the Armed Forces with these civic clarification sessions of our population, and thus strengthen the unity People-Armed Forces, which is a fundamental condition of our progress, our progress in peace and without shots. (cit. in Stoer, 1986, p. 175)

These campaigns ended in 1975, but the literacy brigades continued to exist through other movements, as we shall observe in the next sections.

### 2.3 Student civic service

In the fall of 1974, nearly 28,000 young students, twice the number of students of the previous year, awaited their entry into higher education (Oliveira, 2004b), but the State could not provide them a structured response, taking into account the country's transition conjuncture, and its incapacity to accommodate such a high number of students. The *Student Civic Service* (SCE) emerged as a response to the lack of solutions for these young people, and involved a diversity of actions not only educational, but also cultural, infrastructural, health and sports related, etc. In Oliveira's words,

[the] massive students' initiatives of 'going towards the people' in their student condition (...) could allow to gain time to try to solve conjuncture problems or make structural modifications, to perform operations of a new socialization, both of the students and other population layers, in order to create revolutionary identities and eventually to spread innovations, contributing to national integration'. (2004a, p. 2)

This initiative was legally created by the *Decree-Law No. 270/75 of May 30*, as “a nationwide service, to be provided by students of both sexes by voluntary subscription” (Article 1), with the following objectives:

- 1) Providing opportunities for students to contact with the reality of the country and the needs of the population;
- 2) Articulating the theoretical and practical content of education with the concrete reality at a national level;
- 3) Approaching intellectual work and manual labour, “break[ing] the isolation of the school in relation to life, the city in relation to the countryside” (paragraph c, Article 2);
- 4) Contributing to students' vocational choices through the contact with different professions;
- 5) Contributing to the formation of collective work and cooperation and “ensuring the participation of students in the tasks of building the country's democracy and progress” (paragraph e, Article 2);
- 6) Supporting the creation of social infrastructures;
- 7) Developing actions to improve the “living conditions of the most disadvantaged populations by conducting urgent tasks that [could] not be secured by recourse to the labour market”. (paragraph g, Article 2)

This service was directly supervised by the Ministry of Labour and required prior training. Students involved were entitled to some benefits, for example, to family allowance, bursaries for food, accommodation and transport (in the case of displaced students), and accident insurance. Supposedly, the program should have lasted three academic years, but it was only

developed in the years 74/75 and 75/76 and was formally abolished in 1977. According to Oliveira (2004a, pp. 2-3) the

Student Civic Service was not a politically homogeneous creation. It emerged at the intersection of three key policy areas, at the time known as the Republican-Socialist, Communist and Catholic-Progressive, areas whose members had not always identical positions. The personalities and relevant forces for the formation of public opinion and those responsible for the implementation of the Student Civic Service supported themselves in the possible repertoires.

In fact, the third year of the SCE implementation was “characterized by a slurred agony and long predicted death” (ibid.) and, such as other homologous initiatives, it was eventually extinguished with the “constitutional standardization” (Oliveira, 2004a), particularly with the introduction of *numerus clausus* for all courses and the corresponding input in the students’ selection procedures in higher education. In conclusion, “the itinerary of SCE expresses (...) the combination of material constraints, resources and ideas in the field of social experimentation as well as the rhythms and contradictions of democratization in Portugal” (Oliveira, 2004a., p. 4).

#### 2.4 Alfa movement

Also known as the *Students Work and Literacy Brigades*, they were created and implemented by the *Union of Communist Students* (UEC) in the summer of 1976 (concretely in August and September), and they intended to extend the literacy campaigns to populations of “districts with high illiteracy rate[s]” (*Press conference on the Alfa Movement’s* activities and objectives, retrieved from <http://repositorio-tematico.up.pt/handle/10405/24809>). Volunteer students should not only participate in literacy campaigns, but also undertake cultural activities among the population, such as “collection of poems and folk tales, [organization of] film exhibitions, promotion of youth parties, construction of kindergartens, sports initiation and sanitary education” (ibidem). This movement was the continuation of the 1974 *Literacy and Sanitary Education Campaigns* and had a great informative and media projection, as shown in Figure 5.

According to Mogarro and Pintassilgo (2009, p. 13), this movement’s “organization was highly centralized, with a steering committee and base in the Faculty of Arts of Lisbon, regional commissions, literacy nuclei and mobile and fix brigades, working on a voluntary basis”. Their goals did not only focus on literacy, but also on the “consolidation of the most important revolutionary achievements, such as the Land Reform” (Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 13). Since its politicized nature was greater than the other movements, Alfa was refused state support for the implementation of literacy campaigns on the basis of its strong ideological component.



Figure 5 Propaganda posters of the Alfa Movement (retrieved from <http://ephemerajpp.com/2014/01/26/materiais-de-propaganda-politica-119-movimento-alfa/>)

#### 3 Paulo Freire’s method in the literacy campaigns

Stoer (1986) noted that these campaigns were based in the Cuban literacy campaigns in several of their theoretical and practical dimensions. In addition to this, there was a recurrent reference to the inspiration in Paulo Freire’s method as Stoer underlines:

Virtually in all ‘literacy’ activities, Paulo Freire’s methods were used or taken as a reference. This shows us an interesting apparent contradiction, in the sense that the planned and centrally controlled activities were ‘assessed’ and put into practice through (...) the work of a man usually associated to a ‘popular’ and local dynamic. (p. 161)

This peculiarity, which eventually crossed all the movements related to adult literacy, transformed the Portuguese experience into a “unique case study of the kind of work influenced by Freire” (Stoer & Dale, 1999, p. 80), and even the “only example of explicit use of Freire’s ideas in a revolutionary context in a semi-peripheral country; [as] in the Portuguese education between 1974 and 1976, Freire’s pedagogies were the norm and not the ‘alternative’” (p. 68). The engagement with Freire’s perspective was not surprising: “he wrote in Portuguese, lived in exile (as many of the intellectual elite returned [to Portugal] after the revolution), and had ideological and political proximity with the goals of the Portuguese socialist revolution” (Menezes, Teixeira, & Fidalgo, 2007, p. 319).

Despite the uniqueness of the Portuguese experience, the fact is that, in those days, “Paulo Freire was a myth, his ‘method’ [was] assumed as the emblem of action, mimeographed texts [were] reproduced [in Spain]” (Fernández, 1990, p. 57). But it was also the case in several countries in Latin America (Barranquero, 2011; Boughton & Durnan, 2014) and in post-colonial Portuguese-speaking countries such as Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique (Mesquida, Peroza, & Akkari, 2014), where mass literacy campaigns were taking place as a result of liberation processes. These movements were characterized by an educational debate which was explicitly ideological, in highly politicized environments, due to the possibilities provided by the emergence of social critical awareness and the opportunities of transformation of reality, now liberated from the oppression to which they had been subjected until then. In this sense,

Immersion in Freire is absolutely essential, because it supposes historical subjects and their non-alienated critical consciousness. It is

a political and educational work. That's why dialogue is the fundamental and basic tool. It will not be possible to fully agree on major issues but we need to hear each other and, possibly, change our positions. And that is the basis of democratic education. (Ferrer et al., 2013, p. 148)

In Portugal, Freire's pedagogy (1967, 1972) is evident in the publications on the topic of literacy at the time: for example, the *Handbook for Literacy* (BASE, 1977), the *Roundtable between Paulo Freire and the militants of BASE – Unitary Workers Front* (Freire, n.d.), and also the draft of the *National Literacy Plan* (as noted by Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 17). These last authors reflect on the transversal utilization of Freire's methods, namely on the set of 20 *generative words* (or *themes*), introduced in Portugal by the university professor and linguist Lindley Cintra. These generative words, or themes, are the basis for literacy, and nuclear in this method; they are extracted from the daily experiences, contexts and lives of the learners, they are meaningful and interesting. The method then proposes that those words are divided into syllables, which are memorized, allowing for the learners to build new words.

The ultimate goal of this method is to provide the opportunity for learners to go through the process of *conscientization*, which implies developing a critical awareness of one's reality, by means of action and reflection, or *praxis* (Freire, 1972, 1982). This praxis evokes a collective action which is transformative of the context, again providing elements for critical reflection. But, in the Portuguese experiences, and according to Mogarro and Pintassilgo, "the process of *conscientization*, which is claimed [by the literacy campaigns], is very close to political indoctrination and its goal is the construction of a new man, citizen, active, free and lucid in a socialist society" (pp. 17-18). In fact, the voluntary and "generous" impulse, with which the students movements participated in these brigades, may possibly have been the basis of some contradictory aspects of their action, as recognized by Paulo Freire himself in an interview to newspaper *The Capital* (15/7/1976, p. 2, cit. in Mogarro & Pintassilgo, 2009, p. 18):

One of the possible errors they may have done was to arrive to the rural areas with a somewhat patronizing attitude. Although all possible errors, there was, however, an impulse to take concrete action, and it doesn't matter that there were mistakes.

One of the participants in these brigades, quoted in *The Teacher* (ibid.), sums up his experience as follows: "We couldn't do much about literacy ... but we did a lot on the sanitary plan and politicization", reaffirming the dimensions considered urgent for the democratic construction, and that were connected to the creation of infrastructures and political education. On the other hand, the brigade members recognize that "fundamentally, [the ones] who learned in the campaigns were we, the students" (ibid.), discourse which is repeated in the words of one of the participants in the previously cited roundtable with Paulo Freire, commenting on her experience as a literacy monitor in a

fishing community: "we learned a lot from people (I think we learned more from people than they learned from us)" (Freire, n.d., p. 10). In a later work, written in the late 1980s, Paulo Freire discusses the relationship between literacy and citizenship, arguing for the need of recognizing education as a political act, but underlies that

one of the obstacles to our practice [of popular education] is this. We go to popular neighbourhoods with our 'theoretical' schemes already constructed and we do not care with what people know, the individuals that live there, and how they know it. We do not care to know what men and women from popular neighbourhoods know about the world, how they know it and how they see themselves in it, we do not care to understand their language about the world. (Freire, 2001, p. 30)

#### 4 Memories, literacy campaigns and revolution

The literature review and document analysis demonstrate the relevance and intensity, however short-lived, of the Portuguese literacy campaigns during the revolutionary period. But the existing information, documents, and relevant agents are scattered and, more than that, difficult to access. Thus, there is clearly the need for research that allows for the reconstruction of the memory of the literacy campaigns in their various forms and shapes, and taking into account their perceived impact for participants and communities. Additionally, it would also be important to study "in what manner Paulo Freire's methods were used during the revolutionary period, as well as on the conception that was the basis for the use of such methods" (Stoer, 1986, p. 162). What we present here is a preliminary contribution to this larger research endeavour, with two semi-structured interviews with two women who were actively involved in these campaigns. The interviews elicited discourses produced retrospectively about these experiences and data analysis used thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) in order to identify and analyse "patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). The two participants are now middle-aged women who were involved in the campaigns in 1975-76: Amelia in the context of the Student Civic Service but also through a youth organization that was created to "change the world" and worked mainly in a small city in the North; Belinda also participated in the context of the Student Civic Service but was a member of the Union of Communist Students and was later involved in the Alfa Movement in the area of Lisbon.

##### 4.1 Amelia changing the world

Amelia gives a vivid description of the social climate during those days, "we lived in the streets, no one was home at night", emphasizing a high level of engagement in literacy campaigns: "I got married and both me and my husband went out at night. The kitchen might remain untidy, but we went out for literacy campaigns". In this sense, there was clearly a sense of urgency of change: "we did really incredible stuff ... and risked ... and thought we were going to change the world" even more because "everything was undone". Among the activities of the youth association she belonged to there were

literacy campaigns, sanitary education, and the organization of a survey on health conditions of local housing.

Amelia remembers there was an initial training for the literacy monitors, probably “during one week”, and even though she recalls the use of Paulo Freire’s method because they “didn’t give literacy to the adults as [they] did to the kids”, she admits that their initial training had “much influence of the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party]”. The method itself is vaguely described, yet she clearly identifies the *syllabic division* as the predominant tool in literacy sessions, as well as the *generative themes* (such as “shoes” and “bricks”), which emerged from the *dialogue* between the adults and the literacy monitors, which ended up in a *conscientization* process:

The method of Paulo Freire was based on (...) life experience (...), they had to talk about things (...) people were all on the table, we sat with them (...) people talked about shoes, we took a shoe (...) and visualized the word in capital letters (...) then they devised the word in bits (...) sa, se, si, so, su (...) but this was a little bit of the process because the goal was to get them to conscientize that they [already] knew many things.

Amelia notices that, after all, “the reading and writing was something that they could solve”, as the main goal of these sessions was to raise awareness among these adults of how significant their learning was. Her description on the adults she monitored reveals that “it was a heterogeneous group”. She intensely remembers women, because as she phrases it, “there were many women, women adhered well to literacy”: “a lady with more than 60 years (...) [who] had a son and grandchildren [living] in South Africa (...) and so she wanted to write letters to her grandchildren”. Amelia also thoroughly and emotionally recalls

a woman who went there every (...) night from [a very distant location] (...) because she wanted to learn. (...) that woman was amazing, [she] went every (...) night to learn to read and write (...) this lady from [a recondite place in the region] stroked us all because (...) she was 70 or 72 [years old] (...) she went [there at] night all alone, (...) she went every day on foot and came just to learn to read, so it was one of the people (...) not having had the opportunity to attend school before was clearly a major ‘crime’ for this woman.

Reflecting on the personal impacts of this experience, Amelia confirms the intensity of the experience, as a student, of *going towards the people*, as a profoundly life learning experience, as if they, the young students, had been strayed from it during the past times: “For us, it was the point of view of life learning, we were students who were to return to earth and the world of work (...) the contact with life and (...) with these people helped a lot to understand life”. This movement of approximating the people is assuredly joyful and enlightening, or as she puts it: “We did that up with joy (...) being with people, listening to their problems (...) [their] knowledge”.

Finally, Amelia emphasizes the political impact of this involvement, as it contributed to her political thinking and later becoming member of the communist party:

... this was very compelled by the PCP (...) and we were not the PCP, you see, we were not, perhaps it helped us to realize (...) and

some of us came to be (...) including I (...) we were all left, of course, but (...) free and idealistic (...) I was there in a student environment in Porto (...) when I come to the field I began to see that PCP was probably right.

#### 4.2 Belinda and the idealism and hopes of a young communist

When she remembers those days, Belinda describes the effervescing climate in the capital city, stressing the cultural eagerness of the society as well as the generalized participation of the citizens in the most diverse public activities:

life was so intense at that time (...) It was a time when there were, in addition to these organized movements, either by parties, by troops or by the government, diverse and varied public events, debates and public participation, free singing and recital sessions, widely participated either by the intellectuals or by the working [class], avid of culture, all of them.

Belinda thoroughly describes the “huge impact [of the revolution] on the lives” of the people: “the way people related changed radically over a certain, however short, period of time (...) people were available for others, to collaborate in literacy campaigns, to open roads or build collective spaces”. In addition, she refers to the overcoming of the huge gender gap in the Portuguese society, as the revolution allowed “putting an end to the obscurantism and the acceptance that women and men [had] the same rights”.

Belinda was involved through the Student Civic Service in analyzing the quality of drinking water in Algarve as her field of interest was Biology. Later, she participated in renovating buildings (e.g., primary school, nursery) and in literacy campaigns, recruited “within her militancy in the Union of Communist Students, in the case of Alfa Movement”, because “teaching was always a passion for” her. Her initial training as a literacy monitor was conducted at the University of Lisbon, focusing on Paulo Freire’s method but also on “knowledge in economy and politics”. When remembering the method, she – as Amelia – identifies the syllabic division of words, and also the use of images in which the word was pictured. In her opinion, there were not specific instructions for the use of this method, and the literacy monitors used their “intuition” and a “trial and error” approach to teaching, sometimes “taking [the adults’] hands to teach them to do the letters”, revealing the relational proximity built between literacy monitors and the adult learners. Addressing, once again, the theme of the post-revolutionary climate and the political debate that was transversely in progress, Belinda affirms that

what was really worth was the delivery to the cause (...) it was obvious that given the political excitement of the time there was a tendency for the conversations held between us [to address] the political issues (...) not for political instrumentalization, but for being young and emotional (...) we wanted to convince others of the goodness of our ideas.

Similarly to Amelia’s experience, Belinda worked mainly with women, some of them subject to their husbands’ resistance to their participation by means of comments like “what are you doing in the street at night (...) you

should be at home". Generally, these adult learners were "simple people residing in the most popular zone" of a typical neighbourhood in Lisbon and their motivations for participating "were diverse", for example, "those who wanted to know how to do the accounts of their small grocery store", or people "who were more politicized and belonged to a group that had occupied houses, and wanted to read the documents and pamphlets that proliferated at the time", or even those "who just wanted to be able to read the newspaper in the coffee shop". Belinda retained their will to learn, but also the swiftness of their learning: "one of [the women], completely illiterate, who didn't even know how to handle the pencil, over 60 years old, learned to write in eight days".

In her opinion, the most important element of this experience was the encounter between the illiterate adults and the young and educated literacy monitors, who came from different social statuses and "contrary to what they were used, treated them as equals", which allowed them to rebuild their social conceptions and their interactions. On the other hand, the age gap between them allowed adults to "revive memories and renew energy and enthusiasm for life", by means of this encounter with "enthusiastic and politicized youngsters". At a personal level, Belinda describes this experience as a "fantastic" one, which was in accordance with "all [her] idealism and communist youngster hopes (...), it was a joy and an immense enthusiasm for me". Contact with people from a different social background, knowledge of another reality, other life worlds, was in fact one of the most significant dimensions of this experience:

[being] with people [who were] very different from those with whom I was used to deal in my day-to-day, that is, middle-class, educated people with whom I grew up or politically enlightened people with well-defined political options, either in the family or in the party context, it was really enriching and perhaps carved a lot of what I am today.

Underlying again the gender inequality of those days, she considers that she had the opportunity to be exposed to stories of oppression with an actual transformative effect in her personal development:

[facing] the harshness of daily reality for many of those women who for the first time in their life had the courage to think for themselves and face the sexism of husbands and sons. The life stories they told me (...) their popular [expressions] that made me blush, made me a different person (...) I learned not to waste opportunities.

## 5 Discussion

Mass literacy campaigns, as Boughton and Durnan (2014, p. 559) assert, "enjoyed wide support in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when they were seen as a way to increase the participation of previously marginalized and excluded populations in national development". Yet, during the 1990's, the "scholarly interest in them declined under the influence of World Bank empirical critiques of their effectiveness and increasing postmodern skepticism towards the socialist 'grand narrative' of liberation which underpinned some of the more famous examples" (p. 559). However, this interest seems to be re-emerging, as

a response to the neoliberal tendencies that have taken over the global education scenario, with a particular emphasis on critical approaches such as Freire's:

Freire's example is more important now than ever before: with institutions of public and higher education increasingly under siege by a host of neoliberal and conservative forces, it is imperative for educators to acknowledge Freire's understanding of the empowering and democratic potential of education. (Giroux, 2011, p. 154)

In fact, Freire's work is increasingly being revisited, recovered and reinvented, and one of the world's most significant example is the Cuban literacy campaign "*Yo sí, puedo*" (Yes, I Can), which has inspired, among others, mass literacy campaigns in East-Timor and Aboriginal Australia (Boughton & Durnan, 2014; Boughton, 2010), and motivated comparative studies from an empowerment framework perspective. These studies have shown, on the one hand, that further longitudinal observation and analysis are crucial for a thorough understanding of the impact of these campaigns on social transformation and, on the other hand, that there is a clear geographical polarization of cooperation forces (north-north versus south-south partnerships) which determine the possibilities and shape the impacts of these mass literacy campaigns. However, as Paulo Freire (1972, 2001) assumed, even if the links between literacy and citizenship are not automatic – and the relations between "social capital" and "civic participation are under-studied" (Vorhaus, Litster, Frearson, & Johnson, 2011, p. 49) until today – it makes sense to expect that

adults who improve their literacy skills do much more than get better at reading and writing; they improve their self-confidence, develop better attitudes to learning, improve their health, and increase their levels of civic and social involvement. (EU High Level Group of Experts on Literacy, 2012, p. 77)

It is this last dimension that grounds the intentions of the work in progress discussed in this paper, which presents a first approach to the memories of the Portuguese literacy campaigns that were developed in the post-revolutionary period, between the years 1974-1977, resulting from the initiative of diverse groups, but always under the theoretical affiliation of Paulo Freire's *pedagogy of the oppressed*, as becomes clear both through document analysis and the literature review. The analysis of the discourse of the two women involved as literacy monitors in these campaigns reveals the meaningfulness and significance of these campaigns from various perspectives. Firstly, the post-revolutionary period was clearly a time with a strong participatory logic that contaminated the whole Portuguese society – and the literacy campaigns were only one example of this movement of "going towards the people" that aimed to solve the deep infrastructural needs of the country (such as health and sanitary conditions, social structures, etc.) that resulted from the dictatorship. This framing, together with the lack of a consistent support and management of these campaigns, contributed to their discontinuity with accusations of political indoctrination, making the memories of that period somewhat fuzzy and

more difficult to rebuild in terms of the actors, the places and the resources involved.

The literacy campaigns appear, nevertheless, to have been marked by the massive levels of gender inequality and poverty at the time of the revolution. As mentioned above, the levels of illiteracy were very high: the schooling rate for the primary school in the early 1970's was slightly above 80%, leaving close to 20% of children without access to school, and the levels of illiteracy for women double that of men. Women rights were completely denied during the dictatorship: there were no voting rights for most women, and men, as fathers and husbands, had the ultimate word in all aspects of life. In this context, the affirmation of equality of rights made a huge difference, even if it took decades to bridge the gap between policy and real life. On the other hand, literacy campaigns also exposed the extremely high levels of poverty and lack of basic resources and infrastructures that characterized especially the rural world. Life expectancy in 1970 was 67.1 years (and grew to 72.9 by 1985 when Portugal entered the European Economic Community), infant mortality rate was 55.5 (and declined to 17.8 by 1985), and GDP per capita was 6,201.6 Euro in 1970 (and grew to 9,121.5 Euro by 1985). So, the idea expressed by our interviewees of a sense of urgency must also be interpreted in this context, together with the revolutionary climate of the time.

Even if vague, the descriptions reveal that Paulo Freire's ideas and method were central in the (very short-term) training of the literacy monitors who, not surprisingly, appear then to implement a combination of Freire, intuition, enthusiasm and learning-by-doing, testing different approaches, tools and methods. Therefore, it is essential to further research the uses of Freire's method, but also the possible implication of this experience in the *conscientization* processes of both young literacy monitors and adult learners.

Clearly, both groups learned a lot from the experience that appears to have resulted in the encounter of two worlds: the world of the adult illiterates, from rural and working-class backgrounds, and the world of the young literacy monitors, frequently from urban contexts and educated, middle-class backgrounds. This encounter is therefore twofold: it has effects on both sides, as two different cultures come together, acknowledge each other and learn from each other. For the adults, learning to read and write, in spite of different motivations, is inevitably an empowering process that brings about social autonomy to communicate, to deliberate and to be aware of the world. As Maria Beatriz Duarte (Geschwind & Nascimento, 1992, p. 9) puts it in the introduction of a book on literacy campaigns in Brazil: "It is impossible to watch passively the changes that take place within each literate little head (...) the brightness of the eyes is more intense, and their lives are more colorful ... after all, they read the world". On the other side, young educated literacy monitors have what they describe as a life changing event that also allowed them to expand their understanding of the world, suggesting that there might

also have occurred a conscientization process also noted in other experiences. As Torres (1990, p. 123) states, the

experience in literacy leaves in students and teachers an indelible mark (...) in the rupture that this experience brings regarding their everyday lives, in their own self-discovery of unknown capabilities and values, of that 'sense of community' that allows them to feel socially useful, developing new cooperation and solidarity values.

Literacy campaigns are part of the Portuguese historical, social and educational patrimony, while simultaneously revealing the construction of democracy as they involved a discussion on the "democratization of knowledge [that implied] the educational debate, the ideological debate, and the political debate itself" (Torres, 1990, p. 124). Therefore, reconstructing the memories of literacy campaigns, a topic undervalued in educational research in Portugal, is essential for a broad understanding of the revolution and the transition to democracy in its very complex relationship with education.

In sum, it is our goal to deepen the discussion on "[h]ow Freirean" (Boughton & Durnan, 2014, p. 562) were these campaigns, namely in the context of a high level of social mobilization, characterized by a transversal political debate, and the implicit risk of indoctrination. It is thus necessary to recover these memories in order to understand the ongoing debates on the relationships between literacy, participation, social transformation and, ultimately, democracy – considering the vast interpretations that this concept might entail.

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## Endnote

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## What to Change – How to Have Influence? Children’s Ideas About Exercising Power and Participating

Interest in children’s voice in society has been increasing gradually. This implies both the creation of new channels for participation, and also in the intensification of the research on children’s citizenship. This article asks what ideas twelve-year-old children have about using power and about their own opportunities of having influence in their schools. The study is based on qualitative questionnaires, in which the respondents were asked questions about how they would use power to make improvements in different spheres, starting from their classroom and ending up to the world. The questionnaire also asked about their experience of agency in schools. According to the responses, the children’s suggestions for changes were focused on the physical environment. As to their class and school, it was the informal level of the school that was important. In the global level, the children wished that the world would be safe. As to their agency in school, they mainly depended on adults who organize students’ participation.

### Keywords:

Children’s agency; children’s concerns, children’s citizenship, citizenship education

### 1 Introduction

Childhood has traditionally had a label of an apolitical or non-political part of human life, and children have been quite invisible and passive in society and politics. Their opinions or their knowledge have not been recognized, neither has society offered them many real opportunities for participation. Large-scale studies on adolescents’ knowledge, skills, attitudes and participation have been focusing on the age groups of 14 years and older (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010), but there is not much research on what children younger than that think or know about politics and society, nor about their political agency, although research of childhood has increased during the recent few decades. Childhood is not an isolated category, but children are observing the same social reality as adults, although their opinions have, to a great degree, been neglected as naive and inadequate. They are, however, as much a part of society as adults, and as Näsman and von Gerber (2002, p. 8) express it, “children’s accounts are a necessary part of our knowledge of society” (cf. McAuley, Morgan & Rose, 2010, p. 39; Cockburn, 2013, p. 3). Children are living in the middle of the same societal and political processes as adults, and much of the “political background noise” (Moss, 2013) in society is filtered also to them, often including strong emotional aspects, such as fear, sorrow and empathy, and therefore they can also have concerns about their society and their futures.

In Finland, the question about children and society is topical, because the new national core curriculum for the compulsory education that will be implemented in

schools from 2016 on will emphasize children’s participation and skills needed for citizenship. Also the status of social studies is strengthened as it will become a subject for lower grades 4 through 6. This will create more opportunities for discussion of society with children, compared to the National Core Curriculum 2004 and preceding years, according to which civic education normally has not been taught until grade nine, for 15-year-old students. (Finnish National Board of Education, 2014.) However, questions of citizenship, society and participation are not only confined to specific subject studies but they are also a concern for the whole school curriculum, and embedded in the cultures in schools, and the way of living in the schools.

The purpose of this study is to examine children’s ideas of the exercising of power: they had to think what they would do to make improvements, if they had a great deal of power. Another purpose of the study dealt with their possibilities of participating in decision-making at the school. The question that was posed to them involved discussing what improvements they would do in different contexts, starting from their closest surroundings and broadening to the global level. The answers about the changes children would do, if they had power, are also indications about what they experience as problems in their surroundings, in society or in a broader context, at the micro and macro levels.

### 2 Key concepts

‘Power’ is a debated and multi-faceted concept. In short, it can be defined as a person’s or group’s capacity to have influence on the actions of others, and make them act in a way that is desired. For instance Oppenheim (1981, p. 10–11) makes a distinction between the ideas of exercising power and having power. In our study, we had both aspects: the participants were posed a question “If you had a great deal of power how would you use it?” In this study, we were not interested in children’s definitions of the word ‘power’, but more about how they understand the concept ‘power’ in the process of changing or improving conditions. Here, the idea of power refers mainly to social or political power, not power as force or coercion, nor the individual’s ability or economic resources. Focus is here on the object of power; object that should be improved, not on the

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channels or methods of using power.

Another key term in the study is 'participation'. It is a concept that is, in general, broadly discussed also in childhood studies. Participation can be understood as involvement in a process of having influence – using power. According to Percy-Smith (2012, p. 19) participation is "about the exercise of power to act in relation to the roles and values of others". According to him, children's agency, as a matter of fact, is related to negotiation of power in relation with adults. This sense of power refers to a relationship of interaction.

Children's participation can be seen very broadly, not only in terms of traditional politics, but instead, how it is expressed in everyday life, and how children have observed and experienced it. It is, thus, related to children's agency in everyday life and the political processes and power relations that are relevant for them (Kallio & Häkli, 2011; cf. Baraldi & Iervese, 2012). It is also situated in a social context. In our study, children's participation is asked in the question in reference to their school context.

### 3 Children as citizens

In many societies there are signs of an increasing interest in children's role as citizens. This is mainly due to the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) that emphasizes that children should be heard in issues concerning them, as present and not only as future citizens (Sinclair, 2004; Invernizzi & Williams, 2008, 2–3; Salo, 2010, 420; Kallio & Häkli, 2011). This interest has been expressed, during the past few years, both in academic research and in the efforts to create more opportunities for children's participation (cf. Baraldi, 2012; Cockburn, 2013). Children's roles in society and politics have been studied in a number of fields, such as sociology, political science, education and geography. In many countries, there have been national projects, which aim at enhancing children's and adolescents' engagement in politics and skills of participation. However, these pursuits and projects are as a rule designed from the adults' point of view, controlled by them and also modelling adults' modes of participation, which children are expected to follow (Lewis, 2010; Percy-Smith, 2012; Fleming, 2013). Their relation to society has been considered from the adults' perspective, framed with adults' terminology, and mediated, regulated and controlled by adults (Wyness, 2009; Salo, 2010; Baraldi & Iervese, 2012). Thus, the purpose can be that of socializing children to the existing models of participation. The focus is also generally more on children's role as future citizens, than in their existing situation and concerns as citizens, which was underlined in the UNCRC (Weller, 2007; Wyness, 2009). This way of thinking is also partly based on developmental psychology, underlining that their competence is developing, not finished.

Wood (2010) characterizes children's position in society, and also in school, with the expression liminality: they are in a kind of liminal space, as citizens without full rights of participation, but at the same time being and

becoming citizens (cf. Verhellen, 2000; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Weller, 2007; Biesta, Lawy & Kelly, 2009). Although the interest in children's roles as citizens has arisen gradually, this strand of research is still rather thin. One can also ask why children's voices are not heard more often in society. One justification for the view of a passive child is the purpose to protect children from the risks in society, and therefore focus has more often been on how they should be controlled. Children are seen more as objects than subjects; their role is not active, and they are lacking political power (James, Curtis & Birch, 2008). Furthermore, the new channels of participation are often available to a small minority of children, those who are most active and enthusiastic. What is seen to be more challenging, is to engage all children, and therefore the emphasis has turned more and more on the spheres of life in which children normally interact and meet in everyday life and to situations that children themselves see as meaningful (Sinclair, 2004; Kallio & Häkli, 2011; Percy-Smith 2012, 12–14).

What also is crucial is how the concepts of politics and participation are defined. Children's political engagement has been underestimated, because it is often defined from a narrow perspective of formal social and political participation, and if the emphasis is there, children can be seen as politically apathetic, disinterested and ignorant (Weller, 2007, 30–31; Moss, 2013).

### 4 Learning about society and participation

One reason, why children's opinions of society are often ignored as being underdeveloped, can be their lack of exact terminology. They can, nevertheless, have an understanding of society long before they have acquired abstract concepts or political terminology, and before they are able to express their opinions with abstract terminology. For instance, Cullingford (1992) approached in his study children's understanding of politics in their own sphere of life, without using for instance the actual word politics, and according to his findings children had actually a rather multifaceted understanding of political questions.

There are several studies on children's conceptual understanding with reference to economy and politics, such as power, state, economy and political institutions. These studies indicate that there are vast individual differences as to the level of understanding (Berti, 2002; Furnham, 2002). However, there are also great differences between adults, and not nearly all adults have developed a solid knowledge basis or deep level conceptual understanding of abstract concepts (Elo & Rapeli, 2008; Rapeli, 2010). So, children are not alone with their fragmentary, often naive concepts.

Vygotsky (1978) understands children's interpretations of society as social constructs, largely dependent on adults' constructs of the world. Children's understanding of society can partly be based on what they learn or hear from adults or media (Cullingford, 1992, 2; Näsman & von Gerber, 2002, p. 7; Gill & Howard, 2009, p. 8–9). However, it cannot be taken for granted that children adopt their ideas about society, as such, from, for

instance, school or adults around them, although this mediation is inevitably significant. Children start constructing their opinions and frameworks for understanding society from very early years, in their closest contexts, including families, kindergartens, playground, and schools, and they are also influenced by the media. They make observations, for instance, about hierarchies and power relations, about the importance of cooperation, and about different roles in society. There are also indications that children at an early age can have coherent theories that they believe in very consistently. Their perspectives become gradually broader. Children are “enmeshed in power relations of various kinds and with various different power agents right from the beginning – their experience of power is direct and lived” (Gill & Howard, 2009, p. 28). Their learning is not only formal but also informal, and they try to understand their experiences. According to this view, children are active in their learning about society, and only children themselves can speak about their experiences, also those experiences related to the society.

As to the formal learning about society, the key area is citizenship education, or civic education. Its status can be highly different across countries. There has been during the recent few years, much discussion about the purpose and orientation of citizenship education. One criticism has been that the focus is too much on the traditional, compliant roles of citizens, instead of educating adolescents to act and participate. For instance, Bennett (2007; Bennet, Wells & Rank, 2009) distinguishes between two ideal types of citizens: the dutiful citizen and the actualizing citizen. According to him, the traditional citizenship education carries on an old-fashioned model of citizenship, based on formal structures and institutions, instead of recognizing the informal networks, new media and new models of participation, which are more relevant for new generations. Another focus is on educating citizens who would be able, not only to participate, but also to appreciate human rights and social justice (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Llewellyn, Cook & Molina, 2010). The effectiveness of civic education is not either seen as self-evident. For instance, in Warwick, Cremin, Harrison and Mason’s (2012) study, some adolescents experienced formal civic education as enhancing their motivation to participate in community, while others felt that they were not listened to and schools were undemocratic institutions.

Children do not learn only what they are taught but also from what they observe, and they may very well make observations about hierarchies, power structures and also undemocratic practices in their schools. This has been pointed out by several authors (e.g. Biesta, 2006; Lockyer, 2008; Munn, 2010; Wood, 2010; Rowe, 2011; Warming, 2012). Biesta and his co-authors (2009; cf. Biesta, 2006) claim that the formal citizenship education needs to be complemented by informal participation alternatives. The school as such can be a microcosm, reflecting the society and teaching about society by its very structure and through its hidden curriculum. Children learn about society both formally at schools and

informally - inside and outside their schools - and the role of informal learning is no doubt significant. Power structures can be observed and exercised for instance in the playground (Weller, 2007). Learning citizenship models and roles, as well as constructing one’s image of society, can thus be a highly complex process.

## 5 The study

The main questions of this study deal with children’s ideas of two approaches to power: how they would exercise power, and how they experience their own possibilities of participating and having influence. We did not ask how children understand the theoretical concept of power, but instead, what they would do and how they would exercise power, if they had much power and could improve conditions. Using power for change or improvement also reveals what children thought was wrong and what they were worried about. Another question is to analyze how children saw their opportunities of having influence in their schools. In accordance with the phenomenological approach, the study dealt with questions that were related to children’s ideas and experiences of different contexts of their lives.

The data for the present study was collected as part of the evaluation of an Interreg project Safe and Active School Day (SAS). The SAS project was a common effort between the cities of Turku (Finland) and Tallinn (Estonia), aiming at enhancing students’ participation and experience of a safe school. In both cities, the evaluation was conducted separately and with different methods.

The target group that was selected to answer the questions about using power and having influence were pupils from grade six (twelve years old), with the thought that their capacity for answering these kinds of questions would be better than that of younger students.

The number of respondents was 204 (99 girls, 105 boys), from six primary schools, altogether eight classes. Different parts of the city were represented, however, no school was from the city centre, but from different urban areas. The data was anonymous. No personal questions were asked about children’s families or socioeconomic background. These variables would perhaps have enabled a more sophisticated analysis and explanation. It was not considered necessary, because the purpose was just exploratory.

The data were collected in schools by the contact teachers who participated in the SAS project in the city. The teachers had clear instructions for data collection. The instrument of data collection was a semi-structured questionnaire that consisted of open-ended questions. The form included the following questions:

*Let’s imagine that you have a great deal of power, and you could make improvements. How would you use your power? What would you improve and what would you do*

- *in your own class*
- *in your school*
- *in the area you live in*
- *in your home city*

- *in Finland*
- *in the world*

*How can pupils in your school participate in decisions of common issues, for instance, rules, parties, events, excursions or the schoolyard? How could pupils better be involved to participate and have a say in common issues in the school, such as mentioned above*

The analysis is qualitative, based on the interpretation of the contents of each response. The basic unit of analysis is an idea, or more precisely, an expression of an idea. To get an overview of the structure and emphases of data, the ideas expressed in the responses have been divided into groups according to their contents. In this phase, the frequencies of expressions were counted. A respondent may mention more than one issue in one item of the questionnaire, and therefore each expression, including an independent point of view or topic, was counted separately. For instance, one student would improve her home city in this way: "If I had power in my home city, all would be equal and the city clean". This was classified to the categories labelled as "social structure" and "physical environment".

Thus quantifying the open-ended data is challenging, but this procedure gives structure to the data and illustrates what topics these children saw that require improvement. While reviewing the data, an attempt was made to go beyond the direct expressions and find out what the respondent really means. The pupils used different expressions for the same phenomenon, and these have been combined to a common category, to form broader groups of concepts. For instance, when dealing with the improvements they would make in the school class, the students can refer to furniture, cleanliness, cosiness and need for renovation, and these expressions have been combined under the topic "physical space". The category labelled as "working in the classroom" is including different aspects that deal with classroom situations (teaching, learning, school subjects, students' order of sitting, teaching methods, teachers, homework and exams).

Each respondent had a code that is used for identification. (Schools were marked with letters A-F, and school classes with numbers; students had a letter b (boy), g (girl) and a number. The data was classified by two researchers, which enhances the reliability of the analysis, and the classifications were very similar.

Most responses were rather short. It might have been possible to get deeper reflections if the task had been an assignment about one limited topic, but the strength of this form was that it describes systematically children's ideas about a number of objects and levels, proceeding from a rather familiar and near sphere toward more remote spheres. A longer written response might have been difficult for some students, who seemed to have difficulties even with the short responses.

Doing research on children's ideas about society or politics can be complicated. Children may be lacking the relevant concepts, or not be used to expressing themselves in an abstract code, although they have ideas and opinions. Kallio and Häkli (2011) refer to metho-

dological and conceptual constraints in collecting data, but also emphasize that researchers cannot be sure about a child's agency in issues that concern them, if they do not know what is significant for the child.

A problem in interpretation is that children may understand some words in different ways than they are used by adults in general. For instance Sinclair (2004, 113) mentioned that the word 'protection' might be understood by children as 'over-protection and restrictions, while the phrase 'being safe' had a positive tone.

Some of the respondents seemingly had difficulties in producing answers in clear Finnish – there were also non-native Finnish speakers in the classes, although their first language and ethnicity were not asked on the form. In some cases, it was difficult for the pupils to think about what improvements would be needed in the country or the world, and the answers are, to a great deal, on a very general level. The unclear or general answers also tell something about the concerns or problems that children have in their minds, but, on the whole, this data can give a fairly multifaceted cross-section of twelve-year-old pupils' thinking about their worlds.

Some expressions in the responses were difficult to interpret. Completely unclear expressions have been omitted from the analysis. All pupils who were at school completed the forms during their lessons, and the contact teachers of the SAS project took care of collecting the forms. The drop-out problem is more about the unclear answers than about the absence of students. In some cases pupils wrote "[I would improve] nothing", or "I do not know". The answer "nothing" may mean that the pupil is satisfied, and "I do not know" that she/he does not know – referring to that she/he does not know enough or is happy with the situation, but another interpretation is that they are bored with writing. If these types of responses are interpreted as drop-out, their proportion was not very large. There were also some naïve, joking, and improper (for instance racist) answers, and also some indication of misunderstanding. The majority of the answers clearly told about the objects the child wanted to change to the better or was worried about.

## **6 Findings I: How children would exercise power for making improvements?**

The following Table 1 presents the main topics that the pupils wanted to improve in each sphere. Only those categories of answers that were mentioned most often are included in the discussion. Included are only those objects that were mentioned most often, in about 20 forms, or by ten percent of respondents. In some items of the questionnaire, there was a large variation in the topics and they were scattered, and therefore, exceptionally, some smaller frequencies are reported in Table 1.

Table 1: The main issues that grade six pupils want to



improve (number of respondents = 204, frequency refers to topics)

OBJECT TO BE IMPROVED	Frequency (number of students who address this topic)
<i>I would improve in my own class</i>	
physical space (furniture, cleanliness)	45
atmosphere, belongingness	30
peace to work, stopping disturbing behaviour	20
working in the classroom (amount of homework, order of sitting, teaching equipment, subjects)	19
<i>I would improve in my school</i>	
food	58
physical space in the schoolhouse (cosiness, practicality, shape, furniture)	32
schoolyard, sport areas, equipment	26
safety, atmosphere (e.g. preventing harassment)	23
<i>I would improve in the area I live in</i>	
environment, the view of the area (cleanness)	53
better opportunities for leisure, hobbies (culture, sports)	45
safety and peacefulness (stopping violence and crimes, misuse of alcohol)	29
services (e.g. transportation and shopping)	22
<i>I would improve in my home city</i>	
environment, view of the city (cleanness)	42
better opportunities for leisure, hobbies (culture, sports)	34
safety and peacefulness (stopping violence and crimes, misuse of alcohol)	25
services (e.g. transportation and shopping)	19
<i>I would improve in my home country</i>	
environmental questions	37
issues related to equality, social justice	26
issues related to politics and economy	16
<i>I would improve in the world</i>	
a better and safer world: peace, no wars	65
stopping poverty, hunger, inequality; solving the problems of poor countries	57
issues related to environment and nature: climate change, ecological way of living; recycling, the rights of animals	55

### 6.1 Using power to improve the class and the school

The class, classroom and school are the direct environments for pupils, and therefore it is relevant to study their agency in those spheres. What the respondents most often wanted to improve there, could be categorized as various perspectives to physical environment, and the micropolitics of the school and the classroom.

As to the class and life in the classroom, many of the pupils wanted to improve the working conditions the classroom should be cleaner, more cosy and comfortable, better arranged or perhaps renovated. Many of the children wished to get better desks and stools, or better boards or computers. They also wanted to improve the social atmosphere among the class-mates, they wanted to have less noise, less disturbing behaviour from their classmates. They wanted that the school rules should be better followed up. For the studies as such, they expected better equipment (computers, but also equipment for sports and gymnastics). There were only a few items dealing with school subjects, the contents or teaching methods, and some more dealt with the

amount of homework and the order in which students were sitting in the classroom.

Some of them did not want to change anything: "Nothing. It is a nice place to study" (C6/g2), but more typical were answers like this: "If I had power in my own class, all would feel themselves safe and no one would be teased" (B4/g4). "There is nothing else to be improved in my class, except that it could be a little bigger, the desks should be bigger. Everybody should get a computer" (A3b7).

As to the school, the most common problem seemed to be food: the quality of meals, the cosiness of the dining room and arrangements. Some students wished that their school could have a kitchen, instead of the food being made in a central kitchen from where it was taken to the school. Dissatisfaction with food is interesting, because school meals have been seen as one of the benefits of the Finnish school. It seems to be important for children's feeling of well-being in the school, and an easy object to express their wishes. Very often the students mentioned improvements they would do in the physical environment, either inside or outside of the schoolhouse. The schoolyard and possibilities for sports and exercise were important to many of them. Safety was important, as it was in the classroom.

The topics related to school and class/classroom resembled each other fairly much, leaving out the school food. Otherwise, it was the physical environment, the physical school, that was the most common topic, and another in the top was the "informal school", which includes peer-networks, relations with other pupils, in addition to the unofficial discourses that are not related to teaching and studying as such (Gordon, 2001; Munn, 2010). These two emphases can be understood against the background of previous research on children's pedagogical well-being (Pietarinen, Soini & Pyhälä, 2008). Horne Martin (2006) underlines the variety of functions that schools and classrooms can have for students, as environments for learning but as well, for instance, for social interaction, growth of personal identity or sense of trust and security. As to the physical environments, there is evidence that the organization of classroom settings, noise, colours and lights among other things can have an influence on students' learning and well-being (Horne Martin, 2006). In many schoolyards, the main problems are that they are not inspiring, are covered with grey asphalt and have broken, dysfunctional play equipment (cf. Nuikkinen, 2009, 242-244).

Teachers were not mentioned in the class level responses, but concerning the schools, some students wished they could know the teachers better or that they could be more equal with them. The emphasis on the physical school and unofficial school (students' interactions during and outside lessons) have been found as more significant than the formal school, that is, teaching and learning the school subjects (Gordon, 2001, 101; Paju, 2011, 20; cf. Munn, 2010). Peer relations are important for children, in addition to the physical scene, where the students are living and what is also restricting

them and adapting them to certain rules. This unofficial field can be very important in the micropolitics of school and, especially for pupils, has not perhaps received enough attention in educational research (Gellin et al., 2012, 97). Another approach to these findings can be that the scarcity of school and city finances is reflected in the children's experiences of the problems in their environment and resources of the schools.

### 6.2 Changes needed in the local community

The local area that students live in, and the city as a whole, also belong to their close sphere of life. As to the improvements the children would do, the main topics, and the frequencies, were fairly similar in both. Also in these spheres, the twelve-year-old informants emphasized the shape of the environment: it should be clean, there should not be so much rubbish, the city should be kept in better order. The safety of the environment was also experienced as important, and to this category belong the responses dealing with violence, drinking and drugs. Obviously some children were very aware if there was problematic behaviour, violence and social problems in their area.

The respondents also wished for a better infrastructure for their hobbies, sports, playing, and so on: there should be better sport halls and playgrounds, better libraries and more concerts. Often the wishes were typical of children, or directly connected to their hobbies and interests. They also wished for better transportation from their suburb to the city centre and better service to their area.

In addition to the above mentioned approaches, there were a few interesting responses (11) that dealt with equality among inhabitants, tolerance and equal opportunities for earning their living for all. Nobody should be discriminated or harassed.

"The environment is in an awful shape. Itäkeskus [Eastcenter] was probably planned for drunks, as it is full of pubs. Families with children have been neglected" (D4/g8). "I would renovate the ball hall and build more common houses, for instance Youth House" (E2/g3). "Less car driving or other vehicles destroying the climate. No racism. All colours should be accepted" (B4/b7).

These findings have a strong resemblance with those of Holden (2007), who studied eleven-year-old British children's fears and hopes. In two sets of data, from 1994 and 2004, the main hopes and also fears concerning the local community included crime and violence, local amenities, environmental issues, poverty, jobs and housing, community relations and traffic. These children were also concerned about homelessness, poverty and unemployment. Similar themes have been reported by, for instance, McAuley and Rose (2010) and Elsley (2004). In another project in the 1990s, about 1000 Italian elementary and middle school students described their visions about "child-friendly cities". The result of this project (Children's manifesto: 'How to Win Back Our Cities', 1994) indicated a number of ideas, such as meeting places for children in their neighbourhoods, places were to play and interact, and green places. They

saw traffic as a problem, and also wished for better organization of public transport. (Francis & Lorenzo, 2006, p. 227-229.) These results, as well as the present study, show that young children experience the unsafety of their neighbourhood, but also have ideas about the changes that are needed.

### 6.3 What children would improve in Finland and in the world?

In the national and global sphere, the pupils paid much attention to environmental problems. As to Finland, 37 respondents mentioned them. Otherwise the improvements the children wished for were not easy to classify around a common theme. It is possible that national politics and issues regarding society are not so familiar, because social studies/civic education does not belong in the curriculum of the lower grades, but comes as late as in grade nine. One of the children felt it was difficult to answer: "I cannot think about such a big area. In Finland, everything is fairly well" (C7/b8).

There were some aspects of society, economy and politics that the pupils pointed out in their responses: such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, racism, and expensive food and living. There were 26 answers that dealt with different approaches to societal and economic situation and inequality in Finland: "I would improve and create more jobs for people and would take care of the environment" (C6/g4). "I would try to help in the economic depression (if possible), and give more power to the President" (C6/b5). "Away poverty and homelessness. Let's not cast rubbish in nature" (D6/g12).

At the global level, children's worries could be classified under three main topics: peace and safety, poverty and the environment – more than 25 percent of the children mentioned one or more of these. They wished to have a world in which all people would have satisfactory conditions of living. More than 60 children wrote about the importance of ending wars or mentioned some other topic related to violence. People in poor countries should get food and water, and poor children should have the possibility for education. Environmental issues were important also at the global level: "No war. Food for all. Water for all. Basic rights to all. Home for all. Equality for all. = Peace in the world" (A3/g10). "No war. No racism. No alcohol. No drugs. Prevent climate change. You have the right to do good things" (B4/b7).

Interestingly, both in national and global approaches, there were only a few responses dealing with children directly. Among the few examples related to the global level, there were some requiring better opportunities for education and condemning the use of children as a labour force or as soldiers. These findings resemble the topics that adolescents were concerned in Warwick and his co-authors' study (2012): war, global economic recession, climate change, poverty and homelessness. Also Holden (2007, p. 35), in her study of eleven-year-old children's concerns in Great Britain, got similar results as to the global level: their thoughts about the future dealt mostly with war and peace, environmental issues and poverty, and concerns for the environment were



relatively strong in the data from 2004 compared to that from 1994. Typically, children were more worried about global concerns than local futures. The children had similar concerns in an international comparative study that was conducted in England, South Africa and Kyrgyzstan (Holden, Joldoshalieva & Shamatonov, 2008).

Primary school children were informed about current problems at the local and global levels.

A question is why the children had obviously clearer answers to global than national problems. One reason might be that the global problems, in addition to environmental catastrophes and crises, are so commonly presented in the media (cf. Bennett, 2007). Children follow the streams of communication, and as a matter of fact cannot escape information about environmental problems. Environmental issues are certainly dealt with in the school science lessons.

### 7 Findings II: Children's agency at school

Children's existing and desired possibilities for agency were asked with two questions: How can pupils in your school participate in decisions of common issues, for instance rules, parties, events, excursions or the schoolyard? How could pupils better be involved to participate and have a say in common issues in the school, such as mentioned above? Table 2 summarizes the main types of responses in the first of these questions, about children's existing possibilities to have influence in their schools.

Table 2. The ways children can have influence in their schools (number of respondents 204; most common types of answers are collected in the table)

HOW CHILDREN CAN HAVE INFLUENCE	Frequency (number of students who mentioned it)
<i>Requirements for students</i>	
obedience, good behaviour	30
enthusiasm, capacity, motivation	21
<i>Requirements for the school and the teachers</i>	
involving children, asking them to participate	22
organizing events, campaigns, projects etc.	14
listening to the students	11
<i>Specific forms and channels of students' participation</i>	
school council, students' parliament	15
co-operation with teachers	12

When asked about what opportunities they had in practice to have influence in decisions in their schools, the responses were fairly often like this: "By being quiet, listening, not breaking against the rules. Not teasing other people" (B4/g3). "We obey the rules, we behave ourselves in events, we behave ourselves at school" (B4/b7).

Misunderstanding can partly explain this type of answers, and in some responses the style revealed that Finnish was not the respondent's first language. Another explanation is that the pupils perhaps saw that it was the easiest and most diplomatic strategy to obey, and to survive at school. These kind of responses suggest also that children had interpreted the messages of the hidden

curriculum (cf. Munn, 2010).

Still another explanation is that the culture in Finnish schools has not enabled students to have a say in decisions, and that there have not been channels for student participation. Children have not perhaps seen alternatives and have no models for anything else. For instance, the recent international study on adolescents' civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement, the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 (Schulz et al., 2010; Suoninen, Kupari & Törmäkangas, 2010) indicates that 14-year-old Finnish lower secondary school students did not participate very much in the civic activities and did not feel that their voice was heard. Discussion about society or politics is not very common either in the school culture (Suutarinen, 2006). It is contradictory, in principle, that the modern notions of learning emphasize students' active role in the process of learning, but in other parts of school life children are not, in general, heard.

For the students, participation was thus largely based on requirements set for themselves. Another approach to these requirements was expressed by students, who thought that their opportunity for participation largely depended on their own enthusiasm and other qualities and attitudes, including behaviour towards other students, like in these examples: "We should be more enthusiastic and take on our own initiatives" (A4/t8), "They [students] can prove that they are prepared to have responsibility, and they can make suggestions to these issues" (B4/g9).

Many children in the present study understood their participation as directed by adults, who listen to children's wishes and suggestions (cf. Kallio & Häkli, 2011; Wood, 2012; Fleming, 2013). Many of them also defined their opportunities for participation with a strong reference to adults, the teachers, who plan and organize the events, opportunities and channels for participation.

However, there were also direct suggestions for the adults in the school about giving more space for children: "Well, teachers should discuss more and tell the students about issues" (D2 / t2); "They should ask what kind of things we would like to do" (A3/t4); "You have got to have a teacher who lets students decide about things" (B4/p17).

There were also many respondents who were happy with their possibilities of having influence at their schools. Fifteen responses dealt with existing channels, which recently have been established for children's participation, such as Youth Parliament or Children's Parliament, or the school councils, or projects that had been organized in the schools. These answers came from students of three schools, where this activity obviously was organized earlier than in the other ones, and the respondents were therefore more conscious of it. A look at all the responses given in the survey by these fifteen students suggests that they in other respects resembled very much the average respondents. They were focussing on the informal and physical school, students' mutual relations and the cosiness of the environment, as well as

in the global approach most often on questions of peace and war, climate and environment. Some of these respondents, however, pointed out that it is very few pupils who get the opportunity to act through for instance school councils. The responses that dealt with specific events or projects that had been organized in schools, activating the children, included often examples related to the environment, such as recycling, collecting rubbish, cleaning the schoolyard. This may be related to the high frequency of responses related to the physical environment of the school and classroom in the first part of the questionnaire.

In the question about having influence, about ten percent of responses were either "I do not know" or "no possibilities". However, during recent years, the opportunities to have an influence have been strengthened, in order to support students' participatory skills (Gellin et al., 2012; Kallio & Häkli, 2011). A new law was passed about school councils for primary level, and these are mandatory in all schools since the beginning of 2014. When the data was collected, these forms of participation were not yet established in all schools. Today these alternatives would perhaps be better known by students than a couple of years ago.

How to enhance the students' participation? The main line in the answers was that participation should be fun, interesting and joyful. There should be events, projects or campaigns. Also in this question, most respondents left the responsibility to teachers for arranging ways to participate. They suggested that their ideas should be collected; they should be listened to and asked to participate. They should be encouraged, activated and persuaded. There were also a few interesting responses where the pupil wrote that they would participate, if they get evidence that convinces them that they really can have an effect in decisions – and yes, if they are given training for participation. Although these were single answers, this indicates clearly young children's capacity for critical thinking.

## 8 Conclusions

The data gives evidence of different approaches: how children would exercise power and understand the targets of exercising power at different levels, and how they see their own possibilities of having influence. The question about how the respondents would exercise power gives information about issues they are worried about and would improve.

The data is fairly small and does not enable broad generalizations. The responses may have been dependent on the context and the timing. The responses are perhaps typical of the age of the respondents, not in-depth, and not expressed in clear abstract terminology. However, even in this form they indicate that children can have consistent ideas about society, power relations and the world around them. The fact that the responses were written can have limited the quality of the data, but it is not likely that oral responses in interviews or group interviews would have been remarkably more in-depth. Similar conceptual and expressive limitations would

certainly have appeared in oral data also.

In almost all levels, from the school class to the global issues, the biggest problems for children are related to environment. In their closest level, they pay much attention to the physical environment, and on a more general level, to the climate change and safeguarding sustainable development. It may very well be, as Furnham (2002) comments, that social and economic understanding "lags behind the understanding of the physical world" (p. 56). That may partly explain the strong focus on physical space instead of social and political questions. In all levels, children wrote, also, about questions related to safety and peace, and especially concerning the city, country and global level, and about equality. The problems were in the same dimension, in the same axis, but on different scales.

These contents of the responses may be due to the fact that children are already at a relatively young age conscious about for instance environmental problems and questions of safety, peace and war (Bennett, 2007). To a great degree, the children's ideas can be based on observations and experience of their own close contexts and on discussions with adults and school. About global issues they have certainly heard of, for instance, in science lessons, but also through news and images, delivered effectively by the media. The problems, "the background noise" (Moss, 2013) is certainly filtered through the media to children also. It can be concluded that these responses reflect not only the children's experience or images, but also the problems that the children live among. These responses can also be interpreted as children's reactions to the problems around them, in different spheres. The problems in the micro level, in the classroom, can in a small scale be an indication of economic problems in a broader context.

The problems children have experienced can also be dependent on the nature of the area. In this study, no comparison was made between the answers from different urban areas. Some of the areas where the respondents came from were ordinary middle-class suburbs with small houses, others were densely populated apartment house areas, with social problems. In the group of 204 children in the study, many of them certainly had their own experience about poverty or unemployment in their families. So the knowledge of the problems is not based on academic knowledge.

Although the evidence is small and fragmentary, it can give indications of the thoughts that children in their early teens have on their minds about challenges in their present life and world. When writing about improvements, the children in the present study expressed some idealism and unrealism, they were not asked to consider what is possible or realistic – only about the target of improvement. Children do not necessarily understand how vast and multilayered the problems can be, and how complicated it is to improve conditions and how complicated and slow decision making can be. The verb form was conditional ("if you had power"), including the idea that the children did not have much power. This may lead their thoughts to the idea that they really do

not have power. That, of course, depends on the level they are thinking about. The global issues may be experienced as remote, but on the school level they could have some influence, in principle.

However, fairly many students described their own agency by reference to requirements for themselves, primarily to their obedience, following the rules, or coming on time, and also pointed out the adults' role in organizing activities and listening. These responses suggest that children in the present study tended to see the schools as hierarchical organizations, in which they were expected to obey and behave themselves. These findings are supported by previous research, according to which children tend to accept hierarchical power structures, clear-cut rules, order and discipline, and expect that the rules are followed consistently, but also tend to see these power relations as benevolent and paternalistic (Cullingford, 1992, p. 2; Gill & Howard, 2009, p. 19–18, p. 40–41). The respondents in this study obviously also felt that peer relations, the informal school, and the physical school is important – more important than the curriculum and studies. Children's focus on the physical contexts of their classroom, school and neighbourhood is not irrelevant, and if they can get opportunities to participate in the development in these spheres, it can enhance their motivation for learning, civic engagement and active attitude for environment (Horne Martin, 2006, 100–101). This data did include examples of such activities that had been organized in the schools.

At the same time, this study reinforces the view of previous studies that pupils' participation opportunities are largely controlled and organized by adults (cf. Weller, 2007; Hulme & Hulme, 2011), and that is what the children also seem to expect, perhaps due to lacking experience of alternatives. Some single respondents underlined the necessity of getting training in skills of participation. Some also saw the limitations of representative participation through a school council or children's parliament.

Furthermore, the great number of responses referring to obedience as agency suggests that these children are on their way to developing traditional and dutiful citizen roles, not so much the role of active citizens (cf. Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Bennett et al., 2007; Llewellyn et al., 2010). The respondents were however quite young, and therefore strong conclusions should not be made about their future roles, at least on the basis of this limited data. There are also some signs of emerging social justice orientation, and of consciousness of the environment. This can be observed especially in the responses related to global and local issues in which the children are writing about peace, well-being and tolerance to indicate that they would like to get a safer world.

As to a proposition for future research and practice, it would be important to continue the work that already has been started in many countries in order to create more opportunities for children to practice and implement skills of participation and discussion. More

discussion is certainly needed about children's roles as citizens (Weller, 2007; Lockyer, 2008; Salo, 2010; Cockburn, 2013). One important dimension is formal civic and citizenship. Adolescents need conceptual tools for discussion and participation (Fleming, 2013), but attention should also be directed to practices, processes and structures that are undemocratic in children's lives. More research is also needed about children's agency and participation in schools but also through the more formal channels created especially for children's participation. The impact of background variables (area, class, gender and ethnicity) was not analyzed in the present study, but it would also be interesting, provided that the study would be conducted on a broader basis.

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## Review of the Book:

### Ross, Alistair (2015). *Understanding the Constructions of Identities by Young New Europeans: Kaleidoscopic selves*. New York/ Abingdon: Routledge, 217 pp.

The issue about the search for identity brought out by the Modern Period is discussed not only within Europe but also in the whole World. Instead of accepting the identities of the previous periods, young people construct their own identities and thereby reproduce the societies. This situation also causes the social reality of the new generation to become the dominant discourse instead of the previous ones' social reality. With this change, the values, life styles, aesthetic sense and paradigms of the previous generation are criticized by the new generation and are reproduced in a different way. The book "Understanding the Constructions of Identities by Young New Europeans" was written by Alistair Ross, who is Emeritus Professor of Education at London Metropolitan University, UK, and Jean Monnet Professor of Citizenship Education in Europe and exactly promises to understand this change.

The focus group of this study are 974 young people, aged between 11 and 19, from 15 European countries that have either joined the European Union since (Bulgaria, Cyprus, The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) or were candidate countries in 2012 (Croatia, Iceland, Macedonia [FYROM] and Turkey). Between the years 2010-2012, approximately 160 focus group discussions were conducted by the author; these discussions were conducted in different countries, 49 different locations and 97 different schools.

In terms of European identity, the age of the young people participating in the study and the timing of the focus groups are important. 12 of the countries in the study are post-Communist states and this generation of young people is the first to have been born since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and were affected by its consequences. The other three countries are in various states of social and economic flux. The basic question here is how these young people construct their own cultural and European identities in the countries they live in, during the accession negotiations of their own countries to EU. The viewpoints of the young people to country borders are more fluid and flexible than those of their parents and grandparents. There is a consistent generational change in the ways they discuss their local, regional, national and sometimes European or even global identities. The themes that interest many of these young people are; the sense of agency and the degree of attachment to both their own country and to Europe. Moreover, the construction of identity, multiple identities, "modern" nationalism and patriotism are themes that stand out in this book. The fact that the interviews made with the participants and the focus group discussions are given within the text and that the identity descriptions and the different viewpoints are shown to the readers, provides significant data for researchers,

educators, sociologists and law-makers. These interviews can also be used for teachings material in citizenship education classroom.

In the first part, the conceptual dimension of the identity is discussed. This discussion includes significant discussions for Europe in terms of ethnic and national discourse. The relation different ethnies entered into with different states, on the one hand, made multiple identities a theme to be discussed and on the other hand, it produced different local identities in different discourses. This situation makes it compulsory in Europe to make the identity discussion in both perspectives, cultural and citizenship. This makes the existing identity discussion a conflict between exclusive and inclusive identity approaches.

In the second part, the way how the young people in the study constructed their national identities is analysed. Bruter (2005) says that constructs of national and European identities can be seen as having cultural and civic components. Similarly, Ross defines the nation as a cultural construct. In this discourse, whether the national identity belongs to citizenship, to being part of the same "blood", to live in that country or to speak the same language is expressed differently by different people. This reveals the fact that national identities have multiple perceptions. The following example is important in terms of expressing this situation.

Ligia T(♀14) declared herself Romanian, Although "I personally am half Romanian and half Russian, but I don't really speak Russian. My mother and my grandmother speak Russian, but my father is 100 per cent Romanian, so-yes".

(Ross 2015, p. 67)

Nation as a cultural identity refers, to on the other hand, the discourse of othering locals who aren't part of their own countries and this internal othering is a result of defining "we" category. The cultural identity is the identity that enables people to say "we" and it creates the basis for the sense of attachment. "The bounding construct" is a construct that combines singular individuals in a common "we", in both being bound by common rules and values and being based on a common knowledge having experienced within a common history and a person's understanding of his own. This bounding construct brings out the different constructions of identity processes through the conflict between we and the other. The possibility of temporary or permanent migration can be considered as having both a conflict reducing role and a role that gives other countries a chance to enhance the others' attachments: the combination of economic difficulties and the European Union's labour market mobility policy means that migration is a real possibility for young people and this is a facilitating factor for the European identity. As Ross states, the way young

people construct their national identities and their “becoming other” discourse change from context to context.

In part three, the European identity is discussed, how European identities are constructed or rejected; by using the interview examples, within their subcontexts. Young people used ‘Europe,’ sometimes, to express the European Union and sometimes a wider (or a narrower) variation of this. This situation means that individuals associate institutional elements of Europe with their identities while defining their European identity. In this way, the cultural characteristics of European identity are less prominent. The European identity also makes the European culture a theme to be discussed. The young people who participated in this study are ambivalent about the meaning of the European culture and there is an uncertainty about who and what a European might be. Being European wasn’t just seen as a geographical identity, it also meant displaying particular behavioural characteristics – and some participants even felt that their own societies currently fell short of these. At the end of this part, the generational different perceptions about the European identity are discussed. According to the results of this study; many young people believe that they have a better European orientation than the older generations in their family.

At the end of the book, Ross defines the identity as kaleidoscopic identity. In the discussion with Bauman, Ross states that defining the identity as liquid like Bauman (2000) has done causes imprecision. Defining identity like this means that the identity has no shape, is subject to physical laws of fluidity and merely fills the available spaces.

As Pamuk (2014) defines, identity, which can be defined as an individual’s positioning against the other according to the discourses s/he interacts in, occurs as a fact that is contingently reconstructed. This momentary identity is constructed according to the social context, which is formed in a particular context by individuals. The experiences and beliefs of the young people are combined in a certain context and this context defines the identities as compatible and rational. This construction differs according to the audience, time and location.

However, despite the all flexibility, there is a context young people construct their identities. It is possible to evaluate this discourse as the state of being in contingently identity change within the young people’s construction of their identities. Of course, in such a study the different generations’ way of constructing identities can’t be categorized; however this study conducted with 974 participants presents deep information about the construction of the European identity to the readers.

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