

Narratives and Social Memory

Theoretical and methodological approaches



Edited by

Rosa Cabecinhas & Lilia Abadia

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Table of Contents

Preamble	
Narratives and Social Memory: Dialogic Challenges	5
ROSA CABECINHAS & LILIA ABADIA	
<hr/>	
Part I	
Cognitive and Emotional Processes in Collective Remembering	
<hr/>	
Narratives and Social Memory from the Perspective of Social Representations of History	11
JAMES H. LIU	
<hr/>	
The Lay Historian: How Ordinary People Think about History	25
OLIVIER KLEIN	
<hr/>	
Emotional Processes in Elaborating a Historical Trauma in the Daily Press	46
ÉVA FÜLÖP & JÁNOS LÁSZLÓ	
<hr/>	
Transitional Justice Processes, Shared Narrative Memory about Past Collective Violence and Reconciliation	61
MANUEL CÁRDENAS, DARÍO PÁEZ & BERNARD RIMÉ	
<hr/>	
The Past and the Present (re)Visited: War Veterans' Representations of the Portuguese Colonial War	76
ANA FIGUEIREDO, JOAQUIM PIRES VALENTIM, LAURENT LICATA & BERTJAN DOOSJE	
<hr/>	
Part II	
Media(ted) Narratives and Public Memory	
<hr/>	
Hard News Cognitive Shift: from Facts to Narratives	93
LUIZ G. MOTTA	
<hr/>	
Narratives of Death: Journalism and Figurations of Social Memory	106
BRUNO SOUZA LEAL, ELTON ANTUNES & PAULO BERNARDO VAZ	
<hr/>	
Researching Identity Narratives in Cyberspace: Some Methodological Challenges	119
LURDES MACEDO, MOISÉS DE LEMOS MARTINS, ROSA CABECINHAS & ISABEL MACEDO	
<hr/>	
Journalistic Narrative: a Story of Real Life	134
MIRIAM BAUAB PUZZO	
<hr/>	
Part III	
Audiovisual Narratives and Cultural Memory	
<hr/>	
The Works of Sísifo: Memories and Identities of the Portuguese in Africa according to Fiction Films of the Twentieth Century	146
MARIA MANUEL BAPTISTA	
<hr/>	
Audiovisual Post-colonial Narratives: Dealing with the Past in <i>Dundo, Colonial Memory</i>	159
ISABEL MACEDO, ROSA CABECINHAS & LILIA ABADIA	
<hr/>	

Cinematic Landscape and Social Memory	175
<small>ANA FRANCISCA DE AZEVEDO</small>	
The Subject-Matter of Audiovisual Historical Fiction in Portugal (1909-2010)	190
<small>EDUARDO CINTRA TORRES & CATARINA DUFF BURNAY</small>	
Criminal violence in Brazilian moving images in 2010	202
<small>JULIANA CUNHA COSTA</small>	

Part IV Ethnic, National and Supranational Narratives & Identity Dynamics

Narratives of Redemption: Memory and Identity in Europe	221
<small>RITA RIBEIRO</small>	
Memory and the Flows of Identity in Hatoum's Amazon	232
<small>MICHELE NASCIMENTO-KETTNER</small>	
'Diaspora Space' as Heard and Observed	242
<small>DAIVA REPECKAITE</small>	
Colonial Missions in the North American Southwest: Social Memory and Ethnogenesis	253
<small>MARIAH WADE</small>	

Part V Societal Issues, Collective Action, Identity and Memory

Collective Mobilization and the Social Memory of Environmental Destruction	267
<small>PEDRO GABRIEL SILVA</small>	
Narratives as Prison 'Escapes': Power, Interaction and the co-Construction of the Female Prisoner by Incarcerated Women	283
<small>RITA BASÍLIO DE SIMÕES & ANA TERESA PEIXINHO</small>	
Drawings and Narrative: the Inmates Memory and Experience (At the Prison of Monsanto)	298
<small>MARIANA CARROLO</small>	
Comissões Unitárias de Mulheres do Porto: Recreating the Memory of a Social Movement	314
<small>CÁTIA LOPES, JOANA CORREIA, JOÃO CAMELO & TERESA MEDINA</small>	
Adozinda Goes to the Feminine Reading Room: a Segregated Space for Women in a Portuguese Public Library under a Fascist State	327
<small>PAULA SEQUEIROS & SÓNIA PASSOS</small>	

Preamble

Narratives and Social Memory: Dialogic Challenges

ROSA CABECINHAS & LILIA ABADIA

Editors

Since the “narrative turn” in social and human sciences, there has been a huge development in the research about narrative structures, functions, processes, and contents. The interplay between narratives, identity, and memory has become a fertile domain of interdisciplinary studies as well as fruitful dialogues between researchers, practitioners, and citizens. Yet, an integrative and broadest approach is still missing, and requires an intensive work of self-reflexivity and self-scrutiny of our own assumptions, methods of research and intervention, and perhaps even more challenging, the language that we use and the concepts and categories that we, explicitly or implicitly, convey.

To deal with the increasing complexities of these fields of research, and of the world around us, we need to be able to embrace several lines of thought at the same time and combine different methodologies to reach more nuanced descriptions and interpretations of these realities.

The recent explosion of the social media, the intensification and diversification of migration flows, and the increasing interconnectivity and hybridity of the world, goes along with the maintenance of old divides and gaps, which keep on shaping our lives, sometimes in subtle but very powerful ways. Making sense of the complex and changing environment around us is a demanding task that requires problematization of “old” and “new” dichotomies frequently convened in scientific models.

Social memory is at the heart of the dynamic interplay between culture, cognition, and identity. Within the last decades, there was a proliferation of scientific and political debates around memory, namely, in what concerns the “politics of memory”, “politics of identity”, and “memory rights”. In the scope of human and social sciences, there is a diverse lexicon, which offers several alternative ways of understanding memory and its links to history, media, and society: collective, communicative, cultural, popular, public, unofficial, contested, fragmented, etc. With regard to cognitive and health sciences, memory tends to be located at an individual level, privileging another set of lexicon: autobiographical, declarative, flashbulb, episodic, short-term, long-term, semantic, procedural, etc.

In our understanding, memory is “social” in the sense that it is a product and process embedded in the social milieu, which cannot be understood without taking into account the power relations, the asymmetric forces and filters operating in a given cultural context, the individual and group agency, the personal experiences and trajectories, and the “tools” and “vehicles” of memory, both in its embodied and technological forms.

Memory is neither about the objective remembering of factual events nor about the storage of a fixed past. It is a process of selection, interpretation, and permanent reconstruction, which

comprises both remembering and forgetting. Officially or unofficially, intentionally or not, the construction of collective memory is always an attempt to convey a particular point of view. Due to its potential for legitimization of present-day and future agendas, collective memories have been a privileged arena for the struggle for specific meanings as well as their contestation. Memory constitutes a vital anchor for identity processes; rather than a static and solid anchor, it is a malleable and fluid one.

Traditional conceptualizations of identity tend to be primarily related to notions such as belonging, sameness, stability, and continuity, rather than to the idea of in-progress project in a continuous and complex process of change. Recent theoretical approaches recognize how contemporary national and transnational identity narratives require hybrid multilayered configurations.

The stories we tell, and the stories we listen to, define who we are and who are the “others”. They also shape interpersonal, intergroup, and intercultural relationships. In a world undergoing accelerated mutation and shifting power relations, representational fields are increasingly heterogeneous. In that sense, multiple voices and cultural logics take part in the process of knowledge and worldview constructions. Therefore, our lives are composed of many overlapping and often conflicting stories. These stories are shared in everyday conversations, and disseminated through cultural products (e.g., social media, cinema, television, advertising, music, festivals, museums, books, legislation, and monuments). They simultaneously influence and are influenced by the interplay between historical legacies, economic demands, and national and international politics.

Although interest in identity narratives and social memory has considerably grown over the past decades, they have generally been studied in very fragmented paths. The International Seminar “Narratives and Social Memory: theoretical and methodological approaches” was conceived to address this limitation. It took place in June 2012 at the University of Minho in Braga, Portugal. The seminar gathered about one hundred participants from 22 countries, from all continents.

This volume comprises a selection of papers delivered at the seminar. By bringing together researchers working on these themes from a wide spectrum of disciplines, this international seminar aimed at fostering interdisciplinary collaboration and at instigating sustainable networking. Scholars from disciplines such as Anthropology, Architecture, Communication Sciences, Computer Sciences, Cultural Studies, Education, Geography, History, Linguistics, Literature, Political Science, Psychology and Sociology, participated in a stimulating dialogue.

The seminar’s main goal was to confront different approaches, either currently dominant or emerging theories, in the field of narrative studies and social memory. Among the main topics discussed were the (re)construction or dissolution of ethnic, national and post-colonial identities, migration, colonialism, justice, prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, environmental and gender issues.

All chapters provided evidence of the importance of the dialogic understanding between research practices and the necessity of intercultural encounters in the social and human sciences. However, at the same time, they revealed how those practices continue to be challenging.

The chapters address various media of transmission as well as the role of the different kinds of narratives (e.g., audiovisual narratives, digital narratives, autobiographical accounts, journalistic reports, oral speeches, etc.) in shaping social identities and social representations. In addition, throughout the chapters, we can observe a shift of the Eurocentric paradigm in which academic

knowledge is constructed. This suggests that narrative and memory studies constitute central areas whereby it is possible to create new paradigms of intercultural dialogue, and give voice to groups that were silenced in conventional mainstream scientific production. Furthermore, they constitute important tools for reframing the relationship between academic research and society.

Data triangulation is assumed as an important instrument to the development of investigations. In order to structure a critical thinking corpus, many authors have leaned towards multi-method approaches. This is transversal to many papers within this edition, as well as interdisciplinary research. As can be seen throughout this volume, the dialogue established between many areas of knowledge has contributed to the emergence of fresh perspectives and original results.

This edition presents both consolidated and emerging perspectives in narrative and social memory fields and aims at fostering a critical dialogue beyond boundaries set by disciplines, and by geographical and social locations.

It is organized in five sections. The first offers cutting-edge conceptual and methodological approaches to the study of narratives and social memory in the scope of psychological sciences through dialogues with history, cultural anthropology, philosophy, and the political sciences. Those interdisciplinary contributions provide a more comprehensive understanding of the antecedents and consequences of the social representations of history, underlining their impacts on our daily lives and on international relationships. This section is composed of five chapters addressing different geographical and cultural contexts of research, focusing either on worldwide or cross-cultural context (chapter 1) or data from specific national contexts (Hungary, Chile and Portugal, respectively chapters 3, 4 and 5). Special attention is given to cognitive (chapters 1 and 2), emotional (chapters 3, 4 and 5) dimensions of collective remembering. The chapters cover a wide range of methodological approaches, from in-depth interviews, intensive fieldwork research, content analyses of newspapers and other archival data, and extensive surveys.

The following section encompasses four chapters that approach different forms of mediation, such as (new) journalism and blogging. All texts deal with narrative structures in the media although their focuses are very diverse. The main discipline represented in this section is communication sciences and the geographical framework of all chapters is related to the Portuguese-speaking countries. We can see in this section the shift in communication sciences towards a broader understanding of mediation through analytical perspectives of journalistic coverage (chapters 6, 7 and 9) and through virtual media environment investigation (chapter 8).

Composed of five chapters, the third part focuses on the interplay between audiovisual narratives and cultural memory. All chapters discuss the importance of images, and particularly audiovisual media, on the constitution of our every day representation of the world. Despite their common overall theme, they take different approaches, focusing on fictional films made in Portugal (chapters 10 and 12), an autobiographical documentary (chapter 11), Brazilian end-of-year review television programs (chapter 14) and the historical evolution of audiovisual media productions in Portugal (chapter 13). And they are based on different disciplines: Cultural Studies, Communication Sciences and Geography. In this section most chapters (10, 11, 12 and 13) explore the relationship between the film production and the political and ideological context.

The fourth part brings together four extremely different chapters that are mainly concerned with identity issues from regional, ethnic, national and postnational perspectives. All chapters

include important questions related to the sense of belonging and the formation of collective identities. These chapters address relevant questions regarding the dynamics of auto and hetero-representations, which are examined in the light of Sociology, Literary Studies, Ethnographic investigation, Anthropology and History. The main issues tackled are related to the memory and politics of the construction of a European identity (chapter 15), the creation and spread of a Brazilian regional identity through Literature (chapter 16), the auto-perception of the Russian identity in an immigration context (chapter 17), and the historical process that indigenous identity(ies) entailed in the North American Southwest (chapter 18).

Finally, the last part of this e-book deals with the complex and dynamic interplay between memory, identity and collective action. Several issues are approached taking into account the asymmetrical power relations among different social groups. Once again, the “traditional” narratives of historical events and social representations are contested through interdisciplinary approaches, which propose multi-method analysis of specific matters. On the one hand, these chapters deal with the search for the reconstitution of stories of Portuguese social movements, on the other hand, they explore different forms of narration and representation of marginalized social identities within Portuguese prisons. The themes are as diverse as environmental social movements (chapter 19), the identity of inmates (chapters 20 and 21), and feminine social movements (chapters 22 and 23). Three chapters within this section draw special attention to gender issues (chapters 20, 22 and 23), conducting focus groups, oral history practices, bibliographic and archival research, and the creation of fictional narratives.

This edition was conceived upon the idea that there are many valid approaches to tackle identity narratives, memory, and related issues. Consequently, it embraces and articulates several specific themes, in a web of disciplines and approaches. We believe these different analytical and critical perspectives complement each other and help enlightening the specificities of narrative and memory studies.

The seminar and this edition were only possible due to a committed collective effort. The seminar was organized by the Communication and Society Research Centre, under the scope of the research project “Identity Narratives and Social Memory: the (re)making of lusophony in intercultural contexts” (PTDC/CCI-COM/105100/2008). This project is conducted by a multidisciplinary and international team, joining together different research units. Based at the Communication and Society Research Centre (CSRC, University of Minho, Portugal), it was developed in partnership with the Network Center of Anthropology Research (CRIA, Portugal), the Research Unit in Political Science and International Relations (NICPRI, Portugal) and the Center of African Studies (CEA, Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique).

We are grateful to the Communication and Society Research Centre, the program Compete of FEDER, and the Science and Technology Foundation (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia) for their support.

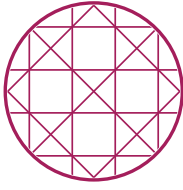
The seminar and this volume also counted with the contribution of several researchers from the COST Action IS1205 “Social psychological dynamics of historical representations in the enlarged Europe”.

We would like to thank all the researchers, who came from different world regions, for the very fruitful discussions. They were made possible because of the excellent quality of the different presentations and pertinent contributions. For us, it was a tremendous but rewarding challenge to organize the international seminar and to assemble this volume. We are grateful to all those who have been involved in the organisation of the event: our colleagues of the Organizing Committee, the members of the Scientific Committee, the university staff and volunteer students. All chapters were submitted to peer review. We are also grateful to all who submitted their papers and to the ad hoc reviewers. We are especially thankful to our contributors for their stimulating participation and for their commitment in the writing process of this volume.



Part I

**Cognitive and Emotional Processes
in Collective Remembering**



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Narratives and Social Memory from the Perspective of Social Representations of History

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Abstract

Social representations theory strives to build the connective tissue between the methodologically individualist natural science epistemology of cognitive science and neuropsychology with the inter-subjective and/or social constructionist epistemology of the social sciences and humanities. This chapter describes how the study of social representations of history (SRH) has used quantitative methods to provide empirical building blocks that I) assist in the process of cumulative hermeneutic interpretation, and II) operationalize social representations in new and sophisticated ways as a symbolic interface between individuals and groups. I) SRHs can be treated as narrative where a sequence of events provides the plot, and figures and groups provide heroes and villains central to a story about the making of an ingroup. Different spatial configurations of representations of the prevalence of events and figures in world history from different countries provide different *narrative inference potentials* (i.e., ability to generate conjectures about group-based narratives). They can be treated as points of dialogue rather than descriptive facts, employed in the full awareness that their meaning changes with context, but nonetheless signify some inter-subjective consensus worth talking through. II) Alternatively, along more quantitative lines of inquiry, Latent Class Analysis is described as a technique that can 1) describe the numerical prevalence of a given representation, while 2) mapping alternatives and positioning an individual precisely vis-à-vis these alternatives without relying on pre-existing social categories that can then 3) be mapped onto other systems, including institutional, relational, occupational, or demographic systems. The analysis of figures in SRH is described using data from around the world.

Keywords

Social representations; world history; collective remembering; narrative; social memory

Michael Bamberg (2007) argues in his introduction to *Narrative – State of the Art* that two methodological and theoretical strands are responsible for the popularity of narrative in the social sciences and humanities: “the former, which I would like to call the ‘*person*’ or ‘*subjectivity-centered*’ approach to narrative, is interested in the exploration of narratives as personal ways to impose order on an otherwise chaotic scenario of life and experience” (p. 2); “a second view of narrative started with the assumption that narratives are pre-existing meaningful templates that carry social, cultural, and communal currency for the process of identity formation. This orientation, which I call a *social* or *plot orientation*, centers more

strongly on the communal ordering principles that seem to be handed down from generation to generation in the form of communally-shared plot lines, making their way into the lives of ordinary people and their stories of personal experience” (Bamberg, 2007, p. 3). It is this second strand that I would like to draw into a conversation with social representations theory (SRT) and social representations of history (SRH). For it is the complex relationship between individuals, their communities, and society that SRT is designed to address, and I would like to consider how narratives and social memory may be part of this relationship.

The dominant literature on narratives is both interdisciplinary and, according to Josselson (2007), qualitative: “narrative research, rooted in interpretive hermeneutics and phenomenology, strives to preserve the complexity of what it means to be human and to locate its observations of people and phenomena in society, history, and time”...“the practice of narrative research, rooted in postmodernism, is always interpretive, at every stage” (p. 7). She struggles, however, with the problem of how to “add up” narrative studies and their accompanying interpretations, putting together a “joint multilayered jigsaw puzzle” rather than “a gallery of finely wrought miniatures.” The “question that occupies me, though, is how do we build a knowledge base out of these proliferating [narrative] studies?” (p. 8).

In fact, the third chapter of the volume opened by Bamberg and Josselson is written by Dan McAdams (2007), a personality psychologist who is comfortable with both quantitative techniques and their interpretation as well as more qualitative methods. He has developed a significant cumulative body of research (McAdams, 2006) examining the structure of individual stories and their relationship to a grander narrative of redemption that serves as a “plot orientation” for American culture in Bamberg’s (2007) terms.

It is at this juncture between the individual and society, between the quantitative and the qualitative, between the life-worlds experienced by ordinary people and scientific micro-worlds constructed by social scientists that social representations reside (Moscovici, 1961). Social representations theorists strive to build the connective tissue between the natural science epistemology of psychological science and the inter-subjective epistemology of narrative research (see Ho, Peng, Lai, Chan, 2001). In Doise, Spini, & Clémence’s (1999) terms, “SR can be considered as organizing principles of symbolic relationships between individuals and groups” (p. 2) consisting of three basic principles: first, that “various members of a population share common views about a given issue” and therefore “An important phase in each study of SR therefore is a search for a common cognitive organization of the issues at stake in a given system of social relations.” Second “differences in individual positioning are organized... we search for the organizing principles of individual differences in a representational field.” Third, “such systematic variations are anchored in collective symbolic realities... Individual positionings in representational fields cannot be exhaustively studied without analyzing their anchoring in other social systems of symbolic relationships” (p. 2).

The purpose of this chapter is to narrate how I have studied social representations of history (SRH) using quantitative methods to provide empirical building blocks that function to 1) assist in the process of cumulative hermeneutic interpretation and 2) operationalize social representation in new and sophisticated ways as a symbolic interface between individuals, their groups, and society.

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORY (SRH) AS NARRATIVE PHENOMENA?

A burgeoning literature on social representations of history has emerged in recent years (see Liu & Sibley, 2012b; Hilton & Liu, 2008 for reviews). A seminal publication was Pennebaker, Paez, and Rimé's (1997) edited volume on the *Collective Memory of Political Events*. At this stage, there was not yet a literature on social representations of history *per se*, but rather the book signaled the emergence of a psychological perspective on history (which, as Liu and colleagues (2005, 2009) have remarked, in world history is popularly represented as a story about politics and war). The term collective remembering is derived from an older literature in sociology following Halbwachs (1950/1980). This literature, reviewed by Olick and Robbins (1998) is qualitative, and in accord with sociological traditions, emphasizes institutional forces in the production of social memory. The collective remembering of smaller, perhaps dissident groups in society is investigated side-by-side with officially promulgated discourses using primarily archival resources (see Schwartz, 1997 for example). Recently, Paez and Liu (2011) have attempted a practical synthesis of the two literatures, one more qualitative and the other more quantitative, in the applied domain of conflict resolution. Despite a gulf with respect to methodology, academic pedigree, and the conceptual terms used to express ideas, the core theoretical positions adopted by scholars in SRH and collective remembering/social memory are generally compatible. But they are investigated in different ways and put their emphasis on different features.

Liu and Hilton (2005) have argued that "A group's representation of its history will condition its sense of what it was, is, can and should be, and is thus central to the construction of its identity, norms, and values" (p. 537). This is very compatible with Schwartz's (1997) ideas about the changing ways Abraham Lincoln has been "keyed" into the American psyche over the years (people forget he was one of the most unpopular and controversial Presidents in American history in his own lifetime). Everyone agrees that historical narratives involve stability amidst change. The strands of historical narrative keep changing in psychologically predictable ways even as they maintain connections between the past, present, and future within a community of people.

One way this is achieved is through reinterpretation of the same events and people. History typically involves events and characters enmeshed in a temporal sequence where a plot unfolds over time, giving rise to certain themes. Unlike say, human rights, SRHs easily take the form of a narrative (Liu & László, 2007). Events provide the plot, and figures supply heroes and villains central to a story about the making of an ingroup. Historical events have been investigated by Wertsch (2002) as providing a narrative template for the Russian people and by László (2008) as providing historical plotlines for the Hungarian people. These carry lessons that can be invoked by identity entrepreneurs (Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005) to justify political action and an agenda for the future (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Liu & Hilton, 2005). László (2008) has been most forceful in calling for a narrative turn in the study of historical representations, particularly through examining agency in historical textbooks or other writing via scientific textual analysis. Following this lead, Liu and Sibley (2012a) write that "History can be regarded representationally as a narrative, with events signalling a plot

unfolding over time, characters symbolizing group values in action, and themes recurring that can enable group agendas for the future.”

From the perspective of a more qualitative and critical psychology, Schiff (2007) has theorized that “an ideological commitment to the priority of intention and meaning in human lives and interactions is fundamental to the definition of narrative psychology.” (p. 29). He reasons that “Narrative psychology must take a critical stance toward mainstream methods of study and the production of scientific knowledge. However, I am convinced that we must argue that narrative is scientific” (p. 31). Schiff (2007), as Josselson (2007) before him in the same volume, is not concrete about how narrative is to be scientific, but he does offer a tantalizing glimpse of connection between empiricism and hermeneutics that we will draw upon in this chapter as a unifying theme: “Quantitative methods can only describe co-occurrence. We might have a notion that a person is thinking about something and know that they also think other things (i.e., they are correlated)... Using quantitative data, it is just speculation to say that we know how these thoughts fit in a person’s life or why they think the way that they do. In order to observe this, as science mandates, you would have to talk to a person and let them make the connections for you” (p. 35).

It appears that it is disciplinary lines, marked by methodological and epistemological issues are what separate SRH from the literature originating in sociology on collective remembering and social memory, and Schiff (2007) and Josselson’s (2007) critical approach to narrative psychology. Therefore it would be useful to comment on some of the strengths and limitations of using quantitative data to investigate narrative phenomena. This is illustrated by research on social representations of world history. As Schiff (2007) argues, quantitative data is good at detecting relationships between variables, but it has difficulty articulating how a particular relationship between two variables plays a role in the life-world of a person, thus giving rise to accounts of agency and the potential for social and personal change. In other words, the mechanical worldview of mainstream psychology, dominated by relationships between variables, is not necessarily *meaningful* to an individual or a cultural group seeking narrative agency over outcomes in their lives. I would like to propose that what Liu and Sibley (2012a) have described as “ordinal representations” of history may be considered as empirical building blocks that offer both foundations and constraint for the work of inter-subjective interpretation. They might be used as a link between empiricist and hermeneutic lines of scholarship.

USING ORDINAL (NAMING PREVALENCE) REPRESENTATIONS AS A TOOL FOR NARRATIVE INQUIRY

My work in SRH began with a method of open-ended nominations asking participants for answers to two questions: 1) What are the most important events in [world/national] history, and 2) Which figures have had the most impact on [world/national] history, good or bad? Around the world, in studies spanning 24 societies (e.g., Liu *et al.*, 2005, 2009), the answers that come back are typically simple one or two word answers that are easy to code into discrete categories that are tallied and presented in tables listing in rank order the 10 most frequently nominated events and figures for a given sample (see Table 1 for example).

Such ordinal representations are highly descriptive, but also amenable to detailed analysis for such quantifiable characteristics as thematic content, region of origin, time, etc. They have been widely disseminated in publications in cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Liu *et al.*, 2005, 2009), international psychology (e.g., Liu, 1999; Cabecinhas, Liu, Licata, Klein, Mendes, Feijó & Niyubahwe, 2011), and Asian (e.g., Liu, Lawrence, Ward, & Abraham, 2002; Huang, Liu, & Chang, 2004; Liu & Gastardo-Conaco, 2011), and European social psychology (Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins, 1999). They offer generalizations about a population from which inferences can be drawn with regard to narrative phenomenology. Liu *et al.* (1999) for example, reported that New Zealanders, university aged and older, of both European and Maori origins (4 tables were provided), typically nominated events in the nation's history that could be characterized as bicultural (involving the nation's two founding peoples) or liberal (concerning the rise of European modes of civilization in NZ). As scientists, Liu *et al.* (1999) conjectured that these events could be easily configured as either a bicultural narrative (with interactions between Maori and Europeans forming the basis for the nation's current social contract) or as a liberal narrative (with the rise of European modes of civilization being viewed as the inevitable or best of all worlds).

In the publications referenced above, relatively little has been theorized about the narrative phenomenology of ordinal representations; in accord with epistemological and methodological conventions prevailing in psychology, the data have been presented more as descriptive facts than as suggestive evidence for underlying processes of social construction (see White, 1981 for example). Here, we highlight some of the narrative processes involved in the generation of ordinal representations and their subsequent interpretation.

Table 1 represents data extracted from previously published data from Liu *et al.* (2009) in the most important events and figures in world history, presented in a new context. Liu and Sibley (2012a) note that "The key features of this ordinal representation are 1) it establishes nominal prevalence: the names of important historical figures [or events] are prominent, because the extent of people nominating them is displayed both numerically (in terms of percentages) and ordinally.... 2) It is contextual: the names of the figures [and events] nominated by different societies are in close visual proximity with one another, inviting comparison and interpretation". The spatial configuration provided here highlights the narrative inference potential of the data by putting the ordinal representations of figures and events together. In the original paper, these data were presented as analytically separate, but here, the goal is to invite narrative inferences about the data.

China and India were chosen because they are the two most populous states in the world, and two rising non-Western powers that history has not been kind to over the past 200 years. Events are spatially represented at the top of Table 1 because in our view it is easier to grasp the plot of a narrative first and then see how the figures fit into the temporal structure of the plot. What is most salient to my eyes in Table 1 is that all of the events nominated are within the last two hundred or so years, possibly following the arc of a narrative from colonization to decolonization. I shall narrate these events as a sequence, rather than in the ordinal form of Table 1.

Rank	China (N=115)	Pct	Eval	India (N=100)	Pct	Eval
1	WW II	81%	2.0	WW II	61%	2.8
2	Foundation of PR China	48%	5.3	9-11 WTC	49%	3.1
3	WW I	40%	2.2	Indian Independence	42%	6.3
4	Industrial Revolution	36%	5.2	WW I	37%	2.8
5	Technological Development	33%	5.5	Cold War	20%	4.0
6	Fall of Communism	24%	3.2	India-Pakistan War	18%	3.7
7	Man on Moon	20%	5.5	both World Wars	15%	2.5
8	Colonization	20%	4.3	Partition India-Pakistan	15%	2.6
9	Sino-Japanese War	17%	4.2	Iraq War	14%	2.7
10	Atomic Bomb	16%	3.0	Asian Tsunami	14%	2.4
10=	Opium War	16%	2.2			

Rank	China (N=115)	Pct	Eval	India (N=100)	Pct	Eval
1	Mao	64%	4.7	Gandhi	75%	4.9
2	Hitler	58%	3.0	Hitler	61%	3.6
3	Einstein	42%	5.5	Osama bin Laden	25%	5.6
4	Marx	40%	4.7	Mother Teresa	22%	5.8
5	Deng Xiaoping	36%	5.6	Bhagat Singh	19%	6.2
6	Napoleon	28%	4.6	Shivaji Bhonsle	18%	5.8
7	Zhou Enlai	21%	5.8	Einstein	16%	5.8
8	Newton	16%	4.9	Subhas C. Bose	11%	6.8
9	Sun Yatsen	10%	5.3	Lincoln	16%	5.6
10	Confucius	10%	5.0	George Bush Jr	11%	2.0

Table 1. The most important events and figures in world history according to university students in China and India (adapted from Liu *et al.*, 2009; evaluations ranged from 1- extremely negative to 7- extremely positive)

The Chinese sequence begins with the Industrial Revolution in Europe, followed by the Opium War of 1839-1940 in which Great Britain used the technological might of its navy to promote its commercial interests and impose a humiliating defeat on China. Colonization is a more general phenomenon, but takes place in China throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, with the European powers and then Japan taking turns at cutting territorial concessions out of China. Following World War I, Japan becomes the main colonizer of China. Open warfare erupts in 1937 with the Sino-Japanese War that leads directly into World War II. WWII ends with the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After WWII comes the Foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. America puts a Man on the Moon in 1969, and the financial and technological edge of the West leads to the Fall of Soviet-led Communism in 1990. Technological Development occurs throughout the 20th and 21st centuries in China. This is a highly *interpretable* series of events, with the opening move being the Industrial Revolution in the West leading to the colonization of China. The technical climax of this narrative is victory in WWII and the Foundation of the PRC soon after. Technological development is a driving force of the entire plot, from colonization to decolonization.

The Indian events nominated do not follow a clear sequence as the Chinese events do. They begin temporally with WWI and II, moving to Indian Independence, the Partition

of India and Pakistan, and the Wars between India and Pakistan. This core sequence lacks an opening move (i.e., the colonization of India by Great Britain), but the technical climax, as in the Chinese sequence, is the foundation of the current state (by far the most highly evaluated event in both lists). The Indians also nominated the Cold War, 9-11, the Iraq War, and the Asian Tsunami, a set of events signaling diachronic salience rather than a synchronic and integrated story structure. The proximity of the Chinese ordinal representations gives the Indian representations the *feeling*, or an inter-subjective interpretation, of being less story-structured.

It is highly salient that in neither list is there even one event nominated from the glorious ancient histories of the two of the world's oldest civilizations. When examining historical figures, one in ten of the Chinese sample do nominate Confucius, and another 16% Newton (representative of science and technological development), but all the other nominations for both states are historical figures active in the last two centuries. The most prevalent nominations are for Mao and Gandhi, who are probably regarded as the figures most responsible for the foundation of their current respective states. They are accompanied by the most famous figure in social representations of history around the world, Adolf Hitler (Liu *et al.*, 2009). Most of the other figures nominated can be narrated around the technical climax of the founding of the contemporary state, and for the most part are associated with politics and war.

The choice of ordinal representations for two nations that share similar arcs of historical development facilitates interpretive moves centered around emphasizing coherence and similarity. But alternatively, Liu and Sibley (2012a) selected ordinal representations of figures from six highly diverse societies, making the extraction of meaning more difficult and obscuring the possibilities for generalization. This highlighted the open-endedness of the research enterprise, offering an answer to Josselson's (2007) query about "how to advance to the level of theory without reifying or losing the richness of the narrative data base?" (p. 8). Liu and Sibley (2012a) argued that such a "technique of cut and paste... is only possible after the accumulation of representational data from multiple sources, and can always be revisited by adding samples (including using within nation demographics as age or gender to undermine or delimit previous conclusions) and juxtaposing other representations to give new interpretive insight." The lack of ancient history and mythological elements so characteristic of broader narratives of Indian history (see for example Nehru, 1946; Sen & Wagner, 2005) is almost certainly a product of the narrow university sample used by Liu *et al.*, (2009). The Indian ordinal representation presented here begs for more qualitative orientation in terms of meaning and more quantitative contextualizing in terms of less educated samples.

The level of reification involved in Liu *et al.*'s (2009) conclusion from the representation of world history in 24 societies that world history was "a story about politics and war", centered around the event of World War II and the individual Hitler, focused on the near past resulting in Eurocentrism tempered by nationalism is probably unacceptable to qualitative theorists like Josselson and Schiff.

This certainly glosses over the mythological elements of Indian historical representations mentioned previously, and might not account for minority views within a given state.

Liu and Sibley's (2012a) comment that Liu *et al.* (2009) "were unable to specify the temporal structure of the plot or detail interactions between the figures within such a story: the inferential leaps required for such a construction fly too high over the data to provide much clarity, and need to be complemented by other, probably more qualitative methods" might be more acceptable to qualitative narrative theorists.

In the current example, a story structure can be inferred from the Chinese ordinal representations that is coherent and largely congruent with the PRC government's emphasis on pragmatic technological development (Coase & Wang, 2012). It may be thus actively produced by hegemonic institutions characteristic of a relatively authoritarian state (see Liu, Li, & Yue, 2010). From such a base, the analyst could examine the social forces responsible for the contrasting story structure or lack thereof in the Chinese and Indian samples reported by Liu *et al.* (2009). At a more micro-level, such ordinal representations could be used as conversational elements in interviews or focus groups analysing the impact of Chinese historical master narratives on the lives of individuals. The narratives inferred from them could be implicated in choices in people's lives like joining the armed forces or exhibiting a high level of patriotism in dealing with the disputed Senkaku or Diaoyutai Islands claimed by China and Japan (in such an enterprise, ordinal representations of world history from Japan, reported in Liu *et al.* (2005), that studiously avoid mention of Japan's colonizing actions in China and Korea could also be brought into the conversation). In such a research enterprise, the ordinal representations become points of dialogue rather than descriptive facts, employed in the full awareness that their meaning changes with context, but nonetheless signify some degree of inter-subjective consensus that is worth talking through to reveal the connection between the individual and the group (see Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007 for example).

BEYOND NARRATIVE INFERENCES AND TOWARDS AN EPIDEMIOLOGY OF REPRESENTATIONAL PROFILES

I have not in the main pursued the forms of qualitative inquiry suggested above, but I would like to see their potential addressed in the future. In recent years, I have rather been more involved in addressing questions central to cross-cultural and social psychology. One of the driving forces behind cross-cultural psychology is to ascertain whether any given pattern of thought, action, or emotion is universal versus culture-specific. To answer this question requires further quantification rather than further qualification of the ordinal data described previously. In recent years, my colleagues and I (Liu *et al.*, 2012, Hanke *et al.*, 2013) have developed the world history survey as a quantitative measure based on the ordinal data from Liu *et al.* (2005, 2009).

Any person or event making the list of the top ten events or figures in two or more of the 24 societies surveyed in published data on ordinal representations became an item for evaluation as to importance and valence. An inventory of 40 historical figures and 40 events was generated using this method, with some slight additions for theoretical purposes (e.g., Saladin was added because Islamic figures were under-represented in the inventory, Bill Gates was added as a symbol of recent technological advances, Global Warming was added

as a cautionary item about technological progress). Data was collected from university students in 30 to 40 societies using the World History Survey. The standard empirical techniques used to analyse these data are detailed in Liu *et al.* (2012) and described in less technical terms in Liu & Sibley (2012a). They need not concern us further here. What is worthy of consideration, however, is the statistical technique we turned to after failing to find evidence of substantial universality in ratings of either events (Liu *et al.*, 2012) or figures (Hanke *et al.*, 2013).

A cornerstone of social representations theory is that different communities may hold different, or perhaps even contested, social representations about the same topic (Moscovici, 1988; Doise *et al.*, 1993). This is especially likely when looking at cross-cultural data, but it is typical of points of view even within a single modern society. Homogeneity and fixity, as Moscovici (1961) has noted, are not typical of modern societies. A major question for the theory is thus the extent to which conventional statistical techniques such as factor analysis, which presumes a single continuous and normally distributed latent dimension underlying responses, are appropriate. Moscovici (1988) has argued for hegemonic (widely shared and agreed upon), polemical (opposing views in different communities), and emancipated (different views, but not in conflict with one another in different communities) representations; only hegemonic representations would obviously be fit for such statistics if not only the mean scores, but the structure of relationships between items differs across different populations. That is, polemical and emancipated representations might differ qualitatively in different populations, in which case it would be appropriate to use mixture modelling techniques, such as Latent Class Analysis (LCA).

Latent Class Analysis (LCA) is a method that can be used to build typologies of response profiles where the group structure emerges empirically. That is, LCA can determine, based purely on the data rather than a priori assumptions, the likely number of subgroups (or different representational profiles) hidden within the data. The subgroups inferred from the data then represent a categorical latent variable (that is a set of distinct categories or subgroups of people) that are hypothesized to produce the overall pattern observed in the data (see Hagenaars & McCutcheon, 2002). These unobserved subgroups would be hypothesized to underlie polemical or emancipated representations; they might be *associated* with a priori groupings like nationality, ethnicity or age, but they are *not* identical to these known subgroups. They are latent classes, unlike the a priori groupings of data described previously for India and China. Sibley and Liu (in press) describe representational profiles as “discretely measurable and divergent patterns of attitudes that are bound together within a system of meaning used by that set of people to make sense of and communicate within a particular social context”.

To illustrate, Hanke *et al.* (2013) used LCA of ratings of positive versus negative evaluation of key figures in world history selected from a subset of the historical figures described previously. As can be seen in Figure 1, the four profiles each identified a statistically different pattern of evaluations of the historical figures in a complex but meaningful manner. Hanke *et al.* (2013) found the two most prevalent profiles in Western cultures (composing 90% of the sample) were Secular and Religious Idealists, who both rated Hitler, Saddam, and

Osama bin Laden very low, and scientific and democratic leaders and humanitarians very high. Secular Idealists were less extreme in their rating than Religious Idealists, and also rated religious founding figures moderately rather than very positively. Latin American and PostCommunist societies from Eastern Europe had similar profiles, but these made up only 75% rather than 90% of the total sample.

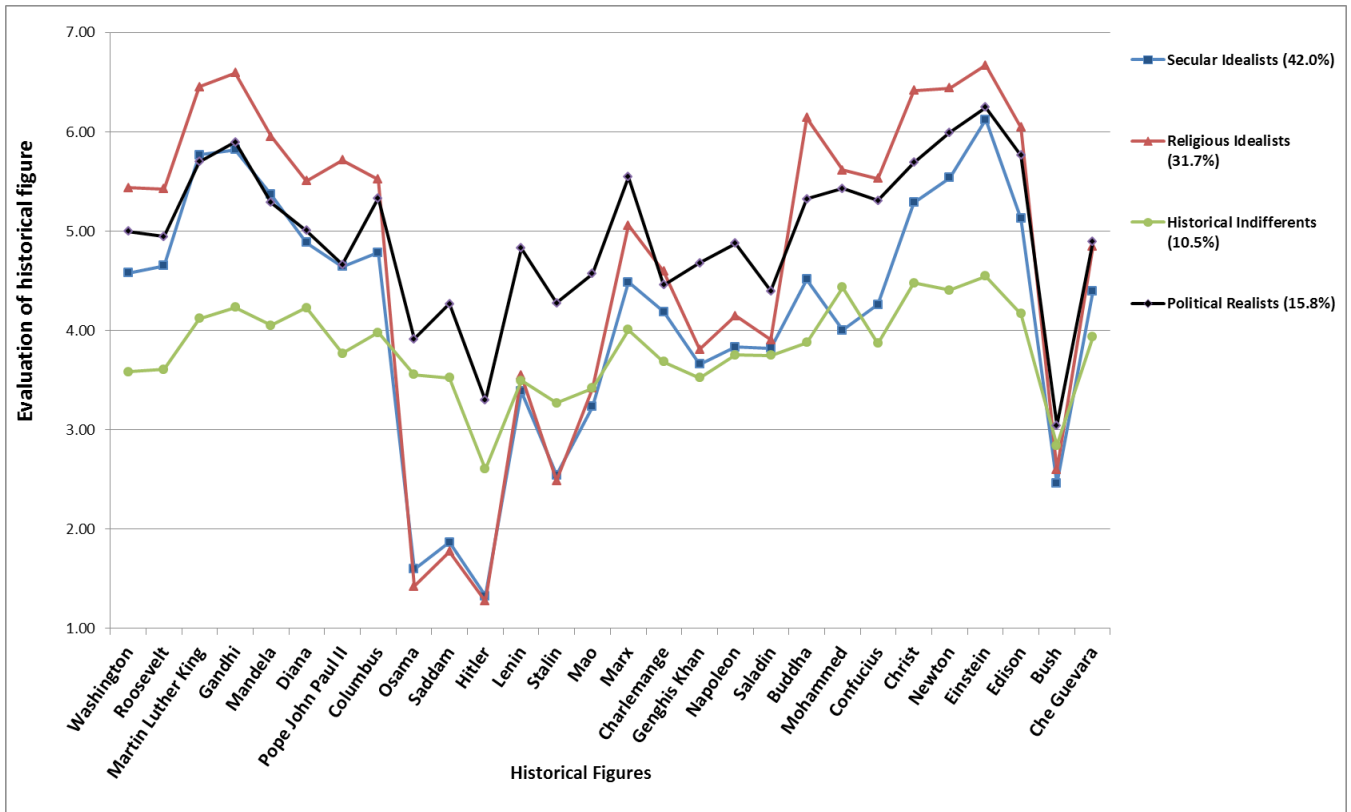


Figure 1. Estimated means for a four-profile Latent Class Analysis evaluation of historical figures (from Hanke *et al.*, 2013; evaluations ranged from 1-extremely negative to 7 extremely positive).

In Asian and Islamic societies, two other representational profiles were also common: Political Realists, and Historical Indifferents. Political Realists were not as harsh in rating dictators, generals and terrorists. They admired Communists like Marx and Lenin. But their ratings of the heroes of science, democracy, and human rights highly, just like the Idealists. Citizens in the developing world, where survival might be a regular concern (see Inglehart & Baker, 2000), are probably more likely see the world as a place where powerful and authoritarian figures are necessary in order to maintain societal security. The most typical profiles in Asian societies were Political Realists and Secular Idealists – and these may be compatible (or emancipated) representations. Islamic societies had many people classified as Historical Indifferents – that is, most of their ratings hovered around the midpoint, likely because few of the figures rated in the World History Survey came from the Muslim world.

Mapping the causes of the distribution of representational profiles in global society and tracking longitudinal changes in them is a vibrant topic for future research that Sibley and Liu (in press) describe as “an epidemiology of representations”. The representational profile approach using LCA has the potential to solve major problems that have troubled

empirical approaches to the study of social representations since the seminal work of Doise, Clémence, and Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993) identified three basic principles of SRs. LCA has the ability to 1) describe the extent of commonality or prevalence of a representation, while simultaneously 2) mapping alternatives and positioning an individual precisely vis-à-vis these alternatives while without relying on pre-existing social categories. The representational profiles that emerge from LCA can then 3) be mapped onto other systems, including institutional, relational, occupational, or demographic systems.

Furthermore, LCA is an eminently contextual tool, just as representational profiles are contextual concepts. For instance, if we were to do an LCA on Asian countries only or on China only, even given the same set of historical figures we would not anticipate the same or even similar representational profiles emerging. Each profile is part of a system of communication, and conceptually the profiles presented in Figure 1 are part of the context of global discourses about heroes and villains in world history. Different conversational contexts and systems of meaning are likely to be prevalent at the regional versus national or local levels.

Hence, understanding the situated meaning systems articulated in these profiles would be an important topic for narrative inquiry. First of all, it took considerable wrangling and discussion for our research team just to name the profiles. This is an eminently narrative task. Furthermore, the pattern of evaluations for each representational profile of historical figures is likely to be associated with different narratives, like those of social and economic development versus security, for example. Each profile could be unpackaged into more finely tuned discourses: for example, are historical indifferents truly indifferent about history, or is it just the selected figures they are indifferent about? Or is it the survey task they are indifferent towards? In what conversational settings and on what topics are the Secular and Religious Idealists polemical versus compatible with one another? One might imagine that during the American Presidential Election, for example, that Republicans might invoke heroes and villains in a manner consistent with the Religious Idealist representational profile, whereas Democrats might adopt positions consistent with a Secular Idealist profile. But after 9-11, both these classes were probably united against the common enemy of so-called “Islamic terrorism”. Is one group more likely than another to invoke historical arguments to justify current political behaviour? Finally, the combination of Political Realists and Secular Idealists were most prevalent in Asia – is this part of the reason for the region’s spectacular economic advancement in recent decades, the finely balanced debates between groups with different ways of looking at figures in world history, but each with important elements to add to a society’s success? And are there particular social settings where these configurations of ideas about historical figures are likely to be brought out? Are there particular story forms (including visual media) where these figures are likely to be invoked?

These are hopefully exciting questions for future research, pitched at a finer and more theoretically precise level than the narrative inferences described in the previous section for ordinal representations. The critical theoretical element of all this is of course, context, both in terms of external, ecological or environmental contexts, and inter-subjective, socially shared contexts like narrative formats or stories.

CONCLUSIONS

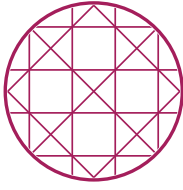
SRH have been a vibrant area of research in recent years, but their study has been restricted mainly to the methodology and epistemology of cross-cultural and social psychology. With the growing interest in narrative inquiry and social memory across the social sciences and humanities, there is no reason why more qualitative methods grounded in more social constructionist epistemologies could not make important and fresh new contributions to the area. SRs are squarely situated between the individual, their groups, and society, and thus epistemologically and theoretically have much in common with what is valued in narrative inquiry. The empirical building blocks assembled by SRT are just that, building blocks rather than finished, discrete products, and I for one would welcome qualitative researchers making use of them as tools for refining their narrative inquiries. It is my hope that this chapter goes some ways towards stimulating interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary conversations and collaborations in the future.

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The Lay Historian: How Ordinary People Think about History

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Abstract

Social psychology has mainly studied collective memory as a collectively shared content i.e., as a social representation. By contrast, cognitive psychology appraises memory with little interest in its content and at a generally individual level. In this chapter, I suggest a middle ground between these two approaches by presenting a new metaphor of how ordinary folks think about history: the “lay historian”. I consider how historians’ approaches to the past may find parallels in ordinary people’s construction of historical representations. In order to do so, I borrow from Paul Ricoeur’s (2000) distinction between three steps involved in historical research: documentary, explanatory and representational. I show that these steps can find parallels in cognitive analyses of memory: The first process can be approached in terms of source memory; the second in terms of causal attribution and the third in terms of social psychological models of communication. A special focus is placed on the interaction between these processes as they occur both in historical research and in the elaboration of historical memory. These parallels also highlight novel paths to future research. In turn, this metaphor may be used as a heuristic tool for comparing historians’ and ordinary people’s appraisals of the past.

Keywords

History; Collective Memory; Social Cognition; Hindsight Bias; Explanation; Narration

«We capture from the past only what, in it, has been necessary and sufficient to produce what, today, is reality» (Raymond Aron, 1969)¹

When we reflect on history – and when I say “we”, I refer to those of us who do not hold a degree in history – we do not just passively retrieve representations of the past that are stored in memory. Rather, we craft new ones, building on the store of knowledge accumulated during our existence. Thus, the historian does not hold a monopoly on thinking about the past. Her knowledge is actually germane to psychology if, like Marc Bloch (1947/1993), we view history as the «science of men of the past».

This is particularly blatant for a parent. Once, my then 6-year old daughter asked me “why did Hitler become mean?” Responding to this question demanded to recollect disparate bits of knowledge about the Führer’s existence. I could select different types

¹ Cited by Leduc (2010, p. 712), my translation.

of causes: psychological (his education? jealousy towards his Jewish peers?), sociological (anti-Semitism in Germany? reactions towards the Versailles treaty?), economical (the Great Depression?). I then had to elaborate a coherent narrative, which would be understandable for a child of this age.

More generally, we are all regularly faced with the task of explaining historical events or commenting the account provided by others. This role we then play, that of a “handyman” of the past, I will call the “Lay Historian”. To appraise the cognitive processes governing this figure, I will attempt to establish parallels with the “real”, academic, historian by delving into writings in the philosophy of history. I am well aware that my limited level of expertise in this field makes this enterprise perilous. Hence, this chapter should be understood as a preliminary attempt which, hopefully, will lead to novel and productive research ideas.

As we shall see, considering how people make sense of the past is a crucial issue that transcends academic curiosity. People use their understanding of the past to appraise the present and act on it. For example, how people understand the Holocaust (e.g., as a «singular event» or as an instance of the more general categories of «genocide») influences how they react to subsequent massacres (cf. Novick, 2001). The relevance of history to society is often justified in terms of drawing lessons from the past. Society, one is regularly told, needs to *learn from the past* to, hopefully, act in a more virtuous or efficacious way in the future. To appraise whether such learning is possible, we first need to know how people understand and make sense of the past: This demands to adopt a cognitive perspective as learning is inherently a cognitive process (Houghton, 1998). As a second step, we may be interested to consider whether and how these understandings are applied to the present.

Why rely on a metaphor? In psychology, a metaphor is useful if it allows to generate new research questions or to appraise old ones in a new light. Its function is not to describe but to elicit new hypotheses and consider problems from a novel perspective. Tetlock (2002) has developed three metaphors for how people think about the social world (the «intuitive theologian», the «intuitive politician» and the «intuitive prosecutor»). These metaphors refer to the *functions* fulfilled by such thought. For example, people may process information differently depending on whether they are accountable to others. Such processing may respond to the necessity to please «key constituencies», somewhat like a politician. Thus, understanding the functions fulfilled by judgment, we can better investigate the processes associated with it.

My purpose in selecting the «lay historian» as my metaphor of choice was somewhat different. I was guided by two motivations. First, I believe that this analogy allows us to integrate perspectives developed in a variety of subfields of psychology: consider e.g., research on autobiographical memory, on the perception of testimonies, on narration or on causal attribution. These fields have evolved relatively independently and have not specifically concerned themselves with history. Historical events are just one type of content on which general cognitive processes can operate.

Thus, how psychological processes conflate to generate lay accounts of history remains a largely unanswered question. The bulk of social psychological research on collective memory does not help much in this respect as it focuses mainly on the content of memory without considering the cognitive processes underlying the elaboration of such memory.

Second, the metaphor I suggest may also help us shed a different light on the “real” historian’s work. Being all too human, the latter may function in many ways like his more naive counterpart.

After this introduction, let us first define the historian’s activity. To do so, I will use the approach the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (2004) proposes. Based on de Certeau (1975), Ricoeur considers 3 main activities:

- *Archival*: Access to knowledge, some of which, that are considered relevant, will be selected for a later stage.
- *Explanatory*: The elaboration of causal reasoning about past events.
- *Representational*: The elaboration of a representation, often in the form of a narrative, adapted to the audience.

Ricoeur repeatedly mentions that these activities are not necessarily sequential but are intertwined in the historian’s activity. In this text, I will consider each of these stages sequentially but if, as we shall see, the mutual interdependence between these stages also characterizes the lay historian’s judgment on the past.

THE ARCHIVAL STAGE

The archival phase concerns access to sources and their selection. One of the specificities of history, as compared to memory, is that it is based on material documents as close to the (temporally) original event or phenomena as possible. Adopting a critical approach, the historian seeks to select and interpret documents as a function of their proximity to the original events.

In this respect, Paul Ricoeur accords a crucial role to the testimony of the direct witness and to his or her perception of the facts. As we all know, witnesses may be unreliable: They may lack information, they may fall prey to cognitive biases (e.g., faulty memory) or they may distort facts to suit their motivations and interests. To extract a truthful account of events, a good historian may need to be a good psychologist.

By contrast, the lay historian may generally be much lazier. When s/he tries to elaborate an explanation for a historical fact, s/he rarely builds upon firsthand sources. Before responding to my daughter, I did not consult the German Federal Archives to seek accurate information on Hitler’s life. I did not even seek a second hand source or a biography of Hitler. Rather, I relied on my own imperfect memory, which contained bits of third or even fourth-hand information, amassed in the course of my secondary education, or via books, films, etc.

It appears from this example that for the lay historian, and not only for me, memory can be compared to an archive. This archive includes a vast amount of information that can be retrieved before being submitted to the filtering process that will lead to an explanation of the past.

However, memory is not only a content. It is also a process. When I select memories or representations in memory, I can also appraise them with a critical eye. I can for example

evaluate whether they reflect “reality” or rather are the product of my imagination, a fantasy or a fabrication. For example, if I ask you to account for the 9/11 terrorist bombings, you may retrieve the conspiracy theory that these attacks were implemented by the Bush government to justify the invasion of Iraq. However, you may still discard such a representation as delirious. Thus, we are capable of behaving like critics of our own memory.

This form of «self-criticism» has been the focus of a vast amount of research. Regularly, people are faced with the task of determining whether a stored representation should be attributed to a real experience or not. A stored representation may have been just a product of one’s imagination or suggested by others. Think of childhood memories of sexual abuse for example. When an adult remembers instances of such abuse dozen of years after the facts, does such a recollection reflect an actual experience or could it be a reconstruction as a result of later experiences, such as a psychotherapy (for a discussion, see McNally & Geeraerts, 2009)?

According to the *source monitoring* framework (Johnson, Hashtroudi, & Lindsay, 1993), memories can be distinguished as a function of their source. Thus, experienced memories tend to be more vivid, more detailed and contain more contextual and emotional features. Johnson’s model, which is the reference in this field, considers that two types of processes are involved in source monitoring.

- First, what she calls heuristic processes, cognitive shortcuts based on directly accessible cues. For example, familiarity with a visual representation may be used to access whether this representation depicts an actually experienced event.
- Second, a systematic, process can be triggered. It involves assessing the reliability of the memory based on its content. For example, its internal consistency can be used to estimate its truthfulness.

But it does not always work. For example, work on “implanted memories” (Loftus, 1997) involves instigating in the subjects the belief that they actually experienced a fictional event. In a study by Wade, Garry, Read, and Lindsay (2002), participants viewed childhood photographs, one of which had been modified via an image editing software: The participant viewed him or herself with his parents in the nacelle of a hot air balloon. Actually, this was a fictional image: The subjects’ figure had been cut and pasted on the photograph of the balloon. During two weeks, participants saw the pictures three times. At the end of this period, 50 % “remembered” this balloon trip and described their experience. Source monitoring is clearly deficient here.

This approach shows that people can be poor judges of their autobiographical memory.

This type of work is however limited to the opposition between lived and imagined experiences. When trying to evaluate how people appraise historical events, the distinction between “experienced” and “imagined” events becomes less relevant. Indeed, in the course of their life, people rarely witness historical events directly. But they can witness them indirectly e.g., via the media or through second hand account. For example, many people witnessed 9/11 by watching television. A third category of events involves those that

were experienced outside of the person's life. In this respect, a stimulating research question concerns whether these three types of memories are phenomenologically distinct. For example, they may differ in terms of vividness, level of detail, visual imagery or emotional intensity. Preliminary work on this issue has been implemented by William Hirst and his colleagues (cf. Hirst & Manier, 2002; Manier & Hirst, 2008). I shall consider two examples of research addressing this issue.

The first one (Johnson, Bush, & Mitchell, 1998) bears on testimonies. When hearing a testimony, how do we determine whether this testimony reflects a real or an imagined experience? To answer this question, Johnson *et al.* crafted fictional testimonies that they manipulated on several dimensions. Subjects were then asked to evaluate the credibility of the testimony. The researchers found that a testimony including many details or emotional aspects was perceived as more likely to reflect an actual experience than a testimony devoid of these aspects. However, in a second study, they found that this depended on the source's credibility. When a source is perceived as unreliable, including these elements reduced the perceived truthfulness of the testimony. This suggests that depending on whether the source is reliable or not, people either adopt a heuristic (*e.g.*, «there are many emotions, it must be true») or a more systematic («the details were added to convey an appearance of credibility») strategy. This distinction proves particularly worthwhile when considering historical criticism: Depending on whether the lay historian adopts a critical posture or not, different cognitive processes seem to come into play and lead to divergent interpretations of the same features of the testimony.

A second example concerns the influence of photographs. A great part of historical memory is conveyed through photos or images. These can actually be a very efficient vehicle of false memories because they often appear “truer” than language. Our lay historian may therefore behave less critically towards photos than towards texts. As if photos could not be falsified. Thus, a study conducted in the US (Kelly & Nace, 1994) revealed that articles, but not photos, published in the *New York Times* are perceived as more credible than those of a tabloid newspaper (*The National Enquirer*). Yet, the inclusion of a photograph transforms our memory of the adjoining text. Garry *et al.* (2005) asked their subjects to adopt the role of a newspaper editor. They were asked to read a variety of articles describing a hurricane that hit a coastal town. In one study, a photo describing the town *before* the hurricane was included. In another, a picture of the town *after* the passage of the hurricane was included. To induce participants to pay attention to the photos, they were asked to select the location where they would place the photograph inside the article. A few weeks later, they were administered a memory test: They were presented a list of statements and asked whether they were part of the original text or not. Participants in the “after” condition remembered having seen excerpts describing injuries experienced by the town's inhabitants although the story only referred to material damages. But, of course, this hurricane never took place.

But what happens when people have actually *indirectly* experienced the events (in Hirst's sense) that are depicted in the photograph? This is the question Sacchi, Agnoli and Loftus (2007) addressed: These authors doctored photographs of widely known historical events that happened during the participants' life. Exposition to these photos changed their

memory for the events. For example, adding spectators to the famous picture of the lone Chinese student facing the tank on Tien Anmen square led participants to «remember» that the number of «rebels» was higher (compared to a control condition in which the real photograph was shown).

This is important because photos, and by extension videos, are one of the chief ways through which we can access the past. They contribute to defining our view of this bygone world. It is therefore particularly stimulating to focus on the different memory process that are triggered depending on whether representations of the past come to us through verbal or visual channels.

Another important aspect of the lay historian's appraisal of the past resides in the updating of his or her knowledge about the past. We are regularly confronted with new information about known events that are stored in memory. For example, the existence of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq in early 2000 proved false. How does our «lay historians» deal with this necessity to update his or her knowledge? Research by Lewandowsky, Stritzke, Oberauer, and Morales (2005) suggests that they often do not. In this study, Americans' exposure to information showing that there was actually no WMD in a specific location in Iraq did not affect their belief in the presence of WMD there although the original information came from the source that had previously attested their presence. However, and once, again, skepticism may be an antidote to such a failure to correct misinformation. Indeed, in the same study, German subjects, who were generally more skeptical of the existence of WMDs in Iraq, did correct their initial beliefs when presented with the new information.

In summary, we see that the source monitoring framework, as well as work on knowledge updating, may be thought of as cognitive analogy to the form of historical criticism implemented by a «professional» historian. Considering how these processes affect the perception of historical events, especially «indirectly experienced» and «not experienced» ones, that have been little studied in memory research, may prove particularly fruitful.

THE EXPLANATORY PHASE

The second stage in Ricoeur's analysis is the explanatory phase. Once events are selected, how shall we elaborate an explanation? To address this issue, I will consider several more specific questions.

WHAT DESERVES AN EXPLANATION?

A primary question concerns the object of explanation. Some events may not demand an explanation. But why do we choose to explain some and not others? From the perspective of a historian, a historical event will be accorded special attention if it has affected a future course of events². Adopting this criterion, one approach to this problem involves identifying the events that are considered most important by our lay historians. In this respect, Liu *et al.* (2005, 2009) have made an inventory of the most important historical

² See, however, Leduc (2010) for debates on this issue.

events in world history as they are perceived from the vantage points of a variety of cultures. Their analyses show a recency effect: The most frequently mentioned events, such as World War II, are with few exceptions relatively frequent (i.e., 100 years old or less). These are generally negative events. One possible explanation for this finding is that the consequences of these proximal events on the present are much easier to identify than those of more ancient events.

Another explanation may be that earlier events are considered as «taken for granted» context for later ones. Thus, experiments have shown that, when presented with a series of population statistics taken at different times (e.g., the number of Norwegian immigrants to the US in 1880 and 1890), people do not seek to explain the first data point but rather those that occur later and deviate from it (Teigen, 2004). Deviations from these earlier events are what needs to be explained even if the «outlier» is actually the first data in the series.

In a similar vein, Hegarty and Brückmüller (in press) have reviewed studies considering how people explain differences between social groups. They found that, in doing so, they tended to focus on properties of the lower status group as if the high status group represented an established norm. This form of explanation tends to reinforce the view that the lower status group is «deviant» or «powerless» compared to the high status group (cf. Brückmüller & Abele, 2012). Similarly, in their accounts of historical events, lay, but also professional, historians may tend to be influenced by implicit beliefs about what constitutes the «norm». This has been a central debate in «minority histories» of Western History, which have sought to deviate from traditional accounts of the past told from a «white male» perspective. Brückmüller's work even highlights the importance of how historians may frame questions (i.e., before explanation comes in). Often questions presume an implicit norm: For example, asking why women have been more likely to be homemakers than men suggests that men's activities (not being homemakers) is the norm and that there is something special about women that makes them likely to become homemakers. Brückmüller and Abele (2012) have shown that such linguistic framing tends to implicitly encourage perceptions of status differences between men and women (see also, Brückmüller *et al.*, 2012).

Besides consequentiality, another factor that may lead people to seek to explain an event is their unexpectedness. Thus people may seek to explain an event to the extent that it does not follow the «normal» course of history (cf. Hilton & Slugoski, 1986).

However, research on causal attribution (e.g., Bohnet, Bless, Schwarz, & Strack, 1988) suggests that this factor may be confounded with unpleasantness (i.e., unpleasant events being more rare). People are more likely to explain negative than positive events. Bohnet *et al.* suggest that this may be due to the impact of negative mood on cognitive processing: people may be more likely to engage in systematic, more thorough, processing when the unpleasantness of the events puts them in a negative mood. It is unclear, however, whether this type of account holds for historical events that may bear little self-relevance (contrary to the manipulation used by Bohnet *et al.*, which involves feedback on an intelligence test).

TIME AND CHRONOLOGY

How can we explain? To tackle this question, it is useful to consider the most basic level of explanation: chronology. How does the lay historian “time” events? Based on the work by Kryztof Romian (1984), Ricoeur identifies several types of time:

- *Chronometrical* time refers to simply cyclical time periods (such as days, months year).
- *Chronological* time orders events as a function of specific dates. It divides time in subdivided eras that can be marked on a calendar.
- *Chronographical* time involves considering events, not with respect to an objective calendar, but in relation to each other. For example «this happened before my wedding».
- Finally, *chronosophical* time, that is, time imbued with a meaning (such as progress or decline)

Ricoeur suggests, that in spite of their aspiration at scientific objectivity (which should lead them to focus on chronology), historians cannot totally forego a chronosophical approach. Thus, historians’ political aspirations may lead them to envision the past as the prelude to a brighter period or as explaining a «decline».

From a «chronographical», perspective, it is legitimate to wonder whether the way an individual appraises history is associated with his or her own experience of the evolution of his life. Perceptions of history may be inherently linked with the direction taken by the individual’s existence. For example, people who have experienced a personal reversal of fortune (in the negative direction) may be most nostalgic about the historical events that occurred in their earlier, more joyful, life and embellish them.

It is also legitimate to reflect on the time categories people routinely use to appraise history and how such a categorization affects perceptions of continuity. In a study by Krueger and Clement (1994), people were asked to estimate the average temperature on given days of several months. They estimated between-days differences as higher if the days overlapped two consecutive months. The difference in average temperatures between March 31 and April 1st is perceived as larger than the difference between April 1st and April 2nd. Do we have the same tendency when perceiving larger historical periods? The tendency to divide time in “eras” and “periods”, or “centuries” may, in the very same way, elicit a tendency to exaggerate the differences between successive periods while viewing these periods as homogeneous. For example, people may have a stereotypical view of the «Middle Ages» as a unitary period whereas specialists on this period highlight the important transitions that took place during these centuries.

EXPLANATION

Beyond chronology, we can consider explanation *per se*. Thus, social psychology has attempted to study how people explain others’ behaviours, or “causal attribution” (for reviews, see: Gilbert, 1998, Hewstone, 1989). Indeed, explaining individual or collective behaviour is

often one of the purposes of historical research. When considering the social psychological literature on causal attribution, it appears that the most prevalent model, Kelley's ANOVA model (Kelley, 1973), relies on an inductive, statistical, approach.

Such an approach seeks to explain when people adopt an "internal" (i.e., act-oriented) vs. an external (e.g., situational) explanation for an interpersonal behavior (e.g., John laughs when watching the comedian). To identify the cause of this behavior (e.g., John's sense of humour, the comedian's skills or the good weather), people have to engage in what resembles a statistical analysis. For example, they may try to determine whether John laughs often, whether other people laugh as well when viewing this movie, etc. This is akin to the form of causality typically sought in experimental sciences trying to explain large categories of events (e.g., «Flu X is caused by Virus Y», «High interest rates provoke inflation»).

However, this *nomological* approach may be inappropriate to appraise singular events, which, by definition, do not lend themselves well to statistics (Hilton, 2005). To explain such events, one needs to adopt a more mechanistic approach to causality: Rather than describing statistically plausible causes, one needs to describe a plausible sequence of events. As the legal scholars Hart and Honoré (1959) have suggested:

"The lawyer and the historian are both primarily concerned to make causal statements about *particulars*, to establish on some particular occasion some particular occurrence was the effect or consequence of some other particular occurrence. The causal statements characteristic of these disciplines are of the form 'this man's death was caused by this blow'. Their characteristic concern with causation is not to discover connexions between types of events, and so not to *formulate* laws or generalizations, but is often to *apply* generalizations, which are already known or accepted, as true and even platitudinous, to particular cases" (pp. 9-10).

In which respects does this perspective differ from the nomological approach? One of its crucial features resides in the role of counterfactuals, i.e. what could have been but did not happen (Hilton, 2005). For example, what would have happened to the French Revolution if Louis XVI had not been recognized by a postmaster as he fled from his kingdom in 1791? If one postulates a causal mechanism based on a prior antecedent, it necessarily implies that in the absence of this antecedent, the focal event would not have taken place. It is therefore legitimate to wonder how individuals elaborate causal chains to explain singular events, an issue that has, bizarrely, attracted very little attention in research on causal attribution. I will consider three research avenues that appear promising in this respect.

APPRAISING CHANCE

An initial issue concerns the perception of chance. In his famous definition, the mathematician Henri Cournot wrote: "Randomness is but the encounter between independent causal series" (our translation). Similarly, the great English historian James Seelye addresses historians' tendency to underestimate randomness:

«It is an illusion to suppose that great public events, because they are on a grander scale, have something more fatally necessary about them than ordinary private ones, and this illusion enslaves the judgment.» (Seeley, cited by Schuyler, 1930, p. 274)

Research in cognitive psychology shows that people tend to appraise a contingency between two phenomena as the product of a design or as a form of determinism rather than as the fortuitous outcome of chance. We often behave like the XVIIIth century French philosopher Bossuet, who wrote

«Let us stop talking about chance or fortune; or just as a name we use to conceal our ignorance: What is chance for our uncertain foresight, is a concerted design to a higher foresight, that is, to the eternal foresight which encompasses all causes and affects in a single plan» (Bossuet, cited by Riley, 1990, pp. XXVIII).

Of course, the deity to which Bossuet alludes can be replaced by «destiny» or by «history» (in the marxist sense) depending on one's philosophical inclinations. Historiographers have much debated about the threats posed by determinism (cf. Leduc, 2010). Research on the "conjunction fallacy" (Tversky & Kahneman, 1983) may provide one of the reasons why people are so keen to adopt such deterministic explanations of the past. In research on this cognitive bias, subjects are presented an outcome and two prior events that may explain it. For example, if the outcome is "John had a car accident" and the two antecedents are "it rained on that day" and "he lost control of his car", they may estimate the joint probability of the two antecedents as higher than that of each event considered separately, which violates the law of probability (the joint probability of two events cannot be higher than the probability of any of these events considered separately).

Recent studies precisely suggest that inferring a single mechanism accounting for the two outcomes ("The accident is due to the rain obscuring his view, which his wearing eyeglasses could not compensate") is responsible for this conjunction fallacy and leads us to underestimate the role of chance (Ahn & Bailenson, 1996). Everything seems linked. This is particularly conspicuous when considering accounts of 9/11 in which disparate facts ("The FBI was uninformed", "Rumsfeld was not at the Pentagon", ...) can be combined to make the whole event appear to be part of a conspiratorial scheme.

Besides, some events (e.g., weather patterns) can be more readily appraised as fortuitous than others. The conjunction fallacy reflects an intuitive causal explanation. It would be particularly promising to consider how this fallacy affects our perception of historical events, possibly leading us to exaggerate the role of foresight and intentionality in the occurrence of disparate events.

THE HINDSIGHT BIAS

One of the distinctive aspects of the historians' position resides in their knowledge of the outcome of the phenomena they investigate. It is very difficult to put oneself in the shoes of the «men of the past» (to borrow Bloch's expression) who did not yet know this outcome. Ignoring outcome knowledge is an arduous task indeed and may lead us to view the past as more foreseeable than it was. When describing the Munich agreements of 1938, contemporary historians know that Daladier and Chamberlain's concessions did not prevent WWII. In addition, the historian is strongly motivated to explain how and why the war occurred in spite of (or thanks to) these agreements. In doing so, he may fall prey to the

famous “retrospective illusion of fatality” (Aron, cited by Leduc, 2010), or “hindsight bias”: believing that an event is «more predictable after it becomes known that it was before it became known» (Roese & Vohs, 2012, p. 411). After the fact, the war may seem more predictable than it was then.

Thus historian Florovsky writes:

«The tendency toward determinism is somehow implied in the method of retrospection itself. In retrospect, we seem to perceive the logic of the events which unfold themselves in a regular or linear fashion according to a recognizable pattern with an alleged inner necessity. So that we get the impression that it really could not have happened otherwise” (cited by Fischhoff, 1975, p. 369).

The hindsight bias was initially studied by Fischhoff (1975). Participants in one of his first studies on this topic read the description of an obscure war between the British and the Nepalese Gurkha in the XIX century. Fischhoff then manipulated the outcome of this war by presenting the victor as either the British, the Gurkha, or neither (stalemate). In a control condition, the outcome was not disclosed. Knowing the outcome of the war led participants to perceive this outcome as predictable not only for themselves but for others or for the actual parties engaged in the war. This was true regardless of the ending that was presented to participants. However, after this pioneering study, the role of the hindsight bias in the appraisal of historical events has been somewhat neglected³ (although it has been applied to many other fields: for a list, see Roese & Vohs, 2012).

When considering series of successive events, the mere postulation of a causal theory seems to generate, or at least facilitate, the occurrence of a hindsight bias (Nario & Branscombe, 1995). When aware of the outcome of the war, one tries to explain it. To do so, one is likely to elaborate a causal chain accounting for it. This leads us to isolate the antecedents that fit in this causal scheme and to neglect the others, which may rapidly disappear from our memory (cf. Blank & Nestler, 2007). In turn, this further contributes to making the outcome appear more necessary than it was. For example, knowing that the British have won against the Gurkha, I may infer that the inadequate weaponry of the latter accounts for this outcome. Conversely, had the Gurkha prevailed, I may have postulated that their superior knowledge of the field had rendered their victory foreseeable. As a consequence, I may better remember information that coheres with my favored explanation. Having forgotten alternate accounts, my prediction of what «should have happened» may be biased: I may then overestimate the role of the factors I have managed to keep in mind (e.g., weaponry, knowledge of the field).

In research on the hindsight bias, antecedents are often pretested in such a way that they predict a specific ending. However, this may not always be the case: depending on how it is interpreted, a same antecedent can be construed as predicting an outcome or its opposite. For example, for the British, having Nepalese guides may be viewed as a «strength» or as a «weakness» depending on whether one assumes that the guides have good or bad intentions towards the British. After the facts, such ambiguous antecedents may be interpreted in line with the ending. In a study by Klein *et al.* (2010), people read the diary of a barman

³ For an early exception, see Fischhoff (1980). See also: Rudmin (2012)

in occupied Belgium during World War II. In one version of the story, the barman eventually saved Jews who came knocking on his door. In another, he denounced them to the Gestapo. And in a third, no outcome was provided. Participants estimated that an ambiguous behaviour such as learning German was meant to spy on the Nazis in the former case but that the barman did so to better collaborate with them in the latter.

Thus, poor memory for the antecedents than do not fit well in the causal chain and outcome-consistent elaboration of the ambiguous ones seem to contribute to the hindsight bias. This is an example of how the explanatory phase may interact with the «archival» phase.

The hindsight bias may have two correlates when considering individuals and groups respectively.

With respect to the memory for individual figures, the hindsight bias may play an important role in «heroization», a phenomena studied by cultural historians (e.g., van Ypersele, 2006a): At the individual level, the tendency to “personalize” history, to see it as produced by “Great Men” (or women) is a mode of explanation that may facilitate the occurrence of the hindsight bias. This is because individual behaviour tends to be preferentially attributed to inner dispositions as opposed to situational factors (Gilbert & Malone, 1995). For example, the behaviour of the Belgian King Albert I during WWI led to his celebration as a hero. This involved portraying him in terms of (stable) personality traits that have characterized him since he was in the crib (van Ypersele, 2006b). However, these traits were inferred from the knowledge of his heroic behaviour during WWI. This becomes a vicious circle when one uses these personality traits to predict his behaviour during WWI.

History is not only made by individuals but, more often, by groups or collectives. Another mechanism facilitating the hindsight bias involves group essentialization (Haslam, Rotschild, & Ernst, 2000). This amounts to attributing stable underlying properties to the given group. When a historical event is considered as the outcome of deep properties of a group, such as its «genes» or its «culture», it becomes subjectively predictable. If the Germans are considered as being inherently anti-semitic (cf. Goldhagen, 1997) prior to World War II, the Holocaust may seem doomed to have happened.

The hindsight bias and misperceptions of chance often go hand in hand: Events that seem more determined than they were may also appear more predictable. But recent research (Nestler, Blank, & Egloff, 2010; Roese & Vohs, 2012) suggests that these components (inevitability and predictability) are distinct and are predicted by different variables. Thus, people may judge the past as predictable not only because they view it as determined. They may also do so out of impression management concerns for example. Highlighting that one has been able to predict important events may project a desirable image of sagacity or control over one’s destiny. People may also do so to live up to their status as «experts». Paradoxically, this suggests that professional historians may sometimes (e.g., when their professional self-image is threatened) be more prone to overestimating the predictability of the past than lay historians.

What are the consequences of the hindsight bias on historical explanation? Among other influences, it may lead us to consider people of the past as “naive” and to denigrate

them by portraying one's contemporaries as more prescient than they were (cf. Fischhoff, 1980). This bias also influences our capacity to appraise the indeterminacy of the future: It shows that we underestimate our own ignorance. If viewing the past as predictable may be reassuring, this comfort may have a price in the form of our impaired ability to confront the future. Hence, addressing how ordinary people understand the past may provide us valuable insight as to how they envision the future.

CAUSAL CHAINS AND THE CONSPIRACY MYTH

Certain modes of explanation facilitate a deterministic mentality. One of those is the "conspiracy myth" according to which conspiracies have shaped, are shaping and will shape history i.e., are the key to understand history. According to such a mode of thinking, "any historical fact can be reduced to an intention or a subjective volition" (Furet, 1985, p. 91, our translation). Such a conspiratorial mentality is often decried as irrational and paranoid (cf. Klein & Van der Linden, 2010). However, the portrayal of Man in cognitive psychology quite conforms to this picture. Rosset (2008) showed that, by default, people rely on intentional explanations to explain human behaviours. The role of intentions in explanations of the past is echoed in historiography as well. For example, the historiography of the Holocaust has been dominated by an opposition between «intentionalists» and «functionalists» (Mason, 1981). The former argue that Hitler had a master plan to exterminate all European Jews whereas the latter consider that the Holocaust was a consequence of the functioning of the Third Reich's bureaucracy, which was somewhat carried away by its own logic.

McClure, Hilton and Sutton (2007) have considered the role of intentionality in explaining causal chains of events. To do so they created simple chains involving two subsequent antecedents causing an outcome. One of the "causes" was manipulated to be intentional or not. Thus, in one such chain, a man (A) throws a cigarette butt in a forest; another man (B) fans the small flames produced by the butt, which generates a forest fire. McClure *et al.* (2007) have created modified versions of the story in which A is replaced by the reflection of the sun on a mirror and B by the wind. Participants in this study are asked to identify the main cause of the fire. McClure *et al.* found that they select the most proximal cause (i.e., the last one in the chain) involving an intention. Thus, for example, if A throws a cigarette butt and the sun fans the flames, A's behaviour will be the preferred cause. But if A throws a cigarette and B fans the flames, B's behaviour will be considered most influential.

This line of work suggests that we may have a "conspiratorial" view of history: We overestimate the role of conscious intentions in producing events. In such a narrative, counterfactuals and imagination may be left little space.

ANALOGY

When faced with the task of explaining events that are relatively unknown or unfamiliar, lay historians may reason by analogy to events with which they are very familiar. For example, in a classic study (Gilovich, 1981), political science students were asked to evaluate a fictitious conflict between two countries (one having invaded the other). The description

of the war had been modified to include cues that were reminiscent of World War II (e.g., blitzkrieg) or Vietnam (e.g., Chinook helicopters). Participants made more interventionists recommendations in the former than in the latter case. Each analogy carries with itself a set of preferred explanations (e.g., liberation vs. greed). Thus, here, the subject does not need to elaborate a completely novel and original explanation but can utilize the interpretational frameworks that he associates with these more famous events. This is of course where the «lay historian» may become a «politician» as his understanding of the past, and the analogies he draws between the past and the present, may inform his decisions and choices *hic et nunc*.

WHY EXPLAIN

Another way to approach this issue involves comparing the functions fulfilled by explanation in academic history compared with those it fulfils for our lay historian. The academic historian is probably more preoccupied with truth and accuracy than the lay historian. Often, the latter will seek to respond to negative emotions, to demand compensation for past injustices that he or his group experienced or to maintain a positive identity (Sahdra & Ross, 2007; Licata & Klein, 2010). He may also do so to achieve a sense of controllability over past events (Marchal *et al.*, in press).

In this regard, McClure *et al.* have found that our preference for intentional explorations in causal chains (such as the example of the forest fire mentioned above) could respond to a function of social regulation: By attributing the fire to intentions, I can symbolically punish and ostracize those who disrupt the social order by causing forest fires. This confers to the lay historian a position that is analogous to that of a prosecutor (in line with Tetlock's metaphor, cf. *supra*). The analogy between the historian and the judge is often mentioned by scholars such as Ricoeur or Hart and Honoré but we find a concrete empirical demonstration of it in McClure *et al.*'s work.

Of course, this approach opens a variety of theoretical predictions.

- The preference for intentional explanation should be stronger when explaining behaviours that threaten the community or violate social taboos.
- When the lay historian is endowed with the role of a judge in the community, or occupies a position of authority. One can however consider other motivations:
 - Preserving or enhancing a sense of control on one's fate (if the past can be explained, the future may be predictable);
 - identifying the culpable;
 - obtaining a reparation;
 - mobilizing in support of a political project;
 - impression management: "I can explain the past or could have predicted it" (Hawkins & Hastie, 1990).

Each of these motivations may be associated with specific explanatory modes and may affect memory in distinct ways.

THE REPRESENTATIONAL PHASE

Contrary to memory, history is produced to be told, often in narrative form (Ricoeur, 2004). We can consider at least two functions fulfilled by such a narrative: first an entertainment function (the narrative must be pleasing) and second, what I will call a “rhetorical” function. One needs to convince the audience that the proposed explanation is the correct one, a purpose that has guided historians in varying ways across time: Whereas telling history used to be akin to literature (Burrow, 2008), literary history is often decried as «unscientific» today. There exist several constraints as to the way history can and must be told. This aspect is to my knowledge neglected in research on collective memory (with the notable exception of work by Laszlo, 2008). Yet, the narrative is a specific form of expression, characterized by specific conventions. Ricoeur suggests that historical narratives function like a plot:

«Narrative coherence brings what I have called a synthesis of the heterogeneous, in order to speak of the coordination between multiple events, or between causes, intentions, and also accidents within a meaningful single entity. The plot is the literary form of this coordination» (Ricoeur, 2000, p. 243).

Thus, the plot, as a narrative form, also constitutes a form of *explanation* (cf. Hart & Honoré’s quote above), rendering the distinction between the explanatory and the representational stage quite permeable (see also Burrow, 2008; Delacroix, 2010).

Besides, there may be specific conventions as to which type of explanation is acceptable depending on the event that must be explained. For example, when Jared Diamond (1997) explains the «conquest» of America by the “horizontal” structure of Eurasia compared to the “vertical” (North-South) structure of America (which did not allow germs to spread across the continent and immunize its inhabitants), this may appear like an illegitimate explanation from the perspective of an orthodox historian. More generally, people may adopt preferred modes of explanation, which may in part be a function of culture. For example, Paez, Bobowik, Basabe & Hanke (2011) have identified 8 forms of lay historiography (e.g., «history is produced by Great Men», «history is cyclical», «history is drawn by a superior design», etc.) and found that adherence to each of these modes of explanation differed across cultures. Besides, these predicted the willingness to fight on behalf of one’s country. This should come as no surprise: If, e.g., one believes that history is a purely random process in which luck plays a dominant role, fighting to change the course of history makes less sense than if one believes that it is driven by Great Men. These findings point out at the importance of considering the «top-down» influences of culture on the lay historian’s chosen modes of explanation and, in turn, their memory for the past.

Precisely, the focus on narration, which involves telling a story *to* someone, appears all the more important when one considers its impact on memory. Variables that are specific to the communicational context influence memory for the object of narration. For example, people remember a stranger differently depending on whether they have described this stranger to someone who liked or disliked him. This is called the “saying-is-believing” effect (Higgins & Rholes, 1978; for a review, see Echterhoff, Higgins, & Levine, 2009). What and how we talk to others shapes our memory. Other illustrations of such interactions are found in the work by Marsh (2007): The rhetorical intention associated with a message influences

memory for the facts on which it is based. For example, when people are presented with information about a person and asked to praise this person, they later remember more positive traits of the target than those who, on the basis of the same information, were invited to complain about this person.

Hence, we see that the content of our mnemonic archives is partially determined by communicational factors affecting the representational phase.

Similarly, explanation is a function of the audience's characteristics. We have highlighted that, due to its narrative form, historical explanation must often invoke counterfactuals. What the lay historian may consider as a valid explanation for a phenomenon may depend on what he considers' as «abnormal» as opposed to «background knowledge». For example, to explain a car accident, I will probably accord little attention to the fact that the car drove at 60 km/hour. Rather, I will emphasize that the driver was ebriated. However, what is "normal" or "abnormal" depends on one's audience.

«Causal explanation is first and foremost a form of social interaction. One speaks of *giving* causal explanations, but not attributions, perceptions, comprehensions, categorizations, or memories. The verb *to explain* is a three-place predicate: *Someone* explains *something* to *someone*. Causal explanation takes the form of conversation and is thus subject to the rules of conversation. Causal explanation is therefore different from causal attribution, which does not involve an interpersonal exchange.» (Hilton, 1995, p. 65)

What may be habitual for an eskimo fisherman may differ from what seems normal to a Japanese politician. In support of this assumption, Norenzayan and Schwarz (1999) have found that participants in a study provided more dispositional than situational explanations of a mass murder when addressing a personality psychologist. The reverse occurred when the researcher was a social scientist (the identity of the audience was cued by manipulating the letterhead of the questionnaire). Again, we see that the distinction between the explanatory and the representational phase is moot.

Thus, in explaining the past to an audience, people build on a set of mutually accessible knowledge (what the audience knows, what I know that she knows, etc.), which allows him or her to provide a relevant and meaningful account of events. This form of knowledge is called common ground (Clark, 1996) and the process through which it is updated «grounding» (Clark & Brennan, 1991; Kashima, Klein, Clark, 2007). Norenzayan and Schwarz' subjects were not necessarily untruthful. They were not just trying to please the researcher by providing information consistent with the latter's worldview. Rather, they were probably seeking to offer an account that would cohere well with the accepted purpose of their interaction with the researcher: Providing an account of mass murder for the consumption of the researcher's disciplinary colleagues.

In conclusion, it seems particularly worthwhile to consider the communicational goals that ordinary individuals pursue when they narrate the past and how these goals influence the two steps we have mentioned previously. This demands to appraise the communicational processes, such as grounding, through which people develop shared understanding of the past with their audiences.

LIMITATIONS

The approach I have presented here is not devoid of limitations.

The first and most obvious one is my treatment of the lay historian as a lone figure, isolated from its peers (at least in the two initial stages). Certainly, lay history, like memory, is often a social endeavor. Memory research has often been criticized for its reliance on an excessively individualistic paradigm (cf. e.g., Rajaram & Pereira-Parasin, 2010). Recent research suggests, by contrast, that shared activities shape individual memory processes (see, e.g., Hirst & Manier, 2010).

Second, our view of the «historian» may seem somewhat rigid and limited. As a psychologist, I may myself have a stereotypical view of the historian's activity. Historiography shows that history has been made and told in many different ways depending on cultural and historical factors (Burrow, 2008). Thus, Herodotus, Michelet and Hume certainly did not follow the same conventions. Even contemporary history can vary deeply between highly narrative accounts of events and more «static» description of cultural patterns in a specific period and location. Similarly, the purposes fulfilled by historical scholarship have been very diverse, between accounts of a ruler's achievement, justification of a nation's deep roots or dry scientific quests for accuracy. Rather than rejecting our metaphor as too fuzzy, it may however be worth considering whether the variations we witness in real historians' approach to the past are also present among lay historians' and whether they impact on their own memories and actions.

Third, the present perspectives focus exclusively on cognitive, and to a lesser extent, on motivational factors, ignoring completely the role of emotions. This is justified in part by my lack of expertise in this field. Obviously, given the role of emotions in remembering, expanding the metaphor put forward here would demand to incorporate this aspect as well.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have tried to put forward a possible framework for appraising the lay understanding of history. This framework is based on the three stages of Historical activity identified by Ricoeur. The metaphor of the lay historian does not only translate existing accounts of memory but may help devise new hypotheses with respect to our relation to the past. This perspective is not devoid of interest for collective memory research given that a memory, be it «collective», is built upon intra-individual cognitive processes. Just as cognitive theory must be compatible with biological constraints, a theory of collective memory needs to consider intra-individual cognitive processes, even if it primarily invokes social or collective factors.

More generally, I hope that the reader is convinced of the interest of this metaphor, not only for understanding how people understand the past, but also for appraising how they act on it in the present.

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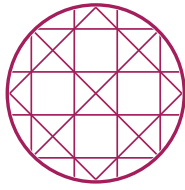
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Emotional Processes in Elaborating a Historical Trauma in the Daily Press

A longitudinal study of the Trianon Peace Treaty in the mirror of the Hungarian newspapers

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Abstract

Twentieth century has witnessed several cases of mass traumatization when groups as wholes were ostracized even threatened with annihilation. From the perspectives of identity trauma, when harms are afflicted to a group of people by other groups because of their categorical membership, ethnic and national traumas stand out. This paper aims to investigate long-term consequences of permanent traumatization on national identity with presenting a narrative social psychological study as a potential way of empirical exploration of the processes of collective traumatization and trauma elaboration. A Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model has been introduced which identifies linguistic markers of the elaboration process. Newspaper articles (word count = 203172) about a significant national trauma of the Hungarian history, Treaty of Trianon (1920), were chosen from a ninety year time span and emotional expressions of narratives were analysed with a narrative categorical content analytic tool (NarrCat). Longitudinal pattern of data show very weak emotional processing of the traumatic event. Results are discussed in terms of collective victimhood as core element of national identity and its effects on trauma elaboration.

Keywords

historical trauma; narrative categorical content analysis (NarrCat); Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model; collective victimhood

CONCEPT AND CLASSIFICATION OF TRAUMA

Concept of trauma shows up in a broad spectrum of disciplines and involves an extensive scope of seemingly very different phenomena of traumatic experiences. Philosophers, historians, clinical and social psychologists describe various cases of emotional shock under the label of trauma, including child abuse, maltreatment, constant humiliation, assaults, accidents, natural disasters, terrorist attacks, wars or massacres.

Psychological trauma is an emotional shock, which challenges relation of a person to reality. This emotional shock can evolve through a sudden unexpected event but constant

exposure to stress can also cumulate into a traumatic experience. Both cases of traumatization lead to similar psychological effects, although long-lasting traumatic experiences may more likely entail identity consequences.

Though processes of individual and collective traumatization are often interrelated, in case of collective traumas a whole group of people is affected by the same traumatic events. Moreover from the perspectives of identity trauma, when harms are afflicted to a group of people by other groups because of their categorical membership, ethnic and national traumas stand out. Those national traumas, which endure through years or decades or occur repetitively through the history of the group can be termed as *historical traumas*.

Natural disasters such as earthquakes or floods may exert traumatic effect to large groups of people causing long lasting emotional disorders and require elaboration and healing, however, man-made disasters, i.e., traumas caused by human beings, more likely evoke Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms compared to natural disasters. More importantly, group traumatization caused by other people always takes place within the dynamic field of intergroup processes.

PSYCHODYNAMIC CONSEQUENCES OF TRAUMA

Freud's paper on trauma repetition (Freud, 1914) outlines first how people try to cope with their traumatic experience by suppressing it. Freud argues that until they manage to elaborate it, this experience compulsively reoccurs in dreams, phantasies and misdeeds ("trauma reexperiencing") and seriously endangers the person's psychological wellbeing and her adaptation to reality. Similarly, Freud (1917) describes the process of grief as elaboration of traumatic object loss, which re-establishes the person's relation to reality where the beloved and lost object does not exist anymore.

Contemporary psychopathology devotes substantial attention to mechanisms and consequences of individual traumatization. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV (DSM IV) classifies these consequences under the diagnostic category of PTSD. Main psychological effects of traumatization appear around three main symptoms: persistent *re-experience* of the traumatic event when trauma-related memories, thoughts and feelings intrude uncontrollably into the person's mind; *perceptual narrowness* when persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma define acts of the traumatized person and *hiperarousal* which manifests in hipervigility, irritability and atonement to danger.

Diagnostic category of PTSD has been criticized by some trauma experts (see Herman, 1992; van der Kolk *et al.*, 2005) because it neglects some significant and characteristic symptoms that are mainly typical in case of long-lasting traumatic experiences. Judith Herman (1992) suggested the category of *complex post-traumatic stress disorder (C-PTSD)* as to distinguish traumas which happen once and sudden from those that develop gradually and penetrate the whole personality. Long-lasting traumatization as persistent abuse, maltreatment, wars, captivity in concentration camps may evoke loss of feeling secure, increased vulnerability, low self-esteem, loss of feeling of self-coherence and the risk of further traumatization. C-PTSD disrupts integrity of the self and causes dysfunctionality in many areas of the personality and social relationships.

INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE TRAUMAS

Until recently relatively less attention has been given to processes of mass traumatization. Philosophers and historians, such as Ricoeur, La Capra, Novick or Rüsen have attempted to draw parallels between individual and collective traumatization. As Ricoeur points out, Freud himself performed such transpositions from individual to collective level in his essays (Totem and Taboo, in Moses and the Monotheism or in Future of an illusion). Ricoeur (2006, p.78) carries the issue of collective trauma elaboration even to the opportunities of therapy. He claims that the role of the psychotherapists in collective trauma elaboration should be taken by critical thinkers, who assist society to cope with its traumas in the public sphere of open debates.

As being the most extreme traumatization of the twentieth century both in size and in systematic cruelty, the Holocaust and trauma elaboration of the holocaust survivors have eminently challenged psychologist and historians. Historian La Capra (2001, p.144-146) argues that elaboration of the holocaust experience is not possible for survivors. Even their off springs, the so called second generation Jews suffer from trauma repetition and even for them it is hard to elaborate the emotionally disturbing experiences into “matter of fact” memories. There is a growing literature on trans-generational traumatization (e.g. Kinsler, 1981; Danieli, 1998; Daud, Skoglund & Rydelius, 2005).

A serious problem with the parallel between individual and collective processes is that whereas loss of a beloved person by death is final and unchangeable, territorial or prestige losses of ethnic or national groups will never seem to be irreversible. This problem is aggravated that in several cases compatriots, i.e. ingroup members remain in the lost territory whose destiny may keep the trauma alive. Not to speak about the historical experience of “shuttleing” territories between ethnic groups or states. Even more salient difference between individual and collective processes is that in case of collective traumas members of the traumatized group often experience the trauma indirectly through identification with compatriots.

TRAUMA ELABORATION

In psychoanalytic tradition process models have been developed both for trauma elaboration and grief. For example in Laub and Auerhahn's (1993) approach, trauma elaboration can be considered in the continuum from not knowing to knowing in which narrative organization of experiences plays significant role. Going along the stages of elaboration involves psychological distancing from the trauma and at the same time integration of the event into the former self-conceptions. A parallel can be drawn between trauma elaboration and Kübler-Ross's (1969) widely known grief stages i.e. denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance, as well. Horowitz (1976) conceptualizes processes of loss and trauma elaboration in relation to the organization of beliefs and other cognitive structures. According to his view process of elaboration befalls in five phases in which the integration of the traumatic experiences is forewent by constant oscillation between avoidance and intrusion of the painful memories.

In individual personality development creative solution of a crisis or successful elaboration of a trauma may strengthen a person's ego. The term post-traumatic growth refers to positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances (Calhoun & Tedeschi, 1999, 2001). The post-traumatic growth entails better coping capacities and higher level of stress tolerance.

On the other hand, psychopathological disorders manifesting in symptoms such as feeling insecurity, regressive functioning, constant readiness to prevent the reoccurrence of the threatening event, increased sensibility, rigid emotional and cognitive reactions, etc. may appear when subject of the trauma is incapable to cope with the emotional shock. On collective level similar consequences can be expected, with corollaries such as mistrust toward other ingroup members or toward outgroups.

Collective memory works in a self-serving (group-serving) way. However, it not always depicts glorious history. If not other examples, traumatic experiences of a group exemplify that collective remembering carries on historical interpretation which are destructive or harmful to group identity. Volkan (1988) describes the phenomenon of "chosen trauma" when ethnic groups or nations stick to their heroic defeats without being able to elaborate or mourn the loss.

TRAUMA AND NARRATION

If traumatization shatters relations to reality, re-establishing a new, adaptive relation means re-establishing coherence of life. Pennebaker and his colleges (Pennebaker & Beall, 1986; Pennebaker, 1993, 1997) convincingly argue that repetitive narration of a traumatic event increases narrative coherence and thereby improves mental and physical health of traumatized people.

Historians also investigate the role of historical narration in trauma elaboration. La Capra (2001) calls attention to the dilemma that in telling the holocaust narrative both taking the victims' perspective and adopting a factual stance distorts historical experience. Rüsen (2004) argues that presenting in rational, linear causal order what masses of people experienced as irrational "limit" events necessarily banalize the memory of victims. Hayden White (as cited in Friedlander, 1992) suggests that historians when dealing with the Holocaust and similar "limit events" should borrow literary techniques instead of insisting to conventional narrative realism. It is interesting to note that Imre Kertész' Nobel Prize winner holocaust novel the *Fateless* employs a narrative technique, which is lacking any temporal retrospection. The major narrative device, time, is missing from the narration.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON COLLECTIVE TRAUMAS

Systematic empirical investigation of psychological effects of collective traumas in the field of clinical and social psychology are confined mainly abrupt traumatic events such as the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attack (e.g. Knudsen, Roman, Johnson, & Ducharme, 2005; Cohn, Mehl & Pennebaker, 2004) or the March 11th, 2004 Madrid terrorist attack (Conejero & Etxebarria, 2007; Paez, Basabe, Ubbillos & Gonzalez, 2007). Most of these surveys

use self-report questionnaires for studying some issues of coping with the trauma; for example social sharing of experiences (Rimé, Paez, Basabe & Martinez, 2010, Paez, Basabe, Ubillos & Gonzalez, 2007) or emotional climate after the trauma (Conejero & Etxebarria, 2007; Kanyangara, Rimé, Philippot & Yzerbyt, 2007). Other line of studies reveals processes of trauma elaboration through analysing trauma-related narratives, but these researches approach trauma-related phenomena mainly from the point of view of individuals (see Mehl & Pennebaker, 2003, Igartua & Paez, 1997; Shortt & Pennebaker, 1992).

An empirically grounded stage model of social sharing after traumatic experiences has been developed by Pennebaker & Harber (1993) (see also Pennebaker & Gonzalez, 2008). This stage model emphasizes dynamic aspects of group traumatization deriving from changes of the social environment of trauma elaboration over time. The first 2 or 3 weeks after the trauma is the time of social sharing of experiences and social bonding. In this *emergency stage* people seek help together in order to cope with the emotional shock. This exaggerated social activity is followed after a couple of months by the stage of *inhibition* with a decreased level of communication about the event. Although people speak less about the trauma, increasing rates of illnesses, trauma-related dreams and assaults can be observed. Lastly, in the final *adaptation stage* people are no more engaged in the event, they continue their normal lives.

Although empirical findings of these studies help to predict people's reactions to traumatic events, the ways in which members of nations may cognitively and emotionally cope with traumas with single and temporarily limited events, but in case of long-lasting collective traumas - such as the Holocaust and periods of repression or cumulative traumatic experiences like continuous wars of intractable conflicts - the question is how collectives accept and integrate defeats and losses into their identity. Long-term consequences of these all-pervading historical traumas on national identity are comprehensible only with consideration of societal-historical context of the events. Historical narratives as written accounts of past experiences are available sources of collective memory representations that make them valuable tool for identification while also enabling the empirical analysis of linguistic markers of trauma elaboration.

LINGUISTIC MARKERS OF TRAUMA ELABORATION

Scientific narrative psychology (László, 2008; László & Ehmann, 2012) postulates that there is correspondence between narrative organization of life stories and organization of life experiences, namely it contends that narrative language is suitable for expressing psychological processes and states of the narrator. Following this conception, our aim was to operationalize descriptions of traumatic experiences stemming from clinical and societal observations through analyses of trauma narratives. Based partly on theoretical models of trauma elaboration (e.g. Freud, 1914, 1917; Laub & Auerhahn, 1993) and partly on previous empirical evidences (Pólya Kis, Naszódi & László, 2007; Pennebaker, Mayne & Francis, 1997; Ehmann & Garami, 2010) we propose a new *Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model* so as to investigate collective processes of trauma elaboration through identifying linguistic markers in group narratives.

Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model is under development and validation, it requires further underpinning studies. Present paper outlines only the conceptual structure of the model that encompasses symptoms of traumatization in levels of narrative organization and assigns narrative markers to related symptoms (see Table 1).

Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model-Linguistic markers of weak trauma elaboration	
I. Societal features in organization of narratives:	
1.	Disrupted integrity of the group: <i>constant appearance of polemic representations instead of hegemonic representations</i>
2.	Extremities of frequency of appearance of the trauma in social discourses: intense occupation with the topic or total reticence of the trauma: <i>constant rate or re-increase of trauma-related narratives</i>
II. Structural features in organization of narratives:	
1.	Incoherent identity: <i>incoherent, fragmented narrative</i>
2.	Deficit of integrative complexity: <i>attributional simplicity, lack of differentiation, isolated mental contents</i>
3.	Paralysis: <i>perseverance of cognitive and emotional patterns interpretation schemes</i>
4.	Re-experiencing of trauma: <i>present tense</i> or fragmented time organization in narration, <i>interjections</i>
5.	Narrow perceptual field and low level of complexity in the explanation of the events: <i>inability to change perspectives, self-focus</i>
III. Psychological features in organization of narratives:	
1.	High emotional involvement, inability of emotional distance-keeping reflected in a high number of emotional expressions: <i>explicit emotions, emotional evaluations and extreme words</i> instead of cognitive words
2.	Regressive functioning: primitive defence mechanisms, such as denial, splitting (devaluation and idealization) in <i>extreme evaluations</i> , distortion in <i>biased perception</i> and self-serving interpretation of events, projection of negative intentions and feelings in <i>hostile enemy representations (hostile emotion attribution)</i>
3.	Sense of losing agency and control: <i>low level of self-agency</i>

Table 1. Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model (Fülöp & László, 2012)

According to the Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model, weak trauma elaboration is expected to manifest in narrative structural and content characteristics. The model provides multiple levels of analysis. At a societal level, trauma elaboration takes place in the processes of social discourses and formation of collective memory representations. Collective traumas challenge the coping potentials of the group and demand collective activity in order to elaborate the trauma. This usually implies reaching an integrative point of view. As long as polemic representations exist in the society, group level meaning-construction is active. Confrontation of different perspectives is part of the elaboration process by necessity and the more elaborated a collective experience is, the more hegemonic representations, the more integrative narratives develop (see about social representations Moscovici, 1988). At the level of social discourses, the frequency of trauma-related topics seems to be an indicator of collective trauma elaboration. Both over-representation and ignoring of trauma-related topics in societal communication may relate to a degree of obstruction. Relative over-representation, that is, a constant rate of references to the harms in daily conversations in the public sphere or in the media indicates that the group is still overwhelmed with the experiences. On the other hand, ignoring trauma-related topics means that trauma is handled as a taboo that prevents the development of an effective collective coping.

Deeper analysis of trauma elaboration is feasible by studying not only the frequency of trauma stories within the society but the structural organization of these narratives as well. Structural organization includes narrative features such as structure, spatio-temporal perspective, narrative templates, causal attributions that all can be included in the categories of narrative coherence and complexity. Clinical observations show that unelaborated traumatic life experiences are less reflected and less integrated with other memories that manifests in unstructured and fragmented narratives (e.g. Foa, Molnar, Cashman, 1995; van Minnen, Wessel, Dijkstra & Roelofs, 2002). These narratives contain more repetitions, expletives, incomplete statements and causal incoherence. Regarding the spatio-temporal perspective of trauma narratives, previous empirical findings (e. g. Pennebaker *et al.*, 1997, Ehmann & Garami, 2010, Erős & Ehmann, 1997; Pólya *et al.*, 2007) have shown that accounts of unelaborated traumatic events contain more shifts between verb tenses and deviations from temporal linearity as well as they are often narrated in present tense indicating re-experiencing of the narrated events. Another aspect of perspective-taking is the ability to represent events by adopting and aligning multiple perspectives. In a narrative study on Holocaust survivors, Suedfeld and his colleagues (1998) found relationship between efficient elaboration and complex narration. Coherent causal explanations causal connections and differentiation in the interpretation of events can contribute to the development of a more complex, integrated and, at the same time, clearer point of view. Although there are no direct empirical results whether a self-focused or other-focused perspective corresponds to a constructive coping, it seems a plausible assumption that rigid, one-sided templates are not of benefit to the process of elaboration. Persistence of cognitive and emotional patterns or schemes in general may indicate mental paralysis hindering elaboration.

Psychological aspects of the elaboration process such as emotions, perception or interpretation can be investigated directly in narratives. Empirical studies on narratives of individual traumas suggest that, during the process of recovery, people become more distanced emotionally from the traumatic event while the cognitive level of elaboration becomes predominant (Pennebaker, 1997; Pennebaker & Francis, 1996). Linguistic expressions of high emotional involvement decrease over time when emotional elaboration is efficient.

Early psychodynamic approaches to trauma elaboration (e.g., Freud, 1914, 1917; Ferenczi, 1916/17, 1933) have already described that traumatization implies regressive functioning of the experience. Traumatic experiences mobilize defence mechanisms automatically but various defence mechanisms provide coping strategies of various levels of efficiency. Primitive defence mechanisms are connected to less successful processing of trauma. Denial of the events is closely related to a lack of acceptance or ignoring. Splitting manifests in a biased, self-serving pattern of evaluation, some objects are devaluated while others are idealized that inhibits a differentiated, complex perception and interpretation of events and facing reality. Projection of negative intentions and feelings protects the self from unpleasant mental contents but externalization of these contents prevents coping with them and fosters formation of a hostile enemy representation that induces hostile attitudes and relationships. One of the most typical consequences of traumatization is that

traumatized people feel the loss of self-agency and self-control, that is, they feel that their life is controlled by external factors.

Although most of these mechanisms have been identified in individual trauma elaboration processes, parallels between individual and collective processes enable studying them in relation to group traumas.

EMOTIONAL PROCESSES IN ELABORATION OF A HISTORICAL TRAUMA

In the next section of the chapter, we present a study, which focuses on one single aspect of the above Narrative Trauma Elaboration Model, namely emotional processes of trauma elaboration, and analyses explicit and implicit emotional content of trauma related narratives.

Considering that present study is a descriptive one, only theory based predictions can be conceptualized regarding to emotional processes of elaboration expressed in trauma narratives.

PREDICTIONS ON EMOTIONAL PROCESSES OF TRAUMA ELABORATION

Individual therapy experiences (see Pennebaker, 1997; Pennebaker & Francis, 1996) imply progressive capability of emotional distance keeping from the traumatic event through the elaboration process getting the place over to cognitive processing. Studies on sharing of traumatic events in interpersonal level also show (see Rimé, 2009; Rimé, Raetz, Basabe & Martinez, 2010) that intense sharing of emotions - specially without systematic cognitive processing - long time after the events is symptom of high emotional arousal and inconsistent with emotional recovery.

In accordance with these findings both in occurrence of explicit and implicit emotion words (referred in this paper as extreme words) a decreasing tendency was expected in the course of time as indicator of the diminishing emotional intensity related to the trauma experience. Constant or re-increasing rate of emotions in trauma narratives is reckoned as the marker of weak trauma elaboration.

Considering historical traumas of a nation, right-wing papers are expected to use more emotion expressions because right-wing politics is more sensitive to the national feeling.

MATERIAL

One of the most significant events in the twentieth-century Hungarian national history was the collective trauma of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The treaty ending the First World War for Hungary approved the detachment of approximately 2/3 of its territory with 3.3 million Hungarian inhabitants, assigning the territory to neighbouring enemy countries. Although till the end of the Second World War there were temporary chances for the revision of the treaty, in 1947 it was ultimately affirmed what meant a re-traumatization for the nation.

Narrative analysis was performed on longitudinally sampled text corpora thereby providing opportunity for examining the *process of trauma elaborations* in its dynamic nature. Following Ricouer (2006) notion that elaboration of group traumas proceed in public sphere

we focused on narratives of the daily press about the Treaty of Trianon. Newspaper articles are part of collective memory. Polemic representations of divergent ideologies emerge in those scripts in a transparent way. Subjective comments, evaluations of narrators are permissible; newspapers with different political orientations represent historical events from different perspectives with different motives fitting their present goals and needs.

The articles (N = 254) were chosen from the period ranging from the year of the treaty (1920) to our days (2010) in five-year intervals. All articles were considered (from all genres: leading articles, letters to the editor, news, reports, interviews, book reviews, short stories, statements) where the Trianon treaty was mentioned. The sample included right-wing, left-wing and centrist papers (for detailed description of the articles see Appendix 1). However, there is no data from the era of communism (1950-1990) because in that period, the issue of the Treaty of Trianon was excluded from political discourses.

METHOD

The NarrCat content analysis system (see László *et al.*, 2012) is based on the psychologically relevant markers (e.g. emotions, evaluation, agency, cognition, time, negation, perspective, etc.) of narrative categories and narrative composition. It is a flexible and comprehensive methodological toolkit for machine made transformation of sentences in self narratives into psychologically relevant, statistically processable narrative categories. The NarrCat system explores the evaluational, emotional and cognitive processes of the self and the other, and the ingroup and the outgroup; furthermore to explore more complex principles of narrative composition, such as spatio-temporal and outer-inner perspectives. The system yields quantitative results about who or which group acts, evaluates, has emotions, thinks something as to somebody or another group. Thus, the output depicts the psychological composition of interpersonal and intergroup relations that are relevant to the construction of identity. The software that presently serves for content analysis in the framework of scientific narrative psychology is Nool, a multilingual linguistic development environment (Silberstein, 2008).

EMOTION MODULE

The dictionary of the emotion module (Fülöp & László, 2006) was compiled from the Hungarian monolingual explanatory dictionary by two independent coders. The selected list was checked and discussed by five independent coders. The list consists of 700 words. Contextual disambiguation and the identification of conjugated forms were solved by local grammars. The module is composed of the emotional valence, the emotional humanity and the moral emotions submodules.

On the grounds of their significance extreme words - i.e. words with high implicit emotional connotation - (e.g. poison, outrage, massacre, suicide, destroy, hell, etc.) were also collected and assessed in the daily press narratives about the Treaty of Trianon.

RESULTS

The obtained patterns of overall emotions and each emotion category (positive and negative) indicate that from the beginning of the narration a decline can be observed to the 1940s and then the frequency of emotional reactions rises from the 1990s again (see Figure 1).

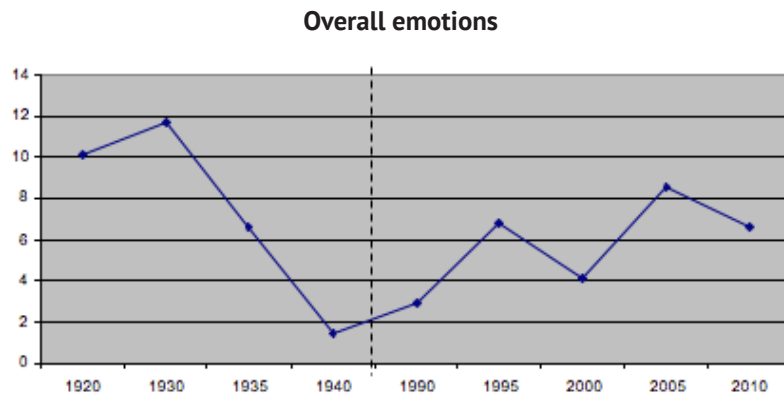


Figure 1. Frequency of emotions in newspaper articles about the national trauma of Treaty of Trianon (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words \times 10.000)

The tendency of extreme words (expressions with high emotional connotation) further provides support for this suggestion. Using these linguistic categories rate of expressions remains constant over time (see Figure 2).

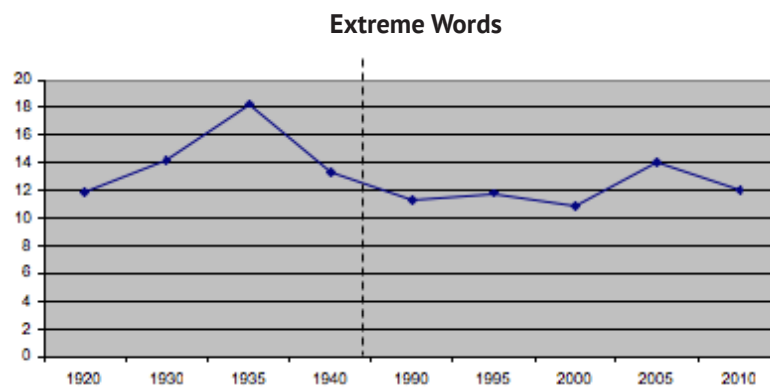


Figure 2. Frequency of extreme words in newspaper articles about the national trauma of Treaty of Trianon (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words \times 10.000)

Results show that an initial period of refusal of the national losses until the end of the second world war was followed by a period of ideological repression by the communist rule that prevented the thematization of the trauma, and after the democratic political system change in 1989 the narratives partly returned to the initial narrative representation implying the refusal of the loss.

These representational patterns with recurrently increasing or constant frequency of emotions imply a very weak emotional elaboration of the trauma. Consistent with our preliminary expectations, the articles of the right-wing press are in every period more

emotional than those of the left-winged newspapers, considering especially negative emotions. Contrary to the findings reported by Pennebaker (1997) and Pennebaker and Francis (1996), where emotional words decreased and cognitive processes replaced them during the elaboration process of a significant emotionally straining event, these results represent an emotionally unresolved situation. High level of emotional content in collective trauma narratives can be part of the group's meaning -construction and reframing process and provides emotional support only if the nature of emotions is congruent within the community and valence of emotion turns into a more positive direction.

DISCUSSION

Previous studies on connection of national identity and trajectory of history (see László & Ehmann, 2012; Fülöp *et al.*, 2012) suggest that identity state of collective victimhood is an integrated part of Hungarian national identity. Collective victimhood has been defined by Bar-Tal, Cheryak-Hai, Shori and Gundar (2009) as a mind-set of members of collectives that is based on the sense of being victim of a harm intentionally committed by another group. Being a victim of repeated traumas, losses, repressions and failures threatens the positive identity of the group, because are opposed to the essential beliefs that the group is competent, strong and capable for resolving conflicts more difficult to maintain. Moreover, they may threaten the integrity or survival of the collective. At the same time, the sense of collective victimhood may have certain identity-serving functions as well. It provides explanation for threatening events, through sense-making it helps the group cope with stress induced by a conflict, it gives moral justification and a feeling of superiority, it prepares the society for future harms, it enhances ingroup solidarity, motivates patriotism, and can potentially gain international support, thus collectives are motivated to maintain this status. By providing a scheme for interpreting subsequent intergroup events, assuming the victim position can become permanent. Collective victimhood is also reflected in the emotional orientation of the group.

It has important consequences on the regulation of intergroup relations, particularly in the management of intergroup conflicts, but collective victimhood has an inhibitory effect on the emotional elaboration of a trauma as well. Extremely negative experiences such as traumas do not diminish automatically over time; elaboration requires active and constructive mobilization of coping potentials. Faced our own misdeeds and undertaking responsibility for them, mourning of losses, ventilation of sufferings, forgiving and forgetting past harms, fading of intense emotions are crucial conditions of trauma elaboration. Stagnation in the position of the victim obstructs healing processes. Experiences of loss of control, lack of outer support, exaggeration and repetition of trials, divergence of inner interests or failures of sharing can contribute to the psychological state of being traumatized. All of them pervaded the Hungarian history.

Even so, the Treaty of Trianon represents an extreme trauma in this victimhood narrative. The detachment of 2/3 of the territory of the country generated not only a very serious injury of the integrity and a threat to the survival of the group but the issues of

the trans-border Hungarian population have remained to be resolved and have become regular topics of political discourses, and the emphasis put on the irreversibility of the losses keeps it on the agenda. Unresolved issues of trans-border Hungarians mean a real challenge for removing the past and leaving the victim role, because being subject to political provisions and casual discriminations they are still real victims on the ground of their nationality. Obviously, this situation has consequences for the identity of the whole nation. This state can be considered identical with other intractable conflicts in respect of its socio-psychological conditions (see Bar-Tal, 2009) and preserves a sense of collective victimhood, although in these situations conflicts of interests occurs not at the level of wars but at the level of diplomacy and political conflicts.

High emotional involvement in, and some divergence of representations of the Treaty of Trianon in newspapers with different political orientations originates from the long-term repression of sharing and the emergence of different political interests after the change of regime. Elaboration entails a process of collective meaning construction through narratives whereas traumatization involves the experience that victims are unable to organize the events in a reasonable and meaningful narrative. Victim identity helps this meaning construction because it offers a coherent perspective, which is on halfway between a constructive coping and a total disintegration. Despite its psychological advantages, the sense of victimhood can never be satisfying. Because of its consequences: *rejection of responsibility, inhibition of elaboration and prolongation of reconciliation* can prevent alternative discourses, thereby victimhood becomes a tradition and the trauma remains unresolved.

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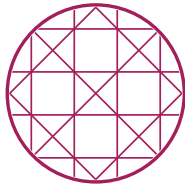
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Appendix 1.
Political orientation of the sampled newspapers

Orientation	Right-wing	Centrist	Left-wing
1920	Budapesti Hírlap Új Nemzedék	Pesti Hírlap Az Est	Népszava Világ
1930	Budapesti Hírlap Az Est Új Nemzedék Magyarság	Pesti Hírlap	Népszava
1935	Pesti Hírlap, Budapesti Hírlap Magyarság		Népszava
1940	Pesti Hírlap		
1990- 2010	Magyar Nemzet		Népszabadság Népszava



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Transitional Justice Processes, Shared Narrative Memory about Past Collective Violence and Reconciliation

The Case of the Chilean “Truth and Reconciliation” and “Political Imprisonment and Torture” Commissions

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Abstract

Perceptions of the “Truth and Reconciliation” and “Political Imprisonment and Torture” commissions and related beliefs, emotions and socio-emotional climate were analyzed in population affected and unaffected by past political violence in Chile (N=1278). Those with a positive evaluation of commissions’ goal of creation of an inclusive narrative, by comparison to people that disagree report higher negative emotions such as shame, as well as positive ones such as pride and hope by respect to collective past, agree more with social forgiveness, stress more learning of past collective misdeeds, perceives a more positive emotional climate, intergroup trust, confidence in institutions – however they did not share more universalistic values. A positive evaluation of the commissions’ goal of helps to prevent violence, supports justice and to know the truth about past collective violence, low exposure to past political violence, low negative emotions and high positive emotions predict positive socio-emotional climate in multiple regression analyses. Results suggest that commissions play a relatively successful role as transitional justice rituals, reinforcing reconciliation, but that the creation of an inclusive narrative or shared collective memory is less successful and less relevant that the preventive, helps to justice and to know the truth TC’s functions

Key words

Truth and Reconciliation Commission; political attitudes; social sharing; emotional climate; inclusive narrative; collective memory; reconciliation.

INTRODUCTION

Traumatic events, and in particular collective violence, entail long-term effects on political attitudes (Laufer & Solomon, 2011), on personal emotions (Punamaki, 2011), on social beliefs (Janoff-Bulman, 1992) and on collective emotional orientation or emotional climate (De Rivera & Paez, 2007; Bar-Tal, Halperin & de Rivera, 2007). To illustrate, a powerful emotional climate of sadness, fear and anxiety persisted in Chile for years after general Augusto Pinochet seized power in 1973, killing a thousand people and putting in a jail hundred thousand (De Rivera, 1992). People were afraid because everyone knew that it

would be dangerous to formulate certain things in public. Even people with rightist “politically correct” attitudes knew that they had to be cautious, because the police sometimes made “mistakes”. Such an atmosphere heavily affected emotional relationships within the country. People could neither speak about their relatives who had disappeared nor publicly state their political opinions. The ubiquitous fear resulted in social isolation. It prevented people from knowing the state of mind of those around them and precluded the organization of a political opposition against the regime. This negative emotional climate prevailed until the end of the dictatorship (De Rivera & Páez, 2007) and entails negative effects nowadays – people affected by repressions perceives a less positive emotional climate more than 20 years after the fall of Pinochet (Cárdenas, Páez, Rimé, Bilbao, Arnoso & Asún, 2012).

Truth commissions (TC) and official apologies are supposed to overcome the negative impact of past collective violence, promoting intergroup empathy and trust, forgiveness and reinforce instrumental and socio-emotional reconciliation (Blatz, Schuman & Ross, 2009; Cehajic, Brown & Castano, 2008; Nadler, Malloy & Fisher, 2008). The present study intends to examine existing associations between social beliefs, attitudes and emotions and their attitude towards transitional justice reparatory activities related to the military dictatorship repression, which occurred in Chile from 1973 to 1989. This chapter focuses particularly in the role of shared inclusive narrative of the past in restoring political culture and fueling reconciliation.

TC has been established in many countries in order to address human rights violations by dictatorship regimes or those resulting from internal armed conflict. Since the 1970s, more than fifty official commissions have been established throughout the world (Hayner, 2001; Avruch, 2010). Common TC functions are: a) making efforts to discover the truth about the period of collective violence, b) recognizing and validating victims’ suffering, c) compensating those affected both materially and symbolically, d) seeking justice, e) avoiding new acts of violence, and f) contributing to the creation of an inclusive collective memory oriented to the future. These functions may contribute to the avoidance of revenge cycles and further war crimes, at the same time as preventing collective violence from arising again (Sikkink & Booth Walling, 2007).

Two “Truth Commissions” (TCs) were created in Chile for the purpose of documenting facts of collective violence provoked by Pinochet’s dictatorship. The aim of the so called “Rettig Commission” or National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) in 1991 was to provide a picture, as complete as possible, of one of the most severe human rights violations perpetrated by state agents. Its purpose was to collect information so as to identify individual victims (people detained or disappeared, political prisoners executed, and people tortured to death), to discover their fate, to propose compensation measures for their families, and to recommend legal and administrative measures for preventing future human rights violations (NCTR, 1991).

The so called “Valech Commission” or National Commission for Political Prison and Torture (NCPPT) was created to identify people who, without being killed, were imprisoned and tortured by state agents for political reasons (NCPPT, 2004), and to propose compensation measures for them. The reports of these two commissions were published by the

President of the Republic in 1991 and in 2004 respectively. The President headed the petition for institutional apologies for the perpetrated abuse. The NCTR and NCPPT jointly established that more than 3000 deaths had occurred for political reasons in Chile, almost all in the hands of the armed forces or of the police (detained-disappeared or executed without trial). In addition, the NCPIT reported more than 27,000 confirmed cases of political imprisonment and/or torture.

As regards social responses to the reports of these TCs opinion studies (CEP, 1991, 2004) showed that citizens regarded them as both necessary and truthful. Yet, people also believed in their majority that they might contribute reopening up past wounds. Most citizens already had knowledge of at least a part of the facts reported and were in favor of compensation measures for victims. Most of them felt emotionally affected by the gravity and cruelty of the events reported. A great majority believed that even after 30 years, the sociopolitical conflict had not been overcome and reconciliation had not been achieved (CERC, 2003, 2004, 2006). As far as justice is concerned, more than 600 trials of agents of the dictatorship were held and most of those responsible for human rights violations were convicted (Lira, 2010).

Following these Commissions, material and symbolic reparatory actions were performed and official apologies expressed successively by two Presidents of Chile, Patricio Aylwin (1990–1995) and Ricardo Lagos (2000–2005). Efficient restorative actions such as these official apologies require them to be perceived as expressing regret and assuming responsibility, being sincere and not as mere justifications or excuses (Staub, 2005). Those who express apology must be representative and must have the support of most of the nationals' group (Kadima & Mullet, 2007). Finally, some studies suggest that after apologies for past collective violence and injustice, members of the victimized group reports more positive attitudes towards out groups and institutions (Blatz & Ross, 2012). Similarly it was suggested that TC's are strongly related to reconciliation than to healing personal emotions (Martin-Beristain, Páez, Rimé & Kanyangara, 2010).

From a psychosocial perspective, reconciliation, that is a broad concept than forgiveness, implies: a) the construction of a common integrative narrative of past collective violence, b) overcoming revenge and negative emotions like anger, fear and sadness, and changing the outgroup image, increasing intergroup trust and forgiveness as well as positive collective emotions like hope; c) increasing confidence in institutions, and d) increasing values of tolerance and universal justice (Gibson, 2004; Nadler, Malloy & Ficher, 2008; Bar-Tal, 2011). Confirming that transitional justice has a positive influence in reconciliation, a longitudinal study show that Rwanda's Gacaca has had positive inter-group effects, such as more positive out-group stereotypes and a less homogeneous ("they are all similar") or more differentiated, individualized view of the ethnic outgroup (Kanyangara et al, 2007; Rimé *et al.*, 2011). Moreover, people who agreed with the past narrative drawn up by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) showed an attitude more favorable to reconciliation, thus confirming that a common collective memory of the past that integrates different views strengthens social cohesion (Gibson, 2004).

The general purpose of the present study was to compare social beliefs, attitudes and emotions between people agreeing and disagreeing with the activities of the NCTR and NCPIT, and among population affected and unaffected by past political violence in Chile. Particularly we should contrast the association between a positive evaluation of Commissions functions and reconciliation, expecting that a favorable perception of the TCs' construction of an integrative narrative will be associated with greater positive emotional impact, higher levels of belief in the sincerity and effectiveness of apologies, attitudes more favorable toward social remembering as strategies for coping with past collective violence, and a more positive evaluation of emotional and social climate: low levels of anger, sadness and fear, high levels of hope, security, intergroup trust, confidence in institutions and agreement with tolerance and universalistic justice values.

METHOD

SAMPLE

The sample consisted of 1278 participants, 629 men (49.2%) and 649 women (50.8%), with ages ranging from 18 to 90 years ($M = 39.66$ years and $SD = 17.36$). Data were collected in the country's most populous urban areas: Santiago (26.1%), Valparaíso (30.8%), Concepción (14.4%) and Antofagasta (28.7%). Participants were unqualified blue collars (8.1%), qualified blue collars, white collars (14.9%), executives or self-employed (22.7), retired (4.3), housewife (7.8), students (24.6%), or other (17.6).

PROCEDURE

Interviewers were volunteer university students trained in the application of the scale. A random-route and stratified sample was used to establish appropriate population ratios for sex and different age groups in each city (National Institute of Statistics, 2002). To be included, participants had to sign an "informed consent" letter explaining the study objectives and guaranteeing response anonymity and confidentiality. The ethical criteria of the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICYT, its acronym in Spanish) were applied. Participants were selected by team members trained in data collection, who worked with a guideline of the features participants were required to report (city, sex, and age group). Once they had agreed to participate in the study, respondents filled out a paper-and-pencil questionnaire individually, having previously reading a text informing them about the NCTR and NCPIT.

Pilot data collection showed that a questionnaire based upon a high number of items was inadequate. Respondents complained of redundancy and expressed boredom. As in other surveys addressing the general population, we opted for a limited number of items with a large content validity, being aware that usually reliabilities of 2-4 items scales are moderate (Gibson, 2004; Davidoof, Schmidt & Schwartz, 2008). The questionnaire comprised five sets of variables. Preliminary questions first enquired about respondents' socio-demographic

variables (age, gender, city of residence) and then upon their level of exposure to past collective violence. A second set of questions examined participants' information and attitudes about the National Commissions (NCTR and NCPIT). It involved questions about the respondent's (1) level of information about the activities of each of the two National Commissions, (2) global attitude with respect to these activities, (3) evaluation of these Commissions' outcomes, (4) evaluation of the formal apologies expressed in 1991 by the Chilean President to victims and their families, (5) belief in social forgiveness (6) personal disposition toward social remembering. A third set of scales assessed through two different tools, respondents' perception of the socio-emotional climate of the country. A fourth set addressed more directly participants' personal experience in relation to re-examination of the past and activities of the Commissions by assessing the emotions they felt in this regard, their propensity to express them and to talk about their emotions, as well as the extent to which they refrain from talking. Finally, in a fifth set of measurements, participants' values were examined using Schwartz items on universalism values, values related to a democratic culture of peace. Hereafter, the various instruments just listed are described in a detailed manner.

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

Socio-demographic information. Respondents answered questions about their age, gender, city of residence and occupation.

Exposure to past violence. This section examined the impact of past collective violence on participants. It included questions aimed at differentiating "direct victims", "indirect victims" and persons "unaffected" by political violence. These categories were derived from respondents' answers to the two following questions: "Do you consider yourself a victim of the violence perpetrated by the state or its agents between 1973 and 1989?" (Yes/No) and "Are there any victims of state violence or its agents between 1973 and 1989 among your family members or close friends?" (Yes/No). Participants who responded affirmatively to the first question or to both questions were categorized as direct victims, those who responded affirmatively only to the second question were considered as indirect victims whereas those who responded negatively to both questions were considered as "unaffected". An additional question enquired about the form of inflicted violence with the following items to be checked: torture; execution or disappearance of a direct family member; political imprisonment; exile; job dismissal for political reasons; violent assault at home. Participants could check as many items as they needed to fit their experience.

INFORMATION AND ATTITUDES ABOUT THE NATIONAL TRUTH COMMISSIONS

Level of information. Participants were asked whether they know about the work of the commissions: "Do you know about the activities on NCTR?" (Yes/No) and "Do you know about the activities of NCPPT?" (Yes/No). As a majority of participants (around 60% see below) did not know about one or both commissions, all participants were invited to read a short summary of facts about the collective violence and the commissions' activities (see introduction).

Global attitude. This scale was adapted from Gibson (2004) and intended to assess respondents' global attitude and evaluation of the commissions' activity using the following

item: “Would you say that you: Strongly approve what the NCTR has done / Somewhat approve/ Somewhat disapprove/ Strongly disapprove”. A similar item was then proposed with regard to the CNPT. In view of the consistency of the answers ($\alpha = .92$), the two items were averaged.

Evaluation of the Commissions’ outcomes. Four major aims of the commissions were then submitted to an evaluation through the following items: «The NCTR is often said to have several important jobs. Would you say that it has done an excellent job/pretty good job/pretty bad job/poor job: (1) “Letting families know what happened to their loved ones” (i.e., aim of providing truth about victims), (2) “Helping to create an inclusive history integrating the ‘two nations’ or opposed groups in a common narrative” (aim of creating a comprehensive history), (3) “Helping that perpetrators would be brought to judgment” (aim of punishment of those who are guilty) and (4) “Ensuring that human rights abuses will not happen again in the country” (aim of guaranteeing that it will not happen again)». Items 1, 3 and 4 were repeated with reference to the NCPPT. Response options ranged from 1 = “Poor job” to 4 = “Excellent job”. A global evaluation index was computed from answers to these 7 items, ($\alpha = .89$).

Evaluation of the State’s apologies. Three questions adopted from Echebarría *et al.* (2010) then assessed respondents’ views on (1) the sincerity of the State’s apology “Do you consider the President’s apology and message about NCTR as sincere”, (2) its effectiveness for improving empathy “Do you consider that the President’s apology and message about NCTR strengthen intergroup empathy, helping to understand other’s suffering”, (3) its effectiveness for promoting inter-group trust “Do you think that the President’s apology and message about NCTR reinforce trust between groups”. The response options ranged in each case from 1 = “Not at all/None” to 4 = “A great deal”. A general index assessing apology sincerity and effectiveness was created. Reliability was satisfactory ($\alpha = .82$).

Belief in social forgiveness. A question was drawn up to assess social forgiveness (Mullet *et al.*, 2011; Kadima & Mullet, 2007): “With respect to the period of past national collective violence, do you consider that people who were affected by past violence can forgive those who inflicted them this violence?” Response options ranged from 1 = “Not at all” to 7 = “Completely”.

Disposition to social remembering. Two items (adapted from Gibson, 2004) examined respondents’ respective dispositions to social remembering and to forgetting. “We are interested in your opinion about the following two statements regarding this country’s past”: (1). “When it comes to this nation’s past, we must learn from the mistakes that were made in order to avoid making the same mistake again”; (2) “It’s better not to open old wounds by talking about what happened in the past”. A response scale from “Completely false” (1) to “Completely true” (4) was used.

PERCEIVED SOCIO-EMOTIONAL CLIMATE

Positive Negative Emotional Climate (CEPN). Respondents’ perception of the socio-emotional climate of their country was assessed using two different instruments. First, four items extracted from the Positive Negative Emotional Climate scale (Páez, Ruiz, Gailly,

Kornblit, Wiesenfeld & Vidal, 1997) were used to evaluate the positive (“I think that in general people trust their institutions” and “People manifest solidarity and mutual help, feel solidarity in general”) and negative emotional climate (“I think that in general people feel anger, hostility” and “I think that people feel sadness, apathy”). A Likert-type response scale was used, with anchors 1 = “Not at all/None” to 5 = “A great deal”. Reliabilities were satisfactory for Negative Emotional Climate ($\alpha = .71$) and acceptable for Positive ($\alpha = .61$).

Climate Dimension Scale (CD24). Eight items from the *Climate Dimension Scale* (De Rivera, 2010) were also used to assess the perception of emotional climate. Respondents were asked how far they agreed with the following statements: (1) “People in the country feel secured that there is enough food, water, medicine, and shelter for themselves and their families, and that they will continue having these goods”; (2) “People feel unsafe due to a degree of violence which prevent them to live peacefully”; (3) “People feel that the various political groups in this country trust each other and will work together for the progress of the country”; (4) “People from different political, ethnic and religious groups trust each other in this country”; (5) “People are afraid at the perspective of organizing peaceful public meetings to protest”; (6) “People are afraid of saying what they really think because it could be dangerous”; (7) “People have hope because things in this country are improving”; (8) “Lack of hope in this country is such that many people want to leave”. A Likert-type response scale was used, ranging from 1 = “Total disagreement” to 7 = “Total agreement” (7). A principal component factor analysis on these items followed by a Varimax rotation yielded two dimensions explaining together 54.1% of the total variance. The first of these dimensions (35.8%) had high loadings for items 1, 3, 5 and 6 and thus represented a dimension of Confidence-Hope ($\alpha = .75$), whereas the second one (18.3) had high loadings for items 2, 4; 7 and 8, and was thus interpreted as a dimension of Fear-Despair ($\alpha = .62$).

EMOTIONS AND EXPRESSION

Emotions associated to past violence and NCTR activities. Participants rated their emotional reactions when thinking about the past events and the commissions’ activities: “To what extent do you feel the following emotions about the collective violence period and NCTR?” They were then proposed a list including three positive emotions (Hope, Happiness and Pride) and four negative emotions (Sadness, Guilt, Anger, Fear and Shame). Response scales anchored as 1= “not at all” and 7= “a great deal” were used. Reliabilities were satisfactory for both positive ($\alpha = .83$) and negative emotions ($\alpha = .79$).

Social sharing of emotions associated to past violences and NCTR/NCPIT activities. Six questions adapted from studies on the social sharing of emotions (Rimé, 2005) enquired about the extent to which respondents to talk about past events and the commissions’ activities. “Have you ever spoken with people around you” (1) “about NCTR since the publication of its report?”; (2) “about past violence since the publication of the NCTR report?; (3) “about the NCTR report in the last month?”; (4) “about NCPIT since the publication of its report?”; (5) about past violence since the publication of the NCPIT report?; (6) about the NCPIT report in the last month?; (7) “Have you felt the need to speak about past violence?”

The response scales ranged from 1= “not at all” to 4= “a great deal”. Reliability was satisfactory ($\alpha = .85$).

VALUES

Finally, items belonging to Universalism values of Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire 21 (Davidoff, Schmidt & Schwartz, 2008) asked respondents how far they felt similar or dissimilar to the following characters descriptions “He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He/she wants justice for everybody, even for people he/she doesn't know” and “It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them”. Universalistic values are Transcendence values, overcoming self-promotion and connecting people to others and to community in general (Davidoff, Schmidt & Schwartz, 2008). Responses scale ranged from 1= very similar to 6= very dissimilar. Reliability was satisfactory for the two items scale measuring Universalism ($\alpha = .64$).

RESULTS

Concerning exposure to violence, 24% of the sample ($n = 304$) consider themselves as direct victims of human rights violations perpetrated in Chile from 1973 to 1989; 33.4% ($n = 424$) report having victims among their family or close friends (indirect victims); and 42.6% ($n = 541$) had not been affected by political violence. Among the direct victims, the main violence actions perpetrated against them by agents of the state were torture (24%), execution or disappearance of a direct family member (17.1%), political imprisonment (6.8%), and exile (6.8%). The remaining percentage (46.6%), report other violent acts by the state or its agents (job dismissal for political reasons and violent assault at home).

Regarding knowledge of the work done by commissions, 42.6% ($n = 625$) report knowing about the NCTR's work and 38.9% ($n = 497$) about the NCPIT's work. Knowledge about the commissions' work is associated with closeness to violence events, direct victims reporting greater knowledge of the NCTR and NCPIT work than indirect victims and those unaffected ($F_{(2, 1263)} = 193.76$; $p = .000$; $f = .27$).

With respect to goals or functions of NCTR, 50% of participants agree with the statement that TC's helps to know the truth, 37% agrees with the idea that the Commission achieves his goal of prevention and his goal of supports justice and 33% agrees that the Commission helps to the construction of an inclusive narrative.

As regards exposure to violence, statistically significant differences ($F_{(2, 1239)} = 5.80.60$; $p = .02$; $\eta = .07$) were found in a perception of TC's goal of creation of an inclusive narrative among the three groups, direct victims ($M = 2.26$) being those who agrees more with the success of this goal, followed by indirect victims ($M = 2.24$) and those unaffected by the violent events ($M = 2.15$). Post hoc analyses indicate that the former two groups form a homogeneous subset.

Attitude towards TC's goal of creating an inclusive narrative was dichotomized into a negative evaluation (scores 1 and 2) and a positive evaluation (scores 3 and 4). Analysis of

variance or ANOVAs, using exposure to violence and attitude toward the commission's goal as independent variables, were conducted to explore the interactions between exposure and the performance of the commissions. No interaction effects were found between exposure to violence and attitude toward commissions' goal of creation of an inclusive narrative, with regard to dependent variables.

Participants supporting the NCTR's goal of creating an inclusive narrative report higher social sharing than participants disagreeing ($M=3.09$ versus $M=2.94$) and indicate a greater number of positive emotions ($M=2.84$ versus $M=2.08$) and negative ($M=3.29$ versus $M=2.91$) ones referring mainly to sadness, anger, shame, hope, and pride

In addition, those who positively evaluate the work of the NCTR in respect to the creation of an inclusive narrative are more likely ($M = 2.90$) to accept the possibility that victims forgive those who did harm to them ($t_{(1206)} = -3.38$; $p < .005$; $d = .24$) than those who disagree with the work of the commissions ($M = 2.44$). They also agree more with the statement of social remembering ("When it comes to this nation's past, we must learn from the mistakes that were made in order to avoid making the same mistake again") that people that disagree that the TC's achieves his goal of construction of an inclusive memory ($M=3.44$ versus $M=3.21$), but not significant differences were found for a "forgetting attitude towards past" ("It's better not to open old wounds by talking about what happened in the past"). Overall participants disagree with social or intergroup forgiveness.

People who positively evaluate the NCTR's goal of creating an inclusive narrative perceive more positive emotional climate measured by CD24 positive items than people that disagree ($M=3.47$ versus $M=3.15$). For instance, by respect to CEPN and CD 24 specific positive items, people agreeing with NCTR's goal of creating an inclusive narrative stress more that political, ethnic and religious groups feel intergroup trust ($M=2.96$) than people disagreeing ($M=2.65$, $t=2.19$, $p<.04$). However, no differences were found for CEPN and CD24 negative emotional climate indexes, nor to Universalistic values.

A multiple regression analysis was carried out to examine specific associations. Positive emotional climate CEPN and CD24 positive items standardized scores provided a global index of socioemotional climate and reconciliation. This climate index was regressed on exposure to violence, the four functions of TC's (know the truth, helps justice, prevention of future violence and creation of an inclusive narrative about the past), positive and negative emotions and social sharing. Positive socioemotional climate correlates positively with TC's evaluation of preventive, support justice, helps to know the truth and creation of an inclusive narrative, $r_{(1206)} = .31$, $r_{(1206)} = .26$, $r_{(1206)} = .26$, and $r_{(1206)} = .16$ respectively, and with positive emotions related to TC's facts and activities, $r_{(1206)} = .15$, and negatively with exposure to violence (3 =direct victim and 1 =non affected), with social sharing about past collective violence and TC, $r = -.11$, and with negative emotions, $r = -.13$, all $p < .01$. The multiple regression analysis was significant, explaining 18% of variance ($F_{(8, 1149)} = 31.06$; $p < .001$). Standardized beta coefficients show a significant effect of positive evaluation of TC's preventive, support to justice and helps to know the truth functions ($B = .22$, $B = .18$ and $B = .09$ respectively; $p < .001$), low exposure to violence ($B = -.13$; $p < .001$), low negative emotions ($B = -.14$; $p < .001$) and high positive emotions ($B = .08$; $p < .001$) with respect to TC's activities and

past violence. However, social sharing and the function or goal of creating an integrative narrative were not related to positive emotional climate.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study suggest that the effects of collective violence in Chile have not been overcome, and there is still a long and difficult road ahead if reconciliation is to be achieved. There is a general attitude of agreement with the work of the NCTR and NCPIT, which co-exists with a critical view of social forgiveness. This positive judgment by the population of the commissions' work is coherent with the findings of previous surveys, and even indicates a historical trend toward a more positive appraisal of TRCs. Results confirm that three-quarters of the Chilean population are in favor of TRCs, particularly indirect victims, while the unaffected and direct victims are slightly more critical (Cardenas *et al.*, 2012). This positive evaluation of the commissions' work is supported by the belief that they fulfilled their functions related to the creation of an inclusive historical narrative, and a positive evaluation of this commission's goal was associated with better perception of social and emotional climate. Direct and indirect victims share more the perception that the TC's helps to elaborate a positive collective memory. However, only a third of the sample shares the idea that the TC was successful to create an integrative narrative. Also showing the limitations of reconciliation, only 21% believe that forgiveness can be achieved, 32% perceives higher intergroup (% agreeing with 4-7 scores) and 49% perceives institutional trust (% agreeing 3-5 scores). Finally, negative collective emotions were higher than positives.

People with a positive attitude toward NCTR's goal of creation of an integrative narrative report higher positive and negative emotions, such as sadness, shame, hope, and pride. Results confirm that satisfactory institutional activity to repair the past acts as an expiation ritual, reactivating a negative moral emotion such as shame, and a positive moral emotion, such as pride, along with negative emotions such as sadness and positive ones such as hope (Páez, 2010).

On the whole, the results suggest that both negative and positive emotions are involved, since anger, sadness and shame mobilize people for reparation and re-empowerment, while pride and hope in relation to the activities of TCs allow people to look to the future with optimism. As far as inter-group forgiveness are concerned, confirming the impact of the NCTR on reconciliation, the results show that a positive evaluation of the commissions' goal of creating an inclusive narrative was associated with relative higher acceptance of social forgiveness. However it is important to remark that neither victims (either direct or indirect) nor the general population believe that forgiveness can be achieved.

People who agree with the commissions' goal of creating an inclusive narrative also believe that apologies are more sincere and effective for increasing inter-group empathy and trust. This perception of apologies correlates (data not shown) with the perception of a more positive social climate, confirming that such processes are associated with inter-group reconciliation (Cehajic, Brown, & Castano, 2008).

Results also confirms that agreement with TRC construction of a common integrative narrative of past collective violence was not only related to forgiveness but also to a positive attitudes towards learning from the past, to high level of inter-group trust, perceived solidarity and confidence in institutions (Nadler, Malloy & Ficher, 2008; Bar-Tal, 2011). However, negative collective emotions were not related to agreement with the TC's goal of creating an inclusive narrative, suggesting that transitional rituals are able to enhance positive collective emotions, but negatives are more related to negative events and collective trauma, than to reparatory initiatives – similar to the fact that positive affect is mainly related to social support, while negative affect is mainly related to negative events, but not to social support (Watson, 2000). Finally agreement with the creation of an integrative collective narrative was unrelated to an attitude favorable to forget the past, and was not associated to the agreement with Universalism values – or high agreement with tolerance of differences and justice for everybody, the subjective value facet of reconciliation (Gibson, 2004). These results show the limitations of an inclusive narrative to reinforce a democratic subjective culture and to help to overcome the attitude towards repress the past.

Social sharing was also related to a positive attitude towards TC's goal of creating an inclusive narrative, suggesting that macro narrative fuels and support interpersonal communication about the past. Moreover, social sharing also correlates with positive emotions, positive evaluation apologies, as well as with egalitarian, tolerant and universal justice beliefs (data not shown). On the other hand, social sharing play a more ambivalent role, because also reinforces negative emotions and climate, eroding positive emotional climate. This result was similar to a previous study with a small Chilean sample (Páez et al, 1997), suggesting than sharing when focused on trauma fuel negative emotions, while at the same time helps to find benefits.

This study shows that TRCs act as a social tool for increasing globally intergroup reconciliation. Moreover, social sharing related to past collective violence and TC activities was also related to positive emotions with respect to political or religious ideological beliefs (data not shown). These results confirm the role of social sharing (Rimé *et al.*, 1998; 2011) and positive emotions (Fredrickson, 2009) in the construction of social well-being. Results suggest that interpersonal communication or social sharing and positive emotions complement the positive influence of transitional justice activities and act as “micro-social rituals” of construction of meaning (Rimé *et al.*, 2011).

In spite of that, neither social sharing nor agreement with the creation of an inclusive narrative or collective memory shows a significant multivariate coefficient. Results suggest that emotional reactions and the achievement of justice, truth and future-oriented goal of prevention are more relevant for reconciliation.

Our results show the positive appraisal of commission work has acted as a symbolic reconstruction ritual, because the positive evaluation of TC's functions are relevant variables on predicting evaluations of the country's social climate. This means that the commissions' work to discover the truth, to see justice done, and to guarantee that such violent events will not happen again reinforce solidarity and perceived positive emotions – even controlling for exposure to violence, social sharing and negative and positive emotional reactions.

Past-oriented task of creation of an inclusive narrative or integrative collective memory was less relevant than the previous ones.

Thus, the Chilean population believes that learning from the past can prevent violence, and the commissions have clarified this past, helping to bring out the truth, and fostered a climate of the pursuit of justice by punishing the guilty. The population agrees on the need to compensate victims and their family members for the harm done. Those who evaluate commission work in this way are the people who foresee a more optimistic future and give better appraisals of the country's social climate; they are also those who consider victims' forgiveness toward the perpetrators of violence as more possible.

Given the cross-sectional nature of this study, attributions of causality are limited; moreover, the conclusions are based only on self-reports. Even so, the large sample of citizens – which can be considered to represent the majority of the Chilean population – and the long list of items based on a previous successful survey (Gibson, 2004) allow us to be confident about our conclusions.

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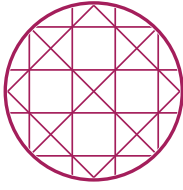
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The Past and the Present (re)Visited: War Veterans' Representations of the Portuguese Colonial War

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Abstract

The Portuguese colonial war, which took place between 1961 and 1974, has marked the life of many individuals who were recruited by the Portuguese Armed Forces to fight in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. In the present study, through a classical content analysis of five semi-structured interviews conducted with Portuguese war veterans (non-professional and involved in direct armed conflict in Angola between 1965 and 1972), we investigate their representations of the colonial war. More precisely, we analyze their emotional processing of the colonial war, as well as the perceptions these veterans held (at the time of the war) and presently hold about Africans from the former colonies. Furthermore, we also analyze their representations of the process of decolonization of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, as a function of their past experiences in the war. Finally, we analyze the personal consequences that individuals attribute to their experience of the war in the present day. This study represents a first step in our analysis of war veterans' representations of the colonial war and our discussion of results also reflects new lines of research for the future.

Key words

Portuguese colonial war; War veterans; Social Representations

The Portuguese colonial war occurred at a time when Portugal was under the New State dictatorship. This authoritarian regime was effective in Portugal between 1926 and 1974, and on April 25th 1974 there was a peaceful military coup, led by the Armed Forces Movement, that overthrew the regime and gave way to democracy in the country. One of the main reasons for the military to overthrow the New State Regime was the desire to stop the colonial war, which had started in 1961. At this time, colonization was already condemned worldwide and most colonial powers had acknowledged the right to self-determination and independence of their colonies. However, Portugal refused to grant independence and self-determination in a peaceful way. Already in 1951, there was a revision of the Portuguese Constitution by the New State regime, changing the status of the colonized territories from "colonies" to "overseas territories", thus defining Portugal as an intercontinental and

multiracial nation (Ramos, Vasconcelos e Sousa, & Monteiro, 2010). Despite the international pressure, Portugal did not concede its colonies the right to self-determination and, in 1961, what would be known as the Portuguese colonial war began, following a massacre of local populations in the North of Angola (Ramos *et al.*, 2010). This war soon spread over the other Portuguese colonies, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and lasted until the peaceful Carnation Revolution in 1974¹. This war damaged the countries of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and caused many casualties on both sides. In 1975, all the former African colonies were recognized as independent states by Portugal.

In Portugal, many young men were recruited by the Portuguese Army to fight in the colonial war. Until 1973, it is estimated that around 87.274 Portuguese individuals were recruited and around 8000 Portuguese men died in the conflict (Guerra Colonial, 2009).

Although the colonial war lasted for 13 years and had a very strong impact on people's lives and the political arena in Portugal, so far, little attempts have been made to address this period of Portuguese history and analyze the social representations that individuals hold of the colonial war. Especially, we argue that investigating the social representations of the colonial war held by individuals who actively participated in it, as soldiers of the Portuguese Armed Forces, and how this experience affects their lives is of major importance.

Therefore, the present study consists of an introduction to a research project in which we aim to analyze the social representations of the colonial war among Portuguese war veterans. This first study is, then, a preliminary analysis of five interviews (out of a total of thirty), which we have conducted and it represents an inductive step designed to prepare the next research steps and analyses of the results of such interviews. More concretely, in the present paper, we analyze the representations of five Portuguese war veterans who served in Angola between 1965 and 1972. By choosing a rather homogeneous group of war veterans (i.e. our participants were in the colonial war more or less at the same timing, they were all in Angola and they were all first line combatants), we aim to understand the construal of social representations among these individuals. Therefore, we analyze the emotional processing of their experiences in the war as soldiers, their perceptions of Africans during the war and in the present day and the way they represent the process of decolonization. In addition, we investigate the personal consequences the war brought about for their lives in the present day.

To our knowledge, little research has tried to understand Portuguese war veterans' social representations of the colonial war. Sendas, Maia and Fernandes (2008), have conducted a study with 314 war veterans in which they asked the participants to answer the question "What is the meaning you attribute for your experience in the war?". Their analyses led them to distinguish two main categories of responses: the first category refers to the war as "life experience" and the second category refers to being in the war as "inheritance". For some participants, the war as a "life experience" is characterized by a period of life in which some individuals portray it as a "torment" (i.e. horrible, unjust, etc.), others as "the fulfillment of a service/duty" (i.e. defend the country's interests, duty served, etc.) and for the rest as an

¹ It is important to refer that, both in Angola and Mozambique, there were civil wars after the recognition of independence of both countries. Only in 2002, in Angola and, 1992, in Mozambique, were these conflicts resolved.

“epic experience” (i.e. getting to know Africa, pride/honor, etc.). Participants whose answers fall within the “inheritance category”, mainly refer to the war experience as an “irreparable loss” (i.e. ruin of physical and psychological health, took their youth, etc.) or as an “acquisition” (i.e. contribution for self-improvement, maturity, more knowledge, etc.).

These authors (Sendas *et al.*, 2008) have made a significant contribution to the literature through their methodology, which was based on questionnaires. In the present study, we have conducted semi-structured interviews with our participants, because we believe this methodology allows us to tap into different dimensions of the war, such as the participants' representations of their own experience in the conflict, of the decolonization process, as well as their emotional coping and representations of the consequences of the war.

Furthermore, we argue that the theory of social representations is a valuable framework from which to analyze our results, especially when we further develop our results in the future. Our research proposition is that our participants have come to build specific representations of the war, which are related with their role in the conflict as combatants. Throughout the years, and by contacting and discussing with each other their experiences of the war, these men have created specific meanings and representations, which may not be entirely consistent with each other but that are somewhat consensual among them. In this line, we also propose that Portuguese war veterans hold specific social representations of this period of Portuguese history, which may be different from other Portuguese people, namely, men who were not first-line combatants. At present, we only present and discuss the contents of five interviews conducted with first-line combatants in the colonial war in order to highlight some of the main dimensions underlying war veterans' representations of the colonial war.

Social representations theory (Moscovici, 1976, 1984) proposes that processes of meaning making and information sharing are embedded within the context in which these social transactions occur. In other words, individual cognitive processes are guided and coordinated by a metasystem, which uses normative regulations for the purpose of creating sense of these same cognitive operations, which happen within social interactions (Doise, 1993). Through a process of objectification, abstract information is transformed into concrete knowledge that is communicated and, thus, becomes shared within a given social context (Clémence, 2001). Furthermore, through the process of anchoring, figures and meanings are framed in prior knowledge and beliefs thus leading to a particular social representation of a given topic. As members of a social category sharing the same life experiences, Portuguese war veterans have probably elaborated shared representations of their experience in the war, through the discussion and interpretation of these experiences within this social category, and through the objectification and anchoring of these experiences within the social context in which they live.

In this line, it is important to consider the social positioning of different individuals when analyzing social representations of the colonial war (Clémence, 2001). One must expect that war veterans' social representations may be different from the social representations held, for example, by veterans who fought on the side of the independentist movements or even of civilians who were not involved in the war, but also that these war veterans'

representations may also not be homogeneous among them. According to Clémence (2001),

“Social positioning derives from the anchoring of the shared knowledge in different groups. These groups are not only different because they do not have access to the same information, but also because their members share specific beliefs and experiences.” (p. 87)

Following this rationale, shared constructions of the social world and of the relations between individuals may influence the way individuals perceive this social world, how they relate to it, and, more specifically, contribute to the construction of meaning of specific experiences, such as the personal involvement in the colonial war. Therefore, in the present exploratory study, we propose to look closer at Portuguese war veterans' representations of the colonial war, by focusing on their involvement in the conflict, and how these representations are intertwined with other aspects and representations of their lives in the present day.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Five men who were recruited as soldiers for the Portuguese colonial war, on the side of the Portuguese Armed Forces, were contacted through the Center for Studies and Medical, Psychological and Social Support (CEAMPS) of the Veterans League (Liga dos Combatentes) to participate in the present study. Their ages ranged from 62 to 66 years old at the time of the interviews and all of the participants were involved in direct armed conflict in the colonial war, although none of them pursued a military career (i.e. they were soldiers but did not stay in the army after the war). Three of the men were shooters, one was a transmissions equipment repairman and the other one was a quartermaster. The five men were located in different zones of Angola, between 1965 and 1972. The time of service in the army for the five participants ranged from two years and one month to three years and one month.

PROCEDURE

The data for the present study were collected in 2009 through individual interviews conducted in the premises of the Veterans League headquarters, in Lisbon. All participants were subjected to previous psychological assessment and some of them were, at the time of the interviews, receiving psychological support through self-help groups, within the Center for Studies and Medical, Psychological and Social Support (CEAMPS) of the Veterans League. Before the interviews started, participants gave their consent for audio recording the interview. All the interviews were conducted by the same person (the first author of this article) and the minimum length of interview was around thirty-five minutes, while the maximum length was around one hour and twenty minutes. The interviews were semi-structured and allowed the interviewer and the participant to focus on aspects that were most relevant for the participant's experience in the colonial war. First, participants were asked a few

background and demographic questions about themselves. Second, participants were all asked about the following topics: 1) Description of a relevant event that participants felt strongly about during their experience as combatants; 2) Emotions and feelings regarding the aforementioned event at the time; 3) Description of another event/story about their experience as a military; 4) Emotions and feelings regarding this event at the time; 5) Information given to them officially, at the time of recruitment; 6) Opinion about the war: - Before they went there; - When they were there; - When they returned to Portugal.; 7) What were/are their perceptions of the Africans from the former colonies: - At the time of the war;- Nowadays.; 8) - What were the perceptions of the Africans from the former colonies in relation to the Portuguese: - At the time of the war; - Nowadays.; 9) Consequences of the war: - For themselves; - For Portugal; - For the former colonies.; 10) Representations about the end of the war and the decolonization process; 11) The emotions they experience when describing their experience during the war and why. These topics were not always addressed in the same order, depending on the way the interview was flowing. Participants were also told that they could refuse to answer any of the questions and to interrupt or even stop the interview at any time if they wished so. For the present study, we focus mainly on the topics addressed through questions 1 to 4, 7, 9 (only the part regarding personal consequences of the war), 10 and 11.

By collecting data regarding the aforementioned topics, our main goal was to understand the social representations of the veterans of the Portuguese colonial war, and the meanings they attach to this life experience by focusing on four different topics: 1) the emotional experience of the colonial war; 2) the perceptions the war veterans have regarding Africans from the former colonies at the time of the conflict and in the present day; 3) their perceptions of the decolonization process of the former Portuguese colonies; and 4) the personal consequences the war had in their lives.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After closely analyzing the content of the interviews, we focused on four different aspects of our participants answers: 1) The emotional processing of the war; 2) Perceptions of Africans from the former colonies; 3) Representations of the decolonization process; and 4) Personal consequences of the war.

The first category refers to the emotional processing of the war and within this major category, we were also able to identify two different clusters of answers: “the experience of the war” and the “Angola experience”. This first cluster of answers is characterized by individuals’ feelings and thoughts associated with the war itself and their role in the war:

“The person was always in *fear*². But where would I escape to? (...) *I don't know what we thought*. Still today I say *I'd rather not go*, although, thank God, nothing happened to me.” (01)³

² The authors chose to italicize some aspects of the quotes in order to highlight certain aspects to which they refer to in the discussion of the results.

³ The numbers in brackets after each quote represent the participants' code number.

"Of course I would've (avoided the war). Because I even had a stable life... the war, in the end, it was more the trauma. (...) There were many stories. Always very sad stories. For example, when we went in the woods, we would try to conceal, with each other, what happened during the days we were there, because in the woods we found very sad things. Things difficult to explain, like bodies hooked on trees." (29)

"When I got there I was demoralized, right? (...) We have that anxiety, we were going through the risk area. We went there oppressed. (...) When we were there, we would have good and bad moments. I had many sad moments. But I also had good moments. And personally, it's hard to explain. Living it, we were young, right? (...) The colleagues were the ones who supported us. I am convinced we had a lot of strength, otherwise we would have all died out of sadness. Or there was someone who gave us strength. I liked going to Africa, I liked that country. But I didn't like going into the war." (23)

"We needed some courage too, right? Still today, if I had to get a gun to defend my country's interests, I would have no problems. If I am Portuguese obviously I have my share in the defense of the heritage, right? And who doesn't do it, in my opinion, is wrong. (...) There were complicated moments. But that happens in every war. But there were also positive moments." (18)

"We did good and bad things. But I liked going. I was proud of serving the Portuguese army and I liked going overseas, going to Angola, that is. I was proud of being part of the Portuguese army. (...) When we went to Angola we were taught that from Minho to Algarve and the overseas territories were all ours. And we went there with a patriotic spirit to defend Portugal. (...) We had a certain respect for the war. No one likes going into war. Everyone was afraid. (25)

As it is visible from the quotes above, our participants report having experienced fear of being involved in the war. Furthermore, they also mention to have felt or perceived many situations as sad when they were in the war. However, their experiences of the war seem rather contrasted. For example, the first two quotes refer only to the fear of the war, the trauma and the sad moments the participants experienced. Yet, the other three participants also mention some good aspects of the war, such as the strength of going to war, the need to defend the Portuguese heritage, the positive moments and the feeling of pride derived from the idea of serving the country. Importantly, we have noticed a general absence of labeling of negative self-focused emotions (such as anger, guilt, shame words) within our analysis. It thus seems that, although individuals are able to remember their experience in the war, the emotional labeling is rather vague, being put mostly in terms of "positive" and "negative" aspects of the war.

It is also visible that two of our participants perceive the war as something they had to do to "defend the heritage", as a service they had to fulfill as Portuguese citizens. For these, the war was experienced more positively than for the other three participants.

The second cluster of answers that our participants spontaneously gave, regarding their emotional processing of the colonial war, refers to the experience of going to and being in Angola:

"I mean, on the one side, the longing (saudade)... Angola is beautiful. I mean, I was touched inside, in the heart, the landscape. Those environments were forever marked in my heart. Angola is beautiful." (29)

"Well, I liked being there, I liked going there. I didn't want to say this. What I wanted to say was that *I liked Angola*. (...) There was never anyone who liked to go to war. But at the end of my commission, *I liked going to Africa, I liked that country. But I didn't like going into the war*. (...) I liked getting to know Angola." (23)

"If I had to settle now in Angola I would have no problem. I would like to visit *Luanda, which is a beautiful city. Nice beaches, all good*." (18)

"I liked Angola very much, very much." (25)

As it can be seen from the above quotes, our participants seem to make a spontaneous distinction between the "experience of the war" and what we have labeled as the "Angola experience". For four out of our five participants, being in Angola was a positive experience and the memories they have of the country are all related with the landscape and the beauty of the country and of Luanda (the capital). Given the distinction between the more negative content of the quotes within the first category "experience of the war" and the more positive content of the second category "Angola experience", it is important to address the multidimensionality of the emotional experiences of war veterans during the colonial war. Additionally, we must also assume the possibility that our participants may feel, at the same time, both negative and positive emotions regarding this period of their lives. Therefore, we argue that understanding from which concrete experiences the positive and the negative feelings come from is of utmost importance when addressing the social representations of the colonial war among war veterans.

When analyzing our participants' responses to our second category of interest, regarding the perceptions they have of the Africans from the former colonies, we have made a distinction between the perceptions of Africans in the past, during the time the veterans served in the colonial war, and the perceptions they have of Africans from the former colonies in the present day.

Perceptions of Africans then:

"While we were there, we were in it, we didn't see them with good eyes, that's it. But we couldn't say it because of our captain." (01)

"I *always saw them positively*. The ones that didn't harm me, right? (...) There were moments *they even helped us. I was never a racist* because I never saw a reason for it. In the first place I always saw the human being." (23)

"I always *had a good relationship* with the native people there." (18)

Perceptions of Africans now:

"I don't know if you can call me a racist or if it isn't racist but I have something of *not seeing them with good eyes*. But only when I see certain injustices, things they do. (...) If I pass by them I try not to look. I try not to get involved because I get outraged with certain things (...) *it's not that I hate blacks or anything like that. I get outraged when I see them doing things or talking in a certain way that is not respectful*. If it's a white, I don't know but I don't get as outraged. I don't know if that's called racism or not but I'm not a racist" (01)

"There are many people who have it (hatred). But I'm not racist, no." (23)

"The Africans are more racist than the white. And even more corrupt and rich. (...) I think we need human workforce for construction work. So I agree that Africans come. I am not racist, I mean, they're welcome. But there are some... (...) I think they like living here more than in Angola. It's a misery there." (25)

Our results show that it is difficult to find a common valence regarding the perceptions of Africans then and now for our participants. While, for example, the first participant answers that he has never been very positive about Africans, neither in the past, nor in the present, the other participants seem quite defensive in their answers about their perceptions of Africans. The other two participants clearly state that they always had positive perceptions of Africans. It is also clear that our participants generally refer to themselves as not being racist, although their perceptions are somewhat diffuse and inconsistent. Especially, our participants' perceptions of Africans in the present day appear to be positive in nature, although there is also a particularization of some characteristics of Africans and some implicit negative perceptions of Africans. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that in the above quotes our participants refer to African immigrants living in Portugal and not to Africans living in the former colonies.

Furthermore, it is important to note that, generally, we can identify traces of what may be called "new" or subtle racism (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Vala, Brito, & Lopes, 1999; Vala, Lopes, & Lima, 2008) in the quotes of the war veterans. Given that, by nowadays standards, racism is widely condemned and people know that they should not express it, many times, individuals seem to adhere to beliefs that do not directly reflect racist views. Instead, they use more covert and indirect ways of expressing their prejudice against other groups, thus allowing participants to feel they have not transgressed the anti-racist norm (Deschamps, Vala, Marinho, Lopes, & Cabecinhas, 2005; Vala *et al.*, 2008). One example of such use of more subtle racist views lies in the sentence "I am not racist, I mean, they're welcome. But there are some..." (Participant 01) or even "it's not that I hate blacks or anything like that. I get outraged when I see them doing things or talking in a certain way that is not respectful" (Participant 23). These interviewees do seem to be prejudiced against Africans from the former colonies. However, they try to defend themselves as not being racist, by particularizing some members of this social category and by focusing on their counter-normative actions.

Finally, one important aspect seems to be that our participants hold quite consistent ideas about Africans from the former colonies and that their past and present perceptions are coherent with each other. For example, participant 23 always refers to himself as not being racist and as holding positive views of Africans in the past, but also in the present day. As for participant 1, the negative perceptions of Africans are visible, both in the past and in the present day. Nevertheless, one must also bear in mind that the perceptions of Africans in the past were expressed by our participants in the present day and, thus, they may be more coherent due to a need for consistency. However, it is worth noticing that they do not tend to contrast their representations of the Africans from Angola with those of African immigrants currently living in today's Portugal.

In terms of the third category of analysis, regarding our participants' representations of the process of decolonization, it is clear that they all share common beliefs regarding this topic.

"Portugal had *more costs than benefits*. So many lives lost, traumatized for life. I don't know if the benefits... *Because, in the end, we had to let go* (of Africa). (...) *I don't know if the war was worth it*, but I don't think so, because in those 13 years how many millions of escudos were spent there and went there to keep the war that, in the end, had to finish?" (01)

"I think the 25th of April should've served another system. *I think we shouldn't have given them sovereignty right away*. There should've been negotiations with the political parties there. Because those parties were also at war with each other. And then, *make things differently, not give it to them for free. It should've become provinces, but in communion with us*, in order to get something from there. From there (the colonies) to here (Portugal) and from here to there! (...) *I think they should have had independence, yes, but under our orientation/guidance because, in the end, they needed it*. I mean, after we left they went to war with each other for several years." (29)

"Maybe it was *badly done, too much in a rush*. (...) I think *they should be independent*. But there should be a preparation. When they started the war, they should have prepared it with anticipation so when the moment came, they should have given it more time. *It should have been prepared with anticipation, but they didn't prepare it*. (...) *It would've been better without the war. I think it only brought about disadvantages*." (23)

"I think the politicians back then *could've found a more balanced solution*, that not only would impend the civil war. There were other solutions. It's obvious that to safeguard the interests of both sides *the power had to, in a first phase, be shared to give way to independence. It would've been positive for all sides*." (18)

"I am a man of the 25th of April, *I agreed with the independence*, especially to avoid losing more Portuguese soldiers. *But I think the decolonization wasn't made right*. (...) So Africa, the biggest share had to be for Africans. If it was possible - maybe in the time of Norton de Matos⁴ - but when the terrorism started it was unthinkable to do something like Madeira or Azores. *So they would have the negro population and a Portuguese representative, there would be a certain autonomy if it was possible*. But I don't think it was positive. *They are worse off then when the Portuguese were there*. But I agree with the independence." (25)

All of our participants agree that the former Portuguese colonies had the right to self-determination and independence. Furthermore, our participants also agree with each other that the war was unnecessary, especially, given that in the end "Portugal had to let go of the colonies". In this line, it is also visible from the quotes above that the war veterans we interviewed feel that their efforts in the war were useless and that the war was unnecessary because of the way the decolonization process occurred. Moreover, and following the same reasoning for their condemnation of the decolonization process, our participants argue that there should have been a period of transition between the colonial war and the recognition

4 José Maria Mendes Ribeiro Norton de Matos was the General Governor of Angola between 1912 and 1915 and was the minister for the Portuguese colonies between May 18th 1915 and June 19th 1915.

of independence of the former colonies. Interestingly, and in line with the later results, Licata and Klein (2010) have also shown that, in the context of Belgium's decolonization of Congo, older Belgian participants' levels of group-based guilt are associated with the belief that Belgians did not prepare the Congolese for independence.

Summarizing, our participants agree that the war was mostly negative and that there should have been a process of transition when the colonies gained independence. Given that this transition period did not occur, for them the decolonization process was made in the wrong way and brought about negative consequences for the colonies and, at the same time, augmented their perceptions that their efforts in the war and all of their suffering was vain and unrecognized.

Indeed, the feelings of uselessness and of wasting their efforts, as war veterans, are also visible in the answers of the fourth category of analysis, regarding our participants' representations of the personal consequences the war had in their lives.

"It was *negative*... I had to be there 25 months... I forget a lot. Sometimes the memory vanishes. (...) The consequences for my life is only this thing that, I think, if I hadn't gone there, if I wasn't there, I wouldn't have these problems that I'm having now. And it's all night. It's not *dreaming about it, it's insomnia, nightmares*, not sleeping. (...) *I have to forget*. (...) After I came back I didn't have this. It has been getting worse in the last years. It feels like I'm there. (...) Benefits, I didn't see any. Because, to be truthful, I still say to myself that I'd rather not go. (...) But thank god, nothing happened to me. (...) *It was the loss of two years of my youth that I could've had*. (...) To be truthful, I believe *I didn't have any benefits, on the contrary, on the contrary*." (01)

"When I came back... *My brain was ruined*... I went through a lot... I wasn't capable of understanding my father, my mother, my brothers, it's very hard. (...) I wasn't capable. If there was a party, fireworks, I would throw myself to the ground. (...) The war, overall, *it was more the trauma*... something weird in our brain, in our idea, in our thoughts. (...) *Sometimes I still dream of it* (the war). It's something that seems impossible. Impressive. And when I wake up I realize 'I'm not in the war'... and in the beginning I had horrific dreams. I would get up and run away from home. But with the years, it got more stable – a bit better but not so much. (...) *It's a pity that today we (war veterans) don't have more strength and support*." (29)

"*I marked the good things better than the bad ones*. Tried to forget the bad ones and keep the good ones. It is the best way to pass time. (...) *I don't think they do much for the veterans*. There's no one who has been overseas that doesn't have scars and they would all need more medical support. (...) There are worst cases than mine. Maybe I can cope with my disease. I can't write sometimes because of the tremors. Yes, *in the beginning I dreamt more*. (...) *It's not easy to tell*. It's not easy, at least for me, to tell what happened in the war to anyone here. I never thought of it as censorship. It was *my thoughts that didn't allow me to tell what happened there*. *We can't express what happens, we can't*." (23)

"Let's say that *from a psychological perspective the war always leaves marks*. It creates *difficult situations* to people. Still today *I can't stand in front of a showcase*. I always think there's someone on my back to kill me or rob me. I'm always alert. And if I am in big crowds I don't feel well. *I think someone will attack me. I can't sleep well*. (...) And *I try to forget*. That is, with the problems I face in my daily life, *I try to overcome it*." (18)

"After the 25th of April the soldiers were badly treated. As if we were murderers. The soldiers who were forced to go to the war were very badly treated and forgotten. (...) Looking back I would say that the African people are worse off then when the Portuguese were there. (...) There were some positive and negative consequences. Positive because I got to know Angola, it gave me a certain knowledge of Angola; the economic and social situation, gave me maturity. Negative, it was four years of my life... (...) It was very stressful. I suffered. I came with a little bit of stress. All the living, the military component, the pressure, responsibility, anxiety, the stress we were submitted to. I am hurt, hurt. (...) I think my stay in Angola was positive. Positive in the human, technical sense. But the negative part were the four years of my life and the result. We lost Africa. I feel confused. I came very confused." (25)

From the quotes above one may infer that mostly, the war brought about negative consequences for our participants. The participants refer to symptoms characteristic of post-traumatic stress disorder, such as insomnias and negative psychological consequences that still affect their lives today. Furthermore, they also feel they lost their years of youth in the war and that all of their suffering was in vain. Nowadays, it is also clear that these war veterans do not feel recognized for their role in the war and feel left out by the representatives of the governments that ruled Portugal after the colonial war ended. All in all, although these war veterans also refer to some positive consequences of the war, such as "maturity", the fact that they could visit Angola, and a gain in technical abilities ("Positive in the human, technical sense"), mostly all of our participants mention more negative consequences for their lives deriving from their participation in the war.

The analysis of the interviews conducted with five war veterans of the Portuguese colonial war have shown us that the representations of the colonial war must be considered within a multidimensional framework, from which we can draw several meanings, associated with different aspects of the veterans experience of the war.

For example, when analyzing the emotional content of the interviews, it becomes clear that, still today, our participants have some difficulty to articulate and integrate the war experience into a coherent representation. Regarding this category of analysis, on the one side, the participants report the negative aspects and feelings associated with the experience of the war, fear being the most expressed emotion by all of our participants. More specifically, three of our participants focused mainly on the negative aspects of the war: the fear, the trauma and the anxiety the war provoked in them, while at the same time they also mentioned the difficulty they have to explain and discuss their feelings and experiences. On the other side, two of the war veterans seem to evoke mostly the feeling of duty accomplished by serving in the war. However, these two participants also expressed their fear.

Importantly, none of the war veterans was able to clearly label their emotional experience (given that emotional words are not usually apparent in their discourse), except for the labeling of fear of the war and pride for being part of the Portuguese army. They do not report any negative self-centered moral emotion such as guilt or shame.

Moreover, our participants make a clear distinction between their experience in the war and its associated negative representations and of the experience of being in Angola. Three participants clearly make a distinction between being in the war and being in Angola and, for them, the "Angola experience" is positive in nature. These veterans describe the

beauty of the country and the fact they liked to visit the country. One of them goes even further, by stating he would like to live there because of the natural beauty of the country. Angola, as a territory, tends to elicit nostalgia.

These results lead us to make a distinction between the content of the social representations related with the involvement in the war and of being in Angola, given that they are quite distinctive in valence and, most importantly, in the feelings and emotions they elicit. Further research should address the fact that our participants seem to have a rather diffuse emotional processing of the experience of the war and researchers should also try to understand the meaning that a lack of emotional labeling may carry within it. For example, clinical psychologists could address this incapacity to label their emotions. If the next steps of our research confirm it, their psychological counselors should certainly take this feature of the war veterans into account.

Interestingly, our analyses have also highlighted that, many times, our participants refer to their experience in the war in “we” terms, rather than “I” terms. This seems to reflect self-categorization with other war veterans, who went through the same experiences as our participants. Further research should analyze how self-categorization processes influence the construction of social representations for war veterans. This, in turn, may shed light into our understanding of different positions regarding the social representations of the war that may arise within different groups who were part of the Portuguese Armed Forces. For example, it is possible that veterans who were never involved in direct-armed conflict (unlike our participants) may hold different representations of their experience of the war and display a different emotional processing of such experience.

Regarding our category of answers about the perceptions of Africans from the former colonies, the results show that our participants declare quite consistent perceptions of Africans when thinking of them in the colonial past and nowadays. Two of our participants appear to hold a positive view of the people from the former colonies, while the remaining veterans seem to have more negative views of Africans and endorse what we may call subtle racism (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Vala *et al.*, 1999, 2008). More explicitly, although these war veterans state that they are not racist, they do seem to hold negative views of the Africans from the former colonies. This suggests that the experience of the war, still today, influences their perceptions, thus allowing for consistency between their views of Africans during the war and the present day. However, we must also keep in mind that the consistency found between the war veterans' perceptions of Africans in the past and in the present may be related with the fact that they reported these in the present and within a small temporal distance, thus potentially leading to a consistency effect. Nevertheless, we argue that understanding how the negative experiences in the war might inspire negative attitudes towards contemporary Africans is of utmost importance and further research should tap into these dynamics.

When analyzing the social representations of the decolonization process, we found that all of our participants agree with the right to independence for the former Portuguese colonies and they affirm that the war was negative and should not have happened. However, our participants also defend that there should have been a transition period before the

colonies fully gained their independence. In this line, they feel that the war efforts and their role in the conflict were useless. It is understandable that these war veterans, who spent years fighting in Africa, feel that something else should have been done before the colonies gained their independence. Also, the fact that Angola went through a civil war right after the colonial conflict ended, must add to this feeling of uselessness and waste of their youth years.

Finally, all of our participants mentioned several personal consequences of their participation in the war. All in all, the war veterans claim that the war brought more negative than positive consequences for their lives. All of the participants reported suffering from physical and psychological symptoms, such as confusion, insomnia, fear of harsh and unexpected sounds, trauma and stress, and these all seem to reflect symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. Furthermore, it is also clear that our participants feel they lost their youth in a useless effort and that no one has ever recognized their role and their losses in the war. Finally, these individuals state that they feel forgotten by their government's representatives and that they wish they would make more efforts to help the veterans in general.

Further research should continue to analyze the social representations of the colonial war, from the perspective of Portuguese war veterans, but also from the perspective of other individuals who were not directly involved in the armed conflict or who were involved, but on the side of the independentist movements. To our knowledge, the literature about the colonial war is somewhat expanding. For example, there are some studies about the social representations of the Portuguese colonial period (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010), the emotions elicited by the colonial war (Figueiredo *et al.*, 2010; Figueiredo, Valentim, & Doosje, 2011) and of the relations between the Portuguese and the Africans from the former colonies (e.g. Vala *et al.*, 2008; Valentim, 2003, 2005, 2011b). Nevertheless, more research needs to be done, until we get a more comprehensive picture of how the colonial war has affected the social representations of Portuguese in present day society and of the ways this conflict may still affect the relations between the former colonizer and colonized groups.

CONCLUSION

Given the results described in the previous section, we argue that the social representations approach is a fruitful tool for the analyses of our interviews. In our view, one important characteristic of social representations refers to the possibility of holding different meanings, images and associations, which do not reflect the logic and internal consistency of thought but do, in fact, allow for the combination of aspects of the representation that may, at first, seem contradictory. Consequently, the social representations approach provides us with an analysis framework from which to investigate the war veterans' discourse about their war experience, by bringing together its different meanings and associations, which may not necessarily be coherent with each other (Moscovici, 1989; Valentim, 2011a).

This argument is also in line with the concept of cognitive polyphasia (Moscovici, 1984, 2001), which refers to the coexistence of incompatible representations of the same reality or situation within one individual. For example, Friling (2012) has shown that Israeli Jewish parents whose sons were doing the mandatory military service held different and

inconsistent representations of their sons and the author concludes that cognitive polyphasia can be understood as a common sense's tool that allows them to cope with the complex reality in which they live.

Regarding our participants, we find some preliminary evidence for the phenomenon of cognitive polyphasia when they try to make sense of their experience and their role as soldiers in the Portuguese colonial war. As stated above, it seems that the participants have difficulties integrating their emotional experiences into a coherent representation, without inconsistent aspects. Furthermore, it is also clear that these war veterans have created different meanings and associations regarding their time in the war, an assertion that is also highlighted by their distinct representations of the war experience *versus* being in Africa.

Further research should aim to understand the means by which cognitive polyphasia allows for the construal of social representations associated with different meanings about the colonial war. Therefore, the next step in our work is to include the remaining 25 interviews in our analysis and investigate the processes of objectification and anchoring that allow our participants to make sense of their experiences and create shared representations of this period of Portuguese history.

The present study has focused on five aspects of Portuguese war veterans' social representations of the colonial war: 1) the emotional experience of the war; 2) the perceptions the war veterans have regarding Africans from the former colonies at the time of the conflict and in the present day; 3) their perceptions of the decolonization process of the former Portuguese colonies; and 4) the personal consequences the war had in their lives.

We were able to show that, in general, the veterans' social representations of the colonial war were composed of multiple aspects and meanings, which may, at times, seem inconsistent or incoherent. Nevertheless, the social representations approach allows us to understand the meanings and associations they have created of the war experience, by allowing the integration of those distinct components, which are associated with different aspects of the veterans experience in the war.

Future research might fruitfully expand the social representations perspective regarding the experience of war veterans and the implications of our findings for the ways in which the Portuguese colonial war is portrayed and dealt with in the present day. Furthermore, this line of research may be of importance to understand the intergroup dynamics between the groups involved in the colonial war in the present day.

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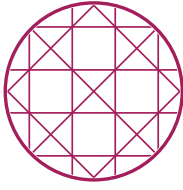
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Part II

Media(ted) Narratives and Public Memory



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Hard News Cognitive Shift: from Facts to Narratives

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Abstract

This article discusses whether and how hard news stories represent the immediate reality. It suggests that random bits of hard information morph into episodic intrigues when audiences cognitively assemble a disorderly media flow of information into a chronological episode. Active audiences proceed this way, it is assumed, because the narrative frame (the plot construction) is a powerful cognitive device which people naturally use to organize diffuse and confused social reality. Five preliminary hypotheses on how random hard information turns into subjective coherent intrigues are presented. The paper concludes that hard news configures unstable intrigue matrixes rather than neat narratives. Those matrixes seem to be exploratory foresights about the chaotic reality rather than tangible imaginary stories, however.

Key words

immediate reality; social representations; narrative frames; intrigue construction; hard news cognition

Does random and factual hard news configure narrative representations of the immediate reality? To what extent does the narrative canon operate as a cognitive frame in the audience's interpretation of hard news reports? This article discusses some preliminary hypotheses about whether, and how random bits of descriptive hard news reports of every day incidents may or may not constitute coherent narrative intrigues. Each hypothesis statement is followed by brief conceptual arguments which sustain it. The hypotheses are not exhaustive and are redundant to some extent, one overlapping the other. Together, they represent a first attempt to systematize a preliminary cognitive theory of social representations of the immediate reality through hard factual news reporting. The narrative paradigm is taken as a fundamental cognitive frame. The paper assumes that the narrative canon is the natural frame news reporters (and people in general) use to perceive, describe and interpret

the blurry immediate world. In the hypotheses, this narrative paradigm is confronted with descriptive hard news reporting in order to clarify whether, when and where precisely the narrative frame operates to shift facts into stories.

The theme of how news reporting represents and builds up social reality is not new. Since the pioneer reflections of Robert Park (1940) about news as a form of knowledge, the role of news stories in the construction of human knowledge and social representation of reality has been a recurrent theme of academic meetings, articles and books, from psychology and sociology to communication and cognitive sciences (Reese, Gandy and Grant, 2001; Bandura, 2001; Weimann, 2000; Shapiro, 1991; Adoni and Mane, 1984). This article does not make a review of the literature about this complex topic. Instead, it presents five hypotheses about *how* the narrative canon operates as a cognitive device to reorganize scattered hard bits of information in order to build up comprehensible representations of reality. Furthermore, it does not attempt to confirm whether these stories really correspond to the empirical world they represent. That is a different question which will not be dealt with here.

Contrary to what was said by Walter Benjamin (1998), the paper argues that narratives proliferate nowadays in mass media more than ever before and are partially responsible for our understanding of the immediate world. I agree about the unrefined and rough character of most media *infotainment* stories, but narrative still seduces audiences, even when presented in fragmented hard news reports in newspapers, magazines and newscasts. Traditional narrative storytelling has lost its strength, and it is no more a face to face partaken process. Narratives have lost the veracity status they had before, but their magnetic appeal has not disappeared. They still hold an impressive cognitive strength in conforming social reality and collective memory, it is assumed. The mass mediated narratives, as Thompson (1998) has said, are no less authentic than those transmitted exclusively by face to face interactions. More than ever before, he argues, we are seeing a proliferation of novels, short-stories and biographies that we incessantly consume.

Is it possible that the narrative canon operates in people's mind shifting scattered factual information into more coherently digested stories? The question is not a formal subject matter neither is it solely a problem of genres. Understanding the role of hard information in the construction of social experiences is a relevant epistemological and cognitive challenge. More than ever before, people depend upon news stories to grasp and represent the immediate world. People are responding more and more to the virtual media sphere instead of empirical life experiences. We can consider hard news reports as being either tangible social representations of the events of the world or just preliminary presentations of the moving immediate reality. In both cases a discussion definitely will help us to clarify the identity of the hard journalism narrative, the type of mimeses and diegeses it accomplishes, the cultural models it presents, as well as the aesthetic and cognitive experiences of *fusion of horizons* that every day news reports stimulate.

Following Aristotle's (1996) classical considerations about mimesis, this paper defines narratives as tangible social representations of reality, or imitative imaginary versions of what happens 'out there'. As Paul Ricoeur (1994) has emphasized, mimesis is a conglobated narrative category that articulates the parts into a new synthesis. But this new synthesis is

not an entirely faithful reproduction of the empirical referent alone. The intrigue produces something new and different from the empirical object; it breaks from the referent and simultaneously accomplishes a metaphorical transformation of the object represented. If we translate mimesis as imitation, he says, we must understand it as *a creative experience*. If we translate it as social representation we must not understand it as a simple duplication, but as a clear break that opens space to 'fiction' or to the 'literary' social representation of the factual world.

This article focuses on hard news exclusively because it is by far the dominant form of messaging in the liberal elite journalism of the western capitalist democracies. Newspaper pages, TV and serious radio newscasts, as well as digital media, are full of hard news stories about politics, economics, international affairs, and so on. Hard news reporting is usually written in descriptive and factual language, trying to keep a close proximity to the empirical referent. It is usually defined in journalism literature as an objective and impersonal description of the empirical phenomena intending to avoid any subjective bias; a discursive attempt to report the facts in a direct, clear, rigorous and balanced manner in order to translate, as faithfully as possible, the empirical reality. The reporter takes a stand point 'outside' of the world being reported. As Schudson (1978) puts it, hard news represents the 'ideal of objectivity', a professional realistic ideology of independent journalism (not without harsh divergences, of course). After World War II, realism became the new western religion, as Schudson says: objectivity became the ideology of mistrusting the subjective "I".

Hard news reports represent, however, more than a professional ideology alone; they are a professional expression of the generalized western suspicion about the inherent subjectivity of the human being, who usually is assumed to frequently make moral and ideological judgments about social reality. As a matter of fact, hard news represents one of the extreme sides of the polarity realism-subjectivism in western philosophy. Realism sustains that facts are autonomous by themselves and can be objectively observed, while subjectivism relies heavily on the personal standpoint and experience in observing social phenomena.

Up to now, journalism researchers have used the traditional dichotomy hard-soft news to examine different news types. The definition of these two categories has no consensus in journalism research, however. Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky (2010) have called attention to the fact that there is no general assent about what really distinguishes hard and soft news as a research category. The dichotomy has been used for almost 40 years without any serious attempt to reassess it. They suggest that journalism studies should take into account a more nuanced definition and mapping of news types and present an eight-point scale which would enable greater statistical flexibility. Their definition of hard news is based on two topic dimensions (content relevance and time): political, social or economic items of a high significance nature that need to be reported immediately.¹

Reinemann *et al.* (2011) add that the classification of news stories as hard or soft has been indiscriminately used to judge the quality of journalism, in spite of the fact that these two categories have been poorly defined and theorized, lacking conceptual consensus. In

¹ The authors suggest a new intermediate category called "general news": news items that fall between the two traditional categories, such as up-to-date and relatively important/utilitarian news that must be reported, but not necessarily immediately or still influencing only certain groups.

addition, they say, the terms are not used to describe single characteristics of news reports, but rather a set of characteristics combined in news items, caused by collective ambiguity: authors use the same terms to mean different phenomena. According to them, there is no true or false definition in social sciences, but rather a more precise or more unambiguous definition of a concept. Their multiple dimensions distinction between hard and soft news is closer to the ideas developed in this article. They say:

The more a news item is politically relevant, the more it reports in a thematic way, focuses on the societal consequences of events, is impersonal and unemotional in its style, the more it can be regarded as hard news. The more a news item is not politically relevant, the more it reports in an episodic way, focuses on individual consequences of events, is personal and emotional in style, the more it can be regarded as soft news.

In spite of being multiple dimensional, the Reinemann *et al.* definition is still heavily founded on the topic dimension, as the authors themselves recognize. In spite of that, it is closer to the purpose of the hypotheses I present here because it relies, at least in part, on the *focus* and the *style* dimensions.² To me, style is not a question of genre, however. It is rather an argumentative matter of the narrator's strategic intentions: the 'persuasive force' a journalist implicitly imposes on the language of news reports (be it hard or soft news). From a pragmatic stand point (which I do assume in this article), hard news distinguishes itself from soft news *not because of* the theme, topic or style, but by reason of the *communicative and cognitive purposes* behind any type of news report. The communicative intention necessarily leads reporters to write down a more objective or subjective news story. Any event can be described in a more objective or subjective way, depending on the persuasive cognitive intention: one can objectively describe or subjectively narrate a single event (political, economic, social, environmental, and so on) depending whether one intends to simply inform directly or narratively attract and enchant receptors.

In practice, hard reports word and rapidly classify the diffuse reality. They are preliminary attempts to discursively organize the confused immediate world into meaningful reports; attempts to combine random parcels of reporters' prime perceptions of the real phenomenon into comprehensive preliminary dispatches. They are never-ending plots, always open to new additional facts. The objective is to inform promptly and reproduce the immediate reality exactly as it is supposed to be, causing the effect of veracity: reality is supposed to be just as accurate as it is described by hard news. There is no place for subjectivity in hard news stories at all. The communication and cognition 'contracts' are *tell the truth*, or make people believe that what is said is the real truth. In conclusion, hard news represents the opposite side of storytelling or subjective reports, having nothing to do with tales or yarns.

Journalists make a persistent effort to write down objective reports as precisely as possible. In spite of that, hard news descriptions of real dramas and tragedies are never free

² Reinemann *et al.* present that focus dimension of a news item as related to how the accentuation of *personal or societal relevance* is coded; or the focus of a news item as related to how the *accentuation of episodes or themes* is coded. The style dimension takes the journalistic style of a news item as related to the *explicit appearance of journalists' personal points of view*; or the journalistic style of a news item as related to how the *emotional presentation of information* is coded. As stated above, I take these dimensions as coming from predominantly entertainment or informative orientation of journalists when addressing a certain event to be reported.

from ambiguities and metaphorical interpretation. Audiences' free interpretations may take different directions from those originally intended. This makes journalistic communication an act of pragmatic performances, an interesting cognitive game between what is openly manifested by media hard reports and what is freely and imaginatively reinterpreted by active audiences. An intersubjective game between what is said (propositional content) and what is communicated (free metaphorical inferences). This significant cognitive game is the main concern of this article. I want to discuss whether objective hard news reports, supposed to be the opposite of narrative representations of the empirical world, may be interpreted as narrative reconstruction of social reality.

The key questions are: how do hard news reports organize the confused and diffuse immediate social reality? Are they simply factual and objective descriptions of the everyday world or do they compel us to build coherent sequential narratives about the ongoing social reality? Are they producing factual and practical knowledge about the world exclusively, as journalists usually claim they do, or are they also inducing to more subjective interpretation of the tragic everyday dramas reported? Can we take bits of information produced by hard news as partial narratives about everyday life? If so, when do the factual descriptions yield space to subjective interpretations that narration customarily induces? What is the representational outcome of hard news descriptions of all social dramas and tragedies?

To put it in a single question: can descriptive hard reports be interpreted by audiences as short stories? Journalists do not tell stories, but write down factual precise information; their concise dispatches barely configure coherent stories with a clear beginning, a climax and an end, as the classical narrative canon requires. The intention of hard news is to rapidly inform how incidents really happened, creating an impression of truth, and they do not aspire to any literary refinement. At first glance, hard news never configures short stories neither intends to do so. But hard news reports everyday conflicts, dramas, tragedies, triumphs and defeats of human beings that may induce narrative frames. Furthermore, the journalism rhetoric tends to amplify the tragic aspects of the incidents, inducing dramatic interpretations (fear and compassion) that stimulate cathartic effects typical of dramas. If that is so, hard news reports may induce not only practical cognitive processes but also cathartic effects similar to art and literature.

That is the question that remains with me to the end of this paper, and stimulates the hypotheses presented here: when do the descriptive intentions of the factual reports undergo a shift into near-dramas?

HARD NEWS SHIFT TO NARRATIVES: PRELIMINARY HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: *Random bits of hard news information about a single incident reported every day by mass media configure a weak-willed plurivocal intrigue matrix rather than a neat narrative composition.* Hard news reports are not the product of one voice only but rather the result of an implicit or direct 'negotiation' process in which different empirical actors influence the configuration of the story. These empirical voices may be manifest or implicitly present in the content, depending upon how each social actor succeeds in inserting

its particular point of view in the story. A hierarchy of influences takes place: political and economic institutions, media organizations, news professionals, and original sources bring to the media scene conflictive interests. These social actors engage in a continuous, non-overt negotiation about what aspects are newsworthy, what topics should be prioritized and how the incidents will be framed. This political bargaining transforms the sequence of hard reports about a single incident into a polyphonic and polysemic narrative matrix of many voices rather than a tidy plot.

The hypothesis about the *intrigue matrix* in hard news reports comes from Paul Ricoeur's (1995) ideas about the manifold embodiment of plural voices in narrative composition: who is speaking?, he asks. To answer the question, he suggests the incorporation of the narrative categories of *narrator* and *personage* (and personage's discourse) into the mimeses of action, also taking into account that personages are agents who think and act (particularly the personages of news stories). He calls this process *poetic composition*. The question then becomes: to what extent are news reports the discourses of a single narrator who assesses the discourse of a personage? He then suggests the notion of *plurivocal narrative*, meaning that a report may simultaneously embody many different voices. Looking for 'who is speaking' becomes the new guide for the complex determination of the voices present in any report. The hegemony of one voice only or the dialogue of various voices in the content of a report suggests the idea of an unfinished composition, which Ricoeur calls an *intrigue matrix*. At the limit, he concludes, this type of composition generates a new kind of literature, different from one author's univocal fiction.

The hard news report production process is very different from that of a single author's novel, of course. More and more different social actors interfere directly or implicitly, aiming at imposing their almost always opposite points of view about a single incident, and having their private view at least partially printed or broadcast. What gets into or is left out of the report, and how the issue will be framed, depends upon the political force of each social actor and the correlation of power in every situation. Steve Reese (2011) proposed an interesting 'hierarchy of influence model' to distinguish the production process in journalism as a web where power and ideological constraints are exercised and policy is enforced. His model reminds us that news is an institutional product manufactured by increasingly complex economic entities that stretch far beyond their immediate organizations. He means that the effects of various voices put pressure upon the press agenda, as well as upon how issues are framed and social life is verbally presented. These are the reasons why I propose to understand hard news reports as an ever imperfect and incomplete intrigue matrix instead of a conclusive narrative.

Hypothesis 2: *Random bits of hard news information about a single incident reported by mass media every day configure a tangible narrative only when the audience cognitively reorganizes them into a thematic episode.* Hard news reports may be primarily understood as a sporadic and practical form of knowledge. This is partially true, but it is only a small part of the cognitive process that can be found in everyday hard news reading, listening or viewing. How are people using the scattered information they get every day from hard news?

I suppose people always aim at configuring the random information they get into short chronological stories (single totalities). People tend to link random meaningful parcels one after another, establishing thematic chronological sequences: antecedents and consequents, causes and effects, and so on. Individuals tend to build up imaginary narrative representations of reality because they need to cognitively gather information parts into a comprehensible time-order totality.

The arguments that support this hypothesis come from the ideas of the renowned cultural psychologists Jerome Bruner (1990) and Kenneth Gergen (1994), who have called attention to the fact that people tend to organize information in terms of narrative frames. Narrative frames, they say, organize our chaotic experience of social reality. Bruner has insisted on the narrative nature of common sense (popular psychology in his words). These narrative frames weave meaningful textures, chronologically putting together the many random events we grasp through the information we get every day, be it of a factual or fictitious nature. That is the way, he claims, we all make sense out of the dynamic, complex and chaotic world. Bruner emphasizes that shared inferences out of common cultures are possible because of the narrative apparatuses we have at our disposal when facing either consensual or exceptional situations. His radical thesis states that narrative frame is the typical scheme for demarking cultural experiences: what is not organized in a narrative pattern, he says, vanishes from memory.

Gergen asserts that narrative expositions are encrusted on social acts, making human action socially visible. Insofar as information about everyday events is inserted on narrative frames, it comes out in our minds in meaningful representations: sketches of real life acquire a sense of a beginning, a climax and a final cut. People, he says, live their lives this way and classify social happenings within this narrative frame. Life does not copy art: stating it better, he goes on, art is converted into the medium through which real life manifests itself. Life is not composed of instant photos of everyday events, he adds: it is a permanently *in course* process. Understanding an action, he concludes, is situating it in its antecedent and consequent causes. Instead of watching our lives in terms of sporadic devilish incidents one after another, we are continuously rearranging sequential reports of vital events. He radically states that: instead of reflecting our everyday lives, narrative frames create the sense of what is or is not real; the structure of narration precedes the events themselves.

Hypothesis 3: A coherent narrative about a single incident is configured only after the audience fills in what is lacking in hard news reports about a single incident and links missed connections thereby completing a thematic episode. Integral stories are configured solely at the very moment of everyday reception of hard news reporting. Undertaking an active performance, the audience fills in what is lacking and makes the missing connections to complete thematic plots. This process wipes out the strictly factual and practical inferences and activates cathartic experiences. The narrative frame is not configured in a hard news factual report itself, as was said before. New original bits of information are continuously being added by the media, rendering the presentation and configuration of integral stories difficult. The absence of fundamental narrative requisites in hard reports (sequence,

embedding, and so on) demand special efforts from receivers to fill in what is lacking, and link with what is disconnected. Complete stories will configure solely in audiences' minds at the very time they chronologically reorganize the disperse bits of hard information together.

The inspiration for this hypothesis comes mainly from the 'aesthetical reception theory' of Hans Robert Jauss (1987, 1972) and Wolfgang Iser (1999, 1997), among other scholars. Those scholars (from the so called Konstanz School, Germany) situate the core of aesthetic and cognitive experiences in the reception audience's performance, when the imaginative conscience of individuals wipes out the factual tendency of the objective discourse and liberates the audience from practical affairs, activating cathartic effects that the tragic reports induce. Narrative frame, as the argument goes, brings about its potential cognitive strength mainly at the very moment of reception, when readers, viewers and listeners reinterpret the contents they received.

The theory assumes that the process of knowledge has an intersubjective and reflexive character. In this sense, real world experiences are imaginatively transferred to a 'second hand' interpretive experience, which makes people perceive 'once again' the social events. What these authors have said refers mostly to literature. However, it seems to me that their theory may apply to other types of reception acts as well, especially hard news open reception processes. Referring to literature, Jauss's thesis states that the contemplative art-watcher performance liberates the watcher from everyday praxis through an imaginative process that leaves the requirements of the practical world behind. Information about dramatic incidents, he says, liberates people from their practical interests and the effective links inducing them towards feelings of compassion and fear that tragic incident reports tend to stir up. In this view, reception is not a passive assimilation of what just comes out from the media, but it is in fact an active co-creative cognitive action of self realization. No real incident will ever be integrally told, whoever the narrator may be.

Taking this assumption into account, Iser concludes that all discourses contain gaps and discontinuities that need to be completed by an active performance of the readers or listeners. Hard information about tragic incidents reported by news media may stimulate the reader's imagination, creating an interactive game between what is and what is not expressed. What is not expressed, he says, stimulates the reconstruction of meanings, although 'under the control' of what was said. It is the readers, however, who noematically derive senses out of what they read, listen to or watch, or from what is lacking. According to Iser the readers play at least three mental operations in the game: selection, recombination and fictional 'duplication' of reality. These three operations permit them to shuffle and recombine personages, revoke empirical referential realities, process fade in and fade out of contents, create heroes and villains, imagine parallel metaphoric worlds (*as if*) and so on. Gaps are filled up and connections are linked by the receiver from the image repertoire of their cultures and collective memories. They use cultural imaginary in order to accomplish these operations. In doing so, they fictionalize social reality creating narrative images (*possible worlds*) according to their imagination dynamics, concludes Wolfgang Iser.

Hypothesis 4: *Random bits of hard news information about a single incident reported by mass media every day do not configure a stable narrative, but inspire instead prospective thematic representations about a 'reality in progress'.* The narrative representations suggested by hard news reports about single topics appear to merely configure a preliminary cognitive prospection about a *reality in progress*. They seem not to consolidate deep-rooted social representations of the world.³ Their cognitive role seems built up of rather preliminary explorations of the mutable, immediate social occurrences more than of steady reproductions of the social reality. They seem to put the diffuse social events into a preliminary chronological order and stimulate exploratory cognitive experiences that configure only embryonic intrigues. Therefore, hard news immature intrigues may be perceived as ever-changing social representations of the immediate reality and may cognitively be confronted to common sense continuously, in order to situate ourselves in time and place.

This hypothesis comes from the idea of Isaiah Berlin's *general texture of life experience* (1997), whereby he turns his attention to everyday aspects of lifeworld experience (the culturally defined spatiotemporal horizon of everyday life). To him, in constant interaction and intercommunication, human beings feel, think, imagine, create and frame their, and other people's lives, looking for a consensual common sense. Following Berlin's ideas, Roger Silverstone (1999) proposes that media today are part of the general texture of our experience which always interacts with common sense. This texture is not fixed; it is intensively woven and re-woven every day. People, he says, are always going into and out of the mass media stream, filtering the information flows, producing and reproducing the common sense. These narrative curtains that enshroud society are not stable, however. They are far less stable than we assume them to be, offering instead, unceasing experimentations of the immediate reality. They are in fact, reflexive and symbolic processes that always propose renewed narratives and meta-narratives about the immediate reality. In their every day wording of human dramas and tragedies, it seems to me that hard news reports are a typical case of provisional narrative experimentation of the immediate reality. They are continuously attempting to summarize single topics from out of the complex and confused social world, testing what is and what is not.

As Hannah Arendt (1993) reminds us, the experience of actuality takes place in a subtle time fracture between the past and the future, inside which we re-discover a renewed world every day. Every generation and every new human being, to the extent she or he is inserted in between the infinite past and the infinite future, must painstakingly open this fracture again in its minimum non space-time in the interior of time itself, she completes. Perhaps the journalism narrative is located exactly in this subtle time fracture, renewing the world for us every day. Silverstone argues that temporal organization processed by our everyday personal experiences permits us to follow the chronological order of a narrative while the temporal order of a narrative permits us to understand our personal experiences. Journalism narrative exists in time, punctuating the social, economic and political calendars,

³ Moscovici (2000) uses the expressions *tangible* or *near-tangible* social representation to distinguish between more or less stable narrative representations. According to him, the social representations are definitive mental forms of objects and incidents, shared models that acquire a relative autonomy and become part of ourselves and of our relationships to others, pressuring our attitudes and values as irresistible prescriptive forces .

helping us to configure superposed intrigues which, in turn, may permit us to understand who, when and where we are in this subtle time fracture.

Hypothesis 5: *A coherent narrative about a single incident reported by hard news is nowadays more and more configured through convergent inferences made by the audience from bits of information coming from diverse transmediatic platforms.* A tendency in news reports towards convergent behavior precedes the on-line news websites of recent years, as has been explained in previous hypotheses. Jauss and Iser's abovementioned *fusion of horizons* theory, which suggests an active performance of literature readers, was formulated many decades ago. The statement of the present hypothesis definitely does not depend upon the existence of convergent digital media. But it is unquestionable that the emergence of new digital media in recent decades has accelerated the synergetic individuals' reception of news reports.

Diverse media platforms spread bits of hard information about the same incident to every hidden point, making transmediatic reception a natural process. Audiences have apparently acquired more autonomy, and chronologically link the content coming from a given medium to those coming from multiple media (including social networks and grass-roots media) throughout a never ending process of narrative construction about a single public event (as long as it is kept 'on the air'). The configuration of thematic sequences from random bits of information has become significantly convergent. Narrative plots have become a multi-sequential and less linear process. The audience has achieved much more autonomy, connecting points and creating its own alternative intrigue plots. Considered as a social representation, public stories have become more and more inter-textual, intertwined and unfixated narratives.

This hypothesis is partially stimulated by the ideas about the convergence culture proposed by Henry Jenkins (2006). According to him media content circulates today across multiple media, from grassroots to big media systems, depending heavily on consumers' active search and wants. These multiple flows generate a conversational buzz from which people extract pieces of information they need, aiming at combining dispersed pieces together, establishing connections and creating sense out of their everyday lives. Convergence is not only a synergetic technological confluence, but rather what he calls a migratory behavior of the audience from medium to medium, representing a significant cultural shift. Convergence occurs, he says, within people's brain and within their interactions: each one of us constructs our own mythology from bits of information fragments extracted from the multiple media flow (Jenkins calls this alternative power 'collective intelligence'). In this migratory culture, it is natural that narrative coherence about a single incident reported by hard news will be configured through convergent inferences made from bits of information coming from multiple transmediatic platforms.

I do not share Jenkins' enthusiasm about the autonomous active participation of the people in media flows.⁴ It seems evident to me that modern man is relatively more auto-

⁴ Jenkins says that two contradictory movements are taking place. One indicates a heavy big media concentration and convergence, in spite of the staggered behavior of the big media owners. The other indicates people's searching for a convergent use of grassroots and social webs in spite of the apprenticeship moment we now assist in this regard.

mous to undertake personal achievements. It is very debatable however, whether this fact results in a collective intelligence. It seems to me that Zygmunt Bauman's (2005) formulations about what he calls 'liquid society' may be closer to the never ending narrative reconfiguration process undergone through the transmediatic reception convergence. Bauman says that post-modernity is a time of a 'liquid life' where individual achievements are never solidified into lasting possessions, but rather become obsolete before people have a chance to learn from them. Flattered into a perpetual present, he says, people are in a precarious situation under the condition of constant uncertainty. In this society, the emphasis falls on forgetting, deleting and replacing, through what Bauman calls 'creative destruction.' Instead of narrating a series of new beginnings, consumers are telling the story of successive endings.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The narrative frame seems to be the cognitive device naturally used by journalists and audiences to chronologically organize earliest random information bits about an incident of the immediate reality. The narrative frame (intrigue configuration) has the power to induce audience's shifts from disperse, factual information of media flows into preliminary coherent plots. From facts to stories, from objective dispatches to metaphorical apprehensions of the world. But we should be cautious in translating hard news as a narrative form of expression. If we translate hard news as a narrative expression it should be treated not as a coherent and neat storytelling practice, but rather as an ever unfinished narrative matrix. This matrix seems to be the provisional result of a cognitive game people play, hypothesizing foreknowledge about the blurry, immediate reality. The hard news narrative cognition process seems to be a successive foresight about confuse and diffuse *reality in course* rather than the construction of a tangible social representation of the immediate world.

There may be an inner provisional character in a hard news report because it is coetaneous to the incident, produced at the very moment of the event itself. As Bragança de Miranda (1994) has proposed, it is written 'against' reality, inside it but simultaneously out of it, attempting to dominate a wild situation that is being institutionalized at the very moment it occurs. His 'analytic of actuality' suggests that we should understand actuality not as an interregnum between present and past, but rather as a self abandonment to the happening itself within the limits of its immediate vanishing and its probable institutional consolidation. He emphasizes the provisional nature of our real apprehension of present reality.

Storytelling is a basic human practice common to all people, observes Mendes (2001). Even the most elementary narratives are devices that naturally permit human beings to make sense out of the world (our genetic propensity to tell stories). In his dialogue with C. G. Prado (1984), he remarks that a narrative sequence may be understood as a foundational social representation. But in fact it is not a simple social representation; rather, it is a preliminary presentation of reality itself. In this sense, it is not a mirror of society but instead produces the reality and constitutes society. It is the base for social action to the extent that

it constitutes the world itself in a given moment. Therefore the associative sequence of every storytelling is always bestowing us a renewed world.

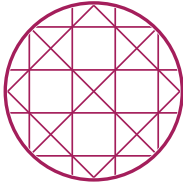
Hard news still is one of the most influential channels through which people perceive and represent incidents that take place in everyday immediate reality. This significant cognition process is not sufficiently known yet. Borrowing some suggestions from cultural psychology, this paper takes for granted that the narrative paradigm as one of the most fundamental cognitive frames people reflexively use to grasp what is going on 'out there'. The preliminary hypotheses presented suggest that the audiences put together disperse bits of information they extract from hard news media reports in order to organize comprehensive stories.

It is assumed that a descriptive and factual hard dispatch, that apparently is the opposite of subjective metaphoric reports, morphs into a relative coherent narrative at the very moment random bits of information are connected by the audience configuring a tangible imaginative thematic episode. This is the cognitive practice through which hard news shifts from factual descriptions into subjective stories. The narrative interpretive frame is the powerful device that permits the 'magic' transformation, even considering that this imaginary story resembles a prospective intrigue matrix rather than a neat narrative. What is said is an objective report, but what is communicated are subjective episodes. Factual and practical bits of knowledge about an incident turn reflexively to be a metaphorical narrative that certainly induces cathartic effects, similar to those that occur in art reception processes. From facts to representational storytelling narratives, that is the due course of hard news cognitive process. To say it in a literary expression, that is the mimetic process hard news seems to induce in the mind of the audience: it renews the world again every day.

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Narratives of Death: Journalism and Figurations of Social Memory

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Abstract

Based on Brazilian news media narratives about “everyday” death, such as traffic accidents, crimes, etc., this paper approaches the temporal features of journalism, based on concepts such as Koselleck’s “horizon of expectations” and “space of experience”, and Ricoeur’s “narrative” and “mimesis”. It focuses especially on the relations that built social memory and come from the intertwining of the worlds brought forth by news narratives and those of their readers.

Thus, this paper attempts to grasp the reflexive relations between news narratives and everyday life. In choosing death as a main theme of investigation, it takes into account that death has the quality of being a peculiar and potentially disruptive social event. For death is seen as a defying meaning event which newsworthiness depends on an association with some other rather common themes, such as the overcoming of loss and pain, road conditions the behavior of car drivers, the heroism or flaws of the police force, and so on. However, those common news precisely create a remarkable tension between remembering and forgetting, since, for instance, each news story about a crime does not often tell its readers about previous ones. Thus, all recollecting of past similar events depends mostly on the readers’ ability to remember and associate characters and stories, i.e., to produce meaning for the present.

The arguments presented by the authors came from a methodological exercise which consisted in experiencing news narratives about death on their everyday routine. That exercise was based on the assumptions that: 1) the media do not have a unilateral role in “creating” audience interest in a particular event or issue, nor in making them visible according to their own, exclusive criteria; 2) one’s contact to media products and narratives is a regular, daily-based routine which is part of everyday life.

Keywords

news narratives; death; social memory

1. INTRODUCTION ¹

Death as well as the processes and places associated to it – funeral rituals, mourning, graveyards, memorials – deeply affect the way society organizes itself and participate in the construction of social memory, producing different types of bounds between death itself and generation and group identities (Walter, 2008). By remembering the past and constructing

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representations of events, journalism acts as a kind of public forum for reminiscences using its own objects as artifacts of memory (Kitch, 2002).

When a journalistic narrative deals with the issue of death, it involves the production of a particular social memory. The constant news coverage of traumatic or commemorative events associated to death emphasizes the role of memory. Wars, tragedies, the deaths of ordinary people or of well-known personalities support the extensive journalistic work of remembrance. All these “great events” have the power to affect the world. Haiti’s earthquake, for example, managed to break from the seriality of everyday life and made the cover of several newsmagazines, of daily newspapers and of the entire mediatic apparatus all over the world (Vaz & França, 2011). Therefore, such an event has the obvious power to break away from everyday life, as Quéré puts it, as well as from expectations, and is almost forcefully echoed by the media.

However, is it true that the daily news coverage of ordinary people’s death also contribute to the construction of social memory? Based on Brazilian media narratives related to death as a “daily fact of life”, this paper aims at understanding some of the relationships built between journalism and social memory. Since it is a potentially disturbing event, death challenges journalistic rationality and its newsworthiness will often depend on other associated issues such as the overcoming of loss and pain, road conditions, heroism of the police force and so forth. It is precisely this kind of news that explains the peculiarity of journalistic narratives and their propensity to promote a sort of “double oblivion”.

This double oblivion, which involves simultaneously a double “remembrance”, includes, on the one hand, the narrative format of such news, usually fragmented or short and encapsulated as *faits divers* whose conventions and strategies tend to be imperceptible. At this level, oblivion characterizes the news media movement that dooms these little deaths to disappearance in its regular cycle of succeeding news and publications. On the other hand, this double oblivion also involves death and the dead that, although emerging at the textual surface of journalism, are often apprehended and configured in a generic way. Therefore, the apparent register of the deaths or the dead is marked by indifference, and as soon as they appear, they are relegated to forgetfulness. Therefore, as opposed to “great events”, these little ones seek to “make us forget” that we die, that death is incomprehensible and occurs to us all, randomly.

We will first characterize this double oblivion by a short reflection on the temporal relationships in journalism, using the meta-concepts of “the space of experience” and of “the horizon of expectations”. Here, these categories will not be used to explore journalistic temporalities in depth, but as a methodological exercise to clarify the special relationships of news events related to “little deaths”. The next part of this paper will focus on this type of news as well as on their specificities. The characterization of the first dimension of this double oblivion, the textual dimension which is built on realism, the dominant aesthetics of narratives in today’s journalism, will be treated in part three. At the final part, we will explore the relationships between journalism and memory regarding little deaths and their deads.

2. JOURNALISM, TEMPORALITY AND MEMORY

In journalism, memory can be approached through the discussion of the temporal dimension. Temporal relationships are multi-level and complex relationships which can address issues such as guidance of the experience, coordination and synchronization relationships, for practical social needs. Temporality is not a specific issue of social communication studies and journalism. Most of the time, it is addressed by a myriad of approaches ranging from speculative understandings to being interpreted as an obvious fact of an empirical reality. Moreover, when looking at the special relationship between journalism and memory, some authors go so far as to diagnose, in different disciplines, a certain contempt for the reflections on memory undertaken by journalism (Zelizer, 2008).

By considering journalism as a narrative aimed at presenting a piecemeal knowledge on the world's current state of affairs (Gomes, 2004, p.321), and at constructing news as "images of the social present" (Gomis, 1991, p.11), the relation with the essential elements of the representation and experience of time – the notions of past, present and future – is immediately observed. These relationships inevitably become linked to the journalistic narrative and to the ways in which it configures diverse temporal experiences. Although the journalistic narrative is often confined to the strict boundaries of a specific news story or text, when using the dynamic process of *mise-en-intrigue* developed by Ricoeur (1997; 2010), it can largely be found in other texts contained in newspapers, TV news bulletins or web pages.

Such approach enables us to go beyond the episodic understanding of a journalistically narrated event, and say that "the description of an event is not confined to the time of its occurrence. Other perspectives run through it, as open lines of escape towards the past or future (Arquembourg, 1996, p.32). Such temporalizations bring us back to the categories of "space of experience" and "horizon of expectation" (Koselleck, 2006). When the experience refers to the past, it allows for remembrance. For Koselleck, "the experience is the past in the present, into which the events were incorporated and can be remembered" (2006, p.309). On the other hand, expectation refers to the future and includes features such as hope, fear, possibilities. However, Koselleck reminds us that expectation can also take place today, is the "future present looking towards the not-yet, the not experimented, what may only be foreseen" (2006, p.310). The experience enables to revive and judge past events by establishing, in the now, a horizon of expectations which keeps the space open for the future. Contrary to the horizon of expectations, however, the space of experience is saturated by reality (Arquembourg, 1996, p.32). In terms of narrative, both categories can work for the present, the future, or the past. For Koselleck, space of experience and horizon of expectation co-defined one another. Changing their boundaries means altering historic temporalities. The "space of experience" and the "horizon of expectation", understood by Ricoeur as "meta-categories", are tools used to apprehend different constructions of temporality. Indeed, both Koselleck's proposals and the French philosopher's utilization of these categories make that clear. The connections between these dimensions allow the identification, report and interpretation of a journalistic event. In this context, memory becomes a key factor in understanding temporality.

In the field of journalism, there are at least three types of modalities relating memory and news production. One of them is the study of narratives concerning facts or commemorative

situations where journalism is seen as a device for the connection, distribution and presentation of collective memory (Neiger, Meyers & Zandberg, 2011). Some contents, the so-called memorable events, are worth mentioning here.

The *modus operandi* of narratives that give a familiar appearance to facts, in order to adapt them to the different audiences, is also investigated. Memory here is seen as the past, which becomes an instrument to produce and broaden the referentialization process of journalism. With the narrative, the event generates a reference to one's own story, to the "present of things past", which is a condition for its understanding.

"A story" becomes part of the statement, with references to other events of remote times, to "a past" that is part of the "background" in which the new information is projected. Therefore, a knowledge embodied in experience is necessary, and memory is the condition to understand the events on display. The authority the journalist acquires when dealing with the past should also be mentioned (Kitch, 2002; Zelizer, 2008).

Often, journalism re-uses its own past content and presents it as historical evidence. It also produces specific modes of "telling the past" and transforms this past into an artifact to read the present and project the future. The function attributed to the document or archive gives authority to journalistic narratives. Certainly, the connection between this general process of journalism and Koseleck's meta-categories are attractive, since they can help understand the existence of a typically journalistic approach to temporality. However, such a project runs the risk of homogenizing a temporal fabric which is both complex and multi-faceted. The difference observed in the news concerning important deaths and the short narratives on little ones must be taken into account, particularly their distinctive temporal regimes. Thus, we opted for a more circumscribed approach to analyzing journalistic temporalities, bearing in mind the "meta-categories" of "space of experience" and "horizon of expectations" in order to capture the peculiar phenomenon of ordinary daily deaths built by journalism.

3. DYING IN THE NEWS

These "little deaths" make us wonder if are immutable the ways by which journalism acts as an agent of social memory. Beyond remembrance and the past as a condition for intelligibility, is it possible to see other ways in which journalism can be involved in the construction of memory? The vision on little deaths is quite enlightening here. Curiously, it is even more interesting when one takes into account that "little death" in French (*la petite mort*) is the expression used to describe orgasm, both an extreme pleasure and a physical exhaustion. It is worth wondering if the constant media reference to "little deaths" is not a kind of offer in daily doses, something that readers overindulge in but never get tired of, even when they just flirt with it. Something which brings pleasure, but is forgotten to be remembered the next day or moment, in continuous circles of new pleasure and oblivion.

As such questions/suppositions could be interpreted as morbid, adjective which, in principle, should not be used to label newspapers or their readers, it is important to remember that outside the media scope, daily conversations that start with the question "have you

heard ...?” are routinely overheard. The question is usually accompanied by an expression of total dismay and could well be a cover story question.

The question is then followed by details of a terrible traffic accident that occurred in the city, at a particular time, when an uncontrolled truck going down avenue X, hit a number of cars, and killed a number of people. Dismay, is then followed by the interlocutor's comments on the news investigation, which will be read in the big-lettered headlines of tomorrow's papers, heard on the radio or TV news minutes after it occurred, or immediately checked on twitter. Our regular contact with the news media shows the “death -event” as recurring and referred to by a more or less extensive set of notes, news and reports, spread over different sessions and in several editorials of (TV/web/radio) newspapers.

However, when we pay attention to the narratives and stories weaved around these events, we can see that, instead of talking about the deaths, they focus on other events such as the life story of the dead, the pain of those who survived, the neglect of the authorities, the description of the circumstances which led to death, the investigations on the possible causes, general aspects that place the deaths in broader explanatory frameworks like hospital conditions, drug traffic, etc.

We will now examine some word-for-word transcriptions of what we call “little deaths”.

Killed by girlfriend's ex. A 57-year-old man was killed yesterday in Uberlândia, Triângulo Mineiro. His girlfriend's ex hit him to death with a wooden pole. They supposedly had an argument at the woman's house. The suspect is in jail. (*O Tempo*, 27/02/2012)

Body found in the lake. Firemen found the body of a 14 year-old teenager in Frutal Lake, Triângulo Mineiro. She had disappeared and drowned while swimming. (*O Tempo*, 28/02/2012)

Homeless found dead. A homeless woman was found dead yesterday in an abandoned house in São Gabriel, Northeast Belo Horizonte. Her head was crushed and burned. No suspect was caught (*O Tempo*, 03/03/2012)

Woman stabs husband to death. A 29-year-old woman surrendered to the police after killing her husband in Carmo do Paranaíba, Alto Paranaíba. She said she stabbed him on the back with a serrated knife after a fight. He would have told her “Either you kill me or I kill you”. (*O Tempo*, 04/03/2012)

Two dead. Two people died in an accident between a car and a van on the BR262 road, in Matipó, Zona da Mata. According to the Federal Highway Police, a Gol from Belo Horizonte and a Hilux from Mato Grosso collided at km 81. (*O Tempo*, 05/03/2012)

Burned body. An 18 year-old youth jailed for theft but allowed to leave a rehab center in Uberlândia, was found dead in a thicket on Saturday. His body was in flames, he was gagged, with his hands tied in his back. (*O Tempo*, 06/03/2012)

If death puts us in the news, it is because we are going to remain anonymous, generic, undifferentiated. The ephemeral notoriety of our bodies and remains give tragic force to the narrative fragments which go unnoticed or, at most, are offered to the living, to be quickly

consumed and forgotten. We will neither be “notorious anonymous dead”, nor characters of *faits-divers*, but small remnants of fatality, rumors of a mystery (who were we? What happened? What is that story about?), whose nuisance, curiosity and fascination tend to be disposable and/or negligible.

Those few who relish our anonymity, who are moved either by morbidity, or solidarity, habit or circumstance will only catch a glimpse at our lives and deaths. The fragments to which we are reduced are simultaneously the synthesis of realistic aesthetics and its limit. This small portion to which we are reduced condenses the whole of our history, and our own reality quickly vanishes. The news is direct, rapid, fleeting like a daily reality in which anonymous deaths never stop occurring, do not provoke emotion, and do not displace, but just “happen”. Reality, when caught in realistic gestures, is doomed to disappear; the effort to see, de register, to fix also imply not seeing, not telling, letting go. Maybe this is what realistic anguish is all about: Instead of “real”, only traces, instead of the whole, only fragments. How and why should they be chosen, beyond contingency and circumstances?

In these small fragments, there is no possible singularity. There are only particularities that are restricted to the narrative segment and slightly suggest the possibility of universals. There are no individuals, just remains; there is neither depth nor deepness: any sinuosity is flattened by a gesture which does not care about us, we fall into indifference. Little by little, these small and undeveloped fragments of stories make up another incomplete albeit incessant story: we die tragically and accidentally every day. Undifferentiated, we are doomed to oblivion, to anonymity, to the dark recesses of the category: a woman, the dead, a youth, bodies, a man, a boyfriend, dispossessed of any singular quality. We just are generically remembered and, simultaneously, forgotten.

Brother kills brother with bricks. A 31-year-old land worker, Carlos Alberto Martins, was caught yesterday by the Military Police, in Mairinque, São Paulo State, after he killed his brother, Márcio Martins Silveira, 30-year-old, with brick blows to the head. He confessed the crime and alleged he was being threatened by his brother. Both lived under the same roof, in Sebandilha, in the town’s rural area. After receiving a call from Carlos Alberto himself, the police went to the scene of the crime and arrested him. He will be charged with qualified murder, since there was premeditation and he did not give the victim any chance to defend himself. (*Estado de Minas*, 06/03/2012)

In this news, a small note in a column published in a daily newspaper, there is no criteria other than the form of the death and the relationship between those involved to explain its publication. On other occasions, the “everyday deaths” appear as events unfolded from others, the idea of “*dead because of*”. The circumstance of a particularly unusual, unexpected, unintended death is emphasized. The collective deaths reported in journalism tend to be viewed from a cause and appear as a circumstantial result of another event. In the case of small news, death is the central protagonist of narratives that actually tell something that *will still occur*. Each piece of news indicates, in such cases, several ways in which death can present itself – a drunk driver, a fire, a fall etc. They are narratives of the several ways of dying which materialize our efforts of rapprochement with the public. All kinds of deaths can happen to anyone, they are available to all, to those whose personal stories indicate the

details of the situation, a map of the world dangers. Those are deaths *told* with rhetorical strategies which allow for contact areas and intersect with everyday lives. It is a day to day death which wants to be portrayed as routine.

Such news will always give priority, in its referencialization processes, to aspects involving the public: terms which indicate social roles that are familiar or widely accepted (“young”, “teenager”, “woman”, “brothers”, “lawyer”, “volunteer”, “minor”, “tourist”, “cyclist”, “driver”, etc.), terms designating locations and situations of a reference context shared by the audience, or the designation of the action in which the referred death occurs to a possible relevant framework based on the expectations of interlocutors (“electrocuted”, “run over”, “drunk”, “hit by bricks”, “beating” etc.). Regarding temporal aspects, this dying tells something that occurred but in conjunction with something that the reader/listener/ viewer can also experiment. Death is both what already *happened* as well as what may *happen*. Therefore, where it seems to be an event transformed into a description heavily individualized, the news is about a “possible dying” for many. Thus, these little deaths, if they can be directed towards the previously alluded *double oblivion*, they do so appealing to make death *familiar*. Such narratives maintain certain contiguity with the biographies that appear in place of the hearings. If they are seemingly “insignificant others”, its death, however, feeds the remembrance of a possible dying. The memory here is not of a past brought by the news, but of a projection, a future that the narrative reopens.

Therefore, death, unlike it is believed, would be exactly the threshold of newsworthiness, what journalism does not reach and seeks to avoid. The newsworthiness of death, less than inevitable, would take place when it could be interpreted and organized in a narrative form so as to enable the production of reports consumed in different ways by readers, internauts, listeners, viewers. The presence of death in journalism, in this perspective, would be a kind of ghost or shadow: something insidious, seeking visibility, which challenges the perspective whose attention is dedicated to other presences. This is because death, although mentioned in the stories, would be the impassable threshold of human understanding, constituting, according to Alfred Schutz (2008), our greater certainty and at the same time the basis of a “fundamental anxiety”: we know that we are going to die, that we walk towards death, but we avoid thinking about it, we create resources that postpone this confrontation and divert us from this certainty. Moreover, isn't the narrative itself based on that?

Under this point of view, the journalistic narratives regarding death constitute, therefore, ambiguous artifacts. When talking about deaths that emerge and are part of our social life, the stories told in the press, divert our gaze toward life, making us forget that we die and reminding us of circumstances, joys, miseries and contradictions of life. Without the importance conferred by the exceptional fact, we would still have the construction of the familiar to recognize the events and presentation of evidence for the “documentation” of the historical reality of these deaths. However, in the everyday deaths, these two dimensions are absent at first glance. Since they are short stories intended for brief consumption, these “little deaths” are not presented as memorable, but as curious accidents of everyday life.

4. FORGETTING HOW TO TELL STORIES: REALISM IN TENSION

One of Sigmund Freud's most important contributions to the theory of aesthetics is his study of the "bizarre". Inspired in E.T.A. Hoffman's tale, "the Sandman", Freud (1969) reflects on a characteristic of fantastic narratives, as well as on the human mind. Exploiting the ambiguity of the German term "*unheimlich*", Freud observed that the bizarre is never distant but, on the contrary, part of the domestic and familiar environment. The known, the already acknowledged, the customary, the recognizable are put forward because the elements of estrangement are repressed, hidden, as if forgotten. However, being there, being part of the world, the bizarre constantly threatens to erupt in daily life. The foreign, as Julia Kristeva puts it (1994), is not something external or alien but lives in us.

When we consider that "*heimlich*", the familiar, implies the "*unheimlich*", the strange, the realistic gesture that guides journalism gets new contours. In its effort to secure reality, either through strategies of objectivation of the events and/or from imaginative forms that are already historically constituted, journalism does not exhaust or put an end to the uncertainty of life. By shifting its gaze to the deeds of the dead or the causes and circumstances of the death, or by refusing to develop the life story of those who died, journalistic narratives cannot fail to state that death is lurking everywhere and at anytime. In the midst of this realistic and/or melodramatic apprehension of life and of social reality, fantasy and strangeness emerge as a ghost, always waiting for the opportunity to rise and to enforce their discomfort.

Luiz Gonzaga Motta (2006), remarks that, in the Brazilian press, "fantasy news" assume the pacified form of stories related to the exoticism, to beliefs or unusual cases that are almost always stand under the logic of entertainment which erupts at the typical and smooth surface of everyday life. It is worth noting that this pacification is broader than the newsworthiness mechanism which encompasses certain events from the perspective of the "curious." Such reports have, in general, a conservative narrative form, in which the topic treated barely challenges or does not challenge at all the realistic strategies of journalism. Curiosity, therefore, is a content, never a telling form which explores the formulas or the principles of journalistic narrative.

However, if these formulas and principles need to "occur", to take place in each narrative, their control over imagination and over the constructed reality is not always efficiently enforced. At times, because of precariousness, the realistic gesture can betray itself in its effort to produce the familiar and hide the bizarre. At other times, this betrayal happens because of the opposite reason: the excess of realism. This applies for the article published on March 5th 2012, in the pages of *O Tempo*.

Under the caption "Crime", the headline reads: dismembered body found at the embassies sector. The text, which occupies something like half a page, is composed of four paragraphs and a large photo, followed by the caption: *Mystery. Civil police at the site, nearby the embassies, where a body of a man was found dismembered*. The scene of the crime, then, is the city of Brasília, and the mere illustrative photo, shows an abandoned area, with thin thicket, against which the figure from the back of a police officer in uniform and a vest with the words "military police", can be seen. This photo already establishes a curious contrast

between the embassies, which are part of a noble area of any city, especially Brasilia, and the image of unkempt woods, typical of the suburbs.

When we follow the reading of the verbal text, at first, we face what could be just one more story about anonymous deaths, such as those that are a frequent target of fragmented narratives of small notes. However, the narrative develops a little more, expanding itself, and thereby enhances details and information which are used as a resource that “place the reader at the scene of the event”. The two middle paragraphs are especially dedicated to these details. One of them reads:

Criminal Experts were at the site, but little could they see since the body was in an advanced stage of decomposition. Wearing an apron, gloves, mask and goggles, an expert collected maggots and examined the body, which was in the middle of an unkempt wood, inside three garbage bags. In the first bag was the trunk and the head; in the second, the hips and thigh, and in the third, the lower part of the legs. (*O Tempo*, 05/03/2012)

The paragraph begins by describing the police investigation. Gradually, it calls attention to the victim’s body, a kind of crescendo that accentuates the decomposition and the state in which the corpse was found. To the information about the advanced stage of the deterioration of the body, other details that serve to clarify what is initially indicated are added. These details accentuate the eschatological and grotesque nature of the scene, something that had been only hinted at in the opening sentence. The beheaded body dismembered and distributed into three garbage bags, seems to reveal its inhumanity and its condition of squander, of undesirable waste.

The third paragraph keeps like the previous one:

Little could be found on the spot by experts due to the state of decomposition of the body. The remains were transferred to the Legal Medical Institute (IML) for more detailed tests, including fingerprints since the skin of the fingers was preserved. The maggots collected will be forwarded to the University of Brasília (UnB) for experts to try to find out *how long they were in the body*. (*O Tempo*, 05/03/2012, emphasis added)

Starting redundantly, as if repeating the information that opens the second paragraph, this recovers some expressions, such as “decomposition” and “maggots” and at the same time stresses the condition of the body as “remains”. However, to the grotesque and eschatological an ingredient, which had been just hinted at, was added. In the second paragraph emphasis was given to the expert’s clothes, whereas now, in the third paragraph, the expert-physician is put on evidence, and the “maggots”, the “decomposition” and the “remains” are transformed into information in the light of the expertise of scientists. Rationality prevails over the eschatological and grotesque, in an effort to control and dominate that corpse that will then talk about the conditions and circumstances of its appearance.

This small note already announces, with the photo that “illustrates” it, the dialogue established with the narratives of frequent criminal investigation in television series such as “CSI”, “Bones” and “Body of Proof”. To make the corpse talk is a recurring expression in these series. It shows the effort of the knowledge of the police-science-doctor to eliminate the incomprehensible and insert what erupts in the everyday life in a specific causal-explanatory

logic, realistic and factual. To mirror these stories, however, the news in *O Tempo* advances in a precision and accuracy attempt, bringing details which, at a first glance, go unnoticed, generating discomfort to more attentive readers. Less than draw attention to the value of rationality and its power to close the event in an acceptable way, the news, given the inconclusive character of the investigation, brings out (and reminds) the animal side of the human body condition, that, in death, goes back to nature, decomposes, becomes leftover and larval food. What should be hidden, therefore, comes to the fore. In the post-mortem life of the dismembered body, the larvae that decompose it are visible, they reveal themselves to an observer that, at first, is concerned with reconstructing what happened.

These examples show that the news on little deaths is the very epitome of journalistic narratives realism. Actually, realism as an ideology and an aesthetic tradition, offers fundamental metaphors to both objective journalism and to the prevailing narrative strategies. However, realism as a set of narrative strategies is bound to be challenged by historical transformations. Whenever a convention, a narrative form, is canonized, it loses its illusionist power, its capacity to speak of the world and becomes a language artifice. It is, therefore, typical of realism to renovate itself, revalidate and/or reinvent its discursive forms while maintaining intact its general proposal and some of its fundamental principles. The restoration of the realistic gesture therefore occurs in accordance with the time, and within a critical appropriation of past experiences. This renewal is even more obvious when we understand how realism guides the different narrative modes – be them fictional or non fictional, mostly verbal or highly audiovisual. Each realistic narrative is, thus, a hybrid in which past and contemporary strategies are either updated or forgotten according to the communicative and ideological proposals behind it.

Memory plays a strategic role here: what is still valid needs to be remembered, in order to give meaning and recognition to the current form while forgetting *other* processes and *other* proceedings. The realistic illusion, as the objective of this aesthetic narrative, is therefore kept as an effect of the concordant-discordant whole, to use Ricoeur's expression (1994, 2010). However, what is left behind, death for example, is always lurking and is only awaiting for the opportunity to become visible and happen to those who delight in death. Whether due to excess or want, or melodramatic humanization, the narrative presents the realistic illusion as something strange, fantastic, or even entertaining. In order to assert itself, the realistic illusion needs to be renovated and recovered, to be continuously searching. In such a way, we are under the illusion that the news can be transparent and can bring us to an external reality that surpasses the interweaving of words, sounds and images.

5. FORGETTING DEATH, REMEMBERING LIFE

The challenge of death narratives would apparently be identical to that of all other narratives, since it means showing something through signs, figuring something which is not in the body of the narrative, but which, somehow, should be reached by the latter. Death, as a limit event, exposes a tension in journalistic narratives even when they speak about other occurrences of everyday life.

It is impossible to know death, therefore, something else is told, something about life. Once the event has gone, we attempt to understand it, “weave” it, by talking about something else, by producing other events from the demands and potentialities of signs and languages, from narratives and from the pragmatic conditions of a specific communicative process. The realistic illusion that moves journalism is, therefore, a tension, an amalgam between forgetfulness (the event, the conventions, what was said, the previous news media edition) and making see, remembrance (other events, other conventions, other talks, other publications), without knowing whether it will be a failed promise or an effective one.

The double oblivion that emerges from the interaction between journalism and memory is seen not only as a sign of the transformation of the news in an inescapable documentary record of the world, but also as an informative craving seeking to reach the death-event, as much as possible. Even in this case, not all deaths deserve to be reported. The reported ones are only those that portray a picture “of the world”, that “document” it and about which, sometimes, a lot of attention and information is given, as if that could erase or minimize the possibility of forgetting the unremarkable deaths.

The reports of “little deaths” suggest other relationships. Not a lot of information is offered here, quite the opposite. The “ordinary” dead should be forgotten, because, on the one hand, there is not much to identify them and, on the other, they serve to remind and make us forget that... we die. Their stories, as texts, as narratives, are also highly forgettable. After all, anonymous deaths “deserve” texts also intended, in their aesthetic and informative quality, to a past with no return.

From this perspective, these “little deaths” could be narrowing the space of experience and horizon of expectation, similar to what Barthes had already suggested in relation to *fait-divers*, as news that refers to nothing more than itself. The “little deaths”, however, are not only *fait-divers*: sometimes they are more than that, sometimes less. In addition, to advocate this narrowing would be to forget that these “small deaths” emerge daily, in the successive issues of a newspaper. Unlike the famous deaths that would be unique, they repeat themselves. Furthermore, to consider them *fait-divers*, it would be necessary to consider such narratives as finished events enclosed in a past that is no more.

Such aspect could, at the very best, give an account of journalistic events that report death at the time it happens. But, as stated by Arquembourg-Moureau (2003), it must respond to a demand for meaning and intelligibility, for something written, and combine with the time of recognition, consequently, of reception. In such news, not only is a retrospective of events at stake, but also a text that drives the narrative to an immeasurable process of repetition, renewal and circulation. If such narratives involve narrowing, they are subject to the triple mimesis and circular process of pre-figuration, configuration and reconfiguration presented by Ricoeur. This perspective places them in the rhythms and movements of everyday life that, although unpredictable, inevitably puts them in relation to other stories of deaths, journalistically narrated or not.

Remembering and forgetting, therefore, are the dynamics of each narrative as well as of the general movement of meaning. Journalism does not remember some deaths and forgets others. Each death remembered in these snippets is also the forgetfulness of the

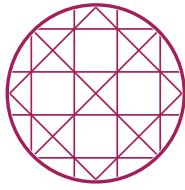
death event. Would this, then, be one of the movements of social memory: we “forget and forget ourselves” in this endless narrative? From the little death narratives of everyday life, it is possible to see that the relationship between journalism and social memory can be based not on a desire to establish the facts and give an account of the reality of the events, but on the intent to portray death without necessarily reducing it to its explanation.

We can see that there are deaths, but also clear distinctions regarding the media’s handling of the issue. Bodies can be exposed, in their death process, or banned; shocking and sensational aspects can be portrayed or parochial and family dimensions; death can belong to the personal sphere or involve the routine of many involved in media rituals such as the death of celebrities; the meaning of dying can shrink to private dimensions or acquire unprecedented public ones. Walter (2008) stresses in his studies that not only does the media offer new possibilities for publicizing dying, but that dying offers new possibilities for these media. From what we have seen here, it is still necessary to check in detail if, for the news media, such possibilities reach the familiarity given by the recognition of a common situation, a possible intersection, beyond a visibility that makes believe that the news is just what takes place after death.

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Researching Identity Narratives in Cyberspace: Some Methodological Challenges

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Abstract

Cyberspace as a study object entails remarkable challenges to researchers, especially because it is an immaterial and highly changeable environment. This paper addresses some of the methodological challenges faced during a research about Lusophone identity narratives in blogs and sites in Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal, and the outlined strategies to overcome the difficulties found.

The first challenge was how to design a Lusophone cyberspace cartography, due to the fact that, on one hand, everyday there are new blogs and new sites online, on the other hand, many of these blogs and sites suddenly disappear. Then, some challenges were faced to conduct the content analyses of the selected blogs and sites. In addition, the study objects were too different to enable the use of a single observation protocol, with pre-established categories.

Furthermore, there were some questions to deal with the statistical analyses of the blogs. Initially, the researchers concluded that the statistical analyses, which in some cases depend on the collection of data within the blogs, might inflate the results obtained, for instance the number of visitors, the visitors' origin and the visit average time. Therefore, the Heisenberg uncertainty principle was a valid methodological concern because the blogs and sites observation probably would change the object behaviour. Finally, a well-known research question was addressed: how to interview the bloggers and the webmasters while minimising the impact of the interview in the blogs' content production.

Having identified and described the challenges faced during the research, the aim of this paper is to discuss some methodological ideas about how to study identity narratives on cyberspace.

Key words

cyberspace; identity; methods; Lusophony

1. THE STARTING POINT: IDENTITY NARRATIVES IN THE LUSOPHONE WORLD ¹

According to some authors we live in 'the age of community', an age characterized by the need to belong to a meaningful social group (national, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc.) which may give us a sense of shared identity and history (e.g. Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1997; Castells, 1997; Hall, 1997).

¹ This research was conducted under the scope of the project "Identity Narratives and Social Memory: the (re)making of Lusophony in intercultural contexts", Communication and Society Research Centre, University of Minho. This research project is supported by Science and Technology Foundation (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia), Portugal, and by FEDER, program Compete (PTDC/CCI-COM/105100/2008).

This work will focus its attention on Internet research methods, departing from the cyberspace narratives shared by a linguistic community. With a total of two hundred and fifty four million speakers in 2011, Portuguese is the official language in eight countries, on four continents, and the spoken language in many minority communities in other nations worldwide. It is the fifth most used language in the Internet (Internet World Stats, 2012).

Taken into account that language is one of the main elements of culture (Warnier, 2003) and one of the main codes of communication (Watzlawick *et al.*, 2010), it is relevant to study how a geographically disperse community of cultures, united by a common language, (re)create identity narratives in cyberspace. Most authors agree that identity is a complex and multidimensional concept and should not be understood as “transparent”. Hall (1994) believes that we must understand the concept of identity as “production”, as an always incomplete process, in which our representations of the other and our experiences are of significant importance.

Clary-Lemon (2010) states that research on identity carried out by some authors (e.g. Ricoeur, 1992; Martin, 1995; Hall, 1994) can be summarized in three dimensions. Identity is a discursive construction often revealed in the stories people tells about themselves or others, as well as recounted memories of the past. Identities are always temporary; they are constantly changing, and must be understood in relation with the other. Cultural and national identities are fragmented internally and externally, resulting from the process of negotiation of different perspectives about the similarity and difference.

Departing from these statements, and looking at identity as an incomplete process (Butler, 2000), the main goal of this research is to examine the narratives about the so-called Lusophone world on cyberspace, having as object of study sites and blogs written in Portuguese language.

1.1 LUSOPHONE COUNTRIES IN THE RECENT PAST AND NOWADAYS

During the last half of the 20th century, the relationships between the Portuguese-speaking countries were marked by numerous conflicts, tensions and reconfigurations. According to Sinclair & Straubhaar (forthcoming), during this period each Lusophone country was somewhat isolated from the others, except in the increasingly exposure to Brazilian television exports. In this period of time, some painful colonial memories were very present in most of these societies: the decolonization process in African Portuguese-speaking countries and East Timor, in 1975, was the latest one undertaken by a European country. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, there were colonial wars for more than ten years before gaining the independence in the mid 1970s. As Paez & Liu (2011) observed, this kind of conflict is strongly important in the forming narratives of national identities.

After their independence, the Portuguese-speaking African countries have undergone several political and social changes: the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique; the political instability in Guinea-Bissau; the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia. Those changes have strongly conditioned their social and political development. In fact, in those days, none of the mentioned countries, not even Brazil – which was recovering from the problems of the dictatorship regime (1964 – 1984) and from the deep economic crises of the 1970s-80s – had

conditions to become influent nations in the international arena. Brazil's days as an emerging BRIC economy came after the mid 1990s. As a result, during the last quarter of the last century, the distance among Portuguese-speaking countries was evident, not only that they were geographically distant, dispersed in Europe, Africa, South America and Asia, but also that each one of them tried to find out their own identity, choosing to belong to other political, economic and cultural proximity systems which are not the Lusophone geostrategic space system (Macedo *et al.*, 2011). As a few examples, Angola went within African Union, Brazil was one of the founders of Mercosur, and Portugal became a European Union member.

According to the Luso-tropicalist theory, Portuguese were more open to race-mixing than other European colonizers (Freyre, 1933). This theory was selectively appropriated during Salazar's dictatorial regime in order to legitimizing Portuguese colonialism. Nowadays, thirty-eight years after the Carnation Revolution of 1974² and the end of the colonial/liberation war, the Lusophone rhetoric in Portugal assumes frequently the form of 'imperial nostalgia' (Martins, 2006), giving room to conflicts and misunderstanding. These conflicts unleash tense debates on everyday discourse, including in cyberspace (Macedo *et al.*, 2011).

The Lusophone bonds follow now new guidelines. The colonial relationship has been allegedly replaced by post-colonial relationships, set on 'cooperation' and 'solidarity' values, aiming at 'expanding and enhancing the Portuguese language' and preserving 'a historical link and a shared patrimony were resulting from centuries of common experiences' as proposed in the Constitutive Declaration of the Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP)³ of 17th July 1996.

Currently, all Portuguese-speaking countries, except Guinea Bissau, are living in peace and most of them are finding ways to prosperity. Brazil is one of the emergent world powers; Angola is a regional power in southern Africa; Cape Verde is no longer an underdeveloped country; East Timor recovered the independence and became a democracy; Portugal, despite its economic crises, belongs to European Union, one of the spaces with higher levels of human development (United Nations Development Programme, 2012).

Based on the assumption that identity is formed and, at the same time, expressed through relations of power (Dolby, 2006), it is important to consider these present transformations in the Lusophone world and its consequences in the construction of new identity narratives. Only as an example, the asymmetric relationship developed between Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African countries was fed, for a long time, by the migratory flows that led Angolans, Cape-Verdeans, Guineans, Mozambicans and people from San Tome to Lisbon. Vala *et al.* (2008) argued that the "relations between receiving societies and immigrants is influenced by the representations that receiving societies build regarding their own history, namely their colonial past". In Portugal, for instance, 'black' people are still considered 'foreigners', regardless of their nationality and their efforts to be perceived as citizens on equal terms (Cabecinhas, 2007, 2010; Carvalhais, 2007).

² The Carnation Revolution was a peaceful revolution which ended the nationalist dictatorial regime of Salazar in Portugal.

³ The Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP) is the intergovernmental organization for cooperation among nations where Portuguese is an official language. It was formed in 17th July 1996 in Lisbon, with seven countries: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and San Tome and Principe. East Timor joined the community in 20th May 2002 after gaining independence.

On this matter, Cabecinhas & Feijó (2010, p.42) note that only recently there has been more debate about these issues, ensuring that “formally, we live in a post-colonial period, but colonialism persists in people’s minds, shaping personal trajectories and intergroup relations”.

However, transformations in the relations of power among Lusophone countries and the communication among them in the Internet bring us a new landscape. Mitra & Watts (2002, p.490) note, “...when the legitimization of power is based in discourse and texts, the speaker of voice in cyberspace is placed in a challenging position. The eloquence of the voice becomes critical to gaining a wide acceptance rather than the connection among speaker, place, and power”.

2. IDENTITY NARRATIVES IN LUSOPHONE CYBERSPACE

Appadurai (1997) argues that the tension between cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity is in the centre of global interactions nowadays. Electronic mediation has altered substantially the diasporic public spheres (Cunningham, Hawkins *et al.*, 2000). Internet flexibility and openness offer infinite opportunities to the individual in terms of freedom of expression, providing emancipating opportunities (Lévy, 2002). Still, the Internet is also a space where conflicts among ‘communities’ can be exacerbated. Identity is becoming the main “source of meaning in a historical period characterized by widespread de-structuring of organizations, de-legitimation of institutions, fading away of major social movements, and ephemeral cultural expressions” (Castells 1997, p.470). At the same time, the Internet can help immigrants to nurture their diaspora and preserve their cultural heritage. Mediated social networks can provide a sense of home and tools for collective action (e.g. Tynes, 2007).

In spite of this, we live in a global communication time in which we have a new environment to develop the multicultural dialogue, a new environment where Lusophone cultures find a space to be closer and stronger: the Internet. New generations of Portuguese speaking citizens invaded the cyberspace with sites and weblogs about their own countries and cultures. As a result, in a few years, the Portuguese language became the fifth most represented in the Internet in the number of users, as observed by the Internet World Stats in 2010.

We are talking about millions of sites and weblogs written in Portuguese, created from the place where their authors are living directly to the whole Lusophone cyberspace. Despite their geographical distance, their different ethnicities and their diverse ways of life, these are people who speak, think and feel in the Portuguese language, sharing their memories and ideas in the same virtual space (Macedo *et al.*, 2011). As argued by Hicks (1998, p. 67), these people “... found in the nodes of the Web a sense of neighbourhood-places at which to dwell together”.

Collective memory maintains group identity, presents justifications for groups’ actions and enables collective mobilization by challenging the legitimacy and stability of the existing social order (Licata *et al.*, 2007). Some authors suggest that social representations are organized through narrative templates (e.g. Laszlo, 2003; 2008). Their schematic nature is produced by repeated use of standard narrative forms produced by, for instance, history curricula in schools, monuments, and the mass media. It also guides people’s perceptions of their group identity (Wertsch, 2002).

Studies about historical memory around the world have shown that, when thinking about world history, people tend to remember mostly wars and political conflicts (e.g. Paez *et al.*, 2008; Liu *et al.*, 2009). Two reasons seem to underline the importance of conflict in social representations: conflicts can be seen as basic templates for human story-telling (Propp, 1968), and they generate extreme positive and negative emotions. As sharing negative emotions (Rimé, 1997) allows for community-building and empathy, this may explain why negative events appear so often in social representations of history.

These emotions and social representations in the Lusophone cultures find in the Internet one of the stronger ways to put under discussion the cultural identity narratives in this linguistic space. At the same time, the Internet communication in Portuguese language improves the knowledge that each Lusophone culture has about the others.

As noted by Barlow (2008), blogs are a new cultural phenomenon as far they represent most more than a technological possibility. The author observes that blogs allow citizens to express their own ideas with no editorial previous selection. In this communication ecosystem emerges a great citizen power that escapes to media elites' authority. For instance, Cross (2011) recognizes that creative and talented people, who have never had an opportunity to be heard, took a place in mass culture while their ideas and their dreams were broadcasted in the blogosphere.

Another advantage of blogosphere is its interaction possibility as observed by Coady (2011). In fact, blogosphere's dynamics encourages information consumers to become also information producers. Rosenberg (2009) argues that all these reasons quickly made the blogosphere to win sympathy of more people than the expected for the blogs' first enthusiasts. As an example, in United States of America, in 2008, among the Internet users as a whole, 31% followed blogs and 12% produced blogs (Horrigan, 2008).

It is more interesting if we take in account the Net enthusiasts' ideas. As observed by Dahlberg (1998, p.72), they "... argue that cyberspace enables all citizens to be heard and treated equally. Social hierarchies and power relations are said to be under cut by the 'blindness' of cyberspace to identity, allowing people to interact as if they were equals".

2.1 THE DIGITAL DIVIDE IN THE LUSOPHONE WORLD

Most of the Portuguese speaking countries, cultures and citizens are located in the South hemisphere, traditionally represented as economic and politically "less developed" than the North. One of main characteristics of this gap, in our global world, is the digital divide. According to Dahlberg (1998, p.77), "There are also inequalities in cyberspace interaction (...). These inequalities can be linked to, and in turn reinforce, exclusions from the net. Access restrictions mean that net interaction is dominated by those in any society with the resources to connect: generally white, middle-class, men". Furthermore, millions of Lusophone citizens do not have access to the Internet not only because of poor technological infrastructures in their countries, but also because of their social condition that led them to digital illiteracy (Macedo *et al.*, 2010).

Table 1 shows Portuguese speaking Internet users by country numbers. According to this table, Portugal is the best-positioned Lusophone country with 50.7% of the population accessing this communication technology. Nevertheless, if we talk about the total number of users, Brazil is, by reason of size, better represented with almost 80 million of citizens communicating in the Portuguese language in the Internet, despite its lower Internet penetration (38.9%).

COUNTRIES	Population (2011 Est.)	Internet Users 31-Dec-2011	Penetration (% Population)
Angola	13,338,541	744,195	5.6 %
Brazil	203,429,773	79,245,740	38.9 %
Cape Verde	516,100	148,800	28.8 %
Guinea Bissau	1,596,677	37,123	2.3 %
Mozambique	22,948,858	975,395	4.2 %
Portugal	10,760,305	5,455,217	50.7 %
Sao Tome & Principe	177,506	31,012	17.3 %
East Timor	1,177,834	2,361	0.2 %
TOTAL	253,947,594	86,639,843	34.1 %

Table 1 – Portuguese-speaking Internet users
 Source: Internet World Stats, 2012.

One of the surprises of this table is the higher than the expected percentage of Internet penetration in Cape Verde (28.8%) and San Tome and Principe (17.3%). As observed in other African countries, we could expect a low penetration as Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau present. Olinda Beja, a San Tome writer, in an interview to Macedo & Marques (2010) argues that the country's isolation and insularity, when related with a huge diaspora, increases the Internet number of users. These insular citizens look not only for a window to observe the world, but also to communicate in a cheaper way with their relatives and friends living abroad. Therefore, it is important not to forget the relevant contributions of the Portuguese speaking diasporas to the Lusophone communication on the Internet, as well as their important role in the production of hybrid identity narratives.

Returning to the digital divide, despite the low percentage of Internet penetration in some of the Lusophone countries, namely in Africa and East Timor, this penetration is higher among Portuguese-speaking citizens than among all other languages speakers, as we can observe in the next table.

Language	Population in 2011	World Population (%)	Internet users Dec, 31st, 2011	Penetration (%)	User world (%)
Portuguese speakers	253 947 594	3.7%	86 639 843	34.1 %	3.8 %
All other languages speakers	6 676 107 560	96.3%	2 180 593 899	32.6 %	96.2 %
World total	6 930 055 154	100%	2 267 233 742	32.7 %	100 %

Table 2 – Portuguese-speaking Internet users and population statistics
 Source: Internet World Stats, 2012.

As can be seen from Table 2, the Portuguese speakers represent only 3.7% of world population with a total of 253.947.594. Of them, only 86.639.843 are Internet users. However, if we compare the Internet penetration percentage between the whole world (32.6%) and the

Lusophone world (34.1%), we can see how relevant are the Portuguese-speaking communities in the content development and in the communication relationships in cyberspace.

3. THE METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES OF RESEARCHING LUSOPHONE IDENTITY NARRATIVES IN CYBERSPACE

The ongoing research project “Identity narratives and social memory: the (re)making of Lusophony in intercultural contexts” is intended to analyse identity narratives in the Lusophone space - a highly heterogeneous and dispersed geo-linguist community composed by eight countries. This research project has four different tasks to study Lusophone identity narratives: on the first task, the aim was to study virtual identity narratives in Portuguese language cyberspace; on the second task, the priority was to study oral identity narratives among Lusophone people who have migratory experiences in other Portuguese-speaking country(ies); on the third task, the research is about intercultural identity narratives among different Lusophone groups; finally, on the fourth task, this research meant to study Lusophone identity representations in historical narratives. It is important to make clear that only the first task was developed in cyberspace.

This work aims to describe the methodological challenges faced during the first task, when Lusophone identity narratives in cyberspace were studied, starting from the following questions: How is Lusophony constructed in cyberspace? How are virtual sociability networks established among Portuguese language speakers from different countries? How are national narratives constructed in the virtual sphere? How important are virtual networks for the Portuguese language diaspora?

The research process in this task had two steps: first, it was done a Lusophone cyberspace cartography with 350 identified sites and blogs which had a theme directly or indirectly linked to Lusophony; second, it was done a selection of fifteen sites and blogs on Lusophone issues for case studies: five from Brazil, five from Mozambique and five from Portugal. This kind of selection was made due to financial constrains since the study of blogs in all Portuguese-speaking countries would demand higher costs than the research budget could afford. The purpose was to research the cyberspace contribution to the Lusophone identity narratives (re)construction, starting from the Brazilian, Mozambican and Portuguese virtual narratives.

The research team knew that some new methodological issues in this research would be faced because the Internet is a more unexplored field than it seems to be. Hewson, Yule *et al.* (2003) called our attention to the ease of making methodological mistakes when we are doing Internet based research. According to these authors, despite the fact that most of methodological issues are the same in the case of Internet research as in other modes of research, there are some issues needing to be settled. As argued by Schneider & Kirsten (2004, p.115), “The ongoing evolution of the web poses challenges for scholars as they seek to develop methodological approaches that permit robust examination of web phenomena”. To support these methodological challenges, the researchers started by looking for literature about Internet studies. Despite the hundreds of editions found on this subject, very few of this literature gave them the clues that they needed. Actually, most of the

research available were mainly concerned with the classic methodology of investigation. It is true, as Supovitz (1999, p. 262) observed that, “The technological advances associated with collecting data on the Web afford researchers several advantages. No longer is it necessary to mail surveys and return envelopes (although e-mail addresses may be necessary for contacting those in your sample)”. However, this methodological approach did not give all the necessary clues to go far with this research. Actually, what the researchers were looking for was knowledge on methods adapted to research the Internet as a study object. At that time, they only found some dispersed experiences and ideas in a small number of scientific publications on this concern. Therefore, these precious contributions were embraced to design the methodological approach of this research.

When this research started, in 2009, there was a very few literature on the specific study of narratives in cyberspace. Fortunately, it increased in the last years, improving the knowledge on this issue.

Combining the research team previous know-how and the contributions found in literature, it would be possible to validate other authors’ information and add some new ideas about cyberspace research methods with this work.

3.1. THE FIRST METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE - TO ESTABLISH THE LUSOPHONE CYBERSPACE CARTOGRAPHY

The first step of the research process was to establish the Lusophone cyberspace cartography. One of the enduring problems of Internet research is how understand and map out the universe of blogs, web pages, etc. in one’s area of interest. It became a great methodological challenge because of the Internet’s unpredictable dynamics. Everyday there are new blogs and sites online, and some blogs and sites disappear. As Robinson (2001, p.713) note “Internet data can be ephemeral. A site may be present one day and gone the next. Sites are sometimes closed down or consolidated into other sites”. Schneider & Kirsten (2004, p.115) also remind that, “The nature of the web (...) is a unique mixture of the ephemeral and the permanent”. To explain their point of view, the authors (2004, p.115) argue:

There are two aspects to the ephemerality of web content. First, web content is ephemeral in its transience, as it can be expected to last for only a relatively brief time. From the perspective of the user or visitor (or researcher), specialized tools and techniques are required to ensure that content can be viewed again at a later time. The ephemerality of the web requires that proactive steps be taken in order to allow a recreation of web experience for future analyses.

In order to deal with the ephemeral nature of the Internet blogs and sites, it was defined a period of time for the cartography to be prepared: from July to September 2010. First, all non-institutional blogs and sites which had a theme directly or indirectly linked to Lusophone issues were identified in cyberspace in order to build and to circumscribe the research *corpus*. Second, the identified blogs and sites’ activity was monitored within these months. Third, these blogs and sites links were ordered into categorized tables by

countries and by specific sub-issues. Finally, this information was organized with the help of a graph-visualization software called Ucinet in order to find the networks among the *corpus* of blogs and sites. These networks are represented in graphics as cartography's 'constellations'. It must be stressed that these tables and these graphics⁴ were research tools rather than a photograph of Lusophone cyberspace. The cartography obtained only represents a fragment, a kind of snapshot at a particular period of time. It is interesting to verify that Diminescu (2012) methodological steps of mapping e-diasporas confirm this approach to cyberspace cartographies.

The research team recognized that this cartography could become quickly outdated. For example, two of the blogs of the cartography, selected for in-depth case studies, became sites (precisely during the research); another one stopped because its author died (after the research); and finally another one was closed (also after the research).

3.2. THE SECOND METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE - TO DO THE CONTENT ANALYSES OF THE SELECTED BLOGS AND SITES CHOSEN AS CASE STUDIES

The second step of this research about Lusophone narratives in cyberspace was to do in-depth case studies of fifteen selected blogs and sites from Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal. For this work, it was proposed an approach including texts and images' content analyses, statistical analyses of the visits and an interview with the author, or the main author, of each blog or site. This approach was previously tested in an exploratory study (Macedo, 2009). In the present research, a cyberspace narrative analysis protocol was developed in order to select three posts and three images in each blog or site to be analysed, within the period of time initially defined.

However, another methodological challenge was immediately found: the blogs and sites contents have a big diversity of forms (text, images, videos, comments, etc.) and ways and time to be fed. Each blog or site is quite distinctive and there are no rules to perform content production. This experience seems to confirm the assertion of Stanton & Rogelberg (2001, p.214) when they observed: "A great deal of methodological research is needed to truly understand how to design and interpret data collected from the Internet and intranets". Also Schneider & Kirsten (2004, p. 116) note that "Web-based media require new methods of analyzing form and content, along with processes and patterns of production, distribution, usage and interpretation". Consequently, the researchers realized that is impossible to establish a universal protocol to do content analyses in Internet and the previous cyberspace narrative analysis protocol was discarded.

The solution was to do specific content analyses for each blog or site. The selection of posts and images within a period of time was also rejected, because it was found that sometimes the most interesting posts and images were not within this interval. In

⁴ These tables and these graphics are not reproduced in this paper. This paper aim is to describe our research methodological process rather than to describe the results of the research.

order to answer this challenge, diachronic and synchronic content analyses were done, with the examination of all the contents in general and of the three most discussed posts and images in particular.

3.3. THE THIRD METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE - TO ANALYSE THE SELECTED BLOGS AND SITES STATISTICS

The case studies of the fifteen blogs and sites also supposed, as it was anticipated, statistical analysis to study the quantity, the origin and the duration of the visits to each blog or site selected in this research.

Fortunately, the researchers understood very early that including frequent and long visits to the selected blogs and sites to study their contents, inflated some statistics in each one of them: the number of visitors, the visitors' origin and the visit average time, e.g.. It was important to remember that this observation probably would have changed the object behaviour, namely in those blogs and sites less visited. The Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, which demonstrated us that the observation act is enough to modify the observed object's behaviour, especially if the object is small (Barrow, 2005), was present in this research. Consequently, the researchers took it as a valid methodological concern.

To reduce the subjectivity imposed by the researchers' observations in the statistic analysis, all the blogs and sites contents were recorded. This work was done copying the contents of each blog to a Microsoft Word file. It was a hard work and it is true that some files have more than one thousand pages. At final, the fifteen files were recorded. This solution brought two benefits to the research: on one hand, it avoided the frequent visits to the blogs and sites; and, on the other hand, it gave the reassurance that researchers will always have the contents even if the blog was shut down, as it happened with one of the Brazilian blogs selected for case study. This procedure was suggested by Robinson (2001, p.713) when the author said: "All narrative data obtained from the Internet should be retained either in a file or as a printed copy. This will ensure that the data are available for further analysis or audit". In fact, this option allowed the researchers to analyse unreservedly the blogs and sites' contents with no apprehension of increasing the effects of the Heisenberg uncertainty principle or of losing web access to the research data.

3.4. THE FOURTH METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE - TO MINIMISED THE INFLUENCE ON BLOGGERS CONTENTS PRODUCTION

According to the case study guidelines, it was necessary to interview authors of the selected blogs and sites to better understand some characteristics of these study objects. However, the exploratory studies (Macedo, 2009) demonstrated the influence of the interview on the way contents were produced in blogs and sites after the contact. Once more it was found the Heisenberg's uncertainty principle in this research.

Actually, it is impossible to do an interview without influencing the interviewee's way of thinking. The research relationship is, firstly, a 'social relationship' and therefore exerts effects on the results obtained and on the social actors involved. In this sense, the researcher cannot forget that, when he observes a given reality, he is also influenced by it. As

the 'lens' that we use for this observation is permeated by our previous experiences and our own representations, also the 'lens' of who is observed is loaded with the meanings of his/her culture. It is true that is an old and a well-known methodological issue. However, what is significant in this research experience is to observe the reproducibility of this influence effect in the cyberspace environment. In fact, some contents posted by the bloggers, after the interview, were clearly influenced by it. It would be possible to accept this as a benefit as the Anglo-Saxon ethnographers did since the late 1960's (Mattelart & Mattelart, 2002). The reflexivity, proposed by Garfinkel (1967), conceptualises the dialectical relationship between the action and the context. In other words, the reflexivity is to understand that the context influences the action content and the action also contributes to the progressively developed sense of the context. So, the result of the researcher action gives meaning to his/her research practices. By examining relationships in cyberspace among people, places, practices and things, the Internet researcher is producing a part of the research context as noted by Sterne (1999). Following this line of thought, Jones (1999, pp. 8-11) observed:

Scholars studying the Internet must be reflexive, for (at least) two reasons. First, we have all, scholar and citizen alike, become savvy media consumers (p. 8).

[...] The second reason scholars of the Internet must be reflexive is that the Internet is both embedded in academic life and owes much of its existence and conceptualisation to academia (p. 10).

[...] The research process is no less part of the ongoing construction of individual and collective reality than is the Internet – and discourse within it and external to it. Framed that way, it is possible to consider the nature of research as a meaning-making process, as a version of reality ... (p. 11).

At the same time, a cost/benefit analysis told us that it is better to introduce some subjectivity in the study than to reduce the amount of data or to change the data collection methods. As argued by Santos (2003), the evidence of the researcher's interference in the studied object impelled deep reformulations in modern science. First, because the real world became to be known not as it is, but departing from the elements that we introduce into it. Second, because we have to recognize that our knowledge rigour is limited; so, we cannot expect an absolute knowledge of the world, but only probabilistic approximations of the phenomenon. Third, because the uncertainty rejects scientific determinism: the whole cannot be resumed for the sum of the parts of the research process. Finally, because the distinction between the researcher and the research object losses the traditional dichotomised relationship to be replaced by a continuous vision of both elements.

In conclusion, the interviews with the bloggers were done taking into account the reflexivity of this action, knowing that the interview would probably influence the future contents of the blogs.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the extreme importance of the Internet as a communication technology in the global world, there is a long way to go on the research of cyberspace narratives. As a consequence, the literature on this subject research methodology is not enough to allow an

indisputable research design. As argued by Schneider & Kirsten (2004, p. 119), “The emergence of the Internet, and especially the web, has challenged scholars conducting research to both adapt familiar methods and develop innovative approaches that account for the unique aspects of the web”.

The expectation of this paper is that by sharing this research experience, it would be possible to improve the knowledge on how to study cyberspace narratives. We all know that it is impossible to eliminate subjectivity when researchers study narratives, namely those in cyberspace. However, it is desirable to try to reduce this subjectivity, identifying and controlling it with some procedures as it was done in this research. To accept some subjectivity seems to be the way to estimate this reality; in this case, to estimate what is happening with the narratives produced in the Internet and how its contents can be understood. We cannot forget that Internet is a new communication environment which we do not know as well as we think. Actually, the unpredictable character of the Internet generates considerable challenges. Surely, Internet has much more methodological difficulties than those described in this research experience. What researchers have to do is to transform these methodological difficulties into methodological challenges. Although, it is important to recognize that the methodological approach proposed in this paper is only one of the many different ways to face the described challenges. With the recent literature on cyberspace narratives studies and by improving the sharing of new research experience, we believe it will be possible to deepen the knowledge about these issues in the next future.

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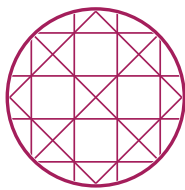
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Journalistic Narrative: a Story of Real Life

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Abstract

The urban centers are home to humble human beings, who circulate in the social periphery and remain nearly invisible to most of population. Many modern journalistic narratives have sought to redeem these kinds of people of anonymity in reports that escape the impact model for information only. It's called literary journalism that presents the fact by using literature expressive resources to present real-life characters. So this communication aims to present a reading from the perspective of dialogical language of the report "Signal closed to Camila" and its illustration from Eliane Brum's book *A vida que ninguém vê* (2006) in order to demonstrate how to configure this real-life character, which circulates in a large urban center, living on the margins of society, whose identity is ignored by the population. The aim therefore is to discuss this narrative format that expects to awaken the reader to the reality around him/her through stories which excel at dramatic tone and tension that surrounds the characters represented therein. This kind of narrative substitutes the literary function of stories, whose current contemporary purpose is to discuss the narrator's own development process, as illustrated by the metalinguistic narratives from Nuno Ramos (2008), André Queiroz (2004), among others. To fulfill this proposal, the theoretical reference is the theory / analysis of the language from the perspective of Bakhtin's Circle, considering the dialogic relationships between image / text / context, and the compositional form, style and tone that make up the narrative evaluative reported. So it aims to demonstrate how the report configure the character's identity by giving her visibility, promoting the reader's active memory and configuring an identity profile of urban living on the urban periphery.

Keywords

real-life narratives; genres; dialogical analysis of language

INTRODUCTION

In our modern world, the means of communication are responsible for articulating an evaluation of facts and public figures according to their own interests and ideologies. More often than not, readers take in the facts as presented without any critical approach. Therefore, it is important for any linguistic study to point out the relationships between the verbal and visual messages that impregnate the media statements, the facts, and their social context. As important as the written text in the making of those statements, the images that usually accompany the verbal text also convey implicit meanings, which are perceived even before the actual reading of its written counterpart. Thus, the photograph plays a significant role in the opinion formation of their readers. According to Benetti (2007), the pact between the "authorized" journalist and the "capacitated" reader to understand his/her

message has been built over the years based on ideological foundations. Consequently – as every ideology is “simplifying and schematic” –, it creates “the false appearance of something natural and evident” (Benetti, 2007, p.39). Facts as presented are not challenged by the reader because they come dressed with that aura of veracity. From that point of view, the images printed on the press reports are powerful because they are taken as representative of the truth. Besides, in the process of writing, journalists have in mind a kind of reader that is prominently visual, so they build their articles based on the recipient’s wishes and desires.

It is fundamental to understand that they are “positioning” movements, for that is how the links between a journalist and a reader, a reader and a magazine, or a group of readers and a magazine are formed. It is how what we call a discursive community is forged – a group for which the rules make sense and in which their members acknowledge one another as equals once they share the same sensations, wishes, thoughts, and values (Benetti, 2007, p. 39-40).

In order to discuss such question, Bakhtin’s dialogic theory of language is fundamental to comprehend how the relationships among the enunciator, the reader, and the social context are connected.

DIALOGIC THEORY OF LANGUAGE

Bakhtin’s dialogical theory states that language has a dual constitution based on the dialogue between the self and the internalized other. That fundamental principle thinks language as a something doubly oriented, thus freeing it from the more mechanical processes of interpretation. The development of such theoretical approach brings significant implications on the common conceptualizations of discourse as well as on the language manifestations themselves.

One of its basic concepts is that the enunciation is an event on the discursive chain which is in its turn linked to the other’s discourse in a dialogical way and which is also projected into the future as it awaits for the responsive attitudes of its possible readers. Thus, it is part of a discursive continuum, keeping dialogical relations with the presumed reader and the socio-historical moment, waiting for the answers of its immediate addressees and the future ones (superaddressees), as in Bakhtin (2003, p. 302):

When speaking, I always take into consideration the non perceptible background of my discourse’s perception by the addressee: to what extent he/she is aware of the situation, if he/she has any special knowledge about a given cultural field of communication; I take into account his/her conceptions and convictions, prejudices (from my point of view), sympathies and antipathies – all that will determine the active understanding of my enunciation by him/her.

The concepts of concrete enunciation and of dialogical relations are closely linked to discursive genres. As conceptualized by Bakhtin and his Circle, genres are more or less stable forms that guide human communication in its discursive practice.

Hence, in every human activity within the areas of production and circulation, discursive genres are the more or less stable models of communication, which are composed in terms of theme, compositional form and style. The comprehension of those models is

intuitive and, according to Bakhtin (2003, p. 283), learning to express oneself is above all learning the typical forms of those generic enunciations, which are found in the most diverse circles of human activity. Besides, they also express a way of seeing the world. Consequently, they are charged with an assessing tone of ideological nature.

Seeing communication as an enunciation which is embedded in the social context is what makes Bakhtin's theory unique, because there is a constant, and tense, dialogue between speaker and listener – or enunciator and addressee –, depending on the context and on the individual values of the participants in the process. As this philosopher of language says:

The enunciation is full of dialogical tones, and without taking them into consideration it is impossible to understand the enunciation's style to the fullest. Because our ideal – be it philosophical, scientific, artistic – is born and formed in the interactive process and the struggle of our thoughts and the others', and that cannot be devoid of reflexes in the verbalized forms of expression of our thoughts (Bakhtin, 2003, p. 298).

The ideological and assessing character of the enunciation's theme is not reducible to meaning. It is so because the meaning of a word within the system of a language is indefinitely repeated, whereas the theme is mobilized in the enunciation and, therefore, it is unique and unrepeatable. Such question, as discussed by Bakhtin/Voloshinov ([1929] 2006) a distinction is made between meaning and theme in a very productive way for the study of the written text, for the words taken from the system of language – itself of a stable and repeatable nature – take on new meanings in each moment of their repetition, depending on the socio-historical context, by carrying the assessing tone of the enunciator and, consequently, featuring an ideological aspect.

Thus, each utterance is *individual* and *unrepeatable*, and essentially related to its context, therefore under variations throughout time, according to Bakhtin (2006, p. 44): "Each epoch and social group has their own repertoire of forms of discourse within the socio-ideological communication. To each group of forms belonging to the same genre, that is, to each form of social discourse, there is a corresponding group of themes."

Machado (2007, p.211) explains the discursive genre concept, including its chronological evolution as an important theme of dialogical language theory: 'To Bakhtin's theory, the genre lives in the present but remembers its past, its beginning [...] the discursive genres create chains that, because they are reliable to the great time, they accompany the variability of language uses along the time.'

So the concept of discursive genre is important to understand the new forms of reported enunciation that take place in every social moment, considering the author's purpose, the reader and the social context. The new journalistic narrative is a good example of the genre evolution related to literature language and style. The report wants to break the standard vision that prevents reader from seeing human beings who circulate in large urban centers. So the context acts on the enunciation as the same way that the new reader wants or expects another kind of information. This form of interference throughout time and space was named by Bakhtin chronotope, which is explained in his book about literature and aesthetic (Bakhtin, 1990). At this point of view the new journalism tries to approach the reader to the human

nature of facts instead of relating it impartially. So that is the way Eliane Brum's reports configure.

NARRATIVE REPORT

The new journalism introduces the real facts of life in a different way, using the expressive language to touch the reader and makes him/her to view things in another way he/she couldn't perceive. The new journalism seeks to show the facts that are not normally aired in the press committed to objectivity.

This type of text was introduced by reporters like Capote and Gay Talese. The same occurs in Brazilian journalism, after Joel Silveira and some others. Eliane Brum turned short reports in literary pieces like a chronic. In the collection *The life that nobody sees* (2006), the journalist presents to the reader narratives about people that have no importance to the daily press. They live outside, at the environment of the great urban centers, and they are almost invisible to the public reader of daily press. "Signal closed to Camila" is an example of this kind of narrative that tells us a story of a poor little girl that lives on the street asking for money to survive. The chorus she used is the introduction of her story: "Beautiful uncle, beautiful aunt of my heart. I ask if you don't have a buck or something like for this poor little girl" (p.126).

The report tells us her story: she was a ten-year-old little girl who, like many others girls and boys, was living in a quarter far from downtown of Porto Alegre (Brazil), named Bom Jesus. Her parents were unemployed and the girl since she was six years old stays on the street near the traffic lights begging for money. She was captured by the city police and was taken to a children reformatory from where she escaped many times. The last time she escaped with five girls, and they walked aimlessly through the city. As it was very hot that Sunday, Camila and two other girls decided to take a bath in Guaíba river, near the park of Brasil Marine, but Camila did not know how to swim and sank into the river. On Monday the family took notice about the girl's death, but The Legal Medical Department did not care to give information to the family, that had to wait till Tuesday to bury the corpse. As the family was very poor and the social institution that takes care of underage people has neglected the care of the girls and took no action on the trail of the girls, the department decided to pay the funeral, that was verging on the ostentatious: "Paid also to a funeral chapel with conditioning air" (p.128). The funeral conditions contrast with the poverty of the family, that was miserable. So the relatives was delighted with it: "What a beautiful place, the family repeats amazed at the space so big and green ,accompanied by an entourage of relatives' defeated faces"(p.128).

As the speaker wants to demonstrate the contrast between the living conditions of those family members, including Camila, with the refined funeral atmosphere; the narrator relies on the intelligence of the reader to realize the contradiction.

Thus, Brum qualifies the reader as an interpreter of conflicting voices expressed in the statement, the narrator's reporting and describing the original environment of Camila and their relatives, as opposed to the delighted expressions on the scene of death, as if the dead mattered little at that time.

It follows that the work with the language is not the only information, but it presents an evaluative intonation to touch the reader, causing so responsive attitudes, if not action, at least awareness and reflection. Besides the description of the environment, the family life of Camila, the reporter emphasized the traits of her father, in order to define the profile of human degradation. To accomplish his description Brum selects some physical aspects of the man at the moment of the burial: "In the procession, a single suit. Frayed and stained, worn by a man who opened the suffering in the face grooves. A man trying to grab the dignity which escaped as the waistband bigger than him" (p. 128).

The expressive features that mark the profile description present a dubious father of human degradation and lack of prospects. The noun phrase that opens the paragraph constituted by metonymy, devalues the subject as a function of the object, mainly by the characteristics attributed to the suit, "worn and stained", which are transferred to his user. The peculiarities of the suit are also those of who wears. However they are external characteristics that shape the man profile, as if he was the victim of his living conditions.

The slaughter and suffering that the "open furrows" seems to excuse his absence and his lack of responsibility with his daughter. It suggests that his life situation was greater than his ability to control, as expressed by the comparison between the test to recover his dignity associated with trying to keep his pants waist.

In this configuration, the evaluative tone of the speaker is marked by irony. The first presentation of the father as a man addicted to drink and violence make up a negative image. However, it seems to go beyond the personal context in which the head of the family cannot fulfill his role because he is also helpless in the social context: an unemployed person. Thus, the generic style of a more evaluative information that is outweighed by the individual style, letting the gaze of the speaker-subjective reporter.

The narrator characterizes the persons in an impressive way, they are being presented and the plot moves gradually to the climax, the wake of Camila, where social conflict is exposed in a dramatic and ironic tone.

Despite being a third-person narrative, as required by the informative genre, the tone adopted reveals the subjective and evaluative view of the reporter. The exemption required in dealing with the investigated object is abandoned due to the need to awaken the critical eye of the reader because these invisible beings are presented to him/her for the first time, as the title of the book suggests, they are human beings who nobody sees.

Camila is presented as a fragile girl, rejected by her parents, but with a touch of sensibility recognized by the chorus she used to sing in order to get some money to survive. This charmed song that opens the text is a kind of resource to involve the reader and to give him/her Camila's sensitive perception besides her miserable condition. The same artifice is employed in another way at the end of the report, when the narrator assumes Camila's voice and words in her discourse.

In the same way, the author abandons the objectivity, using literary resources as antithesis, metonymy, metaphor, rhythm and so on. The antithesis is powerful when the author emphasizes the contrast between the richness of the funeral and the miserable parents look as her father's coat, very big for his tale. The description of the scenery is also made in contrast with the beauty of nature environment and the sadness of death.

The rhythmic structure of the refrain that opens Camila's story is perceived in the compositional form by the use of a poetic tone. The title metaphor "Signal close to Camila" is the axial image.

So Brum leaves the compositional form of the journalist genre, using a subjective way to describe the people and their life. The report theme of relevant events chosen to circulate in sphere of daily press is also abandoned. In this way, the generic style is changed by the subjective reporter inflection. As Bakhtin's dialogic concept of language, the utterer has in mind the presumed reader at the moment he/she expresses an utterance (Bakhtin, 2003). According to it, Brum has in mind a reader that does not pay attention to little events because he/she is shelled by the bombastic press or by the important economical and political events, ignoring the surrounding reality. In the countercurrent of daily press, changing the journalistic pattern of discursive genre, Brum tries to move the reader showing another scene on that he/she does not pay attention.

VISUAL LANGUAGE: PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE AND MEANING

The photo that illustrates the news is very important to transmit implicit meaning to compound the utterance in its totality. So the visual images are very important to make sense possible. Brum's reports are illustrated by Paulo Franken a photographer that tries to grasp in an image Brum's evaluative tone. So all the illustrations are in black and white, composing dramatic figures according to the tragic lives profiled in the verbal report.

At the first page of the report, there is an image that is a kind of photography changed by the designer that anticipates the girl profile. The artistic picture captures the upper part of her body, visible against the glass of a car window. The image is blurred, we cannot see clearly her feature, only her eyes is clearly seen by a square delineated around it looking to an invisible driver. At the right side of her head it is the title: "Signal close to Camila". This metaphor is related to the visual figure expressed in the illustration by the window glass against what her face was wrinkled. This image is according to the first words reported, a song that is Camila's characterization voice, begging in the street. The unknown driver, that cannot be seen because he/she is out of sight, puts Camila in direct contact with the reader's eyes, as if she was trying to enter in the reader's world.

The eyes centralization turned to outside is very important to the photographic efficacy and to the feeling effects in the spectator. About it Foucault (1995) comments Velásquez's artistic work "Las meninas", Foucault (1995) declares that the frontal look, captured in a painting, falls in an empty space because the personage looks at nothing. However, the spectator at the moment he/she gasps this directed look feels as if this personage was looking to him.

Although Foucault is discussing painting art, the philosopher/linguistic statements are appropriated also to understand the photographic effects. Thus the way the face and the eyes were captured affects the spectator reception, as if it was a change between both the personage and the spectator.

So when the picture focuses Camila's eyes, watching at the reader, it incites a change of roles, as if the reader could take the girl's place. The mirror image instigates this kind of exchange, but there is a glass between them. The world of each other is not the same.

Besides, according to Freeman (2005, p. 27), the position of the frontal part of the head representation is fundamental in photograph, mainly if it was erected and looking ahead at the camera. This way to capture the image gives to the spectator a security and sincerity sensation, while an oblique position suggests a certain timidity. In this case, Camila's head is presented in an askew angle, expressing a humble position.



Figure 1. Photography by Paulo Franken (Agência RBS de Notícias), in "The Life that Nobody See", pp. 124-125

Camila's portrait that illustrates the beginning of the narrative is a metonymy of her poverty and the car window, that is an impediment to establish contact with an invisible driver. It indicates the wall that separates her life from the life of other people. It's a blurred image, we can not see her face as we can not see her as a person. She is like a shadow, without flesh and bone. Nothing is clearly delineated. Only after the reading of her story her voice sounds in a refrain, the same one that opens and finishes the text.

The image in black and white definition seems to register a world without perspective, without brightness. The image is blurry and opaque. Only her eyes seem to contrast, as if that square served as a frame, there was a gap for a contact with the reader. However, they are caught in a side view, biased, with a part still in the shade, which can be barely noticed. The illustration graphic project highlights what the text tries to reflect, this way the designer is connected with the report's author, turning image and text as a complete and concrete utterance, according to Bakhtin's theory (2003). This kind of relationship establishes an intense dialogue between the report and the designer that involves the reader.

The story told in third person does not affect the complete objectivity, as the narrator approaches the characters in such a way that she expresses with her own words the words and thoughts of these human beings using free indirect discourse. This kind of resource even confuses the reader about the authorship of certain expressions, which the narrator uses, merging the views between narrator and character. In opposition to the journalistic objectiveness the author assumes an identification, even if momentary, between the storyteller and the object of his investigation. Throughout the text, there are several moments of mixture of speeches, which indicate the author's empathy with the characters portrayed in the story, especially Camila. The text final words demonstrate the intersection of voices: "And now, beautiful uncle, beautiful aunt, what do we do?" (Brum, 2006, p.128) The narrator and the character sound in one voice.

The final section concludes that the report demonstrates the narrator's proposal to involve the reader with the drama of those ordinary people abandoned to their fate, whose responsibility, the bias of the narrator, is also the company that the reader and her own part: "You and I, too, are complicit in her death. We all murdered. The question is how many Camilas have to die before we lower the glass of our unconsciousness. Do you know? And now, beautiful uncle, beautiful aunt, what do we do?" (p.128)

The resumption of the first stage, expressing Camila's refrain begging in the street, in an interdiscursive way, is ironic in nature, as a ruse to provoke the reader. The fact told as a literary story has therefore proposed an individual style improving and changing the discursive genre. Brum's purpose is to awake the reader, to move him/her to social reality. So, her story as a concrete utterance does not end at the final dot, according to Bakhtin's dialogic theory (2003). The dot points out a temporary end, because the utterance awaits the responsive attitude of the readers, especially by the tone imposed by the inquisitive reporter. The question requires a reader's positioning: "Do you know? [...] What do we do?" The answer is suspended, and the reader is invited to answer the questions. So the reporter identified with the sufferance of humble people tries to move the indifferent reader to pay attention to this human being that is far from his/her world.

FINAL WORDS

Bakhtin's reflections allow us to analyze the non-literary genres, expanding the language conception of utterance.

He presents the discursive genre theory, as a complex statement, accompanying the proposal of the speaker communication. Furthermore the utterance is conceived considering the presumed reader and his/her social horizon. So Bakhtin offers a field of study of the statements circulating in various spheres of human activity, escaping with fixed forms and reducing genres that are usually treated.

From this perspective, it is possible to observe the fluctuation and the crossing of genres, such as it occurs between the literary and journalistic spheres. In providing the generic style double orientation, in other words, establishing it as a generic standard and individual choice, the Russian linguist updates the treatment and the understanding of the genres that change depending on the socio-historical moment, as seen today.

In this way, Brum's report is an example of a new kind of discursive genre. As she uses a subjective perspective with an inflection value, not usual for the journalist language, she overpasses the generic model that circulates in journalistic sphere. She works on the language style of approaching the literary, creating a sort of impasse: journalistic report or chronic?

Above all, the answer to this question is in the background in this case. The most important is to note that the dialogue held between the reporter and the reader is productive, exposing a proposal that escapes the common reports. The intention to approach these human beings invisible to society to the reader reality becomes successful.

A report prepared in accordance with the standard of journalism would not have the impact necessary to instill the critical eye of the reader, mobilizing his conscience. This is Brum's device that justifies the dialogue between the literary and journalistic genres to tell the real stories of invisible and abandoned human beings who circulate in the streets.

Taking into consideration Bakhtin's chronotopy concept (1990), responsible for the genres transformation in light of new needs and new proposals of speakers, it is observed that this type of report answers to a new context. Considering Bakhtin's statement concept, the transformations occur in according to society progress, presuming an immediate reader and a third one:

Every utterance has always a recipient (of varied nature, different degrees of proximity, concreteness, comprehensibility, etc.) whose responsive understanding is anticipated and addressed by the author. He is the second (once again not in arithmetic order). However, beyond this recipient (second), the author of the statement suggests, more or less consciously, a higher top recipient (third), whose absolutely fair responsive understanding he presupposes, either in the metaphysical distance or in a distant historical time. (Bakhtin, 2003, p. 333)

By breaking the models of informative reports, Eliane assumes a reader that is unmoved by daily information. This is because such information lives the impasse of objectivity or sensationalism that has caused the reader's social inertia. Therefore, Brum's proposal, by using the expressiveness of literary language, abandoning the informative style, answers to need that literature does not focus on the individual and psychological problems naturally arisen from economic progress or mechanization of human actions. Furthermore, the influence of new media has led the authors to shorten and synthesized speech, expressing themselves in more synthetic stories. Such authors expose the anguish that the present moment causes in humans without ideals. Thus, the most recent literary genres, like the mini stories, question the process of writing and its function, rather than have a closer look at the next beings whose life is relegated to the abandonment.

Accordingly, Eliane Brum's reports seek to fulfill this literary space, composing stories that move between the two spheres of the human activity: the journalistic and literary, in order to mobilize the reader, to drag him to the peripheral world of which he seeks isolation. The car window is a metaphor which illustrates the conflict between these two urban areas: the periphery and the center of economy, poverty and progress. The picture changed artistically summarizes the report that the written text mentions. The irony that runs through the visual and verbal images echoes the dissonance between the real world and the desired world, prefigured by the reporter.

Brum's strategy is to provoke critical reflection, causing impact in the reader, placing him in his social reality. This way, the reporter role is fulfilled in an intense and provocative way though it runs opposite of the mainstream media. Thus she breaks the paradigm of objectivity and impartiality as the press pattern.

By publishing them in *Zero Hora*, widely circulated newspaper in a Brazilian capital, Porto Alegre city, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brum challenged the model, changed the style of their reports and risked being disqualified as a journalist. Many critics consider her reports as chronic instead of a journalist report. On the back cover of the book, such classification appears: "She is a reporter in search of events which are not popular and people who are not celebrities. She is a reporter in search of the extraordinary anonymous life. She is a writer who delves into the daily routine to prove that there are no ordinary lives."

However, the journalist role is determined by the investigation, the recovery of real people's life story and actual data resulting from research. This way it gets far from the chronicles. Journalists, like Ricardo Kotscho, attach Eliane to the role of a great reporter, following old concepts, when the reporters sought to enhance the human side of the facts reported. "By reading what Eliane writes today, no one can say that great reporters are no longer produced as before" (Kotscho, 2006, p.177).

As it can be seen, the generic model presents change from the past to the present and from the present to the past as Bakhtin says. The genres are adapted to the needs of the historical moment and to the speaker's communication proposal. Eliane Brum, against the current style of reporting, recovers patterns from the past and updates them in order to fulfill a role that is relegated to the background, to sensitize the reader's eyes to the reality that surrounds him. Just like any utterance, according to Bakhtin's concept, her stories await for the reader's answer.

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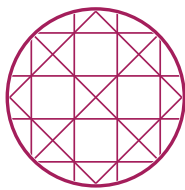
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Part III

Audiovisual Narratives and Cultural Memory



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The Works of Sísifo: Memories and Identities of the Portuguese in Africa according to Fiction Films of the Twentieth Century

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Abstract

The genealogy of Lusophony may be seen as an intersection of different memories, shaped through several temporal strata. The disparate senses of identity that are evoked by those memories are multiple and frequently opposite. The different narratives, that circulate on a given and identified cultural and linguistic space, always use the metaphor of the mirror, where people is seen through the dualities of 'we/others', 'inside/outside', 'civilized/wild', etc. Far from being a schema only applied to the colonizer/colonized, this paper focuses on how Portuguese identities still live under several *aporia* in these post-colonial times. It's inside these dynamic oppositions, mixing imagery, symbols and the reality that identities are built and rebuilt, nowadays under the strong influence of cultural industries that reflect, feed and transform our imagination. It is on this theoretical ground that we will try to understand two particular dimensions of the Portuguese colonial memories, which have left a deep and a long lasting trace in our colonial narratives, and also in colonialist and 'retornados' (returnees) identities.

Our study will focus on three movies made in Portugal during the 20th century. We conclude that the first and second examples (*Chaimite* and *O Zé do Burro*, respectively), compile an individual story and memory of the subjects and the groups which always serve the memories of the History of Portugal and of the Portuguese.

On the contrary, the film that we analyzed which was made post-April 25th, *Tempestade da Terra*, addresses the History, the individual story and the national memory that comprises multiple individual stories and diverse memories.

Finally, our study reveals the possibility of representing the reality of colonialism and post-colonialism in terms of the great diversity of relations between one side and the other.

Keywords

Lusophony, memories, identity, (post-)colonialism, Portuguese movies

INTRODUCTION

Far from being a static repository of information, memory is one of the fundamental elements which constitutes identities, whether individual or collective. In terms of individual and collective memories, it may also be said that one inspires the other, and vice-versa, as they cyclically convene in tasks which reconstruct this sense of memory (Candau, 1996). This paper consists of the analysis of the relationships between identity and memory, as a kind of task which is very close to the works of Sísifo, in the context of the constitution of

autonomous subjects and communities which are free and self-regulated. Memory functions not only with self-identity but also with the identity of the other which is constantly mediated, regulated, thought and frequently legitimised and established in power relationship contexts where subjects and the communities interact. In their diversity, cultural products express and sometimes stabilize, through distinct languages, the state of those power relations. At times, they question them, other times they can justify and naturalise them, whether or not this is a conscious objective (Cabecinhas, 2007). One of the most impressive examples of self-identity and self-memory manipulation (and thus, simultaneous manipulation of the other identity and memory) was the process of colonisation, which the Europeans brought to bear in various corners of the world, and in its most intense form, at the end of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Africa.

This current study is specifically dedicated towards analysing the relations between the memory and the identity of the colonial Portuguese in Africa, based on the manner in which they were represented in Portuguese cinema until the end of the twentieth century. Three examples were chosen (two feature-length fictional films and one comedy), which we considered pertinent in terms of how the Portuguese represented their own identity as agents of civilisation for the African people. Without being an analysis of the importance of cinema, as a creator and an activator of images, identities and memories, this study also intends to underline the fecundity of this area of research, which, in Portugal, takes its first steps towards a serious and systematic investigation in the area of Cultural Studies, and more specifically, in the dominion of post-colonial Portuguese studies¹.

FROM COLONIALISM TO POST-COLONIALISM: MEMORIES, IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITIES

The colonising presence of the Portuguese in Africa during the twentieth century greatly interests us, in two major areas: firstly to understand the way in which the memory and the Portuguese cultural identity was transformed during this century, specifically in terms of the Portuguese who went to Africa and established themselves there, and on the other hand, the way in which the new land was reinvented, in their memory identities, auto and hetero representations, when they had to return to the *Metrópole*, following the Revolution of the 25th of April, 1974 (Lourenço, 1983).

But, as identity is always created in a relationship context, considering that it is only with the other that it can be constructed and defined (Baptista, 2007), we also need to understand and discuss the image and the representation of the other African, which would have been predominantly – and sometimes simultaneously - ‘indigenous’, ‘black’, ‘mulatto’, or even ‘assimilated’ (Cunha, 1994, 1995), as defined by the Portuguese of the Colonial Empire, in the territory that was subsequently designated as *Províncias Ultramarinas*.²

In effect, from a global perspective and from the point of view of the question that interests us in this context, the cultural identity of the Portuguese in Africa during the

¹ A very interesting study which inaugurated this subject of research in Portugal in terms of Cultural Studies and Post-Colonial Cultural Studies (Vieira, 2011).

² *Províncias Ultramarinas* is a Portuguese term to describe the Overseas Territories belonging to Portugal.

twentieth century passed through three distinct phases, which are articulated by three different modes and contexts in the Portuguese collective memory:

- a first phase, which we designate as 'The Invention of an Empire', lasting until the mid-1950s (which we highlight as a point of departure for the following phase, the revision of the Portuguese Constitution in 1951, which changed the political statute of the Colonies, but also Gilbert Freyre's programme of luso-tropicalism, which, from 1953, was gradually extended throughout the Portuguese Empire, with the objective to legitimise Portuguese colonisation in the context of constant international pressure to decolonise);
- a second phase, which we refer to as 'A special kind of Portuguese Colonialism' - which began in the mid 1950s and ended with the Carnation Revolution on the 25th of April, 1974, and the subsequent decolonisation, which obliged the Portuguese in Africa to return en masse to the Metropole;
- a third phase, which began at a time whence Portugal received half a million 'returners' from the 'ex-colonies' over just a few months, if we consider only those who travelled by air, but also, until the end of the century, those from the overseas provinces. Thus, after a brief pause, the discussions about the memories and the representations of Africa and of Portugal after 'returning' began to emerge in great quantity, diversity and depth between the Portuguese who lived in Africa. We identified this phase with the generic title of 'Exiled from no land'.

In order to illustrate and explain the complex dynamics which can be observed in each of these periods, in terms of the construction of memories and of identities, we use Portuguese cinema as a privileged scope of observation, which shapes and re-elaborates - in its own language (visual, metaphoric, symbolic and poetic) - the memories and identities of the Portuguese in Africa, as seen from the point of view of both the Metropole and the African territories under Portuguese jurisdiction³.

Thus, we use the film *Chaimite* (Canto, 1953) to evoke some of the identity traits and the memory of the Portuguese in Africa in the period which we designate 'The Invention of an Empire'. We subsequently discuss the film *O Zé do Burro* (Ferreira, 1971); in order to illustrate the turning point of a new representation of Africa which we call "a special kind of Portuguese Colonialism'. Finally, we approach a recent post-colonial film, *A Tempestade da Terra* (Silva, 1997), which documents a process of profound reconstruction of the identity and memories reconstruction of the Portuguese returning from Africa who, finally, may be considered 'Exiled from no land'.

Aside from this discussion of relations between cinema, cultural identity and collective memory, we must also highlight the epistemological point of departure of this study. In effect,

³ Based on a similar body of work research, Seabra (2011) provided a different view by using a different analytical and theoretical field of research. While we conduct our analysis in terms of Cultural Studies/Post-Colonialism (Barker, 2008), Seabra views this material specifically in terms of History. On the other hand, contrary to the work cited, these are not the representations of the Portuguese Empire with which we are primarily concerned in our research, but rather the cultural identity/identities, of both blacks and whites in Africa, and the way in which they are represented in Portuguese fictional cinematography from the twentieth century, and the memories which are thus constructed.

far from considering that cinema immediately 'reflects' the reality, it seems that it reconstructs it in another language (visual, poetic, symbolic etc), which far from mimicking reality rather re-elaborates and develops the cultural fabric from where it was born and then reintroduces it in society (Martins, 2005, Torgal, 2000).

Thus, we take the cinema as a type of a 'symptom' (in the contemporary psycho-analytical sense), and as a cultural sign, from which its diverse feelings can be interpreted, in a cultural hermeneutical methodology, which is supported by historical information, but which also integrates the reflections based on interpretation and exploration of the researcher, in order to delve further into the available cinematography (Deleuze, 2004).

Finally, regarding the selected films – we chose not to use documentaries and instead opted for fictional films (drama and comedy). Curiously, there are less than twenty Portuguese films from the twentieth century which addressed Africa and the Portuguese in a fictional way. Identifying reasons for this exiguity should be the topic of another study, but for now, it is sufficient to conclude that the construction of a 'dreamed empire' (Lourenço, 1984), was the desire of the Portuguese in Africa, especially in the cinematic language which maintained a 'pact of realism' with the viewer⁴. This is not the way in which fiction operates, as by its nature, fiction is based on fantasy, emotion and creativity. In our understanding, here lies one of the most substantial reasons for the difficulties of national cinematic fiction about the Empire: fiction can de-stabilise identities and memories in its multiple reconstructions of identities and fictions. Thus, this type of production (despite the small output) is vitally important for our study, not only so that we can observe the diverse 'nuances' of the identities of the Portuguese in Africa, but also because it reveals to us in a very clear way (despite at times in an inverted or speculative form) the mechanisms that produce constant memory and identity contamination, continually re-figuring and reinforcing each other.

2 – MEMORY AND IDENTITY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA IN FICTIONAL PORTUGUESE FILMOGRAPHY

2.1 – THE INVENTION OF AN EMPIRE: CHAIMITE (1953)

Chaimite, a film by Jorge Brum do Canto, was premiered in Lisbon in April, 1953. The film is set in 1894, during which time the Vátuas⁵ were frequently attacking the Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese did not hesitate in their response, and the film recalls the campaigns in Marracuene, Magul, Coela and Manjacaze, which were initially led by António Enes, Caldas Xavier, Ayres Ornelas, Eduardo Costa, Paiva Couceiro and Freire de Andrade, and thereafter by Mouzinho de Albuquerque, whose infamous exploit was the capture of the great 'negro' tribal chief, Gongunhana, who was then brought to Portugal in 1897 and publicly exhibited to the delight of the Portuguese.

⁴ This is the case of the documentary – referring to the proposition that during the same period (twentieth century), and regarding the same theme (Portugal and the Portuguese in Africa), there are more than three thousand documentaries archived in the ANIM (Arquivo Nacional de Imagens em Movimento), which reinforces the importance of the 'pact of realism' that the documentary supports in the context of constructing a 'dreamed empire', whether legitimate or indisputably real (for a deeper discussion see Paulo, 2000).

⁵ Vátuas – A term that names a tribe from East Africa.

In parallel to the 'Great History', we also have the 'individual story', of the Portuguese living in Lourenço Marques, of which the focal point is a romance which develops when two soldiers fall in love with the same girl.

This film, filmed mostly in Mozambique, is also of interest due to the inclusion of the director himself in one of the main roles: Paiva Couceiro. It is also the second great Portuguese fiction film about Africa, following *O Feitiço do Império* (1940) which was shown 203 times between 1953 and 1969, distributed both on the continent (175), Madeira (2), Azores (149), S. Tomé and Príncipe (1), Angola (7), Mozambique (3) and Canada (1) (Seabra, 2000, p. 264). In 1961, Manuel Gama remarked that, in terms of 'overseas cinema', Portugal was a total desert, except for *Chaimite*, which he considered "a dignified and highly esteemed work - the only bright star in the darkness of lost opportunities. It is not much," - he continued - "but yet it is still something!" (Gama, 1961).

Regarding our main focus in terms of this current investigation - the memories and cultural identities of the Portuguese in Africa in the twentieth century - this film demonstrates the manner in which the Portuguese reconstructed Portugal and the memory which they had of it in Africa: men and women dressed as they would in Minho, Portugal, although they were now in a tropical climate; in the bush or in the colonial towns, they built their 'Portuguese houses' (with eaves, flowers in the porch, a glass of wine on the table...) and were essentially rural, agricultural people, hard-working and honest, who had 'claimed the land' to build villages, towns and cities which replicated their homeland, the metropole, as loyally as possible.

Furthermore, the identity of the white colony was consistently conveyed in the established form of a Portuguese identity of brave and valiant warriors, always in the minority and in a hostile territory, but revealing an ever greater conviction and love for their homeland. The narrative structure of the victorious Portuguese in Africa coincides exactly with that of the *Miracle of Ourique*, the Portuguese model for all future victories (Lourenço, 1978).

Of particular significance is the way in which the film conveys the affiliation between the campaigns in Africa, in line with the Discoveries, as the Portuguese colonies had the same objective as the *Marinheiros de Quinhentos*⁶: to conquer more souls for Christianity; to implement the civilised behaviour of the Portuguese and also the Portuguese character.

Chaimite does not ignore the important role of the Portuguese women in the process of colonisation: for not only were they more beautiful, attractive, ladylike and serious than the foreigners, they were also indispensable due to their courage and resilience, encouraging and bravely accompanying and assisting their husbands, obviously not by fighting on the front, but rather by nursing, teaching etc.

With regard to the 'Negros', they are portrayed as savages (with the recurrent theme being the subtle agitation of the phantom of anthropophagy from the opening scenes of the film), uncivilised, without a face and without a name (except for those who worked directly with the Portuguese, and showed loyalty to them). In summary, the 'Negros' were generally portrayed as silent traitors and dangerous spies.

However, with a more delicate analysis, one can distinguish two types of 'Negros': the foreign traitors and the slaves sold to them (including the French and the English who were

⁶ *Marinheiros de Quinhentos* is a term which refers to the sixteenth century sea-farers.

only interested in usurping the Portuguese possessions) or the civilised, docile people who co-operated with the Portuguese, obviously to a lesser extent but still, for the duration of the film, in near silence and without a name.

From our point of view, the scene of the film which simultaneously constitutes the final message, and in our understanding, that which best condenses the model of black/white relations in this period is exactly that of the imprisonment of Gungunhana: the whites begin to cold-bloodedly execute two of the 'Negro' chief's tribesmen, in a gesture that symbolises the total domination, coldness and rationality which the whites had over the blacks. Subsequently, the great chief Gungunhana is subdued, imprisoned and humble, confessing all.

Curiously, Bénard da Costa states that the importance of this scene of the film was the way in which '*the native actor who interpreted the role of Gungunhana crushes, just with a glance - in which centuries of humiliation can be perceived - the rhetorical theatre actor who took the role of Mouzinho (Jacinto Ramos)*' [italics added] (Costa, 1991, p. 111). However, in spite of their cruelty (seen here through the force and power exerted over the enemies) the Portuguese are also representative of humanistic characteristics such as mercy – in this same scene, Mouzinho ultimately embraces the mother of the traitor, who is the one left suffering, although she is not responsible for the acts of her traitorous son.

Finally, we wish to emphasize the very basic and low level of interaction between White and Black people: the blacks serve and work for the whites, plus they are violently interrogated because they are traitors and thus may kill the whites. On the other hand White people have a code of conduct, they are organised to ensure the security of the white community, in a climate of constant inter-ethnic solidarity. There is, however, at least one moment of complicity between the whites and the blacks, which occurs between two women, in the kitchen, instigated by a dish of rice pudding, which the Portuguese woman was making for Christmas. Still, the black character, a maid in the house, who appeared constantly throughout the film, never opened her mouth, and her name was never mentioned.

Thus, as we have hoped to describe up unto this point, the model of relations between the blacks and the whites is that which that we would identify as 'aggressive paternalism', even if their principle mentors do not show that they have this consciousness.

In summary, *Chaimite* presents us with an identity of the Portuguese in Africa, according to the colonial battle whose gestures and work can be observed and better understood in the line of development of the Discoveries. On the contrary, the black identity was exchanged with a representation of a savage (sometimes good, other times bad), but always as an inferior creature, or, in the best cases, as an exotic one.⁷

The film ends with a *cliché* whereby the Portuguese couple founded a village, symbolising the fertility, progression and development of a civilisation of the Portuguese in Africa.

2.2. 'A SPECIAL KIND OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM': *O ZÉ DO BURRO* (1972)

The film *O Zé do Burro* (*Donkey Joe*) was made in 1971 (and first shown in 1972), by Eurico Ferreira (Ferreira, 1971). The comedy can be considered as belonging to the Portuguese

⁷ This is strongly affiliated in the representation of the other, and in particular that of the 'Negro' grounded in German philosophy during the Enlightenment. (for more information, see Sanches and Serrão, 2002).

satirical theatre genre 'revista à portuguesa', but in its disconcertingly simplistic rhetoric and visual exposition, it clearly forms for us a representation of the cultural identity of the Portuguese in Africa which is markedly different to that which we had previously observed.

The plot focuses on the story of a man from Ribatejo, namely José Bandeira, who, whilst still in Portugal, had bought an excellent piece of land in North Mozambique, for a very low price. Thus, he travels with his donkey to Africa, trying to reach his house, which in the end is an old shack in the middle of an arid desert, because the local 'Negros' simply refused to work on it. Through his tenacity, humility and hard work, he manages to conquer everything and everyone, surviving the attacks from the Chinese communists whom he meets on his rounds (and thus 'Donkey Joe' also ends up victorious). The film ends with the foundation of a village and the wedding of the prosperous Zé from Ribatejo with a Portuguese lady, who was already living in Mozambique.

In the midst of all this, we are introduced to some folkloric groups, such as citizens from cities as Chibuto, Chidenguele, Charatuane and Vila Luísa, and also 'Marinheiros de Malange' and 'Venha Ver' of Inhambane⁸.

It is understood that this is generally considered 'an atrocious film'. In the words of another film director, Lopes Barbosa⁹, "casting aside the technical imperfections and the artificial silliness of the plot, the film is absolutely worthless"¹⁰ – however, it has an important role in terms of cultural disclosure, due to the fact that the memory of this character is not part of the 'Great History' (of either Portugal or Africa), but is situated at a level which is only slightly distinguishable from that of the donkey (who is Zé's alter-ego – a principle character who is also shy, simple, affable and sweet, ignorant and without malice). The character does, however, address the memory of Portugal 'immemorial', unconscious and telluric, of a 'deep' illiterate Portugal, presenting the humility of a person from the lowest socio-cultural level, but a friend to all, beginning with animals (the donkey) and children.

This memory of rural, slow Portugal would oppose that of the Portuguese in Africa, already considerably urbanised and contaminated by the pleasures of city life, without the memory of a deeper Portuguese culture, traditional and authentic. Those urban Portuguese are presented as a kind of lost people, symbolized by the two Brazilian characters that also emerge during the film, living a very artificial and ridiculous (not at all Portuguese) way of life in Lourenço Marques. But only the traditional and deeply culturally rural rooted Zé do Burro will be able to re-found and re-invigorate, in other terms, the Portuguese colonial identity in Africa.

But this film is also deeply ambiguous. In a form which is somewhat negative (and even uncomfortable, as we see from the words of Lopes Barbosa), the Portuguese cultural identity represented by the native of Ribatejo who arrived in Lourenço Marques transforms itself into an object which is now exotic, characteristic of the way in which 'Negros' were exoticised in the eyes of Europeans. In our opinion, this very interesting inversion has only been possible because the filming took place entirely in Mozambique and was the responsibility of the

⁸ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0066610/> <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0066610/>

⁹ Lopes Barbosa was the director of the 1972 film, *Deixem-me ao menos subir às palmeiras*, which exposed the violence of the colonial system. This film was censored by the PIDE.

¹⁰ <http://www.buala.org/pt/afroscreen/deixem-me-ao-menos-subir-as-palmeiras-um-filme-da-frente-de-guerrilha>

local production company (Somar Filmes). We must ask ourselves if this audacity would be possible if this film had been made by metropolitan directors: for example, the ironic allusion that determines some moments in the film, such as the Portuguese crossing the African jungle at the beginning of the 20th century with only a donkey as transport and an umbrella as a gun seems only possible to address in a film produced in Mozambique.

In any case, the Portuguese man that we are introduced to in this film is a naïve creature, simple – to the point of being ridiculous – with weaknesses that also constitute his strengths, as they are accompanied by values such as persistence, hard work on the land and strong convictions such as, for example, the belief in the great virtue of a simple and austere life. Thus, the Portuguese man in the colonies now abandons the use of force and instead decides to persuade with the enthusiasm of the example which he shows, apart from explicitly demonstrating that not all of the Portuguese already knew how to colonise: for this, it would be necessary to follow one's own instinct and to have the purity and naivety of deep Portugal, and its rustic and instinctive culture.

Regarding the role of the blacks in this film, we can verify that they appear with a face and a more defined identity, but continue to be divided into two types: the good, who collaborate in the development of the African land and the bad foreign traitors (who are now neither English or French, but Chinese Communists that provoke war, whereas the Portuguese promote peace). In the end, the bad, or at least those that do not understand the ways in which the Portuguese colonization was achieved (the Chinese end up thinking that the secret of Ze's success with the 'Negros' is due to the donkey, hence deciding that they should rob the animal), are converted to the good (Portuguese) side, without the need to have more than Zé's example to follow.

For his part, Zé's character leads the whites to the conclusion that, in the end, the blacks are not dangerous, but must be exposed to the 'correct' models and the best Portuguese colonialist leaders (and a good model is Zé do Burro).

Hence, we are now presented with a model of colonial relations which we can describe as co-operative paternalism, which is essentially characterized by the powers of persuasion, replacing the power of physical force.

The film ends, as always, with the Portuguese founding a village in which the Portuguese and the African cultures can co-exist without any difficulty (in an allusion to the multiculturalism of Freyre (Freyre, 2010 [1940]), which now even includes the war-like but defeated Chinese). But, not surprisingly, outside of this particular tolerance and gentle civility, the movie does not show any possible cultural hybridity: the blacks marry blacks and Donkey Joe marries a white Portuguese lady.

Indeed the question of mixture, hybridism or even the existence of a mixed-race population is never referred to in any of the films which we have had the opportunity to analyse, at least not until the Revolution of April 25th, 1974.

2.3. *EXILED FROM NO LAND: A TEMPESTADE DA TERRA (1997)*

A Tempestade da Terra (1997), by Fernando d'Almeida e Silva, benefits from an excellent interpretation of the main character (Lena), by Maria de Medeiros. The film, comprising

numerous flashbacks, works mostly on the question of memories and identities. It develops the narrative from Lisbon, where, in 1975, many white Portuguese who had been based in Africa 'returned'.

From the disappearance of Lena, the film parades the past life in Mozambique of an adolescent who, in the 1950s, had a little black friend, (Ningo¹¹), who was her family's servant. The plot of the story develops showing the golden years of Mozambique, after the colonial wars, and finally, the independence of the country.

Lena is transformed into an adult who revolts against being part of the dominating white community, although neither is she convinced by the Mozambican revolution.

The father, a successful engineer who acts benevolently towards the 'Negros' at first, becomes a convicted colonist when the colonial war begins. After the 25th of April Revolution he returns to Portugal and passes away.

Lena's mother, always a staunch colonist, is left alone in a small apartment in the suburbs of Lisbon, but by the end of the film she is seen asking for Ningo's forgiveness in order to enlist his help in finding her missing daughter.

Other characters have identities which don't fluctuate to such an extent, whether between those that support the regime and the repressive International and State Defence Police (PIDE) system and never leave it (Jorge), or between those whom support the African revolution (Geraldo) and who also, despite everything and all the difficulties in their paths do not change their position.

In our opinion, this film represents an excellent exercise regarding memory, or even better, regarding the memories which all those involved in the plot carry (white and black, the returning children of the empire and the Africans from countries whose official language is Portuguese), and is still an exercise in the reconstruction of identities, which constantly oscillate for the duration of the film.

Thus, the mono-thematic white memory of the end of the 1950s in Lourenço Marques – that describes a bourgeois and happy life, which was supported by a social and economic structure which dominated the 'Negros' - is de-stabilised in the film by the black memory of resistance and the Negro revolt at the beginning of the war, as well as by the memory of the persecution of those who opposed the regime (in which the white Portuguese also participated).

But, this reconstruction of contradictory and ambiguous memories is reinforced by the white's return to continental Portugal following the 25th of April, and the deep internal contradictions of the two countries amidst a revolution as were Portugal and Mozambique at that time. For example, Lena, a white revolutionary African activist is arrested in the post-independence times at the entrance to the cinema in Maputo, accused of being a prostitute and obliged to follow a 're-education programme', which consisted of forced agricultural work.

In synthesis, the identities of the main characters in this film are very unstable, whether black or white (there are good people and bad people, on both sides), varying due to the historical circumstances in articulation to personal characteristics.

¹¹ In this film, the 'Negro' has a name which is not Portuguese; he is neither infantilised nor humiliated as is common in the other Portuguese films which represent 'Negros' with names such as 'Sabonete' (*Chikwebo! Sortilégio Africano* - 1953) or 'Bijagós' (*O Costa de África* - 1954), revealing a change in attitude in relation to the identity of the 'Negro'.

This is countered by, for example, the whites moving from the position of dominators (with a certain degree of violence) to the dominated (after the 25th of April, whether as part of the Great History or the individual story), with pangs of regret, whilst the blacks lived a silent resistance whereby they were infantilised, within the model of paternal colonialism (they were not able to study, they were beaten and humiliated, etc.), which is proof of their great resilience, but which is not without resentment towards the whites. In any case, the whites end the film between repentance and death.

It is still possible to observe that the interaction between the whites and the blacks, which is already much greater than in the other movies we analyzed, reveals a strong and consistent affection (both negative and positive), in the context of a diversity of relational models, which can go beyond the dominant paternalism to solidarity and complimentary relational models (whether in the initial scene of Africa in the 1950s or at the end of the film in post-colonial Portugal).

The final scene of Africa that the film show us is a view of the destroyed homes and belongings of the Portuguese who had escaped from Lourenço Marques, thereby expressing the memories of the whites returning to their heartland, where they felt uprooted, living with remorse, homesickness or dying.

Finally we would like to signal how the film shows an impossible symbolic return to Portugal of those 'returnees' by developing a final scene in the wintry and inhospitable region of Serra da Estrela, magnifying the tragic end of the story. The final sentiment is one of profound nostalgia...Portuguese 'returnees' are exiled from nowhere.

In Lisbon, they return to Cais das Colunas to look again at the Tejo, which they left by ship in sadness, coming from Africa. Such a nostalgia is expressed in the film by the music of Madredeus and the voice of Teresa Salgueiro to evoke this tragic ending of the Portuguese African Empire.

3 – THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: MEMORIES, IDENTITIES AND THEIR REVERSAL

In synthesis, through the analysis of the three films which we have chosen to study, in order to appreciate the different models with which the Portuguese cinema has treated the identities and the memories of the Portuguese in Africa during the twentieth century, we may conclude that the first and second examples (*Chaimite* and *O Zé do Burro*, respectively), comprise an individual story and the memory of the individual and of groups, which always serve the memories of the History of Portugal and of the Portuguese.

On the contrary, the film that we analysed which was made post-April 25th, *Tempestade da Terra*, addresses the 'History', the individual story and the national memory that comprises multiple individual stories and diverse memories (Ricoeur, 2000). It is truly a post-colonial film.

We also found, through the course of this research, a very stable image and identity for whites and blacks: the white is the only one to have a voice during the colonial process, as the 'Negro' is always silent, without a face, identity or memory. The white people are modern (continuing with the Great Story of the fatherland, the History of Portugal). The black people are not modern or up to date or inside the historical process: because they are not civilised.

Thus, they are both outside and before History, as an immensely spineless, pithless and spiritless mass, disguised in the landscape, waiting to be seen by the eyes of those (the whites) who have the right and the legitimacy of producing the political, economical and cultural discourse of identity.

Only under the condition of being seen by the whites, may the colonised blacks acquire an 'human nature', but only if they accept the coloniser's rules and laws that will discipline their bodies and their minds, in a process of appropriation of their time, their space, their wishes, their memories and their identities, in accordance with the mechanisms, which constitute the exercise of power, as explained by Foucault (Foucault, 1975, Martins, 2002).

However, even this process of legitimization of identities (of the black, but also its white counterpart) has a history. In the films we analyzed we found that different historical contexts produced different dynamics and stabilized contents of memory: one can verify, for example, that at the beginnings of the Portuguese colonisation of Africa the identity of the blacks, is, in the best case scenario, an object of curiosity, which is transformed into exoticism by the whites (Sanches & Serrão, 2002). On the contrary, in the final decades of colonisation, as we could see in our second film, the European whites start to have the consciousness of their own exoticism in Africa, a mirror effect, when they stopped looking just at themselves as the source of all human kind.

This phenomenon, which the cinema itself reveals in a very indirect mode, corresponds equally to the journey through the relational model of aggressive-paternalism and the other model, which we term co-operative paternalism (also because of the Colonial War and the international pressure to decolonise and the theses of luso-tropicalism).

Nevertheless, it is important to stress the ways in which this white exoticism symbolise the creation of a split identity, and at the same time a kind of doubt which started to be installed in the heart of the colonial system, whom for decades, and practically until the end, made all efforts to survive without the shadow of a blemish or ill-conscience (Martins, 1990).

Finally, our study reveals the possibility of representing the reality of colonialism and post-colonialism in terms of a great diversity of relations between one side and the other. This is demonstrated in the last film which constantly analyses the possibility of sustaining and maintaining a discussion of multiplicity and equality, based on the relations which are constructed from the lives and daily lives of concrete people who participated directly or indirectly in the European colonial experience (Sherzer, 1996), and which in part, also contributed to the implosion with the immediate and socially common subjects' identification with the stereotypical black and white categories.

A Tempestade da Terra inevitably directs us towards the idea that, even within a system which rigorously codifies identities and infinitely manipulates the memories (as was the case of the Portuguese Estado Novo colonial regime) it is always possible to construct other views (tense and contradictory, also accepting moving identities) which subvert the hegemony of the view of the colonist. As we may see throughout our last movie this is possible if we articulate categories such as age, generation, gender, education, the time in history, the history of each life and political stance, amongst other dimensions comprising the concrete life of the individuals.

In conclusion, a brief and purposive overview of the Portuguese cinema of the twentieth century, directed us from the monotheism of identity and the official memory to the hard and unstable pluralistic dynamics, which some individuals, groups and societies try to maintain nowadays, in order to sustain the possibility of keeping a degree of openness, flexibility, multiplicity and pluralism which has to be in the heart of the process of building memories and identities (Martins, 1996).

Endless by nature, these works of Sísifo stand at the heart of the process of human kind self-construction, and still constitutes the essence of millions of concrete human daily struggles for individual and collective liberty.

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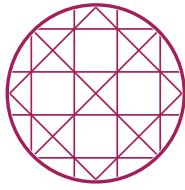
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Audiovisual Post-colonial Narratives: Dealing with the Past in *Dundo, Colonial Memory*

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Abstract

In recent years there has been increased interest in the debate regarding colonisation and the enduring negative consequences of the colonial wars. The subject, taboo for three decades, has now entered the Portuguese public sphere. Autobiographical documentaries that focus on the recent events of the post-colonial period allow for the analysis of the narratives of those who live and have lived “within and between cultures” - due to the processes of colonisation and enforced migration.

This paper centres on the filmmaker, Diana Andringa and her efforts to come to terms with the past. She directed the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* (2009), in order to deal with her memories and experiences of racism and segregation in Dundo (Angola) during the colonial period.

This paper will analyse this documentary and an autobiographical interview with Diana Andringa. The outcomes of this research have led to three central themes: memories of racial segregation in Dundo; migration processes; and, finally, feelings of guilt and shame, and the ambivalence in her identity narratives.

Keywords

Social representations; narratives; identity; memory.

1. INTRODUCTION ¹

The theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1984) enables a deeper understanding of how the media and citizens construct current social and political issues. Social representations are constructed through social interaction and communication and cannot be studied without considering the historical, cultural and social contexts.

Portugal faces the need to reflect on the colonial period and how it is interpreted, in order to deal with the consequences of colonisation and colonial war that lasted thirteen years (1961-1974) in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. With the processes of (de) colonisation, many people were forced to move away from their places of residence and obliged to deal on a daily basis with the cultures of the countries in which they now live.

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These people who migrated are the product of several intertwined stories, experiences and cultures. The records of these experiences in an audiovisual format are now a reality and, hopefully, a guarantee that future generations will have access to the testimonies of those who lived through this period.

This paper centres on the filmmaker Diana Andringa and her efforts to come to terms with the past. Andringa made the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* (2009) in order to deal with her memories and experiences of racism and segregation in Dundo (Angola) during the colonial period.

In this paper we argue that autobiographical narratives are a privileged site for the investigation of cultural identity and its construction. In this sense, the analysis of the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* was complemented with an in-depth interview with Diana Andringa. This multi-method approach allows for a hermeneutic analysis of the social and cultural context in which she lived and facilitates enquiry about its meanings.

The outcomes of this research, combined with different complementary research paths (visual narratives and oral narratives) have led to a result that can be organized into three central themes: memories of racial segregation in Dundo; migration processes; and, finally, emotions of guilt and shame, and the ambivalence in the Diana Andringa narratives.

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND (POST)COLONIAL NARRATIVES

The efforts of Durkheim (1893/1989) to establish sociology as an autonomous science led him to create a dichotomy between the individual and the collective and between the individual and society, suggesting that individual representations were the object of social psychology whereas collective representations were the object of sociology. According to Moscovici (2001) it is impossible to make a clear distinction between collective and individual representations. While Durkheim (1893/1989) see collective representations as stable forms of collective understanding, with a coercive power that originated order in society, Moscovici (2001) is more concerned about exploring the diversity of collective ideas in modern societies. For the author, the very idea of diversity leads us to reflect upon the lack of homogeneity of modern societies, where we observe the unequal distribution of power, resulting in heterogeneous representations.

According to Moscovici's perspective, social representations are a product of our communication and they are reformulated in conformity with these processes of influence. For Moscovici (2001), communicating is part of the study of representation, because representations are generated in this process and expressed through language. This means that the way we perceive events is conditioned by our positioning in a given social context, our language and culture.

“Individuals and groups create representations in the course of communication and cooperation. Representations are obviously not created by isolated individuals. Once created, however, they have a life of their own, circulating, merging, attracting and repelling each other, giving rise to new representations (...)” (Moscovici, 2001, p.27).

The relationship between communication and representation seems to be unbreakable. In fact, communication is the process of transformation of these representations in

which we merge our representations with those of other groups. In this sense, social representations are formed and transformed within and through asymmetries, conflicts, tensions and discontinuities (Marková, 2010).

Social representations concern the contents of everyday thinking and the set of ideas which give coherence to our worldviews, religious beliefs and political ideas. Social representations allow us to classify people and objects, compare and explain behaviors and target them as constituents of our social environment (Moscovici, 1988, p. 214).

All representations are intended to make something unknown familiar (Moscovici, 1984). The author refers to two socio-cognitive mechanisms of communication which generate social representations: anchorage and objectification. The first mechanism makes the unknown familiar, bringing it to an earlier sphere of social representations, so that we can compare and interpret it. The second mechanism, objectification, makes the unknown familiar by transforming representations into something concrete and perceptible.

Through communication, social representations are anchored again in new social representations. These new representations are incorporated into the already known, while simultaneously they are transformed by the new representations that emerge from this interaction. Gradually, ideas that are initially strange, become familiar and are turned into part of the collective reference frames of a society. Moscovici (1994, p. 164) states that the notion of anchoring intends “to express the relationship between creating meaning and communicating”. Objectification makes the unknown familiar by turning it into something explicit, which we can understand and experience. To objectify is, according to Moscovici (2001), a much more active process and requires more effort than anchorage, which occurs almost automatically every time we are confronted with new phenomena.

The social representation theory focuses on society’s social and cultural thought. It makes us reflect on how new social cognitions or representations of reality become familiar and how old representations are transformed through communication. By studying how the media and the public objectify and anchor “new” scientific, political and social problems we can obtain information about how collective social thinking and meaning are constructed (Wagner & Hayes, 2005; Hoijer, 2011).

This theory allows us to understand and intervene in social reality. The articulation of the social and cultural dimensions with history enables an interpretation of the processes and forms in which individuals and groups build and analyse their world and their lives (Jodelet, 1999). As a theory that can allow our understanding of the world around us, it is necessary to take into account the relationship between social representations and the dominant cultural settings, as well as the dynamics of the social context in the analysis.

For Sammut (2010), the difficulty in establishing positive intercultural relations has to do with the difficulties in bonding with others whose practices and worldviews we do not share or understand. In fact, the problem of intercultural relations is a problem of conflicting worldviews – or, in other words, social representations – and the inability of individuals to successfully understand the perspectives of others.

The (re)construction of the past is an integral part of intergroup reconciliation process because, at the end of a conflict, the collective memory underlies much of the animosity,

hatred and distrust between groups (Licata, Klein & Gély, 2007). Narratives, in audiovisual format, allow these conflicting experiences to be disclosed, shared and interpreted, promoting the (re)making of the social representations concerning past events.

Indeed, narratives can play an important role in the formulation and organisation of social experience (László, 2008: 99). According to this perspective, the “sense of community and social identity are both rooted in narratives: furthermore, even the social anchoring of our seemingly most individualistic memories takes place with the help of narratives”. The author states that narratives have gained a stronger emphasis in social representation research in the past few decades. Jovchelovitch & Bauer (2000), for instance, consider that all human experiences could be expressed in a narrative form. Furthermore, as pointed out by Cabecinhas (2010: 260), “studying how people tell stories (stories about themselves as individuals, stories of their group history) is essential to understanding how people create their own reality and its psychological meaning”.

The autobiographical documentaries that focus on the recent events of the post-colonial period are tools that permit the analysis of the experiences that Bhabha (1994) calls “in-between”. These audiovisual narratives of those who live or have lived “within and between cultures” - due to the processes of colonisation, migration processes, or because they live in countries where different cultures coexist - provide for the development of strategies for negotiating cultural difference, individual and/or community values, intersubjectivities and collective experiences of nationality, all of which contribute to a permanent identity (re)construction.

The appearance of audiovisual materials, such as documentaries, constitutes an opportunity to increase our knowledge and our perceptions about the various experiences of the individuals who lived or live between cultures. Indeed, the generations that can better clarify the colonial period are aging and without them and their testimony, the next generations would not have access to a more pluralistic knowledge about the experiences of this historical period.

Thus, we consider that the production and dissemination of documentaries based on autobiographical memories reveal other versions of history, told in the first person, which when integrated into our knowledge of the past, will enable a better understanding of historical events and their meanings for the different socio-cultural groups.

3. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTARIES

The golden age of documentaries started in the 1980s. Back then they were usually structured stories, but unlike fiction, they spoke about the world we shared and did so with clarity and commitment. Nowadays, with the potential of the internet and Youtube, there is a proliferation of documentaries which focus on new perspectives and alternative visions of the world (Nichols, 2001/2010). Through selected scenes, editing, sound and titles, the audience is often persuaded to adopt the filmmaker’s perspective on the subject matter. For instance, the documentary can be used to deconstruct the global discourses on the colonial period.

In an attempt to define the documentary, Nichols (2001/2010, p.14) states that “The documentary film talks about situations and events involving real people (social actors)

who are presented to us just as they are conveying a plausible proposal or a perspective on lives, situations and events portrayed”.

The past has left many traces, sometimes visible in the expressions of our faces and in the aspect of the places we recall. Even the way we think and feel are unconsciously reproduced. In this sense, “is the lived past, far more than the past seized by written history, in which will later rely on our memory” (Halbwachs, 1950/1997, p. 71). The documentary film can be closely related to cultural memory. Besides seeking to reconstruct historical narratives, the documentary film can also be a historical document itself.

According to Rabinowitz (1993), the documentary film encourages the audience to participate in cultural memory by presenting a unique vision of reality. By means of cinematographic tools such as editing, voice-overs and long takes, the documentary brings the audience to new understandings of historical past and consequently new representations can emerge. Besides, it leads the audience to think about their place in the meanings of the films, as well as their responsibility towards the past and its interpretations.

Reflecting on the role that documentary films have in preserving cultural memory, the author states that Flaherty manipulated reality to create and convey a certain perspective about the world. Considered the fathers of the documentary film, the Lumière brothers were already practicing a type of direct cinema, before its institutionalised practice. Back in the 1890s, they sent teams across continents to document and display their inventions, filming the everyday lives of ordinary people. The Lumière brothers’ films represent an important moment in the relationship between image and experience (Rabinowitz, 1993).

Because it is a cinematographic genre that seeks greater approximation to reality, the starting point for the production of documentary films is true stories, real situations. This idea is supported by Diana Andringa in an autobiographical interview (2011). She claims that the film and especially the documentary provide information about who we are. In her words, “the documentary is something that treats the noble part in people”. Andringa (2011) adds that “the documentary is what presents people in all their dignity”. She considers that this is a record that can give “voice to the other and you need to hear it, because you have never heard it, you have only heard [our] theories about the other”.

In this regard Martins (2011, p.75) also considers that the film teaches us to look at the reality that constitutes us. It enables our access to “(...) a legion of images with which we identify ourselves (actually, it is the legion of images that constitutes us, it is the multiplicity of what we are made)”.

Thus, the role of film in preserving memories as historical evidence is central. This type of document sets up a performative act which generates its own meanings and which requires a connection with an audience. As Miranda (2008, p.63) states, these memories, and the stories disseminated “provide to those who listen, see or feel the opportunity to understand fragmented parts of themselves, evoking memories, concerns and expectations”.

The media has a powerful influence on who we are, how we see ourselves and how we see others, helping us build our representations of the world (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Indeed, the documentary can take as its starting point the record of these real stories witnessed in the recent past and simultaneously these records of reality can also be the point of arrival, an instrument of transformation of our representations about that same reality.

4. THE FILMMAKER DIANA ANDRINGA AND THE DOCUMENTARY DUNDO, COLONIAL MEMORY

4.1 BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF THE FILMMAKER DIANA ANDRINGA

Diana Andringa was born in 1947 in Dundo, northern Angola, the center of one of the most important mining companies, Diamang². She is white, the daughter of an engineer working at Diamang. The author came to Portugal in 1958 where she completed high school, and chose to study medicine at university. However, student arrests, contact with hospitalized children and the floods of 1967 led her to choose journalism instead of medicine.

Her first journalistic experience came through *Vida Mundial* (World Life) magazine in 1968/69, until a collective dismissal obliged her to find other work. She then worked as copy-writer at an advertising agency, an experience interrupted by her arrest by the International and State Defence Police (PIDE)³ in January 1970. Released in September 1971, she worked in journalism and advertising activities. She joined RTP – Portuguese Public Radio and Television, in 1978, working there for 23 years. In the meantime, she wrote articles for newspapers and radio. She also holds a postgraduate degree in Journalism, from ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute, since 2000.

Currently Diana Andringa is an independent documentary producer. Some of her most recent films are: “East Timor: The Crocodile Dream” (2002), “The beach rampage that never was” (2005), “This is our blood, our life” (2005), “Back to the Crocodile Country” (2006), “The Two Sides of War” (co-directed with Flora Gomes - 2007) and “Dundo, Colonial Memory” (2009). These films share common themes; all seek to disclose the colonial past, the struggles for independence and the memories of those who lived conflict experiences.

4.2 FILM SYNOPSIS – DUNDO, COLONIAL MEMORY

The film begins with photographs of Diana Andringa, when she was a child in Dundo. As she shows them to her daughter, she explains what Diamang was. While showing her birth certificate she tells her daughter that as she had been born in Angola, she was considered a “second class citizen” in Portugal. She explains how the memories of her childhood in Dundo marked her and how those same memories led her to fight for the independence of Angola⁴.

In the cinemathèque archive, Diana Andringa found older films about Dundo that showed images of its sponsors, the tennis games and entertainment organized by Diamang in an atmosphere of racial segregation. The images included in the Diana Andringa’s documentary illustrate the racial policies of the company, recalling the controversy between the

² Diamang was a company exploiting Diamond mines in Angola. This company was formed on 16 October 1917 by financial investors from Angola’s, Portugal, and also from Belgium, USA, Great Britain and South Africa. After independence, the diamond industry was nationalized along with all industry in Angola. According to Collier (2010: 72) “Diamang was nationalized in 1977 and in 1979 Angola passed a law giving the state exclusive rights to mining enterprises. Endiama was formed in 1981 and they took control of the 77% of Diamang owned by the government”. Diamang was officially dissolved in 1986.

³ PIDE – International and State Defense Police, was the main tool of repression used by the authoritarian regime during the Estado Novo (1926 - 1974) (Mattoso, 1993).

⁴ The armed struggle for national liberation of Angola lasted from 1961 to 1975. Independence was achieved in 1975 (November 11) (Mendes, Silva & Cabecinhas, 2010).

Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre and the Commander Ernesto Vilhena (responsible for Diamang, 1919-1955)⁵. At Diamang's annual lunch for former employees⁶, Diana Andringa collected some memories of the company. She found the image these people portrayed of the company strange and so left for Dundo with her daughter, to confront her memories.

As she relates in the interview, she took her daughter with her because she needed someone with whom to share their memories and the results of the confrontation with the people and places of her childhood.

5. METHODOLOGICAL OPTIONS

Having as a starting point the importance given to autobiographical documentaries as instruments which enable reflection and the (de)construction of pre-formed ideas about events of the past, we decided to examine Diana Andringa's documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory*. To complete this analysis, we have also developed a semi-structured interview with the documentary author⁷.

We chose thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which allows us to locate the predominant themes in the narrative, i.e., the themes that are capable of representing the entire data set, forming a sort of thematic map of the documentary and the interview with the director. Although this is a flexible method, it was necessary to follow a set of procedures that allowed us to synthesize the central themes discussed in the documentary series in the following three topics: i) familiarisation with the data and transcription of verbal information; ii) definition of initial encodings according to the main topics discussed; iii) constant review of codifications and reflection on the central themes.

At this stage, to justify the methodology used, it is essential to draw attention to the fact that this documentary is a specific record of a reality and that the person who produced it has both a point of view on the subject matter as well as a script which guides her production. It is not a viewpoint that can be generalised, nevertheless it allows us to explore the identity dynamics that can result from the migration processes in the (post)colonisation period.

Three dimensions which prevail in the visual and oral narratives will be analysed below: memories about segregation, experiences in Dundo and the return, and finally, the feelings of guilt, and the idea of ambivalence in her identity narratives.

6. MEMORIES OF DIFFERENCE AND SEGREGATION IN DUNDO (ANGOLA)

With regard to memory, Cunha (2006) considers that there are moments that constitute markers in community life, setting as examples tragic events or those that represent discontinuities in the existing social order. For Diana Andringa having been forced to leave Dundo was one experience that marked her life-story.

⁵ According to the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who visited Diamang in 1951, was the Belgian influence that justified the racial segregation in Dundo (Freyre, 1953/2011). This reference has generated the discontentment of the Commander Ernesto Vilhena.

⁶ Annual lunch held in different regions of Portugal, since 1982. Information available online (cf. <http://weblog.aventar.eu/lestedeangola.weblog.com.pt/arquivo/251567.html>), indicates that in 2007 was held the xxv Meeting of former employees and relatives of Diamonds Company of Angola, in Azambuja, Portugal.

⁷ Interview with Diana Andringa, Braga, January 6, 2011.

The period lived by Diana Andringa in Dundo is very present in her memoirs, especially the experiences related to social segregation and racism. She states that Dundo was a deeply classist and racist society. The author tells us that black people could not enter in the white people's part of the town, except to work. They had a card to return home and after certain hours there were only whites. Racial segregation was not the only form of prejudice in Dundo, there was also class segregation among whites. In the center there were the engineers, doctors, and teachers and on the periphery were the others, such as dam and electricity workers. Despite this segregation, the author states that the children were looked after by the black servants, "they were all black and they were the ones who cooked for you, fed you, told you stories, took you to the garden, i.e., all your affection came from [the] black skin" (Andringa, 2011).

The experiences of racism witnessed by the author marked her deeply, although she was, as she says, privileged in that context. Among her memories, there are two episodes that are important to quote. The first one is when she narrates about only been hit by her mother twice and one was because she acted the same way she saw other children her age acting.

"(...) I kicked the servant, something I saw many children doing. I had flat feet and wore corrected orthopedic boots, used a lot at that time and hit him with the protectors and his leg bled and my mom slapped me and said 'apologize immediately, what do you think you are doing?' and I suddenly realized that something I had seen other people do and was socially accepted, must have been something very serious for my mother to have that reaction and I burst into tears" (Andringa, 2011).

Besides this episode, the director tells us that a servant whom she loved was accused of stealing a piece of clothing from a neighbor: "he was black, passing by, the garment vanished, so, he was arrested, beaten up to confess, and they beat him so hard" (Andringa, 2011). Diana Andringa is touched while recalling this event:

"(...) I remember his hands so red from the slapping he had taken, swollen hands and I remember my father, who was a distant person, look at him, pick up his hands, look at him, apologize and burst into tears, I just saw my father cry for two or three times, but I remember that day, my father was so embarrassed. This is a shame that penetrates us, because it is a shame that there are people that somehow you perceive that it is on your behalf that they do those things, that you can beat up that person" (Andringa, 2011).

Social inequality marked the author's childhood experiences in Dundo. She recalls several episodes experienced. Among them the fact that she realized that the black children never had the opportunity to eat the steak that was cooked for her cat: "steak for the cat, my daughter has never eaten a steak' and I heard this and burst into tears, because for me a child who had never eaten a steak was certainly the most unfortunate child in the world" (Andringa, 2011).

Even at school there was this segregation, this inequality. After school the white children would play, as we can see in the documentary, while the black children would do gardening to the whites' homes. About the school context, the interviewee mentions that one day the teacher, tired of seeing the notebooks of white children who did not care about their

things, took them the notebooks of black schoolchildren, which were clean, nicely organized, saying “You know, they can not afford not to study’ and I had never even thought about it, that it was a luxury not to study because there were people who had to study in order to improve their lives” (Andringa, 2011).

Beyond the social segregation witness the author also refers, both in the documentary and the interview, to the cultural repression that existed at the time.

“Long ago, the Dundo choir of workers was formed to sing all over Luanda the so beloved songs from the provinces of metropolitan Portugal” (excerpt from the documentary).

“And sometimes at night you were lying in bed and you would hear that fantastic music of drums, marimbas and cuícas coming and going with the wind, like a lullaby, it was a beautiful song ... and then they would make them sing ‘josezito I have told you?’ and I think there is nothing more violent than grabbing people who have a beautiful culture and imposing others’ culture (...)” (Andringa, 2011).

The very invisibility of the black person is referred by the author, having been aware of it as a child. Black people were extremely ‘visible’ as a group, but ‘invisible’ as individuals. Actually, the present-day racism also seems to involve refusing to recognize the singularity of the ‘Other’ (Cabecinhas, 2002: 24). As the author states, “racism is expressed in the treatment of members of minorities as ‘representatives’ of a homogeneous category rather than as ‘individuals’”.

“(..) They talked about black people in front of them as if they were not there, as if they did not exist, this notion that the other does not exist, that I do not want to see him, an invisible other, is something that to me is the perfect racism, it is much more perfect than insulting him, because when you insult him, after all, you recognize him as the one with whom you can talk to, but not this way, you speak in front of him as if he were a dog or a cat, and people did that a lot and for a child this is an absolutely terrible feeling of oppression” (Andringa, 2011).

This invisibility and segregation existed in various public places in Dundo. Diana Andringa had to watch the films of that time to confront her memories and confirms that effectively there were no black people in the pool or in the sports venues, but for the director “at that time segregation was so natural that we did not even notice it” (Andringa, 2011). This segregation was defended by the commander Vilhena explaining the racial politics of the company with the following postulate: “it is not necessary, and it is also completely avoidable, that black and white people sleep in the same bed” (excerpt from the documentary). That is one of the strongest scenes of the documentary. In this moment we are confronted with events that seems so outrageous and at the time were naturalised, events that really happened only 50 years ago.

7. MIGRATION EXPERIENCES PORTUGAL / DUNDO AND THE SENSE OF HOME

The memories associated to the physical spaces where Diana Andringa lived for eleven years are very present, both throughout the documentary and the interview held. The excerpts that follow allow us to understand how the director was defined by the physical and also social places and by the elements that constitute them.

“The fantastic roast beef that my godmother cooked, at the time, I liked meat well-done, but even rare it tasted fantastic. I remember the mayonnaise was fantastic, the taste of potato chips, those flavors I have them all ... mangoes, pineapples, papayas, the breakfast” (Andringa, 2011).

“Then I remember stupid things, but that was perhaps later at the second house that I remember, so this was life in K10, I remember a beautiful palm tree at the end of our street, I mean, I remember the sounds, smells, all those things, plants, animals (...)” (Andringa, 2011).

“Those are the memories of the earth, you know the red soil is completely different from the soil here, and then there were the rivers, there was the humidity itself (...)” (Andringa, 2011).

The difficulties experienced when she returned to Portugal (1958) are clear in her narrative, the school experiences and lack of freedom of expression particularly marked her. Indeed, we were living in an authoritarian regime (1932-1974) when she returned to Portugal. We were facing a society in which ideas could not be expressed freely. This repressive system - through the church, education, the police force (PIDE), censorship and propaganda - kept an apparent peace until the Carnation Revolution in 1974. In this sense, considering that she came to Portugal to live in a context of political and social repression, we can understand Andringa (2011), when she says:

“Ok and that [Ramalhão⁸] for me was a period of real torture, because I did not like those people, because I did not get on well with that life, until after we had a little group in which at least three were Angolan, because it was the sense of place, it was the notion of another way of living that was not just about the parties that our colleagues talked about, it was very scary and so my return to Portugal was moving from paradise to purgatory, it was not hell, but purgatory full of stupidity, full of lack of intelligence (...) where every time we were trying to create a new idea we had the orthodoxy, the Portuguese state of India, I would say, ‘there is not’, and [I] was punished, to learn not to say that there are no Portuguese state of India”.

In fact, the complex experiences of displacement and integration in a new context and the identity conflicts that the migratory process raised in the producer are notorious. For Diana Andringa it meant leaving a place where she was surrounded by people with whom she learned a lot and she comes “to a darn world where girls spoke about little parties in Estoril, the dresses, ah, it was all so boring” (Andringa, 2011). For the author, the school period lived in Ramalhão was deeply striking, recalling parts of experiences which showed how much she missed Dundo.

Diana Andringa returned to Dundo in 2008 in order to confront her memories, to see if they were real and to reencounter the places of her childhood. Although she was aware that they could have significantly changed compared to what she had left behind more than 50 years before. In her opinion it is important to register these memories, so that 60 years from now they are not completely lost “the traces of coexistence that marked both sides of those who lived colonisation” (Andringa, 2011).

⁸ A college located in Sintra (a town in the Lisbon region, Portugal), in a building of the eighteenth century, that continues to operate today and was always ruled by nuns, having a strong religious and traditional nature (cf. <http://www.colegio-ramalhao.com/>).

“I had been warned about the shock of seeing the destruction of a place where I was happy. But that happiness was from childhood, people and animals with whom I lived. After decades without being able to return home, it is enough to know that my memories were real, and be able to, finally, share them” (excerpt from the documentary).

Since her parents died early and her siblings have also died and were not with her in Angola - her sister was only there for a period of time - Andringa (2011) states that she needed to confront itself with her memory “to say ‘did I dream or did those things happen?’ No, those things actually happened, hospitals for whites and blacks...”

For Diana Andringa, her homeland is not Lisbon, because “Lisbon is no man’s land”. Even her parents’ house in Portugal does not have the same meaning for the director “because it is not there that you are raised, that is, so physically I, despite being white, despite not being *tchokwe*, despite all this, I am clearly Angolan. Culturally, I am a mixed thing” (Andringa, 2011). Reflecting on who she really is, Diana tells us she is a citizen of the world, “this is a very friendly way of saying that I am a stateless person (...) that is what I am a person without land, a stateless person. It is a person who is constantly in need of their own country”. About this feeling of need for their country, the author believes that “both left-wing or right-wing settlers, both those who supported independence and those who were against it are people who feel need for a land and [I] think that Portugal never understood that” (Andringa, 2011).

Andringa (2011) considers herself physically Angolan, having repeated this idea several times throughout her narrative. The author states she needs “a sense of space that is not this one, here I feel closed and oppressed; I feel like I am always being watched. Therefore, I need that sense of space; I need the concept of heat. (...) I need green, I need plants, and I practically only like tropical plants”.

Is interesting to note that, in some sense, the narrative of Diana Andringa, of leaving home produces too many homes and hence no home, “too many places in which memories attach themselves through the carving out of inhabitable space, and hence no place in which memory can allow the past to reach the present (in which the ‘I’ could declare itself as having come home)” (Ahmed, 1999: 330/331). This notion of home, what it means to be at home, to inhabit a particular place, call us to question the relationship between identity, belonging and home, a reflection that should be developed in future works.

7. COLLECTIVE GUILT AND AMBIVALENCE

Collective guilt, often referred to as group-based guilt or guilt by association, is an emotion that can arise to a greater or lesser extent in situations where members of the group with which we identify ourselves cause damage to another group (Etxebarria *et al.*, 2005). According to this perspective, the feelings of collective guilt have their origin in the feelings that group members experience when they accept that their own group is responsible for immoral actions against another group. This emotion is present in Diana Andringa’s narrative. Rimé & Christophe (1997), argue that social sharing - like what Diana Andringa has done, disclosing her memories and emotions on audiovisual format - could play a major role in the processing of the emotional information and hence, in resolving

the psychological impact of the emotional or stressful event. In this case, the idea of guilt strikes the interviewee's memories and she believes it is something that does not go away with time.

"And that is what I can not help feeling, it is a feeling of my generation, I can not help feeling guilty about it. Somehow, I was unwillingly accomplice: I was privileged. My privileges depended on people doing things like that. 50 years can go by and that stays with us. It is here... (Puts her hand on her chest)" (Andringa, 2011).

"And, indeed, it was natural that they hated us, not that I, Diana, had caused any harm. It was not what I had done wrong; it was what my people had done wrong. My people from whom I could not differentiate because it was marked by the skin, as they had been marked by the skin. And so I began to turn the other way, naturally and gradually I was convinced of the injustice of colonialism and realized ... I had already noticed the actual injustices, but suddenly it is the injustices of the system that you start to think about" (Andringa, 2011).

Facing her memories and the marks the experiences of racism and segregation had left was one of the main reasons for carrying out the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory*. For Diana Andringa, Dundo is her homeland and the first of her memories: "Here I was happy, like all children are happy. Here I learned, still a child, racism and colonialism. For a long time, Dundo felt like a hidden wound. Now that I have faced my memory, I can return" (excerpt from the documentary).

In addition to the concept of guilt, the notion of ambivalence is also present in the interviewee, marking her reflection on the experience of returning to Dundo. The concept of ambivalence can be defined as the degree to which an object or attitude is judged positively and negatively at the same time (Thompson *et al.*, 1995).

"Ambivalence. The word that haunts me as I walk through Dundo rediscovering the landscape of my childhood. Ambivalence in the words of former employees wishing that the Portuguese return, though not ignoring the perversity of the colonial system. Ambivalence in myself, between the discontent for the Diamang policies and the love for the land that grew under its direction. Between pain for what had disappeared in the meantime and the awareness that its disappearance was inevitable" (excerpt from the documentary).

"I felt what I would call ambivalence, which is I hate Diamang and I love that land born under the Diamang orders. I am fully aware and I fully understand that it can not be preserved as it was and simultaneously it hurts that it is not as beautiful as it was, but I am perfectly capable of understanding that" (Andringa, 2011).

This concept is evident in interviews conducted by Andringa (2011) in Guinea-Bissau also, where, according to her, the popular feeling was that "as our comrade Amílcar Cabral⁹ said, we do not fight against the Portuguese people, we fight against colonialism, you were victims of colonialism as we were". The discourse of Angolans interviewed by Diana Andringa also emphasizes this idea: the recognition of past negative experiences, but also a reflection on the importance of the other to the development of their country.

"-So, what do you think is better? Having the Portuguese here or being independent?"

⁹ Amílcar Cabral was the founder (in 1956) of the PAIGC - African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Silva, 2006).

- Today we already need everybody to come to work because no one can come to bother the other. There is respect already, you can no longer insult anyone, everyone must show respect, and it is mutual. Nowadays, we are considered people. Before it was not like this and it scared us.
- Before you were not people?"
- No. Before many thought we were not people, we were animals. We were not valued. Today they see that we are people. We are equal. The difference in skin does not mean anything" (excerpt from an interview in the documentary, 2009).

For the author, "that is marked in people" (Andringa, 2011). Indeed, the interviewees in the author's documentary state that what they most remember is that despite the segregation and inequality, in fact at the time of colonisation there was food, money, there were doctors. There is even some ambivalence in these narratives. We look at this concept as a phenomenological reality that allows for reflection on the dilemmas people face in close relationships, a phenomenon that should be considered when studying autobiographical narratives and conflict memories.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although images, products and ideas are currently being spread around the world at a speed never seen before (Giddens, 2004), there is, simultaneously, an identification with place, with physical spaces, sounds, tastes associated with specific contexts that marked the interviewee and lead her to state that she is continually in need of her own country, her homeland, Dundo. Like the producer, many other Portuguese people who lived in the former colonies were forced to return to Portugal, keeping, however, strong emotional ties to these places and hence certain cultural aspects. In this sense, they are forced to negotiate daily with the cultures in which they live.

This work shows the importance of collecting and analysing the memories of individuals who lived through this period of history. As in the case of Diana Andringa, these are memories that refer to people, places, times, feelings, smells, sensations that mark the hybrid character of their identities in a decisive way. When talking about her memories, the director seems to feel part of that recalled moment/space again, with all of the associated traces.

The results of the thematic analysis allowed an initial reflection on the three themes that prevail in the Diana Andringa narrative. On the one hand, the memories related to the social segregation and racism experienced in Dundo; on the other hand, the migration experiences (Portugal/Dundo) and the sense of home. It is interesting to note that the memories associated to the physical space where Diana Andringa lived for eleven years are very present, both throughout the documentary and in the interview held. Another idea that strikes the interviewee's memories and narrative is the idea of guilt. As she mentions it was not what she had done wrong, but what her people had done wrong. That people from whom she could not be differentiated due to the color of her skin. The documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* acted as a means to disclosing her emotions in an audiovisual format. We believe that this type of narrative can play a major role in the processes of forgiveness among those who have lived through conflict and war.

In this sense, the films of autobiographical memories can be part of the struggle against forgetting past injustices, while taking the opportunity to contribute to the clarification of our interpretation of it, because the stories told enable the auto and hetero understanding of individuals who live in-between cultures, evoking memories, concerns and expectations.

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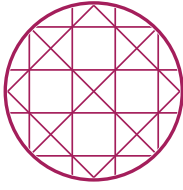
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Cinematic Landscape and Social Memory

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Abstract

Earth figured by cinema far from being a neutral task is a technique of representation engaged with a modern dominant visual order, a model of knowledge inside which the production of space participates in the reproduction of dominant social patterns. In the last decades geographers try to develop different methodologies for approaching the production of space by linear narrative in cinema and to understand how this spatialities shape interpersonal relations and collective identities. Within this field, the study of the role of cinematic landscape in the fabric and the reworking of social memory is a central path, namely for understanding the construction of geographical imagination.

Through this article I will try to discuss and clarify how cinematic narratives fracture the tendency promoted by cultural industry for depicting landscape as a coherent portray of people and place, discarded to legitimate absolute space as universal category, namely by questioning institutional modes of production and by disclosing conventional categories of space-time representation. By presenting an analytic technology developed within the scope of a research project engaged with rethinking the relations between geography and cinema, I will try to show how cinematic narratives allow the emergence of a polyphony of voices and subjects in formation claiming the mediums efficiency for expressing different relations with material world, so as the realignment of social forces. The focus will be on one selected case study that allows the comprehension of how cinematic landscape envelopes narrative identities, functioning as a strong contribute for reframing social memory in postnational and postcolonial worlds.

Keywords

cinematic landscape; social memories; collective identity; dictatorship

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Research on film tries to deal with an extensive universe that is not formally mapped; the context of dislocation of subjects that unstables metanarratives and metalanguages of signification. Cinema is a medium that frequently enhances remembrance of collective past and triggers a social memory. The analysis of filmic documents allows the comprehension of the social constitution of memory and the relation between space and time is crucial within this process. Engaged with emergent epistemic frames that emphasize difference more than universal truth, this article seeks the contact between differential geographies that inform at the same time daily practices and cultural imaginations. Trying to give voice to a subject in formation, a subject which far from being coherent and unified claims authorization within the institutionalized self-constitutive social practices, the presented relational frame

puts into question the allocation of worlds inside modern rational spatialities, legitimated by an ontology of the 'I/Other' (Barber, 1998). Within this framework, research is seen as a part of the experience of the world, an experience where space lived by a body function as a generative nodule of a material semiotic, a nodule inside which the artefactual character of nature results from the mutual implosion of the social and the technique. My effort is linked to the search of a relational and critical frame that finds in art and science privileged means for the expression of desire and subjectivity.

The design of an analytic technology mobilized for filmic interpretation should then be clarified. The attempt of deepening the dialogue between geography and cinema, as a general objective, forces the demolition of conceptual and analytic boundaries erased for legitimating different domains of research. The challenge of understanding the relation between 'impure and pure geographies' (Gregory, 2009) allocated within a filmic document was answered through the definition of an analytic approach able to render the comprehension of a complex cultural product such as the cinematic landscape and the way it operates for the production/reproduction of social memory. It incorporates the triangulation of elements from social and cultural critical theories to biophilosophy.

Even though this present article does not allow an expanded presentation of the theoretical and methodological design of my programme of research, I would like to stress some central clues that could give a broader comprehension of its trajectory.

My attempt to understand the relation between socio-cultural practices of geography and cinema was based in three central believes; a) Matthew Gandy (2003) insistence on the fundamental importance of understanding the role of cinematic landscape outside transhistorical categories of space and time, b) Irit Rogoff (2000) proposal of cinema as promoter of the re-reading and the re-writing of geographical sign systems, and c) Mike Crang (2002) lecture of cinema inside a frame where our own approach to the world acts as a preontology which structures the mode of observation, understanding perception as an event of contact with multiple presences and absences. From this point of departure, I developed a relational approach with several angles. The revision of Kracauer (1997) material aesthetics, the development of Bakhtinian theory applied to cinematic language, the application of iconology to cinema, reviewing and comparing the contributes of Panofsky (1982, 1993) and Aby Warburg to the interpretation of the filmic experience, the development of Latourian workings by Donna Haraway (2004), indagating landscape as a material-semiotic entity, as a nucleus of knowledge which is an active part of the apparatus of body production, and the influential project of Pierre Nora (1984-1992) to national identity through the analysis of the creation of sites of memory (*lieux de mémoires*).

The study of landscape in cinema erases complex questions because we are dealing with an exponential effect of mediation of the structures of organization of experience. Primarily, due to the idea of landscape integrates a cycle of mediation of land by modern culture (Andrews, 1999). This same cycle includes mechanisms of social formation of landscape that operated through time. Secondly, due to the fact that cinema operates as a technology for mediation of experience between human being and physical world. So the analysis must embrace the spiralling movement between materiality and representation. This route of

interception between landscape and cinema forces the revision of the epistemic and aesthetic categories that legitimated a specific way of seeing the world and the relations between human being and physical environment. Operating through the textures of experience, landscape is in a privileged position for the comprehension of how those relations were structured throughout modernity as a way of integrating social memory, myth and desire.

LANDSCAPE AS A 'COHERENT' SPACE-TIME TECHNOLOGY

In the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, several forms of art questioned landscape as a representation and as an idea. Diverse artistic movements subverted a system of representation and perception erased on the codes and conventions of realism. Specifically in painting, movements such as Impressionism and Dadaism appear as symptoms of the decline of the regimes of truth and knowledge that 'naturalized' mimetic portraits of the world, so as of people and objects. Photography and film, in their primitive forms, also destabilised formal conventions of representation but quickly improved the techniques to the conventional modes of perception in order to produce a massive process of acculturation to the new mediums. Those movements functioned as alerts to the role of the visual experience in the perpetuation of modern mythologies and in the reconstruction of social memory. We should not forget that the cultural impact of the discovering of new mediums that, as film, allocated the visual phenomenon in the centre of contemporary discussions paradoxically reflected a change in the organization of experience announced by modernity. Additionally, we must have in mind the operation of several surfaces of observation that were being developed and that claimed different fields of signification. In fact, the power of the analogical dimension of film seems to have functioned as the root to what Roland Barthes (1981) called the mythological potential of the medium. A capacity of signification of second order, the connotative power of filmic image discarded by cultural resonances activated by its reception, potentiated confusion between artifice and nature that was established through it. Contributing to the 'effect of reality' (Barthes, 1977), film brought new categories of space and time – spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority. In this sense, through the denoted message, the system of the connoted message (socially constituted) was 'naturalized'.

The implications of the invention of film to the perpetuation of the modern idea of landscape and social memory can be found precisely in the way how through this medium was given continuity to a process of 'naturalization' of landscape as a way of seeing (Cosgrove, 1998), that means, of landscape social formation. This, through the reproduction of a geographical sign system that was already codified pictorially, through the action of an artistic genre of painting. Effectively, the democratic potential of the film was calibrated by the action of an elite of authors (bourgeois and aristocrats) engaged with the strategy of legitimating cinema as an art form. Allegedly, the quality of the film mirrored the social quality of the technicians and *connoisseurs* that legitimate a filmic image that could be identified as pertaining to a specific place, to a specific time and to a specific social class. Though, the representation of landscape, as was fixed by painting conventions and imported by science, appeared as a particularly attractive composition to this movement of legitimating of the cinematic art,

because it represented the point of view of the higher social classes and because it represented the scenery of identification of the different groups through this view.

The strategy of localization of the objects of representation functioned then, as a strategy of social spatialization, through the cut and crystallization of a moment taken from the biographic time and space of an individual or group. For that, filmic technicians worked complex techniques as framing, editing or depth of field, which allowed a higher degree of realism in the act of registering intertwined moments of time and space transforming the act of shooting in a coherent narrative (Burch, 1997). The consolidation of the pillars of a visual culture which came to be dominant to the cultural practices and representations of the western world in the 20th century, depended from the development of technologies of vision and transportation that incite the pleasure of the material image in its relation with the mechanisms of desire activated by linear narratives of imperial imagination. The recreation (or mortification) of a body by the camera (individual bodies so as a body land) functioned as the advent of the Other, instilling the dissociation of consciousness and identity. As a medium for the organization of experience which offers a patterning and concomitantly instills the change, film was turned in the first decades of the 20th century into a closed domain of the aesthetic form, namely through linear narrative and the institutional modes of representation. The pleasure of recognising connected to the reception of images was responsible to the production of a higher order of emotional intensity (the sensation of being there), that transported the observer to a space out of frame, a space endowed by the desire for that which was not viewed, or, by the sentiment of a never reachable lost. From this point, we can go straight to the sense in which film came to establish a new possibility for the mourning of 'lost objects' (Benjamin, 1999), concomitantly enhancing a metaphysics of presence which pervades western thought. Importing pictorial landscape codes to cinema ensured homogeneous space to this new surface of representation. Importing linear narrative to cinema ensured chronological time. Social memory could then be worked and reworked through a coherent space-time technology.

SCENIC UTOPIAS AND THE FABRIC OF SOCIAL MEMORY BY CINEMA

The development of cinematic industry and the evolution of cinematic codes of representation established the structure of classic narrative in cinema, orchestrating the complex relations of diegetic space. The period of classic cinema, marked by the structure of realist narrative and by the organization of action around the formula of enigma-resolution, was ruled by mechanisms that ensured verisimilitude to the fictional world (Cook & Bernink, 1999), what came to be potentiated by the introduction of sound.

The production of sets of 'stable images' of territory counted, in the period between Wars with the action of the filmic event on a growing group of audiences that, through this experience, was under a process of acculturation to the medium and to endless geographical imaginations through a mediated experience of the material world erased under the aesthetics of realism. In short, and accordingly to Nora (1992), the primordial memory of peasant societies embedded in *milieux de mémoires*, environments of memory, was being substituted

by much more self-consciously created *lieux de mémoires* (sites of memory). The production of those *lieux* or sites, as been a result of the transformation wrought by modernity, including the rise of cinema.

As it happens with other forms of arts, the development of a cinematic syntax and of specific codes of representation to the moving images, was connected to the action of the medium as a vehicle for expressing ideologies, 'understood as the dominant register of ideas in social life that sustains the existing relations of power' (Gandy, 2003, p.7), namely, expressing the constellations of power connected to questions of national identity with their specific conceptualization of landscape and social memory. The idea that cinema reflected the character of a nation better than any other medium was explored in Europe and North America through several stylistic movements, reflecting different 'national cinemas'. The construction of 'national cinemas' integrated nationalistic ideologies and politics disseminating elements of propaganda of the regimes, absorbing or colliding with other artistic movements.

Contemning cinematic gaze, the idea of a national cinema was in tune with the capacity of film for integrating cultural projects structured under aesthetic movements themselves committed with specific modes of representing the human condition and the relation with objectual worlds. Such commitment, articulating stylistic prescriptions, themes and a modern rhetoric, forms through which a country communicated, was frequently erased under the scrutiny of the State apparatuses. Cultural practices that allowed the dissemination of classic cinema, embraced the engagement of subjects with packed versions of territorial identity as symbolic sites representing the essence of a nation (Harper & Rayner, 2010). In Portuguese cinematography, those tendencies are also found almost from the very beginning, but they were turned highly explicit within the thirties and the forties, namely through the workings of cinematic landscape denoting the social production of nature within the fabric of the modern urban form.

Cinema was endowed with the target of collecting symbolic sites organised through landscape codes as the bases for representing historical memory through selected narratives. The figuration of urban landscape marked the filmic experience of the period so as the scale at which collective memory would find public expression, as a way of reclaiming the modern being to this potent surface of representation. The dynamics of urban change and growing, industrialization and liberal economy, forced a reconceptualization of nature and landscape through those sites and, by political and cultural instances. The celebration of the rural idyll that marked the first two decades was not sufficient to respond to metropolitan imperial politics of representation. There must be created an enduring surface able to surpass the threatened of shared memory of loss, longing and nostalgia.

The development of chronotopes whose symbolism and metaphorical power answered the new urban experience urged. At the same time, those space-time clusters of representation must, in some way, be able to project the voices of popular urban groups and the idea of a primordial nature connected to an organic collective. The arrival of the sound system in Portuguese cinema, in 1931, defined the contours of a space-time cluster of filmic representation marked by the interception of specific sites of modern city waved in a rural/popular/traditional tissue. Growing the tissue of landscape representations of the national land, the physiognomy of the capital, or rather, selected symbolic sites, achieved a

relevant role in the cinema of the regime of unique ideology that marked the political action in Portugal up to 1974. This nationalistic regime, *Estado Novo* (1926 -1974), although not homogeneous, is generically seen as the Salazarism, having in Salazar the leading figure of a political and ideological system marked namely by social Catholicism, corporativism, anti-parlamentarism and anti-communism. The disciplinary power of Portuguese fascist regime is clearly discernible through the analysis of the cultural politics of the period. The role of cinema (although ambiguous) was crucial within this process (Granja, 2011), in spite of its different manifestations. As Rosas (1994, p. 293) underlines, 'national propaganda aims a national education, an imposing and repressive pedagogy, instilling submission'. Portuguese cinema was one of the educational apparatuses used to disseminate and consolidate the contextual image of the New State. The system of values and the basis of the ideological discourse erased upon believe of a mythic nation, contaminated individuals daily life with propose of creating the 'new man' of Salazarism (Rosas, 2001), namely through the control of laser and the fabric of historical memory by national cinematography.

As it happens in other national cinematography the city was turned into crucial symbolic element of social memory, it changed the aesthetic experience of landscape, so as the realignment of nature, capital, technology and society. Specifically this answered to the reification of Lisbon as the modern city of the country, and the regional readjustment of the national territory that enveloped the over determination of historical tendencies of centralization forced the symbolic recodification of landscape. Social memory was reworked through filmic narrative emphasising the dichotomy countryside/city, namely by depictions of province within depictions of modern city.

This act of symbolic redimensioning under the nationalistic dictates of *Estado Novo* was rendered through the development of native doctrines of authenticity of Portuguese landscape and by emphasising the aesthetic and ecologic contamination of Portuguese sites of urban memory. A long environmental and social history was drained through the action of this new symbolic form, reflecting the worlds of cultural and political elites, answering to the emergence of a new public sphere and to the new practices of recreation and laser connected to the pleasure of the visual, movement, travelling and exploration.

Images of a native nature inhabited the screen alongside with urban sites, monuments, and picture settlements, while infrastructural changes promoted by the State and challenging views of urban design and architecture give to the viewer the sense of a modern country. Those pictorial references arrested through location shooting were technically edited in filmic sequences intertwined with studio constructions as a way of integrating the scenic utopias of dominant social groups. They were intended to project a national image, given to broader audiences and broader segments of the social, the physiognomy of a photogenic country, explored by the press and by tourist texts.

Cinema integrated a movement of fixation of the mythic motives of the national territory and history, enhancing the effort from the individual nation to reinforce its cultural self-determination by forging the articulation of the elements of a regional imagination as a way of dealing with mesmerism and difference. This movement was clearly defined in a set of films generically called as 'the Portuguese comedy'. Representing a quite specific landscape experience, those films have a privileged point, the 'Portuguese music' (*fado*, or

diverse versions of the folk music) and came to be the most popular cinema in an ideological context where Portugal 'was seen as an oasis of peace in a world in war' (Torgal, 2000, p. 24). Although most of them were not explicitly used as instruments of national propaganda its production was regular during the dictatorial Regime being subtly used as a modern mode of propaganda, giving the image of a desirable society that cinema as form of entertainment and evasion assured.

The success of the Portuguese comedy was revived by the advent of television that presented the films frequently up to the seventies, revealing contextual ideologies. As mentioned by Torgal (2000, p. 67),

"Portuguese comedy seems to elude the latent conflicts of a society under a totalitarian nationalistic regime with a deep catholic matrix whose aesthetic believe lied in the articulation of the tradition in modernity, this in a context where the cultural politics was seen by Antonio Ferro as a politic of spirit, with an underlying moral pursuing the aim of Conversion of a country, of reconstruction, of restoring the Order".

Within this frame, cinematic landscape was highly nurtured by sites of an urban nexus fuelled by the spatial categories such as the yard, the street and the popular *bairro*. The depiction of that space-time unites - chronotopes - by the comedy served as a way of fixing the sense of a Portuguese modern urban place. A sense of place that at the same time distilled popular social memory and elites pervasive dominant narratives of social control.

Ambiguously interweaved, countryside and city collapse in fictional narratives that veiled centre/periphery tensions by fixing the popular *bairro* as an emblematic chronotope of national identity. The celebration of traditional values was then didactically ascribed by this spatial unity, being given to the audiences as a locus where sense of belonging was the root of genuine community building. As expression of a moral frame deeply contemned by rural experience pictured 'as the place of true virtues' (Torgal, 2000, p. 71), this cinematic space-time cluster detaches the poetics of an ancestral urban origin for the nation and activates powerful material and symbolic connections between the aesthetic speeches of the past and the present, naturalizing contemporary social order. Articulating conceptions of a supposed natural order, those cinematic narratives projected a sense of social stability and aesthetic harmony nurtured by the evocation of an urban pastoral, the evocation of a second nature or rural environment as ancestral myth of the social production of nature. The social production of nature as central ideological and aesthetic dimension of the Portuguese comedy is though crucial for understanding the role of cinema in the fabric of collective social memory and popular culture within the authoritarian right-wing regime, because it allowed the integration of the myth of a primordial urban origin and the myth of a native collective landscape.

SALAZAR'S URBAN PASTORAL AS CINEMATIC NARRATIVE AND ALLEGORY

Landscape depictions of urban pastoral in Portuguese comedy also instil, through some filmic documents, an element of potential subversion into the filmic experience through the workings of the chronotope of the popular *bairro*-yard-street, as a site of memory discarded

by cinema. The subversive potential of the current order and ethics subtly unveiled within filmic language is the substance of their success and popularity. Although masked and not easily discernible because of the apparent coherence of the plots, the subversive potential rendered by this artistic chronotope endorse cinematic landscape with a considerable critical ground. Against what happened in several films of the period, explicit ideological and propaganda films, historical films and literary adaptations, cinematic landscape does not appear in comedy invested by the mysticism of places of conversion, of nation and empire. In spite of the cosmetic operations developed for the representation of the poorest *bairros* of the city, the fact of being depicted through this artistic chronotope allow the construction of a legitimate place of action as the visceral urban space. Geographical imaginations weaved by the films found in their deepest levels of signification the central vehicle for the experience of boundaries and transgression, places that are hidden under a superficial or first level of filmic signification and that inhabit the intertexts of the narratives. In fact, the analysis of several filmic documents of the period and the dialogical nexus established by them, allows the comprehension of different levels of signification operating at the same time and often colliding with the meanings irradiating from the superficial tissue of the Portuguese comedy. This because of the action of the chronotope within the narrative and because of the metamorphoses instilled by it throughout the experience of landscape ambiguously inserted.

In its work of inaugurating a legitimate place of action, the space-time of daily adventure, the urban adventure of the popular groups marked by the games of patio, domesticity and new urban rituals, ceased with middle class groups and few incursions to the worlds of elites, this chronotope highlights the mutations within the experience of place, of subjects and groups through the games of parody and folklore. Parody is claimed for the realignment of social memory through filmic narrative. Parody and folklore were used as motives for the changing of identities, transferred to the characters and space. The motive of transformation of identity, as a central element to surpass de challenges of modern existential conditions under a repressive social system, seems to have a pivotal role within the structure of the narrative, around which gravitates the intimate content of the comedy. Through it, social and political events achieve cinematic meaning, in connection with the plots of the private life. The relations between private and public spheres are reworked and (re)presented through the intervention of this fictional space-time (*bairro-yard-street*), as an organic development of de house, office or shop. However, above all, it functions as an arena of signification where the substitution of distinctive identities searching for spatialization was experimented.

As mere fragments of objectual world, this fictional space-time clusters of parody and folklore function as material semiotic entities through which the fabric of social memory was turned into one of the symbolic Portuguese modernist landscapes. As an organizing principle of the films, the action is structured through the contamination of the space-time of urban adventure with other artistic, literary and historic chronotopes, and the absorption of the idyllic-bucolic chronotope imported from anterior representations of nature and rural settings endows this urban chronotope with an insular dimension of a pastoral landscape engulfed by modernist movement. Cinema produced a territorialization of the social experience of the city by activating a zone of contact between several segments of the social and their fictional spaces of experience.

Filmic place activated by comedy, the popular *bairro*, is highly nurtured by this architecture of encounter located as a boundary surface, a surface of officialised transgression. A surface of contact between different social groups and cultures, fighting for symbolic colonization of the physical space saturated by historical appropriation of its own meanings, used now as a way of depicting a sense of being at home against any threat of an exterior world. A satiric look directed towards cultural appropriation and historical colonization of those sites of memory, the picturesque *bairro*, irradiates from this films. The experience of landscape in the films directs us, though, towards the construction of the popular *bairro* as a micro-region invested by social memory with a specific political function within nationalistic ideology of Estado Novo, a construction significantly forged against those who daily inhabit the depicted physical space, often marginally and precariously. In so doing, cinema activated the experience of a zone of contact that was carnivalized by cinema, because it envelops the movement of transpositioning for erasing urban identities, derived from ideological orientations.

As a technology for the organization of experience, the parody of costumes and the transvestism of localities brought by comedy, functioned as collective catharses, a response to the vertigo provoked by this same condition. The parody at place by the comedy was then an ambivalent laugh, a superficial bubble that came both from comfort and alienation. Transvesting the yard, configures, at a first level, a spatial embodiment of the national myths, where an absolute past was naturally carved in the memory of individuals. None the less, this popular laugh, with deep folkloric roots activated by comedy enclosed another laugh, transgressive and corrosive, an expressive veil of communication that filmic language subtly unveiled.

SPACE CARNIVAL AND TRANSVESTISM OF LANDSCAPE IN *A CANÇÃO DE LISBOA*

Denouncing a sarcastic use of space, the film *A Canção de Lisboa* (1933) by Cottinelli Telmo, reveals a manifest ambiguity that comes from different levels of signification brought to the fore throughout the narrative by the play of landscape depictions. Presenting the conceptualised space, as a space constructed by official culture through a complex codification of signs, cinematic landscape uses the main symbolic content produced by political and ideological agents and actors. As an agent and actor serving official culture, actively engaged in the production of the material space of the modern city, the architect Cottinelli Telmo contributed for the growing of the symbolic power of the Regime. His single creation as cinematographer was politically and ideologically interpreted, at the period, as a *continuum* of this same activity, eluding the subliminal messages of the filmic workings.

The analysis of the filmic document through the language of landscape departs from the attempt of understanding the role of the chronotope *bairro*-yard-street within the construction of the filmic place. Decodifying the work of landscape within the filmic narrative unveils its explicit and implicit content. Filmic meanings are activated by the allocation of action in this space-time cluster depicted through an iconography saturated by social conventions and ideological meanings reinforced by music. Filmic signification is then activated through location shooting and through the spaces constructed by Tobis Studios, created in Lisbon in 1932, as the Portuguese Company of Sound Films – *Tobis Klangfilm*.

Exposing the ideological structures sustaining the logics and conventions of a modern and progressist capitalism, and the spatial structures of production of space, its manifest content, the film unveils a secret space weaved within the dense tissue of signification, its implicit content, where we can find a duplicity of the life of characters and of the filmic place. The assimilation of the spatial categories by this comedy is nurtured by those components, a space where parody and popular laugh are projected. The hipper-textual density of landscape is achieved through the analyses of content emerging from the interpenetration of those two orders of meaning. Constituting a peculiar geography, those surfaces structure the filmic experience. Primarily, through a superficial symbolic meaning, the immediate filmic signification or the 'first world' of the comedy, depicted by cinematic landscape with the function of a contextual location of the action. Secondly, through a subterranean symbolic meaning, the dense hidden filmic signification or the 'second world' of the comedy, unveiled through the work of social memory within cinematic landscape, turned into the allegoric meaning of the film.

The challenge of *A Canção de Lisboa* lays precisely in the way it parodies the monologist perspectives of place, shaking the references that traditionally inform their own construction. Playing with the historical and geographical sign systems that at the same time anchored and destabilises the natural harmony of symbolic icons of the modern city, the film projects the popular laugh into this conventional surface of representation fracturing the formal coherence of the dialogs, characters and key-actions that activate the plot. Under the mask of a perfect society and of a linear and closed narrative, the comic creativity of Cottinelli Telmo defines the satiric contours of a look in search of the deepest roots of spatialization of identities.

The fictional geography of *A Canção de Lisboa* is erased on the feeble inclusive speech of traditional conceptions, as a way of reaching a constant interaction between the different modalities of communication disclosed by the film, diffused through the experience of filmic place. In fact, the double alterity of the space suggested by the architect-cinematographer emancipates filmic place from its condition of monologist representation, convoking a polyphony of voices for the construction of the depicted locality. The logic of the artistic chronotope explored by Cottinelli Telmo is though inherently dialogic in the Bakhtinian sense, because through it, landscape is turned not only graphically visible in space but also narratively visible in time, and in its own context of social production, articulating the discursive field of human experience.

The constant dialogic interaction of multiple voices as a decisive element for the construction of the factual space insinuates within filmic experience through the action of this chronotope, orchestrating in an obtrusive way the levels of signification irradiating from the first and second life of the film. Hiding the factual character of the evoked locality as a crucial element of the sense of place putted in action through narrative, the second world of the film lies precisely in this transvestism of landscape as a primordial allegoric motive of this cinematic piece. In this architecture of the scenic space, the transvestism of landscape is composed essentially by depicting public spaces, sites collected from old and modern Lisbon and natural scenarios making allusion to province, weaved in a delicate web of relations

with depictions of private spaces, home interiors or small pleasant frames prepared by Tobis Studios. Within this filmic architecture, series of images of localities that lend figuration to cinematic landscape serve to expose the structure of the body of this same landscape, intended to become an emblematic site of social memory. But they function also as a mode of dredging the world of objects, phenomenon and ideas, to the representational matrix of the traditional landscape, disposed now in a new order.

The compactation of those series of sites and sequences into Salazar's urban pastoral is a central nucleus of action. This nucleus is ensured by the experience of the first world and the first life of the film, perpetuating throughout *Estado Novo*, the tradition of a monologist speech of landscape. Nevertheless, within this process, the compactation of series of images is subjected to a recodification by the experience of the second life of the film, where the carnivalesque experience of the filmic place entangles the assumption of the transvestism of the body land through multiple voices that shape the dialogue around this second world of emancipation. Here, the dialogical nexus of the experience of the filmic place precedes the dissolution of the hierarchy of compactation of the fixed series of images/sites, allowing the polyphonic game of the geographical signs that inhabit the document. Functioning as a mode of unveiling the ephemeral and contingent processes of social production and reproduction of space, landscape turned into allegory by the comedy evinces a pervasive dualism between real and imagined city. Though, again, the double alterity of filmic space engendered by Cottinelli Telmo, as to become a site of national memory. A body of land is presented by the screen as a monologist representation of place, in order to allow the discovering, under the mask and through the action of a creative and critical work of audiences, the fictional and dialogical nature of its own constitution.

Intercepting social practices as structural of modern popular culture, recreation and entertainment practices, the filmic experience brought by *A Canção de Lisboa* is highly nurtured by this second world and life discarded from the intrinsic logics of filmic signification. Emerging from discursive practices of laugh activated through filmic experience, this second world finds its own genealogy in carnivalesque and non-official practices as crucial elements of human dialogue and communication present in diverse periods and contexts. The development of those practices is then connected to the veiled carnival proportioned by the film, as a ritual of celebration and liberation from the prevalent truth and from the official established order. Generated and lying on a second life of this artistic piece, carnival marks a space-time suspension of roles and social cleavages. As a feast of renovation and becoming, the filmic experience in *A Canção de Lisboa* is nurtured by a collective sense of subversion (or at least its possibility). Having the references of the official culture as central motive, the carnival inaugurated by this film finds in the material body of landscape the flesh to be contested and mocked. In this sense, the carnival is achieved in this film through the conception of space as the 'dialogical Other of the official culture' (Bakhtin, 2002). This appears as a way of rewriting the social space, memory and collective narratives of contestation, stridently echoed by sound on the fictional façade of the film and through the resonance of iconological fractures that activate the trajectory of free association of images into the elusive symbolic effect of the picturesque modern urban *bairro*, unveiling its cultural tissue.

Understood at the period as a minor art, cinema was offered to Cotinelli Telmo as a medium through which he could experiment a subversive architecture, a scenic synthesis of the official landscape. Using official tropes of visual representation as a way of compelling the production of meanings connected to the reading of the physical world, the cinematographer endorses the mutually constitutive nature of space making use of the new cinematic techniques. Through sound the cinematographer developed a sophisticated intertextual relationship between diverse modalities of signification, and the clattering density of the characters voices is one of the deepest elements of the sardonic dimension of the film. Through them, the integrity of the disembodied observer is fractured, and the alterity of 'absent' spaces (such as the rural) is restored, against a present space (the urban and cosmopolitan). Definitely condemning the experience of the filmic place, the sound of this chronotope reveals the intrinsic constitution of the factual locality. This genuine polyphony of popular voices irradiating from the comedy, announces the generative power of the popular groups operating through daily practices for the constitution of the factual environment. The action of sound emancipates heterodox discursive practices as the foundation of the depicted landscape engulfed by the ambivalent nature of the popular laugh. More than instilling the contextual ideology of the Regime, *A Canção de Lisboa* constitutes a significant arena of social resistance in the period of higher affirmation of the dictatorial political system, defining a geographical guide based on an absolute (though repressive) landscape. Throughout the film, a process of anamorphosis restores the radical alterity of the depicted landscape, unveiling the secret itineraries offered by the filmic place in relation with the perceived space of the parody and laugh. Redirecting the filmic experience to the lived inhabiting of place, the human voices that came to us embracing the transvestism of space, imbalances the different voices responsible for the production of space and memory, as vehicles of the subversive human agency able to demolish any definitive attempt of condensation or purification of the material reality and memory.

CONCLUSIVE NOTES

As a symbolic form cinema operates the translation of complex geographies organized through the daily act of communication and in social life. Each film function as a practice of mapping of the lived places of emotion and affection, but not far beyond political and ideological monologist speeches. Throughout this study the relation between filmic experience and landscape experience brought to the fore the need of rethinking the role of landscape within the fabric of social memory and the construction of a sense of place. As a territory of negotiation of ordinary practices and symbolic meanings, filmic place articulates lively worlds of differential individuals inside wish the work of myth and desire is recycled for the production of sites of memory that activate psychic mechanisms interfering in the process of identity formation. As a technology for the organization of experience, cinematic landscape integrates those mechanisms, operating as a codified sign system that mediates the relation between materiality and representation. The cultural traffic of geographical imaginations, nurtured by the play of codified categories of space and time organized

through conventional modes of representation in cinema, function both as a mode of contesting collective narratives and of discarding the interstitial tissue of social memory. A filmic chronotope, could then be understood as symbolic cluster where battles surrounding different modalities of communication operate in order to confront the subject behind its own generative constitution.

While highlighting the possibility of a marginal work of cinematic landscape in Portuguese comedy, this study was engaged with exploring the non restrictive power of filmic language by experimenting places of transgression. The case study focused on the film *A Canção de Lisboa*, was particularly rich for exploring the relational character of the different filmic modalities, so as for the comprehension of landscape as a concretion of migrations of layers of image-memory sites whose symbolic power allows the recycling of ordinary experiences of land, of the I and Other. The artistic chronotope analyzed the consolidation of the spatial and temporal dimensions of the linear narrative, and ensured a first level of signification of cinematic landscape. A second level of signification, unveiling a second life of the film, emerged from the relations between dialogism and iconology, established by the play of the pathetic forms.

And this is particularly clear in this case where narrative and aesthetic forms used for depicting an urban pastoral, open deep fissures within the filmic tissue devoted to the cultural representation of an ancestral nature within the core of an urban setting. The analysis of the different strata of memory carved in the filmic document by the interplay of texts and images, opened a process of excavation of the fictional geographies hidden under the opacity of 'our' cultural archives. The corruption of a poetic of the idyllic nature, brought by the cinema of the two first decades of the twentieth century, was subverted by the Portuguese comedy, through the work of cinematic landscape. Transported to the urban environment and reworked through the chronotope of the *bairro*-yard-street, this poetics of carnivalization of space by comedy was central for the reworkings of social memory by the political regime of Estado Novo. The experiment of other geographies, namely through transvesting the space in order to celebrate the myth of the Portuguese territory and the imperial nation found in the reinvention of the comedy by Cottinelli Telmo one of the richest testimonies of subversion of fascist texts and speeches, occupied with politics of self representation, discipline and monumentalizing. Activating a cinema that uses some of the main symbolic codes of the Regime, but whose deepest meaning arise from the popular laugh, parody and allegory, the cinematographer activates an instance of corruption of the aesthetic of contemplation traditionally ascribed to the depiction of landscape and memory, mobilized for the expression of nationhood. The obtrusive use of framing and the dramatic figuration of the *bairro* emerged as motives of farce and stick to the sardonic laugh of the camera engaged with unveiling the impossibility of immobilizing a mythical natural environment.

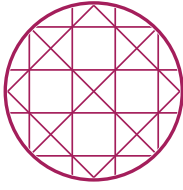
The urban pastoral served as a cultural form through which a reorganization of affects regarding an aggressive environment was produced; the 'new city'. But, paradoxically, it served to parody the scenic utopias of a political regime. Reflecting the accommodation of a new experience of nature, the work of cinematic landscape in this film demolish a conventional hierarchy of representation of objects and subjects, unveiling the possibility

of an experience of landscape within which everything is object of representation. As a vital factor for virtually demolishing the sentiment of fear and anguish, the laugh allowed an approach to national reality as an object turned closer for observation. Functioning as a zone of maxim proximity, the comic creativity of the comedy turned this body of land closer to people, turning it more familiar, and throwing it to a crude zone of contact where it could be seen by different angles, it could be dismembered, it could be exposed. Through a paradoxical geography brought to the fore by cinema, comedy opened way to the destruction of a kind of epic distance to the object, through the specific act of carnivalization of the fabric of national memory by cinematic landscape.

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The Subject-Matter of Audiovisual Historical Fiction in Portugal (1909-2010)

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Abstract

Every era reconstructs social memory, the media becoming one of the main instances of selection, production and presentation of the past to each new generation. In this research, we intend to compare the production of audiovisual fictional memory in Portugal since 1909, looking for continuities and contrasts in the fictional subjects in the dominant audiovisual mass media in each period: cinema, in the period 1909-1957, theatre for television in RTP (*Rádio e Televisão de Portugal / Radio and Television of Portugal*) in the period 1958-1970 and TV drama in national generalist TV channels from 1990 to 2010. The survey through synopsis of cinema, TV theatre and TV drama productions (series, miniseries, serials, telenovelas and films for television) will allow for an understanding of what the media elite in each period considered as the past that was worthwhile to (re)create, remember and (re)integrate in the present and the novelists and playwrights that were worthy of adaptation to the screen. Based on a diachronic basis, the survey suggests a combined analysis of the hegemonic proposal of “preferred past” in each period with the respective political situation (1909-1931: silent cinema in an underdeveloped country, looking for mass success with the new media; 1930-1945: triumphant Estado Novo dictatorship and integrated cultural policy, through the SNI (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação / National Secretary of Information*); 1958-1970: post-War Salazar regime in a slow decadence; 1990-2010: consolidated democratic regime). Besides establishing the results of the empirical analysis, this research wishes to verify the validity of the applied methodology, simple and of rapid completion, for the development of the study of audiovisual social memory.

Keywords

historical fiction; media memory; television; Portugal

INTRODUCTION

The present research is anchored in the project in progress “Memory and Television: Historical Narratives in Portugal and Spain (2000-2012)”, by a joint team of the Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Cultura, of Faculdade de Ciências Humanas of Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisbon, the Universidad Complutense, Madrid, and the Universidad Carlos III, Madrid.¹ Through the comparison between Portuguese and Spanish television

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contents with a historical background, this larger research project endeavours to understand, among other issues, how national networks and scripts articulate with each country historical, cultural political and social sensibilities. For the present paper, we decided to look for the subject-matter of audiovisual historical fiction in a chronological, diachronic way, in order to establish the continuities and changes in the subject-matter of the dominant audiovisual mass media in each period. We selected silent and sound cinema, from the first Portuguese fictional film in 1909 to 1957, passing to teleplays in the new media from 1958 to 1974, and to present-day TV fiction, from 1990 to 2010. We divided cinema in two periods, silent and sound cinema, for practical reasons and because the division coincides with the end of the liberal, parliamentary regime of 1910-1926, and the beginning of the Estado Novo in 1933, after the dictatorship of 1926-33. The Estado Novo, or New State, was a nationalist regime, inspired by the rightist European regimes, including a cultural policy controlling the industry and censorship. By 1957, the cultural hegemony of the Estado Novo apparatus was slowly decaying and opposition intellectuals began diversifying the subject-matter of audiovisual fiction, trying to bypass censorship. For practical reasons, and because our main interest is television, we focused on teleplays since the founding of the national TV broadcaster RTP, whose regular emissions began in 1957². The choice of teleplays results from the importance of the genre and because we did not find accessible sources listing television drama in this period. The Coup d'état of 1974 overthrew the dictatorship and brought profound changes in cultural institutions and personnel. We sense that audiovisual fiction of the revolutionary period was more interested in the present than in the past, but we left it to a future research, concentrating instead in the television drama fiction of the period 1990-2010, after the consolidation of democracy, the entry in European Economic Community in 1986 and the beginning of private television in 1992. Television was then the main mass media in the country, reaching virtually all the population in mainland Portugal and the Islands of Azores and Madeira. Portuguese cinema, by contrast, had abandoned or been forced to abandon the possibility to reach the "masses" and its output was residual when compared with television production. Thus, television was the only audiovisual media capable of presenting fiction history to a large audience.

In this paper, we consider audiovisual historical fiction as any feature film, teleplay or TV fictional content whose time setting is in the past in relation to the production and presentation time, thus experienced as having a past or historical background by the public. We find useful the differentiation between "costume drama" and "historical drama", the first ignoring the historical discourse and using "the exotic locale of the past as no more than a setting for romance and adventure", while the second "engages that discourse by posing and attempting to answer the kind of questions that for a long time have surrounded a given topic" (Rosenstone, 2006, p.45). This differentiation will be noted whenever the used sources allow it.

² Our main source was the survey *Memórias dos Arquivos RTP: 298 Peças de Teatro*, a dactyloscopy prepared by the Direcção de Novos Projectos e Arquivos, RTP, Sacavém, 2002. The list includes the teleplays that exist in video support. It does not include teleplays presented live of which no copy exist. In its first years, theatre was a main genre in RTP. The channel presented a play almost every week. For instance, in 1958, RTP aired 50 plays (Teves, 1998: 97). We consider the list as a representative, unique sample of the tele-theatre produced by RTP in the period studied here. This project may include in the future the exploration of other sources. We wish to thank the support of the Direcção de Aquisições e Controle de Grelha of RTP in the verification of the subject-matter of several teleplays.

The objectives of the research are fourfold: To establish the subject-matter of historical fiction; To establish the recourse to literary adaptation and original scripts; To establish the periods set in historical fiction, the historical background and main themes; To establish continuities and changes in the subject-matter.

BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Fiction was always a privileged segment on Portuguese television programming. Created in 1956 and with regular broadcasts from March 7, 1957, the public station, RTP, accustomed the Portuguese to regular meetings with dramatized stories. In the 1990s, when the private sector was allowed to invest in the television market (constitutional revision of 1989), two new players appeared – SIC (*Sociedade Independente de Comunicação* / Independent Society of Communication) and TVI (*Televisão Independente* / Independent Television) – and the competition for audiences became an imperative, even for the public generalist channel. Thus, besides the offer of new informational and entertainment programs, the fictional titles were increased, and new formats, genres, casts and plots appeared. If international blockbusters were well accepted, national productions gradually became a success, leading to disputes between channels around this segment.

Usually anchored in common references, fiction titles have the power to work as an active agent of memory, as a key to interpretation of a symbolically common past, contributing to an exaltation of identity. In this sense, television has allowed deconstruction and reconstruction of cultural identities, functioning as a source for the construction of *identity projects* (Barker, 2005). In this line of thought, Maria Immacolata Lopes (2009) believes that fictional programs play a major role in the organisation of the TV market, because the way they are constructed allows the presentation, production and reproduction of the image of a people, who feels identified with the product's content. In this manner, television fiction presents itself as a *popular narrative about the nation* which ends up suffering a process of *indigenisation* (Appadurai, 2004).

The fictional narratives, despite history and memory, were often seen by many intellectual groups as a poor television product. However, its cultural validity has been justified, since they enable cultural and interpreting competences by the viewers; present themes for discussion among peer groups; promote awareness and social integration and provide a repertoire of meanings necessary for the identification / building of the “I” and of the “us” (Lopes, 2009, Burnay, 2010).

In a context of globalisation and mobility, the idea of nation is associated with a symbolic dimension, more than with a spatial one, and television (and fiction), plays a crucial role in its expression through the *thematization*, i.e., the act of showing/documenting and narrating/commenting on the political, economic and socio-cultural facts; through *ritualisation*, the ability to align the nation's social time, to create a collective time; through *belonging*, the ability to create memories and expectations; and, finally, through *participation*.

The term “memory” has acquired in recent years an increasingly important status in the study of Humanities and Social Sciences. The complexity of the relationship between

history and memory, and especially the need to study the politics of memory from a historical point of view has been the subject of several authors (e.g. Olick & Robbins, 1998; Pérez Garzón, 2000). Nevertheless, there is a lack, particularly in Portugal, of a line of work on the role of media as “agents”, “producers” and “reproducers” of memory.

The development of reception studies from the perspective of Cultural Studies (among others: Alasuutari, 1999; Hall, 1973; Morley, 1986) contributed to the consolidation of a line of work interested in the relationship between the reception, readers, media texts and the construction of meanings. From a territorial and socio-cultural context, these works allow an understanding of the differences in how individuals perceive and decode the representations of the national and of the regional, particularly on television, a medium with large penetration in the private and family life. If it is possible, through these analyses, to understand how the individuals relate to television fiction programs, an approach to the titles from the production point of view is important to understand how television enhances the symbolic construction of “national family” (Morley, 1992). The emergence of TV series labelled as of “quality” since the 1980s in the United States and Great Britain, with a global distribution and warm reception, has also contributed to a new approach to television fiction by television, cultural and genre studies.

Stemming from this idea, we chose television as a paradigm and the historical fictional narratives as case studies. The motivations for this choice are based on the fact that the fictional contents play a functional role on scheduling (Hobson, 2003), and on the observation of an increase of historical fiction contents in recent years. Of complex definition, we can speak of “historical content” in a double meaning: a) narratives developed in past years; b) narratives that present discourse and historical figures with direct influence on the development of the plots.

Having this theoretical background, we chose to observe, in the present work, the historical themes that gave life to audiovisual titles produced between 1958 and the present (2010).

METHODOLOGY

Since we are breaking ground in this research area, we decided to use simple sources and methodology to arrive at a first overview of the subject-matter of audiovisual historical fiction. We used one of the most reliable surveys of feature cinema (Matos-Cruz, 1999) and the above mentioned volume of *Memórias dos Arquivos RTP* for cinema and teleplays covering the years 1908-1974. For the television fiction from 1990 to 2010, we used information provided by RTP, SIC, TVI, interviews and databasis as IMDb (Internet Movies Database), and also direct knowledge.

The research did not involve viewing of films, teleplays and most TV drama. With the available synopsis and search in reference books and sites, we did a survey with the following variables: date, title, script (adapted/original), period set and main themes. In television drama, we also considered the TV network responsible for the programmes (production, co-production and presentation).

SILENT CINEMA (1909- 1931)

Cinema began in Portugal as early as 1896, but only in 1909 was the first fictional film produced. Industry was small and with a small output: only 108 fictional productions from 1909 to 1931, independently of footage, or an average of 4.7 films per year. Quality as perceived by critics and public was rarely attained. Only a handful of silent films were acclaimed at the time and mentioned for their qualities by critics (Nobre: s.d; Pina: 1978). The same can be said of the Portuguese sound cinema during the period covered in this research. In 1959, an author could title chapters of his book about cinema and public in Portugal with bitter eloquence: “Absolute zero”, “Zero in characters”, “Zero in landscape”, “Zero in popularity”, “Zero in taste”, “Zero in documentary” and “Zero in economics” (Gama, 1959).

The silent fictional cinema era corresponded roughly to the First Republic of 1910-1926. Contrary to the press, cinema, especially fictional, was not a political tool of propaganda. The State did not commit itself to fund or influence cinema; production was the result of private initiative, individual or business, normally incipient. Some films were connected to theatre, either as interludes during performances, as adaptations of successful plays or as vehicles for popular actors. Eighteen films of historical background represent 17% of the total fictional silent cinema. Of those, 15, or 88%, are adaptations of literary works, novels, short stories or plays.

The adaptations concentrate around very popular works: Júlio Dinis, Camilo Castelo Branco and Manuel Pinheiro Chagas had two works each adapted; Eça de Queirós, Júlio Dantas, Manuel Maria Rodrigues, Eduardo de Noronha, João Reis Gomes, Gervásio Lobato, and the *Romanceiro* [collection of romances] had one each.

The large majority of historically based fiction is situated in the 19th century (10) and in the 18th century (3). One film can be situated in either the 18th or the 19th century. The Middle Ages originated three films and the 16th century originated the only film mentioning the Portuguese outside the territory, in this case representing a battle against the Moors in Morocco. It was a cinema segment intended as a background to a play, thus providing the battle action difficult to stage.

Portuguese silent cinema showed no vocation to represent political life, except when it implied action, as in the two adaptations of the life and deeds of José do Telhado, a Portuguese Robin Hood involved in politics and civil war in the first half of the 19th century. One comedy had an anticlerical tone, echoing the Republic times. Most historical fiction represented urban or rural social life. Of the eighteen films of the sample, 11 can be characterised as costume drama and the other seven as historical drama. The main themes, ambience or script background were rural life (7 films), urban life (3), crime, aristocratic life and Middle Ages biography (2 each), war against the Moors and Magical Middle Ages (1 each).

SOUND CINEMA (1931-1957)

Between 1931 and 1957, only 102 fiction sound films were produced in Portugal or directed by Portuguese directors, an average of 3,8 per year. Of those, 24 had a historical background (24%). There was a small increase from silent cinema in the use of past or

historical material, due to a more nationalistic approach from the State, now involved in production.

Half of those 24 films were adapted from Portuguese novels and the other half had original scripts. Four novels had already been adapted to silent films: *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, *Os Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca*, *Amor de Perdição*, and *Rosa do Adro*. The adaptations were mostly from realist, naturalist or popular authors. Júlio Dinis' novels were the most adapted, in three films. Camilo Castelo Branco, Eça de Queirós, Almeida Garrett, Júlio Dantas, Afonso Lopes Vieira, André Brun, Manuel Maria Rodrigues, E. Rodrigues *et al.* and Manuel Pinheiro Chagas each had one work adapted to the screen.

The adaptations show the affirmation of a cinema canon, coming from the silent cinema and continuing later. As to the periods set in sound cinema historical fiction, the 19th century proved again to be the most popular, with 12 adaptations. This is probably due to the fact that audiences identified themselves easily with the (adapted) work of the 19th century authors. The other periods set in sound cinema historical fiction produced between 1931 and 1957 were the 20th century (5 films), the 14th and 15th centuries (3), the 16th century (2) and the 17th-18th centuries (2). The main themes, ambience or script background were social life (18 films, of which 8 in rural ambience), biography (3), Estado Novo and Empire (2) and Medieval romance and politics (1).

Social life was treated as apolitical. Only the films about the Estado Novo and the Empire are directly political, since no other point of view would be accepted. The most political film, *A Revolução de Maio* (1937), deals with the overthrow of the liberal-democratic regime in 1926. The collective script was signed by António Ferro, the head of the cultural and propaganda Estado Novo department (SNI), and the also director António Lopes Ribeiro, who signed the most propagandistic films of the Estado Novo regime.

Four themes in this period were already treated by silent cinema: *Zé do Telhado* (twice), *Rainha Santa* and *Fátima*. In this case, the apparitions were treated historically, while in the silent film *Fátima Milagrosa* (1928) the theme was treated as the present of the production. There was also an increased interest in using cinema as a tool to reinforce national identity through the use of historical events: 15 films can be characterised as historical drama and only nine as costume drama. As in silent cinema, costume drama uses mostly canonic novels, thus transferring to the new media the national aura of the authors and fiction adapted.

TELEPLAYS (1958-1974)

Since 1957 teleplays became a television programmatic area with a huge success. An adaptation by poet and author Afonso Lopes Vieira of *O Monólogo do Vaqueiro*, also known as *Auto da Visitação*, and the first known work of the sixteenth century Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente, was the first play to be produced for television, aired by RTP on the 11th of March, 1957, five days after the beginning of regular emission (Teves, 1998, p.70). Although it was not a consensual choice, in one point there was a convergence opinion: it had to be a Portuguese author to be adapted. Until the 1980s, and despite the existence of other drama formats such as films and *feuilletons*, teleplay was the main one, with the adaptation of

national and international authors, and offered to the public in one or two emissions a week. From 1977, the importance of teleplays has been reduced, due to the *telenovela* (*Gabriela*, TV Globo). Born in Cuba and heir of Arab tales of Scheherazade, of the medieval tales, of the bourgeois novels, of the nineteenth century feuilletons, of the photo and radio novels, it had its guaranteed success in Brazil from the 60'. Portugal was the first country to import the Brazilian format and RTP, celebrating 20 years of existence, made a public presentation of *Gabriela* at the Ritz Hotel and announced its broadcasting in prime time, five times a week. During the 1974-5 revolution and the subsequent period of democratic normalisation, the Portuguese joined in mass and, rapidly, took on new behaviours and adopted new routines (Ferin, 2003). Five years after, the Portuguese *telenovela* appeared – *Vila Faia* – and set up a continuous supply of domestic and Brazilian productions.

Facing the establishment of this pattern of television drama production and consumption, teleplays began to lose their importance on the screen, a tendency verified in other European countries. Nevertheless, their existence on the first 20 years of television in Portugal is, today, a milestone in the national media memory.

From the existing 103 plays in the RTP archives produced between 1958 and 1974, 38 were from Portuguese playwrights (37%), of which 17 (45%) had a historical background. The historical periods of the teleplays show a strong presence of the 16th century reality (with eight titles), due to the representation/adaptation of Gil Vicente 16th century plays (4) and Almeida Garrett's plays taking place at the 16th century (3).

There were also adaptations of other Portuguese authors – representatives of the 19th century – such as Eça de Queirós (3) and Júlio Dinis (1), whose works continued to be read and studied in high school, as part of the national educational plans.

In this line, it is interesting to mention that the selection criteria were the canonic qualities of the authors and not the historical background that the plays eventually had. During the analysed period, Portugal was living under a dictatorship (Estado Novo), and television, due to its impact on the population, was used to disseminate the regime principles and, linked to that, an idea of national identity. "Drama" and "comedy" were the main genres, helping to give shape to the stories based on family and social tensions of the time set.

TV DRAMA PRODUCTIONS (1990-2010)

Television fiction has been an anchor content for programmers. Its potentiality in terms of formats and genres, combining with its capacity to attract large and heterogeneous audiences, has been central for the performance of networks worldwide. Portugal is not an exception and, despite the existence of only four free to air channels, there are fierce battles for share between the three generalists (RTP1, SIC and TVI), mainly on prime time and through the production of telenovelas and serials. Casts and locations are articulated with "good stories", narratives that must have the ability to penetrate in the individuals' daily life and presenting themselves, at the same time, as the expression of *a general structure* [of self but also] *of collective sentiments* (Buonanno, 2004, p. 154). In this sense, we find in Portugal an offer of stories set in the present – depicting the contemporary activities

grounded, at the same time, in local and global dimensions – but also set in the past. This “past”, although not lived by all generations, is remembered, told and, depending on the events, has repercussions on present time. In fact, through drama and through the evocation of an *idealised memory* and *traumatic memory*, each fiction title can become an exercise of cultural proximity to the viewers (Rueda, 2011) and television can become a mnemonic device par excellence (Sobral, 2006, p.6).

Bearing in mind these realities, we identified in the analysed time period 50 titles under the designation of costume and historical dramas, of which 84% has been produced and broadcasted by RTP, followed by SIC with 12% and TVI with 4%, emphasising the ideal goals of the public service concerning the ‘promotion of the Portuguese culture and of the values which express the national identity’. Furthermore, by developing Portuguese historically themes, and especially for the prime time slot, RTP is also pursuing other central objectives assigned to public service, such as supporting the national production and the Portuguese language, ensuring creativity and audiovisual experimentalism, combating the standardisation of the television’s offer, and promoting the access to critical knowledge³. These missions have been accomplished by the development of selected national past events in different formats, such as series, serials and TV films, and in an outsourcing system, recurring to small and independent production companies. In fact, nowadays, the private channels occupy their prime time with fictional formats produced by big companies – e.g. *telenovela* – which shows present realities and, in the majority of the cases, transnational facts.

From the 50 titles, 16 (32%) were adaptations of Portuguese novels, and the others 34 were original scripts. The authors adapted were Eça de Queirós (4), Camilo Castelo Branco, Júlio Dinis and Álvaro Cunhal (2 each), Vitorino Nemésio, Aquilino Ribeiro, Alexandre Herculano, Ângela Caeiros, Mário de Carvalho e Miguel Sousa Tavares (1 each).

The playwright Almeida Garrett was the subject of a biopic where some of his plays scenes were reenacted. We can note the use of the canonic authors already worked in the other studied media, but also a non-normative path through the adaptation of four novels written by three authors with a political background opposed to Estado Novo. As mentioned before, this was made possible because in the 1990s Portugal was already living a consolidated democracy.

In relation to period settings, there’s a concentration in the 20th century (28 titles), followed by the 19th century (17), mainly due to the Portuguese novel adaptations. Five titles are scattered by defined periods, ranking from the 10th to the 18th centuries: 16th century and Middle Ages (2 each) and the 17th-18th centuries (1).

From the 28 titles set in the 20th century, 43% are set in a time range between the beginning of the century until the 20s; 29% are set in the 60/70s; 18% in the 40/50s and the remaining three titles (11%) occur in isolated dates, such as in 1936 (Spanish Civil War). In fact, the first three identified periods coincide with the most significant political, economic and social shifts in Portugal: (1) the duration of the first Republic (1910-1926), marked by an instability proved by the existence of 45 governments; (2) the Portuguese colonial war and the

³ *Obrigações de serviço público e termos contratuais da prestação de serviço público* [Public Service Obligations and Contractual Terms for the Observance of Public Service]: <http://ww1.rtp.pt/wportal/grupo/governodasociedade/missao.php>

terminus of the dictatorship (1961-1974), which left physical and psychological marks in some generations and (3) the height of the Estado Novo (1939-1960). These findings are better understood by the analysis of the main themes, ambience or script background (Table 1).

Main theme	#
Colonial issues	8
Opposition to Estado Novo	8
Social life	7
Biography	7
Monarchy/Republic	5
World Wars	3
Social-political life	3
Portuguese Civil War, 1832-4	2
French invasions	2
Discoveries	1
Spanish Civil War	1
Portugal foundation	1
Corruption (bank)	1
Fantasy	1

Table 1. Main themes in Portuguese TV drama productions (1990-2010)

Colonial issues, the opposition to the Estado Novo, the squabble between Monarchy/ Republic and the World Wars are the subject-matter of 24 titles, almost half of the total, which corroborates our ideas. If social life was treated as apolitical, these contents explored political themes, indicating a tendency to create or manage a collective memory absent in the previous periods. In fact, television fictional titles produced in the last two decades show the recovery and the re-creation of a First Republic memory, the “dark side” of Estado Novo (repression, etc.) and “the dark side” of the colonial war and its scars, subject-matters that were impossible to be discussed by any kind of media in previous decades.

CONCLUSIONS

Regarding transpositions from literature to the screen, we note that the most adapted authors are the 19th century romantic (Almeida Garrett) and realist authors (Eça de Queirós, Júlio Dinis and Camilo Castelo Branco) that have survived in the literature canon, while others of the same period, considered to have less quality, disappeared from the preferences of cinema and television. Eça de Queirós, the main realist author of the nineteenth century, was adapted since silent cinema, but his daring descriptions of bourgeois society gained a new impetus in later audiovisual fiction, while Júlio Dinis’ tender realism and well-crafted narratives maintained its attraction until the present (Table 2). The growing autonomy of audiovisual production and language shows, nevertheless, that the resort to literary transpositions has lost its strength in historical and costume drama: in silent movies, adaptations represented 85% of all historical fiction, in sound cinema they represented 50% and in television drama only 32%.

We also note the interest in two reality themes since silent movies until the present: Fátima’s devotion and miracles, made into fiction in a silent film and twice in sound films, the last one with a participation of RTP as co-producer; Zé do Telhado, the 19th century

Portuguese Robin Hood, was adapted also into a silent film, two sound films and presented as a subplot in a TV series (*João Semana*, RTP, 2004).

Author	Silent cinema	Sound cinema	Teleplays	TV	Total
Eça de Queirós	1	1	3	4	9
Júlio Dinis	2	3	1	2	8
Camilo Castelo Branco	2	1	-	2	5
Almeida Garrett	-	1	3	(1)	4 (5)
Total	5	6	7	8 (9)	26 (27)

Table 2. Main authors adapted by Portugal audiovisual industry

Summarising this research, we can say that bringing the history “that matters” and the collective memories to the screen is done differently through media, formats and genres. The periods set in historical fiction show a major interest in the periods nearer to production, the 19th and 20th centuries accounting to the large majority of audiovisual preferences (Table 3). After the revolution of 1974, TV drama had to “rush” to historical topics of 19th and 20th centuries that were previously either controversial or subject to censorship. Until 1957, cinema concentrated in moralising and “consensual” stories or historical episodes. Only after the normalisation of the democratic regime it was possible to tackle some issues, like colonial war and post-traumatic stress, the First Republic and the Estado Novo dictatorship. Politics, almost absent in cinema and pre-74 television, burst in television historical fiction in the period studied in the survey (1990-2010). Rural ambience almost disappeared from the screens, mirroring the rapid development towards urban life that the country suffered in the last 30 years.

Period set	Silent cinema	Sound cinema	TV drama	Total
Middle Ages	3	3	2	8
15th-16th centuries	1	2	2	5
17th-18th centuries	4	2	1	7
19th century	10	12	17	39
20th century	0	5	28	33

Table 3. Periods set in historical fiction in Portuguese silent and sound cinema and TV drama

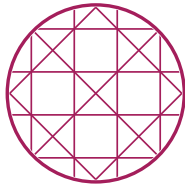
Costume drama concentrated in social life and we can detect two main reasons for its productions: the will to capitalise the success and authority of literary works and authors from the past and the will to capitalise the “quality value” of the genre itself among institutions (government, TV networks, co-productions) and audiences alike. Historical drama, based in real events and real characters, was used to “re-create” the past, and to present old or new perspectives adapted to the times, while capitalising an expected popularity of the themes (the crimes of Diogo Alves in silent cinema, Zé do Telhado in sound cinema and TV, Oliveira Salazar and women in TV, etc.). While costume drama tends to create strong characters and is centred in an entertaining plot, historical drama has a more acute “intervention”, because of its stronger connection to past events. Thus, historical drama is more inclined to create a historical “social memory” among viewers.

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Criminal violence in Brazilian moving images in 2010

The Analysis of Visual Narratives' in "Retrospectiva Rede Globo" and "Retrospectiva Rede Record"

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Abstract

Television plays an essential role in the everyday life of Brazilian citizens, since ninety eight percent of the Brazilian households have a television set. Nevertheless, the majority of the population still has the analogue television as the main source of information and entertainment. Rede Globo and Rede Record are two principal free-to-air Brazilian television channels which concentrate the largest percentage of the national audience. Consequently, these channels can be considered as the powerful tool to create and simulate possible realities as well as to influence the public opinion throughout their news programs. In 2010, the topic of criminal violence was largely broadcasted in Brazilian televisions on a daily basis and this issue was particularly reviewed by the one of the segments of "Retrospectiva", a year-end-review of the most important events of the year broadcast by Rede Globo and Rede Record channels. These television annual reviews narrated a melodramatic confrontation between drug dealer suspects and law enforcement agencies in the *Complexo do Alemão* slums, located in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The visual narratives of *Retrospectivas* reinforce that criminal suspects are the problem of favelas and the police acts to bring back the lost hope, peace and security. Finally, the representation of the contemporary life in slums in Rio de Janeiro has criminal violence as a central focus of the narratives in Brazilian television.

Keywords

Brazil; Television Annual Reviews; Criminal Violence; Visual Narratives

INTRODUCTION: THE MEDIA'S COVERAGE OF CRIMINAL VIOLENCE IN BRAZIL

In 2011, the Brazilian Internet Steering Committee (*Comitê Gestor da Internet no Brasil* [CGI.br]) provided an important overview of the country's technology infrastructure through the report Survey on the Use of Information and Communication Technologies in Brazil. The survey stated that the percentage of the total number of households with television sets represented 98%, mobile phones 64%, computers 35% (CGI.br, pp. 397, 494, 399), while movie theaters covered only 9% of the cities in Brazil (Reis, 2009).

According to a recent survey in Reader's Digest, Brazilians are more likely to give up the internet and their cell phones before giving up television as their number one form of entertainment, compared to the United States and European countries, which place more importance on the internet and cell phones (Codoner, 2010, p. 3).

In Brazil the mass media has an enormous influence on the everyday life, especially because 98% of its population has, at least, one television set at home. Nevertheless, the analogue television is still considered the main source of information and entertainment for the major part of the population. "The analog terrestrial TV operation in Brazil started on September 18th, 1950 [...] In these past 56 years, the broadcast industry expanded its activities across all of the Brazilian territory, covering all the 5.561 cities in the country" (Barros *et al.*, 2007, p.96).

Actually, there are two private television networks channels in Brazil that concentrate the largest percentage of the audience: Rede Globo and Rede Record, respectively. Both channels broadcast a program - usually in the last week of December - entitled: "*Retrospectiva*", in English translation "Retrospective", which means a year-end-review of the most important events of the year. These programs "[...] offers relatively discrete segments: small sequential unities of images and sounds whose maximum duration seems to be about five minutes" (Ellis, 1992, p.112). Moreover "these segments are organized into groups [...] or have some kind of repetitive or sequential connection" (Ellis, 1992, p.112).

In 2010, these two channels had selected the topic of criminal violence as one of the most dominant segment, since it takes up most of the screen time and the first four positions. This theme was related to the operation of the law enforcement agencies in arresting gang members and apprehending large quantities of drugs and weapons in the *Complexo do Alemão* slums in order to take back the control of the Rio de Janeiro city from the drugs leaders suspects and finally "cleaning up" *favelas* from violent crime.

According to the global report conducted by the World Health Organization [WHO] on Violence and Health in 2002, a specialized agency of the United Nations, violence is a major global issue, certainly, as experienced by each human being, since in different parts of the world this phenomenon is affecting the population in uncountable forms. Every year an intensive circulation of newspapers, television news, online articles and film scripts emphasize the high number of people who lose their lives, or suffer by any fatal or non-fatal injuries "[...] as a result of self-inflicted, interpersonal or collective violence" (WHO, 2002, p. 3).

If we pay attention to newspapers, television, and other types of media, violence appears to be a pervasive part of life. Even if we ignore fictional accounts, newspapers, magazines, television, and the World Wide Web provide a plethora of violence both in types and amount (Agnew, 2004, p.37).

In Brazil, homicidal violence is a leading cause of death among youngsters between the age of 15 and 24; in 2008 the number of deaths in consequence of violence increased to 73.6% among this population and only 26,4% were due to natural causes (Waiselfisz, 2011). Considering this fact, the actual paper analyzes visual narratives of non-fiction contents in the Brazilian TV annual reviews segments of the two major television channels: *Retrospectivas Rede Globo* and *Retrospectivas Rede Record*.

This work is systematized in five sections. The first section provides a summary of Brazil's communication technology infrastructure in the last decade. The second section discusses and analyzes the moving images production by Rede Globo and Rede Record through their TV Annual Reviews. The third section attempts to defining violence while the fourth section carries the visual narrative analysis between the TV annual reviews segments in both channels. The final section offers a few more general conclusions.

1. AN OVERVIEW OF BRAZIL'S COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY INFRASTRUCTURE

Brazil has more "TV sets than the rest of Latin America combined" (Reis, 2003, p. 126). This electronic tube characterizes one of the most accessible goods in Brazil. This assumption can be made because "television became a mass medium in Brazil earlier than in most developing countries" (Chong *et al.*, 2008, p.5). As "the military government in power in 1964 saw the potential of television as a tool for integrating the country, creating a national identity, developing markets, and controlling political information" (Chong *et al.*, 2008, p.5).

The increase in the consumption of television is affecting the lives of Brazilians both at home and abroad in ways different from its effects on countries such as the United States. In the U.S. viewing too much television is associated with depression, violence and child obesity; in Brazil, television viewing is not seen negatively rather it is a crucial aspect of an individual's daily lifestyle (Codorner, 2010, p. 6).

It is important to take into account that in Brazil it is not only through television, but also via other electronic devices, such as mobile phones and personal computers, that allow Brazilians to watch moving image contents. For example, as identified previously more than one half of Brazilians have mobile phones of which 15% use this device to watch videos, while only a minimum of 5% access online contents (CGI.br, 2011, pp. 397-399). The same report confirms that merely 35% of the Brazilian population has computers at home, and just 27% have internet access, in comparison to the U.S.A, in which it is 78.1% (CGI.br, 2011, p. 402). Although, even with this low number of internet users, Brazil continues to be considered the leading information technology market and has the largest internet user's population in Latin America according to com.Score (2011).

Despite the small number of the population that has internet access, the majority - 87% of Brazilians - uses it for mainly entertainment purposes (CGI.br, 2011, p. 428). On the one hand, the largest portion - 53% of the total number of internet users - prefers to watch online streaming videos and films, for example on websites like YouTube (CGI.br, 2011, p. 429) - it is important to note that this website attracts the largest video audience in this country (com.Score, 2010); on the other hand, download films represents 30% of the Brazilian preference¹.

In contrast to the television sets, available to almost all Brazilians, only 9% of the municipalities in this country have movie theaters (Reis, 2009); nonetheless, the concentration of movie theaters is located in the most economically developed regions of Brazil:

¹ The Independent Film and Television Alliance (IFTA) reports that a worldwide Internet monitoring program conducted in the last quarter of 2009 for 90 of its Members films recorded over 4,500,000 instances of P2P infringements and almost 50,000 instances of OSP infringement. Brazil ranked in the top ten countries of illegal downloading with over 100,000 instances of P2P infringements (International Intellectual Property Alliance, 2010, p. 142).

the South and the Southeast². This evidence also permits to understand that a part of the population opting to consume entertainment contents by means of illegal downloads on the internet or buying illicit DVD versions by street vendors. Finally, the supplementary part of the society on the one hand cannot afford a movie theater tickets or, on the other hand are part of the offline population have just the analogue television system as main source of information and entertainment. The same statement was made by Bourdieu (2012), when referring to the French society of the eighties of the past century “[...] everyone knows that a very high proportion of the population reads no newspaper at all and is dependent on television as their sole source of news” (p. 400).

2. THE BRAZILIAN MOVING IMAGES PRODUCTION: THE ANALYSIS OF TV ANNUAL REVIEWS IN REDE GLOBO AND REDE RECORD

Broadcasting airwaves are public in Brazil, and a federal government agency grants licenses to media companies operating radio and television stations. There are five large privately owned national television networks - TV Globo, SBT, TV Record, TV Bandeirantes, and TV Manchete, as well as hundreds of local and regional television stations (256 stations in 1992) operating under an affiliation system similar to the United States (Reis, 2003, p. 125).

“TV Globo, Globo and Rede Globo are the names given to the Globo television network in Brazil” (Codone, 2010, p.4); it is one of the only two media conglomerates in Latin America’s audiovisual space and the predominant television network among all the Portuguese-speaking nations³. Similarly, Televisa from Mexico is the largest media corporation in Spanish-speaking countries. “No single network has ever dominated the USA, the world’s largest English-speaking domestic market, to the degree that Televisa and Globo have secured hegemony over their respective national markets” (Sinclair, 2005, pp. 198-199). “Globo and its affiliates form the largest broadcasting network, with 122 main transmitters and covering practically all TV households in the country with analogue TV” (Farncombe, 2010, p. 4).

Television became a truly mass medium in Brazil earlier than in most developing countries, in large part because of effective, if highly authoritarian government policy. The military government policy, which took power in 1964, saw television as a potential tool for creating a stronger national identity, creating a broader consumer economy and controlling political information. The military deliberately pushed television deeper into the population by subsidizing credit for set sales, by building national microwave and satellite distribution systems and by promoting the growth of one network they chose as a privileged partner, TV Globo (Straubhaar, 2004, p.91).

Since the 1970s Rede Globo dominates the television market and this conglomerate is considered the “[...] fourth largest television network in the world, behind the American networks of ABC, NBC and CBS” (Codoner, 2010, p. 10). This channel detains “[...] one-third of

² “Brazil is a country with huge regional disparities. In 2002, 56% of real Brazilian GDP was generated by the most economically developed region of Brazil, the South-East, including metropolitan areas such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. By contrast, the two most depressed regions of the country; the North and the North-East, together produced only 0.6% of national GDP” (Salardi, 2008, p.2).

³ <http://observatorio-lp.sapo.pt/pt/dados-estatisticos/falantes-de-portugues>

all publicity in the country” (Codoner, 2010, p. 10). It implies that this company has a large sum of money to invest in advanced recording equipment, television studios and the production of programs, especially Brazilian-made *telenovelas* and television news programs.

Rede Record occupies the second position in the Brazilian television market, behind only Rede Globo, which considers Record as the main competitor and responsible for its slow audience declination. This television network was acquired by the Church of the Universal Reign of God (*Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*) - the largest evangelical church in Brazil - in 1989 by paying US\$ 45 million. This channel has a populist television programming: “[...] often sensationalist variety shows, talk and reality shows, which gained a consistent second place in the rating” (Straubhaar, 2004, p. 91).

In this paper, broadcast television programs will be exemplified by TV annual reviews of the two large private national television networks - *Retrospectiva Rede Globo* and *Retrospectiva Rede Record*, in the year of 2010. These year-end-reviews in both channels are a prime-time journalist program that broadcast in the last week of December the key news events of the year. Frequently, the events are organized in several segments, which cover “everything” from celebrities to crimes, with the duration of about five minutes each. All together compose a single narrative with an average length of one and a half hour including commercial breaks. It is worth to point out that the producers of the TV annual review in Rede Record attempt to reproduce the same pattern, developed by Rede Globo, in order to establish an audiovisual identity and draw viewers’ attention to it. This issue represents numerous similarities among above mentioned news programs; for example, through the presence of two anchors of different genders, similar average content length and similar visual content selection of topics as well as the title of the program.

The TV annual reviews collect the most important events of the year, by selecting recognizable moving images, close to the collective memory of their viewers (Halbwachs, 1950, 1992). These Key Visuals⁴ “[...] are always embedded in multi-sensuous experiences and cultures, they cannot be learned in full by ordinary citizens; visual communication needs a condensed repertory of those visuals, which can easily be learned aside from other activities” (Ludes, 2008, p. 112).

However, television annual reviews, elaborated through post-production technologies allow widening the dimension of audio-visual events. The composition, edition and transmission of the audio-visual manipulation of programs and reviews of the largest TV stations in the world excite collective culture-specific, trans-cultural and in a few instances (e.g. major wars, terrorist attacks or sport events, especially the Olympic Games) collective audio-visual memories, which usually are generation- and strata-specific, transform over time (Boccia & Ludes, 2009, p. 160).

A previous Brazilian academic study on the collective memory of television annual reviews demonstrated that in a period of ten years (1996 to 2005), there was an occurrence of similar events, repeated over the years in the Brazilian year-end-reviews. Therefore, constant topics broadcasted yearly were categorized as: Science & Technology, State of Economy, War between Countries, Natural Disaster, Violence & Crime, and Obituaries (França, 2007). In 2010,

⁴ Key Visuals are functional equivalents to keywords, mainly to headings in print media [...] they condense the essences of image sequences to about 6 to 14 seconds [...] may originate from very diverse fields like journalism, entertainment, science, politics, art, technology, or popular culture [...] are an essential element of all kinds of individual, group, and collective audio-visual memories. Therefore, they must be interpreted in the respective culture-specific and trans-cultural contexts, i.e. networks of culture (Ludes & Kramer, 2010, p. 17).

topics as natural disasters, the FIFA World Cup-2010, Brazilian presidential elections, crimes and drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro were taking up most of the screen time. Nevertheless, the last topic, which focused on criminal violence in slums of Rio de Janeiro, represented 7,44% of the total runtime in Rede Globo and 5.79% in Rede Record, as illustrated in Figure 1 and Figure 2. The statistical data can reinforce the assumption that Brazilian news reports select the topic of “criminal violence” as a key event of important significance. Finally, it seems necessary to advance one step more; looking forward for a discussion on what is violence? What is considered criminal violence? And what defines an action as violent or nonviolent.

Figure 1: Topics on TV Annual Reviews – Rede Globo 2010

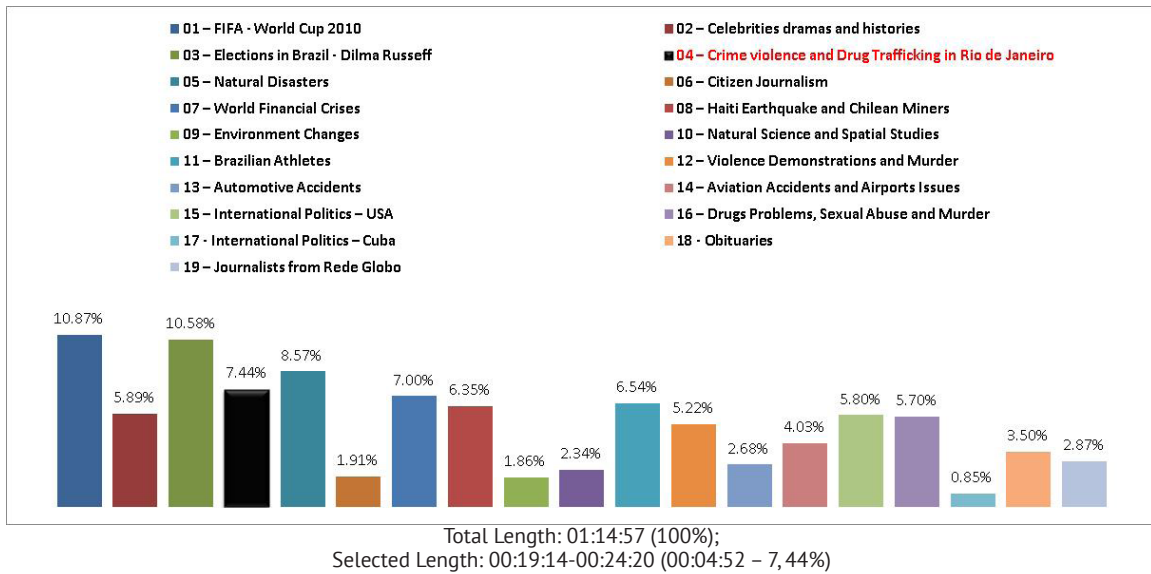
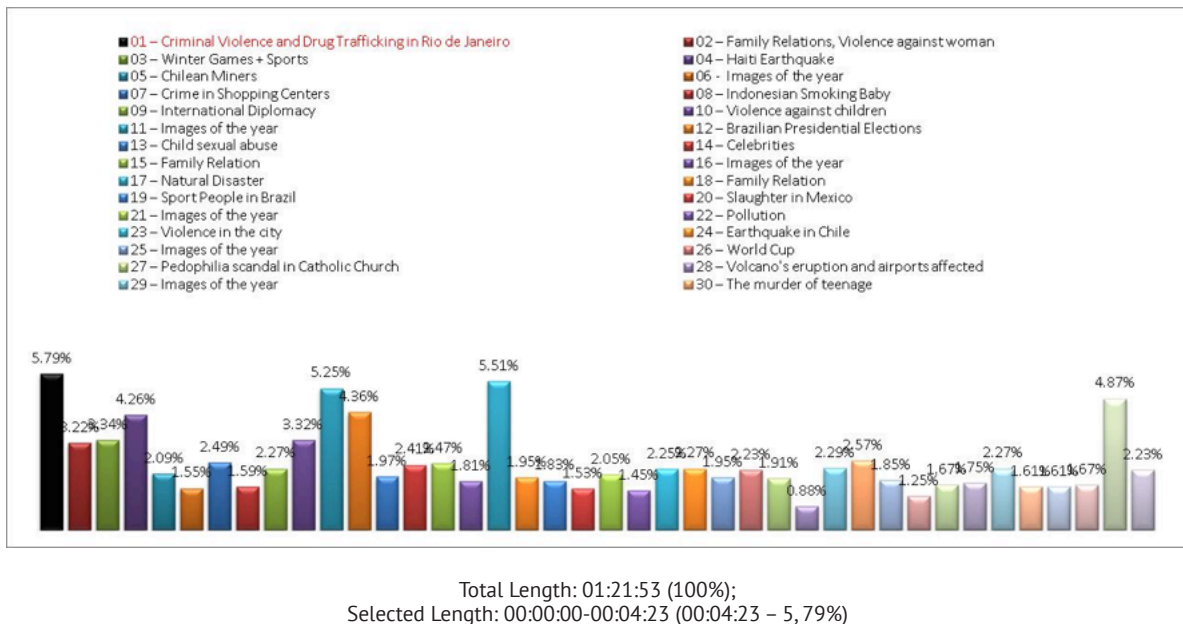


Figure 2: Topics on TV Annual Review – Rede Record 2010



4. AN ATTEMPTING IN DEFINING VIOLENCE & CRIMINAL VIOLENCE

The concept of violence changed over time, and nowadays what is considered a violent act, most probably was not seen as violent many years ago. In order to understand this premise Elias & Dunning (2008), proposed an association on sport and violence through human relations in "Question for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process". In this work, the transition of the game, as a pastime, for the emergence of a modern sport in pre-industrial Britain was based on the level of violence socially permissible (Mezzadri, 2002).

Elias and Dunning argue that some acts of violence were not perceived as violent or criminal but as pastime, for example, "[...] cock-fighting, bull- and bear baiting, burning cats alive in baskets, prize-fighting, watching public executions – which appears 'uncivilized' in terms of present-day values" (Elias & Dunning, 2008, p. 227). In addition, in many European countries the earlier forms of hunting were a customary practice of sport. "People enjoyed the pleasures of hunting and killing animals in whatever way they could [...]. The excitement of hunting and killing animals had always been to some extent the peacetime equivalent of the excitement connected with killing humans in times of war" (Elias & Dunning, 2008, p. 164).

Furthermore, Pinker (2011) published his theory regarding the decline of violence. His publication is partially based on his reading of Elias, originally published in 1939: "The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations". Pinker's book (2011) is divided into six transition processes in which humans being retreated from violence: the Pacification Process, the Civilizing Process, the Humanitarian Revolution, the Long Peace, the New Peace, and the last process Rights Revolution was "[...] symbolic inaugurated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948" (Pinker, 2011 p. xxv).

Pinker (2011) also argues that, at the end of the 1970s, the Civil Rights continued to be a major challenge, since Civil Rights discriminate any form of violence against minorities of all kinds. To reinforce this statement is possible to fall back on Arendt's work "On Violence" published in 1970; in her book she had indicated that "in the last edition of the Encyclopedia of the Social Science 'violence' does not even rate an entry" (Arendt, 1970, p. 8). She is referring to the phenomenon that in her time a large volume of literature treated violence as only dealing with war and warfare not with violence as such.

However, "if we turn to discussions of the phenomenon of power, we soon find that there exists a consensus among political theorists from Left to Right to the effect that violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power" (Arendt, 1970, p. 35), which plays an important role with the objective of maintaining the societal order, especially in poor slums communities of Rio de Janeiro (Fonseca, 2004). As Guggisberg and Weir (2007, p. x) remark "violence perpetrated against individuals, communities, and the environment is all too often condoned and reinforced by individuals in positions of power along with power structures, either implicitly or explicitly". Finally, based on previous author statements, it is possible to assure that violence plays an important role in determines figures of power; those actors of the visual narratives are portrayed by police officers versus criminal suspects.

The first group, the law enforcement agency, is formed by agents representing the powerful structure of the State. "The state monopoly exerts such an effect directly because it

is able to prevent citizens from openly carrying arms and to punish them for using violence illegitimate” (Elias & Dunning, 2004, p. 235). However, the violence is determined by the State as “illegitimate” because it must be only “[...] used in situations where the state claims a monopoly for its own agents” (Elias & Dunning, 2004, p. 235).

The second group, criminal suspects or drug dealer suspects, is characterized by the Brazilian anthropologist Zaluar (2004)⁵ as individuals “[...] who protect themselves in gangs composed by their peers in order to demonstrate brutal force. In their ideology, each individual and each gang must fight alone with the aim of defend themselves and the gang”. Certainly, male aggressiveness can be defined as a key element in their behavior; since the relation of violence and power is intrinsically connected with those agents of crime (Zaluar, 2004).

Each of these theories makes an important contribution to understanding violence. Although, in order to comprehend the related area of criminal violence the American professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice Barak (2007) suggests that it is necessary to look forward to a universal definition rather than a relative one, because this important subject may fluctuate among cultures. Therefore, he proposes as a definition of criminal violence as:

The first qualification that determines whether an act is considered to be criminal violence is that there must be a law that defines the acts as illegal. Furthermore, the law has to exist prior to the occurrence of the act for it to be defined as criminal (Barak, 2007, p. 186).

It is equally significant to take into account the sphere of violence and the typology of violence, because acts can be identified as violent or non-violent (Barak, 2007). According to WHO (2002), criminal violence is also understood as a result of the complex interplay among various components. Barak (2007) will reinforce this affirmative point where and under what social contexts criminal violence occurs by using the point of view of a sphere of violence, comprised by three levels: the interpersonal, the institutional and the structural.

The interpersonal sphere transpires between individuals “[...] acting outside the role of agent or representative of a social institution” (Barak, 2007, p. 185). It can be understood when it applies directly to the violence between drug gangs in favelas. Since criminal violence in squatter settlements has extended to an insupportable level as powerful drug gangs’ conflicts over territory in a legacy of past armed conflicts (Demombynes, 2011).

The institutional sphere is characterized when the violence passes “[...] by the action of societal institutions and their agents” (Barak, 2007, p.185), essentially when those agents are playing under the institutional context. In this case, the action of the law enforcement agencies in favelas against criminal organizations or criminal suspects can be classified as institutional violence.

The structural sphere refers to the violence that takes place “[...] in the context of establishing, maintaining, extending, or reducing the hierarchical ordering of categories of people in a society” (Barak, 2007, p.185). This violence occurs when the State denies safe conditions to the population, vulnerable to the actions of the police against drug dealer

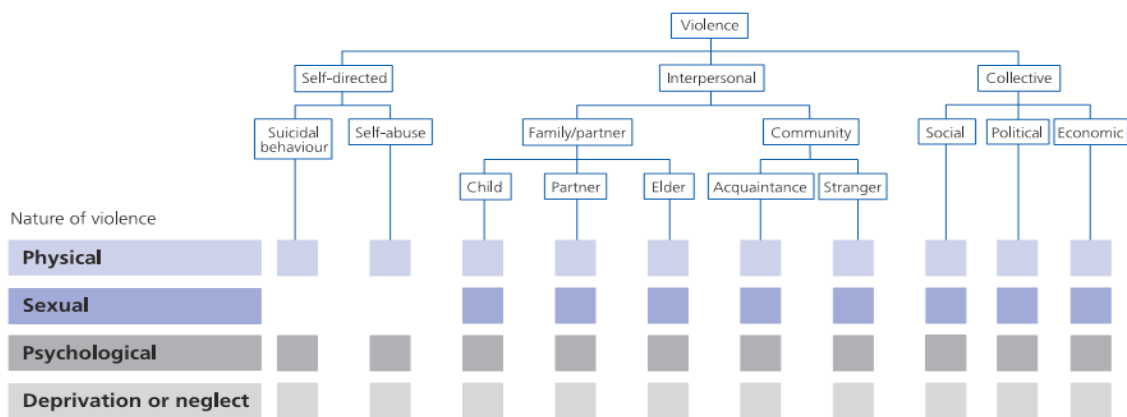
⁵ Quote published in Portuguese and translated by the author.

suspects in many slums in Brazil. Barak (2007) stresses that the three spheres of criminal violence are superimposing; since the institutional sphere can also be structural and affecting the whole society that could also influence the interpersonal contexts.

Much of the corporate violence that occurs in the world today is also structural in that the victims of the violence are most likely the poorest population, and therefore the violence serves to maintain their structural position. They are also overlapping between interpersonal and structural violence as in the case of the violence of what referred to as hate crimes (Barak, 2007, p. 186).

The typology of violence as illustrated in Figure 3 was developed by the World Health Assembly in 1996, which “[...] characterized the different types of violence and the links between them” (WHO, 2002, p.5). The typology is divided into three categories: self-directed, interpersonal and collective violence. The last one is committed by larger groups of people or States and it is subdivided in three sub-categories: social, political and economic violence: the first encompasses “[...] crimes of hate committed by organized groups, terrorist acts and mob violence” (WHO, 2002, p.5), the second “[...] includes war and related violent conflicts, state violence” (WHO, 2002, p.5), and the third “[...] includes attacks by larger groups motivated by economic gain” (WHO, 2002, p.5). Various forms of collective violence can be recognized, but in this work it takes shape on the “Organized violent crime such as banditry and gang warfare” (WHO, 2002, p.5).

Figure 3: Typology of Violence



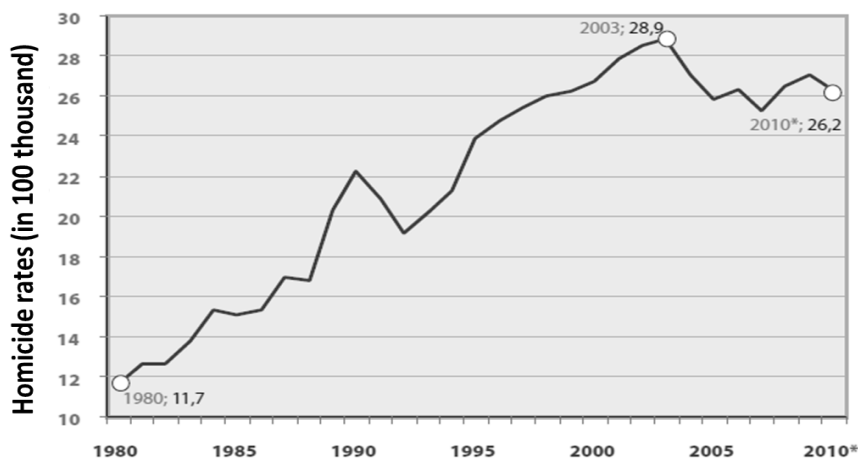
Source: (WHO, 2002, p.7)

The same report settles: “[...] violence is among the leading causes of death worldwide for people aged 15–44 years” (WHO, 2002, p.3). Additional studies on Violence and Economic Development in Brazil conducted by the World Bank in 2006 strengthen this and demonstrate that in this country, violence involving youth has risen since 1980. A new investigation conducted by Waiselfisz (2011) entitled “New Patterns of Homicidal Violence in Brazil” demonstrated that the total number of homicides registered by the Mortality Information System in a period of 30 years grew from 13.910 in 1980 to 49.932 in 2010. The statistics display an increase of 259% which is equivalent to 4,4% each year. It is far above the population growth, which was 60,3% for the same period.

Despite the limitation presented in the usage of homicide rate as the main method to analyze crime and violence, many researchers in Brazil also contemplate its benefits, since “[...] homicide is generally considered the most serious crime and is less susceptible to measurement errors and underreporting than other crimes” (World Bank, 2006, p. 11). As in the last three decades the concentration of homicides was higher among young Afro-Brazilian male population, “[...] in 2002, 91 % of homicide victims were men” (World Bank, 2006, p. 2).

The commerce of illegal drugs could be a driver of violence, since it is one among numerous aspects that have inclined Brazil to high levels of current violence. Figure 4 displays the homicide rates that grew up until 2003; this trend reverted significantly with a slight decline in the next years. Nevertheless, in 2010, the total number of homicide rates per 100 thousand registered was 26,2 “[...] even considering the impact of the disarmament policies introduced in 2004, the rates of violent death remained extremely high” (Waiselfisz, 2007). The same author indicated that the homicidal violence is a leading cause of death among young people between 15 and 24 in large urban areas in Brazil - especially because the Brazilian population is actually concentrated in megacities. Definitely, the issue of criminal violence in Brazil is a hot topic, largely disseminated by television channels; especially as the key event broadcasted in the TV annual review through their melodramatic narratives.

Figure 4: Evolution of homicide rates. Brazil. 1980/2010*



Sources: SIM/SVS/MS *2010 Preliminary data

Source: http://www.sangari.com/mapadaviolencia/pdf2012/mapa2012_web.pdf (p.19)

5. VISUAL NARRATIVES OF CRIMINAL VIOLENCE IN TV ANNUAL REVIEWS

According to Barthes (1966, 1996) narrative can be articulated in a variety of genres and media. It can be presented verbally or non-verbally, static or moving images, or even the combination of them. The author continues to pronounce that the narratives exist in any kind of human productions, artistic or related to the everyday life as in films, news, stories, histories, paintings, photographs, and so on. In conformity with Newcomb (2004, p.416) “a fundamental characteristic of narrative [...] is the arrangement of events in time”.

As stated by Schirato & Webb (2004) the visual narrative transports the notion of reading a visual text, in this case, a picture, a moving image or any visual object; which

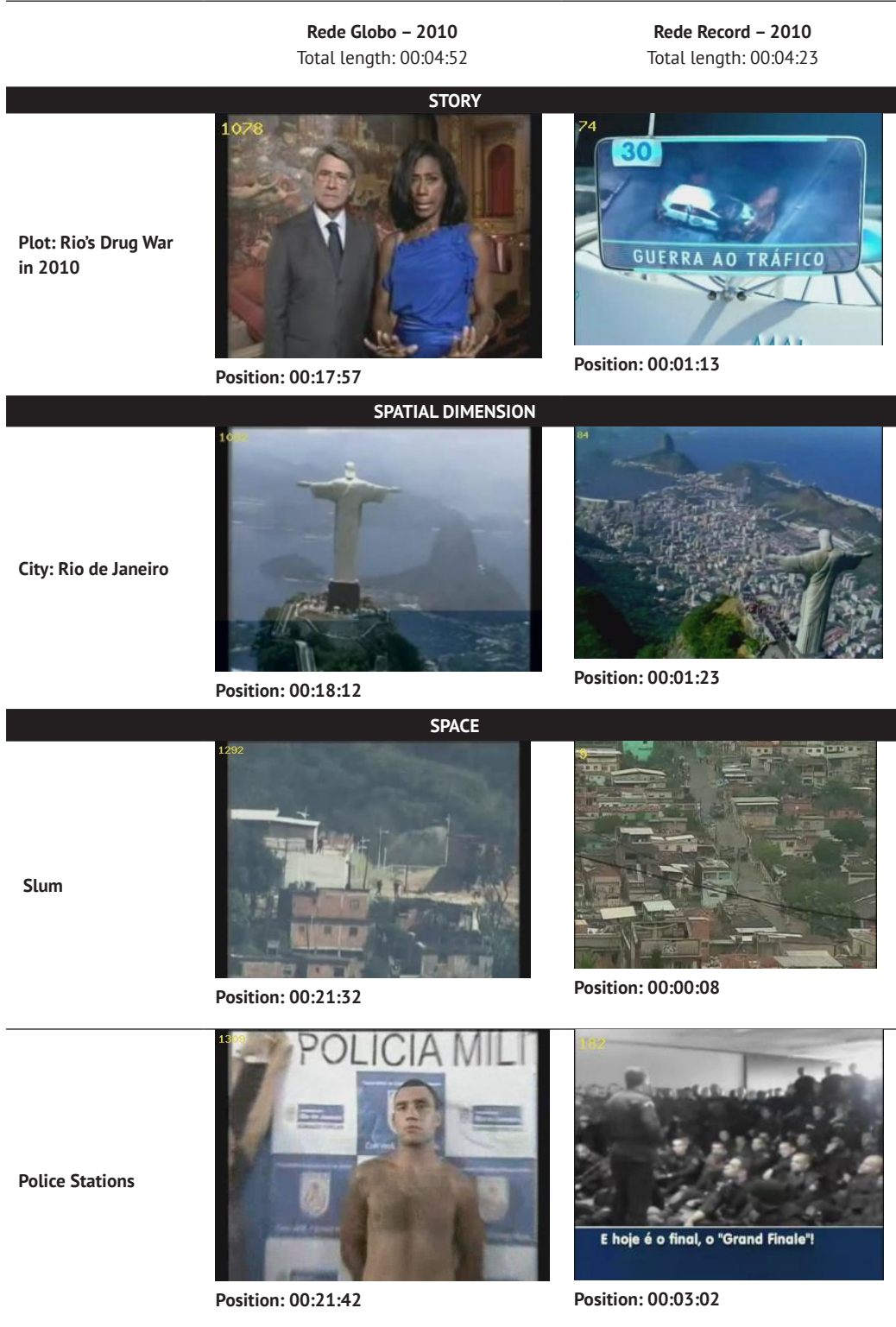
contains a space, a story or a frame of information that operates within a social context. It is important to remember that those visuals also require techniques to convey their stories through conventions known by a group from a certain society. It is not only the common sense appeal that supports the viewers to recognize the plot or the context of an image. The applied techniques in the visual narratives can also determine messages to the viewers, for example, the light structures to draw attention to a particular piece in an image and the depiction of a human expression of happiness, anger or sadness (Schirato & Webb, 2004).

Visual narratives can be defined as a visual that essentially and explicitly narrates a story where – Visual signifies – something that can be seen using the human eye. Story signifies – a series of events linked by causality, temporality or sequence or the order of occurrence. Narrative signifies – the act of telling a story or the story itself or the order of presentation (Pimenta & Poovaiah, 2010, p. 30).

Visual signs can represent several meanings; this is why they must be connected with a frame of story in order to denote a specific logic. Television producers make uses of culture specific codes in their visual narratives to tell a story that is represented by the visual sign to be interpreted by the viewers as the corrected visual narratives. Pimenta and Poovaiah (2010) underlined that the visual narratives are divided into three instances: static, dynamic and interactive, the last one involves interaction from the viewers. In the first, the image is static, for example in a comic strip, but the eyes and the mind are in movement. The dynamic visual narrative is the ability of constantly changing images; for example, a TV annual review segment “[...] typically consists of a number of still images that is run at high speed giving the impression of temporal movement. The story is constructed before the eyes of the spectator. Actors, scenes, duration of the event, actually physically move in time” (Pimenta & Poovaiah, 2010, p. 38).

The visual narrative structures are based on the aspects illustrated in Figure 5. Firstly, the presence of a story, in TV annual reviews segments titled ‘Rio’s Drug War’ reporting the law enforcement agency taking back the control of Complexo do Alemão, one of the biggest drug dealer strongholds in the city. Secondly, the space, it aims to construct an idea of space: slums, dweller residences, police stations and governor’s office. Thirdly, the presence of the actors that perform an action: police officers, criminal suspects, dweller residents, politicians, and journalists. Fourthly, the spatial dimension, where the actors exist in the story: Complexo do Alemão slum in Rio de Janeiro is the main set for the TV annual reviews visual narrative (Pimenta & Poovaiah, 2010).

Figure 5: Visual Narrative Structure



ACTORS



Position: 00:19:08



Position: 00:01:34

Police Officers



Position: 00:19:09



Position: 00:00:10

Criminal Suspects



Position: 00:20:34



Position: 00:00:34

Dweller Residents



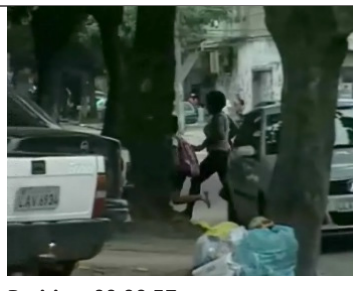
Position: 00:22:24



Position: 00:04:28



Position: 00:18:41



Position: 00:00:37



The TV annual reviews show slums as a community of poor people, which accept their current situation. The criminals are portrayed as devils of the society and must be exorcized. However the slum dwellers seem to be afraid of the violent confrontation between the police and criminal suspects. The TV annual reviews narratives strengthen that criminals are the problem in the favelas and the police officers are there to bring back hope, peace, and security by completing their narrative with a happy-end, and the idea that “peace” and “security” has been brought back to favelas.

Concerning narrative reports, in terms of non-fictional contents, it informs, educates and entertains at the same time. However, this narrative is constructed by an individual interpretation shaped by a personal belief of the reality (Berning, 2011). In Bourdieu (2012, p. 405) “[...] journalist can impose on the whole of society their vision of the world, their conception of problems, and their point of view” (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 405).

The reports perform like a substitute eye-witnesses in narrative reports by documenting events and reconstructing a partisan view in their stories once the “[...] reality is constituted by multiple layers; it can never be referred to in its entirety” (Berning, 2011, p. 47). The narrative reports filter the reality on three different levels: by condensation and fragmentation of the reality and lastly through the author’s selection of the contents, this creates the ‘effect of reality’ since the “[...] reports can have recourse merely to what they have seen” (Berning, p. 46). Once “[...] images have the peculiar capacity to produce what literary critics call a reality effect. They show things and make people believe in what they show” (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 401).

CONCLUSIONS

Television plays an essential role in the everyday life of Brazilian citizens and it is considered the main source of information and entertainment for the major part of this population, moreover it is a powerful approach in creating and simulating possible realities.

Brazilian TV annual reviews produce an emotionally visual narrative, composed of sequences of pictures, graphics, colors, slow motions and sudden transitions between the scenes. These visuals have been carefully chosen to portray a “reality” of the criminal violence in slums of Rio de Janeiro throughout the journalistic reportage; nevertheless this narrative cannot be taken as “pure reality”, since a “reality” is also represented by different dimensions layers and the journalist can only report a part of it.

In 2010, these two TV channels had selected the topic of criminal violence as a dominant event. Criminal suspects, in TV annual reviews narratives, are victims and agents of the crime, they are mostly young and non-white men, with low levels of education, unemployed and living in an environment of poverty, drug addictions, teenage pregnancies, disrupted families, and inadequate public services. Consequently, “[...] the youth and teen populations are the most vulnerable - both in terms of death rates and in terms of being drawn into the traffic themselves” (Perlman, 2010, p. x).

Both TV annual reviews presented similar types of narratives, highlighting the action of the law enforcement agencies in shantytown against criminals in order to protect the population and bring back public police control. “Brazilian president Lula da Silva promised full support from the federal government to Rio de Janeiro authorities involved in a clean-up operation to free the city’s shantytowns, favelas, from drug traffickers and organized crime” (Mercopress, 2010). However it is evident that this action is part of the government to prepare the city for the 2014 World Cup and the opening ceremonies of the 2016 Olympic Games. Categorically, television as a major mass media in Brazil (re)construct the criminal violence and distribute it to a large audience as “info entertainment”, without a critical analysis. Therefore, it is necessary to continue the debate of how those media visually characterized one of the main social problems that affect this country.

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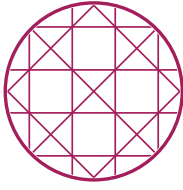
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Part IV

Ethnic, National and Supranational Narratives & Identity Dynamics



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Narratives of Redemption: Memory and Identity in Europe

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Abstract

After centuries of being torn apart by conflicts that remain deeply embedded in the European collective memory, Europe's most recent history is being written as a narrative of redemption. In order to establish itself as a political, economic and social entity, Europe has been emphasizing its common cultural roots and historical features of unity. For this purpose, narratives of identity have been produced in the context of European and national institutions that seek to replace fractures by pluralisation and forgetfulness by redemption. However, the codification of European culture and identity has turned out to be an extremely difficult task: the conceptual devices for theorizing Europe as a social unity and cultural identity are insufficient and unsuitable. In addition, the conceptualization of identity tends to be primarily related to notions such as belonging, memory and continuity rather than to the idea of an in-progress project taking place in the present and in the future. Recent theoretical approaches reveal how European identity narratives require hybrid multilayered configurations in order to accommodate national, ethnic and cultural features, as well as post-national political and economic unification. This paper attempts to explore some processes of identity construction in an European context and to discuss how elements that embody the ambiguity that runs through European culture - unity and diversity, commemoration and forgetfulness - are registered in the social memory.

Keywords

memory; identity; Europe

1. EUROPE AS A PROBLEM

Europe has a long history and a troubled memory. For more than twenty five centuries, what we now call Europe has been the arena of bloody conflicts caused by ethnic, religious and political divides. On the other hand, Europe is also the cradle of most of the features of modern civilization, in particular democracy, human rights, science, industrialism, capitalism, the welfare state, and modern arts. Europe's memory can thus be described as paradoxical and ambiguous. With this historical reality in mind, should Europe merely be seen as an aggregate of nations or is there any common identity? Moreover, how can European identity be conceptualized?

Since the end of the Second World War, the economic and political unification of Europe has been a successful mechanism of conciliation. In order to establish itself as a

political, economic and social entity, Europe has had to emphasize its common cultural roots and historical features of unity. Consequently, Europe has become part of people's lives in the majority of European countries. A new level of identity, apart from national identity, and a new level of belonging is being shaped.

However, the codification of European culture and identity is, in fact, a demanding task. Social sciences have advanced theoretical devices to consider nations and communities, as well as cultural differences and minorities. Yet, most of the concepts seem to some extent inappropriate and unsuitable for theorizing Europe as a social and cultural unity. In addition, the conceptualization of identity tends to be primarily related to notions such as continuity, collective memory, and common roots. Nevertheless, Europe's memory and culture is evidently characterised by fragmentation and diversity. More recent theoretical approaches have attempted to elucidate how European identity narratives require hybrid configurations in order to encompass the specificities of a whole continent with a complex history.

Our main purpose is to draw attention to the inherent ambivalence in the idea of Europe, to discuss the connection between memory and identity, and to highlight the importance of the *imagination of the future* in designing Europe as a project.

2. EUROPEAN IDENTITY: A LAYERED PERSPECTIVE

Despite all the attention that has been given to it in the past few decades, European identity is a tremendously vague, slippery, elusive concept. Europeans have experienced considerable difficulty when trying to answer the question "who are we". Thus, when historians, sociologists, or anthropologists talk about European identity, they are working on a concept with a doubtful relation to reality. Assuming that self-definition, identification, and membership are the fundamentals of identity, how can Europe be conceptualized in terms of its potential to aggregate citizens of several dozen countries? When it comes to European identity, no substantive, consensual definition can be provided. The "classical civilization" (Greek philosophy, rationalism and art, Roman law, Latin), Christianity, and the legacy of Enlightenment (human dignity and rights, citizenship, the rule of law) are often mentioned as the core markers of Europe's essence. However, these same features have also triggered vast divisions and conflicts, which tend to be forgotten in order to preserve the idea of reconciliation and unity. According to David Dunkerley *et al.* (2002, p.115),

if the construction of a European identity is selective with regard to what is included as part of 'European spirit', it is similarly partial in terms of what is ignored. For example, if 'democracy' is at the core of a European identity, how are we to explain the forms of government across Europe that, even during the course of twentieth century, have been anything but democratic?

If definition is a problem, identification with Europe and membership of Europe are notions which are also pervaded with uncertainty and ambivalence. The identification of European people with Europe is a recent and loose liaison. National belonging is beyond dispute for a significant number of Europeans, as shown by *Eurobarometer* surveys: in 2010, 46% of those interviewed profess their attachment only to their nation, seeing themselves only as nationals of a country (41% saw themselves as nationals and Europeans; in 2004,

before the economic and political crisis that has affected Europe since 2008, the figures were exactly the opposite). Despite all the efforts of European Union institutions to foster popular identification, the majority of Europeans do not believe there is a common identity in the continent. What is more, euro-sceptics consider European integration as a threat to national identities (Dunkerley *et al.* 2002, p.115).

Regarding membership of Europe, the picture is once again not clear. Who is and who is not European depends entirely on the definition of the features of legitimate Europeaness. No definite answers are given when someone asks about the limits of Europe (Jenkins, 2008, p.156-165) – and this seems to be a historical ambiguity. Ranging from the (Western and Eastern) Roman Empire to Charlemagne or Napoleonic empire, from Cold War blocs, dividing East and West, to European unification as accomplished by the European Union and the Schengen Area, Europe's frontiers are slippery and overlapping, with limits being redesigned by contextual events over time. Thus, to be and to feel European seems more a matter of political dominion than a matter of territory, culture, or ethnic ties.

Do these arguments mean there is no such thing as European identity? Is there any gap between the concept and the reality? While debating some problems of historical methodology, Reinhart Koselleck provides some very helpful hints on the conceptualization of European identity. For the author, the historian operates on two different yet interconnected levels:

he either investigates circumstances that have at one time been articulated in language; or he reconstructs circumstances which were not previously articulated in language but which, with the assistance of hypothesis and methods, he is able to extract from the relics. (...) We are therefore dealing, on the one hand, with concepts embodied in the sources and, on the other, with scientific cognitive categories (Koselleck, 2004, p. 255-256).

In addition to Koselleck's theoretical proposition, it is also useful to consider Roger Brubaker's (1996) idea of nation as a "practical category". These proposals help to avoid the temptations of essentialism when dealing with collective identities. Even if European identity is scarcely acknowledged as an "articulated circumstance" or a "space of experience" (Koselleck, 2004, p.255-275), it should be analyzed as a conceptual category that emerges from a rigorous, systematic review of facts. In order to contribute to an operative conceptualization of European identity, we will begin by unravelling the multiple meanings attached to it.

European identity, as well as European memory, is made up of ambiguous layers. One of the most simple, yet frequent, inconsistencies is that of Europe and the European Union. After six decades of integration under the flag of the EU (formerly the European Economic Community), most of the conventional territory of the continent is on the "blue map". Due to successive enlargements, Europe has become synonymous with the European Union in everyday discourse. The problem with this proximity is the fact that the two are essentially related to different dimensions, specifically, cultural and political. Here lies a second layer: Europe as polity and Europe as a cultural entity. The first is obviously connected to political unification achieved through the European Union, while the second mostly refers to the common historical inheritance mentioned above. Now, when it comes to identity issues,

this duality can be truly puzzling. For the last four decades the EU has sought to promote a common feeling of belonging among the peoples of Member-States. This has been mainly accomplished through the creation of EU imagery and the codification and officialization of symbols and cultural features.

The construction of a unified imaginary is an explicit policy in the European Union, which seeks to stress social and political unity, along with common cultural and historical roots. For this purpose, the European Union's institutions managed to introduce "official" symbols, such as the flag, the anthem, and the celebration of Europe Day. Beside EU symbols, other forms of enhancing a common identity have been appearing in recent decades. Presently, Europe pervades the daily life of Europeans with signs and celebrations. Some examples are driving licences, car plates, passports, the European Court of Human Rights, European Capitals of Culture, European commemorative years, European sports championships, and, of course, European citizenship and currency. Some of these things are the responsibility of the EU, while others emerge from civil society or other European organizations, for instance the Council of Europe. The main effect of these initiatives seems to be the Europeanization of public space. Consequently, Europe has become a part of people's lives in the majority of European countries, for the most part in an unconscious, "banal" way, to paraphrase Michael Billig (1995).

A third layer shaping European identity arises from the question: who is European? The condition of European has long been questioned due to indefinite geographical limits, in addition to historical episodes that moved those lines backwards and forwards, self-definition of peoples (namely on the fringes of the continent, such as Iberia, Scandinavia, or Great Britain), and immigration flows from the 1950's onwards. Moreover, the symbolic map of Europe can also be looked at through the prism of concentric circles of legitimacy: those who seem to have the indisputable right to be European, those who are on the fringes, those who might expect to be accepted one day, and those living in Europe who will never be allowed to be Europeans. According to Klaus Eder and Wilfried Spohn (2005), it is vital to question who is and feels European, who are core, peripheral, potential, or non-Europeans. This disjunction is directly related to the determination of who is European via civilization (historical and cultural ties), who is European via integration (political contract of EU) and who is the *privileged* and *authentic*, meeting the two conditions.

Another division that leads to misinterpretations regarding the idea of European identity emerges from different visions of what Europe is or should be. A fourth layer is to be found in the dichotomy of an open, plural Europe and a *fortress Europe*. As different cultural, religious, or ethnic communities have settled in this continent, due to decolonization and immigration, a battle for the definition of a legitimate vision of Europe has begun. On the one side stand those who believe that Europe should be preserved from alien influences, closed to non-Christian immigrants, and enclosed in its exclusionary, constantly surveilled boundaries, both physically and symbolically. On the other side are to be found those standing for multicultural societies in Europe, who emphasize difference as a human value, as well as its great contribution to modern Europe. In sum, nationalist, intolerant Europe contrasts with a cosmopolitan vision of Europe deep-rooted in Enlightenment values (Risse, 2010, p.2).

Finally, one must be aware of a deep, fundamental layer, which comprehends the ambivalence of Europe's past. Or, rather, the two pasts of the continent: the good past and the dark past. As for the former, Europe surely has a significant, valuable collection of positive *performances*, which are worth keeping (and celebrating) in the common memory. A considerable part of this collection also and primarily constitutes the historical heritage of nations. Some of these historical milestones have been mentioned above. On a short list, we would include science, democracy, pluralism, freedom of thought and speech, citizenship and rights, the rule of law, human dignity, and the welfare state. A longer and more intangible list could comprise landscapes, art movements, heroes, literature, cultural diversity, equality, environmentalism, international cooperation. Despite the brightness of the good side of Europe, it is obviously not enough to conceal the dark side of its past. Another endless list can be easily drawn up; its infamous topics would go from religious persecution to bloody wars, from the slave trade to genocide, from nationalism to colonialism. Europe's memory is, to a certain extent, a dreadful burden. Facts like the Holocaust or the World Wars must haunt us indefinitely.

Faced with this fragmentation, is there any reasonable expectation of borders being removed and of the wounds of memory being healed? Despite its layered design, is it unrealistic to talk about a European identity? How accurate is Monica Sassatelli (2002, p. 436) when she argues that "ambiguous content seems to reinforce the possibilities of identification with [Europe]"? Although direct or plain answers are not viable, it is reasonable to posit two basic ideas: 1. European identity is not conceivable in the same terms as national models of identity, so it ought to be depicted as a multi-layered cartography of overlapping maps; 2. Europe appears to correspond to an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991), but surely not in the exact circumstances of nations – rather as *imagined Europe*, a common identity and memory to be *designed for the future*.

3. REDEMPTION AND CELEBRATION: EUROPE AS A PROJECT

In accordance with its troubled past, Europe has to deal with a troubled memory – a fragmented, multiple, clashing, and ambiguous memory. In opposition to commonplace knowledge, memory is not a monolithic or rigid element in the life of individuals, groups, or communities. On the contrary, memory, most specifically, collective memories are often problematic, controversial, and debatable. I would say that memory constitutes a vital anchor for identity processes, though it is a plastic, fluid anchor. In reality, memory is not about factual events or objective remembering. Instead, it is commonly a *longue durée* process of selection, (re)interpretation and (re)construction, which comprises both remembering and forgetting. Deliberately or not, the construction of memory is always an attempt to stress a particular point of view, and subsequently to avoid conflicting or dissenting positions. In other words, it is related to the legitimacy of memory narratives – the determination of how things were or happened.

Because of their enormous potential for legitimization, collective memories have been a privileged arena for contestation as well as for the struggle for specific meanings.

Memories have always had a strong effect on persuading and mobilizing people into collective adventures, such as battles, wars, alliances, diasporas, genocides, or humanitarian help. How people define themselves, what people believe in, and what people do with their cultural and political power largely depends on their response to past experiences. Emphasizing the close relation of the two concepts, John Gillis (1994, p.3-4) says that

the notion of identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa. The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity. (...) identity and memories are highly selective, inscriptive rather than descriptive, serving particular interests and ideological positions.

Both memory and identity can be conceptualized as *symbolic filiations or imagination of the past*, in the sense that individuals, groups and communities operate a selection of past events in order to justify present choices. Who we are and who we want to be are questions often answered through a process of “*rétroprojection*” or “*filiation inversée*” (Pouillon, 1975, p.159-160), in which we choose the *founding moments* of an imagined past. Consequently, the materialization of collective memory is not possible without the negotiation of conflicting meanings and without the legitimization of memory narratives.

Being a debatable, elusive issue, memory has been grasped as a political resource throughout history. The politicization of memory aims to control the meanings, to limit and contain what past events are supposed to mean, to identify the heroes to be followed and the villains to be rejected or forgotten. Both at institutional level and community level, groups strive to appropriate memory in order to influence and shape it according to particular interests and purposes in the present. The politics of memory is also required for the pacification of painful, grievous, and uncomfortable memories of war, ethnic cleansing, collaborationism, massacres, totalitarianism, or colonialism. Reconciliation and forgiveness often demand that official versions of history and memory are uncovered and revised. It is frequently done by means of literature, cinema, counterfactual historiography, but also by the destruction of “*lieux de mémoire*”, to make use of Pierre Nora’s (1997) concept, for instance, memorials, statues and other forms of memorabilia, or, instead, their musealization as a sign of collective suffering. Therefore, the memorialisation and politicization of memory also endorse the victims’ “*right to memory*”, insofar as they convey some particular appropriation and reframing of narratives of the past (Lebow, 2008, p.25-27).

As far as Europe is concerned, its paradoxical, ambiguous memory and identity leaves us with a feeling of helplessness and perplexity when trying to find some answers. The common memory of twentieth century Europe was mostly marked by war and genocide: two world wars, the Holocaust, the soviet gulags, colonial conflicts, separatist conflicts (Northern Ireland, the Basque Country) and ethnic cleansing (namely in former Yugoslavia), to mention only the most traumatic. These are memories of collective pain, and the collective suffering they represent still exceeds and transcends the last six decades of peace and unification. In a symbolic way, European peoples are still mourning the victims and regretting what happened, partly because in the first years after the war the trauma was so overwhelming and the risk of conflicts arising from war criminal trials was imminent (Judt, 2011, p.83-85).

Centuries of being torn asunder by conflicts remain deep within the European collective memory, as several authors have remarked (Olick, 2007; Frunchak, 2010; Hirsch, 2009; Kattago, 2009; Misztal, 2010; Rolston, 2010). Bloodshed and destruction represent a heavy burden that haunts Europe's dream of unity, though since the end of World War II, the economic and political unification of Europe has been a successful mechanism of conciliation. Indeed, Europe's most recent history has been depicted as a narrative of redemption. This occurs primarily in two ways: repentance for the evil past and praise for present achievements and future plans.

Repentance mainly occurs as the "politics of regret", in the words of Jeffrey Olick. The author (2007, p.139) states that "politics today seems to have become the continuation of war by other means. (...) Contemporary politics continues past wars as discursive battles over their legacies". The "politics of regret" operate in a very narrow terrain: in between reparation for victims and de-humanization of perpetrators, learning the lessons from the past and risking the perpetuation of hatred in the present society. Jeffrey Olick (2007, p.140) asks the right question: "how, then, are we to think about this delicate balance between remembering and forgetting?" In the case of Europe, this issue is specially addressed because of its momentous burden – the Holocaust. And because of centuries-long anti-Semitism across Europe, the Holocaust is not just a German crime, but European barbarism. Less noticed but more destructive regarding the number of victims, the burden of the crimes of socialist regimes also represents a significant part of (Eastern) Europe's collective trauma.

Penitence for Europe's twentieth century has been taking several forms: reconciliation with enemies (Helmut Kohl and François Mitterrand holding hands in Verdun, honouring the dead of World Wars I and II, in 1984), official and individual apologies to the victims (Willy Brandt kneeling at the monument to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in 1970), monetary reparations to the victims (West Germany paid billions of euros to the state of Israel), commemorations, testimonies. Nevertheless, the inherent commitment to a peaceful future and to preventing genocide from happening again is perhaps a naive pledge. Regrettably, the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin, inaugurated in 2005, needs to be balanced with the genocide in former Yugoslavia, desecration of Jewish cemeteries across Europe, xenophobic acts towards immigrants...

As for praise, we mean the aggrandizement of the accomplishments of Europe (mostly the EU) that pervades the official discourse of politicians and other communitarian authorities. Since European culture and identity are matters of EU strategy, the self-congratulatory tone is quite common with respect to Europe's successes. Some examples worth mentioning of these moments of enthusiasm are the introduction of the euro, the common currency, the signature of Treaties, the implementation of European citizenship, or, on a more regular basis, the opening of sessions of EU institutions and bodies, such as the Parliament, the Commission, the Council, or the Courts. The celebratory tone also applies to some crucial *topos* of the European Union: the motto *unity in diversity*, the idea of Europe as a community of values, or a reservoir of ethical responsibility. The celebration of six decades of peace, economic prosperity, and social cohesion is also in tune with the image projected for Europe.

Considering how complex it is to describe the substance of European identity and its multi-layered form, it is likely that the best definition available is the idea of *Europe as a*

project. According to several authors (Castells, 1998; Delanty, 2002a; Eder, 2009; Sassatelli, 2009; Strath, 2002), though with different perspectives, Europe's identity can only be a project for a future society. In the words of Monica Sassatelli (2002, p. 436), "the Europe referred to by the EU can be envisaged as an 'imagined community' in the making", and this symbolic construction fuels social cohesion and political legitimization. Above all, Europe seems to be an organism in evolution, learning how to cope with differences and asymmetries and how to make the whole set function as a unity of interdependent units. There are advantages to portraying Europe as a project, one of them being the malleability that allows the building of a future in an original, imaginative, experimental way. Indeed, this seems to be the only path which suits contemporary European societies, given their dialogic, liquid, plural, hybrid, and ambivalent features (Bauman, 2004). Furthermore, it is also congruent with contemporary forms of identification and belonging, which give way to multiple, composite, in-transit identities. As discussed before, European identity narratives require hybrid, multilayered configurations in order to encompass the specificities of a whole continent with a troubled history. Klaus Eder (2009, p.442) claims that "a European narrative is a dynamic combination of different stories that will produce a dynamic form of collective identity". Accordingly, European identity cannot be monolithic or hegemonic. A multilayered identity would thus be appropriate to encompass national, ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity, as well as post-national political and economic unification.

Ultimately, European identity can only be envisaged as a plural, polysemic narrative. Eder (2009, p.441-442) suggests that we may see it as a "meta-story" that brings together critical stories of "constructing and reconstructing a European identity". The Common Market, the achievement of peace, citizenship of the Union, the European culture that derives both from immemorial heritage of the most diverse peoples that once settled in its territory, and the hybridization which arises from cultural diversity dynamics are some examples of what Eder (2009, p.438-439) calls the supranational, postnational and transnational stories. However, these stories are not necessarily compatible and consistent, so that European identity is, above all, derived from the combination of choices made at every moment. According to this author (2009, p. 437),

which collective identity is mobilized depends on the story that is chosen to identify the boundaries of a network of social relations that bind 'Europeans' (...) to each other. The three basic stories, the story of a common market and a Social Europe embedded in the story of a European citizenship, the story of a unique European culture, and the story of a hybrid Europe are incompatible. They will not coincide in terms of constructing a clear boundary; rather, they construct different boundaries. They tell about different 'Europes' (in the plural). Thus, European identity emerges as something with different boundaries, depending upon which story we tell.

Additional insight is given by Gerard Delanty (2002b), for whom European identity should be crafted from a cosmopolitan heritage and pluralisation, together with multiple processes of Europeanization that are already occurring, namely the construction of a European public sphere (see also Risse, 2010). As Europe pervades the national frameworks of action and the common imagery of citizens, a new stage of reflexivity and pragmatism emerges, not only at an institutional level but amongst the social and political fabric of the

European community. To put it differently, a new level of identity and belonging is being shaped, beyond national membership. The point is that European identity is not only the bureaucratic, legal, and institutional apparatus of the EU. On the contrary, “a full understanding of Europe’s ambivalence, refracted through its multiple, nested identities, lies at the intersection of competing European political projects and social processes” (Checkel, 2009, p. 2).

4. “FUTURE MEMORY” AND “HORIZON OF EXPECTATION”: THE EUROPE TO BE

If we consider Europe as an in-progress project, what is the role of memory narratives in the construction of a unified, transnational community? Forgetting or remembering – which one should come first? Can we do without either of them? Clearly, forgetting the past is not an option, specially the dark past. In face of the painful memories of war, genocide and dictatorship, Europeans may forgive, yet they are not willing nor allowed to forget. The only solution, thus, appears to be to rescue the past, to redeem the past through the triumph of the present. Peace, democracy, freedom, human rights, political unification, economic prosperity, the welfare state, these are the achievements that legitimize present-day discourses of unity and identity. We assert that it is possible to honour and exorcize the past and, at the same time, to use this catharsis as a trampoline to the future.

Richard Lebow (2008, p. 39) gives us some interesting hints on the use of memory when he suggests that we have the possibility of imagining the future the same way we imagine and mythify the past:

we have no memories of the future, but we do have imagined memories of the future. We routinely build scenarios with good or bad outcomes based on the lessons we think we have learned from the past and use them to work our way through life and policy choices. (...) Future ‘memories’ of this kind are just as important for building and sustaining identities as memories of the past – and many of the latter are, of course, also imaginary.

Future memories refer to crossroads, to leading choices and, in a more explicit way, to alternative paths available to a community. How do Europeans picture Europe in the next twenty or fifty years? What position do they desire for their continent in the world? How do they figure out their own commitment towards local, national and European spheres? Which Europe would Europeans bestow on their children: a plural, egalitarian, federal society or a Europe of nations, fearing foreigners and globalization?

Imagining the future, then, is what we do in the present. When the future is perceived as an inheritance of our current steps, today’s choices constitute the foundation for future memories. Therefore memory exists mostly in present time. It is present action that shapes the future, but the former is actually elicited through an in progress image of the future. To a certain extent, Reinhart Koselleck’s category of “horizon of expectation” matches these notions, as it embodies the complex present-future intertwining. In Koselleck’s (2004, p. 259) words,

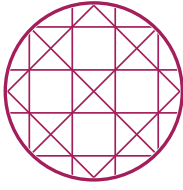
expectation also takes place in the today; it is the future made present; it directs itself to the not-yet, to the nonexperienced, to that which is to be revealed. Hope and fear, wishes and desires, cares and rational analysis, receptive display and curiosity: all enter into expectation and constitute it.

Europe's horizon seems cloudy and misty. We are witnessing all sorts of crises and the future appears to be a *foreign country*. Still, Europe's union and identity is likely to continue to be part of the expectations and hopes of Europeans.

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Memory and the Flows of Identity in Hatoum's Amazon

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Abstract

Geopolitical national borders have long created homogenous, stereotypical, and fixed identities in order to serve a nation-building myth. In this paper I analyze the (de) construction of fixed notions of identity, region and nation through the use of memory in the short stories "Um oriental na vastidão" [An Eastern Man in the Vastitude] and "A Casa Ilhada" [The Island House] of the book *A Cidade Ilhada* [The Island City] by Milton Hatoum. In these short stories the homodiegetic narrators present characters from various parts of the world (Japan, England, and Switzerland). Milton Hatoum, an immigrant descendent, intertwines fiction and childhood memories. He undoes the homogeneity of identity traditional of the regionalist writing of the Amazons by touching upon the theme of immigration in his native city of Manaus and the integration of this new community into Brazilian society. This analysis will work with the premises of Albuquerque Jr.'s theory in the book *A invenção do Nordeste* [The invention of the Brazilian Northeast]: the region is an "invention". In "Um Oriental na Vastidão" and "A Casa Ilhada", these inventions consist of memories that bring different regions and subjects together and engender 'world nets' that promote "cultural global flows" (Appadurai). I argue that Hatoum's narratives challenge not only the normative discourse of *mestiçagem* (mixing) in the foundational discussion about Latin American identity (Lund, Joshua) but also imply a simultaneously local and global construction of this identity. These stories provide new insights into the notions of the national body and the national subject not only by setting their narratives in the naturally transnational region of the Amazon jungle but also by depicting the complex cultural and social networks of the Amazon as memory (de)constructions.

Keywords

Amazon; Milton Hatoum; Identity; Memory; Region

"Ever-newer waters flow on those who step into the same rivers."
Heraclitus.

National identity is often forged by a rhetorical discourse that emphasizes homogeneity and fixed identities. In the case of Brazil, a country with continental dimensions, this process has implied a regionalization of the country and a microscopic homogenization of the corresponding regional identities. Therefore, the construction of the Amazon in literature walks a tightrope, always facing an imminent danger of falling on a net of stereotypes. In this paper, I analyze the short stories "Um Oriental na Vastidão" [An Eastern Man in the

Vastitude] and “A Casa Ilhada” [The Island House] of the book *A Cidade Ilhada* [The Island City] by Milton Hatoum to assert their (de)construction of fixed notions of identity, region and nation through the use of memory in the space of the Amazon.

The literary oeuvre on the space of the Amazon has been largely told by foreigners who often used a Manichean perspective, either portraying it as a Green Hell or as a Paradise. Milton Hatoum alternatively has a distinct perspective from the traditional regional writing about the space of the Amazon due to his ambiguous outlook as a ‘migrant insider’. He was born in Manaus, capital of the state of Amazonas in 1952. His father was a Lebanese immigrant who married a Brazilian woman of Lebanese descent. Hatoum (1993) credits his perspective of the Amazon as a multicultural city partially to this migrant status of his family:

During my childhood, living with the foreign Other occurred in my own household. As a son of an Eastern immigrant married to an Eastern descended Brazilian woman, I was able to discover the Others inside of me since I was a child. The presence and passage of foreigners in my own childhood home contributed to increase my multicultural horizon (“Escrever à Margem da História”, n.d., para. 3. Own translation).

Hatoum also seems to have been doomed to be a migrant himself. In 1967, he moved to Brasília. Later, he moved to São Paulo and, subsequently, lived in Spain, Paris and the United States. Despite his migrant life, Milton Hatoum believes that the memories from childhood and adolescence are decisive for an author (Hatoum, 2012). Indeed, the childhood memories of the Amazon and its liquid space became the *topos* for Hatoum’s literature.

His first published fictional text was a poetry book called: *Amazon: um Rio entre Ruínas* [The Amazon: a River in the Midst of Ruins]; and all of his subsequent fictional writings have the liquid space of the Amazon as the primary setting for their narratives. According to Hardman (2007), the poetics of the water in Hatoum’s books functions very similarly to Gaston Bachelard’s concepts on the relationship between water and reverie for a writer’s creative process (Bachelard, 1998). As Bachelard (1969) explained:

[...] the further one goes toward the past, the more indissoluble the psychological memory-imagination mixture appears[...]Memory-imagination makes us live non-event situations[...]in our reverie which imagines while remembering, our past takes on substance again (p.119).

Truly, Milton Hatoum articulates the *motif* of the waters of Manaus and the process of memory in order to construct the fictional liquid Amazon grounding his creative process on three vertexes: remembering, forgetting and imagining. In a personal interview I had with Hatoum, he used the words of Borges to confirm the flux of remembering and forgetting the Amazon in the creation of this literature: “Forgetfulness is one of the forms of memory, its empty basement” (personal communication, May 27, 2011) For Hatoum, the imagination corresponds to the time of re-appropriation of memory, filled by forgetfulness.

Strongly influenced by Flaubert, Milton Hatoum believes that “working with words” must be an extensive and arduous process; therefore, he is known for taking a long time to publish his books. Besides, the long intervals between his publications allow the process of oblivion and remembering to thrive. Indeed, *A Cidade Ilhada*, a collection of short stories, is the result of 18 years of work. The short stories were written between 1990 through 2008.

These stories have characters from different parts of the world: migrants and travelers that are interconnected through the cosmopolitan space of Manaus. Hatoum has taken advantage of his own experience to recreate a Manaus very familiar to him. In our personal interview, he talked about his experience growing up in Manaus:

My childhood consisted heavily in listening to the stories of the people who passed by Manaus: migrants' stories, indigenous maids' stories, foreign shipmen's stories... [stories of] all those people who arrived and left Manaus...worlds that were very different and, at the same time, interwoven (personal communication, May 27, 2011).

As a matter of fact, in Hatoum's literature Manaus functions as a transitional place, an in-between space, where different worlds come together and the different characters create their unique dynamic web. The theorist Homi Bhabha (1994) calls these subjects who live in such in-between spaces liminal subjects. These liminal subjects are products of cultural hybridity capable of provoking moments of historical transformation and defying the notions of fixed identities often used to support nation-building discourses.

A Cidade Ilhada is not only a portrayal of the diversity of Manaus but also it testifies to the transformational power of a hybrid society. The travelers and migrants are not merely seen as foreigners. They are personally/emotionally/ metaphysically intertwined with the Amazonian space. In order to make assertions about the hybrid space of Manaus in *A Cidade Ilhada*, two short stories from this books will be analyzed: a) "A Casa Ilhada" [The Island House], which had been published in the newspaper *Estado de São Paulo* with a different title: *Encontro no Bosque* [Meeting in a Forest] in 1998; and b) "Um Oriental na Vastidão" [An Eastern Man in the Vastitude], previously published in France. These two stories will help us to reflect upon the construction of liminal subjects in the book and, therefore, upon the notion of national and regional subjects.

In "A Casa Ilhada", an unknown Amazonian homodiegetic narrator tells the story and proceeds to describe the trip of Lavedan, an ichthyologist from Switzerland, and his girlfriend to a house surrounded by water on the outskirts of Manaus. Although Lavedan's foreignness to the space of the Amazon is heavily emphasized, this character has peculiar qualities that prevents us from considering him a mere visitor.

At first, the narrator describes Lavedan as a dislocated foreigner in the Amazonian society: "Some children laughed when they saw that tall, very skinny, bald, pinkish face man awkwardly placed in our canoe." (p.71, own translation)

Throughout the narrative, one can notice that, despite Lavedan's description as a foreign character dislocated from the region, he is recognized by locals as having a profound knowledge of the Amazonian nature. Therefore, the awkward character is somehow also considered to be deeply connected to the locale. The Swiss ichthyologist Lavedan of *A Casa Ilhada* was a "foreign voice" (p. 70) that explained the aquatic life of the Amazon River and that had seven fishes from the equatorial zone named after him (p. 75). Lavedan has an ambiguous relationship with the local because he is an outsider, for being a foreigner, and at the same time he has an inside knowledge of the locale. This ambiguous relationship between Lavedan and the tropical space contributes to feature Lavedan as a liminal character.

As a symbolic “in-between the lines metaphor” of this liminality, the author compares Lavedan to the *tralhoto* fish (a fish native to the Amazon). The *tralhoto*, also known as the “four eyed fish”, is capable of seeing below and above the water surface simultaneously.



Figure 2: The Tralhoto Fish

In the short story, Lavedan explains to the narrator the uniqueness of the *tralhoto*'s eyes. While explaining the *tralhoto* to the narrator, Lavedan looked at the fish, mesmerized by the mirror-like image that seemed to multiply his own eyes. The narrator describes this moment as follows: “Lavedan’s eyes meet the *tralhoto*’s, and both remain just like this: fish and man, quiet, enchanted by the magnetism of so many eyes looking to the inside and to the outside world”. (p. 70, own translation) Similarly to the *tralhoto*, Lavedan’s knowledge of the Amazon and personal connection to the region make his European Self a *tralhoto* fish. Therefore, Lavedan is able to have this dual perspective of the inside world, the Amazon, and the outside world, the European.

The fluidity between the Self and the Other is also explored in the most decisive episode of the short story. Retelling the memories of his trip to the island house with Lavedan and his girlfriend Harriet, the narrator describes the appearance of a Dervish dancer at the bar called *Shangri-lá*. The name *Shangri-lá* is a reference to a fictional place described in the 1933 novel *Lost horizon* by British author James Hilton. *Shangri-lá* has become a synonym for any earthly paradise, isolated from the outside world. Evoking an atmosphere of a mythical Orient, the space was the setting for a mambo dance between the supposed Dervish man and Harriet: “To the surprise of the bohemians, he danced so well that the orchestra played only for him and Harriet, who let herself be taken by the swirls of the Dervish” (p. 74, own translation).

This sensual dance caused the jealousy of Lavedan and, later, his departure to Europe without Harriet. After that dance, “Lavedan understood everything was over. The three years of their relationship and the two months living in the Amazon became an atrocious memory of the only night at *Shangri-lá*.” (p. 74, own translation)

The identity of the Dervish dancer remained an enigma, a riddle to which I would propose the following answer: the Dervish dancer is the representation of Lavedan’s tropical

alter ego. This hypothesis is based on the ambiguity of both identities sustained throughout the short story. Both characters have subtly similar physical descriptions. The Dervish dancer is described as a “tronco de pau-de-ferro” (p. 74). The translation of this expression requires some explanations. The literal meaning would be “trunk of ironed wood” and the real translation would refer to a person too stiff for dancing. The description of the Dervish dancer leaves the reader with the same impression of awkwardness left initially by Lavedan.

Besides the similarity in the physical description of the characters, the unclear subjects on Harriet's letters to Lavedan (sent after he had left her) also maintain the ambiguity of identity in the short story. In her first letter, Harriet says: “*Shangri-lá* has closed but we danced on that small island: our residence.” (p. 74, own translation) Who are the subjects referred by the pronoun “we”? In the aquatic world of the island house, could the Dervish dancer be the representation of the Lavedan's Other Self in the tropical space? As in a state of trance, such as the experience of the Sufi dance, has Lavedan transformed himself? Has he connected to his Oriental/Amazonian Other through his European Self?

The liquid space of the narrative does not pose any answers; on the contrary, it suggests reverie and fluidity of identity. As G. Bachelard asserts: “The water is a type of destiny, the simple destiny that transforms itself into the essence of Being.” (1969, p. 6) Thus, duality of the poetic space of Manaus, also known as “the floating city”, relates to the duality of the Self (Lavedan and the dancer), which enables the establishment of a connection between the space of Manaus and the foreign characters on a metaphysical level.

In “Um Oriental na Vastidão”, the metaphysical transformation of a character also suggests the encounter of the Self and the Other through the element of water in the space of the Amazon. A female narrator, professor at the University of Amazonas, fulfills the function of the homodiegetic narrator of the story. She constructs her narrative with the memories of when she was invited by the university to accompany a Japanese biology professor, Kazuki Kurokawa, on his first trip to the Amazon. Kurokawa traveled the Negro River with the female professor and the boat rider, Américo. Kurokawa was realizing a childhood dream: getting to know the Negro River. Like Lavedan, Kurokawa is not portrayed simply as a tourist. The narrator acknowledges that he knew more about the region than herself and the boat rider, Américo, did”. The narrator describes Kurokawa as the following:

[...] he had read about the fauna and flora of the Negro River: he was familiar with Ducke's, O'Reilly Sternberg's and Vanzolini's researches. And he explained, using scientific terms, why the waters of the Negro River were as dark as the night[...] I had the impression that he knew more than I did, than Américo did, and that trip was just to confirm his previous knowledge (p. 32, own translation).

Indeed, Kurokawa also undergoes a transformation after he travels alone on the Negro River. Américo, who saw the Japanese after this trip, described Kurokawa's transformation to the narrator:

Darkish, he looked like a *caboclo* [mestizo] with white hair. Also he learned some words from our region. He told me: “Thank you, bro, your boat is *pai d'égua* [cool] [...] He nodded his head and thanked me in Japanese and said “good-bye” with a small smile (p. 33, own translation).

As with Lavedan, an epiphanic and transformational experience happened to Kurokawa. Kurokawa's transformation is subtly symbolized by the metaphor of the natural phenomenon of the confluence of waters from the Negro's and the Solimões' Rivers. The meeting of the waters is a natural phenomenon caused by the Solimões River's muddy and tan-colored waters and Negro River's dark waters. The two Rivers seem to flow parallel to each other without mixing for about 5 miles to form the Amazon River.



Figure 2: Solimões River at the confluence with Negro River

Kurokawa had already pointed out how apparently such different Rivers ultimately transform themselves into one: "After crossing the Negro River... we are going to reach the clear water lakes, aren't we? The same River with different names." (p.31, Own translation) A clear parallel is established by the author between the confluence of the Rivers and the transformation of the Japanese character Kurokawa, who is first seen as a foreigner, merged into a different Self, capable of containing both the Oriental and the tropical world.

His deep connection to the Amazon is confirmed by his last wish. After his lonely trip to the Negro River, Kurokawa went back to Japan to die. However, his last desire was that his ashes could flow in the waters of the Negro River. Two government officials of Japan went to the Amazon and had the female professor that accompanied Kurokawa in his first trip scatter his ashes at Paran  da Paz, an area in the Negro River. A ceremony was carried out and Kurokawa's final wish came true. At this very moment, the narrator remembered the words of the ideogram Kurokawa had given her as a gift during his first trip: "In the unknown space resides the desire." (p. 30, own translation)

Kurokawa's desire of experiencing other cultures is very similar to the description of Milton Hatoum (1993) of his own experience as a migrant:

[...] the desire of knowledge is also the desire of traveling[...] As a philosopher of alterity affirmed: "this very same desire is the desire of traveling, expatriation, getting out of my own place."[...] It's as if a traveler distanced himself from

the “Margins of History”, in order to assimilate other cultures, without losing the compass that points to his own North [...] It is less a geography than a place what I look for. A place that doesn't exist anymore, a utopic place that only exists in memory. (“Escrever à Margem da História”, n.d., para. 8. own translation)

In search of his desire, Kurokawa dies to find himself in confluence with the utopic place that unites his Japanese and Amazonian Selves. Kurokawa and Lavedan were foreigners, in Kristeva's terms: “torn between here and elsewhere, now and before” (1991, p. 10). The desire and the connection of these characters to their different Selves occurred through the ambiguity of their own transient identities.

From these two stories some conclusions can be made: As the relationship between memory, history and imagination becomes inseparable, the borders of the Amazon touch far regions through a process of cultural plurality symbolized by the cultures and languages brought by the migrants and travelers of the stories. Therefore the idea of homogenous nations has been dissolved (Anderson, 1991) by the premise that there is no homogenous region.

It is important to perceive that the ‘region’ in Brazil has strongly sustained the idea of the national homogeneity. (Albuquerque Jr., 1999) In a country with continental proportions, diversity within unity is a concept largely used to patch leaks of the myth of national unity. Going one step further from Gilberto Freyre's (1952) assertions, who considered the region as an element of diversity in the national discourse, Albuquerque Jr. (1999, p. 26. Own translation). argues that the regions also go through a process of homogenization and in order to sustain the speech of diversity they become monolithic blocks of discourse: “The region is the product of a battle...it is not a unity that contains diversity; instead, it is the product of a process of homogeneization”.

Therefore, the Amazon has been used as a symbol of nature (either a lost Paradise or a Green Hell), but never as a cosmopolitan hub. Taking this premise as a bulwark to understand Hatoum's stories set in the Amazon, his non-fixed characters, created by the ink of memory and imagination, imply a simultaneously local and global construction of identity. Setting the narratives in the naturally transnational region of the Amazon, Hatoum depicts the complex cultural and social networks of the Amazon as memory deconstructions.

The metaphors of nature to symbolize these cultural encounters are definitely overtly explored in the stories. The use of landscape in the process of memory was a topic of reflection for Simon Schama's in the book *Landscape and Memory*. Schama (1995) asserts:

For although we are accustomed to separate nature and human perception into two realms, they are, in fact, indivisible. Before it can ever be a repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock (p. 6-7).

The natural transnational space of the Amazon is not only used to connect the characters with nature but also to build a more complex construction of their own identity. Hatoum's stories imply mobility of culture and society as well as mobility of identity. Hence, when analyzing contemporary travel/writings, Graham Huggan observed there is not a place for the post-modern travelers looking for a refuge of authenticity. Huggan (2012, p. 5) affirms that: “...the increasingly normative recognition that cultures are sites of travel, and are

themselves constituted through different kinds of “travel practice”, requires a rather different understanding of travel writing that has usually obtained until now.” Huggan’s reflection goes along with Kristeva’s take on the symbolic meaning of the transient foreigner. Kristeva (1991, p.7) believes that the transient foreigner represents: “A lost origin, the impossibility to take root, a rummaging memory, the presence in abeyance. The space of the foreigner is a moving train, a plane in flight, the very transition that precludes stopping. As to landmarks, there are none” .

It is through the manipulation of the genre of “travel writing” and “the traveler” that Milton Hatoum revises the genre and, therefore, the discourse that has been “constructing” the Amazon throughout the years. The foreign traveler produces the process of deterritorialization which according to Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 508) means “the movement by which one leaves the territory” . This process causes ruptures and interruptions emerging with differences and changes.

Since the colonial period the Amazon has been a theme for European travelers, colonizers, explorers, and scientists for either economic or scientific purposes. However all these writings had in common the supremacy of the European narrator “I” in their texts. It seems that by using the *motif* of European traveler, Hatoum is revising the canonical literature produced about the region and inserting new relevant concerns. Hatoum seems to be creating a new discourse about the region through the local memories of a migrant Amazonian writer.

In the globalized world, the production of the local memories has been not only reexamining colonial discourses but also functioning as a counterbalance factor to the homogenization promoted by the process of globalization. Andreas Huyssen (2001) believes that this process has a profound contribution in the construction of memory of a globalized world:

Slowing down rather than speeding up, expanding the nature of public debate, trying to heal the wounds inflicted in the past, nurturing and expanding livable space rather than destroying it for the sake of some future promise, securing “quality time” – these seem to be unmet cultural needs in a globalizing world, and local memories are intimately linked to their articulation (p.75)

The local memories brought by the stories of Milton Hatoum ‘waves’ back into the heart of the Amazonian discourse the perception of the locale about the foreigners and the history of marginal migrants that ended up living in the outskirts of Manaus (such as the northeastern workers who migrated in the period of the rubber boom). Moreover, it brings a more conscientious attitude towards the region and its inhabitants. The easily forgotten ‘human factor’ is part of the plots that reinforce diversity and the difference of the region.

The stories in *A Cidade Ilhada* show the cultural “global flows” and the plurality of the region without a utopic/idyllic perception. Globalization and plurality do not necessarily mean success and cannot be seen through romantic eyes. In a pungent and revealing episode of “A Casa Ilhada”, the narrator described how the poor stilt houses surrounded the island house, a region only accessible by boat during the flooding period:

The residents of the stilt houses looked at us in surprise, as if we were two foreigners lost in a place in Manaus that could never be considered a touristic attraction. However, the scientist Lavedan, before leaving to Zurich, insisted that we go with him to the island house, stubbornly persisting on canoeing in a place surrounded by poor houses (p. 69. Own translation).

Therefore, the Amazonian space is portrayed as culturally diverse but far from being part of an egalitarian social system; Hatoum exposes its hierarchical power structure. Renato Ortiz (2000) believes that cultural diversity does not necessarily establish an equal system because the institutions that take part in society occupy different hierarchical power status. In order to complement this idea, Ortiz makes a distinction between “diversity and plurality” where diversity is produced socially.

A plural society does not imply that a more democratic or more inclusive way of living is in place. The author argues that a plural society does not mean a diverse society because it does not imply that the power hierarchy transforms society with the same validity. According to him, it is crucial to be conscious about this aspect in the discourse of diversity because at times it could serve to hide inequalities and lack of inclusion in the power realms of society Ortiz (2000) affirms:

Cultural diversity is different and unequal because the various authorities and institutions that create this diversity have distinct hierarchical positions of power and legitimation (strong countries or weak countries, transnational, national governments, western civilization or Muslim world, national state or indigenous groups) (p. 51-52, own translation).

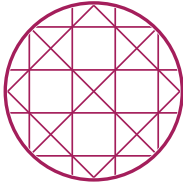
Therefore, Hatoum does not portray “diversity” naturally fomenting equality as the theory of Bhabha (1994) may suggest. However, the social recognition of the impact of a plural society impelled by the transnational economies does not efface the humanistic perspective of the stories.

Moreover, this humanistic perspective defies the simplistic concept of the European Other that neutrally mirrored a society through his observations or that manipulated mythic construction of the new places to suffice his own colonizing purposes. Both of these images portray the foreigners/travelers as unaltered entities and reinforce the superiority of the European traveler/narrator over an impotent tropical Other. Hatoum's stories do not naively efface the fact that the foreigner had the linguistic power of conceptualizing the forest, however this is not a discourse of Amazonian victimization. Indeed the Amazon is capable of transforming the foreigner into an Other. The process does not necessarily imply a Manichean and/or determinist corruption very common in the naturalistic novels of the nineteenth century. Instead, the process brings about the humanization of the foreigner and, therefore, enables to see him/her from a less stereotypical perspective.

Counterbalancing the realistic perception of the oppression in the encounter of global and local, the humanistic perspective in the union of the two rivers to form one is decisive in the making of *A Cidade Ilhada* a complex and intriguing book. The waters of identity are not crystal clear; they are primarily bleary as the Negro River. The reconceptualization of these identities contribute to the reflection of the literary genres and their past representations of the region as well as the new dynamics established by globalized interactions. Identities, regions and nations are concepts not easily defined but certainly truly fluid for being in a constant process of change.

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'Diaspora Space' as Heard and Observed

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Abstract

This paper discusses the results of analysis of migration narratives, internet forums and interactions in urban space for my thesis research on Russian-speaking Israelis in Tel Aviv. The Russian-speakers in Israel are a large group of migrants using exclusive right to obtain Israeli citizenship, but they are also frequently stigmatized and stereotyped by the press and the general public in the host society. Their memories, 'civilizational' position-takings and identity-management strategies help them cope with the disadvantage. Firstly, the paper looks into how first-generation ethnic migrants present their stories and construct notions of collective cultural belonging, transnational identity, and citizenship. Analysis of Internet discussions on political topics reveal in which ways individual narratives of belonging in the new country (Israel) are made public and shared. Participant observations in both richer and impoverished neighborhoods in Tel Aviv show the importance of cultural institutions, such as the Russian Cultural Center, various 'nostalgia shops' (selling goods reminding of the ex-USSR) and bookstores. Secondly, the paper addresses the advantages and limitations of narrative analysis vis-à-vis participant observation, media monitoring and other methods, by showcasing how narratives construct a favorable presentation of the self and symbolic distance from relevant 'others'.

Keywords

ethnic migration; Russian-speakers in Israel; ex-USSR; migrant integration

'DIASPORA SPACE' AS HEARD AND OBSERVED

This chapter presents an analysis of my fieldwork¹ results obtained using interviews, participant observation and media analysis. The central research questions were how Russian-speaking ethnic migrants in Israel perceive the disconnection (or connection) between their experience in the former USSR and in their new homeland, as well as how they see themselves in their new country and situate themselves in its economy and politics.

¹ The fieldwork for this research was supported by a grant from the Israeli government (Israeli Government scholarship 2009-2010)

All of the chosen methods captured the processes of identity restructuring, enthusiasm for integration or disillusionment with its prospects, and various patterns in which Russian-speakers share their 'cultural codes' and common ideas about their new homeland. While the methods complemented each other in my fieldwork, I could also see that the results obtained using each of them were rather different.

This article attempts to provide a meta-analysis of the ways in which diverse research methods captured parts of the picture in my fieldwork. After explaining the particularities of migration from the former USSR to Israel, it proceeds to a theoretical and methodological discussion and then presents the analysis of diaspora spaces and cultural codes, using the earlier insights.

CONTEXTUALIZING ETHNIC MIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Over the past two decades ethnic migration to Israel has been admittedly called a laboratory for theories of ethnicity. By ethnic migration, or diaspora migration, I mean migration to a country that specifically invites members of a certain ethnic group and grants them privileges, such as citizenship or easier access to its labor market. Ethnic migration as such can be polycentric. Diaspora migration is based on a perception of an ethnically defined group having one center (a nation-state) and a presence elsewhere. Israel was built as a country for 'ingathering of exiles' – any person with Jewish ancestry up to the third generation and spouses thereof have the right to settle in Israel and obtain its citizenship. Jewish ethnic migration also took other directions (to the US and Germany), where they were considered refugees.

According to Joppke (2005), diaspora migration, although a unique phenomenon, is still a border-crossing movement of non-citizens, so in legal terms and everyday perception this movement still constitutes migration. In her critical reflection on diaspora studies, Ang points at the problematic points of the way diaspora is conceptualised, including rupture with the past rather than continuation, focus on heritage as a constraining factor instead of hybridity and transformation, and the notion of non-belonging, which contributes to the perceived inferiority of the diaspora vis-à-vis the nation state (Ang, 2011). Due to a complex set of circumstances Russian-speaking ethnic migrants in Israel have effectively resisted the pressure for assimilation and produced a distinct cultural space they can call home. On the other hand, stereotypes associated with the former USSR followed them to their new homeland. People from the former USSR were construed as 'inept or handicapped' vis-à-vis the demands of capitalist economy (Eriksen, 1991, p. 136), pragmatic rather than patriotic, and resistant to full cultural integration.

Migration of eligible persons from the USSR to Israel started already in the 1970s, but at the time it was an exceptional right, whereas in the late 1980s and early 1990s, following the breakup of the USSR, social and economic insecurity pushed eligible individuals to try this migration route, as other traditionally popular routes (the US and Canada) became unavailable. The context of their migration was changing together with pressures against the so-called 'caretaker state', which was a key mechanism in Israel for integrating Jewish immigrants.

Services provided by the state, such as language courses and temporary housing, were facilitating integration before the 1990s. However, with a general move away from welfare principles in most industrialized economies at the time, the Israeli welfare state also witnessed pressures for privatization and more emphasis on individual choice. Among other aspects, the 'caretaker state' was increasingly associated with the failed USSR project, from which Russian-speakers came. With integration services reduced, Russian-speakers were often left alone or dependent on ethnic networks for their integration.

Researchers have observed (e.g. Lissitsa, 2007) that the relatively high average class status of Russian-speakers in their homelands and opportunities they had to contribute to creative arts, academic life and intellectual professions created high expectations in the migrants, but those expectations often failed in the new labor market. Sabella (1993) found that the percentage of persons with academic qualifications was fourfold, comparing to the Israeli population. Among Russian-speakers, there were more female-headed households (Sabella, 1993, p. 37), more single mothers and divorcees (Lemish, 2000, p. 335) and relatively more women entrepreneurs (Kushnirovich, 2007, p. 104). These immigrants were also less religious and had stopped many of the religious practices typical of the local population.

Relatively high education, as well as possibilities to stay in contact with relatives in other countries, contributed to a certain transnational identity that emerged and almost immediately became a popular research topic. More than that, Internet forums, chat rooms and web groups allow discussing their issues with a wider community of reference, united by a common language and a sense of shared system of dispositions (tastes, preferences and reference points, corresponding to Bourdieu's term *habitus* – to be discussed later). Therefore the networking practices and transnationalism of Russian-speakers in Israel has become one of the key topics of recent research.

In addition, Israeli researchers have paid attention to the reactions of the receiving society – stereotypes, as well as integration and acceptance practices faced by newcomers from the early 1990s to this day. Most of the research relies on interviews and narratives, often collected by 'native' ethnographers. Narratives allow putting an individual in his/her context of migration, but they are often clearly structured in order to maximize agency, resistance and prestige. A narrative is in itself a strategy, a choice of presenting oneself. Several reoccurring themes have been found by various researchers: disappointment, acceptance and integration, and prestigious identity. Many Russian-speakers told researchers that Israel was not as 'Western' and not as welcoming as they had expected. On the other hand, they emphasized that they had learned how to deal with the new situation, learned the local language and can shuffle cultural codes as they like. Finally, many emphasized that they were more educated, sophisticated, 'European' and 'Western', compared to native Israelis.

While analysis of narratives and self-presentations is useful and provides us with rich data on how these migrants feel and position themselves, it is not necessarily a full representation of migrants' everyday choices and actions. Faced with this methodological issue, I chose to combine several research methods and focus more on everyday interactions in urban spaces. Yet the findings from these interactions, as it will be described later, also confirmed the importance of juxtaposing them with narratives.

KEY TERMS AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Research on integration of new migrant groups and their networking practices cannot avoid the question of identity. On the other hand, recent theoretical thought denaturalizes and questions the concept of identity as prescribing static categories on actually fluid and spontaneous interactions. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) criticize the notion of identity, suggesting that terms as 'categorization' or 'identification' could be used instead in order to highlight their processual nature. Anderson (2001) suggested defining the 'density' of identity, which depends on how much a person's life is structured by identity.

In the context of the Russian-speakers' migration to Israel, Bourdieu's terms offer an instrumental theoretical framework. For example, Bourdieu (1993) offers the term 'field' to mean a 'social universe' with its own rules, which is both shaped by different actors and shapes them. 'Capital' in his theory is a 'type of relationship' among actors (Mahar, 2000), while 'habitus' denotes tastes, categories and everyday practices that are taken for granted by individuals (Karner, 2007). 'Field' allows better picturing of the web constituted of government policies, settlement, employment and communication opportunities and stereotypes faced and created by the Russian-speakers in Israel. As noted above, they both adapt to the rules present and actively engage in renegotiating their role in them, if not changing the rules altogether. 'Capital' in this case is the profession-dependent respect brought over from the ex-USSR, ability to take part in the cultural life in the Russian language, and, as it will be discussed in detail further, ability to navigate the space, the field and the web of interactions (constructing their identity as of a successful navigator between the 'Russian' and the Israeli cultures is perceived as significant symbolic capital, which shapes interactions between 'veteran' ethnic migrants and newcomers. The 'veteran' *ethnic migrants* prefer to choose in each situation, how much identity to make visible to others in 'mainstream' spaces (public transport, shops, events, recreational spaces, etc.), but also take pride in immediately recognizing Russian-speaking newcomers. Being able to 'dissolve in the mainstream', but quickly identify other 'Russians' seems to be a part of the identity of a 'veteran immigrant' Finally, as already hinted above, *habitus* is a term to be used when speaking about shared dispositions (jokes, hints, references to famous personalities, etc, style, social memory, cultural consumption and so on). Hence the inter-subjective building of shared identity through encounters seems to rest on pre-defined building blocks.

While culture is often compared to language and shared codes of communication (Hall, 1997), it takes a very elaborate form in the case of Russian-speaking Israelis. Namely, the language is expected to be an expression of a shared *habitus* related to the former USSR. Based on the language, its speakers assume one's 'fluency' in a set of cultural codes, a basic set of which is trans-generational (e.g., among Russian-speakers nobody is expected to explain who Cheburashka, a famous Soviet animation character, is). Therefore, for the purposes of this research, culture is understood as a set of codes that is exchanged and reaffirmed by participants who self-categorize and are categorized by others as belonging to the same ethnic group.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

My thesis research was predominantly based on insights from my fieldwork in Tel Aviv (2009-2010), an urban center where the Russian-speaking population is dispersed, unlike in several smaller towns like Ashdod. The fieldwork consisted of participant observation and in-depth interviews with first-generation immigrants. The observations were carried out in Russian cultural institutions and 'visibly Russian' spaces: shops and cafes. The interviewees were owners, staff and clients of these spaces, as well as very recent Russian-speaking immigrants I met at a Hebrew school and Tel Aviv University. Later, when new research questions emerged, I relied on Internet forums for information, as it was not possible to go back to the informants.

In total, 51 interviews have been carried out, 47 in Tel Aviv and suburbs and 4 in Jerusalem, following contacts of Tel Aviv-based informants. Most interviews were recorded in shorthand rather than audio (as they happened in not very quiet places and/or for the informant's comfort). The participant observations in the Russian Cultural Center and bookstores on Allenby street started in December, and in a Georgian pub in Southern Tel Aviv (a place where citizen ethnic migrants and non-citizen Russian-speaking migrant workers meet, surrounded by a colorful cultural space shared by African, Filipino, Indian and other migrant workers) – around February.

In many cases there was initial contact before the interviews – I interviewed people I regularly met in Tel Aviv. When valuable additional insights were provided after the 'formal' interview, I asked whether I could use it for my research, but the process was not without difficulties, and boundaries between casual chatting and interviewing were blurred. Very often casual chatting provided more valuable insights than the formal interview, and in some cases introducing myself as a researcher changed the communication. The easiest and most transparent way of interviewing appeared to be through mutual acquaintances. One of my informants, a bar owner in Tel Aviv, introduced me to his friends and usual clients, who were trusting because of his recommendation, and at the same time aware from the start that I was doing research.

Collecting narratives had several obvious advantages: they placed an individual in his/her context, allowed clarification and tracing patterns. On the other hand, it soon became clear that informants attempted to construct a favourable image of themselves, presenting themselves either as free border-crossing cosmopolitans or as victims of history, which pushed them out of the collapsing USSR into the tough reality of Israel. In both cases the notion of injustice was clearly shared and borrowed from each other, press and popular culture. Moreover, the narratives only presented issues that were consciously thought about. Knowing the background of the researcher and research questions, informants structured their narratives accordingly, in order to maximize their agency or injustice respectively.

Internet forums provided different insights, but also drew my attention to other methodological issues. The key ethical question was that of trust. Using publicly available material does not raise ethical issues, but it does not allow directing the interaction. So far I only used publicly available forum posts. The advantage was that, like narratives, the forums provided some context - links, pictures and other hypertext could be posted, and users'

public profiles could be seen to analyze their self-presentation. Often forum posts were more spontaneous than interviews and were reacting to topics considered important by the subjects, not the researcher. On the other hand, the users of forums were conscious that their posts were public and most likely refrained themselves from more personal messages that were available in interviews. In addition, possibilities of direct interaction and clarification of the informants' points were very limited.

Using multiple research methods allowed seeing the advantages and limitations of each of them when researching several interrelated topics, such as diaspora space and cultural codes. Narratives exposed how individuals felt or wanted to show that they felt, but not necessarily practiced in everyday interactions, whereas observations showed what behavior was normalized and mainstreamed, but, of course, did not offer any insights whether the participants were willingly accepting these practices.

DIASPORA SPACE

The findings of the fieldwork suggest that urban space is not only affected by interactions, identity-building and establishment of community activities. It also structures the outer boundaries of identity. In this empirical case, the Northern (more affluent) and central part of Tel Aviv facilitated defining one's identity vis-à-vis the mainstream population. Most informants said they had learned the 'Israeli ways' of living. They maintained their identity through more sophisticated cultural consumption and networking with other Russian-speakers. Meanwhile, in Southern Tel Aviv (poor, allegedly dangerous neighborhoods) space was shared with migrant workers, refugees and many people living in poverty and exclusion. The effects of downward class mobility were particularly harsh and shared with the other groups mentioned above. 'Us', the collective, was defined not only vis-à-vis the 'mainstream' population, but also in relation to the 'double Other' (of theirs and of the Israeli population at large). Both frameworks of identity building (and translation of *habitus* into ethnicity-based solidarity) are likely to be sustainable, as (a) living in relatively privileged areas and having contacts with mainly native Israeli population produced class and 'higher culture' awareness, and ethnic migrants from the former USSR wished to sustain their intellectual, transnational identity for generations; (b) poorer, unprivileged Russian-speakers, who were driven to disadvantaged and conflicted neighborhoods were likely to maintain their identity and group boundaries when being 'bombarded' with difference from the 'double Other'. Interestingly, the inner boundaries of the latter group were more blurred, sub-ethnic boundaries (differences between Russian-speakers from the European part of Russia, Central Asia, Ukraine, the Baltic States, etc.) played a much lesser role.

Those more economically and socially challenged Russian-speakers in particular drew a sharp distinction between 'culture' and 'no culture' along the dividing line between Occident and Orient. One middle-aged Russian informant ironically exclaimed: 'It's not that the culture is different from Russia. There's no culture here! It's anarchy.' A young informant of mixed heritage (Jewish mother, but grew up as a majority ethnic in Latvia) had a more nuanced view: 'Here eastern mentality prevails: less culture, unsophisticated communication.'

I got used to it and learned to behave accordingly, but still, cultured communication, being considerate of the other, are closer to my heart.' A well-travelled informant from Latvia also drew the line between the sophistication of Europe and the primitivism of the 'Orient': 'We Europeans see things differently than the locals here. For many people [here] it's enough to know a few brands of cars and where to party.'

The ex-USSR *habitus* in Israel is constituted of diverse cultures and 'liminal' spaces, which are present 'here', but recreate the world of 'there'. The *habitus* consists of shared dispositions, such as tastes, jokes, manners and cultural consumption patterns. These patterns are dependent on their sharing in the so-called 'Cyrillic space'. This way the language as such becomes a portable 'home' to migrants, which connects them to a shared favorable memory of cultural life in the USSR: accessibility of 'high' culture and good education, which are contrasted with the situation in Israel. The migrants do not idealize the regime of the former USSR, but remain nostalgic to its cultural life and ambivalent to 'home' (as the country left behind). This way the memory of the 'lost' cultural world is sustained in these 'Cyrillic spaces', whereas, in the perception of the migrants, this world was lost in the USSR successor states. One of the informants working in a Russian-language bookstore summarizes it: 'I watch Russian TV, listen to the radio... I don't have a feeling that I've lived in Ukraine. I'm a Russian person. I don't even feel Jewish. I am Jewish, but it's not so interesting for me. Meanwhile, I really love Russian culture – literature, art. That's where my homeland is. But not as a place, rather as a language, culture...' (interview in Central Tel Aviv)

It is mostly the *habitus* that creates the sense of simultaneous *here* and *there*. A young immigrant from Tajikistan explains, 'People come from all kinds of places, but here we are all Russians. We were Jews there and Russians here. In any case, we feel that we have something in common, we all came from *there*' (interview in Central Tel Aviv).

CULTURAL CODES

Cultural life based on the Russian language is considered a refuge when facing challenging socio-economic situations (a middle-aged respondent admitted that communicating with highly educated Russian speakers and, as much as possible, taking part in cultural life helps her feel she is 'not at the lowest level'). A survey in the late 1990s found that nearly all respondents found their language 'respectful and cultural', 'beautiful' and, paradoxically, relating to their Jewish identity to a higher extent than Hebrew (Ben Rafael, Olshtain & Geijst, 1997, p. 371). Therefore the language is not only the link to one's country of origin. It also becomes a link to one's current life in Israel.

Russian language can as well be the language of dissociation as it is of association. The varying degrees of integration, or absorption, as it is called in Israel, produce differences in power. The power of a 'cultural juggler' (an immigrant able to pass as a native), as opposed to that of 'the ethnic' (clearly identifiable), is to 'dose' one's identity and only reveal as much as necessary in a given situation. Especially young immigrants found it important to show how they have become successful 'cultural jugglers', able to balance and freely use multiple sets of cultural codes. These sets entail not only the 'Russian' and the Israeli *habitus*, but also

identify, for instance, a Russian-speaking cosmopolitan who possesses an Israeli passport. Young middle-class Russian-speakers liked to emphasize that they like reading in Russian, Hebrew and English; many took pride in knowing other languages, keeping in touch with friends and relatives in other countries (mainly the 'nodes' of Russian-speaking diaspora) and considering an international career. Learning other languages was also considered important by older individuals.

The solidarity and networks available due to linguistic affinity strengthened their position in negotiations for a higher status in the receiving society. This created an autonomous space with an infrastructure for not only preserving the respect and cultural capital enjoyed in the former USSR, but also for alternative employment opportunities. Most authors (e.g. Remennick, 2007) have discussed at length the thriving Russian-language press, cultural and education institutions.

One of my fieldwork sites, the Russian Cultural Center in South Tel Aviv, is funded by the Russian embassy, but employed local Russian-speakers. Its Russian language, computer, art and other lectures create an infrastructure that serves several purposes. Firstly, it created a stepping-stone to the Israeli society, allowing individuals to learn from acknowledged 'co-ethnic' experts. Secondly, it provided a feeling of community, which is both a community of memory and a community of *habitus*. Russian-speakers assembled to watch Soviet or Russian films, appreciate art, which is perceived to be different from modern Israeli artistic trends, and feel the pulse of culture in their former homelands. Thirdly, it created employment opportunities to artists and educators who might otherwise face downward class mobility in Israel.

Both a researcher and a newcomer in Israel can easily be lured into the assumption that the Russian language is an equalizing factor and a 'home' for everybody meeting the cultural requirement. My participant observations in various cultural and consumer spaces showed exactly that. My method of learning about the Russian-speakers through everyday interactions with them may easily lead to constructing a rather romantic picture of solidarity and shared belonging. Yet interviews with rather random individuals, met in those spaces, tell the story of absence and disconnection. Many ethnic, cultural and status hierarchies were brought along from the former USSR as immigrants arrived in Israel. High culture to a large extent was produced by Muscovites and Peterburgers. They had better chances of having their education recognized in Israel, and hence more opportunities for class mobility (or, rather, class sustainability). While provincial Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians may also be active consumers and to some extent producers of the Russian-speaking cultural production in Israel, they were sometimes awarded a slightly lower position in the inner cultural hierarchy. Marina Niznik (2003) cites a humorous poem by Gennadii Usim, which contains a confession of looking down on people speaking Russian dialects ('impure' Russian), becoming religious in Israel or displaying signs of 'provincialism'. While the not so abundant population of immigrants from the Baltic States have European identity as a reference point to claim recognition (middle-aged informant explains, 'When I tell them I am from Latvia, it's always met with an 'Ohhh!', and I tell them, yes, it's not your Ukraine or Belarus'), whereas Caucasians and Central Asians often face orientalist attitudes of immigrants from the

European ex-USSR republics (Fialkova and Yelenevskaya, 2007, p. 208). These attitudes were captured by two researchers in interviews or seen as 'bird's-eye view'. These attitudes were hardly observable as one engages in participant observation either in cultural events, which feature an Azerbaijani or a Kazakh once in a while, or observes shops and pubs in South Tel Aviv, run by Georgians and Central Asians. When asked about the presence of people from Caucasus and Central Asia, employees of Russian-language bookstores were always certain that these groups had equal access to Russian cultural consumption. Therefore the observatory analysis of space can easily miss the processes when repressions, persuasions and compulsions are normalized into everyday life (Karner, 2007, p. 38).

Participatory analysis reveals the patterns of spontaneous interaction and presents a rich context of the research questions. It also includes other actors that may be invisible in the narratives, available through interviews or reconstructed from forum posts. It also shows the relevance of such factors as gender, age, infrastructure and others, which may be invisible in the narratives. Space 'tests' the beliefs and values presented in the narratives, for example, when the ways in which individuals bargain in marketplaces are compared to what they say in the notion of 'Israel as an oriental market'. On the other hand, the need to adjust to others and the complexity of interaction does not allow seeing how individuals actually feel about participating in the processes observed. Using multiple methods, such as interviews, internet forums and participatory analysis allows grasping a fuller picture of the integration of Russian-speakers in Israel. This methodology questions the widespread belief in the cosmopolitan transnationalism of the Russian-speakers, which has very clear class and citizenship boundaries.

CONCLUSION

Russian-speaking Israelis are framed as deterritorialised and detached subjects, cosmopolitans and global citizens. They often prefer to see themselves this way as well and present their migration stories using two main frames: either active choice/ agency or victimhood in the hands of history. Their narratives also reflect notions of being *here* and remembering *there*: memory of their old homeland is expressed through their cultural consumption: this way the practices that establish group identity and solidarity are depoliticized and emptied of potential disagreement regarding the current position in the new society, its development and key conflicts.

On the other hand, learning to be an Israeli and actively participate in social and political life entails making use of the new socio-political opportunities and ideologies to maximise one's social prestige and agency. The specific way of sharing and celebrating heritage of *there* is a stepping stone into claiming full citizen rights in the multicultural society of Israel and in some cases even mobilizing individuals for collective action. Nostalgic items, rituals and networking patterns is a process of appropriating the new country's space, making it comfortable and liveable.

Yet participant observations of space suggest a picture of negotiated spaces, full of internalized hierarchies and role-playing. Being able to pass as a native and switch codes are prized, but the skill of recognizing members of the same group is sought after. Furthermore,

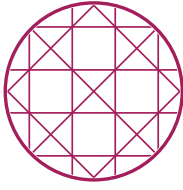
narratives and short comments presented in virtual space, such as internet forums, stand somewhere between the two other methods: positions are taken so as to present a favourable image of oneself, but at the same time interaction follows the rules similar to those in urban space, where some voices create the image of this space for the outsider, whereas others are silenced.

This meta-analysis of my thesis research showed how different methods capture the 'voices' of vocal and silenced members of a certain group. Urban space fosters the group's cohesion: its members' sharp differences make the group feel more united among themselves, and daily interactions allow normalizing inner and outer hierarchies. For their part, narratives reveal what is absent in the observable space, yet they are also constructed to maximize individualism – individual agency or destiny. It will thus be useful to build future research on these considerations and develop new methods to capture how the old homeland is remembered and how this memory is used to participate in the social and political life of the new country. For this purpose, walking with interviewees in their urban spaces, following them as they visit places of cultural consumption and engaging in their activities together would be the most appropriate methods for interviewing. They, however, pose additional challenges relating to recording and distinguishing between research material gathering and simple, trusting communication that often develops in those interactions.

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Colonial Missions in the North American Southwest: Social Memory and Ethnogenesis

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Abstract

Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, European Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries established missions for Native American groups throughout the American Southwest and modern northern Mexico. The process and methodologies of missionization implied radical changes in Native American societies and culture. The impact of such changes was different for settled, crop-growing groups than it was for those who were nomadic and made a living gathering and hunting. Equally important was the way the contact generation and second generation Natives adapted, reacted, or acted on the processes of indoctrination and acculturation. Using archival texts, practice theory and concepts such as structuration and hegemony, this paper explores identity formation and argues for the embeddedness of missionizing practices in ethnogenesis. Practice theory and concepts such as the habitus and hegemony provide the means to interrogate missionary texts such as confessional manuals and catechisms and investigate how these refashioned social arrangements affected shamanistic practices. Likewise, structuration *à la* Giddens facilitates an understanding of the way rules, stated and understated, practices, and social relationships were produced and reproduced in individual and collective social interactions between the missionized and the missionaries. As Native peoples were exposed to the institution of the mission they retained Native habitual practices and traditions while embedding new routines and practices in repeated social actions and interactions. Often displaced and culturally diasporic, the generations that emerged out of the colonial mission system, and particularly modern Native groups, were jolted into contextualizing and reinterpreting their culture in the process of ethnogenesis, a negotiation and articulation of shared meanings and experiences that produces an identifiable cultural entity whose members feel they belong together. In the case of many missionized Native American groups that process of identity formation includes a large Catholic heritage component, which, in some cases, is the key defining element of the expression of their modern identity.

Keywords

Colonial missions; American Southwest; Native Americans; ethnogenesis

Between the late 1500s and the early 1800s Jesuits and Franciscan missionaries under the Crown of Spain established a multitude of Catholic missions from Spanish Florida to California, a geographical area that encompassed most of the colonial territory of New Spain. Most missions in North America were clustered in Florida, Texas, New Mexico and California, and in some cases both religious orders worked in the same mission field at different times.

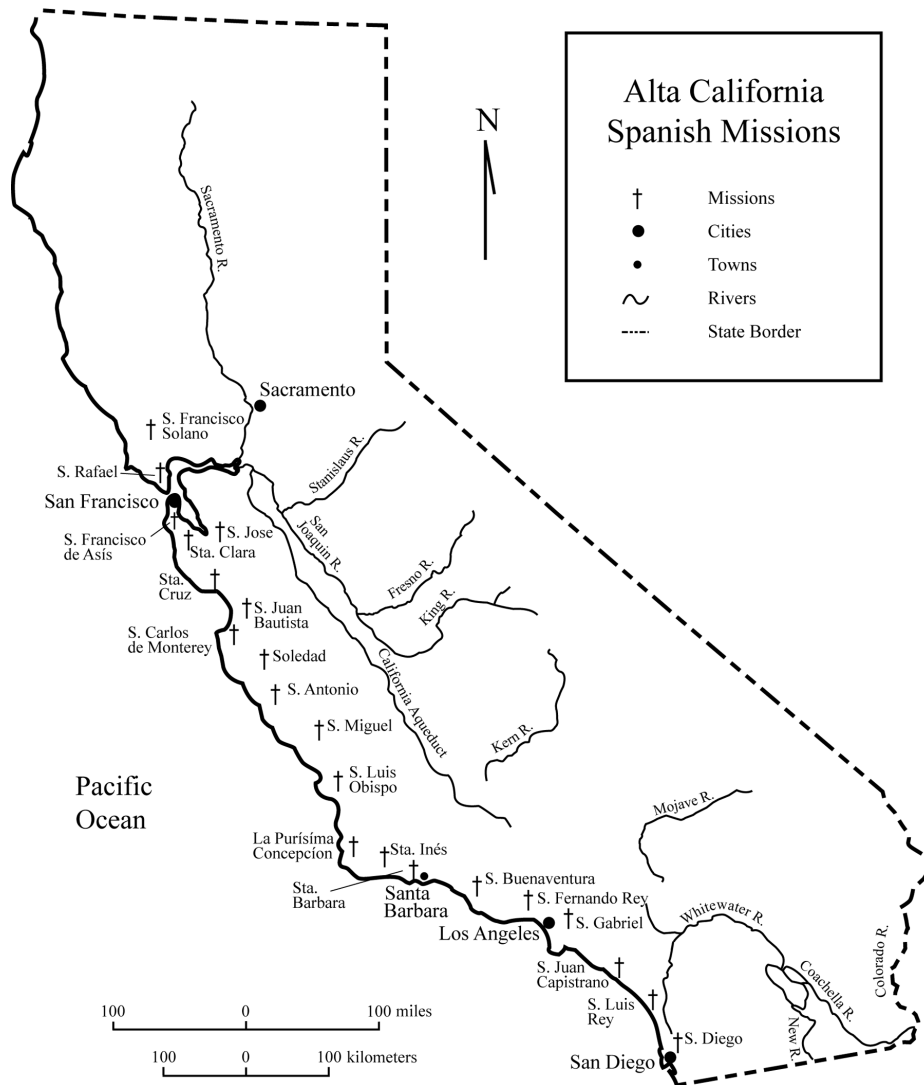


Figure 1 – Spanish Missions in Alta California.
Map prepared by Claire Huie & Don Wade. (Courtesy of the University Press of Florida)

These missions, their conditions of establishment and their development were time and location sensitive. Some missions were established for Native populations that made a living fishing, hunting and gathering while others were set up for agriculturists. The missions' architectural characteristics and space arrangements differed according to the targeted Native populations' mode of living, geopolitical arrangements, period of establishment, and the specific physical and cultural environments in which the missions were inserted.

The geopolitical complexity of the Spanish Empire under the Habsburgs [1450s] and the eighteenth century Bourbons brought to North America missionaries from many modern European countries whose background and training differed greatly as did their mother-language. Despite that, they all adopted Castilian Spanish as their language to teach and indoctrinate the Native American missionized populations. This fact alone created serious issues in the translation and comprehension of key religious concepts and practices (Wade, 2008, pp. 147-8).

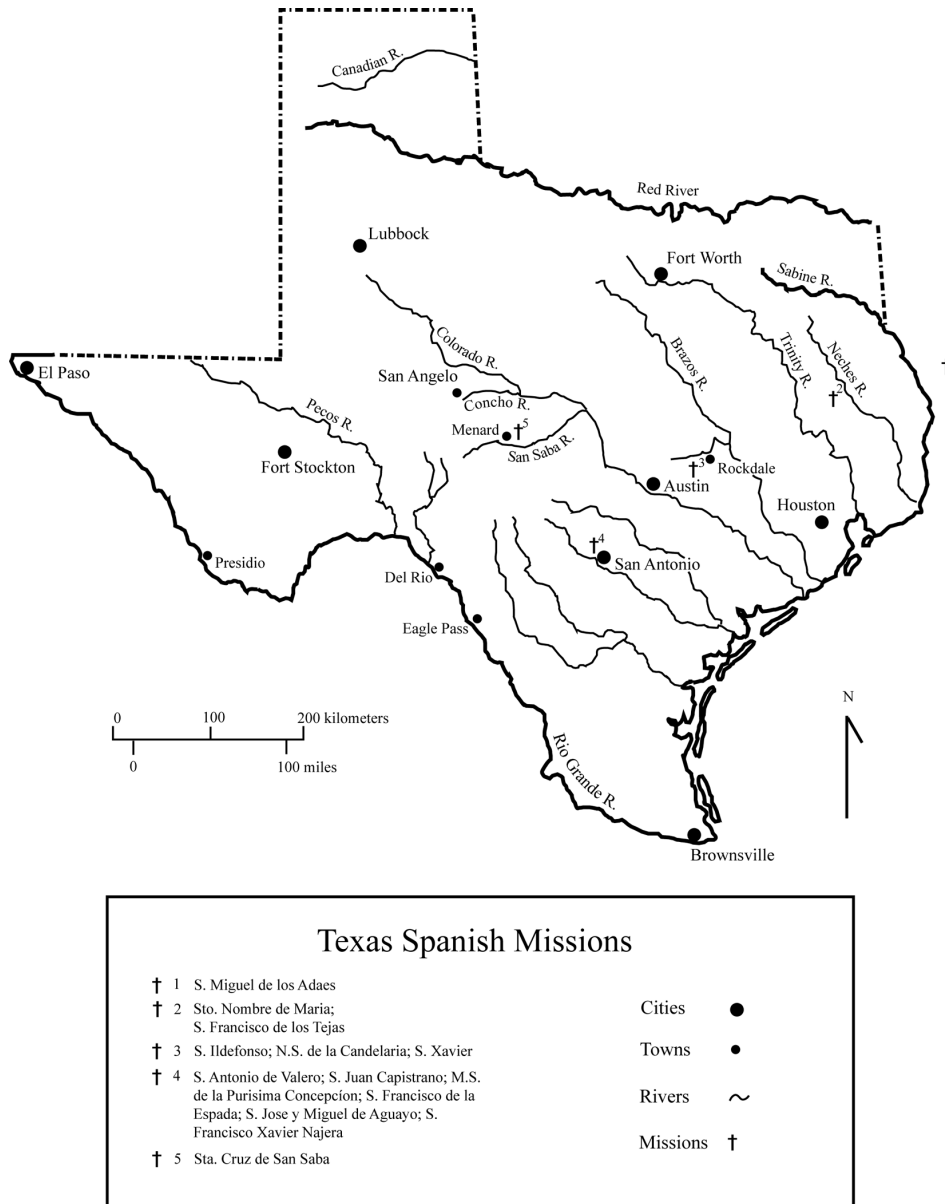


Figure 2 – Selected Spanish Missions in Texas.
Map prepared by Claire Huie & Don Wade. (Courtesy of the University Press of Florida).

Regardless of the overall length of the mission period or what religious order was operating in any particular area of New Spain, several generations of Native Americans experienced mission life either voluntarily or by force. Some were attracted to the missions by offers of gifts and food, others asked for missions unaware of what mission commitment would entail, and others still were brought to the missions under the force of arms, particularly when missions suffered population loss due to disease, conflict or fugitivism. All missions were established in close proximity to military installations, presidios, whose soldiers provided protection and support to the missionaries. These soldiers were routinely engaged in forays to the countryside to bring back Natives to the missions. Presidio soldiers and settlers also benefited from the existence of missions to attend to their religious needs, often to provide a Native labor force, and as suppliers of farming and livestock products.

Differences in the Native Americans' processes of acculturation and indoctrination reflected the missionaries' background, their training, personal abilities and knowledge as much as they reflected the very process of a missionary's adaptation to the area and to his flock. Significant didactic and logistic changes occurred in the late mission period (after the 1750s) as missionaries became wiser to the Native reluctance to abide by Christian teachings and practices. In Texas, for instance, missions became surrounded by massive stone walls that prevented entrance to non-missionized warring Native tribes, such as the Apache and the Comanche, as much as they precluded mission Natives from leaving the mission compound. Conversely, in New Mexico missions were inserted in preexisting Pueblo villages, as these groups were settled and practiced agriculture and animal husbandry. In these cases, missions were not walled compounds and the Puebloans transited freely and returned to their homes after attending religious ceremonies. These differences in spatial positioning, freedom of movement and frequent familial social contact were reflected in the ability to organize, retain cultural traditions and reinforce social ties, thwarting, or delaying, the process of accepting or abiding by the colonizers' cultural dicta (acculturation).

Still, there are certain aspects of acculturation that apply to all Spanish colonial mission periods and areas.



Figure 3 – Californians' Dance at San Francisco, author Louis Choris.1963.002.1312-FR. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material, UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

First, the schedule of Catholic religious events and precepts suffered little change throughout the mission period. Attendance to daily mass and prayers, catechism and yearly confession and communion continued to be required. Similarly, Natives were incessantly encouraged to speak Spanish and abandon their native languages. The dynamics of this process of language replacement could include force, but the process was also reinforced with incentives such as power positions among other Natives, and privileges such as

greater freedom of movement, special foods, coveted clothing items, better housing and sometimes even the labor of other natives. Power was paired with knowledge; knowledge of the Spanish language meant access to information which in turn was translated into further power (Foucault, 1980), initiating a vicious circle whereby knowledge and information were continuously required to maintain the flow and exercise of power. For instance, a Native translator or guide often had knowledge of mission politics, troop movements, the schedules and objectives of friars and military officials, and the foibles of other fellow Natives. Males, more so than females, could manipulate that knowledge to exercise power. Missionaries relied on translators to learn local languages, build vocabularies and prepare confessional and doctrinaire manuals. Translators were frequently catechists with the power to manipulate Christian words and concepts and I believe the tone Christianity acquired in the future, the present of Christian Native populations, reflects the process of reshaping unyielding religious concepts and words to fit Native cosmology and comprehension.

Within a mission's colonial setting mother language loss and colonial language acquisition permeated and structured all daily practices. As Native peoples were exposed to the institution of the mission (Bolton, 1917) they retained Native habitual practices and traditions while embedding new routines and practices in repeated social actions and interactions. To contextualize and flesh out this process of structuration and the interplay between structure and agency (Giddens, 1984, p.14-37) let's consider the case of a missionized Native woman who marries a Native man according to Catholic Church rules.



Figure 4 – Portrait of Indian Girl, author unknown. Banc Pic. 1963.002:1305:F-ALB, Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material, UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

To be able to do so, she has to have received the sacrament of baptism and as a result, renamed. For most societies personal names are important self-identifiers that connect the individual to a genealogy and to the social group. In general, Native names also did so, but they went further in connecting the self to specific spiritual protective powers. Later in life Native

American names also connoted a curriculum of capabilities, achievements, misfortunes, and idiosyncratic aspects of an individual's personality; all unique placement links in the group's social memory, (Nabokov, 1967). Social memory is "attached to membership of social groups" (Fentress & Wickham, 1992, p. ix), but differs from collective memory in that the memories are individually internalized even if collectively shared and constitutive of the social group's identity (Climo & Cattell, 2002, pp.4-5, 12, 34-6; Fentress & Wickham, 1992, pp. 5, 7, 25-6). Catholic renaming could truncate those links to identity or craft a double identity she would try to render functional in separate or hybrid contexts. This hybridity would become central to her public identity and her ability to compartmentalize as well as her fluidity in switching behaviors would determine the degree of success in straddling cultural worlds. Her choice of mate would be conditioned by available kinfolk's mates or by mates from other culturally sanctioned groups depending on her own group's endogamy or exogamy rules.

The missionary had to approve the marriage, and she could neither divorce her husband nor have more than one mate. For the majority of missionized Native groups this last condition constituted a very serious problem (Wade, 2008, p. 224-5). Choice of mates implied the creation and maintenance of social and economic alliances and males frequently had more than one mate. Absence of kin and group alliances through coupling curtailed social and economic links between groups and meant that individuals, not Native groups, had to procure and guarantee access to prestige goods and services, essential to harness a measure of power particularly within the communal mission system. Further, individual procurement of prestige goods and services strengthened co-dependency between missionaries and soldiers and Native individuals. This break with previously adopted traditional practices whereby individual agency and identity gained primacy over group action and identity, had important social repercussions. In fact, treaties and reservation policies the United States used in the late 1800s capitalized on breaking up the socio-cultural tribal bonds, particularly by allotting reservation land to individuals and not the tribe (Deloria, 1985). These processes, which were integral to identity formation, would later affect the process of ethnogenesis as groups negotiated, and continue to negotiate, who is a member of a specific tribe (Hill, 1996, p.2; Sattler, 1996, p.59-64). These decisions reflect complex historical contexts, social memory and modern political realities.

Males who before entering the mission had more than one mate generally were forced to choose only one wife. Women not selected as the religiously accepted wife were often left with children and without male and kin support. Marginalized and stigmatized by a hegemonic set of rules and regulations these women and their offspring had to negotiate and forge new identities in daily social interactions that span domestic arrangements such as who would they live with, to survival issues such as who would hunt for them or who would partner in the rearing of their children. Their dubious social status placed them at greater need to accept missionary protection.

Unlike females, male children were incorporated as church acolytes, learned Spanish, enjoyed greater freedom of movement and had greater opportunities for advancement and prestige. An 1813 Spanish Crown inquiry distributed to Franciscan friars in California shows that the majority of missions reported reasonable language proficiency among Native males

and almost no knowledge of Spanish among females (Geiger & Meighan, 1976, p.19-21). Age was a factor also in Spanish language capabilities. Young males and in some cases those younger than thirty years old were more proficient in Spanish, reflecting the time since the establishment of each specific mission and the acculturation process of the youth (1976, p. 20). Archival documents show perceptible differences in acculturation between the colonial contact generation and the subsequent generations of missionized Natives. The contact generation was more reticent to learn Spanish and to accept religious indoctrination. The second and third generations learned Spanish but also become proficient at manipulating colonial politics and often rebelled. Throughout North America, many missionized Native Americans born or raised under colonial rule used the Spanish language and their knowledge of the Spanish colonial system to exploit conflicts between the civilian authorities and the missionaries. In this manner they extracted favors and created individual and collective spaces of freedom. In some cases, as in Baja and Alta California, they used the Spanish courts to redress grievances and to attempt to extend trade and obtain control over lands (Wade, 2008, 142-4). The unintended consequences of intentional acculturation enabled Native power plays and sometimes produced power shifts (Giddens, 1984, pp. 10-4).

If this hypothetical Native woman was successful in marrying a man the missionary approved and who was ethnically and socially appropriate according to her native canons, she would have to navigate two intersecting social systems with different and conflicting norms and requirements. Her identity construction would reflect these different demands which would be produced and reproduced in individual and collective daily social interactions. For instance, generally neither she nor her female children would learn Spanish nor would they be selected for most Catholic Church rituals, but her male children would. She and her female offspring would be simply in charge of household domestic chores such as washing clothes, cleaning, grinding corn and cooking meals. In some cases they would have little intercourse with their male family members, including her husband and male offspring during the day or the week. In fact, in some missions they would not be permitted to deliver lunch to their husbands who were working in the fields because of the trouble they caused, as the friars stated (Wade, 2008, pp. 244, 263). Further, in most hunting and gathering societies, females gathered and males hunted. In the mission, females' movements were restricted to their dwellings and to the missions' compounds while males performed gathering chores as farm workers, thus denying women their traditional socio-economic role and changing a man's role into that of a woman. Under the hegemonic and paternalistic Spanish colonial society, women were denied access to traditional Native social and ritual roles that balanced gender contributions to society and had been worked out and established through millennia. No doubt, individuals subverted and bypassed these rules in their daily interactions, but they did so at the physical and psychological cost of incurring punishments and being labeled transgressors. Habitual practices taken for granted were brought to consciousness and subject to alternative decision-making; transgressive behavior had consequences and marked the actor (2008, pp. 140-2, 257). Such transgressive acts could be speaking one's mother language, failure to attend a religious ceremony, refusing to wear a garment, or leaving the mission to collect foodstuffs without obtaining permission.

At least once a year, this baptized Native woman would have to confess and receive communion to fulfill the Catholic Easter precept. Depending on the location of the mission, until the early 1700s in most cases she would have to confess facing the missionary without the protective barrier of a confessional box and she might need an interpreter, particularly since women had few opportunities to learn Spanish. Later and only at some missions, confessional manuals were prepared in the most prevalent Native language present in a mission. Aside from the fact that some geographical areas like Texas and California had a multitude of different languages and language dialects often mutually unintelligible, the confessional manuals' questions required a precise accounting of events, emphasized the missionaries' extreme fear of sexual contact outside of the marriage and particularly of anything the missionaries considered deviant behavior. Questions such as "How many times did you fornicate and with whom? Who was watching? Did you fornicate with your brother in law?" not only required a memory account of socio-sexual relationships but provided the confessor with information on Native kin sanctioned sexual relations (Señán, 1800s/1967, p.40-63; Vergara, 1732/1965; Wade, 2008, p.217-9). In fact, confession worked as an ethnographic and genealogical tool to identify potential occasions of sinful behavior and the policing of specific individuals by other Native Americans or by the missionaries. Gossip, as an instrument of power and social control would easily be a vehicle for dissemination of information beyond the confessional. How these introspective memory exercises on sexual acts affected Native social and sexual behavior is not clear. Archival texts do show that in the short term, missionaries were very concerned over the low birthrate and over abortion and targeted questions and measures to minimize both. In Texas, where the colonial mission period began in the late 1600s and where most missions were closed by 1773, women were mostly confined to the mission compounds (Wade, 2008, p.263). In Alta California (North America) the mission period began in 1769. In that mission field unmarried women and widows were kept in locked dormitories at night to prevent contact with males (2008, p.263). In relation to the Fifth Commandment, the *Ventureño Confesionario* of Fr. José Señán asked, "Have you ever caused a woman to kill the child in her womb?" and "Have you ever killed the child in your womb?" among other questions dealing with abortive drinks or with "spilling the body's seed" to avoid pregnancy (1967, p.38-9). At a time of incipient medical knowledge about human sexuality missionaries questioned the reasons for the phenomena clearly implying the willingness of couples to avoid procreation. Yet, the colonial archival evidence is overwhelming on the love Native parents had for their children. At Mission San Gabriel in Alta California, the missionary stated that "when it concerns the children...their parents love them to such an extent that we might say they are their little idols" (Geiger & Meighan, 1976, p.23). These statements were repeated throughout the colonial period by all those who had extensive contact with Native American groups (Casañas, 1691/1975, p.23-7). If we take into account the evidence that Native Americans loved their children dearly and that children were a source of pride, it seems very likely that efforts to curtail pregnancy would deeply affect personal and group identity construction aside from obvious future demographic and social results.

While females were especially subjected to scrutiny regarding their sexual and procreation practices, males and females were extensively questioned in the confessional

about shamanistic practices. Midwives and shamans were deeply implicated, or presumed to be, in the procurement and administration of abortive measures. More important, shamans were the spiritual adversaries the missionaries associated with the devil, evilness and dark powers. Among Native groups shamans, as spiritual and medicinal practitioners, held positions of great power but also of great danger as they did battle with cosmic forces. Missionaries were not unaffected by shamanic power and their influence on Native communities. Confrontations between Native American spiritual practitioners and Catholic missionaries permeate the archives. Winning over or defeating a charismatic shaman were clear validations of God's grace and of the missionary's work (Wade, 2008, pp. 13-9). Native elders and shamans held the key to social memory and to the spiritual practices which guaranteed the socio-cultural transmission and continuity of traditions. Though in general we lack the evidence, the systematic battle missionaries waged against Native American shamans as spiritual competitors could not but influence the transmission of social memories and traditions.

We have no good archival evidence to track the long-term changes produced in social roles and in females' or males' identity formation in the post-mission period but they had to reflect many decades or centuries of missionization depending on the mission field. Despite the extent of change experienced, Natives negotiated, exploited and reworked Spanish missionary demands into their own traditions to structure their identities. Exploring vulnerabilities and fissures in the colonial mission system, such as the need for translators for religious and social functions, guides with environmental knowledge and the continuous need for Native labor and expertise, Natives won space to embed their social arrangements and practices into the mission structure subverting the missionaries' objectives. The frequent cases of *ladinos* who gained the confidence of the missionaries and the military and acquired power and prestige, illustrate the nature of the process. *Ladinos* were Natives who spoke Spanish and were familiar with Spanish colonial customs. Antonio Arcón, native governor of Mission Valero in Texas, fled the mission with family and friends and because he knew well the mission's defenses and troop movements, he led several other Native groups in attacks against the Spanish (Wade, 2008, p. 117). In Baja California, Leandro, a *ladino* *mayordomo* (a Native village official) and trusted guide, obtained privileges such as special housing, free passes to travel and even Native labor to plant his private garden. When the missionaries tried to curtail his attempts to help his friends flee the mission, he used his intimate knowledge of the political frictions between missionaries and soldiers to create an endless series of problems for the missionaries (2008, pp. 160-3). Likewise, a dying faithful Christian Native refused confession because he felt that he had been duped for many years and he wanted to die undeceived and as a Native (2008, p. 33).

These notorious archival cases refer to Natives who had acquired important power positions within the missions and whose cases were recorded, but many other actors would have structured social actions to define their identities, reinterpret their culture and forge the basis for ethnogenesis. It is productive to conceptualize ethnogenesis as a multivalent process of negotiation and articulation of shared meanings and experiences that produces an identifiable cultural identity whose members feel they share precisely because of those common experiences (Hill, 1996, pp. 1-3).

As missions were returned to local parish priests (secularized), mission Natives across the country were presumed to own and share the missions' buildings and agricultural land the missionaries had held in trust for them according to the missions' charters. The results were diverse for different mission fields but, in general, Native peoples lost all the missions' properties as they did in Texas and California. Mission Natives dispersed, integrated with other groups, or remained in the area working as servants and sometimes as blacksmiths, ranch laborers (cowboys), weavers, tanners, and carpenters etc., using the skills they had acquired at the missions. Some missionized populations later entered the United States reservations, but others did not, and mixed with other local ethnic groups in a complex process of miscegenation which became intrinsic to individual and tribal ethnogenesis. The discussion of such processes is particular to each group; even generalizations on this issue are beyond the scope of this paper.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the majority of Native populations in North America were removed to reservations sometimes voluntarily but mostly forcefully. Though it is often difficult to document the importance of identity to North America Native American groups during the colonial period (for exceptions see Bohaker, 2010), and post-colonial Native American ethnogenesis processes are difficult to document and narrate (for exceptions see Panich, 2010), the evidence is clear in the endless list of Native American groups that have received United States federal recognition as tribes and those that have applied for it (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Tribal Directory). At present there are 565 Native American Tribes federally recognized. Other tribes have requested recognition, and either have been denied such recognition or they are in the process of reapplying (National Conference of State Legislatures; U.S. Government Accountability Office). The process of federal recognition is difficult and often divisive, and may actually complicate, redefine or blur traditionally perceived tribal and ethnic group boundaries.

Throughout the colonial period, unplanned and unmanaged Native tribal mixing occurred together with imposed European and Christian norms and regulations which also resulted in ethnic mixing. As a consequence, Natives and Native tribes imbued with relevance that which was shared, gathered what cultural material they still retained together with material ethnologists and anthropologists collected in the post-colonial period, and in collective and individual social interactions forged identities that reflected their position in the present. Appiah stated that "we make up selves from a toolkit of options made available by our culture and society," and I would add by the history we share, dealt or chosen (1994, p. 155). Identity building then, becomes imagining the possible community (a field of tactical possibilities) and negotiating through conflict, struggle and discontinuities a groups' positioning vis-à-vis its historical past and its challenging present, taking into account the realities of external and internal systemic power imbalances (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, pp. 24).

In some North American areas where missionaries were active, such as Texas, New Mexico and California, descendants of mission Natives adopted Catholic practices, very often laced with Native spiritual traditions. The Sanctuary of Chimayo in northwestern New Mexico is one of the best examples of these processes. Archaeologists assert that the sanctuary "encompasses three older indigenous sites that date back to a period between

approximately A.D. 110 and A.D. 1400" (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 72). The colonization of New Mexico did not begin until the mid-sixteenth century and *de facto* occupation of the area started only in the seventeenth century. The construction of the sanctuary is shrouded in several "miracles" (1995, p. 77). The sanctuary is located on "sacred earth" which pilgrims use for ritual purposes (1995, p. 77). The most important place within the sanctuary is a small hole in the ground from which the ritual dirt is extracted. This hole is a *sipapu*, an entry into the underworld from which Native peoples emerged "and to which they would return after death" (1995, p.74). Tewa speaking Native American Pueblo groups visit the sanctuary as do Catholic pilgrims and tourists of other ethnicities, all sharing the healing powers of the *sipapu's* dirt, though most likely imbuing the ritual with different meanings. As Gregory Smoak noted, "The construction of meaningful identities, be they ethnic, tribal, racial or otherwise, is always a reflective process. Identity formation does not take place in isolation; it is not dependent on exclusion of the Other. Rather, the process takes place in conversation and interaction with the Other" (2006, p.192). The San Fernando Cathedral in San Antonio, Texas, offers another example of these interdependent conversations and of the incorporation of recent immigrant communities, their histories and memories. San Fernando was constructed in the 1730s and served as the first parish church for the colonial settlers. After Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 and the various changes in government until Texas became part of the United States, the cathedral continued to be the spiritual and social hub of a vibrant borderlands multiethnic community. During the 1930s the cathedral was the center for processions that meandered "through the plaza and streets for the feasts of Cristo Rey, the Virgin of Guadalupe, *posadas* (Christmas celebrations) and First Communion" (McCracken, 2000, p. 194). Immigrants from Mexico and from other places in Latin America continued to arrive through the middle twentieth century, the latter particularly after the civil wars in the 1970s and 80s. Under the leadership of Father Virgilio de Elizondo and his theology of *mestizaje*, the cathedral has embraced and incorporated "hybrid Latino practices" (2000, p. 195) that focus on material representations that help dislocated and dispossessed ethnic groups create a meaningful ritual and social space. Aside from the statues of saints and divine figures that are part of the cathedral, groups of people have, on their own, placed specific images or statues to which they have particular devotion at the base of, or next to, other permanent cathedral statues. These 'meta-altars' include devotional figures related to specific immigrant cultures, such as El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas for Guatemala, and San Martín de Porras, a mulatto saint, for Peru. Indeed, like the Virgin of Guadalupe does for Native Americans and Mexicans alike, these divine figures of color pre-form, validate and enhance identities constructed with, and around, multiple colonizing experiences and memories. People "light candles, pray and display *ex-votos* such as photographs, petitions, milagritos, and other mementos," (2000, p. 197) as they do in Chimayo. They leave notes of thanks and requests for help and comfort. These displays change continuously in a private *cum* communal narrative manifesting hopes and anxieties in a multiethnic dialogue with the divine, and with each Other.

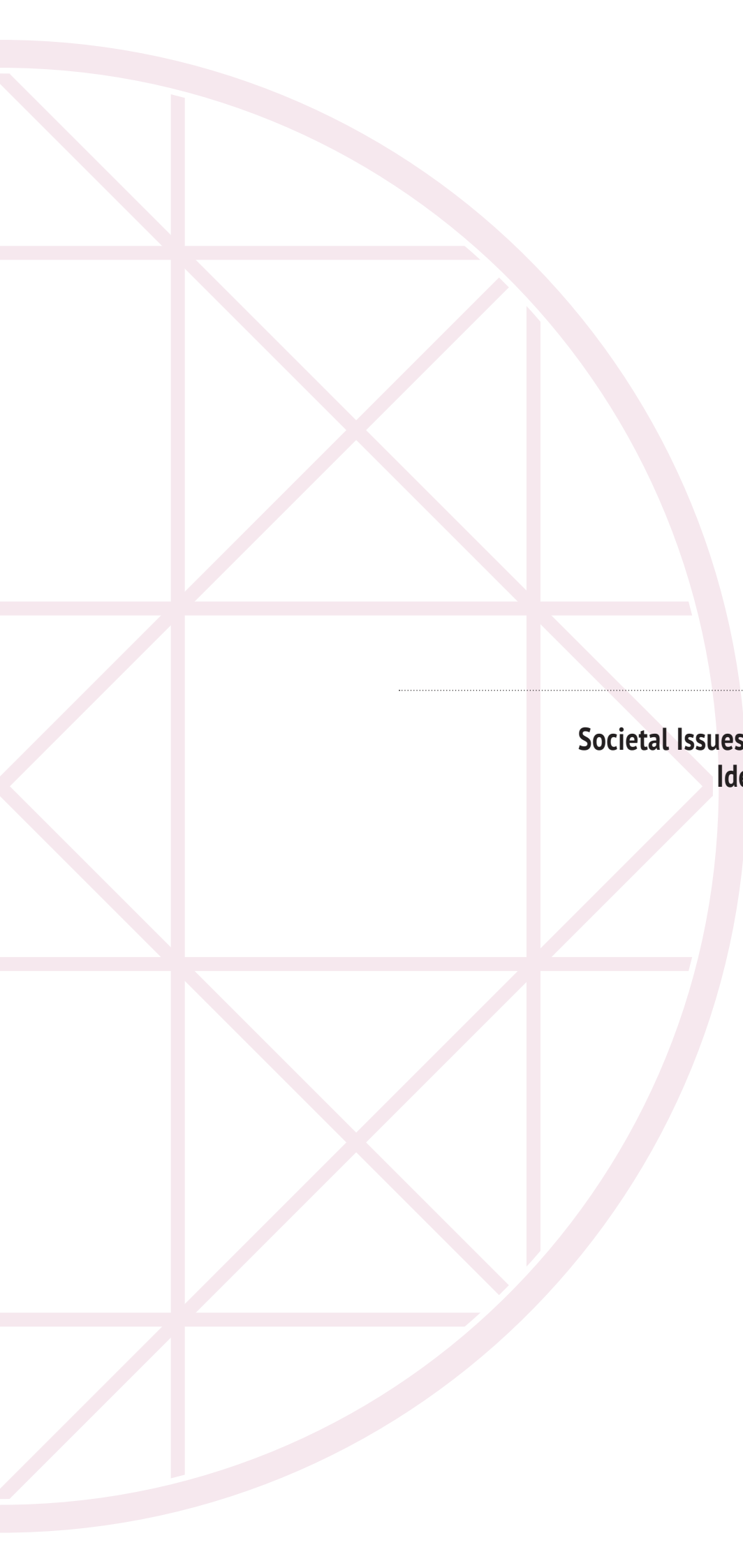
If the co-existence of Christian beliefs and Native American beliefs, albeit sometimes through force, had not been important and had not deeply affected identity construction

among Native and mestizo populations we would not be discussing the issue. In the present, these colonized peoples make choices rooted in the past but actionable in the present. For many years, I have worked with the Adai, a Native American tribe formerly of Texas and today located in eastern Louisiana. The Adai appeared in the historic record in the mid-seventeenth century and persist today. They are profoundly Catholic though their rituals include many Native American traditions. Interestingly, and despite their refusal to accept Christianity in the colonial past, Catholicism is an integral part of their individual identities and the defining element of their modern tribal identity.

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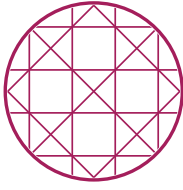
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Part V

Societal Issues, Collective Action, Identity and Memory



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Collective Mobilization and the Social Memory of Environmental Destruction

A Methodological and Theoretical Frame Proposal to Socio-environmental Conflict Analysis

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the 25th April 1974 Revolution, a rural village in the Portuguese region of Beira Baixa staged a six-year conflict between peasant landowners and a mining company. The former, discontent with the company's financial proposals, organized a protest taking advantage of the opportunities generated by the ongoing national political changes. This paper's purpose is to present the methodological and theoretical frames underlying the research and analysis of the above-mentioned socio-environmental conflict. The methodological approach combined ethnographic fieldwork, oral history and research in private, corporate and institutional archives. As for the theoretical device, it was intended to analyze collective mobilization in the context of breaking political structural changes, identity processes and social memory frames – a theoretical apparatus built from multiple disciplinary proposals, articulating environmental history and anthropology, as well as social movements theories.

Keywords

social movements; socio-environmental conflict; Revolution; political opportunity; social memory

INTRODUCTION

The present paper revolves around the methodological strategies and theoretical framing implied in the study of a socio-environmental conflict that took place in a small village, Gaia, located in the Northeastern corner of the Portuguese region of Beira Baixa. Erupting in 1974, the conflict lasted for six years, opposing a group of small-scale landowners backed by a large part of the village's population against a mining company. The study aimed at understanding how collective action and local resistance processes develop in a context of sudden national political change, as well as examining how the social memory of past environmental depredation participate in the definition of vocabularies and repertoires of contention¹. Identifying the motivations that led the villagers to protest or tracing the strategies and

¹ This study was conducted in the scope of a doctoral dissertation in Contemporary History presented at the University of Santiago de Compostela and supervised by Lourenzo Fernández Prieto (Silva, 2011).

repertoires of contention became indisputable dimensions of inquiry. It was also subject of investigation the leadership frames, the mechanisms and forms of community solidarity, and the relations established between the local movement and the political opportunities available from the outside. The integration of these elements in a wider frame of analysis, broad enough to enlighten as much angles of the problem as possible, meant dealing with various narratives available from diverse sources – enterprise, municipal, regional, State and private archives, as well as documental collections kept in United States libraries. Considering that a substantial number of Gaia's inhabitants still recalled the impacts of mining activities in the region, oral sources ended up playing a fundamental role within the research methodology.

If the nature of the sources presented a methodological challenge, its analysis posed another defy, this time, a theoretical one, inviting, again, to work within a multidisciplinary frame. Considering the historical context that sparked the conflict, the study of social movements literature and of Portuguese post revolutionary political transition were mandatory to contextualize local collective action. As discussed later, the theory of political opportunity structure (POS) came to be a major model for the analysis of Gaia's conflict². However, the POS theory did not cover all the dimensions of the conflict and certain aspects of local mobilization in Gaia defied the mechanist and structural trends of the model. The POS model also reveals its inability to deal with the roles of emotion and identity³. In fact, emotion and identity played a prominent function throughout the conflict, structuring the repertoires and rhetoric of contention, acting as expressive and instrumental elements of the protest (Polletta & Jasper 2001).

Jointly with the POS theory, environmental history offered important inputs to the study. Research on socio-environmental struggle, on the clash between capitalist and non-capitalist systems of production (Martinez Alier, 1992, 2005; González de Molina 1993; Soto-Fernández *et al.*, 2007) or on the use of vocabularies of contention (Guha, 1990, 1997) helped understand the material and ecological substance of local mobilization. This theoretical composition is completed with the phenomenological approach proposed by the anthropologists Ingold (1999, 2000, 2004) and Milton (1996, 2002) – a contribution particularly helpful to analyze the relationship between the social memories of mining activity in the past and collective action occurred from 1974 until 1980.

THE 1974-1980 GAIA CONFLICT IN A GLIMPSE

The conflict broke out in April 1974, when the company operating in the Gaia valley, Dramin, drove the dredge to the thresholds of the village, preparing to enter a stretch of land – called Marradas⁴ – spared by earlier mining works. Dramin's activity began in the mid sixties, when Portuguese, Brazilian and United States investors bought the old Portuguese American Tin Company (PATC)'s dredge from a scrapyard, upgraded it and set off to explore the Gaia's valley underground in search of the remaining tin deposits.

Before Dramin's arrival, from 1914 until 1949, the North-American venture inflicted large damages on the soil's agricultural capability, turning the landscape into a barren lunar

² See Tarrow (1994).

³ See Jasper (2008), Goodwin and Jasper (1999, 2006), Polletta (1999) and Polletta and Jasper (2001).

⁴ In total, it was about three hectares of land divided into 11 plots.

like environment, as villagers still recall. With the exception of the polycultivated gardens and olive tree orchards in the village's environs, the whole extension of the valley, 10 km along the stream, was turned into a pile of sand and rock debris. It took the effort, by hand, of entire families to recover some of the plots for agricultural use once the mining company's lease rights expired.

In the first trimester of 1974, contacts between Dramin negotiators and some of the Marradas' landowners – at least four of them – showed that the latter would not accept eagerly the company's financial proposals. Upon this disavowal, Dramin did not take long to cast the usual trump mining companies used to throw on the table: the legal expropriation of the property. If some landowners were already dissatisfied with Dramin's conduct since it started operating in the area, their malcontent grew further in face of the menace of being expropriated. The importance of these properties is fundamental to understand the mobilization against mining: besides the fact that they were the few remaining areas untouched by dredging, it was from those plots that their elderly landowners obtained the produce used to complement the household economy all year long. The Marradas was, as some stated in letters sent to Government officials after 1974, the sole and irreplaceable village's pantry.

The movement grew around a nucleus of five landowners led by the 27 years old descendant of a couple of proprietors, a Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP) supporter, previously drafted for a colonial war tour of duty in Guinea Bissau, where he reinforced his Marxist and revolutionary sympathies⁵. This group remained tight until 1980, having successfully mobilized large numbers of Gaia's inhabitants to join the contestation, especially in 1975. The exposure of the conflict in the media also resulted from this group's action, especially through its network of contacts. In fact, the Gaia conflict was mentioned publicly for the first time in *Jornal do Fundão*, in November 1974, one month after the first popular assembly had taken place in the village. As these popular assemblies happened, the protest broadened to the community and managed to attain the movement's first political ally: Belmonte's newly designated Municipal Administrative Commission, headed by a well-reputed local MDP militant and dictatorship resistant (Reed, 1995). From October 1974 and during 1975, what started out as a quarrel intended to secure private property rights, soon took the form of a collective mobilization focused on protecting the integrity of an environmental setting portrayed as common heritage.

The main arguments protesters held throughout the conflict stressed how those plots were irreplaceable to the survival of their owners as well as of other villagers who benefited from the produces cultivated on the premises. On the other hand, Dramin claimed that the protest was nothing more than an opportunistic and egotistic attitude of a handful of landowners interested in pulverizing financial deals, an act regardless of local and national collective interest. For Dramin, the future of the company and the jobs depended on recovering the large quantity of tin thought to exist under the Marradas' gardens and orchards. However, according to the protesters, Dramin had overweighed the profits that mining the Marradas

⁵ The MDP was a progressive left wing party gathering a wide array of political sympathies, ranging from progressive catholic socialists to pro communist supporters. In popular opinion and according to some authors, the MDP was accused of acting under the Portuguese Communist Party's influence (Cerezales 2003; Reed 1995).

plots might generate. They also claimed that it would only take the company three months of labor to dredge the area, while risking turning the soil unproductive for a lifetime. But the protesters' arguments went beyond the productive uses of the property. The plots, presented as the last remaining piece of land untouched by industrial mining, were promoted to collective heritage site, and therefore stood as a referral of historic continuity, as if the Marradas' landscape and resources bound the community to her pre-mining past. The symbolic and use values of the land brought the protesters' argumentation closer to the discourse and positions held by the same State agencies that fought to implement alternative paradigms of development not necessarily dependent on industrial productivist models⁶.

Following the trend of post-Revolutionary events, in 1974 and 1975, the conflict took the public space as its main stage. More than five assemblies in Gaia and meetings in Belmonte gathered landowners and other community members with the mining company's representatives, the military, the municipal authority and State sent emissaries. The Armed Forces 5th Division, actively engaged in the last months of 1974 and in the first semester of 1975 in the Campaigns of Cultural Dynamization, visited the village and tried, unsuccessfully, to influence a settlement between Dramin and the protesters. In April, a couple of months before the "hot summer of 1975" – that is how the period of mass popular mobilization that swept the country ended up being called – the confrontation in the village nearly came to violence when a meeting between a group of landowners and an engineer from the Ministry of Agriculture was disturbed by company workers amidst shouting, physical menaces and the calling of Belmonte's National Republican Guard forces. This event, according to the leader of the protest, was decisive to bring the League of Revolutionary Unity and Action (LUAR)⁷ elements to "protect" the population. The very same presence of LUAR can be read as an indicator of police inability to guarantee the maintenance of public order (Barreto, 1987).

In the meantime, in July 1975 two key decrees enacted the legal protection of highly productive agricultural soils and set a limit to surface mining activities⁸. This legislation obstructed the expropriation of the *Marradas* plots and gave rise to endless juridical debates throughout several Governments from 1976 to 1979.

The 25th November 1975 brought to an end the Revolutionary process, refraining its left wing progressive surge. Hence, the cycle of political opportunities for Gaia's anti-mining movement started to faint. As the constitutional order was settling in and the period of State crises (Cerezas 2003, Rezola 2008) reached an end, the protest gradually left the public stage of manifestation and migrated to the State corridors and offices, inaugurating the conflict's juridical phase. Still, the protesters kept following high-level juridical discussions from the village, receiving constant notifications from governmental services and non-official information from public servants stationed in ministerial departments. Up until 1979, the successive constitutional governments could not decide on Dramin's behalf, unable to figure out how to override the soil's protection legislation.

⁶ Like the IV and V Provisional Government's Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries or the National Environmental Commission.

⁷ LUAR is an acronym meaning "moonshine" in Portuguese. It was a left-wing clandestine organization founded in the early 1960s by the Estado-Novo's notable oppositionist Palma Inácio.

⁸ The decrees 375/75 and 376/75.

The President of the National Environmental Commission, Correia da Cunha, stood vigorously on the side of the protesters, having visited Gaia and Belmonte in 1976. From that year until late 1978, Correia da Cunha and the Commission presided by him were the most enthusiastic allies of the movement and, by then, its major institutional backup.

The conflict ended when the IV Constitutional Government, headed by Mota Pinto, acknowledged the arguments in favor of Dramin and revoked the 1975 laws that protected the most productive agricultural soils. In its place, a new set of decrees, far more benevolent to mining interests, were approved. Clearly, this government's pragmatism assumed preference for the superior interest of the *Marradas'* tin deposits instead of its gardens and olive trees. Hence, in July 1979, the public utility of the plots was declared, opening the way to expropriation.

However, Dramin did not follow-through with the expropriation procedure. Suspecting it would take longer than the company could afford, a negotiation process was started with the landowners. In the end, the plots were dredged and the owners received compensations up to three times more than what was offered in 1974.

DEVISING A THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL *BRICOLAGE* FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF A SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT

The conflict's underlying ecological dimension demanded summoning environmental anthropology and environmental history. However, the theoretical contribution of both disciplines was not enough to explain the dispute's implicit political scope. At the same time, to look at the conflict merely from the structural paradigm of political opportunity could carry the risk of neglecting the observation of micro levels of social action, identity and social memory

Thus, the challenge implied articulating a theoretical design versatile enough to cover the different angles rendered by the object of study. In this sense, a triangulation between environmental anthropology, environmental history and social movements theories was put together. From the first, Ingold (1992, 2000, 2004) and Milton's (1996, 2002) phenomenological proposals allowed integrating in the analysis the realms of environmental perception and emotions. From the second, stemmed interesting systematizations of socio-environmental conflictuality, particularly on the clash between rural production practices and mercantile capitalist systems, as the works of Martinez Alier (1992, 2005), González de Molina (1993) and Soto-Fernández *et al.* (2007) evidence, or Guha's (1997) studies in the production and use of vocabularies of contention show. Thirdly, in the last three decades, political sciences, political sociology, history and social psychology immensely contributed to enrich the studies on social movements: Tilly's (1985) cycles and repertoires of contention, Tarrow's (1994) political opportunity structures and Klandermans' (2002) frames of injustice supplied the major corner stones that held the theoretical and conceptual approach to the Gaia conflict. Polleta and Jaspers' (2001) attention to the identity and emotional factors behind collective action also contributed to this theoretical *bricolage*, indeed useful to curb the risks presented by macro political approaches.

Inside this theoretical triangle, bearing points in common with all the sides, were Halbwachs' (1925) proposals on social memory and its use as interpretive tool of human action and discourse; Scott's (1985) ideas on everyday forms of resistance and hidden transcripts of contention, important to analyze local resistance forms under the Estado Novo's authoritarian rule. It was also subject of consideration Fox and Starn's (1997) idea that, under certain circumstances, namely in rural contexts, collective action do not follow the same organizational principles, motivations and objectives as urban, labor or new social movements do. From the study of rural mobilization in Latin America, these authors propose the concept that peasant mobilization is often focused on the solution of casuistic problems and grievances, not forcibly aimed at large scale social or political change.

An evident lack of space forbids the thorough scrutiny of all the theoretical models used. Therefore, the paper will focus on the theoretical duo that stands out in the conflict's analysis frame: the political opportunity structure (POS) and the phenomenological paradigm of environmental perception.

POS theory offered an interesting and fairly comprehensive framework for the interpretation of local collective mobilization in Gaia. The model, largely drawn from Tarrow's (1994) work, allows seeing mobilization as a result of the capacity local actors have to grab emergent political opportunities. It also helps identify and analyze the resources and the mechanisms of solidarity used by collectives to bolster consensus around the movement and the protest⁹. POS presents a valuable tool to understand how Gaia's protesters perceived and took the opportunities laid ahead by the 1974 Revolution. The changes in political alignments and the decline of the long established corporate, political and social elites did not escape the leaders of the anti-mining movement in Gaia, as shown by their constant efforts to co-opt newly arrived political and institutional allies¹⁰.

In spite of the POS's versatility, its structural and mechanistic scope tends to neglect micro analytical approaches, bypassing the study of cultural and identity elements, as Polletta and Jasper (2001) noted. Though POS proponents recognize the role of identity in collective mobilization, they end up turning it into a variable dependent on the structural frame that controls individual and group action. In the case of Gaia's conflict, identity appears inseparable from the social memory of mining in the past and, simultaneously, as an instrument and an expression of mobilization.

The collective memories of past environmental depredation gave the adversaries of dredging the factual and symbolic arguments needed to uphold the legitimacy of the protest and, overall, to attract the solidarity of other villagers. In this sense, identity marked constantly the claims hoisted by the movement. Such identity statements were not based merely on symbolic relationships with the landscape, but also and most strikingly, on the engagements with resources and with the specific modes of production reliant on small-scale farming.

⁹ Solidarity and consensus are, according to Tarrow (1994), the primary constituents of collective action, without which mobilization can hardly thrive.

¹⁰ The movement's main institutional backup came from Belmonte's Municipal Administrative Commission, Belmonte's left-wing progressive MDP party structure, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the State's Secretary of Agrarian Structuring and the National Environmental Commission.

The examination of the relationships that bind people to their environment can contribute to a broader understanding of collective action, especially when mobilization and protest are motivated by issues concerning the control of ecological resources. In this scope, environmental anthropology, particularly Ingold and Milton's phenomenological approach, become useful to study how the perception of the environment and the relationships between individuals and resources influence protest behavior and shape the repertoires and vocabularies of contention. In essence, according to these anthropologists, individual attitudes stem from the contact people have had with their world and that very same experience guides their future actions and constructs their symbolic reference systems. This viewpoint allows observing the conflict of Gaia in relation to its historical background, setting forth an understanding of current social action in line with past experiences, perceptions, and the ensuing mental elaborations.

Ingold and Milton's proposals also open the way to consider the emotional and identity components of collective mobilization. A feature, as several authors have pointed out (Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Goodwin & Jasper, 2006), was virtually absent from Tarrow's POS model. Closely related to environmental perception, emotions should not be overlooked when it comes to analyzing socio-environmental conflicts. The emotional torrent that flows from the quarrel's rhetoric is just too overwhelming to be underestimated, as these examples, taken from the correspondence exchanged between some contenders and various State officials and organizations show: "I beg you to help us in our moment of painful suffering"¹¹; "they [Dramin] mean to starve us to death by taking away this morsel of land"¹²; "to take away from us these tiny plots is like leaving us dying here, surrounded by sand and rocks"¹³; "if this land was to be destroyed [...] dozens of families would be thrown into misery, abandonment, misfortune and famine"¹⁴. An emotional registry also present when it comes to express identity statements: "these poor people"¹⁵; "[we are such a] tiny little people", "weak peasants"¹⁶; "the most underprivileged"¹⁷. A register of humility inversely proportional to the opponents' character portrayal as an hegemonic and prepotent entity: the "bogeyman"¹⁸ company made out of "big landowners, driven by the worst instincts"¹⁹ and working "like a pack of dogs"²⁰ "meaning to drive everybody to starvation"²¹. This emotional registry reinforces the contenders' dramatic tone and becomes even more evident when compared with Dramin's blunt

¹¹ Letter sent by a landowner to the State Secretary of Agriculture, 14-11-1974, private archive.

¹² Letter sent by a female landowner to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 16-12-1976, Direction of Industrial Services and Geological Resources (DSIRG) archive, folder 797.

¹³ Letter sent by a female landowner to the Council of Ministers' Presidency, 20-2-1978, Câmara Municipal de Belmonte (CMB) archive, box 228.

¹⁴ Petition subscribed by four landowners sent to the Comissão Nacional do Ambiente (CNA), 15-12-1976, private archive.

¹⁵ Letter sent by a female landowner to the Council of Ministers' Presidency (PCM), 21-2-1978, CMB archive, box 228.

¹⁶ Letter sent by a male Gaia resident to the Prime Minister, Vasco Gonçalves, November 1974, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Letter sent by a male landowner to the State mining services, 1976, private archive.

¹⁸ In Portuguese, the expression used was "papão" (bogeyman). Letter sent by a female landowner to the Prime Minister, Vasco Gonçalves, 10-4-1975, private archive.

¹⁹ Petition subscribed by 29 individuals sent to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 8-12-1976, DSIRG archive, folder 797.

²⁰ Letter sent by a male Gaia resident to the Prime Minister, Vasco Gonçalves, November 1974, CMB archive, box 228.

²¹ Letter sent by a female landowner to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 16-12-1976, DSIRG archive, folder 797.

“rational” argumentation obsessively centered in denouncing the immediate economic advantages of mining:

The people’s very existence lies in these furrows [...] their roots, their hopes, their bread, their life, their pride and all their wealth; if they were to disappear, you might as well dig a ditch and bury all these humble people in it²²; Here, people work from dawn to dusk [...] no days off, not even Christmas, no dole, no social security, and all for a miserable return. Nonetheless they love their land, for once they’ve watered it with their sweat; it gives them their bread and their living. They have their roots in this land, it’s where their parents and grandparents lived and where they, their children and grandchildren will choose to remain²³.

If isolated, political opportunity structure, resource mobilization, identity and culture, could only partially explain collective action processes, not allowing analyzing the larger spectrums of mobilization. Juxtaposed and articulated, political opportunity structure and perception of the environment can render more intelligible the dynamics and diachronic range of social movements. Such a combination helps recognize local actors as creative agents able to frame autonomously their strategies and instruments of resistance and protest, far from being mere passive interpreters of opportunities offered by changing political systems.

PAPERS, PHOTOGRAPHIES AND VOICES: THE DOCUMENTAL RESEARCH AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF A SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT

Since the early stages of research design that ethnography stood as a chief component of the methodological strategy. The very own nature of the object of study invited, if not demanded, that written documental sources were confronted with the representations, memories and opinions locals had about events and facts.

The possibility of reaching actors that took part in the conflict, on both sides of the dispute, as well as living witnesses of mining activities during the first half of the century, called for the use of oral history as a complementary instrument of ethnography. The latter, through participant observation, allowed greater proximity between the researcher and the context of observation. Collaboration between oral history and ethnography seems almost inevitable, considering that intensive anthropological fieldwork may provide for a closer and thorough insight into social memory (Sobral, 1999; Godinho, 2004).

Instead of resorting to long stays in the field, on-site observation was based on scheduled visits in different occasions of the year, from 2004 until 2011, lasting one to four weeks. Stuck, initially, to scheduled interviews, as time passed and conversations succeeded, contacts in the locality became increasingly spontaneous and interactions grew. In between visits to Gaia, archival research and interviews were done outside the village in search of testimonies that could help understand better, not just the 1974-1980 conflict, but also the experience of earlier mining works in the region.

The seasonal scheduling of fieldwork was meant to take advantage of the possibilities each time of year offered to ethnographic data collection. Winter, especially before

²² Petition subscribed by four landowners sent to the president of CNA, 15-12-1976, private archive.

²³ Petition subscribed by four landowners to CNA, 15-12-1976, CMB archive, box 227.

Christmas and throughout January, was the most fruitful time for conducting semi-directed interviews and open conversations. Many dull winter afternoons were passed in front of the fireplace, where different family generations and, sometimes, neighbors, gathered. The slow pace of time in those cold, often rainy days, allowed the collection of life and family stories. In the process, written documents and photographic records were used to complement the semi-structured interview plans. It was in these contexts of intimacy that some of the most important accounts were made, exposing the illegal activities around tin contraband, the actions of resistance against mining companies or the traumatic memory of PATC's social control practices (sanctioned and sometimes backed up by the Estado Novo's repressive authorities²⁴). On the other hand, the long summer days, regardless of the scorching Beira Baixa's heat, presented an opportunity to visit, along with local cicerones, the places where mining took place. If winter afternoons called to meet at home, reminiscing over personal and family memories, warm summer afternoons encouraged long walks across the Gaia valley, where close contact with places enliven the memories of facts, people and events. Strolling with one of the 1970s contestants and her daughter along the old dirt road on the way to the Marradas, passing by the now deactivated elementary school prompted memories of the first collective assemblies held there in the beginning of the conflict, around September and October 1974. Visiting the surroundings the Marradas plots with local informants, either anti-mining protesters or former Dramin's employees, permitted identifying spots where contenders nearly clashed with each other in violent confrontation, thus hearing the different narratives of the events. These walks around the valley also stimulated the remembrance of early dredging works and the effects brought upon the landscape as well as the effort families had to put to work to recover the land for agricultural use. Holding a large variety of information gathered from 1920 and 1930 cartographic documentation, the possibility of traveling along the valley with villagers meant a precious opportunity to assess the changes in the landscape and to identify *in situ* the areas and mine's concessions shown in old photographic records and topographic surveys.

The statements gathered in the interviews completed gaps and corrected discrepancies present in written documents. The case of LUAR's intervention in Gaia is a good example of how oral testimonies and documental sources complemented each other: evidence of LUAR's presence in the village environs was vaguely mentioned in official correspondence and an undated copy of a public notice undersigned by the so called organization's action nucleus of Covilhã indicated its participation in the conflict²⁵. Although a former Dramin manager had already disclosed the interference of external party and revolutionary organizations in the quarrel, the exact identification of the forces involved and their modes of operation were very dubious. As for the protest organizers, the coming of LUAR was not mentioned until confronted with the above-cited documents. The communiqué, served as a pretext for a five-hour conversation with the movement's leader, trying to figure out the story

²⁴ Such is the case of accounts about arbitrary arrests of local residents by police officers in service of the PATC during the 1930s.

²⁵ The communiqué appealed to those who stood by the revolutionary principles to oppose the mining company. The protest of the Gaian "peasants" was presented as a fight between "people's power" and "bourgeois imperialist parasites", as a necessary struggle to give back "power to the workers" (LUAR's communiqué, undated, private archive).

of LUAR in Gaia. In this sense, oral testimonies allowed to track the presence of LUAR in the village, to situate it temporally and to reconstruct the steps taken to summon its operatives²⁶.

The evolution of the 1974-1980 conflict was also a frequent theme of conversation, as I tried to assemble distinct views of the process from different interlocutors. Those who had closer ties with the mining company, either in managerial positions or as employees, depicted the conflict as a selfishly driven process intended to inflate property value. In their opinion, half a dozen landowners succeeded in convincing the majority of the villagers to act irrationally against the mining company, unable to see that, in fact, they were neglecting the community's own interest. According to a former Dramin manager, the company's offers were not exclusively directed at the Marradas' owners, but also comprised a series of collective infrastructures (installation of watering systems, building of industrial facilities, etc.) – all refused by the “guys who armed the fuss”, as this informant used to say. On the other hand, those who organized the protest and some of their descendants recalled that the conflict could have been avoided if the company changed its behavior, if only Dramin understood that, after the Revolution, no longer could act with the prepotency of dictatorial times. As for the collective offerings made by Dramin (indeed mentioned in some corporate documents), in the course of the interviews, some villagers stated that the projects were thought to benefit the company's own interests and industrial plans. Another interesting aspect is the fact that the historic family liaisons with mining companies ended up influencing present discourse about the socio-environmental consequences of dredge mining in the past. Those who worked for the PATC or whose ascendants constituted its labor force tend to praise the positive impacts of North-American presence such as its role in the industrial development of the region²⁷. The individuals producing more negative representations about the region's mining experience descend from families with scarce or nonexistent labor ties with PATC and Dramin, some of them highly involved in contraband and clandestine mining activities, particularly during the 1930s and the 1940s. Coincidence or not, the main six leaders of the 1970s anti-mining movement were descendent of some of the major local tin contrabandists and saw their fathers and grandfathers face the first PATC's expropriation processes in 1917.

Biographic methods, especially life and family histories were essential instruments of research. Considering the possibilities family histories offer to cover transgenerational mobility strategies (Cabral & Lima, 2005), particular attention was dedicated to the collection of family biographies²⁸. Family histories, collected in different neighboring communities, besides allowing comparisons between households within the same locality, also revealed how, from village to village, differences in the organization of mining exploration gave way to dissimilar strategies of mobility and participation in economic activities.

Access to oral sources implied identifying residents from Gaia and adjacent villages who worked for PATC as well as their descendants and other elderly population in order to

²⁶ According to the leader of the anti-mining movement, LUAR's operatives stayed in Gaia for about a week during the summer of 1975 to protect the protesters against the intimidation of Dramin's personnel.

²⁷ Locals used the dredge as a symbol of early industrial development. The PATC was also referred to as a major opportunity for locals to acquire professional skills and technical training.

²⁸ Four family biographies were collected, covering several angles of the research object. One, respected a family whose biographic course was made fully regardless of the PATC; another respected the settling in early 20th century of the first Portuguese engineer in Gaia; a third and a fourth were collected in nearby villages revealing different family relations with mining activity and, necessarily, unlike strategies of upward mobility.

collect recounts on the social, economic and environmental impacts of dredging. The landowners involved in the 1974 conflict and their descendants were also targeted as potential oral sources, like their counterpart from Dramin. Furthermore, it was worth getting at some of the individuals that, personally or institutionally, had intervened in the conflict, like municipal administrators²⁹.

Not surprisingly, since we are dealing with a social conflict – and a relatively recent one – the initial inquiries on the conflict met a certain degree of resistance from local informants. A circumstance gradually attenuated as I acceded the village's social networks. Therefore, the adoption of an ethnographic approach was fundamental to strengthen contacts with informants, tearing down the barriers that stood between the researcher and the interlocutors in earlier days. It is important to notice that the first references to the 1970s conflict came out of written records more than a year after the first visits to the village, and, after four years of fieldwork inquiry, the subject was still cautiously approached by some, regardless of the degree of participation in the strife. Even three decades later, the conflict never loses its bitter imprint. It still carries resentful recollections of interpersonal relations that went sour, broken family relationships, shattered community connections – a varied set of social frictions that time did not dissipate and people preferred to keep enshrouded.

Hence, oral testimonies, company records, press reports, letters, State agencies and local administration official communications were combined, not just to concatenate a sequential narrative of events, but also to question motivations, clarify doubts, challenge assumptions and raise hypothesis. For instance, according to the letters and petitions sent by the protesters, the main argument against dredging the Marradas was based on the fact that those were the last remaining plots that had never been touched by mining – an argument that made quite an impression on State organisms such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries or the National Environmental Commission. However, in several conversations and interviews, at least two former contesters admitted having conducted mining works in the Marradas area in the first half of the 1960s³⁰. Relying exclusively on the letters' rhetoric, it looked like the protest was built on environmental values and focused on protecting the integrity of the rural landscape. Other examples could be brought to this discussion, though it becomes clear that the confrontation of historical sources with ethnographic data exposes the weaknesses and strengths of both as well as the heuristic potential of such methodological combination.

The first documental searches were conducted in the Castelo Branco's District Archive exploring the Belmonte's parish and civil records. Data regarding baptisms, matrimonies and obituaries were very important to establish a census of Gaia's population in the late 19th early 20th centuries, before industrial mining settled in the region³¹. After consulting the parish records, attention was aimed at the archives of the former State mining services

²⁹ The locals (or descendants) implicated in clandestine mining and contraband of mineral ores were also targeted as possible informants in order to figure out implicit levels of community resistance and defiance. Scholars like Iglesia (2006) advocate that the contraband of minerals represented a form of resistance against State regulations and dictatorial status.

³⁰ Right after the PATC's shutdown, in 1963, a consortium of villagers mounted an open-pit mining operation recurring to hydraulic techniques.

³¹ It was also an opportunity to identify the village's social and household structure and geographical mobility. On the importance of parish records see O'Neill (1984) and Sobral (1999).

in search of data on the licensing and registration of mine's leases and hoping to find company archives – an expectation promptly dashed. The PATC records, as told by a former administrative employee, were destroyed when the company was shut down in 1963. Even if locals still kept a vivid memory of the North-American company's action along the first half of the 20th century, it became almost impossible to determine through oral sources dates and key moments regarding the development of industrial mining. For this reason, further sources had to be discovered, widening the search to private and United States archives, the country where, in 1912, the PATC was incorporated and most of its shareholders had lived. Indeed, three collections in the United States gathered the scarce company documentation available: the University of California's Bancroft Library archives in Berkeley, the California State University's Meriam Library in Chico archives and the San Marino's Huntington Library collections provided precious detailed information on PATC's operations in Gaia, as well as on its shareholders³². In Belmonte, the municipal archives provided further documentation on the setting of mining activities in the region, allowing a glance at the institutional relations between the municipality and PATC during the dictatorship³³.

For the entire time span of the study – 1912-1980 – the regional press proved to be an indispensable source. It provided important references on the establishment of mining in the area and was an important reference on early conflictuality between the local population and mining companies. Through the regional press, as well as through national publications like *Diário de Lisboa*, it was possible to follow the Armed Forces' Campaigns of Cultural Dynamization in the vicinities of Gaia. In line with its progressive left wing orientation, the *Diário de Lisboa* followed closely the revolutionary process nationwide and Beira Baixa was no exception – from 1975 until 1976, a series of news reports caught the breath of the Revolution in the region.

As mentioned before, knowledge about the 1970s conflict in Gaia came up by accident, while browsing mine records in the archives of the Ministry of Economy. Mingled between old mine's claims, wrinkled maps, blurred blue prints and assorted official communications, rested a set of 10 letters (copies), hand and typewritten, subscribed in 1974 and 1975 by self stated poor landowners, speaking on behalf of the "good People of Gaia"³⁴ against Dramin, accusing the company of planning to dredge their "last remaining plots"³⁵. More than the contestation itself, it was the contents and speech style of the letters that caught the researcher's attention: a languidly emotional record strongly anchored in the idealization of rural landscape and in the memory of past environmental destruction. These letters clearly put Gaia's popular protest in the path of post-Revolutionary political change,

³² The Hoover Presidential Library archives also provided important documentation. Herbert Hoover owned PATC stocks right before becoming Secretary of Commerce under the Warren G. Harding's presidency and, later, President of the USA (Hoover, 1951; correspondence between E. J. De Sabla and R. Arnold, 2-6-1924, Huntington Library, R. Arnold Collection, Box 159, IV 16a).

³³ An extremely important document – a topographic survey carried out, probably between the 1920s and the 1930s, by a Portuguese engineering firm for the PATC was found in the municipal archives. This document, containing nearly 100 photographs, offered a collection of images taken from various parts of the valley prior to mining and showed rare pictures of the dredge in action. As for the documentation on the activity of law enforcement authorities in Gaia, the scarce records consulted were found in the national archives of Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, in the collections of the Ministry of the Interior.

³⁴ Quote from a letter sent by a landowner to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, 14-11-1974, private archive.

³⁵ *Jornal do Fundão*, 24-11-1974.

therefore inviting to search for new sources. On account of this, the Ministry of National Defense, where the documentation of the MFA and the 5th Division are stored became an inevitable place to look for³⁶.

In spite of the importance of these sources, the leader of the movement provided an extremely rich collection of documents regarding the conflict. It was a tidily organized file comprising more than 100 copies of letters, official correspondence, reports, press cuts, and other records. The file played a key role, firstly, in sequencing the events and indentifying the distinct stages of the conflict; secondly, in the study of the vocabularies used by contenders; finally, in the analysis of the relationship between State agencies and the movement. This private archive was also helpful to guide interviews and informal conversations with several interveners in the conflict.

The information collected from various sources, oral and documental (whether stored in institutional or private archives) was crucial to scrutinize collective mobilization and contentious action in the context of Portuguese political change after 1974. It was especially fruitful for observing the relationship between the emerging political forces and local popular movements in the aftermath of April 1974 Revolution.

CONCLUSION

As stated earlier, the variety of axes inherent to the conflict asked for the combination of different theoretical and conceptual insights stemming from diverse disciplinary tracks. The articulation between macro and micro levels of analysis provided a panoramic view of the object of study, nonetheless without losing the sight of detail. This theoretical *bricolage* was meant to contemplate the intertwining of local action and structural change, in order to understand the continuities, relations and interactions between institutional agents and local actors.

In this sense, the methodology and theoretical construction allowed observing the historical continuities between local mining experience in the past and the 1974-1980 conflict. Accordingly, the conflict meant more than a struggle for the control of agrarian resources by peasant landowners; it was also intended to settle the score with a past of repression and exploitation in the stream of the opportunities for dissent opened by the 1974 Revolution.

The POS's structural inclination tends to bound the emergence of collective action to the political opportunities offered by changes in the political system; by doing so, it puts local actors and movement participants in the dependency of extra-local and institutional agents, neglecting that social movements, themselves, might present political opportunities to other movements, agents, powers and institutions operating in higher levels. Thus, the role of political opportunity should not be seen in the context of a single direction causal relationship. It is beyond doubt that the Gaia movement resulted and grew from the perception locals had of opening opportunities; however, the movement itself was able to construct opportunities from the successive structural political alignments and realignments.

³⁶ The 5th Division was the left wing military branch in charge of the Cultural Dynamization Campaigns in 1974 and 1975. MFA is the Portuguese acronym that stands for Movement of the Armed Forces, the structure composed of middle rank officers that carried out the coup in 1974.

By studying the conflict between landowners and the mining company in Gaia, other levels of conflictuality took shape: struggles for institutional control within the State and struggles for the implementation of conflicting development models and territorial management policies. In face of that, examining a local conflict such as the one studied in Gaia in the frame of Revolutionary changes allows us to look at the Revolution with different lenses and from a quite unusual viewpoint. Hence, the conflict reveals itself as a showcase of political processes, namely, those related to the interconnections between the higher ranks of political action and local popular participation in the suit of post-Revolutionary change.

The conflict of Gaia also reveals how community mobilization can rise in defense of models of resource exploration other than the mercantile modalities based in the indisputable appropriation of ecological resources. Suitably, the conflict revalidates old critiques (Wolf, 1966, 1987; Godinho, 2004) of the images of rural population as static collectives, dependent on external agency, unable to proceed politically. On the contrary, the Gaia conflict reveals the capacity to act autonomously as full social and political actors.

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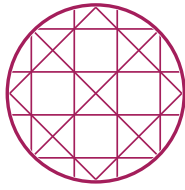
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Narratives as Prison ‘Escapes’: Power, Interaction and the co-Construction of the Female Prisoner by Incarcerated Women

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Abstract

As a mode of discourse and textual superstructure, narrative plays a nuclear role in construing social reality as well as in creating social identities. That is why the study of narrative is one of the most important investigations of human activity, as Roland Barthes suggested long ago. In fact, it configures the common denominator of cultures of all times and places, in such a way that the notion of a natural narratology is now widely accepted. How prevailing narratives become reified inside the prison walls and how they impact on women serving sentences is what will be explored in this paper. Through listening to and analyzing the accounts of female inmates, we will show the work of narrative as regulation, used upon the female offender’s body, primarily by the cultural and ideological subtexts that proliferate around the processes of deviance and punishment and, secondly, by the formal rules imposed from above, by the prison establishment.

This does not mean, however, that narrative cannot also function as a sphere to resist the conventions, practices and procedures with which the institution fulfills certain aims. Neither can it be said that it is not a site to challenge and negotiate frameworks of thought and power relations. Actually, narratives can sprout from strategies of subversion, particularly those that are used by women against the embodiment of hegemonic norms. Drawing on focus groups and focusing on the ways in which women, throughout talk about incarceration, construct the female prisoner’s identity, we will, precisely, reveal that narratives are a powerful site to ‘escape’ both from imprisonment and from the gendered form of punishment upon which it seems to exist.

Keywords

women; narrative; identity; prison; power relations

INTRODUCTION

As a mode of discourse and textual superstructure (Van Dijk, 1997), narrative plays a nuclear role in construing social reality as well as in creating social identities. That is why the study of narrative is one of the most important investigations of human activity, as Roland Barthes (1968) suggested. In fact, either personal or collective, the narrative configures the common denominator of cultures of all times and places. It is a polyphonic mode of discourse by which individuals transform their experiences into texts and project images of themselves and others in such a way that the notion of a natural narratology is now widely accepted (Fludernik, 2006).

As we continue to think about the uses of narrative in human life as a form of appropriation and shaping the outer reality and as a way of building the experience and projecting images of oneself and others, we must also pay increasing attention to the political effects of narrative. Seeing storytelling not only as a way of creating community, but also as a resource for dominating others or for expressing solidarity, demands considering the continuing negotiation through which humans create language, society and self as they talk and act.

How prevailing narratives become reified inside the prison walls and how they impact on women serving sentences is what will be explored in this article, which presents results from a research project on the role of narrative in the lives of incarcerated women. Through listening and analyzing the accounts of female inmates, we will show the work of narrative as regulation, used upon the female offender's body, primarily by the cultural and ideological subtexts that proliferate around the processes of deviance and punishment and, secondly, by the formal rules imposed from above, by the prison establishment.

This does not mean, however, that narrative cannot also function as a sphere to resist the conventions, practices and procedures with which the institution fulfills certain aims. Neither can it be said that it is not a site to challenge and negotiate frameworks of thought and power relations. Actually, narratives can sprout from strategies of subversion, particularly those that are used by women against the embodiment of hegemonic norms.

Bearing in mind that narrative is such a privileged discursive construction of the world, of our own selves and others, this study uses narrative analysis to explore the narratives of female prisoners. Drawing on focus groups and focusing on the ways in which women, through talk about incarceration, construct the female prisoner's identity, pick out bits of experience and establish boundaries and meaning by labeling them, we sought primarily to challenge the silence and invisibility surrounding prison routines.

Besides seeking to undo the invisibility of prisoners, by helping to put the prison experience into personal and collective narratives, we are interested in gaining insight into the relationship between media, identity and power. Studying the ways in which female prisoners use specific media resources and texts as sources of identification and resistance to the depriving prison environment and to the disempowered social context in which we seem to live, we are able to investigate not just how female prisoners' stories are structured and the ways in which they work, but also how cultural narratives are silenced, contested and accepted.

Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration is particularly important for our theoretical framework. Giddens's model of human agency, which takes into account both unconscious drives and knowledgeable choice, counters the prevailing view of prisoners as a unified and passive subordinated public. If combined with the theory of narrative, structuration theory gains a more easily identifiable cultural dimension. Focusing on narrative, examining the ways the female prisoners frame their stories in relation to the dominant cultural storylines which form the context of their lives, we are able to uncover what the women's experience tells us about the social construction of femininities and to see different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning. This explains our interest in how narratives follow, are constrained by, or resist, larger patterns of social and cultural storytelling, strongly reproduced by the media, and how they are tied up with negotiations of identity.

It must also be said that our framework of thought is firmly oriented by a gender approach. We are thus concerned with the asymmetrical gender relations in terms of access to symbolic, social, political, and economic capital. Indeed, although individuals may deviate from the archetypes of masculinity and femininity, this nonetheless occurs against the ideological structure of gender that privileges men as a social group. That is why we think it is important to study the counter-narratives of the female inmates, understood as personal stories women tell and live, which can offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant cultural narratives.

The consideration of the overall social context is mandatory, since prisons do not exist in a vacuum. As suggested by Foucault (1975), they reflect, often in refracted forms, something of the global society¹. Indeed, an important strength of feminist prison sociology is that it shows how prisons for women are intimately connected with discourses on feminine conduct in and beyond the prison walls².

Furthermore, we should point out that the trends in prison population in recent decades unsettle one of the features in the official distribution of crime as well as in the dominant cultural narratives: the lack of female criminals. Often, the symbolic construction of the female offender is based on myths and beliefs of a 'natural' and a 'deviant' femininity and, more broadly, on the moral polarization of the female offender: a woman that not only challenges the law but the gender norms, which are based upon sexual difference. In fact, the female prison population has been growing in all the continents since 2000 (Walmsley, 2012). In Portugal, the percentage of female inmates decreased during the last decade, but continues to be one of the highest among the countries of Western Europe³. Also, while the percentage of males held in custody without conviction stands at 19.5%, women in the same situation, that is, as pre-trial detainees or waiting for a judicial decision that cannot be re-litigated, represent 29.9% of the female prison population⁴.

Finally, while not specifically concentrated on our own 'stories' about the narratives of female inmates, we pay attention to the context in which we listened to and analyzed our data. Our interest in the narrative 'performance' (Butler, 1990) of identities in social contexts and in the interpersonal construction or 'co-construction' of narrative requires the consideration of the shaping of personal narratives by larger social and cultural narratives as well as by our own meta-narrative as researchers.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: NARRATIVE AND IDENTITY

When William Labov (1978, p.295) defines narrative as a 'method of recapitulation of past experience that consists of a sequence of events corresponding to a sequence of verbal

¹ Different interpretations of this same thesis can be seen, for example, in Cunha (2008), Jewkes (2006) and Liebling (2004).

² Relevant studies within the field of feminist prison sociology are: Carlen & Worrall (2004), Howe (1994) and Walker and Worrall (2006).

³ According to the Portuguese state prison service (Direção-Geral dos Serviços Prisionais, 2012), in the first trimester of 2012, the female prison population represented 5,6% of the total of inmates. This percentage is only lower than the ones registered by the World Female Imprisonment List in Cyprus (5,8%), Malta (7,2%), Spain (7,6%) and Andorra (16,4%).

⁴ Actually, although the procedural and criminal reform that took place in Portugal in 2007 was said to be oriented to reduce the prison population, prison sentences prevail as the classic criminal conviction (Santos *et al.*, 2009). Not only the occupancy rates continue to exceed the capacity of the penitentiary system, but the female prison population continues to increase, especially due to the conviction of foreign women involved in crimes related to drug trafficking. The same reform has limited the use of preventive detention measures.

propositions', he presents a fundamental notion of narrative as a mode of discourse and textual structure whose temporal component makes it suitable to represent both the world, whether real or imaginary, and past experience.

If, for some decades, especially until Structuralism, the study of the nature of narrative depended solely on the literariness of verbal productions, its latitude and scope is now fully assumed, being accepted that it is present in multiple contexts and across different functional 'substances' of expression. According to Barthes's seminal and innovative approach,

The narratives of the world are numberless. Narrative is first and prodigious variety of genres, themselves distributed amongst different substances, as though any material were fit to receive man's stories. Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative it is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, in history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting (think of Carpaccio's Santa Ursula), stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news item, conversation (Barthes, 1966, p.1).

It is therefore understandable that, in addition to the study of the great literary and fictional narratives, Narrative Studies have opened up to new objects and methods: from Cultural, Media and Women's Studies to Psychotherapy and Cognitive Sciences. This expansion of the field meant 'the evolution of narratology itself (...). No longer designating just a subfield of structuralist literary theory, *narratology* can now be used to refer to any principal approach to the study of narrative organized discourse, literary, historiographical, conversational, filmic, or other' (Herman, 1999, p.27).

The concept of a natural narratology follows this line of thought. It is based on the fact that, in social acts, trivial, common, everyday life, we are facing narratives that reflect human experience as 'natural', as if the act of building time and experience through narratives were 'innate' to humans (Fludernik, 2006).

If we take the definition of narrativity offered by Gerald Prince, we easily realize that it is through narrative that human beings discursively organize their relation to time, appropriating a reality that is external, shaping it and communicating it to others. In fact, for Prince,

the narrativity of a text depends on the extent to which that text constitutes a doubly oriented autonomous whole (with a well-defined and interacting beginning, middle and end) which involves some kind of conflict, [...] which is made up of discrete, particular, positive, and temporally distinct actions having logically unpredictable antecedents or consequences and which avoids inordinate amounts of commentary about them, their representation, or the latter's context (Prince *in* Reis, 1994, p. 275).

Emphasized by authors as diverse as Bremond or Ricoeur (Bremond, 1973; Ricoeur, 1983), this intrinsically human dimension of narrative is what gives it the status of a discursive mode par excellence of the construction of the subject and its position regarding other subjects and the wider world. In this sense, the construction of the subject's identity, of its projection in interpersonal relationships, is largely the result of the way in which he or she, as a narrator, puts his/her experience into narrative, projects him/herself in space and time, giving a logical sequence to his/her multiple experiences.

From this perspective, to explore the narratives of the female prisoner is a way of valuing human agency. That is why we consider structuration theory so important,⁵ since it provides a relevant counter view to the prison deprivation literature, which points to imprisonment as a dehumanizing experience. We do not question the mortifying prison environment, in which the prisoner suffers a series of deprivations that fundamentally weaken his or her sense of identity. Nevertheless, we must recognize, as suggested by Giddens's model of human agency, that prisoners do not represent a unified and passive subordinated public.

Also, power relations are never stable. They are subject to ongoing negotiation, constantly being confirmed or put into question. In discursive processes of affirmation and subversion, cultural references and symbolic meanings intersect, social identities merge or interfere with each other, and new knowledge is constructed. In this process, multiple and blurry borders are drawn between various linguistic, cultural and social affiliations, often organized in problematic oppositional structures such as inside and outside, top and bottom, foreign and familiar. From this viewpoint, as soon as we acknowledge the agency of the narrators, we are able to understand the ways in which their narratives are powered by hegemonic visions and dominant cultural patterns.

2. RESEARCH ON MEDIA AND IMPRISONMENT

Along with the ability of narrative to create identity, we must also acknowledge its role in the crucial processes of apprehending, organizing and understanding the world's knowledge. Indeed, the knowledge of the world, how we understand reality and how we apprehend knowledge, is mainly provided by narratives. However, if the antiquity myths structured the grand narratives of civilization, currently the major producers of narratives are the media. Partially responsible for how we organize the world, for how we generate images of reality, read and articulate its complexity, media narratives – fictional or factual – produce and reproduce social beliefs, dictate standards of conduct, disseminate stereotypes and provide us with images of others. We can even say, in line with some authors, that the world we have access is necessarily built according to certain narrative principles, since our thinking, our mental structures and our knowledge are processed through narratives (Bruner, 1991). Indeed, if the world to which we can have access is necessarily built according to certain narrative principles, since our thoughts, our mental structures and our knowledge is processed through narrative, it is also true that media narratives are extremely powerful sites of mediation.

While the media are the major producers of narratives in our mediated societies, imprisonment is closed to public and media scrutiny. Stories about criminal behavior usually end with either a confession of guilt or a courtroom conviction. Interestingly, it seems that it is when the criminal is removed from the narrative that justice prevails. Actually, several factors contribute to the infrequent presentation of news about the daily operation of prisons and how inmates adapt to the conditions of incarceration (Ericson *et al.*, 1987; Chermak, 1995; Chermak & Chapman, 2007; Simões, 2011). Studies in the sociology of news have

⁵ We follow closely the approach used in the work of Yvonne Jewkes (2002a, 2002b).

shown that editors and reporters provide stories to the public in response to their primary concerns, and they tend to think that a defendant's correctional behavior is not interesting to the public. One way of making sense of this absence is thus seeing it as part of the cultural and ideological subtexts that proliferate around the processes of deviance and punishment. By excluding from the public space the convicted person, the mediated narratives tell us that order is restored and we, the law-abiding people, can feel safe again.

The invisibility of the prisoner can also function as a way of focusing our attention on the crime itself, not the broader social forces behind it. By ending the story here, the criminal vanishes. His or her story is silenced, and thus the problems of the prison system remain unacknowledged: its living conditions, modes of discrimination and failure to offer education, training skills or rehabilitation can be overlooked more easily. From this viewpoint, studying the prison subculture is a way of rectifying a problematic invisibility by shedding light on the prison experience. Besides, this investment can be seen as a means of giving voice to those who have been hidden and silenced.

However, most studies of prisoners' use of media focus on trying to establish a causal relationship between the nature of the offences committed and media preferences⁶, or alternatively make claims about the therapeutic effects of the mass media among the confined⁷. Our study is neither concerned with prediction of behavior nor with causal explanations of media use, nor even with acknowledging media habits inside the prison walls. Our intention is both to understand how individual media choices and the very presence of media technologies may shed light on the various experiences of and adaptations to imprisonment. What differentiates our empirical study from the traditional approach of narratives within the humanities is that it is concerned with the social positioning they produce in a unique context: the prison environment.

3. EMPIRICAL CASE STUDY: PROCEDURE AND METHOD

Conducted as part of a wider and more detailed analysis (Simões, 2011), the study drew upon focus group interviews, which constitute the data, and conventional methods for qualitative analysis were only then applied. The construction of the female prisoner by incarcerated women is, thus, investigated through the use of focus group methodology, which allows examining context-embedded gendered experiences, combined with narrative analysis, through which it is possible to challenge the methodological hegemony of quantitative research paradigms in social science and discover the diverse forms and details of social life.

Focus group methodology, which essentially involves group discussions during which the participants focus collectively upon a topic selected by the researcher and presented to them in the form of a news story, a film, a game to play or simply a set of questions, differs from other methodological tools in the social sciences not in its mode of analysis but rather in its

⁶ For an understanding of the impact and limitations of the academic literature in this area, see, for example, Reiner (2002), Jewkes (2004: Chap. 1) and Barker & Petley (1998).

⁷ See, for example, Bryant and Zillmann (1984). Although demonstrating that media use by prisoners from five Flemish correctional institutions with varying regimes and populations is the complex product of their background, concrete living conditions and psychological reactions to confinement, Heidi Vandebosch (2000) also shows that the mass media can soften the pain of imprisonment.

data collection procedures. In recent decades, it has been advocated by feminist researchers for being suitable for research with oppressed and marginalized groups. Among the main advantages attributed to focus group methodology are its ability to allow the understanding of collective experiences of marginalization and developing a structural analysis of individual experience (Kitzinger, 1994; Montell, 1999) as well as its potential to shift power from the researcher to the participants (Madriz, 2001; Montell, 1999; Wilkinson, 1998).

Two focus group interviews were conducted in one Portuguese female prison, named Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires, involving a total of fifteen women. One of the groups of participants was in a special unit of the prison, the Educational and Therapeutic Unit. Nine female inmates serving prison sentences between three and 10 years, in the majority because of convictions related to drug trafficking, attended that discussion. Aged between 21 and 59 years old, the six women who attended the other focus group were in the main section of the prison. These six inmates were convicted to prison sentences between seven and 25 years, in most cases for homicides⁸. In both cases, recruitment was by confidential letter, as agreed between the researcher and the head of the prison unit⁹ and the participants were stimulated to interact with each other and with the researcher in order to counteract individualistic accounts of gendered experiences.

A narrative analysis was then employed to explore the narratives of female prisoners in conversational contexts, paying attention to the ways dominant and counter cultural narratives enter into the construction and expression of the female prisoner by the incarcerated women.

Bearing in mind that it is through narratives that we discursively organize our relationship with space and time, appropriating a reality that is external to us, shaping it and communicating it to others, we concentrated on some of the basic features of the narrative: themes (the central meaning of the texts), character/narrator (focusing on both first-person narratives and conversational stories), and time and space (particularly focusing on the inter-subjective nature of story formation in such a unique social context).

4. DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

In approaching the main findings, we are interested in laying emphasis on the fact that, inside the prison walls, space is well defined, both in relation to the outside world, and in relation to the world as it is perceived within the prison walls. While the inmates serving time within the conditions of the 'usual' punishment balance the popular demand for imprisonment with the spatial constraints that make the prison a 'school of crime', the women doing time in the Educational and Therapeutic Unit appear to have found in the space where they serve their time a strong support to provide a renewal of both life and meaning.

Certainly due to the fact that they were included in a special program, which seeks to emphasize the rehabilitative possibilities of punishment, the women doing time in the special unit of the Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires do embrace the cultural articulation

⁸ See Table 1 in appendix.

⁹ A discussion guide was used to help the interaction between the participants. The conversations were recorded, but confidentiality and the freedom to speak «off the record» were guaranteed. The initial step in analyzing this kind of orally elicited personal experience narrative involved decisions about transcription. All the material was transcribed and subject to certain conventions which were expected to allow the social dynamics of small groups to become explicit.

of 'proper behavior' as well as the punishment for their misbehavior in the past. This position in relation to cultural institutions shows that the state constitutes the ground of their collective narrative. Indeed, instead of protesting against the fact that their personal body and subjectivity are overtly open for testing, therapy, and control, they express a feeling of gratitude that encourages a continuance of their correction.

The narrative constructed by the discursive fragments of these inmates is, thus, a site of resistance to the dominant symbolic universe of the prison as a dehumanizing environment in that it is viewed as place of order, discipline, routine, mutual respect, and even of freedom. It is surely no coincidence that the dominant discursive person is the first person plural, as if each one of these women were assumed as part of a community that, under the wings of the state, works organically to fulfill its dues:

FG1

Participant 6: Inside the prison, we walked at will, we are not closed – we are only closed up at seven o'clock – we are free all day here in this space, we can go out there and there is a very close connection between us in the prison establishment.

Participant 1: It is a paradise we have here, because we own it, because we respect the rules and respect each other, we have to respect the times, we must have the house in order, among us must be harmony.

The patterns of social interaction of these women, particularly the use of associations rooms to watch television, seems to contribute to this position: it promotes community life. Interestingly, it is as if they had waived their previous identity, their 'pre-prison' sense of self in favor of a prisoner identity, which tends toward stability of the overall imprisonment system. Also, as expected, their narrative reveals apparent strong conformity to hegemonic feminine expectations. They discouraged narratives that would call their femininity into question, including in relation to the tasks they have to fulfill:

FG1

Participant 1: Here we have a life and have responsibilities within the prison, we will compare it to the reality outside ... being outside is not lying in bed all day, get hungry and go to the cafe. Here, we have obligations and have a schedule to keep, so when we get out, we are already prepared.

Participant 5: We develop many activities. Apart from the work tasks that are mandatory and daily, the kitchen, the table, the laundry room, the hallway, the locker room, etc ... we work as a community.

Participant 1: Today she cleans the corridor, tomorrow she goes to the laundry, the other day she does another task ... we change tasks if one of us is sick...

Researcher: Are you expected to participate in some sort of profitable activities?

Participant 6: We produce plastic components for assembling aluminum ... apart from that we have gymnastics, management of social resources, theater and gardening for the least busy.

This contrasts with the media construction of the prison and the prisoners. In fact, according to these women, the media do not provide realistic images of the world inside prisons: they misrepresent their reality:

FG1

Participant 7: Who is out has a completely wrong idea: people think the prison is a great breakdown, that there is a great promiscuity, that here we commit acts less worthy ... there may be a case in point, but the image we have is the image we get from television ... it's the channels of American movies that have nothing to do with our day-to-day reality.

Participant 7: [the media] should talk more and talk well and not misrepresent reality.

The media are nevertheless seen as a crucial bridge to the outside world: a world of asymmetries, of injustice, of chaos and lack of solidarity, for which the routines of the prison prepare them. In fact, in this narrative we find clearly the confrontation of two macro areas: the inside and outside of the prison walls. The sense of belonging to the physical and psychological space which hosts them is so strong that they necessarily assign negative images to the outer social space, including other prison environments like the core unit of the Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires. In this sense, it is the space outside their special unit that is marked as a place of confinement, supervision, punishment and repression:

FG1

Participant 2: I think there are so many problems out there that I'm lucky to be here ... the images that the media projects all over the world ... the global crisis ... Here I can be free in religion, I can be Catholic, Muslim, I'm not broken by anyone in here while out there ... things are different.

In relation to the narrative category of time, which we divided in two classes – time as punishment, linked to the time of the sentence, and time as routine, linked to the disciplined behavior – clearly these women do their time as training for life outside the prison walls. Their time is, consequently, made up of routines and disciplined behavior imposed by the prison establishment, for whom it seems to be important that these women have access to material for escapist or romantic fantasies. By watching movies, reading magazines, listening to radio programs and, especially, watching television, they willingly accept all the imposed routines as a way of ameliorating the time of deprivation and above all to not lose the notion of time passing:

Participant 7: I'm the oldest. I have six years to comply ... it is important for me to know what is happening out there. Even having to be here five or six years more I want to know what happens to be able to adapt myself.

Substantially different, the narrative of the second group of female inmates, doing time in the core unit of the Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires, conveys a negative vision of the prison environment, mainly grounded in first-person narratives by which each of these women talks about her own history and individual experience inside and outside the prison walls.

FG2

Participant 1: (...) I can say I am a criminal, I participated in a serious crime, because nobody has the right to take someone's life. I acknowledge what I did, but it was an act of 5 minutes, it does not mean that when I get out I'll start killing everyone that I appear ahead... for God's sake ... on one hand, I

feel I am a criminal, on the other, I know it was an act of desperation, an act of madness that happened (...) I am a person with feelings, I have my qualities and my defects and I have my ideals. But when you enter here, you are already a criminal to the society, so I'm talking about questions of my conscience and subconscious.
(...)

Researcher: What does a 25 years sentence represent to you?

Participant 4: For me it is too much. If I have to do 25 years here, I will come out with more prison time than that I spent outside (...) I believe that it was fair enough these 8 years that I spent here, I think I'll not learn anything that can make me better than I was before I entered here.

In this case, we are not in the presence of a community organically organized in space: the women preserve a 'pre-prison' sense of self and seem to build a public identity for presentation during social interaction with others. This new identity, far more distant from the patterns of patriarchal femininity, seems to help each of them to fit into the prison subculture.

FG2

Participant 1: I entered here for a crime, but, if we see, I already learn everything and it was not the prison that taught it to me: it was the inmates themselves (...) I already know how to traffic, I already know how to cheat. This place can be a punishment but it is also a school and the people who work here, this kind of employees, they do not give us the support we need ... (...) a person sometimes learns things she never imagined: I never in my life learned to fake a check, but I've learned to fake a check here and other issues that we learn here: go rob a store and wrap a paper to go through the alarm, disassemble alarms and so on. I think it's a punishment but, in the end, it is a school and who should help us, the ones that should help us don't give us neither that support, nor any opportunities.

The use of in-cell television sets seems to be important, because it allows them not to be dependent on communal televisions and, thus, they do not find themselves neither conforming to the media patterns of the dominant group nor to a dominant individual who decides what to watch. They are, nonetheless, always subject to official surveillance. In fact, the prohibition of access to media resources functions as a form of punishment in case the prison rules are not met. Therefore, it is not surprising that the media are so crucial to these women: they allow them to escape the prison environment, characterized as a site of restrictions, prohibitions and mortifying confinement, also as the result of discriminatory forces based on gender status and privilege, which operate both inside and outside the prison system:

FG2

*Participant 6: Women are tucked in their place ... here and everywhere. There is no freedom for the woman who is afraid and has no strength to fight for herself, for what she wants ... A man is always in politics ..., there is always a man blocking the way for women. We are in a prison of women and we have nothing: we do not have a gym, activities, playground... but the men do.
(...)*

Participant 4: Whether in the society of the street, or in the kind of society we have here, men are the most benefited ...

Participant 6: We cannot have football equipment, we cannot play with other prisoners ... men can...

Participant 1: I tried to talk to the sub chief about that...

Participant 6: Our director doesn't allow it.

However, and like the women doing time at the special unit, they talk about two different universes, the world outside and the world within, metaphorically expressed in the following statement:

FG2

Participant 1: I usually say that we are in a lost island in the middle of the ocean and no one found us.

Although generated by individual narratives, their construction of the female prisoner also reveals similar perceptions regarding the experience of time. In this case, it is the penal time that dominates. Predictably, it is experienced as a burden by most participants, for whom access to the media is also a bridge, as some of them say, to 'chronological time', which only runs outside the prison walls. Indeed, media technologies seem to have a structural capacity, providing these women with a means of filling, structuring and marketing time. In this sense, the prime-time news and the soap operas are not simply pleasures: as for the first group of participants, they may 'normalize' their everyday life inside prison.

GF2

Participant 4: We realize that time has passed by the news or photos sent by families, we see that people marry, grow, have children, die ... for us it seems that time is dead, especially for us that are here.

Participant 5: It is extremely difficult because we are completely detached from the world ... so it is good that the media bring us some news, but we're here very disconnected from the outside world ... I have the support of my family but for those who don't it's extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, they too have a critical view of media narratives, particularly those that portray the crimes for which they were sentenced. As in the case of the first group, they see the media as a deforming reflection of reality, responsible, according to some, for the public condemnation of their actions.

FG2

Participant 3: Sometimes they influence people with certain information. I think they are only interested in selling magazines and newspapers ... they write there certain things I happen to read and see the things that they write ... they put up a lot in people's lives and often what they write about that person has nothing to do with what's going on with the person. (...) I think their behavior, what they write, is to sell. They try to compose it in that way. It's like when we write a poem. We try to link the things together. To sell more newspapers and magazines is the same thing: they always try to change the things for their convenience.

Participant 1: We return to the same point: write what people want to read or what people seek to find.

Researcher: Did you personally have bad experiences?

Participant 1: No.

Participant 3: In my case, the story appeared in the newspaper Crime and I saw that they added a lot more things.

Participant 3: Actually, I was not expecting, I was not expecting even, that news appear the way it was written...

Researcher: Were you identified with your name and photography?

Participant 3: With name and photo yes.

Researcher: In what way were you affected by it?

Participant 3: At that time, when things happened, I guess, that hurt me. Many people, maybe even some I knew, others I knew slightly, got an idea of who I was by what they wrote. And they wrote nothing, nothing, nothing or little about what really happened. So, afterwards people, even those who knew me well, when they read it, they said they were deceived, that the person wore a mask that fall down. (...)

Researcher: Were you able to give your version of the story?

Participant 3: No.

Researcher: Why do you think this happens?

Participant 3: (...) I think they want to sell ...

Participant 4: They do it for sensationalism.

Participant 1: They amplify the rotten side and completely forget that we are people...

CONCLUSION

We can therefore conclude that there are substantial differences in the narratives construed by the group of inmates doing time at the Educational and Therapeutic Unit and by the group of inmates serving sentences at the core unit of the Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires. Accordingly, we found the existence of two different co-constructions of the female inmate by the incarcerated women we listened to. While these opposite positions do not reject the importance of our contemporary cultural understanding of prisoners and imprisonment, which creates the sites for the current discussions, they reveal how the context and the individual experiences act as material forces for constituting subjectivity. Furthermore, it is interesting to see how we, as a culture, have constructed a reality that allows these particular configurations of punishment: one that characterizes punishment as discipline, accepting the potential for emancipation of such a disciplinarian and normalizing role attached long ago to the prison by the civil libertarians; and another that views

the prison as a ghetto, particularly for women, whose deprivation represents not only the penalty for having broken the law, but also the punishment for having challenged gender norms collectively shared throughout History.

Regarding the role of the media, in both cases, media resources may ease the process of socialization inside the prison walls. They seem to provide continuity with one's former life and give a sense of control over one's current environment. In respect to the first group of inmates, they can even offer a sense of common identity and shared fanship. Of course the media are used 'undemocratically', because, while media use is allowed in the prison cells, particularly in the case of the women serving sentences within the 'usual' conditions of punishment, not all inmates have resources to take advantage of personal media. Also, to the prison service, the media may simply serve to ensure that the embedded practices of imprisonment are accepted as natural to inmates over time.

Either way, although media narratives are not a mirror of reality – nor it could be – they have a crucial function as prison escapes. They particularly allow the inmates to transcend the confines of time and space, including the psychological time and space where subjectivities are construed. For those who, like us, are interested in studying the mediation of reality from an emancipatory perspective, the investment in the study of the presence of media technologies inside de prison walls is, thus, a promising one, because it reveals the various experiences of and adaptations to imprisonment. Furthermore, bearing in mind that in order to comprehend the present narratives about punishment and about those who are punished we have to examine the mediated public discourses dealing with punishment and prisoners, it does help to see the social positioning the media help to produce in the unique and disturbing context that imprisonment represents.

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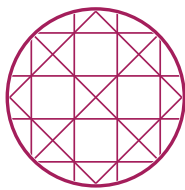
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APPENDIX

Table 1: Focus group discussions

Focus group 1		Focus group 2	
Female inmates doing time in the Educational and Therapeutic Unit of the Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires		Female inmates doing time in the core unit of the Estabelecimento Prisional de Tires	
Participants identification	FG1 P1; P2; P3; P4; P5; P6; P7; P8; P9	Participants identification	FG2 P1; P2; P3; P4; P5; P6
Ages in years	From 21 to 59	Ages in years	From 19 to 56
Ethnicity	White, Black African, Black Caribbean	Ethnicity	White, Black African
Offences	Supply for drugs, burglary	Offences	Murder, aggravated assault
Sentences in years	3 to 10	Sentences in years	7 to 25



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Drawings and Narrative: the Inmates Memory and Experience (At the Prison of Monsanto)

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Abstract

In the first part of this communication we present the underlying questions of the research held in the Prison of Monsanto (PM), as well as its theoretical framework and the specific situation regarding the context – the prison space – in an outside-in perspective. We aim to approach the relationship and social problematics inherent in a prison institution and in an *exercise of power* (Foucault, 1997), according to a point of view that regards the space, the *place* and the supporting conditions of the experiences and life experiences of the inmate, specifically the inter-relationships between the space and the subjects, in a closed environment.

In the second part, which is directly related to the research, we aim to understand the space perception and representation of the inmates, following the reverse view (*inside-out*). Through this, we analyze the communication acts, which are a result of the direct contact with the inmates and the registration of the provided elements. Along with these records, we supply their drawings and work developed within the Creative Arts Studio (CAS). This research, as stated in the Arts of Making (Certeau, 1990), allows us to know the inmate's point of view, his perception and his graphic and social representation of the space – his experiences and life experience. There were twenty-one inmates taking part in this research, from 2007 to 2011.

Lastly, through the idea of *narrative images*, it was suggested that the drawing would work as a body for the social narrative, as a communication strategy and as a revelation of the knowledge and counter-knowledge that takes place in a disciplinary institution.

Keywords

Inmates Drawings; Inmates Memory; Inmates Experience; Social Narrative

INTRODUCTION

The Prison *place* congregates unpaired situations of limitation and depersonalization of the identity and autonomy of the subject. If, as Foucault (2007, pp.141-142) affirms, the power makes knowledge, part of that knowledge lays in those, who are docile and useful, that are more submissive to it – the arrested individuals, Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1991, p.138).

Will the basis of this research¹ - set of artistic work, drawings and paintings, developed by the inmates at the Prison of Monsanto, during the *Creative Arts Studio* (CAS) – become a

¹ This research was supported by a grant from FCT.

body of knowledge, revealed through the revelation of the inmates' spatial conditions and interpersonal relationships, that conducts to a reflection upon the idea of narrative identity?

What sort of records and memories are contained in this kind of work, as the witnesses of an unpaired experience; and what information, symbols and identity marks related to the subject and the place can this show us?

The underlying idea of this works, as an artistic witness – both as a product and a producer of the individual and social knowledge of the *place*, derived from these speeches – is that it tells specific stories and has visualities and encrypted metaphors of a certain experience and life-experience. This work has an individual and a collective dimension, shared and complex, fruit of the limiting prison action towards rights, freedom, behaviours and autonomy of the inmates – ritual social experiences, disciplinary and submitted to the *exercise of power* (Foucault, 2007). They are, therefore, based on a discourse that is eminently focused on a personal perception of space and shape, and on the way it is represented by the inmates, considering the conjecture and exercise of the *microphysics of power* (Foucault, 2007) and the dialectics of knowledge production.

This way, with this research, one aims to think about the perception of the space, of the shape and of the inmates' life experiences, as well as their ability to represent a prison facility where inmates live, as a complex phenomenon, common to different grounds; and where the Art is a way of mediation and an agent of the revelation: the interpretation and thinking of all the work that was done. Within this context, one is forced to think about working methods that interdisciplinary intersect different knowledge, capable of finding a balance between History, Architecture, Space Psychology (among others) and the inmates' narratives, their perception and memory as a re(construction) and representation of the space and the place. And allowing oneself, from that experience, to understand the cultural, the social and the historical factors associated with it, as well as the physical and psychological factors that, in real time, constitute not only the concept of place, but also the concept of inmates and of social body.

1. THE SPACE

The concept of space and place, and their physical, social and identitarian characteristics, emerges as central during this research. The object of study, the Prison of Monsanto², the only high-security facility in Portugal, presents a radial plan and is destined solely to male inmates in a special regime and in punishment - A prison with unique disciplinary characteristics and regulations. During its design, the architectural project (1878/1914) was not supposed to be used as a civil prison (1915). Nevertheless, as a military building, it already had some formal, proper, symbolic, material and architectonical characteristics able to be adapted in order to shape it into the Civil Prison of Lisbon. As a building – a circular stronghold – it spontaneously follows part of the J. Bentham's Panopticon guidelines and model³ (1748-1832), which aims: '(...) to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and

² Former Sá da Bandeira Fortress, that belonged to the Trench Camp in Lisbon. The Civil Prison of Monsanto was created by the Law of June 30th 1941. The Prison of Monsanto started its functions in 1915 (after the 1st World War), being upgraded to a high-security Prison since 2007.

³ For a functional description of the Panopticon, see Bentham, 2008 [1787], pp. 20 – 21. On the other hand Foucault understanding of the Panopticon is: 'But the Panopticon must not be understood as a dream building: it is the diagram of a

permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power'. This idea is reinforced by Foucault (1991, pp. 201-202). Interpretation of the building 'The Panopticon is a marvelous machine which, whatever use one may wish to put it to, produces homogeneous effects of power. A real subjection is borne mechanically from a fictitious relation'.

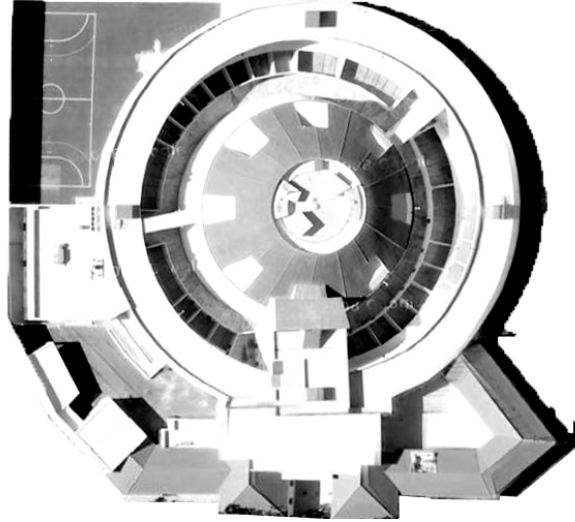


Figure 1 – Prison of Monsanto. Aerial photography of the Prison facility ©2012, Google.

It can be recognized as a space that has and holds what is considered to be a model of control and totalizing surveillance, but equally preventable regarding intern insurgencies, as described by Bentham's key-idea (2008 [1787], p.28): 'To see [the prisoner] without being seen [by him]'. As a radial structure, it 'atomizes the prisoners' through its location and the placement of the relative architectural elements and, as a consequence, this architecture creates conflicts to the individual's orientation, where he becomes potentially able of connecting the inner part of the building with the whole building. Since the 19th century, it is observed in the common reasoning that there is a search for socially expropriating the subject, incrementing its own depersonalization and its absence of autonomy. Not only as a way of abiding by the power, exercising and regulating it, but as a way of this Power, that is also eminently transformative, to be self-defined and located. This power is manifested in the whole prison praxis (schedules, restrictions and rituals) and that assumes a commitment and a security's responsibility before the political power and the civil community.

Because of its spatial panoptical architectural organization – Monsanto presents few spans, since it was designed similarly to a fortress with a pit, - and because of the complex intern organizational diagram, - with its own procedures and logistics, - the prison space where inmates live present orientation troubles to these inmates, reducing their ability of understanding the whole building, the ability of mapping it and, therefore, to recognize the cardinal directions, the time and the solar orientation. This incapacity leads to a tendentiously fractioned space reading. Formed with fragments and passages, lonely routes without the

mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system: it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use:(1991, p.204).

'other', like Augé (1995) defines it, may lead to a moment of a *non-place*⁴ or even, as Giddens (1994) questions, one may be before an *emptiness of space* – the concomitant separation of the space from the place. According to this author, modernity tried to subtract the space from the place, by promoting relationships between absent 'others', physically distant and with no present interactions, from which, the place would become phantasmagorical.

For the inmate, the instant fractioned images of space converge, shuffle and deform, dismantling the perception of the structure. As shown by the sketches and drawings (*vide* figures 6 to 11), that architectural instrument is countered by the inmates' mechanism of collecting and finding spatial references that identify the place (and the time). This same place that is both known and unknown to them, is congregated in its fragments, where it is invested by the appropriation and inter-relationship with their peers.

2. THE INMATE

The work of authors, such as Certeau (1925-1986), allows one to understand that the creation of knowledge and significations in the daily life follows varied and complex paths, uneven from those that the modern society's organization – structured through hierarchy, discipline and power – presents. According to the author, the daily practices form an immense fund of practices, structuring and organizing, that always exist concurrently to the Panopticon proposition, 'Under the apparent monotheism (...) that would guarantee for itself even the Panopticon devices, a "polytheism" of disseminated "practices", dominated but not erased, would survive, by the triumphal path of one of them among the others'. (as cited in Alves, 2009, p.115). To act accordingly to 'other' practices, other than the Panopticon, is possible, according to this view.

That is due to what Certeau (1990) describes as *spatial tactics*. Those are strategies of space use, held by people in their daily lives, like sabotage (...) of the social control ways that were previously registered in it. According to most of the authors, the possible neutrality of space serves the relationships of power.

The possibility of sabotage, as the generation of a counter-knowledge to the power by the individuals in their daily practices, happens because this sabotage acts upon the power devices and hegemonic procedures. That means it is possible to recognize the processes, economies, technologies and mechanics that serve the hegemonic logics – which serve the institutions and social organization. This hegemony creates 'blindness' conditions where the established power loses its ability to be self-analysed and even to admit the possibility of the existence of other logics and social organizations – subversive and transgressors of the social norm – within the same space and time.

In this gap, the individual, within its multiple processes of experiencing the daily life, look for solutions, 'find ways' of resistance and of alternative – consolidating a counter-power

⁴ The non-place is understood as non-relational, non-identitary and non-historical place. Places of individualism, passage and solitude. Nevertheless, and for the author, 'In the concrete reality of today's world, places and spaces, places and non-places intertwine and tangle together. The possibility of non-place is never absent from any place. Place becomes a refuge to the habitué of non-places (...)' (AUGÉ, 1995, p.107). I.e., the non-place never exists in a pure form, since relationships are rebuilt in it. Therefore, places and non-places are fugitive polarities, where the first never disappears and the latter never fulfills completely.

and a counter-knowledge – applied as a practice in the daily life, happening in the same places and with the same actors where the power is exercised. Certeau regards that ‘the tactics are the art of failure, and that the Arts place themselves beyond the dominant reasoning, playing with the emotions’ (Alves, 2009, p.10).

The knowledge (counter-knowledge) from these practices constitutes a surprise for the present power and, therefore, is feared and even negligently understood. In any case, there are just few experiences in which the contemporary institutions capitalize these knowledge and practices, as well as the creation of an understanding and reciprocity in between the parts. The tendency, which is rooted in fear (the danger of security) leads to an exacerbation of the control procedures, as such, coercion mechanisms amplify the domination wish. This situation is frequently seen within the prison environment.

This way, it seems essential to mention not only the main role of the inmate, as well as to explain its specificity. The prisoner is not a viewer, is not a bystander of its surrounding reality. The prisoner participates and builds the prison reality: the space where he lives and the one he is shaped by. More importantly, regarding the current law, the prisoner is an entity that is extinguished by the end of its imprisonment time, but consequently supplants that same reality as its witness⁵.

3. RESEARCH

Produced in the *Creative Arts Studio* (CAS), the research in the Prison of Monsanto was based on the artistic work of the inmates, as previously mentioned. The fieldwork involved me, as an Art Teacher, and it involved the inmates. The creative arts’ activities took place in a class, under my supervision, while teaching and developing artistic techniques in the presentation of work propositions and work themes, during the four years of research⁶.

It was sought to build, during that time, a model that was more centred in the students, rather than centred in the teacher, aiming to search for alterity rather than directivity. That is relevant in way that, in the current research, the organization of the programs’ contents and the attainment of results also depends of the ability to negotiate, conciliate and integrate affective and cognitive matters during the work progress. Informed about the project, the inmates question the nature of the ‘hidden’ goals related to the elaboration of the drawings and the conclusions, as a group and as a subgroup; they showed reluctance sharing their Knowledge, informing the Power, through drawings that would get them ‘exposed’.

The inmates’ information and their transmission of experience aim then to make visible what is invisible to the outside visitor: an invisible structure made of schedules, rituals, and behaviours that lays the place bare in its multiple facets.

To give notice, for instance, that in the environment of the high security prison, times where the inmates are gathered and out of the cells is limited (not considering the dining

⁵ This essential difference is registered by Agamben (2003).

⁶ In 2007/2008, this teaching experience in a prison environment was due to my hiring by the Portuguese Education Ministry: teaching ‘Arts’ in the Prison of Monsanto. During the following years, from 2009 to 2011, my abidance was due to the beginning of this research, under the Doctorate degree, at the New University of Lisbon, with the thesis entitled: ‘The Portuguese Prison Architecture: Shape, Experience and Space Representation. The Prison Facility of Monsanto’, under the supervision of Manuel Villaverde Cabral and Raquel Henriques da Silva (FCSH-UNL).

hall and common area times). This only occurs in certain activities, like the CAS, as well as the 'big yards' activities. Apart from that, they can be locked up for up to twenty two hours per day.

That is also why, regarding this environment, that time spent at CAS was used to the inmates' socialization: to get to know the others; to define limits; to share confidences; to offer help to create relationships, contacts and groups.

The activities took place in a closed room with a closed-circuit television (CCTV) - is the use of video cameras to transmit a signal to a specific place, on a limited set of monitors - with a maximum of two sessions per week, with inmates serving time or waiting for trial. The average time of the activity was about 90 minutes. The number of inmates for each activity never exceeded six people.

The inmates could participate, which was due to the exceptionality of the place, but only after showing interest in the school and administrative services of the Prison and after an evaluation and approval. During the four years, the collected work was done with the involvement of twenty-one inmates.

There were school breaks (the activity followed the Portuguese School Planning); some inmates quit since they did not want to carry with the activity and some were transferred, but there were also some inmates that came back to the activity, three years after it had started, due to Prison's punishments. The planning was authorized by the Prison's Head and by the General Head of Prison Services (DGSP).

The work done was focused on varied themes and goals, searching a harmony between several aspects of plastic and artistic background. It was proposed to the inmates to work with Drawing (charcoal/colour/wax/pastel), Illustration and quick Sketches; Painting (gouache and watercolours) and Models; all this with a Substantial Forms and a Form Studies view; Free Drawing; Drawing with Interpretation – exploring Memories, Landscapes (whether real or fictional), Fantasy, Experimentalist or Metaphors; Perspective Drawing; Reality Observation and Representation (Still Life, Substantial Forms Drawing).



Figure 2 – Landscape (2009). Acrylic painting – free drawing. (Anonymous)

The goal of this work was getting to know the inmates and find out how they communication and interpretation styles. In addition, it also allowed me to understand, as an active agent, their communicational products, their plots and narratives, their work, without neglecting the 'educational' view (to teach and to amplify) in the areas they care the most,

that means giving the tools to improve their techniques that would allow them to exteriorize better their intentions. The experience of developing a plan together, within a certain schedule and limited spatial conditions, created a unique situation, built from my experience as a teacher and the direct contact with the inmates and their stories (shared through conversations) - dialogues and observations are registered in Notes, Logbooks and Journals during the CAS classes; the work and classes developed in a CAS context.

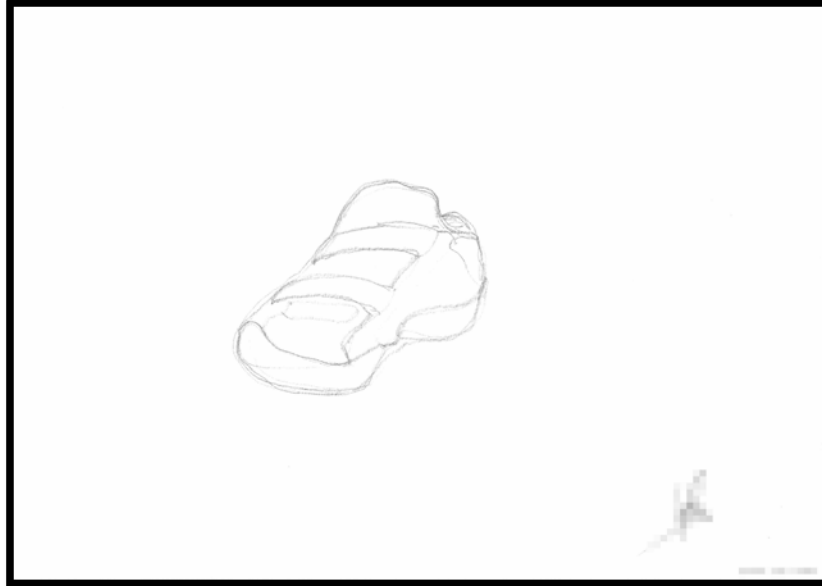


Figure 3 – Shoe Exercise (2009). Through an Object Modeling technique, the image is registered, paying attention to the shape/form and without raising the pencil from the sheet (Anonymous).

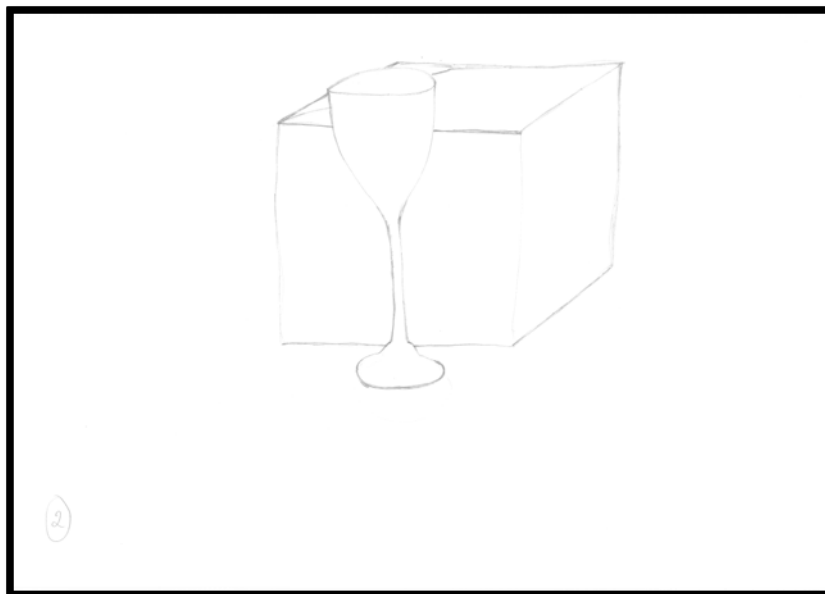


Figure 4 – Glass & Cube Exercise (2009). Through a direct observation of the objects, the materiality, configuration and different natures are registered – space and limit notions (Anonymous).

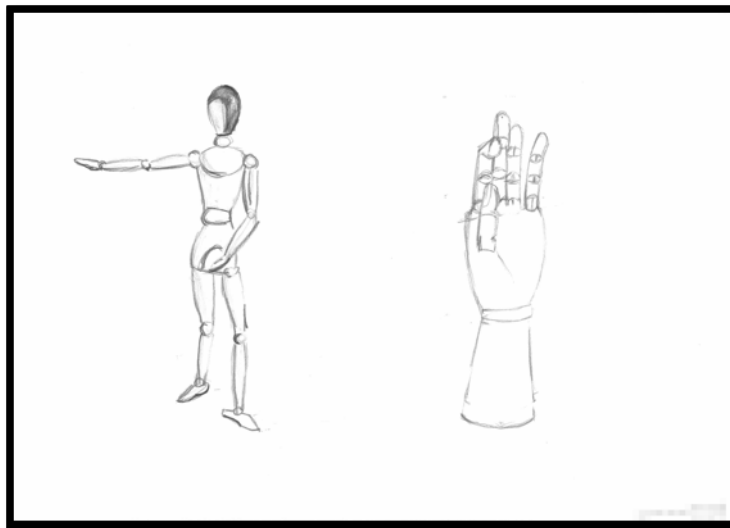


Figure 5 – Hand & Model Exercise (2009). Through a direct observation of the objects, configuration and different natures are registered – body notion: the part and the whole (Anonymous).

Lastly, we worked the inmates' prison space perception (space, configuration and dimensions) and their representation and record ability regarding this same space (Prison of Monsanto). The inmates were asked to draw their cells and the prison, considering different building levels (plans) they might have known. The exercise was formulated without instructions related to the way the inmate should proceed and approach the theme, as well as without any expressive limitations regarding the contents – it was not asked any specific model of representation (plans, perspective, views).

The exercise aim is to understand, through the carried communicational products, the impact of the Power in this subject (A). His artistic ability to communicate and represent the perceptions and what he lived (B). And to think about how Art participates in the knowledge building and consequentially informs the Power and how it works, reciprocally, as a vehicle of Expression and Communication, Art and the Inmates (Witness) build a personal and social identity narrative about these actors and the reclusion (C).

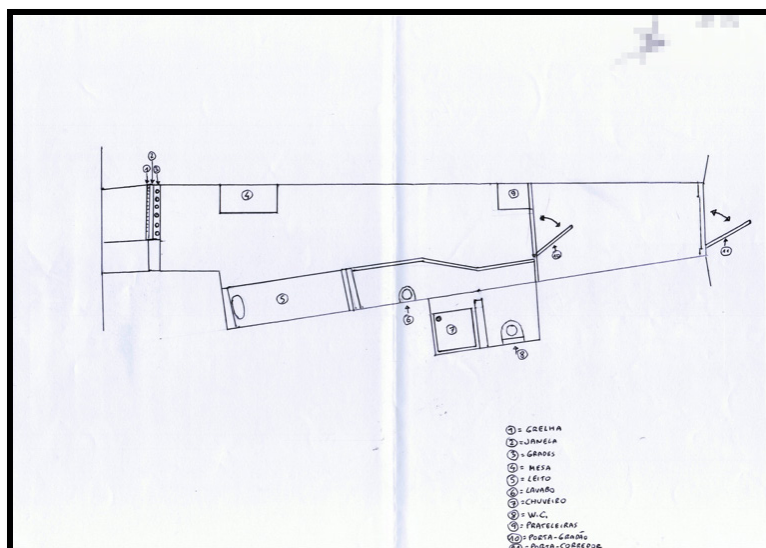


Figure 6 – Cell I (2009). Architectural Plan Representation. No Scale. (Anonymous).

Some way, for the Prison of Monsanto, during this research, the completion of the drawings configured a transgression to the order and security of the facility. An almost 'improper' use of the memory (as an instrument and as a record) through the drawings, motivated some other questions related to the drawing itself and its impact and potential strength⁷ that were felt in the reluctance of the Prison, as an institution, to allow the CAS planning and the plastic language towards other uses other than the expectable for a classroom.

Although the security measures demanded control over the circulation of drawings, could they (also) restrain the memories associated with the drawings? Moreover, what about the social narrative, is it possible to direct it? Due to a prison's security precautions and social responsibilities (regarding the escape of an inmate), the viewing of architectural plans, façades and cuts was forbidden throughout the research period.

4. THE DRAWINGS

As methods for this investigation, we selected for analysis the graphic elements from the drawings, sketches and paintings, created and developed by the inmates. From that we aimed to achieve an idea of the inmates perception of the reclusion at the Prison of Monsanto and how they expressed their knowledge, experiences amidst a reclusion context.

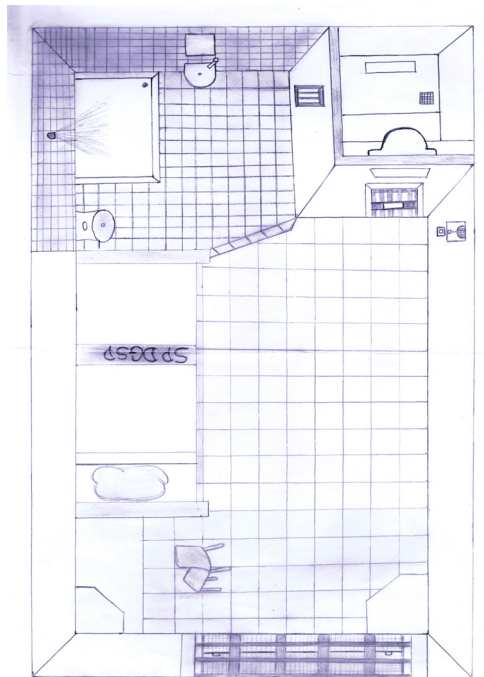


Figure 7 – Cell II (2009). Representation - Upper view. (Anonymous).

The drawings, as communication acts, connect directly with memory, its characters and/or scenarios. They have autonomy to other ways of communication, regarding what is expressed and that can be read because of its own immediate content.

This is structured through scenes that express themselves in summary-moments. The articulation of those elements constitutes a narrative that emerges in the succession of

⁷ The power to recreate the real and to project it (power from the counter-knowledge and from the counter-power)

key-moments that frame the plot. And it is where the interconnected images create attachment and sequences even if they are not intentionally organized afterwards.

The reading of the drawing leads us, then, to a second narrative. This one begins with the image that reflects a learned reality. This is done differently from what happens in photography or painting. Its aim is to materialize the memory through aesthetics placed between the factual and the abstract, subject to a personal screen made of values, sensibilities and wishes, and also mostly made of options – allowing space to emerge in between the subjective and the interpretation.

Regarding the plastic language, the metaphor, the self and the background interpretation's metamorphosis, from the narrative eyes or self-diegetic, is the main character of that time, that space and that action; all this lives in the drawing. In the drawing the (re) construction of the place happens, and individually finds in the other person, both spectator and actor, like another similar reality that confirms itself through lexicon, concepts and sureness of its life experience and daily life notions, in a prison and reclusion life environments – validating or not its experience and, reciprocally, the other's, creating a projection of identity.

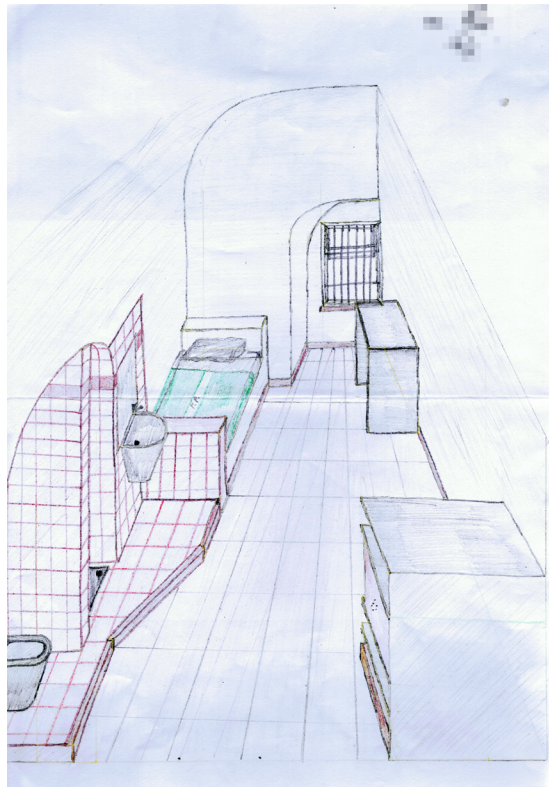


Figure 8 – Cell III (2009). Perspective. (Anonymous).

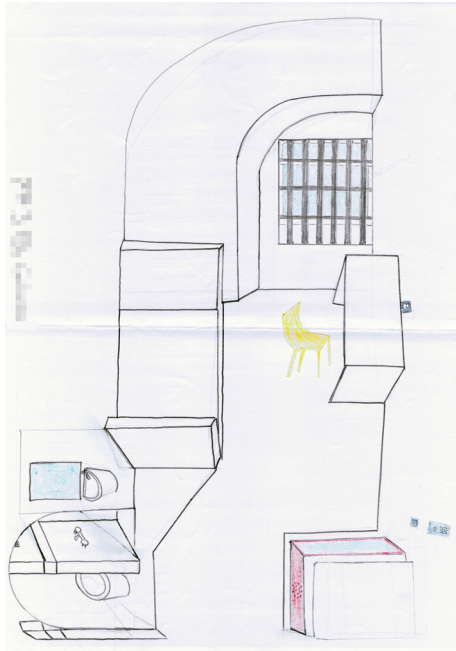


Figure 9 – Cell IV (2009). Panoramic View. (Anonymous).

Therefore, the drawing itself is a document, a record and a ‘witness’ in the true meaning of this word. It’s a ‘witness of the witness’. It’s a way of exteriorizing and finding the other – formulating knowledge and counter-knowledge – in a larger communicational production, that works as a mediator and as reinvention of the cell experience where the atomized inmate (and all the inmates) are under the aegis of that organism and its disciplinary rules. The inmates’ perception, while building the whole thing is, as mentioned, always fractioned. It is always related to the part. And the captions of the drawings indicate many times the places where they did not go, the gaps and absences where they have not been, or the parts they have foreseen, deduced, making an interpretation and mentally building it through ‘immediate images’ and passages; like jigsaw puzzles, excluding parts, fractioned and fiction memories, oddments and detached conversations. It is a vision of the world and of the self – socially and culturally – endured by a space and a power structure that guards and scans the notions of the self and imagines and aims for a subtraction or a control of the memories, the identity and the appropriating of the imprisoned individual.

About the drawings: their aim is not to feed the factual nor to reproduce the truth, but to establish a commitment in a metaphorical way between the reality and the fiction (Ricoeur, 1983). This way, the ‘stories’ and the illustrations of this stories are closer to the real life; they focus on the consequences of the events, in the people and use hierarchical signs and symbols that transmit emotions, synaesthesia and feelings in a better way. Their interpretative subjectivity allows a better finding of meanings, where one does not search for an established truth but where the production of meanings happens between the drawing (image, illustration) and the observer. This relationship, which is not textual, allows free associations, a combination of signs and the participation of the observer’s subconscious – different from word processed speech.

The way the drawing 'tells something' obeys, then, to the 'interpretation of facts', on one hand, electing basic symbols, signs and their own motivations as instruments/devices to narrate the place and the space. And, reciprocally, the observer – who is able to possess and to interpret – focuses and differentiates some elements instead of others, with no goals or specific themes. Even if there is a chance of the existence of gaps in this sequence and thread, and according to Iser (1978) a narrative is coherent when 'absent' elements are seen as implicit by the observer that the subject will supplement through its social and culture repertoire, as well as through its personal experiences.

The interpretation aims to understand the elements that characterize and that are recognized in the image – the document that is presented to us. In this document, the subject searches for the recognition of what is overt, realizing what is absent or sometimes implicit. This ability to identify elements and decode meanings has different origins: some are biological in the human being, some others are cultural, social and even related to a historical heritage. All this gathers in our *reading ability*, as an evident verification of the clear and abstract elements in the drawings, which we can consider and count if interested in a study based upon numeric possibilities.

For example: as humans we have the ability to connect colors, and tonal values, with temperature sensations. We are, in the same way, able to recognize the saturation of a space, and its elements, by the presence of spots and grid cells. This capacity allows us to identify sensations like 'horror for emptiness' – when those elements are in excess – or a 'deaf emptiness' – in a situation where the elements lack abusively. This can lead us to situations of claustrophobia or agoraphobia.

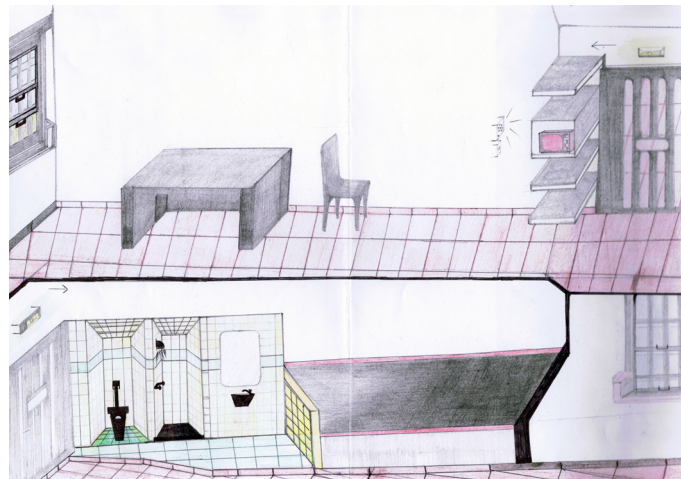


Figure 10 – Cela V (2009). Overlaid View. (Anonymous).

In the same way, the place of the observer in a plan, in a perspective or in a view, allows him to measure the space, to locate it and to be located in it. Or even, the representation of acute angles usually shows that when the image is deformed or twisted, the observer is excessively close to it.

In addition, tubular views, excessively focused in one vanishing point, even when deformed, allows us to automatically understand that the measured value is not in the increase of the distance, but in the decrease and narrowness of the width. Lastly, there is

a tendency to summarize. We tend, as subject authors, to gather information in one record only. That may come from outside environment pressures that the inmates can be exposed to. Specially in a prison environment (Moreira, 2010) where, as is the case of Monsanto, inmates are housed in individual cells, and for long periods of time, that can reach 20-22 daily hours. Throughout time we observe our surroundings and try to understand the reality around us in fractured pieces, which then leads to a synthesized understanding. This personal summary consists in bringing to the visible our relevant references of space and time (real or fiction). All the significant data about the space exists independently from distances, positions and locations. Therefore, we overlay perspectives; amplify simultaneous and panoramic views, so that with one look we can embrace the whole reality. Sometimes, this drawing overload hampers the observer's understanding.

Therefore, when we stop a drawing, the aim is to find the subject and to locate the scene. We also try to frame the image and understand it regarding its scale, field of view (which plan it has) and scene. One does not neglect the value of the sheet shape and its orientation (vertical or horizontal), as well as the existence of a frame or the use of the sheet margins as a support to the representation.

We measure the 'weight' of the composition and the way it is inserted in the sheet. If the 'earth line' is respected or if it floats in the air.

We also aim to find the central location of the image, from where the observer 'watches' it. When one finds some of these stable points or some others that were not mentioned, one is able to measure the image range. Then, we aim to understand how it is possible to build that image, that drawing. And, necessarily, one has to consider those for whom it is directed and what it shows.

Those who interpret, a subject with reason, feelings and personal experiences, connect immediately with the object in a concern, fondness relationship, or the opposite. But the subject may or may not identify himself in the image. And he will aim to understand what strikes him in that image and what did the author mean with it. How did the author want to touch us? What instruments did he use in that communication? How does the work speak about the author, about what he sees, what he thinks?

In a *narrative of image*, there are options and ways of representing more 'realistic', more 'projective' and architectural, more 'dynamic', more 'metaphorical' or related to the psychological – as if all those options, which are different from each other, would form a synthesis and would aim to express, through that synthesis, the same content in different ways.

Therefore, all the elements that one recognizes in every drawing are very important, such as: the presence of objects within the scenes (bed, wood, WC, etc.) or the permanent absence of personal 'things' and personal traits, the repetition of 'style' figures and plasticity, as well as the tendency to the summarized and unusual election of details. In a tendentially general space: the letters DGSP appear in the bed sheets; the intercom buzz; the details of the window; the colour and organic shape of the chair; etc.

But, the attention given to the drawings lies in the fact that they are actually built beyond the composition elements in circumstances where there is a predominant use of the line, in an almost total absence of a blot. Or, simultaneously, an absence of colour (blot);

There is only colour use in the lines (figures 8 and 9), except in figure 10, and a predominant use of grid lines, which is a result of the materials 'stereotomy', as well as the cell covering, or the unevenness of the floor. We can also find a persistent use of a parietal white and concrete grey (which is related to a perception of the material and the temperature). Some of the data we can retrieve from the drawings indicates the inmate's usage of signage, signs and meta-language.

As indicated by architecture and environmental psychology we can understand the relevance of the unavoidable presence of common objects and elements that influence directly the physical and environmental conditions of the cell and the impact that those circumstances have on the daily life, routines and general well being of the inmate. Some of these elements are directly related with the study of depression in a prison environment and stressful elements related to it (Moreira, 2010). Thus, the drawings emphasize the use of values and personal hierarchy, based on comfort – the fluffy representation of the pillow; the hygiene objects, the tap and the shower sprinkling; the television opposed to the cell bars.

All these elements speak about the 'story', which is a mental frame for these drawings. Their narrative is a gathering of multiple elements, where none of them is more valuable than others. There is not a ranking nor a hierarchy, nor a script that tells us how they integrate and place the drawings when it is time for these drawings to communicate.

Nevertheless, we built a design in which every drawing was a node, represented by a point in space. In that space, two drawings connect and link. And those several links support a constellation – a network shaped dynamic organization. Its placement was always relative in space and in between the elements. After reading that constellation we could visualize the data that informed and allowed us to build a mental map about the representations, as well as about the social narrative related to the space and the place.

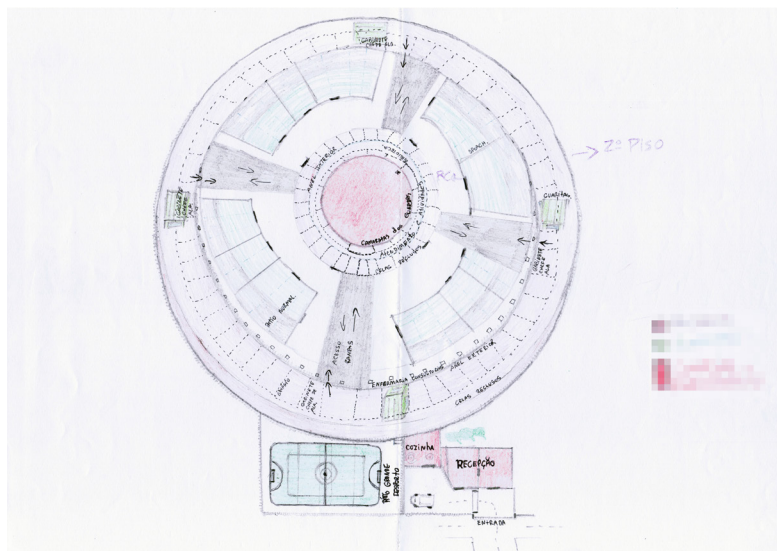


Figure 11 – Prison of Monsanto Drawing. (2009). Aerial View. (Anonymous).

5. CONCLUSION

In Benjamin's (1892-1940) essay, 'The Storyteller' (1936), the author finds in the *information* advent a demonstration of the *narrative's* death, since it is, as said by Oliveira (2009, p.111): 'in Benjamin's view there are irreconcilable incompatibilities between the narrative and the information. The first offers reflexion, astonishment and is never exhausted; the latter appears in an ephemeral way and it is only valid while it's new 'This finding, according to the author, shows the present loss of character of the *collective experience* we all contemporarily live.

According to this line of thinking and not neglecting the subjective value of a narrative, we analysed, throughout this research, the ways where the space and place, reclusion and communication, can be addressed by the 'Power ways' as well as the powers of the Institution (prison) and, simultaneously, through the daily experiences and the inmates' 'Arts of Making'. This is how the inmates' memory and experiences can be worked through the drawing as a social narrative, in the Prison of Monsanto.

In order to think about the perception and representation of the inmates' space, as well as the drawings they produced, one considers the *narrative images* like a *conceptual/aesthetic character*, which is a structure that allows to think about the knowledge and the significations of the prison's daily life lived by each inmate and, according to this view, also allows to value the artistic component of their work. The constellation of drawings is articulated harmonizing the information from uneven communicational products – *narrative images*. Through the drawing, some images resemble others. It is our task, as observers, to interpret and understand them, one by one and overall, as a dialogue. This dialogue looks for a construction of a referential map regarding the daily lives experience of the inmate and tries to build it so these *narrative images* are not depleted in the iconographic analysis⁸.

According to Kossoy (1999), the *narrative images* are also considered to be 'a succession of imaginary constructions' (as cited in Alves, 2009, p.12) and reconstructions that allows us to know the space and know what it talks about and what it is, not through the relationship between its dimensions, but through the meaning of those measures and constructions – their representation, considering habitation and the people.

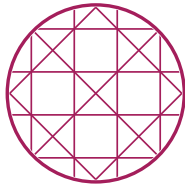
The possibility of regarding this data and this experience, manifested in the *narrative images*, is only possible by the intervention of those who are involved in the understanding of these processes, since that through these *narrative images* no objective and/or universal truth is obtained. Each fragment of the narrative tells one and a different 'story' which, in a shared and institutional context are means towards understanding of the prison facilities as a 19th century building and a modern penal institution. As reinforced by Certeau (1990) from these experiences derives a possibility of working with the processes related to the perception and representation of the space and prison experiences, using the inmates' *voice*, searching for their counter-knowledge. This was done, in this research, trying to find a place in between the power and the everyday life's agents in a prison environment; we were attentive to the idea of a strategy of 'the arts of making', in a model that connects what

⁸ Understood as related to the composition elements; the way it was done; acknowledgment of the space-time; location; information of the scene; social situation of the actors and even the names of the authors, etc.

happens inside and outside the object we want to understand. In a sense, this approach allowed an 'entrance', an outside-in movement in a relationship, historical and situational context, which derives from different actions coming from the Power; and, in another way, an entrance in an inside-out movement, which enabled a comprehensive understanding of the narrative images, of the movement and communication strategies.

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Comissões Unitárias de Mulheres do Porto: Recreating the Memory of a Social Movement

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Abstract

The *Comissões Unitárias de Mulheres do Porto* (Unitary Commissions of Women from Porto) were a movement of social struggle that has emerged and intervened in Porto between 1976 and 1990 which was mobilized in the strive for better living conditions and against governmental policies felt as harmful to the population. The memory of this movement is scarce and its historical accounts are too few and scattered. Starting from a set of public documents about this movement which were donated to one of the researchers, we tried to recreate the memory of this social movement, integrating it in a line of oral and social history research on the twentieth century's Porto. In this article we will be focusing on the theoretical and methodological foundations of this research project. The methodological path chosen for this project is based on documental analysis and oral history, seeking to revive the individual and collective memories of these protagonists, not only recreating the memory of this social movement but also to acknowledge the importance of the participation in these social struggles for these women.

Keywords

Unitary Commissions of Women from Porto; social struggle; women's movements; oral history; preservation of social memory; life stories

INTRODUCTION

This article emerges from a research project – *Estratégias de luta e recomposição identitária: Impacto sócio cultural das Comissões Unitárias de Mulheres do Porto* – developed between 2011 and 2012, at the Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences of Porto University, and supported by the University of Porto and Santander bank, focused on the Unitary Commissions of Women from Porto. The project is part of a body of research on Portuguese social struggles, aiming at the preservation and dissemination of social, cultural and political memory, and social and oral history of Porto on the twentieth century, particularly on a set of significant events and relevant entities of the recent history of social movements in Portugal.

The Commissions of Women from Porto, partially since they had a relatively circumscribed existence or action in time, have barely merited the attention of the analytical eyes of academia and got dispersed in History. Thus, this project seeks to rebuild and to preserve

the memory of this particular social movement, which emerged after the Revolution of April 25th in 1974, where women united in a campaign against poor living conditions and livelihood. However, this same movement may also be seen as a movement of social and political action claiming for a new role for women in the public sphere in the Portuguese society.

The Unitary Commissions of Women from Porto rose after the 25th of April's revolution and lasted until the early 90's. Their actions may be defined by a proactive and participatory struggle in social issues directly related with living conditions. Being a well-structured organization, these commissions acted by enlightening the population on the value of active participation and mobilizing actions of manifestation. Their target was governmental institutions and essentially asked for equitable living conditions for the population. Their main activities were demonstrations, petitions, meetings and leafleting.

Based on public documents about the movement which witness these actions, we tried to trace the protagonists of this movement in order to meet them and recover their memories and life experiences and thus the memory of the movement itself. In this sense, based on the analysis of public documents, our research led us to the testimony of a group of six women who voiced the memoirs collected by reliving in memory the episodes reported in newspapers.

RESEARCH TEAM

This project featured a research team that integrates researchers and students from different fields: Educational Sciences, Fine Arts, History, Computer Sciences and Documental Sciences. Our purpose was to be able not only to reconstruct the steps of this social movement but also to consider it from both an educational and broader social point of view and to design and develop a website and an exhibition to publicize our project.

The constitution of a multidisciplinary team, as one of the project's objectives, aimed at the young researchers' involvement and training in a transdisciplinary perspective of research and autonomous collaborative work sustained by oral history methodology assumptions. The relationship established between the research of different participants enabled the development of a closer relationship not only between researchers and students initiated in research, as with the women interviewed and protagonists of this research. In Thompson's words' (1988, p. 10) the joint inquiry (...) bring teachers and students into a much closer, less hierarchical relationship, giving far more chance of informal contact between them. (...) The teacher may bring special experience in interpretation and in knowledge of existing sources, but will rely on the support of the students as organizers and field-workers, the project group is both research and teaching (...).

This multidisciplinary team allowed defining different project tasks according to each field of study represented by the students, providing an exchange of experiences and knowledge between them, but also the development of a project composed by various perspectives. Basing the research on the plurality of perspectives induces this project of what Ardoino (1998) conceptualize as "multireferential approach". We found echo in Canário (2003, p. 14) words who defends "this approach pertinence [emerging] from the need to produce intelligibility about complex educational facts which appeals to a plurality of perspectives and

even different languages”¹ allowing this project a plural reading of social history, as well as multiple and creative results.

On the other hand, the space that responsible researchers have given to students so they could take initiative in different project’s activities made this research’s path a formative moment in all project’s dimensions. Formative sessions about the different project stages were prepared and there was continuous monitoring by responsible researchers along with freedom of action and initiative, which allowed real learning.

In this sense, both the creation of a multidisciplinary team and the project’s organization as a whole enabled a working environment for freedom of expression and for combination of different areas and scientific knowledge under a common goal - preservation and recreation of Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto’s memory.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The project started with a collection of documents on the social movement Unitary Commissions of Women from Porto containing newspaper articles, reports made by insiders in several actions, propaganda promoting actions, among others. We started by organizing the document’s collection chronologically, then scanned the documents and created both online and offline databases. The website (<http://memorias.dcc.fc.up.pt/cum>) allows the viewing of these documents and their dissemination. This seemed to us as an important moment, since part of the memory preserving process involves its organization and publication so that anyone can easily access its vestiges.

In addition to this, based on the documents already possessed, we also produced a chronology of the movement. This was another important moment that allowed to realize how these actions of social struggle were organized by those women, and also to acknowledge how much they were aware of the major governmental and budgetary changes with implications in the living conditions of the population. For this chronology were considered dates, locations, actions and people involved in the initiatives, as well as, sometimes, its impact (extracted from the newspapers and the found public communications from the protagonists, informing about their achievements).

Recognizing names appearing in the documents and duly recovering contacts initiated in previous research projects on social struggles in the city of Porto (mainly from the project “*Memórias do Trabalho: Processos de construção de uma identidade operária no Porto*” (POCTI/CED/60786/2004, lasting from 2006 to 2010), allowed us to identify directly some of those women and establish contact with other protagonists of this social movement.

Meeting these women was crucial to the project development and to reach our goal of preserving and recreating the memory of this social movement. Despite being preciously useful, the documents to which we had access limited our research range to their simpler preservation, analysis and dissemination. Thus, having direct contact with these women changed completely this project’s path.

Not disregarding the importance of the written historical materials that provided testimony of this movement, it was being given the possibility to get in touch and interview

¹ The authors of this article are responsible for the translation of quotes and cited interview excerpts.

the protagonists that brought those documents to life and allowed to recreate its memory. However, during the performed group interviews, the documents and chronology previously produced served as support to help unleash women's memory on events. In this sense, the initial process of document analysis was crucial not only for researchers to draft an overview of the history and memory available but also for the interviewed women to identify with that past, actions and motivations that mobilized them.

ORAL HISTORY METHODOLOGY AND THE RECREATION OF A MEMORY ABOUT THE UNITARY COMMISSIONS OF WOMEN FROM PORTO SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The present research was developed and justified in the context of theoretical and methodological choices that are underpinned in the methodology of oral history and life stories. One of the main objectives of our work is the preservation of the memory of the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto by sharing materials and life stories of the protagonists. We also tried to construct, using the oral history methodology, a glimpse into a historical, cultural and social past tinted by the memories of these women who not only lived, but who also performed it. Moreover, since these memories are part of their life stories, we sought to understand how they integrate it into a continuum, not necessarily straight, between past and future. This would build a broader and more engaged collective memory of the past, allowing more points of view to be presented in a social reality that should not be built from a single voice. In the words of Ferrarotti (1983, pp. 50-51), our life story contains the history of the social system present in our actions, aspirations and behaviors, i.e.

we imply the social through a synthetic introjection which deconstructs and restructures giving at the same time psychological forms. [However] (...) the relationship that binds an act to a social structure is not linear, the strict relationship between social history and life is certainly not a mechanical determinism. (...) The individual is not a social epiphenomenon. Compared to structures and to the history of a society, it arises as an active pole, stands out as synthetic praxis. Far from reflecting the social, the individual appropriates, mediates, filters and retranslates it by projecting in another dimension, that, ultimately, is its subjectivity.

Oral history as a methodology can be defined by its purpose: a cooperative, interdisciplinary work aiming at building history by assigning a central place to the voices of those who made history by living it (Thompson, 1988). Thus, the search for historical, social and cultural knowledge from oral testimonies allows knowledge to be built not only from the study of official documents. Due to their status, official documents tend to be considered more important in the preservation of the memory than oral testimonies. Being considered personal, oral testimonies are not recognized as national or social matters. However, the history of places and societies rises from people's stories. In other words, we make history. Thus, oral history allows restoring heterogeneous and subjective condition to the narrated events.

We should take example of this from the *ardina's* statue, placed in the center of Porto and well known of city visitors. To tourists this object is simply presented as a newsvendor leaning over a mail post. However, this statue holds another symbology shared with us during this research by one of the interviewees: the *ardina* is the symbol of a profession

nowadays extinct from the city which owes its existence to one of the political activists of this movement, who was also a newsvendor. Her newsstand functioned as a communication bridge where documents from the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto and from the communist party were shared and divulged. Later on, as founding member of the newsvendors' commission she took the initiative to invite a sculptor to make this statue honoring all newsvendors. This testimony shows us how history is also made of short stories and thus through preservation of collective social memory. We have experienced that "the immediate environment also gains, through the sense of discovery in interviews, a vivid historical dimension: an awareness of the past which is not just known, but personally felt" (Thompson, 1988, p. 9); Oral sources render "a more realistic and fair reconstruction of the past, a challenge to the established account" (Thompson, 1988, p. 6).

The report provided by the testimonies of these women is filled with personal experiences. The emotions experienced in each meeting and for each petition allowed accessing to a lived memory that surrounds us and takes us on a journey into the past. The testimony of each of these life stories enables us to access the personal memories that, put together, produce a more complete and intersubjective collective memory of this social movement. This research method, in which "the place and the voice of the interlocutors" (Medina, 2008, p. 92) are the center of the whole process, has been previously held:

the way people tell their lives and analyze their paths, explicitly assigning meanings to their experiences, the vivacity, the realism, the affectivity and the richness of its human testimonies allow us, in many instances, to visualize and feel the events, episodes and memories that speak, allowing us to perceive their stories, unique and very personal, but at the same time social and legal as possible portraits of other similar experiences.

The methodology of oral history became essential for us from the moment we got in touch with these women, allowing us to reconcile the preservation process with the recreation of a memory about this social movement. The contemporary world confronts us with an incommensurability of events with different degrees of relevance that get dissolved in history by the phenomenon of history's dilatation (*cf.* Nora, 1989), involving us thereof in a certain expropriation. Oral history proves, in this project, that history is not only made *by us* but it is in our life, and every experience contains an experimenter, a witness who does, or can do, history by its memory. According to oral history methodology, memory is a fundamental process in order to create history by referring us to a certain individual and social responsibility ("duty memory"; *cf.* Nora, 1989) in social (re)construction. In this project, the recreation of the memory of a movement of social struggle recalls the reality of Porto's society of the late twentieth century, which is rarely reported and historically documented.

Furthermore, we appeal to the memory process as "absolute" (*cf.* Nora, 1989) in what concerns the gesture, the image, the object, giving life to what really happened and relating it to historiographical records, that undervalues the process of events, focusing on the continuity of time. Oral history has enabled this project to acknowledge the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto in an absolute sense, in a sense of life.

The reconstruction of the memory of the movement Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto through biographical narratives allowed us to access the dimensions of kinesi-
thetic and affective memory, and the very pulse of life in the events of this social movement. In this sense, this process allows us to achieve the memory lived and experienced, that does not last through history.

Defending the “history as collective memory”, Ferrarotti evokes Nietzsche’s distinction between human beings and animal that explains the process of memorization on human beings (which the animal is unable to do), which is in the basis of their ability and reflective orientation of their actions around objectives: “human behavior (...) moved (...) by a project (...) gives itself a purpose (...); on the basis of that collective memory, it is able to express sense of its own decisions and to value them” (Ferrarotti, 1983, pp. 31-32). In this sense, the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto as a collective movement, shares a collective memory enriched by different perspectives and meanings given to individual stories which unite, combine and complement overall as collective memory.

INTERVIEWS AND MEMORY CONSTRUCTION

THE PROTAGONISTS

Throughout this project we worked with a group of six women who were among the group that initiated this social movement in 1976. Aged between 50 and 80 years, these women were sewers and workers and generally only had experienced basic schooling processes.

THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews can be divided into two types: individual and group interviews, of which five interviews were individuals and three were collective interviews. The initial design only previewed individual interviews but women themselves hinted that they would rather get together in a group interview to begin with. Thus, the first meeting was a group interview that served as trigger of the whole process. To support and stimulate this process we shared with these women the documents we had in our possession and the chronology we had produced. This would help them remember and share their stories more easily. The fact that they were all together catalyzed the process of collective remembering.

On the other hand, the individual interviews focused on the life story. By this procedure we would not only collect the memories that these women had on the movement Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto but also about their lives in general, in order to better contextualize the whole process. In these moments we would deepen the shared memories collected during the group meetings and, above all, get to know the personal experiences and the role of each woman in this movement of social struggle.

RECREATING MEMORY

The interviews had a key role in the preservation process and possibility of recreating a memory about this social movement, being the collective meetings an asset in this process. As Namer (1987) refers, exploiting Halbwachs, individual memory is constructed and legitimized by the confirmation that others and objects give us about that memory: “we must help other’s memory or give us an objective verification to see that they correspond to the realities formerly perceived” (Halbwachs, cited in Namer, 1987, p. 22). In this sense, the collective meetings we had with this group of women, with whom we also shared the material we had about the movement, fit into this perspective by the way memory will be manifested by consecutive reviews. This situation was often demonstrated when women wondered about the exact dates of events and ended up confirming it by naturally consulting the other present women, comparing their memories and building in this process a collective memory.

Being that initially these collective meetings were not programmed, it was astonishing to observe how important they became to these women, keeping the group together and motivated by the project. The triggered individual memory from each woman, both when expressed isolated and in group, created a consistent sense of value on the work performed by them in the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto. We also perceived that the collective meetings gave breath to these women so they could, individually, value their experiences and their will to participate in the construction of a memory on this social movement. In this sense, both the interview process and the memory reconstruction process had an impact on these women, specifically legitimizing their actions as social actors and enhancing their self-esteem. A sense of relevance for the stories they were sharing also emerged. Being able to share their stories and tell us in detail what they did and how they did it, demonstrating that their actions have had positive results, seemed significant for these women. Above all, it was especially important for them to feel our interest in this movement and to participate in the recreation of its collective memory.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

The collected material on the interviewing process provides access to a vast universe of meanings and information to cross with the previously collected documents. This allows us to combine a subjective dimension with the wider dimension of the events reported in the documents. Thus, content analysis was a crucial moment in this project since it is how memory lines stand out and unveil their meanings, defining the history of this movement and its pathways. This work is ongoing but we already have proceeded to the categorization of speeches according to the interview guides initially developed and to the themes stressed on the discourses of these women. We currently are in the analysis process for these speeches.

From the first impact, we already feel that the attempt to construct a memory of this movement based on some documents and on the memory of this group of protagonists will not allow the access to the entire history of the movement or to a linear and historical perspective of its development. For instance, we cannot yet define the moment of

the founding act for this movement. Women themselves have only a vague memory of it, stating that “things just happened”. Another important issue relates to the militancy of these women who in general were, at that time, members of the communist party. The women we got in touch with uphold that this movement was an unitary social movement of struggle for better living conditions in which participated women from other political parties, not clearly specifying whether there was a relationship with the communist party and what would its nature be. These are some of the issues that are still under review for a better understanding.

Moreover, their reports allow us to easily understand their ways of organizing their work, how they were received by the population and how they managed to run their lives conciliating the family management with both the labor management and participation in the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto movement. We can also deduce the role each of them held as founder. The whole process of recreating memory joins with a work of discourse analysis to identify the consonant and dissonant discourses as well as trying to understand the history of the movement itself. However, the testimonies collected are themselves a memory of this movement, having their own life - the life that the memory of each of these women assigned to them, according to their experiences.

PROTAGONISTS, CO-PARTICIPANTS AND CO-PRODUCERS OF RESEARCH

The theoretical and methodological choices outlined at the beginning of this project also define the epistemological position of the researchers. Through these methodologies we aim to recognize women that participate in this research as protagonists, co-authors and co-producers of a research project characterized by collaborative work. Hereby recognizing our protagonists simultaneously as subjects in the action and of the action, we have involved educational institutions and the community in the reconstruction of Porto's history. By placing those women at the center of our research we are considering subjectivity and personal experiences as privileged knowledge.

Starting with the memory given to us in the collected documents we finally reached these women's memory and their life stories. It is these women and their stories that enrich and deepen the extent of this project. According to Ferraroti (1983, p. 49): “traditional biographical method prefers secondary materials (“more objective”) to primary materials, that means the materials directly collected by the researcher in contact with the subjects of research”. In this sense, we corroborate the author's thesis that

we must abandon the privilege granted to secondary biographical materials. We need to bring to the very heart of the biographical method primary materials and their explosive subjectivity. Our interest does not only concern the objective richness of primary biographical material but also its subjective salience in the context of complex and reciprocal interpersonal communication between the narrator and the observer (Ferraroti, 1983, p. 49-50).

By claiming the subjectivity's presence in science as “access route - often possible - to scientific knowledge of a social system” (Ferraroti, 1983, p. 51), Ferraroti becomes part of a group of authors and researchers who break modern science's assumptions of

intersubjectivity as one of the principles of another way of doing science in a comprehensive and interpretative way:

a biographical account (...) is a social action through which an individual synthetically retotalizes his life (biography) and social interaction in progress (interview) with a story - interaction (...) he tells a present interaction through the intermediary of a lifetime. [Thus] the sociological analysis of a biographical narrative leads us to the hermeneutics of an interaction. (Ferrarotti, 1983, p. 53)

Both life stories and oral history justify our position towards these women and the research project by acknowledging them as partners during the entire research path. We share Raymond's Aron thesis refusing historical research objectivity, advocating a comprehensive and hermeneutic perspective of history considering that what an historian does it is not more than one interpretation (*cf.* Aron-Schnapper & Hanet, 1980). In Berger's (2009, p. 178) words,

research in social sciences tend, therefore, to always be a work of reworking, reinterpretation of group of phenomena that we all experience (...) This is one reason among others why research in these sciences appears always as a certain formalization of a knowledge tendentially already established which simultaneously generates a relation of expectation and rejection.

We would also like to point out that this research work would only make sense with women's involvement and implication in the project's different stages. If initially the involvement of our protagonists was limited to the acceptance of our invitation to discuss the creation and participation in the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto movement, afterwards women demonstrated a shared feeling of authorship when asking about the project's roadmap and contributing on the decision making on the project's exhibition content. Thus, our interviewees are authors of knowledge from a moment in the past which has been increasingly diluted from collective memory. More than protagonists of a movement, they are co-authors of the social history drawn after April's 25th. In Ardoino's words (1997, p. 3), on the concept of implication, both the actor and the author

are actually involved, (...) but differently. [And he explains:] I can, indeed, be an actor, without thereby being the author (creator) (...); the implication is, therefore, connected with authorization, as the ability to authorize himself to be at least co-author of what is socially produced; if the actor is always, more or less explicitly, carrier of sense, the author is the meaning producer and source.

FEMININE VOICE MOVEMENT

We should also consider this movement of female voice from the point of view of women's role in society, in order to understand social disruption that it symbolizes. As pointed out by Medina, Pacheco, and Caramelo (2012, pp. 420-421):

Significant from this period are also profound changes in women's play role, with emphasis on their action in all interventions fronts. On Streets, neighborhoods committees and popular associations, businesses and trade unions, in local authorities, there were thousands of women who attended and assumed leading and management of diverse initiatives,

attitude that illustrates the changing period lived in Portugal after the revolution of April's 25th in 1974. The women's emancipation is reflected on social intervention, community initiatives involvement to social struggle and claims which were previously denied to the population in general and particularly to women, to whom only a very restricted and concrete role was reserved in Portuguese society. Submitted to a very stressed patriarchal society, the promoted image of women was as housewife, responsible for children's and home care although in reality she was a worker like any man, even if their role and work were not valued, as tended to happen in labor world in those years (*cf.* Maruani, 1992).

The 1974 revolution is for the Portuguese woman also an opportunity to fight for change of women's social role. The Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto social movement is an example of this struggle, which is not only a social struggle for dignifying the living conditions but also a struggle for an active role and placement for women in Portuguese society:

I think that as happened April's 25 [revolution], and there was all that euphoria, (and at that time, I wasn't really that aware of what was going on), [but] I think the revolution by itself aroused in us a different thing. I think it was it! I mean, I do not quite understand but I think that it was what other women as me needed this freedom! Being able to go out, because until that time it was complicated for a woman go to a coffee, to wear pants, everything was difficult for women. Thereafter we started..., well first it was me, than it was another [woman], and then the women's explosion took place! Until that moment maybe there were some women [emancipated], but very few, very few. Then everything started to be more ... and then the fact that I could leave the house and go to the meetings with the others it was very important for me. Regardless of ... I became a person of well-doing and learned a lot, other women have chosen to follow another path...they just took as opportunity to go out ... even so just to be able to go out it was very good; this and women be able to vote. I think as long as I have strengths I will always vote. (Amália, member of Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto, individual interview, 2012)

These women's activity was not approved by the majority of men and also by some women.

In this sense, this movement is composed by a group of women that distinguished themselves as protagonists of a social struggle movement and also fought for women's emancipation: they were organizing a social struggle for decent living conditions, confronting the exorbitant price rises for food, rent, water and energy, and simultaneously they mobilized other women and acted as important social mediators.

Although their actions were mainly correlated with social struggle and claim for better living conditions, the mobilization of other women to support manifestations and meetings played a very important role for the general emancipation of other women, getting them involved in the social struggle and fight for a politically dignified placement in society. From their testimonies we are told that many women kept their participation in the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto meetings hidden from their husbands and that some of the movements leaders were asked to speak with men so that they would let their wives participate:

There was a big fight at the city hall doors because of electricity's price increases and we spent one night there. It wasn't easy, I mean, I think it was in '76, '77, '78,

but yet it was too difficult to take women with us because...well, in that time and when I got married, men were ..., they could go everywhere but for women was complicated. I even got to go to many women's homes ask to their husbands to let them come, because they wouldn't let them go out just like that, especially at night. (Amália, member of Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto, individual interview, 2012)

Moreover, these women were also social mediators, between parishes and population, calling on parish councils members to solve poverty and misery problems found in the population. They got together and participated in general city hall's meetings to make the population's voice heard - the voice of women with continuously reduced possibilities to manage their family finances.

In this sense, these women have created a movement of action, manifestation, participation and social support that breaks with women's representation in the Portuguese society and redefine their social role. Innovative for being a female voice movement, the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto are even more innovative by the way they take charge of important social issues, fighting for social justice and common good without relating themselves with stereotypes associated with other women's movements which tended to present women as victims or feminists. In this movement there is an exaltation of the potential action which also characterizes the group of women we met.

CONCLUSION

The work developed for this research project was enriched with the participation of the group of women who founded the Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto social movement. The purpose of preserving and recreating this social movement memory led us to explore a range of mechanisms (*cf.* Namer, 1987) that would allow us, based on documents we had about the movement, to help women's remembering process. The collective meetings and document sharing were factors not initially foreseen but that have become fundamental methodological processes in this research.

Under oral history and life stories methodologies we advocate oral sources importance on memory preservation. As Thompson (1988) points out, oral history was "the first kind of history", although at the time when positivism dominated scientific knowledge production, oral tradition was at first devalued and then rejected until the mid-70's of 20th century, when the events associated to the emergence of new social movements, namely May 1968 protests in France, would influence a new strategy that stands out by breaking with quantitative sociology assumptions. It is then that researchers start to "use the term oral history" to denote this new sociological method, the method of life histories, whose use is also proposed in history.

Working with memory implies the issue of a memory of memory (*cf.* Namer, 1987), here the memory of a social movement based on protagonist's memory. Hereby, it was very important to encourage the processes of remembering and sharing to construct a collective memory which, as Namer (1987) says, it is a group memory founded on a particular social time that ensures their group identity. The memory, which is "by nature multiple and yet

specific, collective and plural, and yet individual” (Nora, 1989, p. 9) shows up as ambiguous field of work, considering that its preservation and recreation involves the combination of different experiences and points of view that ask for multiplicity’s integration on the whole.

The purpose of preserving this memory led us to organize the documents and disclose them online by creating an online platform as well as to prepare an exhibition about the project where we would highlight the collected movement voices and its narratives. Finally we intend to produce a book that presents the work developed and the collected information. Through oral history methodology we dare to tell a new story on the life history of this social struggle movement.

The reconstruction of a collective memory framed by biographical narratives allowed us to retrieve important moments in history that testify the major role that social and political activism may have in identity reconstruction processes and non formal education processes, leading us to the discussion of how this process occurred and its impact on both individuals and social issues. This research, more than just defending the collective memory’s preservation, allows the reflection and discussion of the present, enrichment of people’s knowledge of the past and leads to more enlightened perspectives of the future. Today, after thirty years have gone by, these women feel that they carry an important social message that needs to be handed over to present generations: the social activism must return with improved resources but with the same strength and enthusiasm.

Through preservation of collective social memory we have experienced that “the immediate environment also gains, through the sense of discovery in interviews, a vivid historical dimension: an awareness of the past which is not just known, but personally felt” (Nora, 1989, p. 9); Oral sources make available “a more realistic and fair reconstruction of the past, a challenge to the established account. In so doing, oral history has a radical implication for the social message of history as a whole” (Thompson, 1988, p. 6). Thompson points out that “oral history is not necessarily an instrument for change; (...) Nevertheless, (...) certainly can be a means for transforming both the content and the purpose of history” (Thompson, 1988, p. 2). We corroborate Ferrarotti’s thesis about history’s importance as

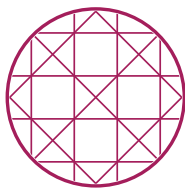
a collective memory of the past, critical awareness of the present and operating assumption for the future. But at the same time, it is also dangerous: an excessive historical sense reduces the plasticity of human beings and thereby blocks their ability to make decisions. (Ferrarotti, 1983, p. 32).

Finally we hope that this research project aiming to bring back and preserve the memories of Unitary Commissions of Women From Porto social movement can serve as a catalyst of an historical reflexivity allowing to discuss the present and the future from social memory acquaintance so often forgotten or diluted by/and in fluidity of times and modern societies.

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Adozinda Goes to the Feminine Reading Room: a Segregated Space for Women in a Portuguese Public Library under a Fascist State

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Abstract

The public event of the inauguration of a Feminine Reading Room in the Municipal Public Library of Porto, held on the 24th November 1945, sets the motto for the construction of a historically and sociologically based analysis of the modes of usage of public and semi-public space – namely libraries – used by women and their meanings in those days.

Within the framework of a qualitative approach, sources such as literature, photography and personal interviews are added to documentary data from institutional archives. A fictional narrative, built from historical data, is inserted to sustain our analysis, where Adozinda is the character embodying a woman reader who crosses the city to visit the recently inaugurated Feminine Reading Room. Two female figures punctuate this narrative, Virgínia de Castro e Almeida, the person after whom this room was named, and Tília Dulce Machado Martins, the main legator of the collection it holds. Using this fictional narrative, we aimed at reconstructing a holistic context for the facts *as they might have happened* through a pleasurable reading of a plausible text. These women's diverse histories are also inserted in that context.

Fiction is a resource used to inscribe data on the social, economic, and political situation in the city and in the country at that time, with an emphasis on women and their uses of public space.

As to the theoretical framing of public and semi-public use of the space, the theory of gendered spaces, as opposed to separate spheres, is evoked and confirmed to account for the presence of women in public space, according to gender and social class roles, a presence which is however socially invisibilised.

We conclude that the Room's space, initially segregated for moral reasons, was later transformed through an appropriation which went from separatism to integration, as a response to ethical claims gaining ground in society. This separatism was, therefore, an intermediate step towards a more equalitarian use of space.

Keywords

Public libraries; public space; women; gendered space; Portugal

WHAT YOU ARE ABOUT TO HEAR

A librarian once told us a story about a special reading room, for women only, which had existed in the Municipal Public Library of Porto. Later on, a magazine article reporting on

the inauguration of that room was eventually located by one of the authors. The singularity and significance of this Feminine Reading Room, a hardly known fact, lead us to research it further. Leaning on that text, we moved to other primary sources: the library's administrative archives and the municipality's historical archives, some photographs retrieved at the Centro Português de Fotografia (CPF, Portuguese Centre for Photography). Drawing from both historical and sociological theory and literary texts, a qualitative approach was designed.

The aim was not solely to reconstruct the existence of such a specialised room but to understand its social significance within the context of the use of public space by women in those times and for that urban location. In pursuing this aim we concretised some points of the feminist research agenda, revealing women's *loci* and perspectives and, while doing it, contributing to the production of a more comprehensive knowledge of society, through our commitment to a research path that may support the critique of gender inequalities (Devault, 1996).

Two female figures emerged during our research, Virgínia de Castro e Almeida (1874-1945) and Tília Dulce Machado Martins (c. 1890-1937).

The Feminine Reading Room was named Virgínia de Castro e Almeida. Having died in Lisbon some months before its inauguration¹, she was evoked, in the opening ceremony speech, as a renowned novelist and a children's books writer², not a "revolutionary", but a woman "leaning towards a calm beauty"; not an advocate of the current feminism, but of a woman who is "an educated, balanced woman's voice, pure, who aspires to a place by her male companion, to share his grieves, his works, his joys" (Inauguração... 1945, p. 427). Virgínia had also played a salient role in the history of Portuguese filmmaking. She lived in France and Switzerland for some years, and started a producing business, Fortuna Films, registered in Lisbon and Paris (Baptista, 2003). In 1929 she was one of the counsellors with the Portuguese Popular University, a progressive, anti-fascist institution (Associação..., 2001). In later years, Virgínia had, however, adhered to the regime's fascist ideology, producing a series of children's books devoted to the glorification of Portuguese nationalistic myths, ideological instruments conveying "the principle of authority and the virtue of abeyance" (Balça, 2007). And this was surely the reason for such a public demonstration of appreciation from the local authorities.

Members of the library staff pointed us in the direction of Tília Dulce Machado Martins³, the person who legated most of the books to be incorporated in the reading room. Born in Brazil, from a family of broad-minded republicans, her late husband had been a minister of the first Republic and a colonial governor of India⁴. In her will, dated from 1937, she donated 2992 books which would later on be incorporated in the reading

¹ see Virgínia Folque de Castro e Almeida Pimentel Sequeira e Abreu, in Fundação... 2000.

² according to França (1983), the ABC magazine published a list of the twelve most popular Portuguese authors in 1928 which included Virgínia de Castro e Almeida.

³ see Tília Dulce Machado Cardoso in GeneALL.net - Portugal; she became Tília Dulce Machado Nogueira, following her first marriage; she took her third husband's surname, Martins, later.

⁴ her third husband, here referred to, was Mariano Martins; some of the books from this legacy are signed by their previous owner, Henrique José Santos Cardoso Júnior, her second husband, a chemist and a journalist, one of the founders of the Republican Party in Porto (family ties reported by relatives).

room's collection (BPMP, 1984). Her name also shows up as a donator to a national museum in Lisbon (Pinto, 1939). Several of these books had belonged to more than one owner, as documented by their personal signatures, or to a privately owned Reading Club⁵. Some were probably bought second-hand, according to bookshop stamps and former owners' signatures, and others might have been inherited⁶. This was, undoubtedly, a bibliophile's collection and one characterised by progressive ideas. As Virgínia was the daughter of the 1st Count of Nova Goa (India), her acquaintance with Tília Dulce was very likely, and an interviewee came to confirm that they were friends. However, we could not confirm whether this donation was purposefully made for the new Feminine Reading Room.

We crossed several types of data: Virgínia's writings and biographical data, biographical data provided by the family of Tília Dulce, data on the library's history from the archives and from one publication of the municipality of Porto, the reading room's bibliographical catalogue, photos relating to both women and to the city of Porto, register offices documents of Portugal and Brazil, interviews and conversations with senior librarians, and personal memories of childhood. Using a chain of contacts, we were lucky enough to locate and interview one woman who had visited the Feminine Reading Room in her youth and converse with another one, her contemporary. Both provided information on cultural and leisure habits of Porto's young women in those days.

A fictionalised narrative emerged to embody and reassemble those historical fragments, voiced by an imaginary female character. We created this character and the story based upon what a daily routine of a middle-class young woman in the city of Porto in the 1940's might have been. For a denser context, additional data are provided along with the narrative, as a scenario in the background of such a reconstructed portrait. This data consists of the sources of the 'real' history such as literature, photography and personal interviews are added to documentary data from institutional archives.

Furthermore, we must also be aware of the political and social situation in those days in Portugal and how it reflected in the daily life of readers and in a library's activities. The German Army's surrender had been announced on May 8th 1945. Public demonstrations followed the allies' victory, in the hope of Salazar's overthrow. "Free elections" were announced for October as an effort from the fascist dictator to legitimise his position vis-à-vis the foreign victorious powers. After the elections, repression increased, and a librarian is - again - suspended from his duties on charges of political activities against the government, together with several other civil servants all over the country⁷. Print materials were subject to censorship. Dictatorship takes regressive measures, such as putting an end to the co-education initiated by the republicans, progressively cutting compulsory education time, establishing four years for boys and three years for girls from 1936 to 1960, and lowering the level of learning contents. Unique, official manuals are enforced, repeatedly

⁵ "O Jardim do Povo – Gabinete de Leitura Portuguesa e Franceza" [The People's Garden - Portuguese and French Reading Cabinet], founded in 1882.

⁶ some books are signed by a previous owner Henrique José Santos Cardoso Júnior, and their edition dated the end of the 19th century; we were told by relatives that he was Tília Dulce's second husband, a chemist and a journalist, a founder of the Republican Party in Porto.

⁷ Narciso de Silva José de Azevedo will be arrested in 1948, as he had been in 1939 (administrative files, letter ref. 139/48).

depicting the woman as a housekeeper (Neves & Calado, 2001). Instruction for the most able, work for all, Salazar's slogan proclaimed. Less educated than teachers, teaching instructors - *regentes* - were assigned to many primary schools, earning 250\$ Escudos for these coveted, although underpaid positions, in 1945 (Guimarães, 2004). In 1946, regular primary teachers earned 750\$, grammar school teachers 2400\$, clerks 2400\$; a family with three children would spend a very strict minimum of 3690\$ in housing and food, health expenses excluded; from 1939 to 1946, prices rose by 148% and so real wages fell sharply (Rosas, 1990). *Modas e Bordados* (Fashion and Embroideries) a very popular monthly magazine, cost 7\$50 (Guimarães, 2004).

HERE, THE TALE OF A FEMALE READER BEGINS

Adozinda lives near the public library. Berta, her schoolmate, told her about this new room, just for women. Berta's mother, being a renowned writer, had attended the inaugural ceremony. Adozinda kept the magazine's clipping reporting the event⁸. One picture shows several people gathered for the inauguration of the *Feminine Reading Room* in Porto's Municipal Public Library, last November: the mayor, several councillors, the library's director, some of the city's intellectuals and several women. The director praised the role of the Arts in "dignifying and elevating" spiritual life. Addressing the mayor, he proclaimed that if some "limpid, angelical figures" might be seen reading behind those doors, in the future, even if only to read *The imitation of Christ*, the mayor may be assured to have accomplished the best compensation for his administrative life.

Going to the Faculty of Pharmacy occupies most of Adozinda's time now. She was considering Medicine, but papa dissuaded her: that was a tough course and Pharmacy is such a nice graduation for a girl, most of her schoolmates are girls⁹.

She usually goes out with relatives or other female friends. She often accompanies her mama, who enjoys having tea with her friends downtown in that exquisite tearoom. Every now and then Adozinda goes to cinema matinées with Berta. Thursdays attendances are especially suitable for young ladies. When she gets bored, window-shopping is always welcome, she may even look for some novelties in the silk merchants or for some elegant magazine. Mama is always knitting or embroidering something new for her trousseau, whenever she's free from her charity duties with the poor and the sick.

She only has to avoid some streets, sidewalks of cafés or pubs where men are known to gather to make flirtatious remarks at passing girls. Now in her twenties, she knows that she must keep her eyes down when crossing with men in the streets. Otherwise she risks being mistaken for the wrong kind of girl, and *that* kind of girls and women do show up, leaning against the open doors of boarding houses and pubs so common in a nearby street.

Today there are some children playing in São Lázaro's park, across the street, watched over by their families' maids. Young soldiers, away from home, frequent it too, hoping to get on speaking terms with those young maids.

⁸ (Inauguração..., 1945).

⁹ (Lamas, 1950).



Figure 1: São Lázaro's park, 1950. Some women are sitting on the benches; behind the children in the foreground, a maid in white apron - former O Primeiro de Janeiro newspaper's photographic archive.

It's early, in a winter morning, fishwives are coming up from the river pier, balancing baskets upon their heads and shouting out the virtues of their fresh produce. Other women come to the city to sell vegetables, brought by wagons coming from the near farms of Campanhã¹⁰. She no longer crosses the women bread sellers and milkmaids delivering fresh rolls and milk to their regular costumers. That part of the city's daily routine is staged still at dusk, some time before her breakfast is served to her in bed by Maria, the servant-maid. She left her small village in Minho to escape famine at the age of fourteen. After her father died in World War I, her mother was no longer able to raise so many children. She must get accustomed to earning her living, she does not expect to be a housewife upon marrying¹¹.

At her mama's request, Adozinda began teaching Maria to read. Although she went to school she was not able to read those romantic photo novels she so appreciates¹².

Adozinda arrives at the library and finds her way into the Feminine Reading Room. This has been conveniently placed by the front entrance, on the ground-floor besides the cloister garden, and so she does not have to cross men in the staircases leading to the other rooms.

¹⁰ Lamas (1950) for this and other aspects of working women lives; for the daily life in the parish of Campanhã see life narratives by Pombo (2005).

¹¹ "Housewives are practically non-existent among the popular classes. They all work, more or less, outside the home. If not industrial workers, they are rural labourers, peddlers, servants, and maids. Even when not working to a fixed timetable, they don't stay at home much, not more than the time needed for domestic tasks, for earning a living is enforced on them, even if this means occasional services." Rich women dedicate themselves to charity. "Some young female aristocrats also engage in learning "only to have some general notions of culture, not meaning by that to be in accordance with the professional training of a woman." (Lamas, 1950, p. 460).

¹² "A book or a newspaper never reaches their modest houses, nor is there a library in the hamlet, however modest, where to practise the little they have learned." (Ferreira, 1935, p. 11-18). The author provides a very vivid description of the living conditions of working women in the pages of *Vida Feminina* [Feminine Life].

Virgínia de Castro e Almeida has her name inscribed in a plaque at the entrance of the new Room. Adozinda knew Virgínia as the author of several articles in the feminine supplement to the newspaper her father usually buys¹³. She felt curious and excited as this was a new opportunity to leave home and maybe find some of her acquaintances.



Figure 2: The Feminine Reading Room, undated, Alvão studio, ref. ALV004609, CPF/DGARQ/MC.

She wonders which book to pick and glances around. English style furniture, a round table with a Wedgwood-like Greek vase, a chandelier, ceramic busts decorating the bookshelves, wallpaper, a carpet and curtains, all offer a distinguished touch to this small room¹⁴. Special care has been paid to this room, an assistant explains, the General Reading Room has no such luxuries! As a matter of fact it is the only room equipped with a heater. Now that war is over, restrictions over power consumption seem to be alleviated¹⁵. She feels soothed by this comfort. Berta's home is always so cold.

Then Berta shows up, they don't have classes that day. Berta's parents both work -, her mother earns her living as a primary-school teacher - they consider themselves neither poor

¹³ the supplement *Vida Feminina* (Feminine Life) was distributed with *O Século* (The Century) during the fifties (Guimarães, 2004).

¹⁴ similar care and type of decoration for feminine parlours is referred by van Slyck, 1996; on how décor may support the gendering of space, see Hoberman (2002) and Merrett (2010).

¹⁵ During World War II, there were food shortages and rationing. Unemployment and wage cuts, for a reduced working time, were frequent. An increase in the number of beggars and prostitutes in the city, as well as a rise in food thefts and assaults on bread distributors preoccupied the police. In 1944, several hunger marches occurred in the city and the vicinities. High prices in house rental lead to industrial workers and impoverished families to gather in shacks. Most homes did not have water supply or sewage. Epidemics were frequent and lethal, and tuberculosis was a major threat (Rosas, 1990). Several library workers were stroke by the disease and sanitary inspections were frequent among them according to BPMP official correspondence 1937/1938.

nor rich. Her mother works hard, teaching two, three or even four grades during a single year. Berta only occasionally goes to the cinema with her brother, “life being so hard!”. Every fortnight or so she goes to the café and meets her friends, she sometimes even ventures to enter unchaperoned, being a girl with an “advanced mentality”¹⁶.

As Berta can easily catch the tramway to the library, she no longer has to buy so many books for her study. This time she requests a Latin Dictionary to prepare for Easter-term exams. Most of the girls she joins in the Feminine Reading Room came in to study.



Figure 3: Virgínia de Castro e Almeida, photo published in *Ilustração Portuguesa*, nr. 11, Nov. 1911.

Berta remembers she had read some books by Virgínia de Castro e Almeida as a child, and whispers into Adozinda’s ear. She then asks the assistant which books by Virgínia are available. Adozinda peeps into the cabinet and chooses *A mulher* [The woman]. It is a small book she quickly reads. The author’s accounts of women’s education in Switzerland stirs her imagination. Most of all, she is surprised by her statement:

In feminism, as in socialism, as in all grand beliefs and in all hopes that have ennobled the human spirit, and have taken it to the conquest of a redemptive ideal, there are the exalted, the fanatic, the non-understanding, the ones who go beyond the dream, the ones who do not measure the part that one must leave for time and who think they’re able to realise, in a lifetime space, what the work of the centuries alone will one day do.

So Virgínia had been a feminist? She would never have thought of it! And the text goes on: “Women of my country!... Cinderellas with an empty brain...; luxury dolls, dressed up like the ‘ladies in Paris’..”

These ideas make her a bit uncomfortable. Well, times have changed. She checks the date out, to discover that the book had been written soon after her mother was born.

The cautionary words on Virgínia, used in the inauguration speech, had intrigued her. But now she realizes that they contradict Virgínia’s own words, in earlier days. So she had been a feminist, only regretting to have mistaken feminism for a “grotesque and vague, maybe dangerous, utopia.” But then “a great master, Life, harsh and prodigious [...] whose teachings never fail” taught her better, only to recognise that feminism was “a grand and generous idea of redemption, gravely advancing with the majestic serenity of all invincible forces destined to change the face of the world” (Almeida, 1913, p.14).

¹⁶ based on the interview with Fernanda, the former user of the Feminine Reading Room.

Thus Virginia's passionate exhortation, published in 1913 shortly after the republican revolution of 1910:

Women of my country!... Cinderellas with an empty brain, who wait, sitting by the fire-place and with morbid tremors, for the hypothetical appearance of prince charming, grave maid-servants, who spend their lives with the pantry keys and a needle in hand, without the slightest idea of domestic economy or hygiene, confusing honesty with the neglect of beauty; beasts of burden or reproduction, surrounded by children who they know not how to raise or educate; luxury dolls, dressed up like the ladies in Paris and all their intelligence absorbed in decoding fashions, incapable of any other interest or any other comprehension; [...] passive instruments in the skilful hands of Jesuitism which moulds them like wax; fervent servants of snobbery and gossiping; superficial imitators of models they barely know... Poor women of my country!¹⁷

She is only surprised that books such as *A mulher* are kept in the library at all. Still, she deeply empathises with the young Virginia's confidences.

Those [young girls'] reunions and other similar entertainments always left an unpleasant feeling, got on my nerves, ended up distressing me, persuading me even more of my manifest inferiority. [...]

I enjoyed the soirées or dinners involving serious people much more, where my individuality disappeared, where no one noticed me, where I could indulge in my observations all by myself, digesting what others said in silence, not having to pretend, with no one cueing me to enter the scene, to perform a role. [...] and, as they were social, political, literary or critical matters, in general, inaccessible to commentaries and even to the understanding of a girl of my age, who was advised, most of all, to walk down the stairs like a little bird, not to be embarrassed to speak in French before others, not to act shy or be a lone wolf, to consider dressing up more, I got used to discuss with myself all the ideas debated before me but which I was not allowed to talk about, so came to organise my brain in a very curious mode.¹⁸

Observing Adozinda's uneasiness, Berta takes a glimpse into *A mulher* as well. Murmuring, they exchange a few ideas. Then Berta comments that she is not surprised at all, her mother had known Tília Dulce. She had been a cultivated, rich woman who donated most of the books they now see in that room behind the bookcases' glass doors. They are marked with that red stamp "Mrs. Tília Dulce's Legacy".

Going out, Adozinda remembers she must get some stamps for Brazil. Both papas' sisters immigrated to Minas Gerais when they became of age, marrying, and forming their new families there. The eldest was a bold, active woman who soon fit in the new country, marrying there, and sending her baby sister a boat ticket so that she might join her and start a new life there too. Brazil presented a lot of opportunities for young women who didn't have a large dowry to rest upon. Papa's brothers all immigrated to the colony of Mozambique, working for the Zambezi Tea Company.

Arriving home she tells Mama about her new experience in the library: "I felt like one of those women living in Switzerland or France, reading and all, not being gazed at, not

¹⁷ (Almeida, 1913, p.17).

¹⁸ (Almeida, 1913, p.10).

afraid of being named a “literate” or a “wiseacre”¹⁹ as those boys in the street called me and my female colleagues when we were entering the faculty carrying our books.”

THEN, THEORETICAL ANALYSIS ENTERS

THE ‘ANGEL-CINDERELLA-LUXURY DOLL’ TRIPTYCH

Ideologically, as Virgínia Almeida (1913) herself so sharply wrote, women’s essentialized portrait was in fact a faceted one, either with angelical garments, frail and in need of guidance, as social appeasers and divine tools, used for the moral betterment of men and children, or, as productive/reproductive Cinderellas, during more earthly tasks, or yet as luxury dolls, the visible icons of their husbands social status during social events. Such figurations are typically a bourgeois construct, as the latter fold in this triptych most clearly shows. Apart from eroding individual, cultural differences among women, this ideological construct also has the effect of eroding any other inequalities such as social class or ethnicity.

The advocacy for this separatism sounds bizarre to the contemporary reader: not only were women thought of as needing to be protected from male readers, but women’s presence was, on one hand, esteemed to distract serious readers - a group they were thus not included in -, and on the other esteemed to contribute to the “moral uplifting” of public space. The same reasoning was used for other public spaces, like hotels or restaurants, on the grounds, we may guess, of their commonsensical and essentialized “purity” (van Slyck, 2001; Merrett, 2010). These contradictions in representing the women’s role as public space users do show up in some statements: “Of particular concern were ‘library loafers’, unredeemable working class men whose loitering thwarted the noble purpose of the public library.” But women might then be accused of ignoring the implicit social code of conduct for such a space: British libraries recorded complaints about women giggling and talking in the semi-sacred space of the British Library, ripping plates off fashion magazines, or about young girls eating strawberries in the company of male students (Baggs, 2005) or simply for disrupting spaces conceived of as male (Hoberman, 2002). It should be noted that, on this particular respect and in the beginning of the 1950s, only one woman was to be found among more than 20 regular staff members in this library, and among a similar number of contracted workers the only females, most likely, would be the cleaning employees, the rest being attendants.

A similar form of separatism in public libraries, according to ethnicity not gender, allowing United States black readers to enter them, is also documented along with the difficulties faced (van Slyck, 2001).

By that time, and in other countries, several public libraries had separate spaces, from ladies’ reading rooms, or alcoves to ladies’ tables. The scarce literature on this theme describes mainly USA and UK cases (van Slyck, 1996; Hoberman, 2002; Baggs, 2005). These areas were very popular among women in the United Kingdom, considering that about 36% of the 560 local government authorities that had adopted the Public Library Act by 1914, had made such provisions (Baggs, 2005). Women’s reading clubs were relatively common in

¹⁹ (Silva, 1983).

the USA, and some evolved later to municipal libraries with local government support (van Slyck, 2001). And we are also aware that Lisbon's Popular Library, dating from 1912, had separated reading rooms for different publics, "a general reading room for adults and children and a room reserved for ladies" (Melo, 2010, p. 49). In 1922, the latter was eliminated according to that year's report (Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto [BPMP], 1944). But this and Porto's case were the only ones we could find any trace of.

We could not find documentation on the rationale supporting the decision to open this room in the library's archives, although we became aware that the idea had crossed a previous library director's mind, in the early 1930s (Brito, 1985). The next director went on a study trip to the United States in 1948. Whether the idea was inspired by North-American practices, or by the centuries-old cultural ties linking Porto and the British Isles, is a matter we may only speculate about.

No record of separatism in public or semi-public spaces for other purposes in Portugal is known to us, as was the case for other countries. In the U.K. or the U.S., there were women parlours in post-offices, public transportation waiting-rooms, banks, restaurants, etc., from the end of the 19th to mid-20th centuries (Brito, 1985). In the neighbouring Spain, segregated places might be found in beaches, still by the end of the 1980s²⁰. The only common local exceptions we encountered, in those decades, were those of public primary and grammar schools, and still compliance with the law for the former was sometimes not achieved, due to logistic issues (Neves & Calado, 2001); similarly, when attending mass, women were supposed to occupy the benches in one aisle of the church and men the other, a practice observed in the countryside in the 1940-50's, and still for some years on.

The fact that Portugal was then an incipiently industrialised country may account for this situation: "women's public silence in the post-revolutionary West [French Revolution] is an imposed condition of relatively recent origin", the gendering of space being previously constructed upon different rules. And so "modern republican politics structures can be construed as part of an elaborate defence against women's power and public presence" (Landes, 1988, p. 203-204). Portugal had, for this matter, economic, cultural, historical conditions which were different from other areas in the West: women had soon, and in great numbers, left home to work for a wage; women's economic status could be high in some rural regions (Durães, 2000), confirming the theory that "the patterns, the scope and the intensity of such oppression [patriarchy] are not uniform or easily transferable across cultural-historical divisions." (Landes, 1988).

*The home to women, the square to men*²¹, went the Portuguese popular saying.

Conquering multiple spaces was a women's hard battle in search of recognition as qualified users and producers of public space, no longer as mere ornamental objects. However, to remain unnoticed, might have been and still is a tactic chosen by women, as Certeau's "poacher" (1984) resorting to the tactics of resistance in fields of domination. The

²⁰ there were separate spaces with paid access for single women, single men and families both in the stretches of sand and the sea, wires dividing those areas; in the Barcelona region, this practice only ended in 1988 with the works for the Olympic Games.

²¹ cited by Neves & Calado (2001, p. 25).

“right to be anonymous, to be left alone, not to be looked at” (Tonkiss, 2003, p. 24) may be a tactics of women in securing their right to use public space at will, through the means of an apparently negative freedom. To appropriate public space, middle-class women would also have to drop those angelical wings, cumbersome and alien to such utilitarian, rationalised places. We may sense, from some the statements of women in the consulted literature, that this was not an easy step. The ideology of an essentialized frailty and sensitiveness was shared by many women and, we may speculate, even occasionally appreciated and equated to a sign of deference from bourgeois social etiquette, according to common sense. As already claimed, women were not absent from public space in the 1950s Portugal. Working class women had already taken to the square and to the street, not out of whim or liberatory attitude, but out of the daily need for bread earning: young or old, they might be seen there, as peddlers, prostitutes, or clerks and assistants, in the streets, in semi-public places such as stores and those of public services. Women from the common classes moved more freely, out of economic necessity. They worked hard, as hard as or harder than men, and in many different occupations (Vicente, 2001). And these were the most silenced, and, most probably, the greatest pragmatic contributors to the securing of these spaces, although very likely as secondary figurants. Doors and windows began to open up to higher social class women in the second half of the 19th century.

However, space was in fact, as Lefèbvre (1991) might say, not only scenery for women’s struggle but also its object. In Kerber’s words (1997, p. 184) “the evidence that the woman’s sphere is a social construction lies in part in the hard and constant work required to build and repair its boundaries”.

The patriarchal gaze had, however, constructed a landscape through a mental selection operating on visual perception. Just as some urban figures still remain mostly invisible in present times - beggars, homeless persons, those down the social status scale, or better, those for whom no scale is available - so the physical presence of women in public space, most particularly working, lower-class women, was invisibilized. The mechanical eye of the photographic camera, however, did register them, as we can conclude from the photographs analysed for this paper. Only the sexually loaded figure of the woman was to attract the eye of the male stroller, as the product of a negative selection. Furthermore, women’s new role as public library readers reinforced women’s identity in a positive way, in a period when it was clearly being re-constructed, through the incorporation of new experiences in their everyday life (Alcoff, 1994).

Accordingly, we adopted the concept of gendered spaces, instead of the dual spheres binary, which oversimplifies the relations between private and public, or female and male, as a more realistic analytical tool to deal with spatial gender differences and relations (Kerber, 1997; Merrett, 2010). Nevertheless, we also stress the need not to erase other issues such as, for the case under analysis, social class, and situational issues such as history, culture or economics.

THE FEMININE READING ROOM



Figure 4: The cloister, Aurélio da Paz dos Reis studio, 1906, (ref. APR6718, CPF/DGARQ/MC)

This library's space was the itself object of moral vigilance as to “behaviours which are contrary to morals and good manners”: “creatures of different sexes come together frequently in the less frequented spots in the cloister, then indulge in practices that are anything but uplifting and have been downgraded by several persons.” The lack of police surveillance led to the “scandalous scenes” to which a professor at the School of Fine Arts drew the attention of the director (BPMP, 1944)²².

Beyond the remarks above made on the Feminine Reading Room's decoration, we should also stress the following: two photos illustrating the article on its inauguration (Inauguração..., 1945) show an empty room from different angles, and one portraits some of the persons intervening in the ceremony, most likely members of the City Council and guests. The photo reproduced above, by the same photography studio, undated, may have been taken later. We may wonder whether this is a real or staged scene of what might be a group of young girl students accompanied by a female teacher (on the far right). But, just as with those other three pictures, no caption or further information is available.



Figure 5: Tília Dulce Machado Martins, photograph owned by the family, dated 1894

²² report dated 13th July 1944, in the Library's administrative archives.

The topographic card catalogue produced for this Room still exists. From it and from the analysis of those books we concluded that, surprisingly, most of them were not expected to be considered “appropriate” for a feminine readership then, as discussed further. Many of them were, by then, included in the censorship blacklist.

This legacy collection holds, predominantly, titles by renowned authors connected to the history of the French Revolution (e.g., Lamartine); by French writers (Alphonse Daudet, Baudelaire, Balzac, Molière, Verne, Hugo, but also Zola and Proudhon); by Portuguese 19th century novel writers, many of them also liberal politicians (Herculano, Castilho, Oliveira Martins, Garrett, Camilo, Teófilo Braga, Eça); by Conan Doyle; Boccaccio was also to be found; and some of its authors were certainly in the censors’ blacklist then – as Marx’s and Engel’s *Manifest* or Kropotkine; there are books on parliamentary matters and hygienism, but also technical books on oenology, chemistry and physics; a few bound newspaper titles are also included, those of a humoristic genre exhibiting popular caricaturists’ works, as those by Bordallo Pinheiro. Several novels by Virgínia de Castro e Almeida, by Stefan Zweig and Emilio Salgari, were later added to this Room’s collection as well as approximately two hundred titles authored, prefaced or translated by Camilo Castelo Branco²³. Some titles from other legacies²⁴ were also included. These titles, as opposed to those in Tília Dulce’s legacy, correspond to a selection one might anticipate for the intended readership in such a historical context. However it should be noted that such books, although polemic as they might have been, were not available on free-access but locked in bookshelves as usual in those days. We may guess that the commission appointed to select books for this room integrated the whole Tília Dulce collection, following the usual practice for legacies. Their judgement must have been exercised only over the latter additions.

The Feminine Reading Room was the object of extension works in 1947. Female visitors increased significantly between 1948 (3.3% of in-room readers) and 1950/51 (more than 10%). In 1952, new extension works were envisaged. Future statistics will only show aggregated data on the reading and readers for the whole institution. And the Report on 1954 activities specifically states that, after two year-long expansion works, only two special rooms remain operational in the ground-floor and none is the Feminine Reading Room. The Room was most likely closed after August 1953.

During the first weeks of existence, the readers’ registry presents, predominantly, what appears to be groups of students accompanied by one teacher, which came to coincide with our interpretation of the Room’s picture. Later on, female visitors are more diversified and occupations such as housewives, painters, writers, a civil engineer, an architect, seamstresses, a fishmonger, can be found, although students largely outnumber them. It became evident that there were frequent visitors, including dyads, some on a daily basis which was confirmed by our interviewee, Fernanda. The General Reading Room received then a much more socially diversified group of readers which included several manual workers. Visits totalled an average of 20 female readers per day. The feminine room opened then at 11 a.m. and closed at 5 p.m, with shorter opening hours. Some women also registered in the General Reading Room by day and even by night.

²³ (1825-1890), Camilo was a popular Romantic Portuguese novelist with an extense production.

²⁴ such as titles legated by João Diogo do Carmo.

No statistical registers were made on readers' gender, prior to the opening of the Feminine Reading Room, and so we cannot assess whether the offer of a separate room for women did or did not encourage their visits.

It should be noted that, from that moment on, the custom practice was that women would seat in the General Reading Room, although in a separate ally. This practice only ended during the 1960's, according to staff information.

We suppose that the children's reading room physically replaced the Feminine Reading Room, at least partially. Not only was this the information transmitted to present-day senior professionals orally, but there is a reference in the annual 1948 report to a special entrance to the children's room coinciding with that area. All we could confirm is that the children's room, created in 1948, occupied the entire south façade of the building, from 1953 or 1954 onwards²⁵.

A HAPPY-ENDING?

Truer than reality, the fictional narrative incorporates results of our research in order to emphasise specific situations and conditions that do not fit into a *black-and-white* reconstitution of such reading atmospheres: the provision of literature in the Feminine Reading Room does not appear to have been so ideologically controlled as might be expected, for reasons we could not clearly document, but may abduce. First, the fact that these books were in great part the result of a donation made by a woman from a notorious family, along with the tradition of incorporating legacies as a whole may be a partial answer to this. Second, the fact that books had to be requested from and registered with the staff, who might oppose the request and possibly report it, added another barrier of procedural control to what might appear to be free reading. Power and political relations among the library administration, the municipality and the censors, and power relations within the library itself may account for a fuller explanation.

Women were not actually absent from public space then, although their presence was frequently forced into social invisibility. Biographical research revealed another layer of invisibilisation superimposed to the use and construction of social space: the invisibilisation of women as historical agents. Was it not for Tília Dulce's marriage to a prominent man, documentation would surely be even more difficult to locate. Biographical research on two prominent women's lives was documented only at much effort, with all the traits of another form of gender invisibilisation. The biography of Virgínia de Castro e Almeida is also interesting as a reflection of the ideological oscillations that characterised some intellectuals when confronted with a fascist regime. The analysis of her biography, from the omissions to the highlights, reveals a symptomatic portrait of a woman who was notorious in the culture scene: shredded pieces assembled together and large missing pieces. Her bibliography appears to be a matter under current research. Her filmography is one of those missing pieces. A disturbing omission, as we may wonder if it might reveal a bolder facet of her personal history. She was the first producer in the Portuguese filming industry, an activity almost exclusively male, and her name sounds familiar only to a few experts in the field.

²⁵ written sources on the subject, from the administrative archives, are not clear.

Although apparently contradictory in formal terms, separate spaces, which meant segregation for women in the short term, eventually contributed to processes of women's appropriation of public or semi-public space such as public libraries. If envisaged as a temporary tactical measure, the creation of separate spaces made women's presence customary in such spaces, and allowed them a previously unrecognised visibility.

The selected historical case demonstrates how this gendered appropriation of space was accompanied by conflicting tensions deriving from the power relations at stake in other areas of women's everyday life, from the labour market to the use of semi-public and public space, from family relations to the right to education. However, no documentation supporting this specific separatist policy for reading could be found.

Finally, we would like to stress that an important progress was made in the field of rights: a separate space for women, which was initially envisaged as a requirement sustained by a conservative morality, turned obsolete and evolved to a space used by both women and men. This form of space appropriation by women was to be sustained by ethical claims of a more equalitarian use of public and semi-public space, which eventually became common in other places of everyday life.

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