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Research Centre on Child Studies

Special Issue

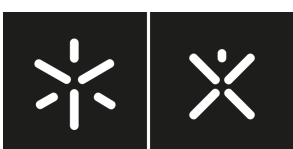
**Celebrating 50 years of the Carnation Revolution:
Childhood, freedom and democracy**

Guest editors:

Assunção Flores

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Maria João Antunes



Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Educação

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Child Studies is an international peer-reviewed journal which publishes empirical and theoretical articles focusing on children's social contexts and relations in everyday life, taking a holistic perspective. This journal is a multidisciplinary forum for sharing and discussing issues such as children's rights, development and well-being, generational and intergenerational relations, and the broad societal, political and cultural aspects impacting children's lived realities.



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N. 5, 2024

**EDITORIAL - CELEBRATING 50 YEARS OF THE
CARNATION REVOLUTION: CHILDHOOD, FREEDOM
AND DEMOCRACY**

**EDITORIAL - CELEBRAR 50 ANOS DA REVOLUÇÃO DOS
CRAVOS: INFÂNCIA, LIBERDADE E DEMOCRACIA**

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The 2024 has been a special year marking 50 years of democracy in Portugal following the end of the Salazar dictatorship. While also commemorating the first half century of our own institution, the University of Minho, we wish to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution with a special issue of the Child Studies journal, focusing in particular on the topics of childhood, freedom and democracy. These three words are highly significant to our research centre whose mission is to understand children's worlds and to contribute to their development, learning and wellbeing.

The academic study of children and childhood is a relatively new multidisciplinary field, yet one of the most active in the academic world today. Childhood Studies are international in scope, transcending geographical, historical and cultural boundaries and scrutinising the notion of childhood as a social category and children as social actors and subjects of rights, both locally and globally. This field has grown considerably in the last three decades, causing a paradigm shift in how children are perceived in research and giving rise to new ways of understanding and theorising about them (Prout & James, 1997). During the 1980s and 1990s many researchers made great contributions to the expansion of childhood studies, including the work of Jenks (1982, 1996), James and Prout (1997), Prout and James

(1997), Allison and Prout (1997), Allison, Jenks and Prout (1998), Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, (1998), and Morrow (1999). In Portugal, Pinto and Sarmiento (1997, 1999) were among those important works published internationally during this period, with many others following, from different perspectives, right up to the present day. In this context, other factors that have contributed to the social, political and scientific recognition of the field cannot be ignored, such as the role of publications in disseminating new knowledge, such as *Childhood*, a journal of global child research established in 1993 and, most notably, the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989.

Childhood Studies is characterised by its insistence on the need to investigate the multiple contexts inhabited by children and their lived realities, starting from their own perspectives and recognising their competence and their right to be listened to. This effort has contributed significantly to the production of new knowledge on issues such as children's rights and cultures, children's social worlds, what adults think about children and how this impacts the way they treat them, the meanings and ways in which children try to change their lives and the lives of the adults around them, children's social and political participation, and the ethics of research involving children.

Scientific research, especially in the social and human sciences, is deeply influenced by the social contexts in which it takes place. As Sarmiento, Fernandes & Tomás (2017, p. 41) argue, there is a "double influence of reality on the production of knowledge and of knowledge on the rationalisation of social behaviour and actions". Given this dual relationship, it is not surprising that child studies developed later in Portugal than in other countries. For a start, scientific research was severely restricted before 1974. Moreover, the socially and historically constructed concept of childhood (Ferreira et al., 2024) could only develop from the conditions of valuing childhood and children that emerged with the establishment of democracy after 25th April and its subsequent consolidation.

In Portugal, research on childhood only began to develop in a more significant way at the turn of the 21st century (Fernandes & Felgueiras, 2002; Sarmiento, Fernandes & Tomás, 2017). The delayed development of social policy in Portugal is also well documented in the literature. It was only after the revolution of 25th April 1974 that the country moved from a 'supplementary' or regulatory state to a 'provider' state (Ferreira, 2008, p. 562). Public, political and academic attention to childhood and children could only develop with the post-revolutionary recognition of civil, social and political rights and the establishment of welfare state structures. Poverty, lack of rights, repression and minimal public investment in education and science during the dictatorship hindered progress in various areas, including those that were already declining in other parts of the world in the 1970s.

The infant mortality rate in Portugal - measured as the number of deaths of children under one year of age per 1,000 live births - was 37.9% in 1974 (National Statistics Institute - INE, 2024). This rate did not fall below 10% until 1992. Factors

such as improved access to health care, better housing and nutrition, increased family incomes, expanded sanitation infrastructure and improved hygiene practices - all spurred by the 25th April Revolution - played a crucial role in such a reduction. Equally important were improvements in maternal and child health. The first framework for perinatal care was developed between 1974 and 1975, followed by the establishment of the Commission for the Restructuring of the Maternal and Child Health Sector in 1976. It is worth noting that, in 1970, only 37.5% of births took place in hospitals (Barreto & Correia, 2014). The maternal and child health reforms since the revolution have been transformative, positioning Portugal as one of the most successful countries in reducing infant mortality, which stood at just 2.5% in 2023.

In 1974, the minimum working age remained unchanged at 14 years (Decree 49408 of 24 November). It was not raised to 16 until 1991 (Decree 396/91 of 16 October). During the 1980s and 1990s, Portugal was criticised internationally for its child labour practices. In response, specific policies were introduced, starting with the first national survey on child labour in 1988, supported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Monteiro & Pereira, 2003). An inter-ministerial working group was set up in 1996 to address the issue, with representatives from the Ministries of Labour, Education, Social Security and Justice (DDC144/96 of 2nd April). Portugal ratified International Labour Organisation Convention 138, in 1998, setting the minimum age for employment at 15. The 1977 revision of the Portuguese Civil Code removed references to parents' 'duty of correction' and discouraged corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure (Madeira, 2014). In addition, Article 69 of the Portuguese Constitution of 1976 enshrined children's rights to protection from discrimination, oppression and abuse of authority within the family and institutions.

In addition, the first basic law for the education system was passed in 1986, extending compulsory education from six to nine years. This was further extended until the age of 18, in 2012. Over the years, the construction and development of the welfare state, with the enshrinement and guarantee of a series of rights, has led to a qualitative leap in the living conditions of the population, especially for women and thus also for children.

Despite some of the indicators and legal milestones already mentioned, children seem to have been an indirect subject in the Portuguese path of democracy building. The paradigm shift in child studies seen in other countries - from seeing children as mere objects of education, protection and care to understanding them as active participants in different spheres of life - is still taking place in Portugal. The recognition of children as autonomous individuals and not as "pre-social beings" (Sarmiento, Fernandes & Tomás, 2017, p. 45) largely depends on their social value and autonomy. In Portugal, the late realisation of economic, social and cultural rights, along with freedoms and guarantees, especially for women, has caused a certain delay in this transition.

Perhaps the same reasons can justify the scarcity of scientific research linking children's studies to the 25th April Revolution. A general search in RCCAP - Portugal's Open Access Scientific Repository on the Revolution of 25th April 1974 and its links to changes in childhood - leads mainly to research on children's literature on the Revolution (Ramos, 2014; Silva, 2007) and socio-historical works on different topics that deal with childhood education in Portugal over time. This search does reveal research which deals in some way with aspects linking childhood with the 25th April Revolution, including studies on children's theatre (Caldas, 2010; Bastos, 2002), literature and textbooks (Cruz, 2006), the context of early childhood education (Tomás et al., 2015), outdoor spaces in early childhood education over time (Bento & Costa, 2022) and on the local history of early childhood education (Castanheira, 2014).

A third type of work, which can be broadly grouped based on the relationship between early childhood education and democracy or children's democratic practices (Luís, 2017; Moniz, 2021; Tadeu, 2018; Gomes & Pires, 2023; Silva, 2022), has only emerged in the last decade and a half and is not particularly linked to the Carnation Revolution. This reinforces the argument that more needs to be done with regard to child studies in the Portuguese context.

Nevertheless, it is important to recognise the very positive development that has taken place in Portugal over the last five decades in all sectors of activity, particularly in education. While it is important to emphasise key milestones, there is room for improvement in many aspects, especially at a time when we are facing threats and challenges of various different kinds (see also Flores, 2024). The collection of articles in this special issue addresses in one way or another aspects that merit reflection and which may form the basis for further developments. Collectively, the authors examine the last five decades from a diversity of conceptual and methodological perspectives, ranging from position papers to reviews and analysis of specific topics. The main goal of this issue is to celebrate the 50 years of the Carnation Revolution and to provide readers with a set of diverse articles that both contribute to and reflect the current state of the field. On the 50th anniversary of the 25th April, these writings also consider how the path since the revolution has reached a certain crossroads, with some of its achievements now under threat and its promises unfulfilled.

Eliane Santos Alves, Andreza Mara da Fonseca and Vanessa Marques D'Albuquerque, from the State University Paulista (UNESP) and University of São Paulo (USP), Brazil, in their article entitled "A discussion on the experiences of three Brazilian women in Portugal and the ideals of freedom and democracy", take an inquiry-based approach that draws on an experiential account of the time they spent in Portugal as part of a six-month advanced scientific doctoral internship. In their paper, they situate democracy and democratic practice in lived experiences and scenes from their everyday life in Braga within a socio-historical framework that discusses their subjectivities as women and as foreign women. Their approach links public safety and gender equality, cultural provision, public spaces and community

dynamics with the democratic legacy of Portugal's 25th of April Revolution. They suggest that this legacy is also experienced by children as they appropriate and experience what the city makes available to them. The authors provide a lively and hopeful description of how democracy is materialised in everyday experience, where citizen associativism plays a central role and democracy is practiced rather than given.

The second paper, "Freedom! Freedom? Children's dreams and the right to housing and life", by Marcia Aparecida Gobbi, from the University of São Paulo (USP), Brazil, examines the interplay between democracy, freedom and childhood, focusing on the struggles for housing and children's rights. Drawing on fieldwork conducted during the occupation of Rome's Metropoliz (2022-2023), the author explores children's experiences of precarious housing, highlighting their dreams as an expression of hope and social critique. Gobbi argues that democracy is an ongoing process that requires collective effort and that children should play a role in reinventing society.

The following two contributions "Songs in the shape of April: the 25th of April and music with words for adults and for children", by José António Gomes, School of Education - Polytechnic Institute of Porto, Portugal, and "Memory(s) of April in children's literature", by Sara Reis da Silva, University of Minho, Portugal, explore the potential of the arts to shape future generations by embedding democratic values in education and culture.

From a historical perspective, José António Gomes discusses how the Portuguese movement of politically committed song, known in Portuguese as *Canto de Intervenção* (protest songs), helped to raise social consciousness and promote resistance to the dictatorship before the revolution, and was an instrument of popular participation in the construction of democracy after 1974. The author explores the links between this musical movement and its relationship with poetry and literature, in particular its connection with children's music and its role in promoting democratic ideals after the revolution.

Sara Reis da Silva offers a perceptive exploration of 18 works of children's literature that re-imagine the Carnation Revolution in different ways. These texts often interweave narratives that refer to the historical antecedents of the revolution, highlight the transformative events of 25th April 1974, and provide contrasting portrayals of life during the dictatorship and the subsequent period of democracy, showing the evolution of social values and freedoms.

The following three articles deal with issues related to the construction of the Portuguese education system.

In the paper "Children's right to access to early childhood education: in search of democracy and freedom", by Teresa Sarmiento, from the University of Minho, Portugal, early childhood education is presented as a foundation for democratic values, fostering children's critical thinking, agency and participation. The author provides a socio-historical overview of the Portuguese early childhood education

system, tracing its path from the first steps taken in the 19th century and the advances made during the First Republic (1910-1926), through the setbacks during the dictatorship and on to the expansion after the revolution. Despite major progress in guaranteeing the right to early childhood education, there are still significant inequalities in access to kindergartens for children under three, with provision dominated by private and charitable institutions, while socio-economic inequalities continue to limit families' ability to access quality childcare. The paper underlines the importance of ensuring high quality early education by developing well-trained educators, creating safe and welcoming environments and promoting participatory practices, while also highlighting the critical need for professional recognition and equal status for educators across systems to reduce inequalities and build a more inclusive society.

The paper "50 years of inservice education and training of teachers (INSET) in Portugal: between autonomy of intentions and heteronomy of actions", by Eusébio André Machado, from Portucalense University, Portugal, reviews the last half century of continuous inservice education and training (INSET) of teachers in Portugal, tracing its evolution following the Carnation Revolution. The author describes the evolution of the country's INSET system from a foundational rationale based on four axes – "the school as the central unit of the education system"; "active modalities centred on professional contexts"; "the centrality of reflection on experience in professional development" and "the instituent nature of pedagogical innovation" – to a training logic based on instrumentalist and managerialist principles. The author proposes key tensions in the current reading of teacher education: 'localisation vs. deterritorialisation', 'collaboration vs. individualisation', and 'humanisation vs. dehumanisation'. Through his critical analysis, the author urges us to look to the transformative ideals of the 25th April Revolution for collaborative, contextualised and human-centred responses to today's teacher education needs.

Finally, in the paper "Itinerant Curriculum Theory: Fulfilling the Ethos of the Carnation Revolution', João Paraskeva, from University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK, reaffirms the importance of the Portuguese Revolution in initiating significant educational reforms, including universal access to primary and secondary education, the reduction of illiteracy rates and the strengthening of democratic governance in schools. However, systemic failures in education are highlighted as reflecting wider societal challenges such as economic inequality, immigration pressures, climate change and political polarisation. Describing how Portugal's education system struggles with material shortages, teacher shortages and curriculum reforms that often prioritise structure over content, Paraskeva highlights how education and curriculum development remain deeply rooted in Eurocentric epistemological frameworks, perpetuating 'epistemicides' by marginalising non-Western knowledge systems. Recognising the need to address contemporary global challenges and honour the revolutionary ideals of democracy and freedom inspired by the Carnation Revolution, the author argues that revitalising education requires abandoning

Eurocentric epistemological boundaries and adopting an Itinerant Curriculum Theory within a flexible and inclusive decolonial approach.

These papers highlight some of the major achievements over the last five decades, but they also identify aspects that deserve further consideration. There are several challenges facing the study of children and childhoods today, many of which are related to the promise of freedom and democracy generated by the Carnation Revolution whose 50th anniversary we have been celebrating. According to Wall (2011), democracy has been conceived as an essentially adult domain, with the result that children rarely enjoy significant democratic rights to influence policies, shape laws or elect representatives. Modern democracies have developed around the world over about two centuries and the actual exercise of power has gradually been extended from wealthy male landowners to include the poor, ethnic and racial minorities, women and other previously marginalised groups, albeit imperfectly and incompletely. However, he argues that this growing democratic inclusion has not generally extended to children, despite the fact that children under the age of 18 make up a third of all humanity. The deepening of democracy and the possibility and freedom for children to experience and exercise it fully, in its representative and participatory forms, is now a major challenge for the Research Centre on Child Studies, University of Minho, and we hope that this special issue will be a small step in that direction.

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**A DISCUSSION OF THE EXPERIENCES OF THREE
BRAZILIAN WOMEN IN PORTUGAL AND THE IDEALS
OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY**

**UMA DISCUSSÃO SOBRE AS EXPERIÊNCIAS DE TRÊS
MULHERES BRASILEIRAS EM PORTUGAL E OS IDEAIS DE
LIBERDADE E DEMOCRACIA**

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Abstract

We are three Brazilian women researchers who undertook the Advanced Scientific Doctoral Internship at the Research Centre on Child Studies of the University of Minho, Braga, Portugal, and this paper arises from that six-month period, spent under the supervision of Professor PhD Fernando Ilídio da Silva Ferreira. Using an experience report as a qualitative method to provide reference data, our goal is to carry out a meaning-making analysis based on what we experienced, revealing the potential for new theoretical constructions within the socio-historical context of Portugal, as seen through our perspectives and learning. For this work, we selected everyday scenes that we have experienced in Portugal, and in our daily interactions with children, essentially seeking to understand signs

of freedom and democracy in the 49 years since the 25th of April Revolution. In the text, we discuss issues such as the safety and freedom of women in public spaces, the role of the state and civil society in promoting gender equality, and the importance of childhood in building a democratic society. We highlight the complexity of the experience we have each had of being a foreign woman in a country that has a history marked by struggles for rights and democracy. At the same time, we recognize the challenges and contradictions still present, such as the persistence of gender-based violence. In summary, we conclude that freedom is a continuous achievement that requires struggle and resistance.

Keywords: Women; Children; Democracy; Freedom

Resumo

Somos três investigadoras brasileiras que realizaram o Estágio Científico Avançado de Doutorado no Centro de Investigação em Estudos da Criança da Universidade do Minho, em Braga, Portugal, e este artigo resulta desse período de seis meses, passado sob a supervisão do Professor Doutor Fernando Ilídio da Silva Ferreira. Utilizando o relato de experiência como método qualitativo de referência de dados, o nosso objetivo é fazer uma análise de construção de significados a partir do vivido, revelando o potencial de novas construções teóricas no contexto sócio-histórico de Portugal, a partir das nossas perspectivas e aprendizagens. Para este trabalho, selecionámos cenas do quotidiano que vivenciámos em Portugal, e nas nossas interações diárias com as crianças, procurando essencialmente compreender sinais de liberdade e democracia nos 49 anos da Revolução do 25 de abril. No texto, discutimos questões como a segurança e a liberdade das mulheres no espaço público, o papel do Estado e da sociedade civil na promoção da igualdade de género e a importância da infância na construção de uma sociedade democrática. Destacamos a complexidade da experiência que cada uma de nós teve de ser uma mulher estrangeira num país que tem uma história marcada por lutas por direitos e democracia. Ao mesmo tempo, reconhecemos os desafios e as contradições ainda presentes, como a persistência da violência de género. Em síntese, concluímos que a liberdade é uma conquista contínua que exige luta e resistência.

Palavras-chave Mulheres; Crianças; Democracia; Liberdade

Introduction

At a significant stage in our careers, we decided to embark on a singular journey to carry out an Advanced Scientific Internship at the University of Minho, living for six months in the beautiful city of Braga, Portugal. Each of us had our own academic and research motivations, but the search for new experiences, personal growth and the opportunity to explore a different culture were common goals.

Three Brazilian women immersed in the streets of Braga, we absorbed the city's historical and cultural essence. Besides visiting museums, touring ancient monuments and exploring local markets, we also took part in community events celebrating the richness of Portuguese tradition and various demonstrations led by movements fighting for rights. The city, with its cosy squares and charming streets, became the stage for our experiences, contributing to a deeper and richer understanding of the world.

Now on the path of writing about our experiences in Portugal and relating them to the ideals of freedom and democracy present in the 49th anniversary of the 25th of April, we should consider situating our stories: Who are we? Where have we lived? What have we written and learnt about?

Writing, before any domain, is questioning. It's a quest to insert ourselves into the world with our stories, with our lives, which the world disregards. *Escrevivência* [writing of life experiences] is not about abstracting from the world, but about existence, about the life-world. A world that I seek to apprehend so that I can write myself into it, but with the understanding that the writing is not mine alone. That's why I'm repeating a reflective question that I asked myself one day when I was thinking about my own writing and that of others. I'm asking about the audacious act of women who break through imposed domains, particularly black women, and embark on the path of writing...Conceição Evaristo (IN: Duarte; Nunes; Lopes, 2020, p. 35)

So, who are we?

My name is Eliane Santos Alves, a black Brazilian woman and a maths teacher in the municipal public school system in Porto Seguro, Bahia. I have a bachelor's and a master's degree in Mathematics, and I am currently studying for a doctorate in the Postgraduate Programme in Mathematics Education at Paulista State University under the supervision of Professor Ana Paula dos Santos Malheiros. My doctoral research in Brazil focuses on the educational transition from the 5th to the 6th year of primary school. In 2023, I did an advanced scientific doctoral internship for six months at the Institute of Education at the University of Minho, supervised by Professor Fernando Ilídio da Silva Ferreira. During this time, I delved deeper into the topic of educational transitions, visited schools in Braga, analysed educational documents, interviewed teachers and took part in scientific events. This experience was essential for my academic, personal and professional development, enriching

my theoretical knowledge and providing contact with diverse educational realities and international research. The exchange of experiences with teachers in Portugal was especially enriching.

My name is Andreza Mara da Fonseca, a black Brazilian woman who lives on the outskirts of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais. Mother, daughter, sister, teacher, researcher, and activist in education for ethnic-racial relations, I work in primary education in my city. I am a Pedagogue with a master's degree and I am currently a PhD student in Education in the Postgraduate Programme in Education at Paulista State University, where I am being supervised by Professor César Donizeti Pereira Leite, PhD. There, I am conducting research relating to childhood, education in ethnic-racial relations and Afro-Brazilian heritage in early childhood education. In Portugal, I did an Advanced Scientific Doctoral Internship in Child Studies, specializing in Art Education, under the guidance of Professor Fernando Ilídio da Silva Ferreira and Professor Sandra Susana Pires Silva Palhares. This research combined museum science and school education with black arts and culture, thus allowing me to immerse myself in the experiences and practices related to this field of study. The university provided the opportunity for these studies through PROPG/UNESP Notice No. 44/2022 for social inclusion, which represents an important stage in my academic training, enriching my repertoire of knowledge and skills.

My name is Vanessa Marques, a white Brazilian woman and granddaughter of Portuguese immigrants. My trip to Portugal was linked to my PhD Advanced Scientific Internship at the Centre for Research in Child Studies, in the Institute of Education of the University of Minho. I set out to research "Childhood and the right to housing in the city of Braga", with the co-supervision of Professor Fernando Ilídio. To do this, I carried out field research in the Lameiras Social District in Famalicão, with the intention of getting to know the children's day-to-day lives and understanding how the right to housing functions in Portugal and its historical, cultural and geographical context. This research arose from a larger project called "Fighting, living, caring: children and women fighting for housing on the outskirts of São Paulo and common collective perspectives", coordinated by Professor Márcia Gobbi from the University of São Paulo, with support from the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPQ).

Motivations that led us to Portugal

For each of us the trip to Portugal was linked to an Internationalisation Project, described on the UNESP website as:

Internationalization is a transformative process that integrates the international dimension into institutional policy with the aim of developing skills, attitudes and values in the pursuit of academic excellence, with international

cooperation actions to promote cultural and scientific exchange with foreign institutions ¹

We were also interested in furthering our doctoral research at the renowned Centre for Research in Child Studies, in the city of Braga. According to the University of Minho's website² the Centre is a permanent research unit with a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, which aims to promote and coordinate scientific research in the field of Child Studies. Its main mission is to promote high level research and the gathering of scientific knowledge and skills to contribute to the improvement of children's wellbeing, development and learning.

Throughout this period, exchanges in the academic environment have taken place as well as in-depth studies in each of the research projects, thereby leading to countless lessons being learned. However, in this text we have chosen to revisit and recollect our memories of the experiences of living, seeing and feeling the city from the point of view of foreign women living in a welfare state, also paying attention to where and how children experience daily life in the city of Braga. We thus hypothesize that this paper has the potential for new theoretical constructions, by interconnecting the experience of foreign women in a context of upholding the ideals of freedom and democracy.

The city of Braga and the 25th of April: Some experiences and hints of the ideals of freedom and democracy

Braga is one of the most historic cities in Portugal with roots dating back over 2,000 years to Roman times, and numerous archaeological remains are still visible there today. It is also one of the oldest Christian cities in the world. Its distinctly young population led to its nomination as European Youth Capital by the European Youth Forum in 2012. According to the latest census, a significant fact is that foreigners account for 7% of the 193,324 people living in Braga, the majority of whom are said to be Brazilian (INE- Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2021). Braga is a city full of culture and tradition, where history and religion live side by side with the technology industry and university life. Attracted by its international reputation as a tourist centre, visitors to Braga are charmed by all the city has to offer; its impressive monuments, churches and gardens, together with its delicious gastronomy and wide range of cultural events and traditional festivals. such as the Festival of Saint John, Roman Braga and Holy Week.

Another important day celebrated in the city is the 25th of April, which we were able to witness while on our stay in Braga. In every street and alleyway and on every corner and wall of the city, we could see and feel the democratic atmosphere. These annual festivities once again highlighted Portugal's democratic

¹ Available at: <https://ib.rc.unesp.br/#!/instituicao/divisao-tecnica-academica/secao-tecnica-de-apoio-ao-ensino-pesquisa-e-extensaostape/erapi---escritorio-regional-de-apoio-a-pesquisa-e-internacionalizacao/apresentacao/>

² Available at: <https://www.ie.uminho.pt/>

recovery and commemorated the victory of freedom. This date refers to the 25th of April Revolution in 1974, also known as the Carnation Revolution, which marked the end of the long Salazar dictatorship in Portugal (Antunes, 2017), thereby ushering in democratic rule. Perhaps it was no coincidence that the April 25th celebrations in 2023 took place in the famous Praça da Liberdade in Braga. And we were there.



Figures 1, 2 and 3. Commemoration and struggle of the 49th anniversary of the 25th of April. Source: researchers' personal archive

It was April 25th, 2023 and the city of Braga was once more celebrating this special day. Red carnations were everywhere to be seen, scattered on drawings and posters along Avenida da Liberdade, dangling from people's hair and pockets, and being waved by people holding them in their hands. A whole host of people from different nationalities and political movements were all present that day; people young and old, women, men and parents with their children. Smiling, they recalled the importance of this date for Portuguese people while, at the same time, raising concerns about the current challenges which could be seen in the protest posters and the words on the children's drawings: "Houses to live in, not to speculate in", "Fulfil April, build the future", "The right to work and be a mother, without discrimination, without inequality! More than half a century fighting for maternity rights", "25th of April always, fascism never again".

At the University of Minho, we also had the opportunity to experience events related to the 25th of April. CIEC organized an event to commemorate the 49th anniversary of the 25th of April, for which we had the honour of being part of the organizing committee. Entitled "Childhood(s) Freedom and Democracy: 49 years of April", the event took place from April 26th to May 24th, 2023, in the auditorium of the university's Institute of Education, under the coordination of Professor Fernando Ilídio da Silva Ferreira (CIEC/IE/UMINHO, Portugal) and Professor Cleriston Izidro dos Anjos (UFAL, Brazil). Featuring a series of seven lectures given by research professors from both Portugal and Brazil, the event provided an enriching environment for sharing knowledge and experiences.

As well as learning about the role of childhood in consolidating freedom and democracy, we had the opportunity to reflect on the challenges faced by the Portuguese people during their quest for freedom. Through the lectures and discussions, we were able to better understand not only the history, but also the fundamental values that define Portugal's identity and spirit of resistance. This event was undoubtedly a unique moment of learning and reflection that contributed significantly to our formation as conscious citizens committed to democratic and libertarian ideals.

The democratic environment and respect for freedom of speech, which we mentioned earlier, were fully evident. It was an effervescence of people of different ages, building on the memory of this struggle to update the message and forthrightly face the challenges of today, as one of the protest posters revealed: "fulfil April, build the future". Anthropologist Lilia Schwarcz makes an argument about the differences between history and memory:

History and memory are ways of understanding the past that are not always confused or even complementary. History not only carries with it some gaps and misunderstandings about the past, but often behaves as a field of clashes, disagreements and disputes. Memory, on the other hand, invariably brings a subjective dimension to the centre of analysis by translating the past into the first person and devoting a particular memory to it: that of the person who produces it. In this way, it recovers the "present of the past" and turns the past into the present (Schwarcz, 2019, p. 20).

Thus, looking back on the 25th of April can be understood as a way of reviewing the present with a view to the future, in a constant movement of struggle in which past, present and future are interconnected and sustained. In this respect, feminist studies³ also make a contribution by explaining that democracy, or rather the forms of democracy experienced, are interconnected with constant struggles. In the words of Angela Davis, "There is a lot of struggle to affirm democracy" (2023, p. 22) and, consequently, to experience freedom. In the same vein, Silvia Federici (2023) argues that the way to experience democracy, whether in a particular locality

³ Feminist studies have many strands, and in this text, we will discuss black feminism and the autonomous Marxist feminist tradition.

or historical time, is only possible through strong struggles. From this brief contextualization, we can say that memory is a hint that can help us make sense of the impressions and experiences that we feel in our skin and which we take from that experience into our lives.

Methodological approach adopted: An experience report

In this text, we collate a series of impressions, relationships, learnings and experiences based on certain ideas of freedom and democracy. The study followed a qualitative approach using experience reports (ER) as well as written experiences. This is a methodology for building scientific knowledge that presents experiences in a descriptive and critical-reflective way, highlighting both the positive and negative aspects of the actions taken (Mussi, Flores, Almeida, 2021, p. 62). Therefore, the experience report is understood as a means "[...] used intentionally to understand, criticize and reflect on events, in other words, the analytical constitution of knowledge" (2021, p. 64).

With further regard to the method of using an experience report, researchers Monica Dalton and Anna de Faria (2019) emphasize that it is a qualitative approach to research and that, although it has a strong emphasis on description, it leads to an interpretative and comprehensive process of phenomena, within a socio-historical context intersected by the gaze, experiences and learning of the researcher. It should be stressed that SR is not thought of in advance as a research project, but is the result of a process of signification based on a lived experience that reveals the potential for new theoretical constructions, thus differentiating itself from other methodologies which involve planning and organising research instruments before entry into the field, such as case studies, action research or field diaries.

It is on the basis of this conceptual and methodological foundation that we present some of the experiences that we, Brazilian women researchers, have had in Portugal. Therefore, to continue this reflection, we now present a series of scenes from the daily lives of three foreign women and children living in Portuguese territory.

Scenes from the daily lives of three foreign women

Scene 1

I was alone in Braga Parque [shopping centre] and decided to walk home - it would take about 20 minutes. As I walked out of the shop, I realised that it was already dark. I didn't look at my watch and started walking. Almost halfway along, I noticed that the street was quite empty. At that moment, I felt like checking the time and, to my surprise, it was almost 11pm. I felt a chill in my stomach and a certain fear - after all, I was a foreign woman walking alone. I thought about going

back to Braga Parque and calling an Uber. However, I stopped, took a deep breath and considered: "I think it's safe to keep walking and go home. People say it's very safe here. Nothing will happen. I kept walking and got home peacefully.

Scene 2

"But isn't it dangerous for a woman to walk alone in this place?" "What are you talking about when you say danger?". Both sentences were part of the experience of a foreign woman in Portugal for six months, and the question about "danger" intrigued me, as there seemed to be an apparent lack of understanding of the meaning of danger and being afraid.

Scene 3

Around midnight, on my way home from the Braga Romana Festival with a colleague from the University of Minho, I came across three animated elderly women smiling and chatting about the festival. I passed them at the narrowest part of Avenida da Liberdade and noticed that one of them was wearing a pair of heels. Apart from the beauty of seeing each woman dressing and grooming herself the way she wants, it made me think that there is a city that takes care of people of different ages and physical needs. What a strange feeling to see women of different ages walking freely through the streets!

... ..

The two words highlighted in bold with regard to the sensations of walking and living in the city - fear and danger - were not chosen by chance. They are marked by the fear of violence and harassment against women, which are revealed in countless cases around the world. For instance, the city of São Paulo has a very high rate of violence against women, and Brazil is the ninth most unequal country in the world (PNDA, 2022). Braga, on the other hand, is considered to be the third most violent district against women in Portugal, according to a report by the National Observatory on Gender Violence⁴ (2021).

From this brief contextualisation, we can appreciate the feeling of fear and constant danger of a woman walking by herself on the streets, whether in her own city or in another country. Going a little further, based on feminist studies, Silvia Federici (2017) shows that discrimination - and also violence - against women is one of the foundations of the capitalist system, in which women's bodies are "[...] the main terrain of their exploitation and resistance, insofar as the female body has been appropriated by the state and by men, forced to function as a means for reproduction and the accumulation of labor" (2017, p. 34). One of the interpretations refers to the objectification of women's bodies by the male universe, with a "supposed" right to others' bodies.

⁴ Available at: <http://www.umaronline.pt/>

In the same vein, Heleieth Saffioti argues that the patriarchal, racist and capitalist system "is anchored in a way for men to secure for themselves and their dependents the means necessary for daily production and the reproduction of life" (Saffioti, 2015, p. 105). However, Hooks (2019) argues that gender-based violence is one of the foundations of the feminist movement's struggle, although she points out that it is not restricted only to violence by men against women but is part of a larger movement to end violence, interconnecting the categories of class and race.

These authors, from different conceptions of feminist studies, reveal how the fear of violence against the female body - which we feel every day on the streets of Braga, but also in the cities where we live in Brazil - is linked to the basis of the capitalist system and to inequalities of class and race. And that is why it is one of the pillars of the feminist struggle.

Although we can see and feel signs of structural patriarchy in our bodies as foreign women, it is notable that there is a tension between danger/fear and three other words that were emphasized in the scenes presented: safe, strange and freely. For six months, the three women researchers walked around the streets of Braga at different times of day and night and in different seasons - with empty or busy streets. It was common to come across a woman walking inside the University of Minho after dark and meet her eyes with an exchange of smiles. There was something different about that experience: the fear in a foreign woman's body remained, but apparently the danger was different.

What can this tension between fear and security - or danger and freedom - tell us? When we walk around the city of Braga, we feel a sense of strangeness and, at the same time, a sense of freedom. And it is this tension that we will try to understand and refine our knowledge about the experience itself.

When we talk about security and freedom, the first important thing to know is how the law and the Constitution define them. Article 27 of the 1976 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic states that everyone has the right to freedom and security. In 2014, the 5th National Plan for Gender Equality, Citizenship and Non-Discrimination presented gender equality as a fundamental aspect of a full democracy, and it is the government's role to create the conditions for this to happen. It is also Portugal's role to be a welfare state, i.e. to fulfil the fundamental needs that must be guaranteed to all citizens.

Another instrument of the Portuguese government on this issue of security and freedom is the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality⁵. It is responsible for ensuring that citizenship policies and the defence of gender equality are put into effect, since "Equality between women and men is a fundamental principle of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, and it is the fundamental task of the State to promote it"⁶.

⁵ Available at: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/>

⁶ Available at: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/>

Here we can already see hints of the sense of security and freedom we experience in our daily lives when walking the streets. However, Portuguese researcher Ana Cristina Pereira (2019) points out that the law has brought about significant changes to women's everyday lives in Portugal, but it will still take a long time for the transformations to really take hold for everyone.

In exploratory research, we came across two more layers that could be clues for thinking about the issue of security and freedom in the case of gender-based violence: the place of universities and citizen associations. One of them is the National Observatory on Gender Violence⁷ at the University Nova de Lisboa in 2008, which is an interdisciplinary centre made up of researchers from all areas of knowledge. One of its main aims is to survey and critically analyse the different forms of violence against women, as well as promoting studies to understand the possible causes and acting as a support for the prevention and intervention of this issue in Portugal.

On the subject of Portuguese associativism, researcher Fernando Ilídio Ferreira (2010) makes an important point about the meaning of citizenship not being something natural or even given. The author thus explains that citizen associativism is both a thought and an action of resistance and possibilities for facing challenges, in the quest "to combat social inequalities and all forms of exclusion, to promote social cohesion; to revitalise democratic citizenship; to fight for human dignity" (Ferreira, 2010, p. 52), stressing that it should not just be a theoretical discourse, but a movement in the struggle for social transformation.

Among the countless associations related to feminist studies and gender violence in Portugal, we have selected two created more recently that have established a network across Portuguese territory. One of them is the Democratic Women's Movement⁸, founded in 1968, which is an association of progressive, democratic, anti-fascist and revolutionary women whose aims is to unite women in defence of their rights - political, economic, social and human rights, to denounce and fight against forms of violence, among others. This association is currently a member of the Economic and Social Council, with a great deal of power to act and intervene in Portugal. Another association is the Alternative and Response Women's Union, created in 1976, which seeks an ethic of solidarity, equality and care on issues related to gender, gender equality, among others.

For us, as foreign women who have lived in Portugal for six months, there are countless lessons to be learnt from experiencing these ideals of democracy and freedom. It is a sense that there is a possibility of other ways of living, with fewer social inequalities. Trying to understand some aspects of this sense of freedom and security, it is clear to see a strong role from the state, as well as interventions and struggles by civil society from different perspectives: demonstrations, petition

⁷ Available at: <https://onvg.fch.unl.pt/legislacao-documentos-estrategicos/documentos-oficiais/>

⁸ Available at: <https://www.mdm.org.pt/>

writing, meetings, content writing, study groups, as well as participation in government commissions and councils. On the other hand, we have also seen and experienced the challenges that Portuguese society has faced, including in relation to gender-based violence.

Scenes from everyday life with children: Evidence of democratic experience and freedom in the city

Scene 1

Under a late afternoon sky of various shades and colours in Braga, my hand wrapped around my son's small hand as we walked along the tree-lined paths of Parque da Ponte. The sun was pouring down its rays, creating a cosy atmosphere, harmonising nature and motherhood in a peaceful and safe environment. The child's steps were quick, full of enthusiasm, and his spontaneous laughter echoed through the green spaces. With a serene look and a smile on my lips, I followed my son's every step. The Park, a green oasis in the heart of Braga, offered vibrant opportunities - colourful flowers, aged wooden benches, a pond, a fountain and the lush green of the grass. As we approached the playground, his curious eyes lit up with anticipation. He was ecstatic to experience that essential freedom necessary for children's play, witnessing simplicity, beauty, discovery and joy.

Scene 2

The sun was bathing the day with its warmth as a lively group of children, hand in hand, lined up with their water bottles and caps, headed enthusiastically from the school towards the museum a few streets ahead. The buzz of children's laughter and chatter filled the air, creating a cheerful soundtrack for the journey ahead. Every step the children took revealed the excitement in their bright eyes, eager to get to know the museum's artists and artefacts. The route to the museum was punctuated by trees, pavements, streets and avenues. They were full of expectation and curiosity, crossing the streets and showing uncomplicated joy on the way. The children's voices echoed in the surroundings, a joyful mix of excitement and curiosity.

.....

When examining Braga beyond adult perspectives, issues arise concerning children in the city and about the commitment that must be shared with the whole society:

The discussion on children and cities refers to the great political impact that requires everyone to take responsibility for children, greatly modifying relationships in the city, as they no longer belong to a single family and are now welcomed by everyone. These ways of thinking and proposing the city have repercussions on people's commitment to children from the moment they are born (Gobbi, Anjos, Seixas, Tomás, 2022, p. 18-19).

This discussion is in line with the commitment closely linked to the ideals of freedom and democracy, and these examples from everyday life in scenes 1 and 2 can help us realise this relationship. Where are the children? What are they doing?

City children need a good number of places where they can play and learn [...], but they need a place close to home, outdoors, with no specific purpose, where they can play, move around and acquire notions of the world. This is the kind of informal recreation that pavements provide, and the busy pavements of the city are very well suited to this. (Jacobs, 2000, p. 80)

The vibrant scenes of children playing in public spaces and a group of children visiting a museum not only illustrate the search for leisure or knowledge, but also highlight the joy and enchantment that permeate the path of learning. They also suggest a commitment to freedom and democracy, a symbolic act of guiding and accompanying children along paths that lead to a future when mutual respect flourishes.

By observing children from different parts of the world playing in public parks, understanding that true democracy is built on the foundations of diversity and mutual respect, we agree with Maria Walburga dos Santos and Larissa Lins when they say that "children inhabit childhood and childhoods: due to the singularities that are their own (time, space, reactions), and at the same time due to the pluralities, referring to the history and individual experiences of the most diverse children" (Santos; Lins, 2022, p.283).

These children must live cultural values to the full and experience democracy from an early age, thus providing an opportunity for the next generation of engaged citizens, understanding that the concept of democracy unfolds in simple gestures and daily interactions. Braga, with its public spaces, stands as a tangible symbol of children's constant search for freedom and democracy in the city. These public spaces became more than just a place for leisure - they were open-air learning spaces where the fundamental principles of democratic society were experienced in a practical and intense way. By guiding my son through these spaces and accompanying the children in the museum, I was not only sharing precious moments of leisure, culture and interaction, but also sowing and sharing the seeds of a society where freedom and democracy flourish in every space and in the children who frequent them.

Final considerations

Three Brazilian women. From three different places in Brazil. We immersed ourselves in the streets of Braga, absorbing aspects of the historical and cultural essence that the city offered and building a framework of learning, both in terms of research and the experiences of living daily life in another country.

One of the lessons we wanted to demonstrate and reflect on in this experience report was the feeling of freedom and security experienced in the bodies

of three foreign women. In refining our knowledge about this experience, we came across the strong support of the state, or rather the welfare state, and the countless actions of civil society, one of which is citizen associations. An interesting point recalled by Ferreira (2010) is that citizenship is not given or innate, but requires a continuous process of struggle, resistance and negotiation; this can even be seen in the national commemoration of the 25th of April. It should be emphasized that living a daily life based on the ideals of democracy and freedom does not mean a way of life without problems or challenges, including in relation to gender violence. On the contrary, it reveals a continuous exercise of struggle and resistance so that everyone has the right to be and live with dignity.

Finally, a question hangs in the air: if we add the markers of race and class, would the experiences of freedom and security be similar? Could it be that being in a university environment has somehow had an impact on this feeling of safety and freedom? We end with Davis' problematization that "Freedom is, in fact, a constant struggle" (2023, p. 40).

When we think about children and their childhoods in this constant struggle, it is appropriate to paraphrase the titles of the conferences held at the event to commemorate the 49th anniversary of the 25th of April to ratify the commitment to the ideals of freedom and democracy. Thus, to have childhood(s) as a common good, with the right to inhabit and live in the city, it is essential not to impede children but to allow them to live fully and freely, able to listen and tell, to sing and express themselves in artistic play, and to truly feel the spaces around them and thus to embody democracy and the experience of freedom.

The experience of taking part in demonstrations and events in the city proved to be a unique opportunity to express our opinions and get actively involved in local and global issues. The democratic environment and respect for freedom of expression provided a renewed sense of empowerment, connecting us not only with the local community, but also with the ideals of democracy and freedom that permeate Portuguese society.

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**FREEDOM! FREEDOM? CHILDREN'S DREAMS AND
THE RIGHT TO HOUSING AND LIFE**

**LIBERDADE! LIBERDADE? SONHOS DE CRIANÇAS E O
DIREITO A HABITAR E À VIDA**

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Abstract

This paper was prepared in connection with the celebrations of the April 25th Carnation Revolution and the Seminar held at UMinho aimed at reflecting on democracy in relation to childhood. Written from São Paulo, Brazil, it intends to present reflections that address the weaknesses of democracy and the need for discussion in order to maintain and deepen democratic principles. Based on research carried out by the author with children in the Metropolis squatters' commune in Rome from 2022 to 2023, the dreams of a boy living there stand out as emblematic of the need to discuss children's needs and their dreams when both asleep and awake. The aim is to reflect on fear as an affection, and on how children's lives and rights are vilified daily, depending on social class, creed, race and gender.

Keywords: Childhoods, Squatters' communes, Children's dreams, Democracy and the Carnation Revolution

Resumo

Este artigo foi elaborado a propósito das comemorações do 25 de Abril e da Revolução dos Cravos e do Seminário realizado na UMinho, destinado a refletir sobre a democracia em relação à infância. Escrito a partir de São Paulo, Brasil, tem como objetivo apresentar reflexões que abordem as fragilidades da democracia e a urgência de a discutir para a manter e aprofundar. A partir de pesquisa realizada pela autora com crianças da Ocupação Metropolis, em Roma, entre os anos de 2022 e 2023, destacam-se os sonhos de um menino, morador, como mote para discutir as urgências para a infância e seus sonhos quando as crianças estão dormindo e quando estão acordadas. O objetivo é refletir sobre o medo como afeto, sobre o

quotidiano vilipendiado das vidas e dos direitos das crianças, consoante a classe social, o credo, a raça e o género.

Palavras-chave: Infâncias, Ocupações Habitacionais, Sonhos de Crianças, Democracia e Revolução dos Cravos

This chapter stems from a speech I gave at an event at the University of Minho commemorating the 25th April and the Portuguese resistance for democracy and freedom. At this event, we revisited the memory and practices of the 25th of April or Carnation Revolution, a moment in Portuguese history marked by an eruption of discontent with the Salazar dictatorship that had been in force from 1933 to 1974. I ventured to take on this challenge as a Brazilian defender of democracy, not forgetting that ours is still very fragile. The proposal for this event included a thought-provoking exercise, which was to articulate the key aims of the 25th of April revolution with respect to children. The role of freedom, social justice and democracy in the construction of children's lives. I am honoured to have been invited to give a lecture and to write this paper for the book that now transposes that event into the written word.

We are constantly urged to conceive of children as an authentic expression of freedom. We naturalise ways of seeing children and their practices, often making them idyllic. However, if we look more closely and consider children in all their various different forms, we encounter many situations requiring problematisation and estrangement. Therefore, taking the seminar's central question - the struggles for freedom and democracy - and seeking to look at them more closely, I ask: how can we discuss freedom and democratic processes with children as a reference? What kind of freedom do children around the world live under? What kinds of freedom and democracy are constructed with them? What does freedom mean for girls, boys and young women around the world, in their many ways of producing and reproducing life?

Freedom and democracy are intricate concepts, with a vast bibliography of references. Broadly speaking, we can see them as relating to the guarantee of the right to express different opinions, ideologies and beliefs, whereby disagreements and criticisms are viewed positively and not as affronts to power, and differences are treated not as inequalities but as rights. Being in a permanent process of construction, democracy requires constant dialogue to define what paths should be taken, considering their limits and potentially negotiable openings. In this respect, it is not a form of government, but a political system whose practices are decided by the various components that make up society. It is closely linked to freedom as a manifestation of human independence and self-determination, and can be understood in the plural as freedoms, as variously defined throughout history

according to the contexts and conditions affecting their creation and practice. Because of its dynamic nature, democracy is in a permanent state of construction, not having reached an endpoint in which democracy is ready, but being emmeshed in processes that can consolidate or weaken it.

There is a constant and urgent need to describe and produce social ideas and practices in which freedom and the construction of democracy are combined with childhood, bearing in mind the huge number around the world whose lives are deprived of these basic rights. As mentioned above, writing about this topic is not simply a matter of a few pages. It is an endeavour with the aim - perhaps ambitiously - to help prevent erasure of the memory of dictatorships, such as that of Salazar in Portugal, but also looking further afield in the world and considering situations such as what is currently happening in Israel and Palestine, where there are around 17,000 children without families or guardians to look after them, raise them or encourage them in the face of tragedy and ensure they have full lives ahead of them. The streets, once a place for organised political struggles, where life could go on at its own pace, are abandoned and neglected, where life now pulses only on the margin of the margins. I am referring here to Gaza, the war that has been reaching our television screens, but also to the city of São Paulo and so many others which, to satisfy the exorbitance of capitalism, have become urban monsters for the people who live in them. Not so far away geographically, we find similarities when we look at the places occupied by children, living in and out of tents, in large urban centres where the streets and squares have become part of their homes. Yes, homes. We have to remember in order not to forget and remember not to forget, since our memory is getting dimmer, especially when it comes to those political events which bring us closer to the actions of dictators, depriving us of the freedom to think and what follows from that.

Taking the aforementioned speech as a starting point, I intend to maintain its essayistic and introductory tone and write in the first-person singular. This chapter is divided into three points that are sometimes closely linked, sometimes less so: Point 1: Dictatorships, fear as a central political affection, and the search for freedom; Point 2: In the dreams of a boy: times in ruin and the fragility of rights and democracy; Point 3: A framework for further reflection and the production of lives in the struggle for freedom. Thus we proceed, with carnations in hand, in support of the many daily struggles and insurgencies.

1. DICTATORSHIPS, fear as a central political affect, AND THE SEARCH FOR FREEDOM

We come with the weight of the past and the seed
Waiting so many years makes everything more urgent
and the thirst of waiting is only quenched by the torrent
and the thirst of waiting is only quenched by the torrent
We've lived so many years talking quietly

You can only want everything when you've had nothing
You only want a full life if you've had your life at a standstill
You only want a full life if you've had a full life
There's only real freedom when there's
Peace, bread
housing
health, education
Sérgio Godinho

In the above song, the Portuguese singer and songwriter Sérgio Godinho evokes the ideas of freedom and social justice which, as we know, were pursued and won in Portugal 50 years ago, and have since also been achieved at different times around the world. These lyrics represent what is as essential to us as the bread we eat every day. We have a duty to uphold freedom and equality, to remember so as not to forget and thereby to endeavour to go on producing, in our everyday actions, different ways of structurally altering the current state of affairs. When we look around the world, it is clear to see that there are vast disparities, which essentially mean that there is not enough bread for all the people, bread not only as food, but also when thought of symbolically, as in this song, as it unfolds into so many other demands of ordinary life: education, health, culture, quality food and a dignified way of life. As Godinho sang, fear bears a fruit as, indeed, it does in many different parts of the world - as a result of the long-imposed gag which silences freedom of speech. It is important to emphasise that thinking about democracy means that we cannot be quiet until we have conquered the right to "bread" in all its forms, not just that which feeds our hungry physical bodies.

I should emphasise that I am talking about Brazil, specifically from the vast and complex city of São Paulo. These facts of misery and absence are very close to the bone and touch us very deeply, day after day. In agreement with the statements made by Edson Teles and Vladimir Safatle (2010), we can say that in Brazil we live in an imperfect democracy, fragile and in need of our continuous participation. This imperfect democracy is characterised by the absence of a policy of reparation, investigation and punishment for torturers, for those who founded the dictatorship and for those who continued it over time and, especially, over the last five years. We need to debate the ideas reproduced during these periods. We have lived through a very unhappy time in Brazil in which the process of discussing this experience, reflecting on it and critically remembering it have seemed to give rise to manifestations of hatred, reflecting not so much discontent with the past, but rather with the very discussions that return to it.

The silence that was initially imposed reverberated in other silences that we imposed on ourselves and on people, both near and far. There has been a management of silence leading to a seemingly programmed agreement to forget. Perhaps the writing of texts and the Seminar mentioned above are an exercise in listening. It is still an impression that needs to be unravelled, but we can affirm that,

sadly and slowly, we are increasingly being repressed from daily debating, agreeing and disagreeing on events and are thus collectively unable to concretely project other possible and fair societies for all people. Perhaps we lack the narrator, as defined by Benjamin, who brought back and, to a certain extent, maintained and modified the stories of a certain period or journey made by certain people. The importance of telling, discussing and exchanging experiences of shared times is absolutely key.

It is necessary to emphasise that what this produces in terms of individual sufferings then become the collective phenomena of countless ways to mask the practice of the myriad forms of torture that are still present in our country and the innumerable instances of violence and abuse, from working in conditions analogous to slavery, and children in precarious living conditions, to domestic violence and violence against children. There is so much violence and so many deaths that people are unfortunately becoming naturalized and immune to it – “people-nature-people-nature-people”. Writing now, I recall what Professor Léa Tiriba said at the aforementioned seminar and, I hereby reaffirm her sentiment that people and nature have amalgamated into a single people-nature because we are the same; that is, people and nature in terms of extinction. Life and death. Death as a project to maintain other lives. Some others, that is. By understanding this as a project, we understand the necessary erasure of wreckage and ruins. We know, however, that scars remain, despite the attempt to erase them, and so we write about them. If we do not question and seek answers to the ruins that perpetuate themselves in social practices both large and small, we are corresponding to or acquiescing in a project that is far from contributing to the construction of democracy.

Taking up the idea of oblivion and silence and bringing it closer to our everyday practices, we can liken this to the creation of the effect of vision under fog, as if a curtain has prevented us from finding the very object to be contested, discussed and fought against. We have constructed and produced views under fog, or in the clouds, that monitor us on a daily basis, and which so often prevent us from seeing by leaving us immersed in a perpetual mist.

In addition to the fog that clouds our vision, we can also detect asphyxiation building up daily, expressed in certain relationships that we make amid a world where those coordinating and consolidating power and leadership are becoming distinctly authoritarian, sometimes even fascist. We are told not to underestimate the strength of the far right, which is the unacceptable face of politics, and I would again highlight the important initiative of these events in memory of the 25th of April. However, I wonder whether we have already accepted it. Faced with this question, we often hear the response of, “We follow”. It is such a common phrase, at least in Brazil, and I wonder what is embedded in that answer. After all, what or whom do we follow? I understand that it is about moving forward without looking back, without trying to understand where we are and what is being done to our lives, in a world where relations of exploitation and segregation are reproduced

indiscriminately in the name of capitalism. I return to Walter Benjamin's famous text in which he introduces us to the "angel of history". According to Benjamin, he wants to gather up the fragments, bury the dead and look back, who knows, but, pushed by progress, he is forced to move on. Even today, being pushed to go on can lead to the construction of a mentality of "Let's keep going" based on a future that comes to us, embraces us, envelops us and engulfs us. It is at this point that Guilherme Wisnik (2018) introduces us to another important element to consider, which surrounds us and takes us over: the fog. For Wisnik, we are blind from seeing so much. We live with little clarity, in a foggy confusion. And yet, we still keep going on. That is important, because fundamental facts that could affect us much more materially seem obscured, not understood with the lucidity necessary even to question them, to stop them from continuing. The curious thing is that we have a generation growing up in this fog – our children, for whom, just like for us, there is no foreseeable direction. Hence the importance of commemorating, remembering, thinking and trying to plan. Children, although shrouded in this fog, are fundamental to this process. Not because they hold the future, but because the present is nothing without them and their questions. They have to keep asking us questions, piercing the mists that appear so dense and immovable. Children are understood here as the fireflies described by Didi-Huberman (2011), inspired by Pasolini, when he says that fireflies are those little lights of resistance, of art and beauty, of moments full of humanity, fragile and authentic. Children are thus, in their own way, the urgent firefly resistance of this age.

1.1. With children "from below"

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2018) draw attention to the existence of insurgent social movements that have risen up against injustice, but which soon fade from view, their failure creating a vacuum that leaves us with an uneasy sense that we are somehow being made to drive blindly into the future with no brakes. While highlighting the positives of such movements, the authors also provoke us, questioning what kind of power we want as the world moves on. They pose the fundamental question: what do we want to become if we gain power? We are subjects who must assert ourselves as such, they tell us, and the production of democratic decision-making processes is central to reflecting on the object being sought, the absent justices, the right-wing political forces and the lives that are continually being worn down and overly impacted by the tide of capitalism. We can join in the chorus of complaint with those "from below", which means:

Firstly, to define power from the point of view of the subordinate, whose knowledge is transformed through resistance and struggles to free themselves from the domination of those "above". Those "from below" have a more comprehensive knowledge of the social whole, a gift that can serve as the basis for a multitudinous endeavour to build the common. From below also designates a political trajectory: an

institutional project that not only has the strength to subvert command, but also the capacity to politically build an alternative society (Hardt; Negri, 2018, p. 114).

When thinking about those who speak and fight "from below", I cannot exclude children, since they too are marked by differences of social class, gender, sex, race and creed. Although discussing children's participation and presence in social movements requires us to consider certain aspects beyond those pertaining to the adult universe, the origins and practices of these movements, with respect not only to adults, have repercussions on the way they organise themselves "from below" or from above and how these movements and manifestations affect children. In view of the above, I ask: to what extent does the absence of democratic practices have an impact on children's lives? In what ways do the ultra-right and its policies relating to education, housing and health have an impact on the construction of childhoods and their rights? And what is the impact on their relationships with other children, with the places where they live and with their dreams? Aware of the complexity of these issues, I will seek here only to approach this discussion from the perspective of an interview I conducted in the city of Rome, in a squatters' commune called Metropoliz. There is so much that can be said about it. I would like to point out that this is just an excerpt from a research project that has led me to think increasingly about childhoods, children's dreams and their memories, as well as the urgent need to listen to them and change so much of what is out there. I present two significant excerpts from a recorded conversation that lasted 1.5 hours. This choice stems from the expression of two dreams that complement each other – one awake and one asleep – and from my understanding of the child as the flash of a firefly that does not rise up but points to other ways of producing the world in the face of the many people surrounding the child and the worldviews which effectively exclude it.

2. In the boy's dreams: times ruins and the fragility of rights and democracy

Bruno: I dream of having a (squat) commune so big that all the children can fit in it.

Marcia: What about mums, dads, families?

Bruno: Ahh, I'll make another one for them.

These are the words of Bruno, a boy living in Metropoliz, a mixed-race squatters' commune in Rome, who was under threat of eviction at the time. They correspond to some of the findings and constructs of research, currently being analysed and written up in greater depth. These are data produced since November 2022. This study initially focused only on the displacement of children and women in a particular squat on the outskirts of Rome, but it made me want to understand more about common good practices, above all because of what I saw, read and heard being said by people living in and using squats in some regions of Italy. This

did not come out of my waistcoat pocket, as José de Souza Martins (1997) would say, referring to the research themes and certain deviations that are imposed as we make our way through the field. Moreover, it is a social issue that points to how we can inhabit the planet in a different way. I want to make it clear that this comes from research that I have carried out and guided, and which has been taken up in Brazil, specifically in the city of São Paulo.

What exactly do I mean by that? Community living, with children, producing relationships and, as a result, childhoods to be known and learnt from. To what extent do we have groups that help each other and their surroundings to understand community relationships that serve populations, especially migrants and others in more precarious living conditions? How are these relationships being built and what ties are being forged? Finally, where are the children in all this, and where does the school come in? Is the school, from nursery school onwards, when provided by the state as a public service, a space that can be thought of as a common good? Based on practical life experiences, we can say that it is, though this is not exactly new and, but I think it is important for us to reflect on this notion, which, like everything else, is under permanent construction, acquiring and expressing different forms in each group researched, with very similar strands. These questions will not all be answered here, but I believe it is important to raise them for those future studies and approaches that are underway and which, to some extent, are already providing the questions and reflections on children's dreams "from below".

In this research, dreams were one of the non-objectified objects I sought out - turning myself into a dream collector for a while - in order to understand previous and subsequent expectations about the processes of displacement undergone by children and women, especially family members. A second focus I pursued was the relationship between these dreams and the production of ways of living and, in turn, of childhoods. The dreams told to me were, and still are, important elements for descending into life in a squatters' commune, for understanding the impact on children of the struggle for housing and life in such a community with so many other people of different ages, languages and cultures. How has all this been incorporated into their lives? What do the children feel and how do they project those feelings from what they experience on a daily basis? Some answers were found from the descriptions of their dreams.

As Bernard Lahire (2018) said, dreams, taken as individual and intimate phenomena, are also social, and can thus be considered sociological objects. As well as looking into the views and feelings of those who live in squatters' communes today, including children and women (their mothers), I also sought to get to know their dreams, whether sleeping or waking. When it comes to dreams, there are those we have in our oneiric universe and those that we project when we are awake, which may or may not be realised, but which can certainly drive our lives or, as a social phenomenon, reveal some of our motivations. The commitment was and still is to understand these processes as told by those who participate in them, from the

bottom up, as it were, which is necessarily a huge challenge. To this end, as well as spending time in the field, interviews were conducted with both groups, especially in the squatters' commune.

From a methodological point of view, I made many visits to the squat in order to get to know the people living there, what the relationships were between its residents, and to understand how the commune was organised. I was also interested in experiencing the neighbourhood through the senses, its customary smells and sounds. Besides the cars, buses, footsteps and babies crying, there were also the more exotic sounds of its various accents and unfamiliar languages such as Romanian and Arabic, alongside the better-known ones like French, Spanish, English and Portuguese. I was always mistaken for a Spanish speaker, revealing ignorance of the language spoken in Brazil.

There is no space to write here at length (though further texts and new reflections will be presented soon), but it should be stated that this practice of "collecting" dreams and analysing them from a sociological perspective so as to understand how they relate to the social environment, the world of work and the wider culture, follows the lead of a number of previous studies: Roger Bastide's initial reflections in 1960 pointed to the construction of a sociology of dreams, followed in Brazil by José de Souza Martins. These studies found resonance in the research of Jean Duvignaud, Françoise Duvignaud and Jean Pierre Corbeau (1996), whose dream bank aimed to discover society through the dreams of contemporary people with their hardships and adventures, looking especially at the working classes. More recently, Bernard Lahire (2018) has sought to understand dreams as a social phenomenon, compiling two large volumes in which he explores theories and exposes dreamed dreams as a point for his reflections. In addition, Hanna Limulja (2022) has carried out an ethnography of Yanomami dreams, which provokes us to listen to dreams and think about this process methodologically, as well as the function of dreams for certain societies. It is briefly worth saying that when I listened to children, their mothers and other women telling their dreams, one of the things I learnt was to appreciate the value of time, which is so important for listening and for the stories that we dream, whether awake or asleep.

I used Bruno's dream as a starting point. He told me about it in conversation, inside his home, which at the time was the setting for a major art exhibition. Presenting a small section of the research and a single case is not through the desire to create something to be referenced or modelled. It merely serves to motivate further reflections, a thread to be pulled in order to think about inhabiting the space of childhood, about children's dreams and the relationship with freedom and democracy and the anti-democratic policies that have undermined our lives and those of children since they were babies.

The dream shown at the beginning is in a waking state. It takes us back to an imagined squatters' commune, a large plot of land, which seems similar to the one where Bruno lives, created by children and for them, almost "all the children in the

world", as he adds at the end, and without any family members. In *When the house burns down*, Giorgio Agamben (2023) states that there is salvation because there are others. This large commune of children is manifested in the existence of other people who bring salvation, who point to other possible relationships and who, in this case, are mostly made up of children. He is one among many, another among others, and are all together. For Bruno this plurality gives him a way out from his life as resident of a squatters' community, living along with so many others in an abandoned factory site that has been occupied for over a decade by squatters who, at the time of the research, were under a strong threat of eviction. This waking dream, we could say, is a reflection of the daily nightmare that has been imposed on all the residents. Bruno points out that there are no lifeguards for everyone. Inspired by his proposal to create a place that welcomes all people, I think he, in his own way, invites us to look at the effects of capitalism in the way he confronts it in this dream of creating other possibilities for living together by reconstituting the humanity in each human being, or provoking us to at least think about it.

It was a waking dream, told to me by a boy, the expression of a desire that involved everyone. Could this be the flashing light of the firefly that Pasolini and Didi-Huberman reflected on? Bruno was born in Metropolit, a squat on the outskirts of Rome, where families from many countries live. They are migrants from Africa and South America as well as from the "Roma" community. Bruno is part of the only Italian family in the commune. On a daily basis he has learnt to deal with the many other children living there, He defines himself as a resident of what he claims to be the largest squat in the world, and which he rightly asserts is in fact home to a completely unique art museum within the squat itself, the Museo Dell'altro e dell'altrove (MAAM),. The boy's dream is surprising in its act of welcoming which reveals living to be more than simply having a roof over one's head, but to be a dynamic practice involving relationships between all the children. With his happy dream of a city made by and for its child occupants, Bruno allows us to look at the city from the point of view of everyday life, or rather, another everyday life that is structurally different from the one we know, live and produce. It shows us how the city transforms itself, or rather, could transform itself with those who inhabit it, based on the material and immaterial relationships produced by children. I believe that in his waking dream he tells us about the possibility of the existence of another city in accordance with his proposals. MAAM would exist in his waking dream because, for him, it is marvellous to live in the midst of so many works of art, but it would be experienced fully by everyone, while at the same time the children would leave their marks, their voices, perhaps more deeply marked. In this waking dream, the boy makes poetry while "the house burns" (Agamben, 2023).

But his own waking dream, as I have called it here, coexists with another dream, the one while he is asleep. Reproduced here is an excerpt from the dialogue:

Bruno: I dream every night that I'm on the street. That people come in, take people out of their houses and we're walking down the street, in the street.

Let's together take a moment to think about this boy who dreams, about what has been collected here and how it relates to the social phenomenon of homelessness, the struggle for a roof over one's head, neglect and feeling neglected, which occurs in opposition to the space he has created, which he himself would create materially, namely a commune for all the children.

Which house is burning? Perhaps the houses and cities have already been burnt down, we don't know since when, in a single immense fire that we pretend not to see. Of some, only pieces of wall remain, a painted wall, part of the ceiling, names, many names already devoured by the fire. And yet we cover them so zealously with white plaster and lying words that they seem intact. We live in houses, in cities burnt from top to bottom as if they were still standing, people pretend to live and go out into the streets masked among the ruins, as if they were still the familiar neighbourhoods of yesteryear (Agamben, 2023, p. 12).

Future papers will seek to reflect further on this experience but confronting the findings from both of Bruno's dreams makes us think about the relationships between various aspects of the city. For a start, these dreams raise questions about how the lived city, made of people, relates to the built city, made of stone. In addition, they also get us to question the relationship between the planned city and the city that is produced; the former being responsible for eviction actions involving people, their stories, their dreams, the reasons that led them to occupy and inhabit certain spaces, to build their lives and to love, while the latter refers to the city which, in this case, is produced by children both in dreams and also in reality. Thus, Bruno's dreams provoke us to think about how the city is lived and produced. Moreover, Bruno places the street in opposition to the house where he lives, the squatters' commune where he was born, whose space has, ever since he was baby, also been the work of his production, in his own way. The street of the sleeping dream is the place that reminds us of the fear of wandering aimlessly around, not out of choice, but due to the lack of it. It presents us with elements that challenge our everyday life, such as evictions which, like a sudden fire erupting, result in the removal of everything we own, but which we pretend not to see, putting on the make-up that covers up what burns underneath.

However, when we consider Bruno's dream while he is asleep, we can present him as a witness, testifying to the reality of his life, the words in his dream no longer muted but speaking directly to me and touching a nerve. It was through the dream that the boy bore witness to something that is threatening to happen. His dream was about eviction and everything that it carries away: friendships, the roof that has already been built, relationships and the production of a space by the people who inhabit it, in short, life in all its fullness. In this respect, the sleeping dream is a

document about the state of social relations between us and ourselves, between us and the difference, the otherness that mediates our transformation into a social being (Martins, 1996). In telling me his dream, Bruno revealed the state in which the threats of eviction had left him emotionally and his concerns. When asked what he thought of his own dream (a methodology inspired by an exploratory study carried out by Martins), he replied by saying that he felt that everyone would be walking the streets. When I think about the resources that gave him such an understanding, I would say that they are those constructed by ordinary life, to which we have to descend in order to understand his daily life, which is that of one of the many children living in the squat community.

Ordinary life does not stop in the face of these seemingly extraordinary events (Das, 2011) but goes on, revealing some of its aspects to me when I had the privilege to carry out this research, which was a very moving experience. Bruno's dream is fundamental to understanding his daily life and the impact of anti-democratic policies on children's lives. These are practices that invade his dreams when he is asleep and reveal themselves as desires common to everyone, children in particular, to attain a place to live. He is seized by the violence of the threat of eviction. I ask myself, also prompted by conversations with others like Bruno: what have these political practices done to these children? What is inscribed in their bodies, in the production of their imagination, their lives and their desire to stay alive? So much has been said about hope, which has recently become a verb conjugated in such a way that it sounds empty. What hopes lie in this boy's dreams, which reflect those of countless children in different countries around the world? He anchors his story - or is it a testimony? - in two different visions. In the waking dream, there is the production of something new, a place for many people his age. In the sleeping dream, there is the fear that affects him and, at times, silences him. Silence, which behaves like the commas that dissect our speech, is important for us to breathe and at the same time get closer to the unspoken. Taken as a testimony of a present reality that demands answers and change, it was essential for me to realise the depth of feeling and emotions in children like Bruno and to fully appreciate what the demeaning practices of the long-established far-right are capable of producing in children, and how much this kind of politics and its representatives, elected or not, invade children's lives, materially and beyond.

Bruno's dreams challenge us and demand that we take a stand.

3. A framework for further reflection and the production of lives in the liberatory struggle



Photo 1. Floor of the Metropoliz occupation. Source: Author's collection (2023).

There are many studies and stories told about the social movements fighting for housing. However, much less is known about who takes part in these struggles, who inhabits the places they have acquired, who loses them when they are evicted, who is forced to move on in search of other destinations, since research in this area has not been so explicitly mapped out. Particularly when it comes to children, there are gaps in our understanding of who narrates and produces these stories on a daily basis. We can look at the numbers of people who leave their countries or cities of origin and travel the world in search of better days ahead. A future that ensures stable conditions beyond the current reality of bitterness and insecurity. Leaving their hometowns sounds like a glimmer of possibility for change. In this very short chapter, I have chosen to present another side; that is, the impact of eviction practices and daily inequalities on the life of Bruno, a nine-year-old boy, and more specifically, on his dreams, "from below". It was not possible to explore exactly how the imminent eviction was incorporated into everyday life and the repercussions that this may have provoked. However, from the research findings presented here, we can infer how childhoods, such as Bruno's, are produced in processes of struggle for the right to housing and what follows from this. At the same time, we can consider ways out of these dilemmas. Dreams present projections of other ways of relating and exposing what is seen and experienced. They are mechanisms for reinventing oneself. It can be said that waking dreams are almost the expression of a transgression.

I began this chapter by trying to get closer to the theme of freedom and democracy. I end with the dreams of a boy living in a squatters' commune in the city of Rome, Italy, where few know that such a vital struggle for housing is happening. Today, it is under the aegis of the current government that the boy dreams and exposes his dreams.

Therefore, I will conclude this summary of points made from research by adding to the wishes expressed every April, which arrives with carnations blooming in the scent of spring and bears the longing for freedom, which must not be allowed to grow cold.

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Bionote

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**SONGS IN THE SHAPE OF APRIL: THE 25TH OF APRIL
AND MUSIC WITH WORDS FOR ADULTS AND FOR
CHILDREN**

**CANTOS EM FORMA DE ABRIL: 25 DE ABRIL E MÚSICA COM
PALAVRAS PARA ADULTOS E CRIANÇAS**

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Abstract

One of the main instruments of democratic resistance to the fascist dictatorship of Salazar and Marcello Caetano, in Portugal, was the so-called *canto de intervenção* (protest songs). Preceded by composers and pioneer works, such as the *Heróicas* songs, by Lopes-Graça, these protest songs in Portugal are linked to several unavoidable names: José Afonso, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, Luís Cília, José Mário Branco, Sérgio Godinho, Fausto Bordalo Dias and other singers and songwriters. A striking feature of this musical expression of great political-cultural relevance was its connection to the written word, that is, to poetry (Camões, Pessoa, Carlos de Oliveira, Manuel da Fonseca, António Gedeão, Ary dos Santos, Manuel Alegre, Luís Pignatelli...). On the other hand, it can be said that the long and exhilarating days of the April Revolution of 1974, which would become known in history as the Carnation Revolution, were constantly punctuated by these songs of political commitment and criticism, in which the songwriters already mentioned and many others, from the following generation, were involved. The article seeks to describe this dynamic, from a mainly historical perspective, highlighting and characterizing the protagonists of this musical movement and the poets whose poems they set to music. Another aspect emphasized in the text is the fact that some of these singers and composers (Godinho, Barata-Moura, João Lóio and others), in whose music childhood, as a topic, was sometimes present, also made a relevant contribution to musical and literary renewal of the songs for children in Portugal.

Keywords: protest song; Salazar and Caetano's dictatorship; Carnation Revolution; songs for children

Resumo

Um dos principais instrumentos de resistência democrática à ditadura fascista de Salazar e Marcello Caetano, em Portugal, foi o chamado canto de intervenção. Precedidas por compositores e obras pioneiras, como as Canções Heróicas, de Lopes-Graça, estas canções de protesto em Portugal estão ligadas a vários nomes incontornáveis: José Afonso, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, Luís Cília, José Mário Branco, Sérgio Godinho, Fausto Bordalo Dias e outros cantores e compositores. Um traço marcante desta expressão musical de grande relevância político-cultural foi a sua ligação à palavra escrita, ou seja, à poesia (Camões, Pessoa, Carlos de Oliveira, Manuel da Fonseca, António Gedeão, Ary dos Santos, Manuel Alegre, Luís Pignatelli...). Por outro lado, pode dizer-se que os longos e estimulantes dias da Revolução de abril de 1974, que ficaria conhecida na história como a Revolução dos Cravos, foram constantemente pontuados por estas canções de compromisso e crítica política, em que estiveram envolvidos os compositores já referidos e muitos outros, da geração seguinte. O artigo procura descrever esta dinâmica, numa perspetiva essencialmente histórica, destacando e caracterizando os protagonistas deste movimento musical e os poetas cujos poemas musicaram. Outro aspeto enfatizado no texto é o facto de alguns desses cantores e compositores (Godinho, Barata-Moura, João Loio e outros), em cuja música a infância, como tema, esteve por vezes presente, terem também dado um contributo relevante para a renovação musical e literária das canções para crianças em Portugal.

Palavras-chave: Canto de intervenção; Ditadura de Salazar e Caetano; Revolução dos Cravos; Canções para crianças

1. The protest song in Portugal: contributions to a definition

What is understood today by *canto de intervenção* (politically committed song, protest song, organizing song) in Portugal? Using here the English expression *protest song* as equivalent to the Portuguese *canto de intervenção*, the definition I propose, far from being final, leads me to refer to a form of urban popular music that, first and foremost, does not reject—nor has it ever rejected—the influences of rural culture. Performed in the Portuguese language (European variety), mainly in the second half of the 20th century and continuing to this day, it inherits various national musical traditions but has also been influenced by different foreign musical expressions:

- Coimbra ballad or fado;
- Portuguese folk songs;
- Lisbon fado;
- African rhythms and instrumentation;

- The revolutionary songbooks from Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and Russia, particularly from the workers' movement, the Spanish Civil War, and the Resistance during World War II;
- The Chilean *nueva canción* (Violeta Parra, Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Víctor Jara...) and from other Latin American countries (Atahualpa Yupanqui, Mercedes Sosa, Pablo Milanés, Silvio Rodríguez...);
- Some Brazilian music, particularly from performers whose songs clearly expressed resistance to the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985) and to social injustice, such as Chico Buarque, Edu Lobo, Nara Leão, Zélia Barbosa, Elis Regina, Ivan Lins, and singers from the *tropicalista* movement, among others;
- Anglo-American folk and protest songs: Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Judy Collins, Arlo Guthrie, Donovan, and many others;
- The French *chanson* and its critical variants (Brassens, Léo Ferré, Brel, Reggiani, Ferrat, Catherine Ribeiro...), and the singer-songwriters from Spain: Paco Ibañez, Joan Manuel Serrat, Pi de la Serra, Manolo Díaz, Amancio Prada, Patxi Andión, among many others...

The Portuguese protest song (*canto de intervenção* is an expression used by, for example, Raposo, 2014) is, moreover, a musical expression—or, to be more precise, a musical-literary expression—in which the *word* and its power to “awaken consciousness” carry particular weight. Therefore, the frequent use of poetry written by well-regarded writers (Daniel Filipe, Reinaldo Ferreira, Manuel Alegre, Luís Pignatelli, Manuel da Fonseca, Carlos de Oliveira, António Gedeão, Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, Matilde Rosa Araújo, José Saramago, José Carlos Ary dos Santos...) or by composers/singers themselves, sometimes also recognized as poets, such as José Afonso, Sérgio Godinho, José Jorge Letria, and others.

As a musical-literary expression that takes a critical stance on society and its political and social dynamics, that denounces war and advocates for peace, that points out social injustices and condemns poverty and misery, that satirizes the *status quo* and makes direct or indirect appeals for social change, it was inevitable that, before the revolutionary reinstatement of democracy in Portugal (in April 1974), many of its singers and songs were banned from radio and television by the censorship of the Estado Novo regime. This, along with the inherent motivation and nature of this musical creation, is why these songs are still often referred to as “resistance songs”, especially in the case of music left to us by figures like José Afonso, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, José Mário Branco, or Luís Cília. It is not therefore not by chance that these and other names became known as “April singers” (see Raposo, 2014 on this). Curiously, in 2024, it is almost impossible to hear these and other voices on Portuguese radio.

It should be added that protest song still has practitioners in Portugal today, some of them from earlier times, such as Sérgio Godinho, Manuel Freire, Francisco Fanhais, Fausto Bordalo Dias (1948-2024), Vitorino, Janita Salomé, and the Brigada Víctor Jara. Furthermore, some songs by Xutos & Pontapés, Mão Morta, Jorge Palma, Lena d'Água & Atlântida, António Variações, João Afonso, Luís Varatojo, or more recently A Garota Não

(Cátia Mazari Oliveira) and some rappers (Rapública, Sam the Kid, Mid Da Gap, Valete, Capicua...) have inherited its critical and defiant spirit.

However, it is important to note that the works of José Afonso, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, Fausto, José Mário Branco, Sérgio Godinho, Vitorino, and others go far beyond their *engagé* or protest dimension—a term that has sometimes been used pejoratively to belittle the artistic stature of these singers and composers. All of them stood out, in fact, as remarkable creators of thematically versatile, melodically rich songs whose vitality and durability are evidenced by the numerous re-interpretations of their work by later generations of performers such as Clã, Cristina Branco, A Garota Não, and many others.

Revealing the cultural and civic significance of this form of musical expression at the time of the April 1974 Revolution and in the months that followed, is the fact that, as early as May 6, 1974, at the Pavilhão dos Desportos (Palácio de Cristal) in Porto, the 1st Free Meeting of Popular Song was held, bringing together singers and composers from various political tendencies and ideologies. Attention should be paid to the news/report broadcast made at the time by the Portuguese Radio and Television (RTP) about this important collective event, which, after the fall of fascism, would return, so to speak, to the public for the first time in a live show held in freedom, the voices and presence of those who, at the time, were the main active singer-songwriters:

José Mário Branco, the musician and composer, reads the statement of the *Colectivo de Acção Cultural* (CAC), flanked by Vitorino, and the audience applauds standing. Musicians and composers sing “Grândola Vila Morena” accompanying José Afonso (Zeca Afonso). Luís Cília sings “Exílio” by Adriano Correia de Oliveira. Fausto (Fausto Bordalo Dias) sings the song “Final” accompanied by Vitorino, Zeca Afonso, and Adriano Correia de Oliveira. Adriano Correia de Oliveira sings “Cantar de emigração” accompanied on guitar by Fausto and Vitorino; one of the musicians jokes, “None of us ever thought we would have a microphone from Emissora Nacional in front of us”. Francisco Fanhais sings the song “Corpo renascido” (with a poem by Manuel Alegre and music by Pedro Lobo Antunes) (...). Manuel Freire dedicates his performance to Teixeira Ruela and Manuel Alegre and sings “Vai no vento”. José Jorge Letria sings “Só de punho erguido” accompanied by his colleagues, who raise their fists. José Mário Branco sings the song “Alerta” accompanied by his colleagues. Zeca Afonso sings “Venham mais cinco” accompanied by his colleagues. (RTP Archive, <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/1o-encontro-livre-da-cancao-popular-no-porto/>, last access on 14-07-2023, my translation)

1. The pre-revolutionary period: the protagonists and the concern with childhood

Adopting an essentially historiographical and explanatory approach, I will point out the forerunners and protagonists of protest song in Portugal before April 1974. I will also draw attention to voices from other musical backgrounds that, for a certain period, aligned with protest song; and I will mention the importance that childhood had in the context of the artistic production discussed here, as well as some musical works that, in

this framework, were composed, performed, and sometimes recorded, with childhood as the motivating element or as the preferred audience.

Considered one of the greatest Portuguese composers of so-called classical music in the 20th century, Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-94), an avowed anti-fascist and communist militant, was one of the forerunners of protest song in Portugal. He initiated the composition of a series of resistance and struggle songs for choirs, known as *Heróicas*, initially included in *Marchas, danças e canções* from 1946. The cycle would develop in the following years. Despite opposition or outright prohibition by the Salazar regime, several songs were performed publicly by the Coro da Academia dos Amadores de Música under the direction of the composer himself until April 1974. A peculiarity of the cycle is that almost all the songs result from the setting to music of poems requested by Lopes-Graça from anti-fascist poets, most of them associated with the neorealist movement, a Marxist-inspired aesthetic movement with strong social and political concerns. Poets like Carlos de Oliveira, Joaquim Namorado, João José Cochofel, Armindo Rodrigues, and José Gomes Ferreira are among the contributors. Themes such as the call to resistance, political imprisonment, the awakening of consciousness, freedom, and peace are key subjects of the *Heróicas*, whose musical and literary quality, combined with rhetoric often imbued with an epic tone, made them highly effective as songs of resistance and as an incentive for struggle. Examples include “Acordai” and “Jornada” (with poems by José Gomes Ferreira), “Livre” (with a poem by Carlos de Oliveira), and many others. Mostly composed to be accompanied by the piano—featuring notable inventiveness and technical complexity—the *Heróicas* are a landmark in the history of Portuguese protest song.

Within the sociopolitical framework of the fascist dictatorship, Lopes-Graça’s generation and those immediately following took a particular interest in childhood. Subtly resistant, their works often carried social concerns, especially in the songs of Lopes-Graça’s friend, Francine Benoît (1894-1990), based on poems by the neorealist Sidónio Muralha, published in the children’s book *Bichos, Bichinhos e Bicharocos* (1949, illustrated by the renowned painter Júlio Pomar). Lopes-Graça also set to music verses by Matilde Rosa Araújo in *As Cançõezinhas da Tila* (1958-59). Other notable works include the *Duas cantigas de embalar* (1959) with a poem by António Botto and another folk poem, as well as the music composed in 1959 for the recording of the story *A Menina do Mar* by Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen.

A precursor of protest song was also the great composer and guitarist Carlos Paredes (1925-2004) (I am referring to the Coimbra guitar, with its own technical characteristics and tuning), with his extraordinary instrumental pieces, sometimes influenced by Baroque music and folk dance, and often suggestive of a call to resistance, which can be heard in the albums *Guitarra Portuguesa* (1967) and *Movimento Perpétuo* (1971), followed by others. On the other hand, sometimes using poems from great poet-musicians (such as Edmundo de Bettencourt, who published texts in the modernist journal *presença* (1927-1940)), the ballad (or fado) of Coimbra—some controversy remains regarding its designation—, of which protest singers like Luiz Goes, José Afonso, and Adriano Correia de Oliveira were initially masterful interpreters, is directly at the origin of the resistance songs/ballads of the early 1960s. The style would also influence

the compositions of Luiz Goes (1933-2012), such as “Balada do mar”, “É preciso acreditar”, “Cantiga para quem sonha”, “Homem só”, or “Toada beirã”. The essential works of Goes can be found in the albums *Coimbra do mar e da vida* (1969), *Canções de amor e de esperança* (1969), and *Canções para quase todos* (1983).

José Afonso (1929-1987) is, undoubtedly, the leading figure of protest song during this period and in the years following the April 25th, 1974, Revolution (in his early recordings, greatly supported by the excellent guitar playing and arrangements of Rui Pato). His voice, with its clear and unmistakable timbre, of great beauty and tonal range, his compositional genius, and the extreme poetic quality of his lyrics characterize this entire period and would go on to have considerable influence on younger singer-songwriters (see Engelmayer, 1999, and Fonseca, 2021). Alongside this, maintaining a strong connection with poetic writing (see Afonso, 2022), José Afonso also set to music poems by Camões, Pessoa, but also poems by his contemporary poets such as Jorge de Sena, Luís de Andrade (Luís Pignatelli), José Carlos Ary dos Santos, or Fernando Miguel Bernardes, among others. He also dedicated unforgettable ballads to childhood, such as “Menino de oiro” (1962) and “Canção de embalar” (1968).

He gained increasing popularity and penetrative power among audiences with albums such as *Baladas e canções* (1964), *Cantares de andarilho* (1968), *Contos velhos rumos novos* (1969), *Traz outro amigo também* (1970), *Cantigas do Maio* (1971) (which includes what would become the anthem of the April Revolution, “Grândola Vila Morena”), *Eu vou ser como a toupeira* (1972), and *Venham mais cinco* (1973). For the dictatorship and its repressive apparatus (Censorship and PIDE, the political police of Salazar’s dictatorship), José Afonso’s voice and work became too uncomfortable. This led to the banning of several of his songs from being played on the radio and television, the prohibition and police interruption of performances, and finally, his political imprisonment. The thematic diversity of his compositions covers political persecution and PIDE assassination, capitalist exploitation and poverty, satirical depictions of dictators and the dictatorship, hope in the arrival of a symbolic “Spring” embodied by the emblematic month of May, war, the consequences of colonialism, and racial discrimination.

The other Coimbra-based voice that stands alongside José Afonso is that of Adriano Correia de Oliveira (1942-1982), whose first single dates back to 1960. The albums *Adriano Correia de Oliveira* (1967), *O Canto e as Armas* (1969), *Cantaremos* (1970), and *Gente de aqui e de agora* (1971) are landmarks of protest singing (see CACDACO, 2022). With music of his own or composed by others (especially by the remarkable creator of songs José Niza), Adriano exhibits a strength that is sometimes lyrical, sometimes epic, with an energetic voice of unique timbre that makes his singing distinct. His songs bring us poets from various times and places, including Galicians (such as Rosalía de Castro and Curros Enríquez), particularly voices with a critical agenda like Manuel Alegre, Luís de Andrade (Luís Pignatelli), António Gedeão, António Aleixo, and Manuel da Fonseca (1972-73) (in the case of this poet, the songs with his poems were only released after the 25th of April, on the LP *Que nunca mais*, 1975). Freedom, aspirations for social and political change, war, emigration, and racism are some of the thematic lines in Adriano’s work, who also skilfully explored in his music the vein of traditional folk tunes from the mainland and

the islands. Notice how childhood also makes its presence felt in themes like “Fala do homem nascido”, with music by José Niza and a poem by António Gedeão, and “No vale escuro” (originally titled “Rapaz do bairro da lata”), with lyrics by Manuel da Fonseca and music by Adriano Correia de Oliveira himself. In the first case, one hears a sharp reflection on the human condition, and in the second, the memory of a proletarian childhood serves as a prelude to class consciousness.

Settled in France before the 25th of April, 1974, where he befriended Paco Ibañez, and frequently performing for Portuguese emigrant communities and exiles in that country, Luís Cília (1943-), with albums like *Portugal – Angola: Chants de lutte* (1964), *Portugal résiste* (1965), *O salto* (1967), *La Poésie Portugaise de nos jours et de toujours 1* (1967), *La Poésie Portugaise de nos jours et de toujours 2*(1969), *La Poésie Portugaise de nos jours et de toujours 3* (1971), and others, also became a remarkable converter of poetry into tunes, drawing on many and varied poets: Daniel Filipe, António Gedeão, José Gomes Ferreira, Ary dos Santos, José Saramago, Papiniano Carlos, Manuel Alegre, and even Luís de Camões. Cília, whose compositional and musical arrangement processes gradually became more sophisticated, was responsible for the first recording of “Avante, camarada” in 1967, which later became the official anthem of the Portuguese Communist Party, sung by another protest singer (and more), Luísa Basto.

With a clear, particularly beautiful, and expressive voice, often collaborating in José Afonso’s recordings, Francisco Fanhais (1941-) released albums like *Cantilenas* (1969) and *Canções da Cidade Nova* (1970), in which unforgettable tunes with lyrics by Sophia de Mello Breyner are performed (such as the famous “Cantata da paz”, from 1968, following an initiative against war by progressive Catholics at the Church of St. Dominic in Lisbon, with music by Francisco Fernandes). These albums also feature poetic compositions by Sebastião da Gama, António Cabral, António Aleixo, and others. Freedom of expression, poverty, war and peace, the condition of working women, Christian values, and aspirations for social justice are some of the themes that can be detected in Fanhais’s work.

Another singer-songwriter who gained popularity even before April 1974 was Manuel Freire (1942-), with EPs and singles such as *Dedicatória / Livre / Eles / Pedro Soldado* (1968); *Eles / Trova do emigrante; Trova / Lutaremos meu amor* (1968); *Pedra Filosofal / Menina dos olhos tristes* (1970); *Dulcineia / Poema da malta das naus / Canção / Fala do Velho do Restelo ao Astronauta* (1971); *Abaixo o D. Quixote / Pequenos deuses caseiros / Menina bexigosa / Ouvindo Beethoven* (1973), and others. His musical settings of significant poems by Carlos de Oliveira, José Gomes Ferreira, Gedeão, and Saramago, along with his focus on freedom and dreams, emigration, and the tragedy of war, also make the musical work of this deep and resonant-voiced singer-songwriter a landmark.

Also noteworthy are José Barata-Moura (1948-) and his albums *José Barata-Moura* (1973) and *Caridadezinha* (1973); and José Jorge Letria (1951-), with *História do José Sem Esperança / Romance da Maria Formiga / Romance do cão de guarda / Canção da gesta* (1968); *Folhetango / Conta corrente* (1971); *Tango dos pequenos burgueses / Pare, escute e olhe* (1972); *Pare, escute e olhe / Arte poética* (1972); *Até ao pescoço* (1972); *De viva voz* (1973), and others. These are voices that brought new themes to protest tunes, such as the

denunciation of paternalism, the satire of the habits of the petty to middle urban bourgeoisie, and reflections on the role of songs and poetry as a warning and more. It should be noted that both used their own well-crafted texts, and that Letria (also a poet) brought to music a text by a great fiction writer, playwright, and poetess, Hélia Correia (in the song “Arte poética”, from 1972), whose writing we will later encounter in GAC recordings. It is also worth mentioning, in passing, that both singer-songwriters made forays into literature and children’s songs (with particular success for Barata-Moura in children’s songs, as we will see in point 3 of this article).

But the three great figures of protest tunes revealed in the pre-revolutionary period, besides José Afonso and Adriano Correia de Oliveira, are undoubtedly José Mário Branco, Sérgio Godinho, and Fausto Bordalo Dias.

José Mário Branco (1942-2019), in *Seis cantigas de amigo* (1969), *Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades* (1971), and *Margem de certa maneira* (1972), gives us, in addition to his own lyrics, the poetry of Natália Correia, Alexandre O’Neill, Camões, and his musical companion Sérgio Godinho. Emigration, class struggle, the oppression of women, the socioeconomic logic of war, fear, criticism of messianism, satire of the dictatorship and its moral hypocrisy, and the condition of youth under fascism (listen to “Queixa das almas jovens censuradas”, a remarkable poem by Natália Correia) are thematic veins that run through this phase of José Mário Branco’s work. Besides his recognizable musical and technical-compositional skill, one can detect the influence of Kurt Weill (1900-1950) and Berlin cabaret music, as well as the poetry and drama of Bertolt Brecht. The excellence of this composer and performer’s arrangements would go on to influence José Afonso, and it became audible for the first time in the album *Cantigas do Maio* (1971), recorded by the singer of “Grândola Vila Morena” at Strawberry Studios in Herouville, France, with the active collaboration of José Mário Branco.

Having initially composed some songs in partnership with José Mário, Sérgio Godinho (1945-), with *Romance de um dia na estrada* (1971), *Os sobreviventes* (1971), and *Pré-histórias* (1972), presents the expressive quality of his poems and lyrics in songs of notable rhetorical power, often full of humour. These sometimes address poverty and low wages, class struggle, and the need to awaken social consciousness, while also containing touching love compositions.

As for Fausto Bordalo Dias (1948-2024), he recorded the EP *Fausto* in 1970 (with the songs “Ó pastor que choras”, “Chora, amigo, chora”, “África”, “Denúncia involuntária da atração”), bringing to the public the poetry of José Gomes Ferreira and António Avelar de Pinho, the future writer of children’s and youth books, and lyricist for various singers and bands such as Filarmónica Fraude and Banda do Casaco. The criticism of conformism and the excess of lamentation is one of the themes of these compositions. Additionally, the influence of pop music and African rhythms is evident in this singer-songwriter, whose experiences in Angola would leave a significant mark on his musical development, and who, after April 25, 1974, and until today, would become one of the most prominent voices in the musical domain that I discuss here.

Still during the pre-revolutionary period, that is, during the final years of the Salazarist-Marcellist dictatorship, it is worth mentioning some key figures from light

music and pop, as well as fado, who, under various influences (French *chanson*, sometimes jazz, rock, and American crooners), began incorporating critical elements into their songs and lyrics, which, in some way, led them to join an oppositional front to the sociopolitical and cultural *status quo* of the dictatorship, ideologically backward and censorious. Without aiming to be exhaustive, one should record some of these names and their respective songs (in a small selection), as they often feature the lyrical contribution of a remarkable engaged poet: José Carlos Ary dos Santos (1936-1984). Examples include Simone de Oliveira with “Desfolhada” (1969), Tonicha with “Menina” (1971), Fernando Tordo with “Tourada” (1973) (an unrelenting satirical portrait of the twilight of the dictatorship), and Paulo de Carvalho with “Semente” (1973) (all of these songs having lyrics by Ary dos Santos). This group also includes performers who, like the previous ones, were connected to the RTP/Eurovision Song Contests, where several of them gained recognition: one may listen to Carlos Mendes with “A festa da vida” (1972), the aforementioned Paulo de Carvalho with “E depois do adeus” (1974) (later one of the signals for the Armed Forces Movement’s revolutionary coup on April 25, 1974), as well as Duarte Mendes, Hugo Maia de Loureiro, and Samuel. In passing, the importance of a work like *Fala do homem nascido* (1972) deserves special mention, a kind of conceptual LP with high-quality music by José Niza (1938-2011) and rich orchestral arrangements by José Calvário, in which all the songs serve, so to speak, admirable poems by António Gedeão (1906-1997), performed by the beautiful voices of Carlos Mendes, Duarte Mendes, Samuel, and Tonicha.

Fala do homem nascido would become one of the undisputed landmarks of Portuguese protest music – to which we must also associate, during this period, a voice heard in duets with José Afonso in some of his recordings, Teresa Paula Brito (1944-2003) (listen to “Verdes anos”, 1963, by Carlos Paredes and the poet Pedro Tamen; and an EP of songs with poems by Maria Teresa Horta, recorded in 1971, with music by Nuno Filipe); as well as the names of Tino Flores (1947-), Pedro Barroso (1950-2020), and the bands Quarteto 1111 (led by José Cid and Tozé Brito) and Filarmónica Fraude, among several others.

Fado itself would eventually incorporate poetry of recognized quality, sometimes with a critical and contesting intent. Amália Rodrigues (1920-1999) not only sang the poetry of Luís de Camões, set to music by Alain Oulman (who was, in fact, arrested by PIDE for his connections to the democratic opposition); she also interpreted David Mourão-Ferreira (the censored and banned “Abandono”, 1962, better known as “Fado de Peniche” due to its reference to a political prison), as well as Alexandre O’Neill, Sidónio Muralha, and Manuel Alegre. In this context, another beautiful and expressive voice from fado, who collaborated in 1972 on José Afonso’s album *Eu vou ser como a toupeira*, Teresa Silva Carvalho (1935-2023), would also sing a group of poets of extraordinary quality (Camões, the poet of classicism; the romantic Almeida Garrett; the modernists Pessoa and José Régio; as well as José Afonso and Manuela de Freitas).

2. The revolutionary period: protagonists and the concern with childhood

This second period, that is, the 25th of April 1974 and the roughly two years that followed the military coup that restored freedom and democracy to Portugal, is marked, from a musical point of view, by the return of several singers from exile (José Mário Branco, Luís Cília...), by the very strong presence of protest tunes (on the radio, in recordings, in performances across the country), in which the political and ideological contradictions characteristic of these years are sometimes reflected. On the other hand, the regained freedom of expression allowed for much greater boldness in the lyrics of the songs, in terms of social and political criticism, as can be seen in the sung texts of José Afonso, Adriano, Sérgio Godinho, José Mário Branco, Fausto, and Vitorino, for example. Here and there, these texts verge on pamphleteering, and cryptic metaphors give way to more explicit messages. However, these singer-songwriters never stopped setting the works of significant poets to music, nor did they cease writing lyrics of high poetic quality for their own songs. Musical experimentation also gained ground, with Portugal's opening to the world and with greater interaction between Portuguese singers and musicians and those from other countries (Spain, France, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Angola – it is fair to highlight in this case Rui Mingas (1939-2024) –, Mozambique, Cape Verde...), often thanks to the positive influence of excellent musicians and arrangers like Júlio Pereira. The recordings of José Afonso, Fausto, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, José Mário Branco, the Grupo Outubro (Carlos Alberto Moniz, Pedro Osório, Alfredo Vieira de Sousa, Madalena Leal e Maria do Amparo) and the band Trovante (whose activity began in 1976), and others sometimes reflect the influence of different world music, with a particular emphasis on African and Latin American music.

José Afonso released fundamental albums, thereby establishing himself as a central figure: *Coro dos tribunais* (1975); *Com as minhas tamanquinhas* (1976); *Enquanto há força* (1978); *Fura fura* (1979); *Fados de Coimbra e outras canções* (1981); *Como se fora seu filho* (1983); *Galinhas do mato* (1985). The first four albums of this set constitute, in some aspects, an almost daily diary of the Revolution and the social and political tensions that marked it. They address support for the independence of the former colonies, the intensification of class struggle, the praise of the revolutionary popular movement, criticism of the Catholic hierarchy, the counter-revolution, the so-called “bombing network” (of 1975-76), and the corresponding rise of the far right, and they sing of the socialist utopia. In one of his most emblematic songs of this period, “Eu, o povo”, José Afonso brings into his music the poet Mutimati Barnabé João, a heteronym of António Augusto de Melo Lucena e Quadros, also known by the heteronyms João Pedro Grabato Dias and Frey Ioannes Garabatus, a relevant Portuguese painter, illustrator, and poet who lived in Mozambique between 1964 and 1984.

Adriano Correia de Oliveira released the albums *Que nunca mais* (1975) and *Cantigas Portuguesas* (1980). In the former, he composed excellent songs (some with Alentejo themes) to poems that the great Alentejo writer Manuel da Fonseca (1911-1993) wrote expressly for him. The arrangements by Fausto Bordalo Dias give a highly individual and positive touch to an album whose lyrics are far from detached from the Revolution and

class struggle. The texts of the folk songbook also captivated Adriano, who gave us beautiful versions of various traditional songs.

José Mário Branco recorded *A mãe* (1978), *FMI* (maxi single, 1982), *Ser solidário* (1982), *A noite* (1985), *Correspondências* (1990), *José Mário Branco ao vivo em 1997* (1997), and *Resistir é vencer* (2004). He brought his own poetry to his songs, but also used the works of Fernando Pessoa, Bertolt Brecht, Manuela de Freitas, and even Nuno Júdice. His songs focus on resistance to capitalist recovery, solidarity, encouragement of revolutionary struggle, and often contain autobiographical elements. The influence of Brecht and Weill is evident in his work, as are traces of jazz, Portuguese folk music, and Lisbon fado. It is also worth noting that José Mário Branco focused some of his songs on the universe of childhood, although the messages in the lyrics often go far beyond this theme. A good example is the beautiful “Quando eu for grande (carta aos meus netos)”, with lyrics by Manuela de Freitas (an exceptional lyricist), and the extraordinary “Canto dos torna-viagem”, which, on the album *Resistir é vencer*, is performed by the Gambozinos Choir (Bando dos Gambozinos, composed of children and directed by Suzana Ralha).

José Mário and other comrades in both music and political struggle formed the collective GAC – Grupo de Ação Cultural (essentially a true artistic product of the Revolution), which recorded the emblematic LPs *A cantiga é uma arma* (1976), followed by *Pois canté!* (1976), *E vira bom* (1977), and *Ronda da alegria* (1978). The themes in their lyrics include class struggle, the fight for housing rights, the social movement, revolutionary organization, work songs, and folk culture. Participating in the collective, among others, were José Mário Branco, Tino Flores, João Lisboa, and Fausto. The GAC’s repertoire included collective texts, folk songs, and works by poet and novelist Hélia Correia. From a strictly musical point of view, the GAC, strongly marked by the influence of José Mário Branco (see Silva, 2000), was an unparalleled experiment in the creation of a revolutionary songbook, rooted in research into folk culture, with a highly demanding instrumental, vocal, and arrangement requirements.

Sérgio Godinho, on his part, saw the release of the albums *À queima-roupa* (1974), *De pequenino se torce o destino* (1976), *Pano-cru* (1978), and many others that followed, establishing him as one of the most important singers of Portuguese urban popular music. The musical quality and the arrangements enhanced the rhetoric of the songs, making several of them remarkable, with a clear anti-capitalist inclination, especially in the records produced up until the 1980s. A highly accomplished lyrical dimension, particularly in terms of expressiveness, and a continuous reflection on the everyday nature of human and romantic relationships, would continue to mark the work of this unique voice in protest song and Portuguese song in general. As a great songwriter, Sérgio Godinho would become a lasting influence on many artists of the 1990s and beyond (some of whom would also interpret his songs), and he would embark on fruitful collaborations with Brazilian singers. It is also worth mentioning, in passing, the work of Shila in the beautiful album *Doce de Chila*, which the singer recorded in 1977 and which includes some songs written by her then-husband Sérgio Godinho. A writer of recognized merit, Godinho also dedicated a book to the songs of others, in which one can read texts

about, for example, José Afonso, José Mário Branco, Fausto Bordalo Dias, and Jorge Palma (see Godinho, 2012).

As for Fausto Bordalo Dias, he recorded the albums *P'ró que der e vier* (1974), *Um beco com saída* (1975), *Madrugada dos trapeiros* (1977), *Para além das cordilheiras* (1987), *A preto e branco* (1989), and he participated in recordings by other musicians, sometimes with his clearly identifiable arrangements, as is the case in *Que nunca mais* by Adriano Correia de Oliveira. This was followed by a phase of travel and reflection on the history of Portugal and the “identitarian vocation” of its people, which began with the masterpiece *Por este rio acima* (1982), inspired by the classic travel narrative *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto (1510/14?-1583), and continued in other albums. Revolutionary action, agrarian reform, workers’ struggles, environmental themes, a fascination with Africa, lyrical love songs, and African identity gave content and a unique character to Fausto’s songs, which are made singular by the artist’s voice and a strong percussive texture. Alexandre O’Neill, Daniel Filipe, Eugénio de Andrade, Mário-Henrique Leiria, Reinaldo Ferreira, as well as African poets António Jacinto, Viriato da Cruz, José Craveirinha, and other Angolan and Mozambican poets, significantly enriched the poetic dimension of many of Fausto’s musical compositions.

A performer who collaborated on José Afonso’s albums (as did his brother Janita), Vitorino Salomé (1942-), on the other hand, recorded *Semear salsa ao reguinho* (1975), *Os malteses* (1977), *Não há terra que resista* (1979), and subsequently several albums of different nature. Coming from Alentejo—one of the regions where the Revolution played out in a particularly tense and vivid manner—it is natural that the struggle of Alentejo peasants for land and Agrarian Reform would mark the song repertoire he proposed during these years. His beautiful voice and melodic sense, combined with a faintly anarcho-syndicalist stance, became his trademarks, even on stage. He also offered us touching musical renditions of notable poets such as Manuel da Fonseca, Luís Pignatelli (Luís de Andrade), and António José Forte, as well as magnificent texts from traditional folk songs.

Vitorino’s brother, Janita Salomé (1947-), a member of the group *Cantadores de Redondo*, gave us *O cante da terra* (1978), and later, as a solo artist, the albums *Melro* (1980) and *A cantar ao sol* (1983). Other albums of recognized importance and sophistication followed, invariably demonstrating the singer’s admirable vocal quality and strength, as well as his fidelity to Alentejan roots, alongside a propensity for dialogue with the music, rhythms, and voices of the Maghreb. It is also noteworthy that, in 2006, the Salomé brothers recorded *Utopia: Vitorino e Janita Salomé Cantam José Afonso (Ao vivo)*, marking their tribute to that singular and guiding figure of Portuguese song (not only of protest songs) who was the author of “Grândola Vila Morena”. Their collaborations with other musicians and voices, such as Filipa Pais, should also be mentioned, particularly in the collective project *Lua Extravagante*, released as an album in 1991, with the singer releasing her first solo album, *L’Amar*, in 1996.

Just as before 1974, after the 25th of April, performers and composers from other musical genres came to join the ranks of those who supported the Revolution, and, at times, they left us with powerful and impactful songs that, if not revolutionary, were at

least reformist. Some names include: the great fado figure Carlos do Carmo (1939-2021), Luísa Basto, Samuel, Fernando Tordo, Paulo de Carvalho, Carlos Mendes, Tonicha, Nuno Gomes dos Santos, Pedro Barroso, Ermelinda Duarte (interpreter of the popular song “Somos livres”, from 1974, which contains something both childishly innocent yet also revolutionary), Maria Guinot, Jorge Palma, and others. Carlos Alberto Moniz, who also collaborated with José Afonso on some albums, and his then-partner Maria do Amparo, as well as their comrades in Grupo Outubro were prominent between 1974 and 1976, both on radio and television, and in performances, with songs like “Força, força, companheiro Vasco” (1975), supporting the Prime-minister Vasco Gonçalves, and other protest songs. Meanwhile, various musical collectives more or less involved in this movement emerged, such as SARL and Gemini. In 1976, Trovante, led by João Gil and Luís Represas, began their musical career. The band successfully fused elements of Portuguese popular music, rock, jazz, and even fado, and, along with their original lyrics, they occasionally set the verses of poets such as Florbela Espanca, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Maria Rosa Colaço, António Aleixo, and others to music.

José Carlos Ary dos Santos (linked to the Portuguese Communist Party) and Joaquim Pessoa (1948-2023) are perhaps the poets most closely associated with numerous lyrics for the songs of various composers and/or performers—Fernando Tordo, Paulo de Carvalho, Carlos do Carmo, and others—many of whom continued to actively participate in the RTP/Eurovision Song Contests even after the Revolution.

Moreover, groups like Brigada Víctor Jara, Ronda dos Quatro Caminhos (founded in 1983), and others deepened, in various recordings, the revisitation and recreation of Portuguese folk music (a recreation that was faithful to its roots). Later, singer Né Ladeiras, who came from the band Banda do Casaco (1974-1984), would also join this movement as a solo artist. Banda do Casaco, for its part, fused a certain ethnographic dimension with pop, investing in high-quality lyrics written by António Avelar de Pinho, while not shying away from social criticism, much like what had happened with Filarmónica Fraude, which Pinho had also helped to mentor. The musical quality of the collective was ensured not only by compositions largely written by Nuno Rodrigues but also by the excellence of the instrumentalists who were part of the group, some of whom came from the jazz scene (Celso de Carvalho, Carlos Zíngaro, and others).

To conclude, it is worth mentioning that the freedom gained with the 25th of April 1974, combined with the breath of fresh and revitalizing air that, from a psycho-pedagogical and didactic perspective, swept through Portuguese schools and changed the way childhood and children’s rights were viewed and respected, is, in my opinion, at the root of a fruitful movement, although not a structured one. Partially driven by some of the protest singers and musicians (Sérgio Godinho, José Barata-Moura, Vitorino, João Lóio, and others), this movement is, in a way, the origin of a renewed songbook for children, if I may use the expression. And recalling songs from the mid-1970s that were extremely popular on television and radio, such as “Joana come a papa”, “A banhoca da Rita e do André”, “A Cidade do Penteadado”, “Olha a bola, Manel”, “Fungagá da Bicharada”, I would like to highlight, in this context, the humour and playful effectiveness of the children’s songbook created (both lyrics and music) by José Barata-Moura—a figure who

would later become a renowned Marxist philosopher, university professor, and rector of the Classical University of Lisbon. In Porto, special mention should be made of the composition, direction, and recording work carried out since 1975 by Suzana Ralha and her Bando dos Gambozinos, in high-quality partnerships with poets such as Manuel António Pina, Matilde Rosa Araújo, Luísa Ducla Soares, Regina Guimarães, João Pedro Mésseder and many others.

I conclude, therefore, with a simple listing of some of these works, or at least of those I consider, up until this moment, to be the most relevant, placing first, and before the “&” sign, the author of the music:

1. Jorge Constante Pereira & Matilde Rosa Araújo, Sidónio Muralha, Maria Alberta Menéres, Sérgio Godinho – *Cantigas de ida e volta*, LP, 1975. Interpretations by Sérgio Godinho, Fausto, Shila, Vitorino, Janita and Carlos Salomé, Paulo Godinho, and others.
2. José Barata-Moura – *Obra infantil completa de José Barata Moura*, 4 CDs, 2005 (includes songs composed and recorded between 1975 and the mid-1980s).
3. Suzana Ralha and others with Bando dos Gambozinos (founded in 1975) – songs with poems by various poets. Examples:
 - 3.1. Jorge Constante Pereira and Suzana Ralha & Various – *Berlindes*, cassette and LP, 1980.
 - 3.2. Suzana Ralha & Manuel António Pina, Teresa Muge – *O Beco dos Gambozinos*, LP, 1987.
 - 3.3. Suzana Ralha & José Cunha and others – *Iniciação Musical dos 3 aos 12 anos*, book and audio cassette, 1990.
 - 3.4. Suzana Ralha & Regina Guimarães – *Nas Sete Quintas I – Expressão Musical*, primary education, and *Nas Sete Quintas II – Expressão Musical*, primary education, teacher’s book, student notebook, and audio cassettes (2 vols.), 1999.
 - 3.5. Suzana Ralha & Luísa Ducla Soares – *Vinte e Cinco*, CD, 1999.
 - 3.6. Suzana Ralha and others & Álvaro Magalhães, João Pedro Mésseder, José Vaz, Luísa Ducla Soares, Manuel António Pina, Matilde Rosa Araújo, Rui Pereira, and others – *A Casa do Silêncio*, book and double CD, 2000 (Celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Gambozinos).
 - 3.7. Suzana Ralha & Filipa Leal, João Pedro Mésseder, Joaquim Castro Caldas, Jorge Sousa Braga, José Mário Branco, Luís Nogueira, Luísa Ducla Soares, Matilde Rosa Araújo, Rui Pereira – *Com Quatro Pedras na Mão*, book and CD, 2008.
 - 3.8. Suzana Ralha & Luísa Ducla Soares – *Canto dos Bichos*, CD, 2008.
 - 3.9. Suzana Ralha & Various – *Trinta por uma Linha*, CD, 2008.

- 3.10. Suzana Ralha and others & Filipa Leal, João Pedro Mésseder, José Mário Branco, Luísa Ducla Soares, Manuel António Pina, Regina Guimarães, Rui Pereira, Sidónio Muralha, Teresa Muge – *Sem falta*, CD, 2020.
4. Shila, Sérgio Godinho & Sidónio Muralha – *O burro e o grão / O papagaio*, single, 1979.
5. Fernando Lopes-Graça & Eugénio de Andrade – *Aquela nuvem e outras*, 1987 (there are different recordings of this cycle).
6. Carlos Alberto Moniz, José Cid, Sérgio Godinho, Tozé Brito & Maria Alberta Menéres – *Histórias e canções em quatro estações*, 4 books with cassettes, 1988.
7. Vitorino – *Cantigas de encantar: pelos porquinhos e o lobo mau*, book with audio cassette, 1989.
8. João Lóio & João Lóio, João Paulo Seara Cardoso – *O Segredo Maior – Canções a Brincar*, book with CD, 2006.
9. João Lóio & Manuel António Pina, José Carretas, João Lóio – *Basta imaginar*, book with CD, 2017.
10. Jorge Constante Pereira (1941-2023) & Sérgio Godinho. *Os amigos do Gaspar*, puppet TV series, created by João Paulo Seara Cardoso, 1986 and 1989. See: <https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=canção+dos+abraços+sérgio+godinho&view=detail&mid=34BD8F7B6A9B9ABFCF3634BD8F7B6A9B9ABFCF36&FORM=VIRE>

Analyzing the available creations in the field of children's songs, one can perhaps say that José Barata Moura, Suzana Ralha & Os Gambozinos, Jorge Constante Pereira, and João Lóio are, in some way, the continuators of a line of "protest songs for adults", represented, for example, by Sérgio Godinho and José Mário Branco.

In children's songs, Manuel António Pina, Luísa Ducla Soares, Regina Guimarães, and others who began publishing from the 1970s onward seem to be among the poets whose texts were most often turned into songs. In protest songs, besides the lyrics of the singer-songwriters themselves, there are notable lyrics and poems from poets associated, either fully or partially, with the neorealist movement such as Carlos de Oliveira, José Gomes Ferreira, Manuel da Fonseca, Sidónio Muralha, and others, as well as poets from later generations whose works also reveal a socio-critical and even political dimension, such as António Gedeão, Manuel Alegre, Luís de Andrade (Luís Pignatelli), José Carlos Ary dos Santos, Joaquim Pessoa, António Cabral, Nuno Gomes dos Santos, and others.

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Bionote

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Abstract

This study proposes a critical overview enhancing almost twenty texts especially aimed at children that fictionalise the Carnation Revolution in different ways, in some cases alluding to its antecedents and contrasting them with the period after the establishment of democracy. Textual corpus is made up of books/texts by relevant Portuguese writers, such as Manuel António Pina, António Torrado, Luísa Ducla Soares, José Jorge Letria or João Pedro Mésseder, and by illustrators, such as Manuela Bacelar, Marta Madureira, João Caetano or André Letria. This is a remarkable collection of works with high aesthetic-literary quality, which are important in shaping literary competence and in the process of literary education. They involve and challenge the reader, contributing to the preservation of memory, and also playing a fundamental role in stimulating the reading of the world-text, which is very necessary for the younger generations.

Keywords: Portuguese Children's Literature, Carnation Revolution, Historical and literary memory

Resumo

Este estudo propõe uma visão crítica que valoriza quase duas dezenas de textos especialmente dirigidos ao público infantil que ficcionalizam a Revolução dos Cravos de diferentes formas, nalguns casos aludindo aos seus antecedentes e contrastando-os com o período posterior à instauração da democracia. O *corpus* textual é constituído por livros/textos de autores portugueses relevantes, como Manuel António Pina, António Torrado, Luísa Ducla Soares, José Jorge Letria ou João Pedro Mésseder, e por ilustradores, como Manuela Bacelar, Marta Madureira, João Caetano ou André Letria. Trata-se de um conjunto notável de obras de elevada qualidade estético-literária, importantes na formação da competência literária e no processo de educação literária. Envolvem e desafiam o leitor, contribuindo para a preservação da memória e desempenhando

também um papel fundamental no estímulo à leitura do texto-mundo, tão necessário às gerações mais novas.

Palavras-chave: Literatura Infantil Portuguesa, Revolução dos Cravos, Memória histórica e literária

On the 50th anniversary of April 25, 1974

Esta é a madrugada que eu esperava
O dia inicial inteiro e limpo
Onde emergimos da noite e do silêncio
E livres habitamos a substância do tempo
Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen

This is the dawn I've been waiting for
The first full, clear day
Where we emerge from the night and the
silence
And free we inhabit the substance of time

1. Introduction

Children's literature is understood as a special system for validating values and shaping world views, which is aimed at the reader-citizen in training. It thus represents a special collection that needs to be taken into consideration and revisited. This revisiting is increasingly important given the urgency to recover historical memory, particularly among the younger generations. We are living at a time when history is in danger of being wiped out (a convenient truth for those within certain socio-political circles), when all that prevails is the 'foam of the days', and when attempts are being made – often with clear intent – to distort and evoke certain historical periods as if they were a fictional text. At such a time as this, it seems there is an urgent need to address a moment like the 25th of April, 1974, together with its antecedents and aftermath. In fact, the preservation of memory, and its construction through literary reading, are of crucial importance today:

Reading or being given something to read to create memory... Because depriving young people of literature is denying them the possibility of reliving history through fiction. Fiction rooted in life, recreating what historiography was unable or unwilling to tell. Fiction that involves and challenges the

reader, fostering identifications, stimulating a critique of the present anchored in a 'lived' understanding of the time that has passed. Reading. Reading to (re)live, create memory, convert it into a legacy and a pillar of active citizenship. This is one of the purposes of writing. And of children's and youth literature.

(Ramos, Gomes, & Silva, 2009)

This study presents a selection of books to read or to be given to read which, in different ways, recreate the 25th of April, thus reviving memory, a collective memory, revised through fiction and now also cemented through literature that has children as its potential extratextual recipients.

2. A note on children's literature that "prepared for April"

In the period between the Military Dictatorship (1926-1933) and the Estado Novo – or New State – (1933-1974), under the rule of Salazar, children's literature was hampered by the 'natural' constraints of a repressive, totalitarian regime that controlled every aspect of culture and society. When, in 1950, the censorship services issued their *Instructions for Children's Literature*, they did not favour the creation or dissemination of "independent" literary expressions or those not adhering to Salazar's ideology. Although we can recognise the emergence of unique literary voices, whose presence in the history of Portuguese children's literature is unquestionable (they will be briefly mentioned below), there was a proliferation of conservative texts in line with the regime whose main aim was indoctrination. "Fending off" censorship was not an easy task for authors who wrote especially for the young. However, there are several examples of published works that, due to their ideological and thematic configuration, clearly at odds with the precepts of the state, seem to have escaped the "blue pencil". Such texts clearly announced a renewing impulse, a civic awareness and a desire to awaken consciousness, which, although mainly anticipated to be read by children and young people, inevitably also reached the adults who accompanied them. In short, they are a collection of texts for children which, despite the constraining environment, sought in some way to innovate and reveal their authors' intention to remain independent.

Many of these literary figures or writers, attentive to children and the defence of their rights, acted with the necessary discretion and subtlety during the Salazar regime. Through their socio-political and/or pedagogical-cultural intervention and their writing, one of the forms of action they took was to help "prepare for April", stimulating reflection through the literary word and calling for change. Papiniano Carlos, with his *A Menina Gotinha de Água* (1963), praised energy and unity. Luísa Ducla Soares and her *A História da Papoila* (1972) did the same, whispering about the vital importance of freedom. But before that, for example, Sidónio Muralha, in the poems "Grilos e Grilões" and "Joaninha", from *Bichos, Bichinhos e Bicharocos* (1949), thematised oppression and social inequalities, as well as poverty. Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, in *A Noite de Natal* (1959), fictionalises two different childhoods with special delicacy. António Torrado, in *O Veado*

Florido (1972), also emphasises the indispensability of freedom for beauty, dreams and life, suggesting his opposition to dictatorial precepts. Matilde Rosa Araújo is also one of those who, in several books (*O Sol e o Menino dos Pés Frios*, from 1972, is one of them), did not hide her anguish and solidarity with the many unprotected or helpless children she came across.

3. Children's literature and the 25th of April: Memory(ies)

Without intending to be exhaustive but seeking to emphasise the technical-compositional and ideo-thematic singularities of each selected volume, the approach taken by this research is to revisit eighteen works/texts that fictionalise the Carnation Revolution in different ways, in some cases alluding to its antecedents and contrasting them with the period after the establishment of democracy.

The study will thus present a reading of a representative textual corpus that includes different narratives, listed here in chronological order (date of first edition).

This overview begins with *História de uma Flor*, by Matilde Rosa Araújo (1976/1983/2008).



Figure 1. *História de uma Flor* book cover.

Published for the first time in 1976, in the collection «Cadernos da Juventude e Cultura»/12, under the title *Vamos Contar...* and subtitled «Três Histórias de Matilde Rosa Araújo e Manuel Ferreira» which includes the short stories «O Homem e o Carneiro» [by Manuel Ferreira], «O Cágado e o Lagarto» [by Manuel Ferreira] and the narrative under analysis here, this text by Matilde Rosa Araújo was also reprinted in 1983 in the book *A Velha e o Bosque*. *História de uma Flor* was published independently in 2008 by Editorial Caminho, with expressive illustrations by João Fazenda.

In her own tone and timbre, the author symbolically fictionalises the grey, dark and sunless time of the dictatorship, as experienced by a flower, contrasting it with another time when Spring appears and opens «curtains of light». A beautiful flower – which the text doesn't differentiate, but Fazenda's illustrations recreate as a red carnation – is a symbol of hope, as is the music itself and the gesture of a child picking it. Themes such

as freedom, friendship, fraternity, joy and dreams permeate the narrative and give a glimpse of the thematised context:

There were red flowers everywhere in the streets. On the chests of women, men, in the eyes of children, in the silent barrels of rifles.

It wasn't even a war or a party.

It was the world with an open heart.

(Araújo, 2008, s./p.)

Another significant work that has been reissued is Manuel António Pina's *O Tesouro* (1993/2005/2013).

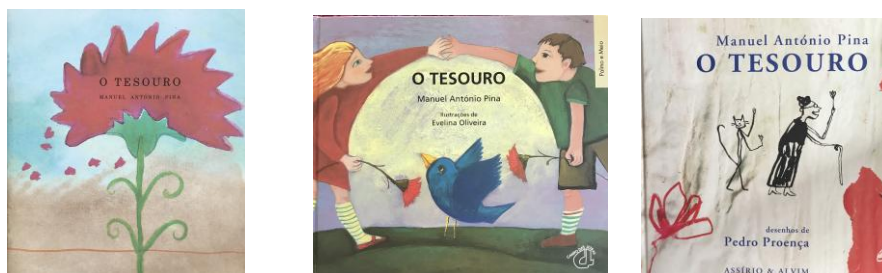


Figure 2. *O Tesouro* book covers.

This short narrative has become one of the most widely read in school contexts, first published in 1993 by the April 25th Association, with soft illustrations by Manuela Bacelar. It was reissued with a more dominant and stronger pictorial component by Evelina Oliveira, and then again, in 2013, with artwork by Pedro Proença.

The leitmotif of this work is memory and a crucial moment in recent history, the Carnation Revolution. Manuel António Pina fictionalises the before, during and aftermath of 25 April 1974, ending with an appeal for «Freedom Day» to be forever remembered and for this «Country of Sad People» never to return. This very expressive short story is written in a lively and emotional register, punctuated by metaphor, polysyndetic structures with an enumerative function, and sensory notation, evoking sights and sounds. We can, for example, detect the crossing of a set of binomials with important expressive and symbolic connections, namely: the «grey» state of mind of the people vs. the «blue» scenery that surrounds them; their closed and silent appearance vs. their frank, open and conversational essence; silence vs. song; the past vs. the present; the country of sad people vs. the lands of visitors; fear vs. courage; oppression vs. freedom; and dictatorship vs. democracy.

A final note to underline is the fact that, in 1999, João Botelho directed the film *If Memory Exists*, based on this short story by Manuel António Pina.

Capitães de Abril (1999) is one of several other works that José Jorge Letria, a major literary figure and renowned singer-songwriter, has written in the field of children's historiographical fiction and, more specifically, based on 25 April 1974.



Figure 3. *Capitães de Abril*, book cover.

In this short narrative, limited to the historical moment of the Carnation Revolution, the focus is on the actions of the young officers in favour of Democracy and Freedom. Thus, in José Jorge Letria's writing, Salgueiro Maia, Vasco Lourenço and Melo Antunes – to name just a few – appear almost as if mythologised.

History is told in an accessible and objective tone, with a clear concern for accuracy, veracity and detail. In fact, in the context of *Capitães de Abril*, factuality, a characteristic of historical novels, appears to be a basic feature of the entire literary construction. The narrator, for example, although situated at an extradiegetic level, seems to have lived what he is telling, with a deep knowledge of the history that serves as a backdrop to the narrative, and his omniscient status is therefore evident. The characters, «fictional figures» who occasionally intervene in the diegesis and seem to have an almost subsidiary status, do not play a central role in the work. Rather, it can be argued that they serve to lend verisimilitude to the presence and discourse of the historical figures.

In five parts, J.J. Letria's book begins with the particular scenario of João and Teresa, a young couple who, on the morning of 25 April 1974, hear on the radio that the Armed Forces Movement has taken over «the military and political situation throughout the country» (Letria, 1999, p. 5). It denounces a series of problems that Portugal was suffering from before the April Revolution, most acutely, the drama of the Colonial War, imprisonment and exile for political reasons.

It is perhaps for this reason that the narration oscillates between the historical present, identified with the «magic hours» (idem, ibidem: 14) of 25 April, and a time evoked or viewed by means of analepsis. Whenever the story moves backwards and the narrator refers to Portugal's isolation, generalised poverty, the issue of emigration, the actions of the PIDE/DGS, the exiles or the soldiers in Africa, there is an almost suffocating bitterness and disenchantment:

Indignation and revolt was what he felt when the police arrested a large number of Catholics who were holding a vigil in the Rato chapel in Lisbon, or when he saw policemen and dogs mistreating hundreds of people at the Congress of the Democratic Opposition in Aveiro, or when one day, at dawn around seven o'clock, they rang his front door and took his brother into

custody, with no definite charges, no right to visitors and no date set for his trial. (idem, ibidem, p. 48).

On the other hand, in the narrative moments coinciding with the Carnation Revolution or with the future possibilities inaugurated by this movement, the discourse becomes clearer, more enthusiastic, more emotional:

Those were (...) the days of euphoria and hope without limits or reservations. (idem, ibidem, p. 38); People were once again proud of their flag and the intense beauty of its colours. (idem, ibidem, p. 39); In the eyes of the soldiers there were signs of deep fatigue, but there were also unmistakable marks of joy. They were living and making history, peacefully realising, without blood or humiliation, the dream of several generations of Portuguese, born and raised in a dictatorship, who knew no other reality than fear, mistrust and terror. (idem, ibidem, p. 53).

As a result, the lens of the narrator of *Capitães de Abril* is attentive and concerned not to omit any fact. That is why the text is dense, in terms of references to the places that were the stage for the April demonstrations (Rossio, Terreiro do Paço and Largo do Carmo), the preparatory meetings for the Revolution, the songs that were decisive at the time (and which are now symbolic) («E depois do Adeus», by Paulo de Carvalho, and «Grândola, Vila Morena», by Zeca Afonso), the names of the journalists who read the first communiqués (Luís Filipe Costa or Joaquim Furtado) or the posters by Vieira da Silva and João Abel Manta.

In short, *Capitães de Abril* is a book full of rigorous notes, but skilfully organised and literarily treated, thus representing an example of how History, Memory and Fiction often go hand in hand.

Released on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the April Revolution, *Vinte Cinco a Sete Vozes* by Alice Vieira (1999/2008/2012) is a narrative with an ambivalent addressee, in that it does not seem to be aimed solely at young readers.



Figure 4. *Vinte Cinco a Sete Vozes* book covers.

This is a volume that is part of the «Caminho de Abril» Collection and which is the result of an initiative by Editorial Caminho to mark the 25th anniversary of 25 April. To make it happen, the publisher invited a group of authors, almost

all of them published by Caminho, to write a piece of fiction with the theme, directly or indirectly, of 25 April 1974.

The work presents a set of seven different voices (narrators) – in seven chapters – that make up a very lively account, very much in the style of its author, with assiduous humour and a verisimilar register: «... Then the 25th of April... To be honest, 25 April, 5 October, 1 November, 1 December and 1 May are all the same thing, in other words, it's a holiday and that's what matters...» (Vieira, 2008, p. 11).

The recreation of 25 April is conceived using characters belonging to different age groups and different social classes, a strategy that serves to convey a range of points of view and a plural vision of the historical moment in question. With school and family settings, the action is triggered by a young trainee who is preparing a master's dissertation on the 25th of April. She begins her research by approaching a young man who is completely unaware of the Carnation Revolution and it is from there that, meeting different figures, she discovers what each of them knows, thinks and, indeed, feels.

The outcome is a happy one because, as you can read in the peritext on the back cover of the book, «since freedom can also be celebrated hand in hand in a city shopping centre...».

The narrative *O Soldado e o Capitão os Cravos e o Povão*, by Valdemar Cruz (1999), has a different tenor.

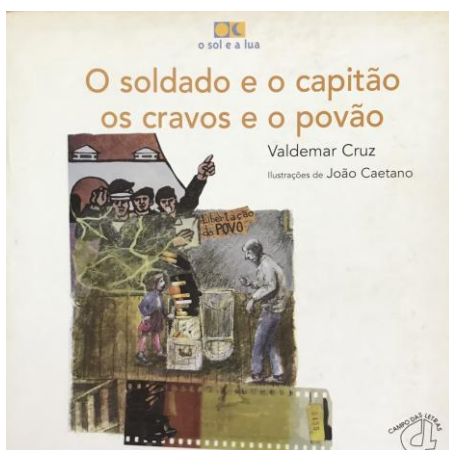


Figure 5. *O Soldado e o Capitão os Cravos e o Povão* book cover.

Rereading the fourth edition of this work, published by Campo das Letras, written by Valdemar Cruz and expressively illustrated by João Caetano, we see a story whose central theme is a decisive moment in Portugal's history.

Through the accessible and «close» voice of a father and mother, and through an evocative process based on a set of deeply symbolic «objects», Valdemar Cruz's book tells

us about the political and social state of Portugal before the 25th of April, as well as some episodes relating to the specific moment of the Revolution.

A school request – an exhibition about 25 April 1974 – piques the curiosity of a little girl, Mafalda, who sets off in search of answers that will unravel the mystery of the event. The main key to the enigma lies in a «chest of memories», a «mysterious chest» (Cruz, 1999, p. 8), a kind of memory vault, which allows for a more real contact with the recent past – albeit distant for many, like Mafalda and André, characters perplexed by the stories of history told in the text under analysis. Thus, the retrospective narrative is constructed in dialogue (according to the scheme: question from the child-answer from the adult) and suggesting an inter-generational experience, always based on a variety of iconographic 'documents'/material that are discovered and commented on, such as copies of the *Jornal de Notícias* and *O Século* newspapers, a photograph of an uncle who died in the war in Angola, pamphlets, remnants of flags, cassettes with recordings of songs by Zeca Afonso and Paulo de Carvalho, and even some reels of 8 mm film.

While the references to the Estado Novo [dictatorial government] era are undoubtedly central, we also see a kind of «play of times», consisting of a return to the past and its understanding, facilitated by the constant links to the present, the references and the world known to Mafalda. The relationship with the present – and inevitably with young readers – also takes place at the level of the language, sometimes close to slang: «Damn! You're impossible to put up with. What now?» (idem, *ibid*, p. 13); «– You metallic – shouts Mafalda. – You little Spice – replies André» (idem, *ibidem*, p. 26).

One of the decisive aspects of *O Soldado e o Capitão os Cravos e o Povão*, which also relates to the past-present crossover and the interconnection between historical narration and fictional narration, is undoubtedly the creative illustrations that accompany the writing. Created by João Caetano, these are essentially the result of collages and overlays and include extracts from documents relating to 25 April, combined with representations of the characters and situations told at the level of the diegesis.

Valdemar Cruz's book, disguised as a children's story, therefore offers, in an informal, lively and accessible way, a series of rigorous historical facts that highlight, in an almost moralising tone, the «astonishing» clash with today's reality, such as the actions and persuasive means of PIDE, the secret police, or the fact that there are no free elections. Thus, if the author's main intention in writing *O Soldado e o Capitão os Cravos e o Povão* was educational, with the aim of explaining to readers, preferably children, the background and meaning of one of the crucial periods in our 20th century history, it seems clear that this objective was achieved, offering an appealing and aesthetically pleasing outlook that will certainly capture the attention of the youngest readers.

José Vaz's *A Fábula dos Feijões Cinzentos* (2000) is quite different.

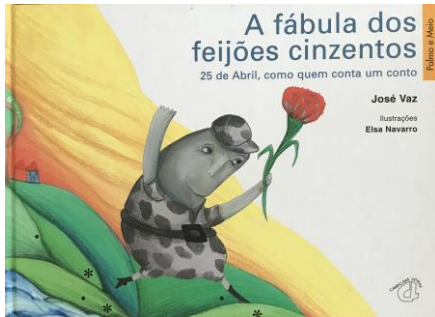


Figure 5. *A Fábula dos Feijões Cinzentos* book cover.

In a process typical of fables – a literary genre announced in the title of the work itself – José Vaz's book grows from a set of personifications and metaphors that transport us to a world inhabited only by humanised beans: «a kingdom called “Jardim-à-Beira-Mar-Plantado”» (Vaz, 2000, p. 1). The story is therefore characterised by different types of beans – «the cranberry, the black-eyed peas, the White, the Canary, the Millet, the Green, the Butter, the Red, the Creeping, the Galician, the Black, the Striped and the Tick.» (idem, ibidem, p. 1) – which, from a real perspective, correspond both to different players in the construction of freedom and democracy, and to the totalitarian government of the Estado Novo.

The text is full of reasonably explicit allusions, which are also fairly perceptible to the child reader (who will clearly need adult guidance anyway) to the episodes that preceded and led to the Carnation Revolution.

And so, in the quiet and peaceful world of the beans, one day misfortune struck: «the Tick bean took over the Sun, the Fidalgo bean diverted the Water to its place and the black-eyed peas took over all the Air there was.» (idem, ibidem, p. 2). This is a clear allusion to the Dictatorship, and it is from here that the story of the beans' forty-eight-year-long life begins, without the “freedom to create” (represented by the Sun), without the equal sharing of what there was (symbolised by the Water) and without the right to even think and have different ideas (represented by the Air).

Faced with the oppression that such a state represented, there was a Red Bean (note the intentional choice of colour, testifying to the revolutionary initiative) who brought together comrades and quietly instigated the insurrection. It was then, accompanied by the Canary bean, that he «sowed songs in the wind with words that nobody could use in the very beautiful, small rectangular kingdom» (idem, ibidem, p. 7).

And it was from these and other initiatives that history was made and everything – censorship, unequal rights for men and women, unfounded accusations, war? – everything, we said, after many sacrifices, became Spring again in the «Garden by the Sea».

It's interesting to note that the author respects the paradigms of literary construction linked to the fable, not only because he takes an element of nature and

brings it to life, making it a hero, but also since he recreates the idea of a distant land and, furthermore, does not refer directly to a specific geographical space.

In addition, and by way of conclusion, José Vaz's *A Fábula dos Feijões Cinzentos* emanates a clear moral lesson, in keeping with the socio-political context of the historical moment motivating it: only Freedom, Fraternity and Democracy can colour the world and people. And that – and much more besides – is what the 25th of April brought.

Equally metaphorical and symbolic, the book *Vassourinha, entre Abril e Maio*, by António Torrado (2001), published on 25 April 2001, with expressive illustrations by João Abel Manta, recreates, with special subtlety, two key moments: before and after the Vassourinha revolt, in other words, before and after the Carnation Revolution.

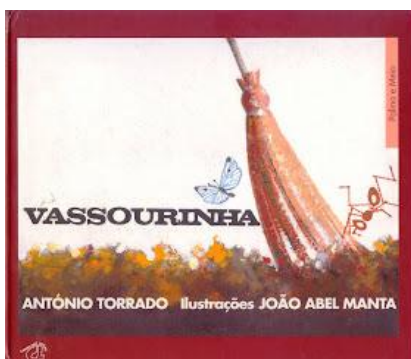


Figure 6. *Vassourinha* book cover.

The discourse of this tale is written in rhyming quatrains in an engaging rhythm, which employs successive lexical and phonetic wordplay, involving alliteration and repetitions, sometimes in parallel. In the first part, the narrative suggests the subservience or obedience of the «quiet, well-behaved» little broom (Torrado, 2001, p. 17), the target of dictatorship and the uncompromising vigilance of those in charge, in a «disgusting and vile time» (idem, ibidem: 18) which belongs to «Dona Senhora» (idem, ibidem, p. 21); while, the second part is marked by the dynamism and vitality of the «little broom in the street» that danced in the hands of the wind / and in such contentment / that no one expected it. // She had lost her fear forever.» (idem, ibidem, p. 23).

In a different style, José Jorge Letria's *Viagem à flor de um mês* (2002) also shows originality in the way it revisits the historical moment in question.

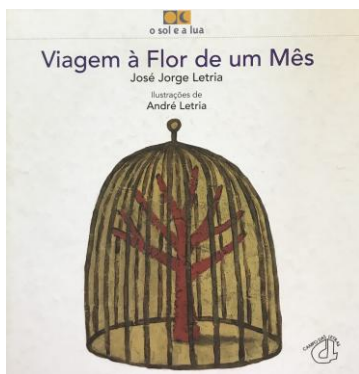


Figure 7. *Viagem à flor de um mês* book cover.

With the aim of commemorating the 25th of April in 2002, Campo das Letras published *Viagem à Flor de um Mês*, a book written by José Jorge Letria and illustrated by André Letria. Works by the same author include *O 25 de Abril Contado às Crianças... e aos Outros* (1999).

As its title suggests, *Viagem à Flor de um Mês* uses a floral metaphor to discuss the Carnation Revolution of 1974. The narrative uses the symbolism of father and son to shift continually from the repression of the past to the freedom of the present. April is described as the month which «arrived with bees and birds, with the honey of a thousand promises flowing from its wings» (Letria, 2002, p. 22) while the 25th itself is «that day of flowers in the barrels of rifles, of illuminated petals in the mouths of cannons» (idem, ibidem, p. 26).

In a highly enthusiastic and deeply emotional style of discourse, approaching that of poetry, José Jorge Letria makes constant use of metaphor, comparison, hyperbole and expressive adjectives, structuring his text on the basis of a son who calls his father to account. Thus, the tone is consistently intimate and conversational, in keeping with the character of the figures who interact here, with an intervention by the son always being followed by an «answer» from the father. Both alternately address each other directly, as if in a game of question and answer or a dramatic dialogue between just two actors.

In this way, a wide range of emotions and ideas are put forward. They are undoubtedly related to the political and social context before and after the 25th of April Revolution. On the one hand, expressions of disenchantment stand out – such as «a sick and sad city, a time of withered roses in the dry soil of the flower beds» (idem, ibidem, p. 6) or «tired and dry voice (...) sadness of the days, loneliness of the nights» (idem, ibidem: 22) – and, on the other hand, expressions of satisfaction or happiness that this ‘month called April’ (idem, ibidem, p. 43) has come to recall: «a month like this is like a magic book where anything can happen and where the moral of the story is like a rare fruit that can be broken into a thousand pieces of light and shadow.» (idem, ibidem, p. 21).

And since rewriting / recreating history is always worthwhile, *Viagem à Flor de um Mês*, by the father/son partnership of José Jorge Letria and André Letria, thus represents, almost thirty years after the 25th of April, a very special tribute to all those (children)

who, on that day, saw their parents again with a «white smile» on their lips and a «sparkle of stars» (idem, ibidem, p. 9) in their eyes.

Vergílio Alberto Vieira's *A Revolução das Letras* (2004) also fictionalises Freedom Day, celebrating its 30th anniversary.



Figure 8. *A Revolução das Letras* book cover.

In a lively and engaging discourse, Vergílio Alberto Vieira metaphorizes the date in question. A short narrative, also marked by simplicity, humour and irony, *A Revolução das Letras* narrates, in the author's distinct style, the events taken by the military, as well as the way in which the captains embodied the will of the Portuguese People. It is, therefore, a story that deviates little from history (reinforced by some illustrative segments) and which, at the end, reveals a certain disenchantment – «Between politician and military there is no spoon to be stuck in. / Because revolution, for the English to see, and the Portuguese – there it went, once upon a time...» (Vieira, 2004, s./p.) – towards the country, three decades after the day, «the great day of the barracks» (idem, ibidem, s./p.), the day when «the people were called to the streets» (idem, ibidem, s./p.) and history was made and when, finally, the «Letters» could live in freedom, after fighting for «Labour, Security, Housing».

Also written and illustrated for the 30th anniversary of 25 April, *O Rapaz da Bicicleta Azul*, by Álvaro Magalhães (2004/2011), is «dedicated to the memory of Captain Salgueiro Maia who, one day, picked the flower of freedom for us», as can be read in the peritextual text (epigraph) that opens the volume.



Figure 9. *O Rapaz da Bicicleta Azul* book covers.

Arranged in three parts – «What is freedom?», «Where is freedom?», and «The Flower of Freedom» – this short story, presented from the perspective of a young boy, follows the model of historical narrative and offers a very stimulating, indeed moving read, due to the intersection of history and fiction, of referential figures and other fictional characters, of factual events and others imagined. João, the son of an opposition activist persecuted by the regime's political police, decides to cycle to Lisbon on his blue bicycle (it should be noted that, during the Estado Novo, the man on the bicycle corresponded to the image of the clandestine anti-fascist), and ends up meeting Salgueiro Maia and reuniting with his father:

He cycled harder and through the warm morning air. He didn't know what was pushing him forward. He smelled something, but he did not know what it was. He smelled something he did not know what it was, he tasted something he did not know what it was. And that "I don't know what" was freedom. It was inside him and around him, everywhere. He too was a boy on a blue bicycle and he too carried the flower of freedom on an April morning. With it he could go wherever he wanted. So he cycled even harder and smiled in the direction of the sun. (Magalhães, 2004, p. 32).

Both António Modesto's (2004) and Marta Madureira's (2011) illustrations respond positively to the verbal text and even include certain symbolic details, providing a very engrossing reading experience.

Abril, Abrilzinho, by Manuel Freire, Vitorino and José Jorge Letria (2006), on the other hand, is made up of poetry and makes its intention explicit in an open way.



Figure 10. *Abril, Abrilzinho* book cover.

Abril, Abrilzinho is a CD-book, published in 2006 and written by José Jorge Letria, in co-authorship with Manuel Freire and Vitorino, and with illustrations by André Letria. Essentially through the medium of poetry (it includes 11 poems) and music, it revisits the universe of the April Revolution, its characters and some of its most representative and symbolic motifs.

The poems are set to music and sung by protest singers/writers, which manages to bring the listener closer to the spirit of 25 April 1974. As well as the poetic texts themselves, the way that the work is presented is also interesting, reflecting on the continued relevance of the theme and justifying it in the context of the contemporary panorama – clearly a key aim of this release. By José Jorge Letria, Manuel Freire and Vitorino, the introductory peritext, entitled «Abril x 3», notes the pedagogical function of the cd-book and sees it as a sharing of memories (see also the various photographic segments included) between the authors and the younger generations or, in the authors' words, «the folks who are learning what the world is today». In the same vein, you can read the text by Alice Vieira, an emotional piece of writing that ends in a forceful tone: «It was for you that 25 April 1974 was made. And don't spoil it.». Vasco Lourenço's testimony, which is also included in the volume, is openly historical and factual in nature, while still showing emotion: «Well done for your stubbornness in a struggle for enlightenment, for freedoms.»

With this in mind, *Abril, Abrilzinho* presents itself as being «against the oblivion that empties memories and leaves them dangerously deserted of references and values». Stemming from very strong emotions and a nostalgia which the authors fully acknowledge, the work aims to unite generations around timeless and ageless ideals.

Written by João Pedro Mésseder and with illustrations by Alex Gozblau, *Romance do 25 de Abril* (2007/2023) proposes, through poetry, a return to the past and the history of the Carnation Revolution, especially its antecedents.



Figure 11. *Romance do 25 de Abril* book covers.

In this book, the author uses the character of a boy called Portugal to personify the realities experienced during the Estado Novo, such as child labour and school absenteeism while implicitly embodying others, including illiteracy, oppression, censorship, inequalities, fear, surveillance, persecution and the colonial war. History permeates the entire narrative, which thus seems to be intentionally moving closer to the traditional novel (or epic short story), by highlighting memory and indeed the very rhythm of the writing. In the text, which is very beautiful and engaging, other voices intersect with recognisable poetic phrases, such as «I will not die without knowing the colour of freedom» (Mésseder, 2007, p. 20). The whole story unfolds expressively and also takes shape in Alex Gozblau's illustrations which play with shadows and highlights, as well as proposing suggestive and/or symbolic details, in order to recreate historical figures such as Salazar and Marcelo Caetano and evoke the moment of the victory of Freedom. The ending does not fail to record the desire for April's wishes to be realised: «See him fighting hard / so that one day / all that April promised will be fulfilled.» (idem, *ibidem*, p. 29).

«Freedom Day» is a short text in Luísa Ducla Soares' *O Livro das Datas* (2009), the 100th volume of children's literature by this leading author of Portuguese literature for the youngest readers.



Figure 12. *O Livro das Datas* book cover.

Preceded by a succinct and objective historical explanation, this short narrative involves a dialogue between a mother (who put carnations in the rifles) and her daughter. Based on empirical reality and communicating ideas simply but effectively, the discourse makes us understand what it was like at that event that «seemed like a party.» (Soares, 2009, s./p.), on the day when «(...) the Revolution won.» (Soares, 2009, s./p.). From its peaceful nature and general happiness to Salgueiro Maia and the carnations, the book reinvoques something of the essence of the 25th of April in a very accessible and appropriate way for young readers.

O 25 de Abril Contado às Crianças... e aos Outros, by José Jorge Letria (2009), is a complete and lively account, a personal testimony, also with a documentary character and once again with the aim of remembering April: «Every year has a month of April and every month of April has a 25th. But 25 April 1974 was a special day for the Portuguese» (Letria, 1999, p. 5).



Figure 13. *25 de Abril Contado às Crianças... e aos Outros* book cover.

This date has indeed become an undeniable milestone in the collective History and many individual stories of the Portuguese and, together with the whole context that preceded and followed it, the 25th of April has taken on particular relevance in children's publishing, as this overview has shown.

O 25 de Abril Contado às Crianças... e aos Outros is a book that appeared in print during the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution and features a strong visual component by the artist João Abel Manta (1888-1982).

The work is composed of eight chapters – entitled «I – So that you don't forget April», «II – Once upon a time there was a war», «III – The forbidden words», «IV – The sun beyond the bars», «V – This one goes, that one goes», «VI – “Here we go singing and laughing”», «VII – Power and the way it worked» and «VIII – A day that shook history». The book is aimed, as the title suggests, for either an extratextual children's audience or for another audience whose knowledge of the 25th of April 1974 may be limited. Above all, this story has a clear and very noble educational objective.

It thus comes as no surprise to find a colloquial tone, sometimes touching on the dialogic, in the intimate discourse of the narrator/reader and in the lively account which rings with true emotion, expressing as it does a lived reality. After all, this is an albeit brief repository of memory, a mirror of events, some personal and many others collective, which are the real motivations for writing this work. The narrator himself makes this clear right at the start of the narrative:

I'm sure you've been told about the 25th of April at home or at school, but I don't know what you've been told about its meaning and its importance for the life of Portugal. That's why I'm going to tell you this story. A personal story like all stories, but one that involves a lot of my memories of that day and everything it brought to an end. (Letria, 1999, p. 5).

Therefore, in this book by José Jorge Letria, we are invited to take a journey into the «sad, long and hard» past (idem, ibidem, p. 11) of the Colonial War, censorship, PIDE/DGS, the dictatorial government, political prisoners, Portuguese Youth, emigration and the day of the «turning point in our 20th century history» (idem, ibidem, p. 30).

25 de Abril Contado às Crianças... e aos Outros is a very different kind of book with a singular narrative, full of emotion, which discretely offers an original testimony about this crucial event of the 20th century. And given the historical moment it deals with, it never seems to be too late to do so.

Era uma vez o 25 de Abril, by José Fanha (2014/2023) also follows a fairly descriptive style.



Figure 14. *Era uma vez o 25 de Abril* book cover.

In fact, it is a documentary book, with a first-person account: «For many of my young readers, the 25th of April is something rather old that's already part of history. But I was there.» (Fanha, 2023, p. 11). José Fanha thus retells his own 25th of April, but he adds numerous facts and focuses on a series of events and circumstances prior to the April Revolution and indeed on the «days after the 25th».

Oscillating between a subjective and objective tone, the verbal discourse, spread over twenty-three chapters, is complemented by very topical iconography (photographs, posters, book covers, caricatures, illustrations, etc.), treated and arranged in a noticeably balanced and attractive way. With design by Silvadesigners, the diversity of typefaces (various fonts and letter sizes), the creativity of the layout and the prevalence of the black and red colours – all contribute to the very friendly overall impression of this volume.

Coming out right on the 50th anniversary of 25 April, *O Meu Primeiro 25 de Abril*, by José Jorge Letria (2024) is implicitly and inevitably commemorative. The first person discourse combines authorial memories with factology, evoking typical situations in the daily life of the Estado Novo, such as censorship or repressive action by force. It expresses the unity of the collective – «It was our Revolution» (Letria, 2024, s./p.) – and intervention through music, for example, significant references to José Jorge Letria himself. Many emotions are shared here – «I missed having my father still alive so that I could tell him and share my boundless joy with him. I thought about him a lot in those hours of profound change in our lives.» (Letria, 2024, s./p.). «It was the happiest day of my life» (idem, ibidem: s./p.) is the statement that closes the book, a segment to which is added an illustration that recreates the author himself, José Jorge Letria.

A final note to emphasise the fact that José Jorge Letria can be considered the author who has until now dedicated the most texts on the 25th of April to children's readers. Since literary historiography is one of the most prominent aspects of his work, this is not surprising. In addition, there are several biographical books centred on key figures in the historical and cultural context of 25 April, including Salgueiro Maia and Zeca Afonso, for example.

Before ending this section, it is worth highlighting two titles that are more openly affiliated with history/historiography.

The first is *25 de Abril Outras Maneiras de Contar a Mesma História*, by Maria Manuela Cruzeiro and Augusto José Monteiro (2000).



Figure 15. *25 de Abril Outras Maneiras de Contar a Mesma História* book cover.

The book's authors, Maria Manuela Cruzeiro and Augusto José Monteiro, appear to have conceived it as a tribute to the 25th of April aimed at readers of all ages, giving an emotional and firsthand account.

The book *25 de Abril Outras Maneiras de Contar a Mesma História* is written in a very particular way. Flowing in an intimate, colloquial style, it has a seductive quality and seems to be "winking" at the reader. It is notable both for its rigour and for the emotional way in which it evokes the facts, words, gestures and spaces that made up the history of the Carnation Revolution.

What is interesting is that, as José António Gomes points out, «This is not just a book about history. All the research, analysis and interpretative synthesis, based on a credible bibliography, are visible.» (Gomes, 2001, p. 9). Yet the brilliance of the writing, or the literary discourse, to be precise, is by no means overshadowed, since the "historical text" goes hand in hand with various writings by Manuel Alegre (Cruzeiro and Monteiro, 2001, p. 16), José Carlos Ary dos Santos (idem, ibidem, p. 61), Alexandre O'Neill (idem, ibidem, p. 51), Fernando Pessoa (idem, ibidem, p. 51), José Cardoso Pires (idem, ibidem, p. 155), Mário Castrim (idem, ibidem, p. 155), Miguel Torga (idem, ibidem, p. 27), among many others.

Enriched in this way, the narrative relating the background to the 25th of April, and the Revolution itself, denounces the repression, censorship, impositions and other sociopolitical vicissitudes that slowly led to the fall of the Estado Novo. In a second stage, coinciding with the testimonies of some of the protagonists of 25 April 74, the discourse takes on an almost epic feel, revealing what was experienced «in those liberating, exciting and festive days of April, "the best we have ever lived through"» (Monteiro, 2001, p. 12), always set against «the bitter and suffering daily life of the dictatorship» (idem, ibidem, p. 12). Maria Manuela Cruzeiro and Augusto José Monteiro's book therefore brings the reader face to face with the disenchantment that raged during the Salazar dictatorship and the euphoria that prevailed after the 25th of April Revolution.

The clarity of this book's expression together with its enthusiastic tone and the beauty in its writing and graphics, all succeed in making it a work that can both bring younger people closer to the history of the April Revolution and bring its memories alive to the younger generations.

Indeed, this is essentially what is printed on the back cover of *25 de Abril Outras Maneiras de Contar a Mesma História*:

So close and so far away – for some, the events of 25 April 1974 are a close and warm memory; for others, just a historical haze that almost only belongs to older generations. This is a book designed to counter this "opposition". The aim is to offer younger people an account of the conquest of freedom, but also to give younger people back the facts and emotions of a country in search of its own identity. (2000).

Finally, *25 de Abril*, by Ana Maria Magalhães and Isabel Alçada (2004/2018), a volume published under the auspices of the Assembly of the Republic – Publishing Division.

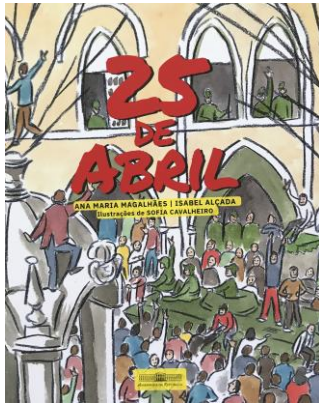


Figure 16. *25 de Abril* book cover.

Specially aimed at the «young generations, born with the privilege of being free citizens of a free country», as the opening note of the first edition states, the book presents a detailed and wide-ranging set of objective facts, spread over 20 short chapters, supported by meaningful iconography – there is a profusion of visual information in the form of various illustrations and photographs, for example. The informative and/or pedagogical-didactic intention is clear. Using a documentary style, the historiographical account is expressed in a very accessible and clear register, with some interpellative segments that serve well to hold the reader's attention: «In certain cases, the PIDE coldly murdered opponents of the regime. Does that sound like a lie? Yes, it does. So how come the Portuguese didn't revolt massively? How did they hold out for so long?» (Magalhães and Alçada, 2018, p. 19).

Due to time constraints, this study has not been able to look at several other texts which, naturally, in another context, would have deserved attention. The present work, which is nonetheless a substantial repertoire, is therefore not exhaustive, but only representative in nature, with the aim of stimulating different readers to read the texts analysed and to arouse curiosity to search for others. In addition, the composition of a list or a critically commented survey, such as the one presented here, could provide an important resource, a basic guideline for informed work to mediate/promote reading in a school context, for example.

Despite being incomplete, the following list of titles is intended to provide further resources to take into account in the same way: *Bichos de Abril*, by Carlos Pinhão (1977), *25 de Abril – Quase como um Conto de Fadas*, by Conceição Lopes and Carlos Barradas (1984), *O Caso da Rua Jau*, by Mário Castrim (1994), *L.A. e C.ª no Meio da Revolução*, by Maria Mata (1996), *Era uma vez um Cravo*, by José Jorge Letria (1999), *25 de Abril como quem conta um conto*, by Valdemar Cruz and Elsa Navarro (Campo das Letras, 2000),

Lembro-me (2013), by João Pedro Mésseder, and *25 de Abril sempre*, by Isabel César Anjo and Maria Isabel Pereira (published by Coruche Town Council) (s./d.). To these can be added *Dos abris pequenos ao Abril grande O 25 de Abril contado aos mais novos e lembrado a todos*, by João Pedro Mésseder (2024), a poem based on various key figures from the 25th of April, as well as some emotional events.

This research therefore awaits more in-depth and comprehensive studies that can include these books in their corpus and thus contribute to consolidating historical memory through literary reading.

4. Final considerations

The survey undertaken for this overview has enabled a considerable number of voices to be heard, brought to readers by several major authors of Portuguese literature for whom children are their preferred extra-textual audience. To conclude, there are around five dozen published titles dealing with the 25th of April, a considerable collection in the Portuguese context. As José António Gomes notes, «It can therefore be said that the before, the during and the after the Revolution were recreated in various and different writings. What cannot be said is that all these works are literary, even when they are produced by writers» (Gomes, 2020, p. 48).

In reality, there is a great deal of textual diversity – as this research has suggested – which makes room for very different readings, adjusted to formal and non-formal contexts, suitable for different reader profiles, and catering to different objectives (whether for information and study, for celebrating the date or simply for enjoyment). The set of works presented here include informative texts and historiographical accounts; biographical texts about prominent citizens and artists who fought for freedom; short narrative texts for first-time readers; narrative texts for average readers, of the short story or illustrated novella type; novels for pre-teens and teenagers, of different types, but with a tendency towards realism; loose poems and 'poemary' (Gomes, 2020).

There is, therefore, a considerable variety of approaches, some more objective, others more revealing of authorial empathy with the episodes narrated. In any case, historical memory seems to be at the heart of these more or less fictional writings, thus favouring an ambivalent reception. José António Gomes advocates that

as historians, disseminators and pedagogues, it is true that they also do so out of a duty of memory, to project the lessons of the past into the present and the future and to affirm that memory in the face of the whitewashers of the Salazarist and Marcelist dictatorships. The authors' aim is noble, because they are doing so with the younger generation in mind (Gomes, 2001, p. 9).

As has been seen, the act of remembrance, the active search for memories or simply the commemoration of the 25th of April have all gained literary expression, especially when it comes to literature aimed at younger readers. This is due to the fact that – and

it cannot be said enough – it is essential to evoke that turning point, the 25th of April 1974, that historic moment that put an end to a long period of dictatorship, and one of the most remarkable times in Portugal's history,

It is opportune to revisit this troubled and exciting period in Portugal's history, too politically and socially rich to be the property of a few, too humanly rich to be forgotten. Not just to remember the facts, not just to evoke its historical necessity and popular acceptance, not just to remember a before that we don't want to repeat and an after made up of the free confrontation of all wills, but perhaps above all to question its spirit made up of all spirits, so that we can get to know each other better today. (Lameiras, 1999, p. 10).

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**CHILDREN'S RIGHT TO ACCESS EARLY CHILDHOOD
EDUCATION: IN SEARCH OF DEMOCRACY AND
FREEDOM**

**O DIREITO DAS CRIANÇAS AO ACESSO À EDUCAÇÃO DE
INFÂNCIA: EM BUSCA DE DEMOCRACIA E LIBERDADE**

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Abstract

The text addresses the intersection between childhood, freedom and democracy in the context of early childhood education, highlighting the connection between the history of children and women, and their relationship to educational institutions and pedagogical ideas, in an ecosystem influenced by economic, socio-political and cultural factors. In the last two centuries, the promotion of the right to equal access to early childhood education has oscillated between social and pedagogical movements, which are interdependent but whose overvaluation of one or the other has marked the history of childhood education. The text analyses how early childhood education in Portugal has been at the service of democracy, especially in terms of access for all children to nursery schools and kindergartens, emphasising the need for the existence of conditions that guarantee the implementation of participatory and emancipatory educational practices.

Keywords: Early childhood education; Democracy; Children; Educational institutions.

Resumo

O texto aborda a intersecção entre infância, liberdade e democracia no contexto da educação de infância, destacando a ligação entre a história das crianças e das mulheres, e a sua relação com as instituições educativas e as ideias pedagógicas, num ecossistema influenciado por fatores económicos, sociopolíticos e culturais. Nos últimos dois séculos, a promoção do direito à igualdade de acesso

à educação de infância oscilou entre movimentos sociais e pedagógicos, interdependentes, mas cuja sobrevalorização de um ou de outro marcou a história da educação de infância. Neste artigo analisa-se o modo como a educação de infância em Portugal tem estado ao serviço da democracia, nomeadamente no que se refere ao acesso de todas as crianças às creches e jardins-de-infância, sublinhando a necessidade da existência de condições que garantam a implementação de práticas educativas participativas e emancipatórias.

Palavras-chave Educação infantil; Democracia; Crianças; Instituições educativas

Introduction

Reflecting on the triangulation of childhood, freedom and democracy, combined with early childhood education, requires us to cross-reference the history of children and women with the history of educational institutions and the history of pedagogical ideas, which in turn are marked by economic, socio-political and cultural conditions, and by the history of the actors and subjects of professional action.

The spread of new pedagogical ideas from Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebél, Dewey and others at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century threw light on new conceptions of children and opportunities for intervening with them in order to promote their individual development and social integration in a variety of balanced ways. In the Western world over the last two centuries, concerns about working with children with the aim of promoting access to equal rights have been influenced alternately by social and pedagogical movements, and although these are not entirely dissociable, overemphasis on one to the exclusion of the other has impacted the history of early childhood education.

This socio-historical text seeks to analyse whether or not the emergence and development of early childhood education in Portugal has served democracy, particularly in terms of the right of all children to have access to crèches and kindergartens, while not ignoring the need for measures to ensure that children can enjoy the right to success. The notion of 'success' here refers strictly to conditions that promote (but do not always guarantee!) quality, such as specialised training for professionals, regulation of the education system, clear definition of educational goals and the existence of conditions for the implementation of participatory and emancipatory educational practices.

A brief history of early childhood education

When looking at the history of the emergence of children's education in formal, extra-familial contexts¹, it is well known that in countries such as France and England, industrialisation and the changes it brought about at family level, with the departure of women from the home, were the driving force behind the opening of asylum homes, which would eventually progress to crèches and kindergartens. It is questionable whether the motivation was the same in Portugal or whether its roots were more philanthropic and ideological; the functions of welfare and education do not seem to have been so cyclical here as in those countries.

In France, for example, the intended social function of the first asylums was both preventive and curative. From 1882 onwards, French republicans began to call for asylums to fulfil an educational role, even changing their name to schools. However, in view of the schooling trend that they began to develop, and in response to alerts from hygienists, Kergomard – an educator who would go on to play a key role in French childhood education – rediscovered the guardianship function of nursery schools. Between 1881-1921, official French discourse upheld the functions of reception and, indeed, of assistance, based on the idea of an 'infra-pedagogical' age (Luc, 1982:18).

In Portugal, the care of children outside the home began in the 18th century, and increased significantly from the second quarter of the 19th century onwards, with the widespread development of the Casas da Roda, the Misericórdias and the Casas de Órfãos (Orphan Houses), which were strongly concerned with welfare (Magalhães, 1997). Contrary to what was happening in other countries, these centres were not opened by industrialists, but by the monarch himself, Pedro V, in 1834. Although these care centres were developed for welfare purposes, there are references from earlier periods that show how pedagogical concerns were already present among Portuguese ideologists². In addition to the idea of childhood allied to innocence, which was very prevalent at the time, there was also the understanding that mothers were the primary pedagogues of their children, whom they would take to a certain place with an educational purpose: this is the old idea that it is not the job of the pedagogue to replace or 'do' the learning, but to lead the child to the places where that learning takes place. In addition, it is clear that socialisation played a very important role, encouraging contact with others in order to build social values such as solidarity, the sense of valuing others and developing bonds of friendship.

In summary, it can be said that this first period of childcare outside the home came about for one reason and subsequently expanded for two purposes; that is to say, it emerged as a social need to 'look after children' when mothers were unable

¹ This analysis is analysed in greater depth in the book Sarmiento, T. (2002). *Life Stories of Childhood Educators*. IIE.

² See *Tratado da Educação Física dos Meninos para uso da Nação Portuguesa*, by Francisco José de Almeida, 1791.

to do so, and then developed both with the social purpose of assisting children and families, and with an educational intent.

Between 1834 and 1910 state initiatives were clearly motivated by two different types of logic: on the one hand, the logic of needs and, on the other, the logic of ideas. The logic of needs, as mentioned above, stems from the social changes that took place at the time, with women moving out of the domestic sphere and into the world of work. The logic of ideas stems from the ideological and political innovations that emerged at the time: 1) the dissemination of an educational project based on the philosophy of the Enlightenment, supported by the 'modern culture' of living languages, sciences and techniques; 2) the affirmation of the state as the only institution with the political strength to direct the new educational project; 3) the decline of the Church's influence on public education; 4) the active intervention of intellectuals in the dissemination of educational ideas and the renewal of school institutions (Fernandes, 1992).

In Portugal, as in other European countries, pedagogical ideas came to fruition, with some indicators that the state was beginning to value the education of children outside the home and under the responsibility of qualified agents, as evidenced by the first legislative references to early childhood education; the decision to send appropriate people abroad to study the Froebél method; and the expansion of the normal schools created between 1862-1881 to train primary school teachers, which would become important for the training of early childhood teachers in the period following.

Historical and legislative analysis shows that values such as freedom and participation, and therefore democratic values, were at the root of these changes. In this era, the state argued that education was a necessity; eligibility, as a new reality, should not depend on age or on the citizen's possessions, but on their physical, intellectual and moral capacity, so the earlier this education began, the better.

The meaning attributed to education at the time differed from what we hold today. In Formosinho (1988), the sociological meaning of education is subdivided into three components: instruction, understood as learning content and techniques; socialisation, i.e. integration and participation in society's values; and stimulation, which means making the most of the individual's potential. According to this analysis grid, it seems clear that instruction was the most valued aspect, with socialisation understood as a form of normative integration, in which the child was seen as a mere learner.

The establishment of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 brought with it the idea of the new man and introduced new concepts of participation and citizenship. Participation came to be seen as an "indispensable and essential instrument for the democratisation and modernisation of the country" (Fernandes, 1992:313); in other words, there was an awareness of the link between education and development. The emergence of the new regime was accompanied by a distinction between

education and instruction, the latter being seen as one of the components of that global action.

"Moral and civic education as a privileged space for preparing children and young people for participation in republican democratic society" (ibid:313) required the state to take measures both in the training of professionals and in the creation of nursery schools. With a view to pursuing these principles, much legislation was produced, but its practical realisations were short-lived.

From the period of the First Republic, with regard to early childhood education, the importance attributed to children as educable beings should be emphasised, reflected in the first legislative measures for the implementation of a network of nursery schools and investment in the training of nursery school teachers (designations used at the time). However, the fragility of the measures taken with regard to the implementation of this sector is clearly evident.

According to the Portuguese Statistical Yearbook for 1927, the distribution of nursery schools and children's sections, teachers and pupils (the designations then used) by district, as can be seen in the following table, was absolutely residual:

Table 1.

Distribution of nursery schools and children's sections, teachers and pupils (the designations then used) by district.

School Year	Districts	Schools and children's sections	Teachers	Students
1926-27	Aveiro	3	9	276
	Braga	6	6	236
	Bragança	1	2	35
	Leiria	1	1	43
	Lisboa	37	41	1,343
	Porto	7	24	851

Source: Portuguese Statistical Yearbook for 1927

This very small number of 'nursery schools' and 'nursery teachers' shows that the republicans' vision was not translated into action plans. In other words, although the outlook was one of openness in catering for this sector of education, the achievements were far too haphazard. Child education at the time was, by law, carried out entirely by women, and this was justified by a strongly rooted defence

of the spaces to be occupied by women and their duties in the raising of children, which may have contributed to the lack of emphasis given to state child education.

Between 1926 and 1974, Portugal experienced a sustained period of strong state control, which caused the economic, social and cultural fabric of the country to stagnate considerably. According to Formosinho (1997), this period can be subdivided into several phases:

. from 1926 to 1933 (1927-19363) – a transitional period, immediately after the political revolution, which enabled the implementation of a new political philosophy and administrative dictatorship. In terms of education, there was an increase in anti-republican political measures, with a setback in teacher training and in the innovative educational measures that had been implemented, albeit precariously;

. from 1933 to 1945 (1936-1947) - marked by the publication of the new State Constitution, this was the period in which the influence of fascist ideology was most evident. At this time, there was strong state intervention in the 'education' of children and families, with the absolute closure of 'nursery schools', in an attempt to guarantee the indoctrinating function prioritised by the Estado Novo. With the constitutional aims of handing over the upbringing of children to families, worksites were closed to women and they were sent home, which can be seen as a factor in the devaluation of women and children (Araújo, 1990 and 1990^a , 1993 and 1993^a; Magalhães, 1998; Mónica, 1978), and the new educational objectives were established with the aim of disconnecting the state from responsibility for early childhood education (Mónica, 1978).

. from 1945 to 1958 (1947-1958) – this phase began to suffer from some of the pressures arising from the establishment of democratic regimes in Europe. The development of industrialisation required the expansion of schooling and the promotion of mass literacy.

Closed to the outside world, with prohibitions on public political debate, the country had an essentially subsistence rural economy, with a very hierarchical social structure. Against this background, for many years little importance was attached to education and, when it did take place, it was understood more as a need of the state than as an individual right.

Although the Estado Novo did not immediately abolish early childhood education, stating in the Preamble to Decree no. 1037 of 15 October 1928 that the government still wished to continue its development. However, with Decree-Law no. 28081 of 9 October 1937, the government saw that the "fruits do not correspond to the burdens" and ordered nursery schools to be abolished or converted into elementary schools (art. 2). With the return to children being raised exclusively at home (especially working-class children, since those from more privileged

³ These values in brackets refer to the transitional periods from which the differences implemented in the predefined periods become clearer.

backgrounds could have access to private kindergartens), the welfare function, which previous state measures had sought to combine with instructive and educational functions, was reinforced.

Thus, the pedagogical secularism that had been spreading since the establishment of the Republic was destroyed by the counter-revolution of 1926. The progress made in early childhood education, particularly since what became known as the Camoesas Reform in 1923⁴, now came up against major obstacles.

The values of freedom, social responsibility and citizenship, which were implicit in Camoesas and to be worked on from nursery school onwards, were quickly submerged by the rigid indoctrination apparatus of the Estado Novo. The state was not interested in forming enlightened citizens, or investing in the country's culture, so education, even if it meant instruction, was not seen as a primary value, much less the education of children up to the age of six.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child, promulgated in 1959, was a turning point in how seriously early childhood education was taken internationally. From the 1950s onwards, there was an increase in the number of private childcare institutions, with social service objectives taking precedence over any pedagogical aims. Bairrão and Vasconcelos even state that, until 1966, "the majority of existing centres for children under the age of six had no educational objectives, while the staff had no specific qualifications and were essentially concerned with the care and most basic needs of the children" (1997:10).

The period of ideological decline in the 1960s led to some changes in the Portuguese social structure arising from the growth of industry and repercussions in the economy, in banking and insurance. Industrialisation, along with the surge in emigration and the large number of men going off to fight in the colonial war, all caused families to migrate from the villages to the urban centres. Moreover, women had to take on public roles, thus requiring them to work outside the home, which, in turn, increased the social demand for childcare.

As a result of these changes, attention shifted to intervention in childhood as a means of overcoming family deprivation and its repercussions on school success, of which children from the most disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds were the main victims (Cardona, 1997). From that decade onwards, educational intervention in childhood also became increasingly valued due to advances in psychology, pedagogy and sociology.

In 1973, Veiga Simão, Minister of National Education, opened the debate on the creation of official pre-school education, which was an innovation in the school system. With a humanist discourse, he argued that "the school system should not be directly subordinated to the demands of economic development, since it is man himself who is at stake at the beginning and end of the system" (MEN, 1973:14). The theory of human capital, according to which investing in a person's education

⁴ Decree-Law of 2 July 1923 - Camoesas Reform.

means capitalising on the country's assets, may have been significant in concerns about intervening in education as early as possible.

The debate that led to the Reform of the Education System in 1973 (MEN, 19739) resulted in some important findings for early childhood education. In particular, the lack of pre-school education was considered to be one of the most serious shortcomings in the education system, and its creation was accepted with general consensus; it was proposed that kindergartens should be spread out across the country, with some advocating that they should only be opened in the most socially and economically disadvantaged areas; the issue of compulsory attendance was raised, a previous proposal having already appeared to this effect, without gaining sufficient acceptance, the proponents now agreeing on the age of entry and a duration of two years of attendance.

Concerns about the training of kindergarten teachers were also raised in the above-mentioned debate, with some advocating that it should be conducted at a higher level, in line with what was already being done abroad. Although this suggestion was not taken up, Law 5/73 did, however, create two official schools for training nursery teachers on an experimental basis – one in Viana do Castelo and the other in Coimbra.

Even then, the education of children between the ages of zero and three was not mentioned, and it was considered that their mothers were responsible for their education. At the time – as is the case now – it was the private and welfare sectors that provided daily childcare for a very small number of children in this age group, who were not subject to any educational regulations. As a consequence, from Law 5/73 onwards, the responsibility for state-supervised childcare services was divided between two Ministries: the Ministry of Health and Assistance to cater for institutions for children aged zero to three, with care functions, and the Ministry of National Education for the regulation of institutions for children aged three to five, with educational and compensatory functions.

25 April and early childhood education - opening up new paths of democracy and freedom

We have now reached 1974, the first of the fifty years that this book honours. The last half-century of early childhood education effectively reflects the construction of democracy and freedom in Portugal, charting a path which, like so many others, has seen advances and setbacks along with dreams realised and expectations dashed.

The universalisation of the national pre-school education network (integrating both public and private networks) for all children aged four and five has been completed, while a similar expansion of nursery school provision for three-year-old children has been promised. However, the Ministry of Education's responsibility for nursery schools and the provision of places for all children aged from zero to three,

as well as equal rights and recognition for their professionals, is something that that is still under debate but has yet to be implemented. In Portugal, the essentially welfare-based view that nurseries should provide for young children is still very prevalent, despite the fact that existing in-depth studies into the needs, potential and agency of babies, as well as other dimensions related to nurseries (organisational, pedagogical, professional identities and others), show the importance of recognising them as spaces for educational promotion (Sarmiento, T. and Silva, 2022).

Families still have the option to enrol their children in those places that are available, and the fact that there is no obligation to implement a prescribed curriculum gives professionals the freedom (and responsibility!) to choose what they consider to be the best route to take with the children.

1974, and particularly the so-called 25th of April Revolution, was undeniably a turning point for the entire Portuguese social sector. The dissatisfaction that had been brewing since the 1960s triggered the "Captains of April" Armed Forces Movement, which ousted the previous government and opened up the opportunity for new forms of political and community participation and the implementation of new social values.

Regarding the implications for early childhood education, between 1974 and 1980 there were two distinct periods. The first, from 1974 to the inauguration of the First Constitutional Government in 1976, was marked by three key events: the Veiga Simão Reform (which emerged from the previous period), multiple popular mobilisation activities and the intervention of the World Bank. The second period, known as 'normalisation', saw the state seeking to regain and retake control of the entire economic and social sector, including education. The new perspective of recognition of equal opportunities and individual rights caused a rethink of education policy. The importance of qualifying human resources, conveyed in Veiga Simão's Reform, advocating human development as the foundation for a new society, supports the promotion of a more humanistic education policy. These values led to active participation in schools and communities.

According to the educational sociologist Stephen Stoer, the 1970s made clear the link between democracy and education as a form of community-based schooling that plays a vital role in building and maintaining a democratic society, arguing that for education to become democratic it must be participatory and egalitarian (1986). As Stoer argues, the provisional governments, essentially concerned "with freeing Portugal from an elitist and classist education system" (ibid:63), may have understood that the creation of nursery schools (the name at the time) on a national scale was not immediately justified because it would not translate into modernising the Portuguese education system. However, the Armed Forces Movement's programme on education advocated the expansion of school social action schemes and pre-school education, forcing the involvement of the private sector. The aim was to speed up the process of implementing the principle of equal opportunities,

which involved reducing failure rates in primary school, on the understanding that this would be facilitated by prior kindergarten attendance (Fernandes, 1977).

Meanwhile, in 1975, the Economic and Social Policy Programme, known as the Melo Antunes Plan, proposed measures to create an official pre-school education system, starting with the establishment of a school network and supporting the creation of a staff of nursery teachers. At the time, a project was drawn up to create a network of kindergartens which would ensure coeducation for children aged three to five, with attendance remaining optional; the creation or formalization of establishments was dependent on the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research or other public or private non-profit entities (Fernandes, 1977).

The importance of Veiga Simão's reform in 1973 with regard to the prospects and consequent support for kindergarten attendance is shown by figures from Pordata showing that in 1973 there were 18,964 children enrolled in kindergartens, a number which by the following year had more than doubled to 41,080 children. These children attended social solidarity and private institutions, since at that point the state had not yet taken responsibility for the public provision of pre-school education. The data shows how support for growth took place at the time. with the number of pre-school establishments in 1973 rising from 340 in 1973 to 679 in 1976, although this was still very small compared to the interest shown by the population for their children to have the right to access formal early childhood education. Thus, as in other social areas, the grassroots movement, through residents' committees, parish councils and factory committees, made efforts to respond to requests for space and organisational responsibility for opening kindergartens.

The period between 1977 and 1986 saw the emergence of official investment in pre-school education and the training of nursery school teachers. With the establishment in 1976 of the 1st Constitutional Government, the country entered a period known as 'normalisation', a transitional phase with permanent political crises. Socio-economic Indicators of this period included social and political instability and the resulting high level of friction, attempts to 'normalise' democracy and the market, the dismantling of the revolutionary constitutional arrangements and the influence felt in Portugal by the recession and economic crises that were breaking out abroad, all of which contributed to obvious changes in social relations and individual behaviour (Barreto and Preta, 1996). In the context of the strong social mobilisation that was taking place, with demands for new labour and social policies, the welfare state emerged and developed, referred to by Santos as a semi-welfare state (1995), since he considered that what existed in Portugal was a welfare society that sought to make up for the absence of state welfare through informal mechanisms. This welfare state is contemporary with the establishment of citizens' social rights, recognised by the 1976 Constitution.

In population terms, the new social, economic and cultural conditions were among the factors that coincided to bring about a fall in infant mortality, a reduction

in fertility and lower birth rates, with increased life expectancy at birth, as well as greater urbanisation and internal migration to the coastal belt regions alongside changes in the solidarity networks within families. Amid these new conditions, female labour increased steadily and became more widespread, leading to a greater need for diversified childcare centres.

Accompanying these social changes, action taken by the World Bank was felt from 1977 onwards in several areas, not least in education where its impact cannot be overlooked. Basing its subsidy policy on the ambition to reduce the gap between 'rich nations' and 'poor nations' (Stoer, 1986), the World Bank sought to intervene in education by subsidising polytechnic higher education, which included the Higher Education Schools. In other words, in Portugal, the World Bank did not have a direct role in supporting the creation of kindergartens, but it did support the training of kindergarten teachers through its support for polytechnic higher education.

There were many signs that the state was beginning to pay attention to pre-school education. These included the opening, at that time, of the Normal Schools for Kindergarten Educators⁵, which until then had remained experimental, the opening of the Public Network of Kindergartens of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research⁶ and the definition of its Statutes⁷, as well as the creation of Short-term Higher Education and Higher Schools of Education⁸.

The public network of kindergartens took shape in 1978 with the opening of around 500 kindergartens, which were regulated by the Statutes of Kindergartens in 1979 (Decree-Law no. 542 of 31 December). The biggest initial investment in early childhood development was in rural areas, thereby offering children from these backgrounds a compensatory vision. These establishments were small (rarely with more than one building), isolated and far from lower and upper secondary schools. They were managed by kindergarten teachers, albeit with the collaboration, through the advisory council, of parent representatives and educational assistants, which was, incidentally, the first example of community participation in school management bodies.

The years from 1977 to 1986, known as the phase of normalisation and expansion (Vilarinho, 2000 and 2011), were characterised by some instability in the movement to boost kindergarten education, alternating between periods of increased development of kindergartens and other times when there was a marked retraction, "causing regional asymmetries in network coverage and the consequent unequal access of children to public kindergartens" (Vilarinho and Sarmiento, T. 2016). Between 1978 and the implementation of the Basic Law of the Education

⁵ Law no. 6, of 1 February 1977, of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.

⁶ Law No. 5 of 1 February 1977 of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.

⁷ Decree-Law no. 542 of 31 December 1979.

⁸ Decree-Law No. 427 - B/77, of 14 October 1977, of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.

The World Bank is said to have played a major role in the opening of these schools, subsidising their construction and equipment as well as the training of teachers abroad to be trainers in them.

System in 1986, the right of children aged three to five to access public kindergartens, despite growing – as indicated by the approximately 2,000 public kindergartens in existence by 1986 – still fell far short of the current need for places.

In 1986, the country was presented with the Basic Law for the Education System (Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo - LBSE). This legal instrument shaped the state's understanding of the entire Portuguese education system and thereby expressed the aims of pre-school education and its autonomy in relation to school education, referring to the complementarity of pre-school education and the family. This law makes no mention of the education of children from the ages of zero to three years old, showing the lack of state responsibility for this. As a result, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security continues to regulate the institutions – almost entirely social solidarity institutions and some private ones – which look after children of this age.

In 1988, the Global Reform Proposal regulated the basic conditions for the development of the directives printed in the LBSE, bringing new guidelines for the planning and organisation of pre-school education, including the need to expand kindergartens. The aims were positive, but the early 1990s were marked by a downturn in the opening of public kindergartens, with the state gradually moving away from being exclusively responsible for their establishment and the obligation to promote and maintain pre-school initiatives (Zão, 1997). At the same time, there was greater social pressure to expand the public pre-school education network, with demand for its opening hours to be more in line with the schedules of the families who the state claimed to want to support. This social pressure was also exerted both by the academic community, who played a very active educational role, especially in the training of nursery teachers at university level, and by the professional body, forcing the state to realise the inevitability of extending the pre-school network as a factor in promoting equal educational opportunities.

Following on from this, in 1994, the National Education Council, an autonomous public administration body, albeit under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, presented an Opinion on Pre-School Education in Portugal, outlining the entire organisational reality of care centres for children aged three to five, with concrete proposals to qualitatively change the range of services for children, taking a balanced account of pedagogical and social functions, such as promoting children's learning and development as well as supporting families. The Plan for the Development of Pre-School Education⁹ and the Framework Law on Pre-School Education¹⁰, dated 1996 and 1997 respectively, were vital instruments for promoting this sector.

⁹ The four-year Development Plan for Pre-School Education was carried out by the Commission for the Analysis and Expansion of the Pre-School Education network (March 1996), prioritising: 1. the expansion of the Pre-School Education network; 2. its organisation and operation; 3. monitoring and inspection.

¹⁰ Decree-Law no. 5 of 10 February 1997.

The Framework Law on Pre-School Education (LQEPE) (Decree-Law no. 5 of 10/2/97) regulated the entire pre-school education system, incorporating the two networks into one, defining their operating conditions and regulating the pedagogical functioning of both systems. The LQEPE made it compulsory to have a kindergarten teacher in each classroom, defined the conditions required in terms of space and child-adult ratios, and required pedagogical coordination by professionals in the sector, among other aspects, thus affirming basic conditions for educational success. The launch of the Curriculum Guidelines for Pre-School Education (Order no. 5220 of 10/07/1997, updated in 2016), although not mandatory, facilitated the pedagogical revitalization of both institutions.

In the following tables, we can see the growth dynamics of kindergartens, by type of network, as well as the access opportunities for children aged three to five, in relation to the gross population rate for this age group. It should be borne in mind that 1996 is the date when the Expansion and Development Plan was launched; in turn, 2010 corresponds to the year when there were the highest number of kindergartens in Portugal; since then, there has been a decrease in kindergartens, justified by the fall in the birth rate, which has led to the closure of classrooms. Out of curiosity, though as yet lacking any numerical data from statistical sources that can prove the phenomenon, in 2022-2023 a new process of growth in classroom numbers began in some areas of the country, justified by the increase in the immigrant population.

Table2.

Distribution of kindergartens by public and private network in 1996, 2010 and 2022

	1996	2010	2022
Total number of kindergartens	5,378	6,974	5,767
Public school	3,427	4,520	3,475
II private network	1,951	2,454	2,292

Source: Pordata

Table 3.

Percentage of children attending kindergarten in 1996, 2010 and 2022

	1996	2010	2022
% of children aged 3 to 5 attending kindergarten	55.69	83.9	90.4

Source: Pordata

It should be noted that the attendance figures were mainly for children aged five and four, as the entry criterion was based on older children.

According to the Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics, in the school year 2020-2021, 78.3 % of three-year-olds attended pre-school, 93.9 % of four-year-olds and 99.0 % of five-year-olds. These percentages are the result of the universal provision of places for five-year-olds from 2009 (Law 85/2009 of 27 August), followed in 2015 by the universal provision of places for four-year-olds (Law 65/2015 of 3 July). The universalisation of provision for three-year-olds, although long promised, has not yet taken the form of a law.

The national network of kindergartens is thereby constituted by a state network, in which the teaching component has always been free, and a private network, subsidised or entirely paid for by families, and with the recent moves to supply universal kindergarten education to children aged four and five, gratuity is guaranteed by the signing of agreements between the Ministry of Education and social solidarity institutions, as well as private institutions. With these agreements, the state is responsible for paying the full teaching component, which constitutes five hours a day, while families – with state network support from local municipalities – are responsible for the remaining hours of support, that is, the family support component (CAP).

Although the figures show significant advances in access rights, social inequalities continue to exist insofar as the payment of the CAP generates a difference in opportunities. In other words, despite the obvious advances, we still cannot effectively talk about the absolute provision of universal public pre-school education, offering open and equal opportunities for all children and families.

Democratic limitations on access to daycare centres

It has to be admitted that the state still has a long way to go when it comes once more to the right of children up to the age of three to attend nursery school, the right of families to know that the institutions looking after their children from the ages of zero to three are guided by clearly defined educational objectives, and the right of professionals to have their professional status as nursery school teachers fully recognised.

As already mentioned, the Veiga Simão Reform did not have any educational intentions for children aged from zero to three, and the first state initiatives in education were only aimed at children aged from three to five. Social solidarity institutions and private organisations dedicated to this sector remained 'left to their own devices' for a few years after the 25th of April. Later, in the 1980s, some relevant legislation was passed to regulate the creation and operation of these institutions, specifically Decree-Law no. 119/83, which approved the Statutes of Private Social Solidarity Institutions (IPSS), Decree-Law no. 158/84, of 17 May, which laid down the rules for setting up and running for-profit crèches and

kindergartens, and Normative Order no. 131/84, which defined the specific objective for crèches, always under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Security, still the prevailing situation in 2023. According to Vilarinho (2011), the state strategically left support for children aged from zero to three to other organisations, so as not to clash with the interests of the private and cooperative network. While the 1990s did not bring any major changes to the situation of crèches, from 2002 onwards, however, with the enthusiasm created by the Barcelona summit, held in 2002, the state undertook to create childcare facilities for at least 33 per cent of children under the age of three by 2010. Following this, Ministerial Order no. 426/2006 created the Programme to Extend the Social Equipment Network (PARES), through whose support Portugal managed to achieve a 35.1% coverage rate for crèches in 2010, thus surpassing the initial aims but still falling far short of demand. The perspectives created by Recommendation no. 3, published by the National Education Council, based on an in-depth study of existing crèches in Portugal and the purposes they fulfilled, gave encouragement to all those defending crèche attendance as a right and not just a social necessity. The concept that integrated care can be combined with a socialising purpose to promote integral development and learning, as affirmed by educators and researchers, and also recognised by parents and communities, has been rhetorically accepted by governments, yet what continues to prevail in legislative instruments is a welfare perspective, by which crèches are defined as 'family support services' (Portaria 262/211 and DL 33/2014). The objectives presented are centred on support for reconciling family activity with childcare responsibilities together with physical and emotional care, but do not highlight specific educational concerns for children aged zero to three.

In terms of response capacity, according to the Social Charter, in 2021, the coverage rate, or possibility of access, reached 52.9%, with a utilisation rate of 85.6%. These figures show how growth in early childhood education continues to be very low, with the right to attend these facilities being limited to 47% of children, thus penalising that same percentage of families, particularly mothers, many of whom have to give up their jobs, since they have no other family support and on account of the conservatism towards childcare tasks being carried out by women. The fact that the utilisation rate of existing crèches does not reach 100% can be explained by the location of the crèches, which are not always in the most densely populated areas but rather where they best suit the possibilities and, in some cases, the interests of their owners.

Since the state does not have a network of crèches, over the last two decades it has supported low-income families to finance the cost of attending social solidarity institutions. In the meantime, based on Law no. 2/2022, of 3 January, the state has begun to assume the free attendance of registered crèches (private or cooperative social solidarity institutions) for all children born on or after 1 September 2021. This measure was extended by Ministerial Order no. 305/2022, of 22 December, allowing, from 1 January 2023, the provision of free daycare to also cover children attending daycare centres in the private-profit network and IPSS

without a cooperation agreement, located in municipalities where there are no free places in IPSS with a cooperation agreement or in the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. In other words, by continuing not to set up a state-run crèche network, the state is indifferently supporting families regardless of whether or not they have the possibility of attending these spaces, which should be regarded as performing a socio-educational function. To a certain extent, this indifference constitutes a relative injustice and a lack of responsibility for the very high percentage of children who are still unable to access crèche spaces.

Recently, the government announced measures to simplify the process of creating and validating spaces for crèches, extend their opening hours and increase the number of children per room, all of which raises suspicions about how they will guarantee the rights of children and families. Even if the narrative is to argue for the creation of more places, thus increasing the possibility of more children having access to a place in a crèche, it does not make sense for this to happen without a very careful analysis of the physical conditions of the establishments, and without taking into account the scientifically recommended ratio between the number of children/adults and the room size, and, albeit less so, the possibility of children attending extra-family spaces at a time of day – in the evenings or at weekends – that should rightfully be spent at home, with the family.

Childhood, democracy and freedom

A synthetic reflection on the triangulation between childhood, democracy and freedom, in the context of analysing the right of children aged from zero to five to access early childhood education spaces, allows us to say that many paths have already been opened up: all children aged four and five have the right to access early childhood education, all children aged three will soon enjoy this right and, for the youngest (up to the age of three), the journey has begun, even if it is still slow.

Alongside the right of access, democracy requires equal rights in terms of quality. This presupposes the right of all children to enjoy safe and welcoming spaces that promote well-being. In addition, it presumes the appropriate level of specialised and rigorous training for professionals with a critical, innovative and transformative sense of practice, and openness to the community. Accordingly, this should take place within an educational co-responsibility committed to supporting the empowerment of children, based on a dynamic approach that starts by giving voice and agency to children in their relationships with others (among themselves and with adults). At the current time, there is an urgent need to respond to the shortage of establishments, especially crèches, as well as the lack of professionals. Therefore, the conditions that promote success cannot be jeopardised by short-term measures which may claim to be democratic – but which should only be so if they are duly informed and substantiated so as not to put at risk educators' freedom of action. Above all, the opportunities for children to enjoy an educationally meaningful childhood must not be diminished.

Democracy still has a lot of ground to cover when it comes to recognising equal rights for professionals in the two existing systems, and internally in the private sector, with an urgent need to guarantee that a kindergarten teacher has the same status whether she works in a kindergarten or nursery. Freedom is also expressed in the opportunity for professionals to select the appropriate pedagogical model for their group of children, guided, of course, by the scientifically and pedagogically well-supported aims of early childhood education.

What this text has shown is that the path travelled until now has already greatly extended children's right to access early childhood education spaces. Renewing the 25th of April in this field means ensuring that early childhood education is effectively projected in forums where everyone involved, from children and their families to educators and researchers, can express themselves and communicate together.

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**50 YEARS OF INSERVICE EDUCATION AND
TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN PORTUGAL (INSET):
BETWEEN AUTONOMY OF INTENTIONS AND
HETERONOMY OF ACTIONS**

**50 ANOS DE FORMAÇÃO CONTÍNUA DE PROFESSORES EM
PORTUGAL: ENTRE A AUTONOMIA DAS INTENÇÕES E A
HETERONOMIA DAS AÇÕES**

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to carry out a very brief critical assessment of INSET: Inservice education and training of teachers in Portugal, in the context of the 50 years since the 25th of April Revolution, in 1974. Through both extrinsic factors and deliberate choice, the approach taken to achieve this aim is limited in three key ways: firstly, given that such an assessment is clearly inspired by historical interest, it will essentially follow a diachronic logic focused on public policies, and in particular their normative role, with key milestones being the publications of Decree-Law no. 249/92 of 9 November and Decree-Law no. 22/2014 of 11 February; secondly, and as a consequence of the first limitation, this assessment will be restricted to the formal aspect of teacher education recognised by the regulatory institute, the Scientific-Pedagogical Council for Continuing Teacher Training (Conselho Científico-Pedagógico da Formação Contínua de Professores), thereby excluding the high-impact informal training carried out by a wide range of agents, which is always very important; thirdly, while it is true that the INSET system has always included a diverse range of training bodies, what the established trends show, however, is a direct association between INSET and School Association Training Centres (SATC), so that any assessment made in this area is also necessarily an assessment of these training bodies.

Keywords: Inservice education and training of teachers (INSET); 25 April 1974; Democracy

Resumo

Este artigo propõe-se realizar, de modo muito sucinto, um balanço crítico da formação contínua de professores (FCP) em Portugal, tendo por referência o arco temporal de 50 anos da Revolução de Abril de 1974. Neste sentido, quer por razões extrínsecas, quer por opção deliberada, apresentar-se-á uma abordagem marcada por três limitações principais: em primeiro lugar, e devido à motivação histórica patentemente assumida, adotaremos principalmente uma lógica diacrónica centrada nas políticas públicas, sobretudo na sua dimensão normativa, cujos marcos fundamentais incluem as publicações do Decreto-Lei n.º 249/92 de 9 de Novembro e o Decreto-Lei n.º 22/2014, de 11 de fevereiro; em segundo lugar, e consequência da primeira limitação, restringiremos este balanço à dimensão formal e reconhecida pelo instituto regulador (Conselho Científico-Pedagógico da Formação Contínua de Professores), o que exclui o lastro sempre muito significativo e com elevado impacto da formação de carácter informal realizada por um conjunto muito diverso de agentes; em terceiro lugar, sendo certo que o sistema de FCP sempre contemplou um conjunto vasto de entidades formadoras, o que as dinâmicas instituídas evidenciam, no entanto, é uma associação direta entre a FCP e Centros de Formação de Associação de Escolas (CFAE), pelo que qualquer balanço que se faça neste âmbito é também necessariamente um balanço sobre estas entidades formadoras.

Palavras-chave Formação Contínua de Professores; 25 de Abril de 1974; Democracia

1. The construction of the legitimising rationale: the emergence of a system of continuous teacher training in Portugal

The period between the April 25th Revolution and the publication of Decree-Law no. 249/92 of 9 November was essentially defined by the mobilisation of public policies in response to the commitment to universal schooling launched in the early 1970s by the Veiga Simão Reform. To a great extent driven by the lack of human resources, the major focus was on the intensive initial training of teachers, with the involvement of the entire higher education system, strengthened by the creation of new universities. The first experiments in in-service teacher training which emerged at this time left the groundwork for the model that would shape the future of Portugal's in-service teacher training system, namely, "school-centred training". These initial ventures, which were still fragmentary and assistance-based, gave rise to various forms of institutional support, in particular, the Regional Pedagogical Support Centres (RPSC), the Pedagogical Support Centres (PSC), the Teacher Training Support Centres (CAFOP) and the Pedagogical Support Teams (PST) .

As a whole, these experiments established the prevailing trend of continuous teacher training in Portugal, not only in the period immediately after the 25th of April Revolution, but also in the decades that followed. Two key aspects of this trend can be seen as constituting the essential tension in the dynamics of teacher training over the last 50 years: first of all, the importance of teacher initiative, highly institutionalised and informal in nature, based on the principle of "professional autonomy", or what can be called the rhetoric of autonomy intentions; and, secondly, the ongoing state-led provision of training mechanisms, institutionalised and more formal in nature, albeit decentralized and localised (Barroso & Canário, 1999), which in practice led to a heteronomy of actions. In these early experiments, the need for strong and direct relations with professional institutions was recognised, highlighted by ideas such as promoting the active participation of "local" teachers, liaising between schools and their communities, producing materials and making resources available or, in the case of the PST (1979-1985), communication and the exchange of experiences between schools in close proximity.

A key event at this foundational moment was the 1st National Congress on Continuing Teacher Education: Realities and Perspectives, which took place at the University of Aveiro in 1991. Bringing together a wide range of stakeholders (trade unions, primary and secondary schools, the Ministry of Education, professional and cultural associations, etc.), it was a significant milestone in the academic and scientific legitimisation of INSET, following the preliminary experiments undertaken in the years after the April 25th Revolution and the publication of the Basic Law of the Education System in 1986 (Law 46/86 of 14 October). This congress signalled a change in the focus of attention, which began to shift from initial training to in-service training, in a "new founding era for the teaching profession, in which the functionalist view of teachers tends to be replaced by an image of teachers as reflective professionals" (Nóvoa, 1991, p. 15). All the speakers were in consensus around two key ideas, both of them normative and ideological in nature: firstly, the idea put forward by António Teodoro, at the time Secretary General of FENPROF, according to which "continuing training is a particular type of adult education, which presupposes an appropriative way of working, centred on the social integration of the teacher, and leads to an organisational model based on the school and supported by a system of resources", thereby constituting a "network training strategy" (1991, p. 53); secondly, the conclusion proposed by João Formosinho, future President of the Scientific-Pedagogical Council for Continuing Teacher Education, that continuing teacher education should be based on "models that result from combinations of training bodies", arguing that, in a decentralised education system, a model based on schools and training institutions is more appropriate (Formosinho, 1991).

Thus, when the system of in-service teacher training was formalised in 1992, there was a relative consensus on a political, professional and scientific legitimisation rationale based on four main axes: the autonomy of schools, "school-

centred" training and the contexts of professional action, the professional development of teachers and pedagogical innovation of an institutional nature¹.

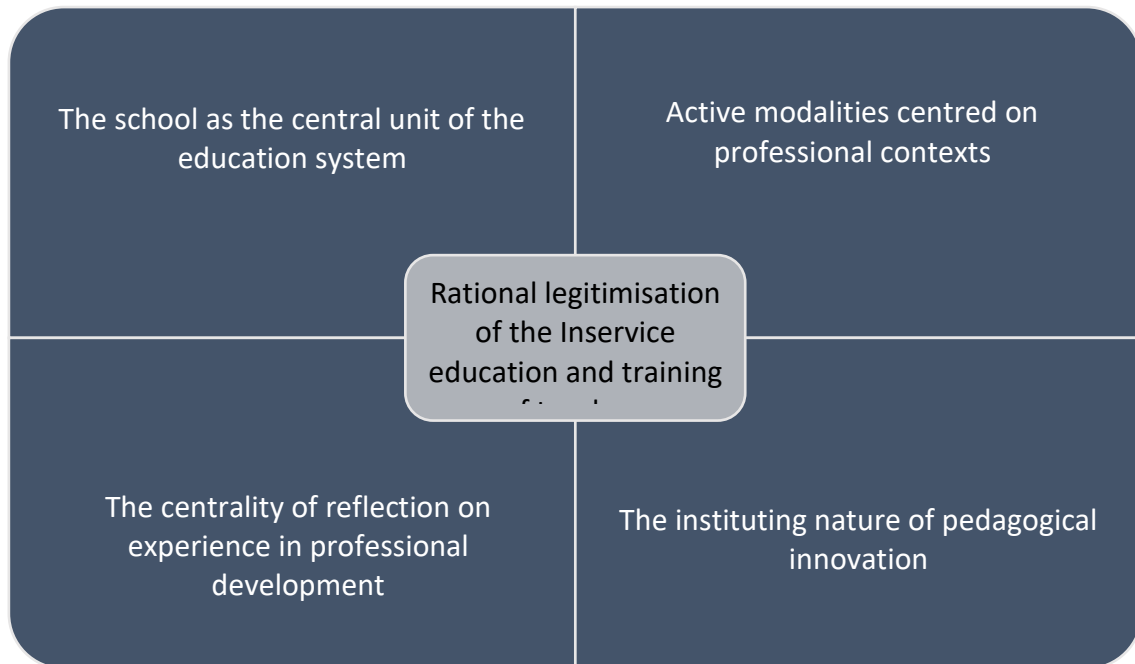


Figure 1. Rationale for legitimising the in-service education and training of teachers.

As far as the first axis is concerned, it is well known that the period in which the formal in-service training system emerged at the beginning of the 1990s came at a time of intensive reform both nationally and internationally, marked by the tendency to "view the educational establishment as the central unit of administration of the school system", and thus implying the "respective transfer of competences and favouring the construction of its autonomy" (Barroso & Canário, 1999, p. 25). Consequently, the legitimising rhetoric emphasises the instrumental nature of INSET, which is placed at the service of a new centrality within the education system: the school. It should be noted, moreover, that the SATC, by virtue of their nature, would play a central and polarising role in positioning INSET at the service of the project autonomy of each school, entailing a high level of capillarity and proximity to professional institutions.

In turn, within this context there was a tendency to view INSET from a "school-centred" perspective (Amiguiño, 1992; Barbier, 1991; Lesne, 1984) as playing an instituting role (Correia, 1989), thus favouring networking, collaborative practices

¹ Note that the normative rhetoric itself is in line with this discourse, as can be seen in the preamble to Decree-Law no. 22/2014 of 11 February: "a new paradigm is established for the continuous training system, geared towards improving the quality of teacher performance, with a view to centring the training system on the priorities identified in schools and on the professional development of teachers, so that continuous training makes it possible to improve the quality of teaching and is articulated with local and national educational policy objectives".

and the creation of territorial arrangements. This perspective is in line with the first experiments carried out in Portugal after the 25th of April Revolution, with the common denominator being the establishment of training methods centred on "professional practice, and not on the separation between the time and place of training and the time and place of work", as Canário (2005, p.136) points out. In 1999, the Scientific-Pedagogical Council for Continuing Education reinforced and, to some extent, institutionally legitimised this concept of "school-centred training", postulating that INSET "should be centred on the teacher's area of action and should preferably focus on teachers' professional acts, in their different logics: the logic of disciplinary knowledge, the logic of the student, the logic of the teacher's personal, social and professional development and the institutional logic" (Santos et al., 1999, p. 4).

With regard to the third axis, it should be noted that the period in which the current system of continuous training emerged is also defined by the concept of the teacher as a "reflective practitioner", giving "experience" a central role in teachers' professional development. Accordingly, and in line with the concept of "school-centred training", the reflective teacher movement questioned the traditional dichotomies shaping educational reforms, which, although undertaken with the desire for teacher emancipation, stemmed from a separation between prescribers and implementers, between those outside the classroom and those in the classroom (Zeichner, 1993). This trend was thus intended to counteract the prevailing technical rationality by promoting professional development based on reflection on one's own professional "experience". The rhetoric of the emerging new professionalism called for "school-centred professional development" based on the belief that the "effects of continuing training are more likely to last over time if they can be supported and adapted to the local contexts of the classroom and schools" (Day, 1999, p. 211).

Finally, an axis of pedagogical innovation was adopted in the context of a strong reformist impulse, following an institutionalised and decentralised model, whereby the changes produced must take place in the locus of action, that is, in schools. In this regard, Barroso and Canário advocated for the promotion of an "ecological change strategy" through which the "educational establishment moves from being an object to being the central unit of the change process" (1999, p. 14). The school would thus emerge as a privileged place where teachers learn and, at the same time, change their practices and professional contexts. As part of the rationale for legitimising the in-service teacher training system, there was a conviction that the isomorphic effect of training strategies would effectively be capable of inducing the dynamics of innovation, which would allow schools to assume "the status of central unit in the process of change" (Barroso & Canário, 1999, p. 14). The creation of SATC should thus be seen as associative training bodies, aimed at providing a service not to teachers in isolation, but to schools as organisations defined by collective action around an educational project with a local impact.

2. Between autonomy of intentions and heteronomy of actions: a diachronic analysis of the development of the in-service teacher training system in Portugal

Notwithstanding this legitimisation rationale, which has weakened and become rather obsolete, the development of the in-service teacher training system in Portugal over the last 50 years, particularly since 1992, has been determined to a great extent, even constitutively, by a funding logic. By this it is meant the set of financial resources that have been allocated to INSET over time, originating almost exclusively from the European Union. This indexation of INSET to European funding means that training dynamics are dependent on the pace of negotiation and realisation of the different financial envelopes allocated to Portugal under the various EU support frameworks, and the state has never adopted a policy of structural stability necessary for drawing up regular and predictable training plans². The second consequence of the overreliance on funding logic was the rapid replacement of a "demand logic" with a "supply logic" resulting from the pressure for physical and financial implementation imposed by European funding. As a result, training providers have become highly bureaucratised local agencies and, consequently, dominated by purely instrumental requirements through which, progressively, questions of content are replaced by questions of form. In other words, INSET has become the pretext for implementing funding - rather than funding as a means of achieving INSET's objectives. Moreover, this instrumentalist and managerialist approach to training came to be deeply aggravated by a professional aspect: the indexation of teachers' career progression to the number of "credits" awarded for attending training courses.

Against this backdrop, it comes as no surprise that the first results of INSET, and especially the SATC, immediately showed a huge gap between the promises and initial expectations set out in the legitimisation rationale presented above and what training actually became on the ground. In one of the most important studies carried out during this initial phase of the implementation of the continuous teacher training system, Barroso and Canário consider that, as far as the SATC are concerned, "the logic of tutelage has clearly taken precedence over a possible logic of autonomy, with the Training Centres appearing as instruments for implementing financial programmes that feed a continuous training 'market' in which the most negative features of school-based training provision dominate" (1999, p. 149). In fact, according to the same authors, a distinctly catalogue-style approach to continuous training emerged very quickly, determined by the indiscriminate provision of training actions aimed at individual teacher training, especially focused around disciplinary and didactic content. In this way, a model of teacher training was established based on the idea of "recycling" and passive consumption without any framework in the contexts and territories of professional practice. Accordingly, the grand narrative of teachers as reflective professionals capable of emancipatory readings of their work contexts and endowed with a high degree of professional

² It should be noted that, right from the start, the SATC were practically inactive in 1994 and part of 1995 and at the transition from the 2nd to the 3rd CSF (2000-2006) due to lack of funding.

autonomy duly fell apart, turning in-service training into a skewed isomorphic process: instead of the training contexts transforming the school system, the school system ended up transforming the training.

Subsequent large-scale studies would confirm this initial diagnosis³, which has come to mark the PCF in Portugal, even though the prevalence of such an instrumentalist and managerialist approach to the continuing training system has not prevented the emergence of some specific and marginal trends that seek to develop training mechanisms which are faithful to the PCF's legitimising rationale in Portugal. In a case study carried out in 2003, Silva studies the hypothesis of the school as a "training locus", taking advantage of its margins of relative autonomy and in the context of the emergence of a quasi-market for training, that is, whether "school-centred training" is possible in the context of the school autonomy, administration and management regime in force at the time (Decree Law no. 115-A/98). The results allow the author to conclude that, in the case studied, it is possible to infer that the school is "tending to produce training in which practices very close to school-centred training can actually be seen, essentially by holding numerous training activities, accredited or not, in its physical space, not only for teachers but also for non-teaching staff and parents/guardians, by defining the type of training that is necessary for the school as an organisation, by carrying out training aimed at improving professional practices and by promoting peer-led training" (2003, p. 192). Furthermore, the conclusions of this study can, to a large extent, be accepted as the main explanatory hypotheses for what, paradoxically, was to happen in the period between 2010 and 2016, during which there was no longer a Community support framework for in-service teacher training, while careers were frozen and progression ceased.

In fact, after a redefinition of the SATC network in 2008, this period between 2010-2016 was characterised by an unexpected resilience on the part of INSET, above all due to the actions of the SATC and, at the same time, a return to the foundational matrix of the continuous teacher training system, not least due to the absence of an instrumentalist and managerialist rationale associated with funding and career progression. According to Sousa, "in each area of intervention, according to an ecological logic, within the school and within the profession, all actors became involved in a systematic practice of continuous training, contributing to the subsequent increase in the volume of training that took place, despite the neglect, in terms of funding, to which the SATC were subjected" (2022, p. 2). During this phase, although there was no drop in the volume of training provided by the training providers, for contingent reasons, training activities began to respond to the needs identified by teachers and schools, the Internal Trainers' Exchange was used, local resources and various partnerships were mobilised, and synergies were promoted with the School Libraries networks or with higher education institutions. This period of interregnum funding via EU support frameworks was also marked by a kind of

³ Among the various studies carried out, we highlight the work of Amélia et al. (2011): *Continuing teacher education -1992-2007 - Research contributions for retrospective appraisal*.

regulatory re-foundation, based on a so-called "new paradigm for the continuous training system", through the publication of the new Legal Framework for the Continuous Training of Teachers (Decree-Law no. 22/2014, of 11 February) and the Legal Framework for School Association Training Centres (Decree-Law no. 127/2015, of 7 July). These are two legal documents which both reiterate and reinforce the rhetoric and organisation of the rationale for legitimising the continuous teacher training system in favour of "improving the quality of teacher performance, with a view to focusing the training system on the priorities identified in schools and the professional development of teachers" (Preamble to the Decree-Law no. 22/2014, of 11 February).

The most recent period, especially since 2018, has been shaped by three fundamental aspects: firstly, the return to funding based on EU support frameworks, with the exception of the Lisbon and Tagus Valley region which is now funded via the General State Budget, thus immediately restoring the managerialist and instrumentalist approach to training, and putting the pressure back on training organisations in terms of physical capacity and financial implementation; secondly, the unfreezing of careers and, more recently, the recovery of length of service has led to frantic demand for training to meet merely formal requirements for career progression, marking a return, with redoubled intensity, to the instrumentalization of training, based on a quasi-market logic and purely individual demand; thirdly, and with a higher intensification than ever before, in-service teacher training has become almost exclusively subordinated to national education policies in accordance with a clearly centralist approach, not only in terms of defining training priorities, as was the case with the Digital Transition Plan, but also with regard to the construction of training benchmarks, training methodologies, criteria for selecting trainees and even the choice and training of trainers, as if there were a parallel system for accrediting trainers. Although it is not a trend, what cannot be denied, in this context of clear and overt recentralisation, is the role that digital technology is beginning to play, potentially enabling deterritorialised processes of continuous teacher training conducted *sclae*, as is the case of "massive open online courses" (aka MOOCs), which are now enshrined in law.

Therefore, at a time when initial training is once again at the centre of attention, there are many reasons to wonder if we are not witnessing the re-establishment, albeit with more interstitial and subtle processes, of the "statist model" of training that Formosinho spoke about and contested in 1991, that is, a model in which "the roles of guardian, employer, administrator and trainer are articulated in a centralist logic in which the state defines everything from the survey of training needs and priorities to the way in which they are actually carried out" (1991, p. 245). Are we not returning to the concept of the teacher as a state employee, as a civil servant, whose training is subject to strict ideological control as a guarantee of alignment with public policies? Is it not reasonable to hypothesise that a system of action is being established in which the state commissions other entities to delivered training, while retaining control of the content, format and

executors, overriding the autonomy of teachers, schools and training providers? In short, is it not becoming clear that we are dealing with "a centralist model in which all important decisions are taken by the central administration or by services (regional or local) subordinate to it and integrated into the hierarchical chain or under its dependence, making the interests and points of view of this administration prevail over all others" (Formosinho, 1991, p. 246)?

3. Between the past and the future of continuous teacher training in Portugal: the essential tensions

To conclude this article, we propose a synchronic problematisation of four polarising tensions around which, it is suggested, the debate and reflection on INSET in Portugal should be centred, taking into account, in particular, the questions just raised above: localisation vs. deterritorialization, collaboration vs. individualisation, emancipation vs. control and humanisation vs. dehumanisation (Machado, 2023).

Tension 1: Localisation vs. deterritorialization

This tension between localisation vs. deterritorialization is an integral part of all training contexts, but it has become particularly prevalent as technological possibilities have given support to the rationale of recentralising training, as it is currently happening in Portugal. It is worth remembering that the regulations enshrine a model of INSET that values the localised centre ("school-centred training"), awarding school establishments a high degree of centrality and proposing the autonomy of teachers, schools and training bodies, such as the SATC. However, deterritorialization, especially through digital means, is now increasingly and irreversibly taking on massive proportions, calling into question ecological training strategies, which are based on the principle of diversity of contexts and the need for institutional innovation. The educational reformism of the 20th century has repeatedly the ineffectiveness of centralised, top-down transformations, which disregard and devalue teachers' experience and professional knowledge. For this reason, in-service training that ends up eliminating the contextual, local and territorialised dimension of training, ignoring the complexity of the school ecosystem and educational territories, without the possibility of hybrid combinations, will incur an unequivocally dangerous drift that ignores teachers as a profession with a high level of agency that is not compatible with mere technical, uniform and merely executory rationality.

Tension 2: Collaboration vs. Individualisation

The tension between collaboration and individualisation is at the heart of training policies and strategies, both initial and ongoing, and it is true, as we have

seen before, not least because of the SATC associative model, that the locus of training production is the school as an organisation and professional collectives as agents of transformation. We know that training aimed at individuals in isolation from their contexts of action and work is the type that most easily responds to the pressures of funding and instrumental demand. However, the individualisation of training systems, which prioritise the needs of individuals over those of groups, tends to favour the school system, isolated work and professional disqualification, resulting, in most cases, in a catalogue-style provision and a view of training as a mere retraining process. In this regard, in societies dominated by constant technological change, as ours, the naturalised idea is that training is merely a process of individual adaptation to the new demands of the labour market, according to the ideology of "lifelong learning" which seeks to position each worker as an entrepreneur solely responsible for their own circumstances. Of course, in this context, it is hardly surprising that information and communication technologies are the training market's favourite menu, giving rise to intensive programmes orchestrated on large scale under the banner of the "digital transition". However, based on the empirical evidence of teachers' collective efficacy, in-service training needs to train in collaboration and for collaboration. In other words, it needs to adopt training processes that are intrinsically collaborative and that, due to their isomorphic strength, are capable of strongly inducing collaboration in professional contexts. Furthermore, and especially in a profession which is intrinsically and inescapably ethical and political in its substance, the collaborative factor is essential to avoid the tendency to depoliticise education, at the root of which is the view of teaching as a simple technical activity without any reflective and emancipatory dimension.

Tension 3: Emancipation vs. Control

At a time when the "statist model" seems to be emerging in full force, this tension will become central to the debate on the present and future of public policies for teacher training, both in initial and continuing training. We should bear in mind that, in this current age of avowed attachment to so-called "surveillance capitalism" (Zuboff, 2020), we live under the aegis of behavioural conditioning technologies that aim not only to predict human actions, but also to remove any horizon of freedom of choice. Moreover, as Lyotard's (1976) prophetic vision of computerised societies points out, what is at stake is the performative capacity of education and training institutions and not the illusions of the great emancipatory narrative built by European modernity. From this point of view, the problem is not so much the possibility of a technological Big Brother, ubiquitous and omniscient, controlling all human actions and thoughts, although this is equally worrying, as it is the restriction of the horizons of human agency, which, incidentally, is the cornerstone of the teaching profession. From this point of view, what needs to be discussed is how ongoing training can contribute to a teaching professionalism

governed by pedagogical, scientific and ethical autonomy, assuming an emancipatory dynamic that is intrinsic to the great project of universal schooling. Viewing teachers merely as passive consumers of training packages that are duly prepared according to extrinsic and decontextualised needs, even if these are based on good public policies, is certainly a way of emphasising training as a process of control, conditioning and reducing teachers' agency.

Tension 4: Humanisation vs. Dehumanisation

In view of the trend towards highly virtualised relationships and the elimination of any form of mediation, which has recognised advantages for human learning processes, particularly the more institutional ones, it is important to emphasise, however, that the act of learning is a social and human process conducted face to face. In Charlot's excellent synthesis (cited by Canário, 2018, p. 13), education can be seen as a triple process in which everyone becomes a human being (process of hominization), becomes a unique human being (process of singularisation) and becomes part of a social collective (process of socialisation). In this way, as Canário postulates, "learning can be a solitary activity, but it cannot be isolated from the social" (2018, p. 14): the "production of self, by self" in which education cannot be fully realised without the transforming presence of the other. When we talk about presence, we are mainly considering its physical dimension, through which the formative and humanising difference is established. That is why it is important to keep in mind that teacher training aiming to be truly transformative cannot eliminate the spaces of dense and challenging conviviality in which each person's humanity is constructed and deepened. Indeed, if there is no doubt that this is a valid principle for all human beings and for the training of all professionals, it thus follows that it is even more valid for the training of teachers as they are responsible for the most delicate and complex of actions: the humanisation of the Other.

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Bionote

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**ITINERANT CURRICULUM THEORY: FULFILLING THE
ETHOS OF THE CARNATION REVOLUTION^{1/2}**

**TEORIA DO CURRÍCULO ITINERANTE: CUMPRINDO O ETHOS DA
REVOLUÇÃO DOS CRAVOS**

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Abstract

Five decades after April, where do we find ourselves as pedagogues and curriculum theorists? What progress has been made, and what challenges still lie ahead? A question of such magnitude will not fit in an essay of this nature. Aware of this obstacle, this article crafts a broad and varied picture of achievements and setbacks that characterized education post-April 25th. The essay focuses on emblematic epistemological cathartics between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic traditions and within the latter that have been unable to devitalize the field's historical epistemicidal nerve - maculating the democratic spirit of education, curriculum, and teacher preparation programs. The article describes how these shakeups trigger a theoretical imparity and involution in the field, intimately related to some of the most egregious social challenges the nation is facing - immigration, climate change, poverty, and inequality, among others. The essay ends by advocating an itinerant curricular theory as a pedagogical proposal that responds to humanity's diversity and epistemological differences.

Keywords: Itinerant Curriculum Theory, Curriculum Epistemicide, Curriculum Involution, Eugenics, Theorycide,

Resumo

Cinco décadas depois de abril, em que ponto nos encontramos enquanto pedagogos e teóricos do currículo? Que progressos foram feitos e que desafios temos ainda pela frente? Uma questão desta magnitude não cabe num ensaio desta natureza. Consciente

¹ Many thanks to Maria Alfredo Moreira for her diligent reading and sharp critical input of the final version of this essay. A word of gratitude to my PhD students here at the University of Strathclyde. Throughout our seminars, we have been engaged in in-depth discussions that have incredibly compelled and helped me to deepen my understanding of education as a political act. My unmeasurable debt to all of them is forever open.

² Disclosure statement - No potential conflict of interest.

deste obstáculo, este artigo traça um quadro amplo e variado das conquistas e dos retrocessos que caracterizaram a educação pós-25 de abril. O ensaio centra-se em catárticas epistemológicas emblemáticas entre tradições hegemónicas e contra-hegemónicas e dentro destas últimas que não conseguiram desvitalizar o nervo epistemicida histórico do campo - maculando o espírito democrático da educação, do currículo e dos programas de preparação de professores. O artigo descreve como estes abalos desencadeiam uma imparidade e involução teóricas no campo, intimamente relacionadas com alguns dos desafios sociais mais flagrantes que a nação enfrenta - imigração, alterações climáticas, pobreza e desigualdade, entre outros. O ensaio termina com a defesa de uma teoria curricular itinerante como proposta pedagógica que responda à diversidade e às diferenças epistemológicas da humanidade.

Palavras-chave: Teoria do Currículo Itinerante, Epistemicídio Curricular, Involução Curricular, Eugenia, Teoricídio,

O futuro ainda demora muito?

(Nóvoa, 2005)³

'... and there is the state the country has reached'

Five decades after the April Revolution, Portugal grapples with some of the most dramatic symptoms of capitalism's current third hegemonic phase (Arrighi, 2005) that frames what has been defined as late coloniality – modernity (Quijano, 1991; Dussel, 1995; Mignolo, 2008). The signs are highly diverse - however interrelated - and of tremendous complexity, calling into question the country's long much-proclaimed progressive humanist tradition, ranging from successive economic crises, IMF austerity take overs and draconian policies, the inability to generate sustainable economic growth and development, an anemic labor market, the concurrent emergence of a substantive new class, 'the precariat' with a lumpenproletariat flavor, lack of skilled labor, impoverished public services with lack of teachers, hospital emergency rooms closed, a clogged judicial system affecting the 'have nots,' massive migration waves - the quasi exodus of qualified young people, and uncontrolled immigration and asylum seekers - population aging, depopulation of vast areas of the country's interior, the rise of xenophobic and eugenic impulses, the construction of the abject 'Other' through the fear of the abrupt growing number of communities not related to the Judeo-Christian tradition, Mosques already emerging in the interior of the country, sexual scandals flooding the Catholic church, an apparent crisis of Catholic vocation with seminaries

³ *Is the future still a long way off?*

being put up for sale, an increasingly footprint of a tabloid media, a broken media, the powerful visibility of identity and environmental movements, corruption at various levels - from the financial system to the political hemisphere - which some feared to be endemic, the declining level of credibility of the political society, echoing some of the viperous historical criticism of figures such as Eça de Queiroz and Ramalho Urtingão,⁴ and as if that were not enough, the violent resurgence of a very muscular right which by its 'own democratic right' legitimately won 50 seats in parliament. A 'political hemisphere' that has always known how to parsimoniously coexist democratically with solid and legit parliamentary impulses from an acute Left now reveals a blatant ineptitude and inability to deal with this new Right wave with an unhesitant radical tendency. Adapting what Hannah Arendt (2004, p. 11) taught us, one would argue that Portuguese people 'reveal an inability to live in the society they created and to understand its meaning.' While the European Union and subsequent Euro membership offered another country to the world and other worlds to the country, it also exposed certain social sagas. It aggravated the discrepancies between the nation and the rest of the member states. The current colors of the nation are bizarre.

The so-called 'April heroes' – i.e., Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, Melo Antunes, Vasco Gonçalves, Salgueiro Maia, Vasco Loureço, and others - would never have imagined it possible that after five decades - of 'freedom and democracy' - the country would find itself plummeting in an implacable historical regression. The old mythical phrase of Captain Maia – 'there are different forms of state; there is the socialist state; there is the communist state; there is the capitalist state, and there is the state that the country has reached' - uttered when he led his military column towards the *Quartel do Carmo*, in Lisbon to overthrow Marcelo Caetano makes a resounding echo in current Portuguese society, that is struggling to come to grips with this 'unexpected' turn of events.

It would, however, be imprudent not to highlight some remarkable democratic advances and gains. There is an undeniable consolidated democratic citizenship that has been sculpted daily over five decades. From education through health care and judicial systems, labor laws, unionism, and housing, the country has experienced enormous democratic attainments. Among them, one underlines the massification of education; free and compulsory elementary, middle, and secondary education for all; drastic reduction in illiteracy rates; new democratic forms of leadership and administration at district and school levels; increasing number of students in schools and universities; the emergence of new and innovative public and private schools and universities; countless state-funded graduate student fellowships that allowed innumerable students to proceed their doctoral studies in international top-notch academic institutions; the emergence of robust Institutes, Schools of Education, and Research Centers at University and Polytechnic levels; the emergence of curriculum as an autonomous field of studies; and the consolidation of education as a scientific field with a notable scholarship and research production in its various domains, from psychology, philosophy, sociology, educational and curriculum policies, leadership and management, as well as teacher education, evaluation and supervision, and the re-establishment of vocational

⁴ Works such as *As Farpas* are a faithful image of much of what the country is experiencing today.

educational system. Also, it is essential not to forget the countless reform processes that saturated education throughout the democratic consulate. Education, indeed, has become 'massified.' Teaching in the hands of the all-powerful teacher gradually faded and gave way, and the praxis of *comunidade educativa* gained ground. Parents' associations and municipalities gained a foothold in the educational and pedagogical processes and procedures. The praxis of democratic educational leadership and management was naturally slowly established. The State saw education as the engine consolidating the ethos of a democratic society. Education was not just in the cockpit but in the driver's seat, steering the economic and cultural development of the neonatal democratic nation.

Undoubtedly, today's country is not the same as it was in April 1975. However, is it better? The patient reader will ask. If forced to answer, I would promptly point to Slavoj Žižek's (2019; 2024) sublime irony and admit, 'Yes, please.' Hand in hand with António Nóvoa, I would 'evidently' emphasize "that today's school is infinitely better than yesterdays. It is more open, more intelligent, and more sensitive to differences. However, it is not enough. Pedagogically, schools are confined within the boundaries of modernity" (Nóvoa, 2005, p. 17). However, I wonder if this is a vital question. Let me continue my train of thought. The fact that most of these achievements either crumbled or could not avoid or at least mitigate society's social havoc completely invalidates the question's relevance. It justifies having taken refuge in Žižek's heavenly sardonicism. Crafting on Ernest Hemingway's (2013) remarkable *The Sun Also Rises*, I would argue that some accomplishments crumbled in "two ways: gradually and then suddenly." They have been disintegrating over these last five decades. Thus, despite outstanding endeavours, five decades later, the nation and education, in so many aspects, could be described as a 'Freudian chamber of horrors' (Jal, 2023; Ambedkar, 2016).

As I pencil this piece, I noticed that the government recognizes a structural issue in the educational system. Although this is a revealing statement and an act of intellectual honesty, it is alarming that a system that has been in constant reform since the dawn of democracy has failed to reform itself. For decades, reform without change saturated the educational republic, interpellated policymakers and educators, and commonsensically articulated and re-articulated the pedagogical praxis (Hall, 1997) and teachers' daily lives. As Dwayne Huebner (1966) teaches us, 'the problem with education is 'not change,' but precisely the lack of change, given that so much has been done to change, and yet nothing has changed.'

Observable evidence crushes us mercilessly. Hundreds of thousands of students remain without teachers.⁵ The government kicked around 20 million Euros of incentives, whether to retain or attract new teachers, but it has yet to magnetize the social fabric as expected. Many schools are falling apart, and the number of deferred maintenance

⁵When the new social democratic government took office, there were around 100,000 students with no teachers. More recent data from the National Federation of Teachers - FENPROF- indicate that a month after the beginning of the current school year, circa 34.0000 students are without a teacher for at least one subject. See Viana, Carla (2024) 'Um mês após o início das aulas, cerca de 34 mil alunos estão sem professor a pelo menos uma disciplina.' *Público*, 11 Outubro.

facilities remains a mystery conveniently swept under the carpets—despite millions burned associated with Parque Escolar.⁶ Violent and criminal behaviour in schools rises alarmingly.⁷ Almighty heralds of ‘artificial intelligence’ pop up everywhere, ignoring a school system with a deficient and, in many cases, broken electronic apparatus. Public schools suffer from depleted material conditions. Little or no attention has been given to students with special needs. Band-aid approaches to address demographic challenges in classrooms with ‘retention rates among students with an immigrant background being much higher than those of their national peers.’⁸ A toxic and degrading professional environment has been established based on a culture of sharp competition and not collaboration among peers. The career is not attractive, and the processes and procedures for promotion are pretty outrageous. An obscene number of teachers are reaching retirement age—an issue that successive governments have not adequately addressed for decades. For years, teachers saw their salaries frozen to face the austerity challenges imposed by the IMF. The deskilling of teachers has become routine. The countless curriculum and teacher education reforms have proven - unsurprisingly for some experts - to be inadequate and to have a glaring lack of social relevance for a country facing drastic demographic changes. Meanwhile, the education system desperately struggles to keep up with PISA demands. The results blinded the system’s evaluation and fell into the complex swamp of comparing the incomparable - i.e., public schools with private schools. Five decades later, curriculum reforms are limited to the form and not to the content (Paraskeva, 2007). The reinstated vocational education that had been dismantled at the beginning of the democratic nation slipped into a Frankensteinian educational yarn, supported by an equally Frankensteinian teacher force and education and managed and led by a Frankensteinian leadership model. The tragedy crosses borders. Teaching the Portuguese language and culture abroad is a twilight zone, a discrete cartelized affair - a scandalous and promiscuous pedagogical aberration of epic proportions. Education has become divorced from pedagogy. While the former could be defined as the ‘son of a lesser God,’ the latter constitutes a restricted ‘republic within the republic.’ Moreover, education continues to turn its back on the economy; it is hard to unpack who at the *Conselho Nacional de Educação*⁹ is tearing up important avenues between education and the economy. Education is also a part of the political economy.

In higher education, the colours are bizarre as well. Universities are in financial agony; if they were private institutions, the shareholders would have pulled the plug long ago. It is not even worth discussing the aberration that the foundations associated with Universities constitute. The paradise promised by the couriers of Bologna – as

⁶ A state entity with the mission of ‘planning, managing, developing and executing the modernization and maintenance program for the public network of secondary schools and others assigned to the Ministry of Education.’ (see <https://www.gov.pt/entidades/parque-escolar-e.p.e>)

⁷ Martins Ângela Maria & Alves, Mariana Gaio (2019) Conflicts at public schools in Portugal: analysis of a government program. *Ensaio: aval. pol. públ. Educ.*, 27 (102), pp. 9-23; Also, see Barroso, Ricardo (2023) ‘68% dos adolescentes portugueses foram vítimas de comportamentos agressivos em contexto escolar’ Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (UTAD); Matos, Margarida et al (2009) *Violência entre pares no contexto escolar em Portugal, nos últimos 10 anos*. Santarém: Instituto Politécnico de Santarém, Escola Superior de Educação.

⁸ See Moreira, Cristina Faria (2024) ‘Alunos com pais estrangeiros chumbam três vezes mais do que os colegas de origem portuguesa.’ *Público*, 13 Outubro.

⁹ *National Education Council*

anticipated - has proven to be fallacious in many respects (Paraskeva, 2009). Universities remain endogamic – reproducing intellectual consanguinity – protected by a bunker leadership and management culture that is quite peculiar and only ‘open’ to an upper caste of Illuminati of Academicus Lusitanus. I do not recall seeing a foreign academic in the rectorate of a Portuguese University. The faculty career in academia remains perverse, with sadistic refinements, profoundly bigoted, and brutally violent - an overt attack on human rights. The once robust and vibrant Institutes and Schools of Education – the University of Minho, for example, was a world pioneer with two autonomous Institutes of Education - are dwindling miserably. In survival mode for decades, the faculty has exhausted and surpassed creativity and innovation’s physical and metaphysical limits. As higher education greatly influences other levels of education (Pires, 1987), this crisis should be a cause for concern

Alarmingly, as Ruben Gaztabimde-Fernandez (2022) adverts, before such social collapse, one witnessed a field utterly saturated with a culture of ‘pretending not to know.’ Maria Filomena Monica (2011) did not mince her words, arguing that under the democratic tenure, “the [government]¹⁰ gave parents the belief that if their children graduated, they would have a glorious future. Humble people convinced themselves this was true and made unimaginable sacrifices to send their children to university. In the end, many of them found that they only found work, if at all, in call centers. (Monica, 2011, pp., 561 – 562). Monica’s take insightfully transplanted the famous Münch’s scream into breathtaking prose. The utopia of a just tomorrow crafted by the revolution is questioned, and one wonders “if the future is still a long way off.” (Nóvoa, 2005, p. 17). Five decades after the Carnation Revolution, we do not have an education that embodies the promises of such a radical turn. Alternatively, as some would say, the Carnation Revolution did not give rise to a carnation education, curriculum, and pedagogy. Franz Kafka was not wrong when he stressed that the utopia of ‘every revolution evaporates and leaves behind only the slime of a new bureaucracy.’ Education, indeed, has failed the nation miserably—obviously for a multitude of reasons. One of those reasons, I argue, was that it clung to a mythomaniacal logic that had ‘mythomaniacally’ saturated curriculum theory and development. I will return to this issue later.

An opposite question to the one I asked previously now naturally arises – demanded even by the more inattentive reader. So, is the country in a worse situation? Again, I have to take shelter in Žižek’s (2019; 2024) exalted sarcasm, and with him, I will, again, say without hesitation, ‘Yes, please.’ In doing so, I ‘stick with my guns’ and reiterate that I remain uncertain if this question is vital. I see that both questions are profoundly useless. They cancel each other out - in other words, the fact that there are certain democratic gains casts a shadow over the setbacks that have been observed, and the fact that there are setbacks overshadows the democratic gains that have been achieved. Both questions prevent us from going to the core of the problem. Along with my tolerant reader, let us try another path, as what matters is to ‘exfoliate’ (Gil, 2018) and critically grasp – the best we can - how we ended up in such a deplorable stage and if, why, where, and how we failed as pedagogues and curriculum theorists. What did we miss? Who

¹⁰ Parenthesis mine.

missed? How did the country and education get to this stage?? Who benefits from such social malaises? Such a social and educational ordeal is not happening innocently. If there is a structural problem within the social apparatuses—as has been officially assumed—then one must recognize a structural problem in our democracy to save it. No democracy is functional without or with limping – socialist/social - democratic social apparatuses.¹¹

A social crisis of this magnitude is not related to just one factor but to a combination of complex issues that are nevertheless related. In other spaces, I have tried to answer these questions by focusing on two vectors that have significantly contributed to the challenges we have faced as pedagogues: the neoliberal triumphalist impulses and the epistemically nature of the epistemological cathartics between dominant and counter-dominant traditions and within the counter-dominant epistemological circles - particularly those that I have defined as a radical critical curriculum river that frames the generation of utopia. (Paraskeva, 2023; 2021; 2022; 2018). In other contexts (Paraskeva, 2021; 2018), I have unpacked the challenges placed by the impact of neoliberal policies in education and understand ‘where and why’ critical approaches have experienced puzzling setbacks; in this essay, I will focus on some of the epistemological wrangles and their impact in our field.

Epistemological cathartics

The struggles between ‘humanists, developmentalists, social efficientists, and social meliorists’ right at the emergence of the field during the end of the nineteenth century (Kliebard, 1995; Paraskeva, 2007) speak volumes about what I have defined as the field’s original sin – eugenics (Paraskeva, 2023) – and the concomitantly epistemicidal nature of the curriculum epistemological purges (Paraskeva, 2011; 2018). Such a nature is also quite palatable in later – and more contemporary – battles between conservative curriculum traditions and the more radical, critical, and post-critical impulses. While the battles between such movements were violent, the conflicts within the counter-hegemonic nucleus were brutal. Voices ‘from within,’ while praising some advances made by the critical matrix championed by the works of Michael Apple (1979), Henry Giroux (1981), Peter McLaren (1989), Cockburn and Blackburn (1970), and others – namely, ‘education as political,’ a ‘site of power struggles’ and as a ‘social construction’ – they also saw such approaches as “historically backward-looking and ideologically reactionary” (Wexler, 1987, p. 127), providing a “functionalist approach and have neglected crucial empirical investigations” (Liston, 1988, p. 15). Critical perspectives, dissent waves argue, were silent against relations of patriarchy permeating educational apparatuses (Gore, 1992; Walkerdine, 1992) and “surrounded by repressive myths that

¹¹ It would be interesting to see what progressive Christian existentialist intellectuals like Charles Péguy and Emmanuel Mounier would craft before the social pandemonium we face today. See Péguy, Charles (2001). *Temporal and Eternal*. New York: Liberty Fund INC; Mounier, E. (1938). *Personalism*. New York: Longmans.

perpetuate relations of domination; [they]¹² did not ‘empower and did not emancipate.’” (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 298).

My attentive reader anticipated what I was about to do and asked me to clarify the relationship between these theoretical metamorphoses of the field on the other side of the Atlantic and the struggle for the curriculum field on this side, precisely in Portugal. The nexus is much more evident than it might seem at first glance. The truth is that what could be defined as the curriculum field in Portugal, primarily since the 90s, and with very few exceptions, was profoundly driven by American and Anglo-Saxon waves.¹³ Most curriculum theory and development were labored under and within the limits of such an epistemological matrix. Indeed, some of the theoretical larvae of countless American-Anglo-Saxon epistemological battles crossed the Ocean.

One of the great examples of the clashes between dominant and counter-dominant impulses was triggered by Nuno Crato’s devastating critique of the chaotic state of public education. In his terms, the field was highjacked by a spurious logic, a cult of darkness framed through an obscure, odd, and obtuse linguistic thesaurus that he called ‘*eduquês*.’ Crato, a trained mathematician, unleashed a ruthless critique of education’s romantic and empty language, an education based on a pseudo-pedagogy impregnated with dangerous commonplaces and clichés hiding nefarious ideological cults. He brutally targeted progressive movements and tendencies, blaming the educational field for the disastrous state of education. The democratic State under such *laissez faire laissez passer* pedagogy was irreversible compromised. Crato’s take echoed some of the arguments one could flag, for example, in particular conservative positions in the U.S. - namely, Admiral Hyman Rickover (1959), E.D. Hirsh Jr’s (1999), Tony Bennett (1994), Rudolph Flesh (1955), Cox and Dyson (1969) - challenging the state of public education. Interestingly, some of his incursions also jazz with certain impulses raised by Diane Ravitch (2000).

Another great clash erupted earlier, with a ferociously articulated critique of the so-called *Filhos de Rousseau*¹⁴ that mainly opposed Monica, Steven Stoer, and António Magalhães. Contrary to ‘Crato’s *Eduquês*,’ Monica, Stoer, and Magalhães exemplified a clash more aligned at the core of the counter-dominant agora.¹⁵ This dispute unfolded some visible wounds that would later be brought to light in Crato’s ‘*eduquês*.’¹⁶ Although they have slightly different contours, the fact is that they touched on common points

¹² Parenthesis mine.

¹³ It goes without saying there were influences from other schools of thought. The Francophone school also influenced many Portuguese pedagogues and avenues of thought – let us not forget the importance of intellectuals such as Albano Estrela and Teresa Estrela. Some authors drew from the Francophone and Anglo-Saxon American schools, such as António Nóvoa. But the truth is that the curriculum field in the country had a solid Anglo-Saxon-American influence. Even the connections and influences built and received from currents more situated in Spain and Latin America had an Anglo-Saxon American tendency since these currents were also heavily influenced by various Anglo-Saxon American movements.

¹⁴ *Children of Rosseau*.

¹⁵ Our field has a problematic tendency to label the ‘other’ – those who dissent from our views - always in a dysphoric tone. It would always be, in my opinion, rashness to label Maria Filomena Monica’s approach as palely conservative.

¹⁶ It is crucial to highlight that the educational and curriculum debates framing the Portuguese field cannot be reduced to such wrangles. I just brought to the table two of the most fractural clashes that emblematically grasp the state of the field.

verified on the other side of the Atlantic. Education, Monica (1997, p. 59) claims, has been a victim of progressive trends “from structuralism to postmodernism, from psychoanalysis to Marxism, from deconstructionism to feminism” (p. 59).

In Monica’s (1997, p. 59) terms, “left-wing pedagogues take refuge in a rhetorical limbo, in which nothing has meaning.” Contemporary pedagogy hurts the oppressed by “valuing popular language, without recognizing the limits of its vocabulary, thus confining the children of the poor in the filthy world into which they were born.” (Monica, 1997, p. 60). She believes “the main person responsible for this disaster is undoubtedly Rousseau.” Her take did not go unchallenged.

Stoer and Magalhães (1998) bring sociological studies (Baudelot & Estabelet, 1998) to the fore to counter the ‘thesis of the educational crisis.’ They attack the approaches led by Monica (2011) as simplistic, biased, elitist, and epistemologically fragile that brush under the rug the ills of almost five decades of dictatorship. They (1998, pp. 20-21) argue that Monica and her followers erroneously neglected that “a massified school, that is, a school for everyone, means breaking with the instrumentality of the ‘old’ elitist school based on a “stale academy that despises both pedagogy and its people.” With all the defects that the democratic school had - and it had many - it was necessary, they (1998) claim, to recognize its achievements and contextualize its challenges within the complex scope of the consequences created by five decades of brutal authoritarianism that offered shameful percentages of illiteracy to its people.

One can identify exciting elements in every side of such epistemological earthquakes. For example, all of them acknowledge that public education faces serious challenges. None of them vividly counter fundamental democratic principles, nor do they deny public education as ‘the’ great equalizer. However, to say that the challenges of public education are due to the dominance of progressive Rousseauian pedagogies is an exaggeration. A similar tendency is noticeable on the other side of the Atlantic. Hirsh Jr. (1999) and Ravitch (2000) also unleash a devastating critique of the educational system dominated by Freirean pedagogies – which is inaccurate. In opposition, Stoer and Magalhães (1998) perspectives find a parallel in some arguments edified on the other side of the Atlantic by intellectuals such as Cockburn and Blackburn (1970), Apple (1979), Giroux (1981), and others who place the challenges fundamentally as a consequence of the brutality of the capitalist system, which is also reductive and inaccurate.

João Formosinho’s (1988) seminal thesis – currículo uniforme pronto a vestir de tamanho único – constitute a clear checkmate to both proclamations. In what is arguably the germinal piece of the field, he (1998) crafts the true epistemological colors of the dominant curriculum trends that are the antipodes of what Rousseau advocated. Odd as it might be, such is the curriculum matrix groomed and protected under the democratic constitution. We are before two ‘irreconcilable’ proclamations.

Despite their geographical and epistemological disparity, it is possible to establish a parallel between all these perspectives. There are many points of convergence and common threads between the quarrels on this side and the other side of the Atlantic. The richness of some theoretical angles of these battles calls for serious

and in-depth investigation. One of the most glaring commonalities – and quite problematic - I would highlight in such epistemological purges within and beyond this side of the Atlantic is the epistemological consanguinity that frames such wrangles, aggravating our field’s epistemicidal nature.

An Exhausted Epistemological Consanguinity

Overt epistemological consanguinity contaminates curriculum epistemological cathartics. Among the various negative aspects, I highlight two as they structure the thesis substantiating this essay. Firstly, dominant and counter-hegemonic traditions confined their epistemological struggles through and within the limits established historically by the modern Western Eurocentric reason. This inability to admit epistemological validity beyond Eurocentric reason tarnished the field’s dominant reasons; not only could they not recognize the existence of endless different and diverse epistemes beyond the Eurocentric platform, but they also failed to realize that they were working on an exhausted, worn-out reason that, despite having brought about significant advances for humanity, by itself, was no longer capable of responding to the challenges that societies and humanity in general faced, so many of them brought about precisely by such diminish reason. Dominant and counter-dominant curriculum logic labored on modernity’s reason, which was divisive and abyssal (Santos, 2007), a misleading dream (Harding, 2008), depleted and expired (Eagleton, 2003; Jameson, 2016); a reason with worn-out epistemological categories, and whose solutions are part of the problem and never its solution (Rasco, 2021). The reason that is criticizable and criticized cannot itself emancipate (Santos, 2018), or as Lorde (2007) taught us, ‘the master tool cannot dismantle the master’s house.’

Hence, while the former openly subscribes to the epistemicidal nature of education and the curriculum, the latter, by operating within the same epistemicidal matrix, sharpened the epistemicidal nature of education and the curriculum. The fight against epistemicide, led by counter-hegemonic impulses, inadvertently generated a reversive epistemicide (Paraskeva, 2018). Imbued with a reason as epistemicidal as the dominant reason, the counter-hegemonic movements also worked in a selective, divisive, derivative epistemological matrix as abyssal as the modern Western Eurocentric reason - revealing a notorious inability to avoid the construction of a mythomaniac curriculum theory and development (Paraskeva, 2024; 2023; 2022; 2021; 2018). A theory built based on a derivative; limited matrix is permanently incapable of portraying the aspects of reality silenced by such a matrix. It is a theory generated in a diffuse real(ity). It is not a theory of ‘truth’ but of a ‘particular dominant reason.’ It is an imparity theory, a limping theory incapable of provoking any sustainable reform since it was oblivious that it was grasping reality derivatively (Paraskeva, 2024; 2023; 2022; 2021; 2018; 2016). Any social theory based on an epistemological catalectic reason can only promote a catalectic curriculum incapable of responding to the tremendous demographic challenges driven by uncontrolled migratory waves and environmental imbalances. With the drastic demographic change, societies are flooded and irradiated with new and diverse epistemological perspectives - other ways of reading the ‘wor(l)d’ - which escapes to the

current curriculum dominant and counter-dominant traditions. Another educational and curricular theory is needed, which is an expression of such epistemological irradiation.

Secondly, dominant and counter-dominant movements naturally expose themselves to criticism from a more anticolonial angle and decolonial inclination. They got lost in the false monumentality of Eurocentric reason (Santos, 2018), which completely obscured their interpretation of reality and possible paths for its transformation. They never bothered to question the possibility of other reasons, logic, and forms of knowledge and science. Betrayed in such a limited matrix, they erroneously perceived reality “as a totality and, as such, proposed a total alternative to the one that exists” (Santos, 1999, p. 201), an alternative that could only be possible through Eurocentric reason, viewed as the unique and legit. They were oblivious that “there is no single principle of social transformation and even those who continue to believe in a future socialist see it as a possible future in competition with alternative futures. There are no unique historical agents or a unique form of domination” (Santos, 1999, p. 202). Moreover, they did not pay close attention that many of the crucial concepts “no longer have the centrality they once enjoyed or were internally so reworked and nuanced that they lost much of their critical strength” (Santos, 1999, p. 200). The battle between the dominant positivist impulses and counter-dominant critical traditions occurs on the same Eurocentric epistemological ring, fought with the same tools provided by the Eurocentric thesaurus, triggering a theoretical impasse.

Theoretical Stroke

The inability to perceive the world and its challenges beyond the limits of the Eurocentric epistemological matrix created a severe stroke within the field’s theoretical blood vessels; it fueled what I would call, drawing from Gil (2009), a ‘curriculum involution.’ Neither the dominant nor the counter-dominant traditions were able to claim complete victory; thus, we keep experiencing an increasing void between, on the one hand, the absence of the consolidation of a fully segregated curriculum – we do have countless examples of counter-dominant victories – and, on the other hand, the entire absence of the emergence of the new human being. And, within such an impasse, the epistemicide and the reversive epistemicide (Paraskeva, 2016; 2018; 2021a; 2022c; 2023a; 2024). A void is defined by a paradox: neither the ‘old human being’ died, nor the ‘creation’ of the new human being was fully materialized. Recapturing Nóvoa’s (2005, p. 17) analytic matrix, “while we sense the end of the historical cycle of modernity, we have been unable to follow the path of contemporaneity.” Crafting on Gil’s (2009) framework, these battles represented no ‘real’ tragedy as they were stripped of their tragic dimension. Instead, a curriculum involution occurred, which, in too many ways, points to a ‘regression.’¹⁷

¹⁷ It goes without saying that certain achievements cannot be denied - *Escola da Ponte* project (Pacheco & Pacheco, 2018) and the adult and community education models, such as the *Universidade Túlio Espanca* and the *Escola*

Indeed, no transformation occurred. The improvement drove into regression. Authorized voices in the supervision of teaching practices testify to the difficulties in breaking away from regulatory models of knowledge towards more emancipatory paths. (Vieira & Moreira, 2011) Such involution triggered a promoted a kind of theoretical coup d'état, an attack on the space and time of theory, a theoretical mope, a theorycide, paving the way for a dangerous anti-intellectual intellectualism one of the enzymes of the de-skilling of educators. Intellectualism is becoming a rare collectible in school settings (Paraskeva, 2013). The incapacity to overcome such involution is evidence of curriculum's *capitis diminutiu*, which triggers its theoretical hypertrophy.

What is the best way(s) to address the theoretical hypertrophy? – the reader asks. How do we challenge the curriculum epistemicides? How do we examine the role of curriculum theory in such epistemicide? Such questions are optional for an easy answer. Without any intention of providing a recipe, I dare to share three possible paths, each of which, I admit, is highly complex – as it implies a radically different education, curriculum, and teacher preparation “to respond to the increasing uncertainties and complexities of teaching in the twenty-first century” (Flores, 2016, p. 196). We “need new concepts of education [since] the school model, as we know it, no longer works” (Nóvoa, 2015, n.p.). Firstly, there is the need for a profound collective awareness, particularly for educators as a class, that it is no longer possible to continue existing within the same political register that guides education. One ‘cannot change society if one is incapable of changing mentalities’ (Nkrumah, 1964).

Secondly, we must cease how we have historically produced curriculum theory, particularly critical curriculum theory. How we have been conceiving ‘criticism’ has to die. That is – and following Saramago’s (2009) metaphor that ‘there is no future as the following day, no one dies,’ - the divisive way in which we have been working on critical theory - obliterating the recognition of other epistemological perspectives beyond the Eurocentric matrix - has to die. This is not the end of critical theories and pedagogies. It is, however, the end of how we have labored critical and post-critical terrains.

Thirdly, connected with the formers, it is vital to have another educational and curriculum theory and research that walks away from its imparity nature and can respond to the significant challenges humanity is facing, the most complex of which is the need for recognition and coexistence of the world’s infinite and diverse epistemologies. We need theoretical work responding to the tremendous challenges facing humanity and the country – i.e., immigration and ecological disasters. We need a curriculum theory that echoes the ethos of the Carnation Revolution and constitutes a beacon of democratic values. We need a people’s theory - through an everyday curriculum (Oliveira, 2017).

Towards a Carnation Theory

Comunitária de Suão (Nico, 2021). However, these achievements never imposed themselves as hegemonic and could not provoke a revolutionary traction on a full scale in the educational system.

As I have relentlessly argued in other contexts (Paraskeva, 2024; 2023a; 2022c; 2022d; 2021b; 2018; 2016), the best way to unblock such curriculum theoretical ‘involution’ and ‘impairment’ is to deterritorialize curriculum theory, which implies a non-derivative commitment to fight for a subversively transgressive platform, one that pushes research to a “level of instability, not stability, generating concepts also, in itself, unstable” (O’Brien & Penna, 1999). In doing so, a deterritorialized curriculum theory increasingly becomes an itinerant theory - a theory of nonspaces (Augé, 2003)¹⁸. In essence, I argue for a rhizomatous approach that sees reality beyond dichotomies, beyond beginnings and endings (Gough, 2000); an approach that breeds from the multiplicity of immanent platforms and, from its centerless and peripheryless position, defies the myth of clean knowledge territories (Deleuze & Guattari, 1997); an itinerant curriculum theory (hereafter ICT) is committed to unending diverse and different non-Eurocentric epistemological rivers to edify a perpetually non-abysal theoretical posture that will force curriculum theory and research to deal with multiple, not fixed, frameworks within ample and intricate world epistemological waves (Moreira, 2017).

ICT thus challenges Modern Western Eurocentric monumental abyssal thinking as the riverbed of dominant and counter-dominant Eurocentric curriculum reason. ICT is the decolonial turn through its commitment to de-linking (Mignolo, 2000; Maldonado-Torres, 2018) from coloniality and its power, knowledge, labor, and being matrix. (Quijano, 1991);¹⁹ ICT is a non-derivative epistemological approach committed to thinking and doing theory ‘from the perspective of the other side of the line’ (Santos, 2007a; 2007b) - fostering the emergence of radical collective and individual subjectivities respecting *nuestros locales* (Jupp, 2023). Such a theoretical approach is an itinerantology that addresses *las heridas abiertas* (Anzaldúa, 2007) of the colonality of power. To create, the ICTheorist “needs a foothold” (Pessoa, 2014, p. 214), and the strength of such foothold comes from his/her “extraordinary exteriority” (Gil, 2010, p. 14), that is, the “interior and exterior constitute a space of implosion” (Gil, 2010, p. 15). ICT thus decolonizes the complicated conversation (Trueit, 2000; Pinar, 2000) - in ‘itself an epistemicide,’ as Dwayne Huebner (2022) proclaimed.

ICT is not a bunker theory (Gil, 2009) or a silo theory; it works under a “pluralistic conceptual grammar” (Jupp, 2017, p. 4) and allows us to think “a prudent knowledge for a decent life” (Santos, 2007a; 2007b) respecting the world’s epistemological diversity. ICT walks towards knowledge emancipation, thus opening up the canon of knowledge

¹⁸ José Felix Angulo Rasco (2024) frames a different reading of Marc Augé’s (2003) take. As he argues (2024, p. 92), Augé’s non-place is a place of passage where one does not stay, communicate or speak. According to Angulo Rasco (2024, p. 92), Augé’s theory of non-spaces is complexified by philosophers such as Zygmunt Bauman, arguing that a non-place is a space deprived of symbolic expressions of identity, relationships, or history: examples include airports, highways, self-contained hotel rooms, and public transport.’ I am not so sure about the divergence. The ‘itinerantology,’ I advocate, implies precisely non-spaces that itinerantly promote eloquent silences - which are also ideological, as Eagleton (2003) elucidates. Augé’s non-spaces provide the ideological river bed for the itinerant flux needed for an alternative non-derivative way to produce a curriculum theory that addresses the world’s endless epistemological difference and diversity. Such a dispute deserves a deep examination, which does not fit here, given the nature of this essay, and I intend to address it in my forthcoming work.

¹⁹ Much has been written about the decolonial torrent. Many decolonial and anticolonial authors have expressed great concern about how the term ‘decolonial’ has been used gratuitously and without due recognition and historical and political context. See, Táiwò, O. (2022) *Against Decolonization. Taking African Agency Seriously*. Hurst.

regulation; it is not a great narrative of a great theory as “knowledge-emancipation does not aspire to a great theory, it aspires to a theory of translation that serves as an epistemological support for emancipatory practices” (Santos, 1999, p. 206). ICT is not a grande theory, though - in the sense of a tremendous theoretical narratology. It is only a theory -- perpetually itinerant -- of greater knowledge, a just knowledge, fully aware that such greater knowledge is reachable only through a “full consciousness that everything is continually transformed inside and outside our mind” (Tse, 2007, p. 66).

ICT is a wordily theoretical approach; it is the theory of *palavrar* (Pessoa, 2014, p. 226). The ICTheorist is constantly mining the meaning (Williams, 2013). Thus, ICT is inherently “an exfoliation” (Gil, 1998, p. 127) metamorphosis, a sill of infinite mournings” (Couto, 2008, p. 105). ICT is a “new form of political affirmation grounded in a global pluriversal epistemological visions and interests to be favored and courses of action to be followed that are sustained in people’s history” (Popkewitz, 1976).

The ICTheorist moves towards a radically different curriculum reason. ICT implies an itinerant theorist immersed in a metamorphosis “so perpetually incomplete that even dreams dislike because they have defects” (Pessoa, 2014, p. 126); so perpetually deep that it “hurts the imagination” (Gil, 2010, p. 86), it hurts the “physical brain” (Pessoa, 2014, p. 234). ICT is the perfect different walk towards the ‘utopia,’ implies a different ‘utopist’ (Santos, 1995), because it is conscious of the imperfection of what is perfect, mindful of the perfection of the imperfection, and aware that an alternative utopia towards the utopia is needed (Paraskeva, 2016; Süssekind, 2017). Hence, being perfect contradicts being complete, yet the theorist is thirsty for ‘being complete,’ leaving him/her in a perennial state of useless pain. ICT is a weapon against the epistemicidal nerve of the field – as Cabral (1969) would put it.

The ICTheorist is in a volcanic chain, constantly lacking equilibrium. Thus, s/he is always a stranger in his/her ‘own language’ and profoundly conscious of the multiplicities of lines, spaces, and dynamic becomings (Deleuze, 1990). ICT thus echoes Dwayne Huebner’s (1959; 1966) challenges of a radically different semantology, thirstily seeking a new language. ICT and its struggle against the epistemicide grabbed the field’s attention, providing “a new influential discourse” (Pinar, 2013, p. 64) that is highly relevant (Zhao, 2019), which “enacts the call for new languages for curriculum studies” (Schubert, 2017, p. 12). The purpose of the ICTheorist is to travel, go beyond the limits, move, and stay in a kind of “permanent exile” (Said, 2005). ICT is the theory of non-places and non-times, which is, in essence, a theory of all places and all times. The ICTheorist is a constant migrant (Jin, 2008), a “permanent nomad of his own all multifaceted consciousness” (Pessoa, 2014, p. 113), who experiences a series of [epistemological] events (Khalifa, 1999). Such migrant being and thinking situates the itinerant theorist. The ICTheorist is an epistemological pariah.

ICT is a theory of disquiet (Pessoa, 2014), challenging the “disquiet paralysis” (Gil, 2009, p. 20), yet knowing full well that it is through disquiet that subjectivities emerge (Gil, 2009). It is not a sole act, however; it is a populated solitude. The challenges the canon. ICT, Antonia Darder (2016, p. x) claims, calls for a political praxis that

must be both epistemologically fierce and deeply anchored in the sensibilities of our subalternity—the only place from which we can truly rid ourselves of the heavy yoke of Western sanctioned tyranny, which has wrought bitter histories of impoverishment, colonization, enslavement, and genocide.

ICT's abyssal commitment constitutes an anthem against the indignity of speaking for the other (Walsh, 2002; Delzeuze, 1990). ICT challenges the sociology of absences as the only way to grasp “silences, needs, and unpronounceable aspirations questions” (Santos, 1999, p. 206); ICT is not an orthonimus theory, quite the opposite (Gil, 2010); fully heteronimus, it is a heterotheory.

ICT confronts and throws the subject to a permanent, unstable question, ‘What is it to think?’ ICT is a metamorphosis of the endless multifarious epistemological “alphabet[s] of thought” (Gil, 2009, p. 25). In this sense, ICT “reads differently because it is written and spoken in a different way” (Gil, 2010, p. 20). ICT challenges not presentism (Pinar, 2004) but momentism that frames contemporarism (Gil 2018; Paraskeva, 2024; 2021a), the yoke of the present-now – in which our field is sinking - a dangerous cult of ‘the contemporary,’ which completely dilutes any utopian hypothesis.

ICT put forward un paradigma otro (Mignolo, 2000; Escobar, 2013) that “does not fit into a linear history of paradigms or epistemes [that] runs counter to the greatest modernist narratives [and] reaches towards the possibility of non-European modes of thinking” (Escobar, 2013, p. 34). ICT pays cautious attention to the strife of religion and spirituality (Ela, 2013). The challenge of an itinerant curriculum theorist is to un-puzzle the nexus of physical–metaphysical. ICT is an ethical take.

ICT, William Schubert (2017, p. 10) argues, is not merely an “invocation or evocation;” it touches the ‘real’ nerve (Dabashi, 2015) by challenging both dominant and specific counter-dominant traditions within the Modernity Western Eurocentric epistemological matrix as part of the epistemicide. However, as a future for the field, ICT alerts the need to walk away from all forms of romanticism regarding the non-Modern, non-Western, and non-Eurocentric epistemes. ICT is not a nationalistic theoretical platform. ICT fights any form of indigenoustude (Paraskeva, 2011); it is also about decolonizing native narratives as well, by “considering the relationship of language to power and also to empowerment” (Mallon, 2012; Táíwò, 2022). In so doing, it reacts against epistemological blindness, opening the veins of a complex cognitive canon, dissecting its strokes, and counter strokes (Janson & Paraskeva, 2015). ICT also counters “the violent power of the identical that becomes invisible,” as Byubg Chul Han (2018, p. 10) would put it; it reacts against the fading of otherness in an era in which “the negativity of the other gives place to the positivity of the identical” (Han, 2018, p. 10). In ICT terms, the identical is pornographic (Han, 2018), and the ICTheorist counters reactionary essentializing dangers of certain identity currents that subvert individual identities into group identities. It is an epistemological declaration of freedom and independence (Paraskeva, 2019; 2024). ICT attempts to turn curriculum theory against

itself, not just to solve problems but also to cause them (Biesta, Filippakou, Wainwright & Aldrige, 2019) – derivatively.

ICT aims precisely at ‘a general epistemology of the impossibility of a general epistemology.’ (Santos, 2014). It is an itinerant posture profoundly committed to an epistemological radical co-habitus. ICT epitomizes what John L. Austin (1962, p. 58) calls performative utterance, as it does something by saying it. Today’s educational theoretical labor begs for a radically different pedagogue. To be or not to be an epistemological pariah? Along with Žižek, I would argue, ‘Yes, Please.’ This is the best way to honour April’s revolutionary ethos.

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