

The children of the Carnation Revolution? Connections between Portugal's anti-austerity movement and the revolutionary period 1974/1975

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ABSTRACT

Based on ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with the anti-austerity movement in Portugal and a frame analysis of calls for protest, the paper explores the relation between collective memory of a country and collective group memory. The Carnation Revolution which began on 25 April 1974 is the most important event in Portugal's recent history. Most activists in the anti-austerity movement did not experience this event personally, so their memory depends completely on the existing, politically contentious collective memory of this event. The paper shows (1) the way in which group memories of the Revolution are constructed and (2) the functions these group memories have for the activist groups. It argues that collective memory of important historical events impacts on social movements' identities, their aims, repertoire of contention and framings. Activist groups engage in the construction of their group memories, and by doing so they refer to collective memory at the national level. These processes are not purely strategic and are sometimes counterproductive in terms of possible success.

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On 25 April 2014, Portugal commemorated the 40th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution. This revolution put an end to dictatorship and was followed by the *Processo Revolucionário Em Curso*, or PREC (Ongoing Revolutionary Process). The anti-austerity movement in Portugal is a very young movement: It only came into being in 2011 and most of the activists have no personal experience of the Portuguese revolutionary period (1974–1975). So it is striking that there is a strong presence of this revolutionary period in recent social movement activism in Portugal. In this article, I focus on the construction and the functions of collective memory for social movement activism. My research was guided by two main questions: (i) how do the anti-austerity movements in Portugal shape their own versions of collective memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC? and (ii) what is the impact of this specific collective memory of the Revolution and the PREC on the anti-austerity movements in Portugal? Here I am especially interested in frames, claims and identity as well as in the aspect of motivation for action in times of low activism.

To answer these questions I draw upon theories of collective memory in general and on work on the construction of memory in social movements. The Portuguese case is especially interesting for theory building on collective memory, because group memory here depends on contentious collective memory and not on personal experiences. Furthermore, the Carnation Revolution is a historical event

with a close thematic relation to recent social movement activism. The study thus sheds light on the relations between collective memory at the national level and the social movement's group memories.

Research on collective memory and social movements

Collective memory studies is a broad field including diverse concepts of memory.¹ Here, it is important to highlight two important characteristics of collective memory. First, memory is constructed collectively. According to Halbwachs: 'in society [...] people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories' (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 39). Different studies have shown the importance of group dynamics, cultural influences, social context or social milieu for the construction of collective memory (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Olick distinguishes two cultures of collective memory research: one conceptualizing it as an aggregation of individual memories (collected memory) and one that refuses to reduce collective memory to the collection of individual memories (collective memory). While the collected memory culture also acknowledges the importance of group processes, the collective memory culture stresses that some aspects of collective memory cannot be reduced to an aggregation of individuals. The idea of collective identity is strengthened by observations like: aggregation effects, effects of long-term structures on collective memory and mnemonic technologies other than the brain (Olick, 1999). For my purposes, however, it is not so relevant to distinguish between the individual and the collective level. What is missing is a theory relating the collective memories of specific groups and memories of a society. So I distinguish between group memories and collective memory. Group-specific collective memory is constructed in the everyday interaction of group members (Gongaware, 2003, p. 490). A social movement usually consists of activist groups who construct their own collective memory based on the collective memories that exist in a society and at the same time contribute to the shaping of the collective memory at the societal level. Here it is important to note that the dominant memory of a society is not monolithic. The process of group memory construction has many mechanisms in common with the process of individual memory construction. But processes become more complex because of a second level of collective memory constructed within the groups, also based on group interaction but structured differently from collective memory construction at the societal level.

Second, collective memory is constantly shaped by processes that include power differences, stratification and contestation (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Accordingly, it cannot be regarded as something static; moreover, actors are interested in specific versions of the past as these versions impact on how we interpret the present. So collective memory is shaped strategically and we speak about memory struggles (Farthing & Kohl, 2013). Strategic use and shaping of memory has been observed in elites and challengers not only in larger commemorative acts (Fishman, 2011) but also in everyday activities (Farthing & Kohl, 2013). Social movements are often part of the field of actors engaged in memory struggles. Like other actors they claim for commemorative events, documentation of the past and promote the popularity of certain historical figures (Ghoshal, 2013). The case of Portugal supports the argument that the power of individuals and the interplay of contradictory versions of the past play an important part in the construction of collective memory (Billig & Marinho, 2013; Loff, 2014; Ribeiro, 2011). But there are limits to the strategic use and shaping of memory. According to Schudson, three factors limit the possibilities for an individual to shape the past: There is a limited number of available pasts to choose from while others remain beyond our perception; the structure of individual choice increases the likelihood that we choose some pasts; and our remembering is affected by an underlying power structure in society (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 128; Schudson, 1989).

Functions of collective memory for activism

Collective memory is important for social movements' internal functioning as well as for their outward communication. Many of the functions outlined below work for both. Memory generally has the function of orientating present activities (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 124). Recent studies on memory

in social movements usually refer to memories related to events the movements experienced (Daphi, 2013; Daphi & Zamponi, 2014; Flesher Fominaya, 2007; Gongaware, 2012; Narotzky, 2011); e.g. Daphi analyses narratives of the Global Justice Movement's past and points out country-specific and sector-specific differences in memories (Daphi, 2013).² Gongaware (2012, p. 15) observed that links to activist groups' pasts were often used in support of ideas to change and then additional narratives were used to impede change. He distinguishes *collective memory associations* that link the present to the past in a way to encourage change and *collective memory anchors* that encourage reproduction of the past.

Keying is a concept that explains how social movements work with ideas of the past and how these impact upon the movements: 'The keying brings forward elements of the past via a narrative commemoration selected by movement members and presented in a way that allows other members in the interaction to align those elements with present interests' (Gongaware, 2011, p. 51). Movements build 'highly instrumental, site- and time-specific memory bridges between present needs and interpretations of the past. Social movement leaders actively deploy these constructed memories to bind movements together through tapping into political participants' deeper emotions and aspirations' (Farthing & Kohl, 2013, p. 362). The analysis of storytelling has shown that activists use stories to compensate for a lack of resources, to mobilize participants, build a common identity, secure public support or to justify certain action forms and strategies (Benford, 2002; Polletta, Chen, Gardner, & Motes, 2011, p. 118). But we should avoid conceptualizing activists just as strategic actors. Polletta emphasizes the role of narratives to make sense of the past and the present and to project the future that is often far from strategic (Polletta, 1998, p. 140). Moreover, memory impacts on how activists perceive opportunity structures and shapes the repertoire of social movements (Borland, 2014, pp. 489–490). These studies are based on memory of events experienced by the movements. Memories of events that are not directly related to the history of a specific social movement are important but have yet to be studied in depth (McGregor, 2013).

With regard to outward communication, the framing approach gives us important clues as to how memory could be used strategically. Social movements 'frame, or assign meaning to and interpret events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists' (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 198). Memory impacts upon the chances of certain frames being resonant and central (Snow & Benford, 1988). To explain why certain frames resonate with regard to collective memory, we need a detailed reconstruction of the current collective memory and memory struggles in which a movement is embedded. Such a research design that combines group memories and collective memory also helps us to explain difficulties with transferring frames and concepts to other countries (Baumgarten, 2014; Gerbaudo, 2013).

The argument I develop here contributes deeper insights into the relation of collective memory and group-specific memory in a political context. The impact of the memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC on more recent social movements in Portugal has not yet been studied. In my study, the country's dominant collective memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC is important because it sets the framework in which the movement is embedded and which thus serves as a background for the construction of group-specific memories.

Research design

In order to study the anti-austerity movement in Portugal, I conducted 19 months of ethnographic fieldwork between September 2011 and March 2013, observing 47 activist meetings, 12 demonstrations and 27 events (e.g. flash mobs, occupations, public debates). I accompanied meetings and public assemblies of the following groups and platforms: 15O, Movimento Sem Emprego (unemployed movement), Precários Inflexíveis (association of precarious workers), Indignados, and Que Se Lixe a Troika.³ With the exception of two meetings in Coimbra, the observations took place in Lisbon. They were documented during and after the events. Participant observation was combined with informal conversations and notes were taken from these talks. Further I took photographs of demonstrations,

focusing on banners and posters, and followed the social movement events on Facebook. I examined the visual data and the texts for references to the Revolution and the PREC.

I further conducted 17 semi-structured interviews with social movement activists aged 19 to 38, in Portuguese, in 2012/2013.⁴ The interviews took between 45 min and two hours and were all recorded. I conducted interviews in Lisbon (9), Oporto (6), Coimbra (1) and Póvoa de Varzim (1). My interviews focused on the following groups: the movement of the unemployed (7), the Indignados (5), the student movement (4) and the precarious workers movement (1).⁵ In Lisbon I selected interviewees based on participation in the activist groups meetings. After attending several meetings I asked the more active participants for an interview. Contact with interviewees in other cities was based on recommendations from Lisbon activists.⁶

I follow a combination of an inductive and a deductive approach. First I read carefully through my extensive fieldwork data; the subsequent search for factors was guided by the empirical material but also by insights from literature. For this article, I analysed all references to the Carnation Revolution and the PREC that I found in my data.

I used this mixed methods approach and quite open research questions to get a more complete picture of the anti-austerity movement and to improve data quality through better access to the interviewees. With regard to memory, this approach is especially useful as many aspects of memory cannot be easily verbalized. They appear as episodes in meetings, e.g. when a demonstration is planned with references to places or slogans of the Revolution and become visible at social movement events in the form of slogans, songs and pictures. This triangulation of data and between methods extends insights on the research issue (Flick, 2004).

Interviews and the participant observation took place more than one year before the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution. My data from participant observation, from most demonstrations and from the interviews thus serve to show how collective memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC is constructed in day-to-day activism. To analyse how the activists construct collective memory in times of official commemorations, I needed additional data. Therefore, I conducted a frame analysis guided by the question of how the Carnation Revolution and the PREC were framed in the calls for protest for the day of the 40th anniversary. This analysis is based on calls by 22 different groups that called for protest at night on 24 April 2014.⁷

To gather information on the impact of collective memory on social movements and on how activists make use of aspects of collective memory, it is necessary to put them into relation with each other. Following a dialogic analysis approach (Steinberg, 2002) requires detailed study of the collective memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC at the societal level. Here I refer to literature and add a frame analysis of newspaper articles about the Revolution from the main supra-regional newspapers and magazines published around the 40th anniversary of the Revolution.

Collective memory and activist group memory of the Revolution

The Carnation Revolution is considered the most important date in recent Portuguese history (Fishman, 2011, p. 253) and is commemorated every year. In the dominant interpretation it stands for the end of Europe's longest dictatorship. The Revolution was a military putsch by mainly young soldiers who were opposed to Portugal's war in the colonies, which was causing hundreds of deaths every year (Bermeo, 2007). After 25 April 1974 and until November 1975, Portugal witnessed the PREC, a time of very vivid civil society participation directed towards political organization (Hammond, 1988; Palacios Cerezales, 2003). Popular movements flourished not only because of the favourable political opportunity structure. Many of them, however, also existed before the Revolution (Accornero, 2013; Ramos Pinto, 2013). Many of the old elites were removed and workers gained access to political decision-making, but also to higher education and better living conditions in general. The PREC also included nationalization of enterprises and banks. There was a lot of contention surrounding economic and political models and the idea of popular power – a specific Portuguese concept of people's participation in politics (Ramos Pinto, 2008). So for some Portuguese the PREC stands for political chaos, a time when the

future model of governing the country was open, including strong contestation between communist and social democratic models (Loff, 2014).

There is a larger, politically motivated divide in the collective memory of the Revolution. For Cruzeiro, 'freedom' is the minimal consensus of interpretation of 25 April 1974 (Cruzeiro, 2014). But following Loff, even the idea of more freedom as a consequence of the Revolution is not accepted by some conservative Portuguese, who highlight the threat of a totalitarian communist regime at that time (Loff, 2014, p. 2). 'Freedom' and 'democracy' are thus widely accepted outcomes of the Revolution, but interpreted in various ways (Ribeiro, 2011). Furthermore, memory of the Revolution is about heroes: Some soldiers and their brave decisions are still remembered (Fishman, 2011, p. 252). Loff reports various attempts by the political right to downplay the negative sides of the dictatorship and the importance of the Revolution for the country as such. They also downplayed the radical change of the country after the Revolution and the role of the people in democratization (Loff, 2014).

The speeches of the left and the right in Parliament to mark the celebrations of the Revolution differ greatly, including acts of manipulating information about the past (Billig & Marinho, 2013). Attempts have been witnessed to exclude important voices at the official commemorations. In the 2014 commemorations, for example, the captains responsible for the Revolution were invited to attend the Parliamentary commemoration but not allowed to speak because the government feared they would speak against the government's austerity policies (Oliveira, 2015). The interpretation of the outcomes of the Revolution therefore changes over time. On the 30th anniversary of the Revolution, for example, the word 'revolution' was completely absent from the campaign of the right-wing government. They had chosen the slogan 'April is Evolution', highlighting the democracy's mature age. The campaign text focused on economic and technical progress and the international reputation achieved after the Revolution (Cruzeiro, 2014; Ribeiro, 2011).

The Left became more actively engaged in memory struggles after 1992, when the conservative government decided to grant former PIDE⁸ inspectors a special pension for their services to their country, which had been denied to one of the leaders of the Revolution (Loff, 2014). The Left celebrates the Revolution as a revolution by the people, because on the morning of 25 April 1974 people took to the streets in crowds to join the military and to celebrate the end of the dictatorship (Palacios Cerezales, 2003) and because it was the starting point for the PREC.

Individual perceptions of the past reflect changes in collective memory. According to surveys conducted in 1984, of the outcomes of the Revolution only the issue of freedom was regarded as an important positive outcome by a large majority. Ten years later this had changed: in 1994, issues like economic development, social stability and youth prospects were regarded as positive outcomes by a much larger proportion of respondents (Loff, 2014). Young people born after 1974 especially tend to have a very positive view of the Carnation Revolution (Fishman, 2011, p. 253). A 2014 study on the importance of the Revolution showed that 79.4% of Portuguese regard the transition to democracy as a reason to be proud. In relation to the actual political situation of the country, 43% believe the so-called troika (of the European Commission, International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank) threatens gains from the Revolution.⁹

Media representation of the 40th anniversary

At the time of the 40th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution, Portuguese mass media dedicated many articles and special issues to this event, making various references to the symbols of the Revolution. The newspaper *O Público* for example dedicated 31 pages of its 25 April 2014 edition to the Revolution (*O Público*, 25 April 2014, pp. 1–31); the magazine *Expresso* paid painters to repaint historical political graffiti, and used the photo of one of these graffiti as the cover for its issues on the Revolution (*Expresso* 11 April 2014 and *Expresso* 18 April 2014); *Visão* sold its special issue with the magazine's original cover from 1974, and offered a fresh red carnation as a supplement (*Visão* 24–30 April 2014).

Most of the newspaper and magazine articles centre on a chronological description of the event itself, interviews with renowned actors of the Revolution or their relatives, including the family of the former dictator, voices from people that remembered this event and the publication of historical photos from the Revolution. The speakers vary widely, including all actors publicly renowned for their role in the revolutionary process. Besides interviews with representatives of the captains responsible for the Revolution (I, 12 April 2014, pp. 20–25) there were also reports about the return of the exiles, about the situation of the PIDE (the secret police), the colonies, international relations, economy, society and culture in 1974 and the following years (Expresso, 11 April 2014, pp. 24–25). Portuguese celebrities and intellectuals were asked about what they did on 25 April (O Diário de Notícias 25 April 2014).

In terms of interpretation of the Revolution in the mass media, we observe many parallels with the elite discourses mentioned in the literature. The newspapers and magazines reflect both right and left interpretations of the past. But it is striking that many contributions avoid an interpretation, instead remaining on the descriptive level of the events (e.g. chronologies about what happened where at what time) or leave the interpretation of the event to guest writers. The term ‘evolution’ – which because of the government campaign had some importance 10 years ago (Ribeiro, 2011) – disappeared completely in 2014. Almost all newspapers and magazines named ‘democracy’ as a major gain from the Revolution. Many newspapers also named ‘social welfare state’ and referred to economic development. Only the magazine of the communist party *Avante!* connected the Carnation Revolution to recent problems and used the commemoration as a motive for protest against the government (Avante! 24 April 2014).

The revolutionary period that followed 25 April 1974 was covered much less than the Revolution. This phase in history is less present and in some parts has rather negative connotations in the collective memory. According to a survey by the newspaper *I*, 26.3% of Portuguese do not know the PREC, while 18.6% regard it as something negative and only 27.3% regard it as something positive (I, 12 April 2014, p. 20).

The Carnation Revolution and social movement activism today

Among today’s social movements in Portugal we find a lot of references to the Carnation Revolution. Symbols, songs and slogans from the revolutionary period (and also some protest songs against the dictatorship) are noticeable at any of the anti-austerity demonstrations that have taken place in Portugal since 2011 (Baumgarten, 2013). Hardly any demonstration has not included the call for the construction of a ‘New April’ (Vamos construir um Novo Abril), referring to the date of the Revolution as a symbol of the beginning of the PREC. The call for a ‘New April’ is a very open symbol, as the PREC took various directions. This claim is popular throughout the Left in Portugal, very frequently used in the trade union CGTP and the communist party PCP. It highlights the necessity to start a new revolution to support the goals of the Revolution that was stopped in November 1975 and to restore the social and political gains for the Left – many of them regarded as being undone over the last 40 years.

Further there are references to the famous protest singer Zeca Afonso and comparisons of recent politicians with the dictator Salazar in songs, slogans and publications. Symbols and songs are chosen according to popularity. All of the aforementioned reflect the most prominent symbols, songs and slogans the vast majority of people in Portugal are familiar with. As they also have positive connotations (for most Portuguese), their use increases resonance (Snow & Benford, 1988).

One example of the strategic use of a song closely related to the Carnation Revolution is ‘grândola’: groups of people singing the song *Grândola, Vila Morena* during the speech of politicians and thereby interrupting their speeches. The song was forbidden during the dictatorship, and playing it at a public radio station served as the secret sign of the start of the Revolution. It is deeply connected to ‘democracy’, which causes difficulties for the politicians attacked when it comes to simply stopping people singing. The first act of interrupting the speech of the Prime Minister in Parliament was the starting point of probably the most successful wave of small protest actions all over the country in 2013. And the line *O povo é quem mais ordena* (It is the people who lead) from the same song was used as the motto for the largest protest to date (15 September 2013). The Carnation Revolution though has

an impact on what can legitimately be expressed, and attracts people to join certain forms of protest (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2012).

In my interviews conducted in 2012, I often heard activists calling 25 April 1974 ‘the most important event for the social movements because in fact it is the most recent point in our history when for the willingness of the people a political regime changed radically’ (José). In many aspects the activists follow the dominant interpretation of the past by the Portuguese Left. This is no surprise as many activist groups are closely connected to left-wing parties and all of them belong to the left-wing spectrum. In contrast to the collective memory, the activists attach importance to the PREC:

25 April moreover was a revolutionary process that lasted one year and when people were in a state of mind of a maximum of consciousness and not only wanted liberty but moreover what they did not have during many years: dignity in life and the future of the country in their hands (Rui).

The PREC is important for recent activism as a role model, a utopia – it stands for a time of activism the recent movements wish to return to. With regard to the differences in attaching importance to the PREC, an interviewee speaks for many others in accusing past governments of having reduced the Revolution to just 25 April and making people forget about the PREC, including expropriations, the nationalization of banks and the occupation of factories (José).

The Carnation Revolution thus does not only provide a repertoire of symbols, frames and action forms for strategic use. It impacts on activists’ ideas of how to change politics. The aim of starting another revolution, expressed countless times in activist meetings, personal conversations and in street protests, illustrates this best. A Brazilian activist in one of my interviews in 2012 complained that the Portuguese activists were too tied to the idea of a revolution because of the past experience that occupies their minds. In some of the activist groups, there was also a strong focus on street protest as a way to change politics. In those groups, smaller campaigns aiming for smaller reforms or to raise awareness of problems connected with austerity were regarded only as a second choice in times when it was impossible to get the masses onto the streets. One activist from the movement of the unemployed for example mentioned the necessity to develop alternative action forms *as long as the movement is not yet a mass movement*. For a long time, the historical idea of revolution by masses of people in the street limited those groups focusing on mass mobilization, as they only slowly developed alternatives. In 2012 it also caused confrontations with other activist groups which did not primarily uphold this aim and action form.

There is no doubt that the Revolution has effects on today’s movements’ identities, as an activist of the movement of the unemployed points out:

We are the children and grandchildren of April. What we know today about activism and social movements has its roots in 25 April, no arguing about that. It has roots in 25 April, very strong roots, because the values of April [...] continue to be very present in the Portuguese society (Paulo).

Here the interviewee refers explicitly to values of the Revolution present in the society as a whole. Thus although the collective memory of the Revolution is contested, as shown above, certain values are perceived as present. The values are not mentioned in more detail. The interviewee thus assumes that they are self-evident.

The achievements of the Carnation Revolution shape the narratives used by the social movement in this specific way: The claims and aims of the current social movement are closely related to them. Apart from strategic use of resonant frames, there is an identification of the activists themselves with these achievements. It is mainly social security and free education that is celebrated by the activists. Also here we find parallels with the discourse of the left-wing elites. The achievements are considered extremely fragile and threatened by the adjustment policies of the government:

What we still have today was conquered on 25 April, what we still have today: the National Health Service, free education, the Social Security System [...] come from these struggles the people fought after the fall of the regime and they really managed to appropriate a lot of things [...] What we had from the 25 April, what we gained after the fall of Fascism was taken from us by the governments that followed. But 25 April was really a great conquest of all rights that we still have today (Paulo).¹⁰

So the government is constructed as an actor that betrays the values and achievements of the Revolution, an enemy of the people and their ideals. There is also the opposition between the good old days and the present as a time when much of the achievements have since been lost. So the past is connected to current austerity policies and used as a strong argument against these policies. References to past achievements have various functions. They give orientation to aims and the aims gain credibility if presented as achievements by the Revolution (even though some social services were fully developed a decade after the PREC). They further serve as a motivation to struggle, as the past struggles resulted in measurable positive outcomes.

The abrupt end of the PREC is another important point in the group memory: On the one hand the disappointment from the revolutionary processes is blamed for the low rate of participation by older people who have personal experiences of the Revolution. And indeed there was an increasing demobilization after the counter-coup by moderate members of the armed forces on 25 November 1975 (Accornero, 2013, pp. 1047–1048). On the other hand the idea of continuing the revolutionary process also motivates activists to continue their struggles. Because of the so-called period of normalization, when the PREC ended, numerous activists perceive the Revolution as an incomplete project with ideas still to be turned into reality: 'Maybe [...] the great part of the more radical Left has this unfulfilled dream, a project that was suspended and never truly realized because there was the counter-revolution' (Manuel). This project to continue the revolutionary process is remembered in form of a catchword and connected to the activists' more concrete aims. It serves as a broad encompassing concept without details to unify left-wing groups. Examining the historical details of the PREC would in fact present much material for conflict between the different groups, as during the PREC the left groups also had various conflicting ideas (Ramos Pinto, 2013).

There is a belief here in a kind of repetition of history. The country's current situation is compared to the situation before the Revolution and gives hope for sudden change. Interviewees interpreted this as something particular to Portugal: The Portuguese suffer a lot before they suddenly become active. This argument is supported by the observation that even before 25 April 1974, people rather focused on the private sphere and then suddenly became politically active. Most studies of Portuguese regime change have stressed the sudden change of political participation and social mobilization during the transitional period compared to the prior level of political engagement of the Portuguese (for an overview see: Accornero, 2013, p. 1037). An activist speaking for many others interpreted 25 April 1974 as an example to 'show that according to this history change is possible and that people can end a situation that was thought to be impossible' (Joana). This specific aspect of sudden and high political participation amongst the Portuguese after the Carnation Revolution in the activist memory serves as a motivational frame (Benford & Snow, 2000) to continue activism in times of low participation.

All references to the Revolution and the PREC function as collective memory anchors that encourage a reproduction of the past (Gongaware, 2003). I did not observe any idea exchange about possible improvements of the repertoire or aims from the revolutionary period. Only seldomly were there objections to references to the Revolution.¹¹ The use of collective memory anchors instead of collective memory associations is explained by the way the past is remembered: Broad concepts and catchwords do not serve for debates on small improvements. Furthermore, the group memory of the Revolution is something untouchable. It is a reference to today's movements and there is great admiration for some of the people active in the PREC. So there seems to be great reluctance to criticize it. What is altered is the context of the use of songs and slogans. In the case of 'grandolar' this was done in a very sophisticated way taking into account the symbolic value of the song.

So much for the references to the Revolution in times without great official commemorations. Times of commemoration encourage even more the use of references. The commemoration events of the 40th anniversary of the Revolution were used by some activists as a reason to organize protest. They called for many 'rivers' (groups of people marching) to come together at the place where the dictator was finally brought down. The demonstration was the only large one organized by a combination of activist groups and associations related to austerity in 2014. From June 2013 until November 2015 only the trade unions organized protests with more than 500 participants. So it is significant that the

calls for protest on 24 April 2014 managed to attract thousands of people, even though the number of protestors is low compared to numbers before 2014 that several times attracted more than hundred thousand participants. Choosing the date and the place with reference to the Revolution and using resonant frames related to the historical events (including the PREC) were important factors for the success of the protest event in 2014.

The main call refers to the Revolution by explaining why *Largo do Carmo* – the space where all groups came together at the end of their individual marches – was chosen:

It is not by chance that we have chosen to come back to this place. Not only because it is 40 years ago that this place filled with people that did not obey the orders of the Movimento das Forças Armadas to stay at home, but also because we want to live and reclaim this public space. (See the call at <https://riosaocarmo.wordpress.com/>, last accessed 3 August, 2016).

Against the dominant memory, the activists predominantly stress the fact that the people who came together at *Largo do Carmo* practised disobedience when they did not follow the advice of the military to stay at home for safety reasons. This aspect was not found in any of the mass media or elite discourses analysed. It is part of a group-specific collective memory based on the fact that the military warned the people not to leave their houses for safety reasons. This interpretation of the event resonates well with a few of the action forms of some activist groups practising disobedience (Baumgarten, 2013). It can be read as an attempt to normalize such forms of action that are not very common in Portugal and in this way to radicalize activism.

Apart from the few differences between the activists groups' memory and the dominant memory of 25 April based on selection of memories, there are also larger reinterpretations, especially practised by anarchist groups. One of these groups, 'Triunfo dos Escravos' (Triumph of the Slaves),¹² had a very critical interpretation of the dominant memory: 'We believe the fall of the dictatorship fantastic, but we cannot commemorate this democratic regime'. Also this group points out very specific aspects of the PREC as memorable, like the occupation of houses and land: 'Who did not have a house, occupied one, who did not have land, took land'. So the group memory selects and glorifies certain practices of the past that the activists would like to see repeated in the present and in the future. It further criticizes that the outcomes of the Revolution did not include certain important aspects. The group engages in struggles over memory in a way that is different from the other activist groups: By their refusal to celebrate the democratic achievements that according to the dominant memory exist, they build a memory that differs greatly from all dominant memories.

Most groups that called for protest conform to the elite memory of the Left and use symbols and texts from songs from the Revolution. Of those 14 groups that added their own text to the main call, five groups referred to 'freedom', and three of them used this expression in their title. They do not interpret the term further and thus use it as catchword. Other gains of the Revolution are also raised, like the right to free speech, social rights and democracy. So here too we find the use of broad ideas from the collective memory.

Conclusion

Social movements do not only contribute to a specific construction of collective memory, they are also shaped by collective memory. My case study shows that the collective memory of important historical events, such as revolutions, impacts on social movements' identities, their aims, repertoire of contention and framings. But activist groups are not objects of the impact of collective memory; they actively construct their own group memory of past events.

The construction of such group memory is an interactive process embedded in a specific framework of national memory struggles. The way the movements choose and interpret pasts is to a great extent guided by strategic action. But Schudson's (1989) factors that limit the possibilities for an individual to shape the past also apply to the group memories: The number of available pasts here is further limited by the collective memory which in my case includes successful attempts to silence certain pasts.

The structure of choice is determined by the movements' identities, and movements are embedded in power structures and there are also power structures within a movement.

Answering my first research question about how the anti-austerity movements shape their group memories of the Revolution and the past, the study gained the following insights: The two main operations of constructing group memory related to collective memory are selection and reinterpretation. A third operation, open rejection of aspects from the collective memory, was only found in one case. This is no surprise, because in the collective memory of the Left the Revolution has extremely positive connotations. Based on the collective memory at the societal level, memories were selected according to three criteria: popularity, positive connotation and resonance with the activist groups' identities. Collective memory anchors (Gongaware, 2012) work well here because of a belief in the repetition of history and the uncontested role model function of the Revolution and the PREC.

My case of the construction of memory of events which the movement did not experience itself shows many similarities with cases of group memory based on events the movements experienced (Daphi, 2013; Daphi & Zamponi, 2014; Flesher Fominaya, 2007; Narotzky, 2011). But we find a difference in the basis for group memory construction: The historical past is mediated via the collective memory of a society and thus complexity is already reduced.

Analysing the way in which collective memory of the Revolution and the PREC impacts on the anti-austerity movement, we need to distinguish between internal functioning and outward communication. Collective memory impacts on the resonance of frames used in outward communication: As the Revolution has a positive connotation for most Portuguese people, using references to it in a broad way increases the chance of gaining bystander support. So claims and aims of the current social movement are closely related to the aims and achievements of the Revolution. Regarding internal functioning, the memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC provides today's activist groups with a specific cultural repertoire and contribute to their identity construction. It contributes to the movements' identity construction, providing values and role models. Furthermore, the movement-specific interpretations of the Revolution and the PREC serve as a source of hope for activists and motivation for continuing their struggles in times of low political participation.

The group memories included mainly broad concepts that could be filled with more details, but in practice are not filled. This is possibly a strategic choice not to refer to the past in detail. The memories function well in a broad sense. To go into further detail would unveil past conflicts that were never resolved and possibly transfer those conflicts to the present.

So far social movement theory has mainly focused on collective memory of events which the movements themselves were involved in. But movements are shaped by and also refer to important events in the history of the country in which the activist groups are based. The collective memory of Revolutions is highly country-specific: although the Carnation Revolution is an event known worldwide, its impact on social movements is limited to Portugal. Even if the anti-austerity groups in Portugal did not experience the Revolution themselves, its impacts on them cause differences between the Portuguese anti-austerity movement and anti-austerity movements in other countries. The action forms and symbols described above are not transferrable, because they do not make sense in other countries. This is an important point, because they are the most successful action forms and slogans that the anti-austerity movement has produced. So despite being part of a transnational wave of protest, the Portuguese case shows a large degree of cultural particularism. This particularism can only be explained by the specific historical situation of the country and the group memory constructed in reference to the collective memory of the Carnation Revolution and the PREC.

Notes

1. For an overview see Olick and Robbins (1998) and Olick (2010).
2. Within the GJM, Daphi distinguishes an anti-neoliberal, an eco-pacifist and an anti-capitalist sector.
3. For more information on these groups and platforms see: Baumgarten (2013) and Carmo Duarte and Baumgarten (2015).

4. All of my interviewees were born after the Revolution. Apart from one Brazilian activist, they were all Portuguese and had lived all, or at least most, of their lives in Portugal.
5. The interviews included questions on organization of activism, cooperation with other activist groups in Portugal and beyond, transnational differences, the history of the activist group as well as events of the past important to the group, questions on meaning of popular concepts like 'real democracy'.
6. There is a clear dominance of Lisbon activism in my paper. Due to financial restrictions it was not possible for me to travel more often. The bias is less important as Lisbon was also the most important city in terms of numbers of activists and numbers of protest events in Portugal.
7. The groups were very diverse, for example we find a call from QSLT, who organized the great protest in September 2012, Coro da Achada, a choir belonging to a cultural centre founded in 2009, anarchist groups, a student association, an LGBT group, the assembly of a cultural centre in the Lisbon suburb of Algés, a local group belonging to Anonymous, a group of young people who occupied a house in the Lisbon suburbs, activist group associations engaged in former protests against austerity (namely UMAR, a feminist association, the Precários Inflexíveis, an association against precarious work, Habita, a group that focuses on the right to housing). Some of the calls did not refer to any existing group or association and in some cases it was not possible to identify the group that published the calls. More information (in Portuguese) available at <https://riosacarmo.wordpress.com/> [accessed 27.03.2015].
8. PIDE was the state security agency during the Salazar dictatorship, among other things responsible for torturing political prisoners.
9. Data from the Portuguese magazine Expresso, 12 Abril 2014, pp. 24–25.
10. There have been larger cuts in the Social Security System, especially since the beginning of the financial crisis. For an overview see: Rocha and Zavale (2015). Further there were many cases of privatization of state-owned enterprises, some even before the financial crisis.
11. One exception was the debate on the idea to surround the Parliament during a demonstration in 2012. This action form from the PREC was openly rejected by some activists, who said that they were not enough people to achieve it.
12. 'Escravos' is used by some activist groups to criticize the precarious working conditions. The carnation in Portuguese is 'cravo', thus '(es)cravos' is suitable for wordplays.

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