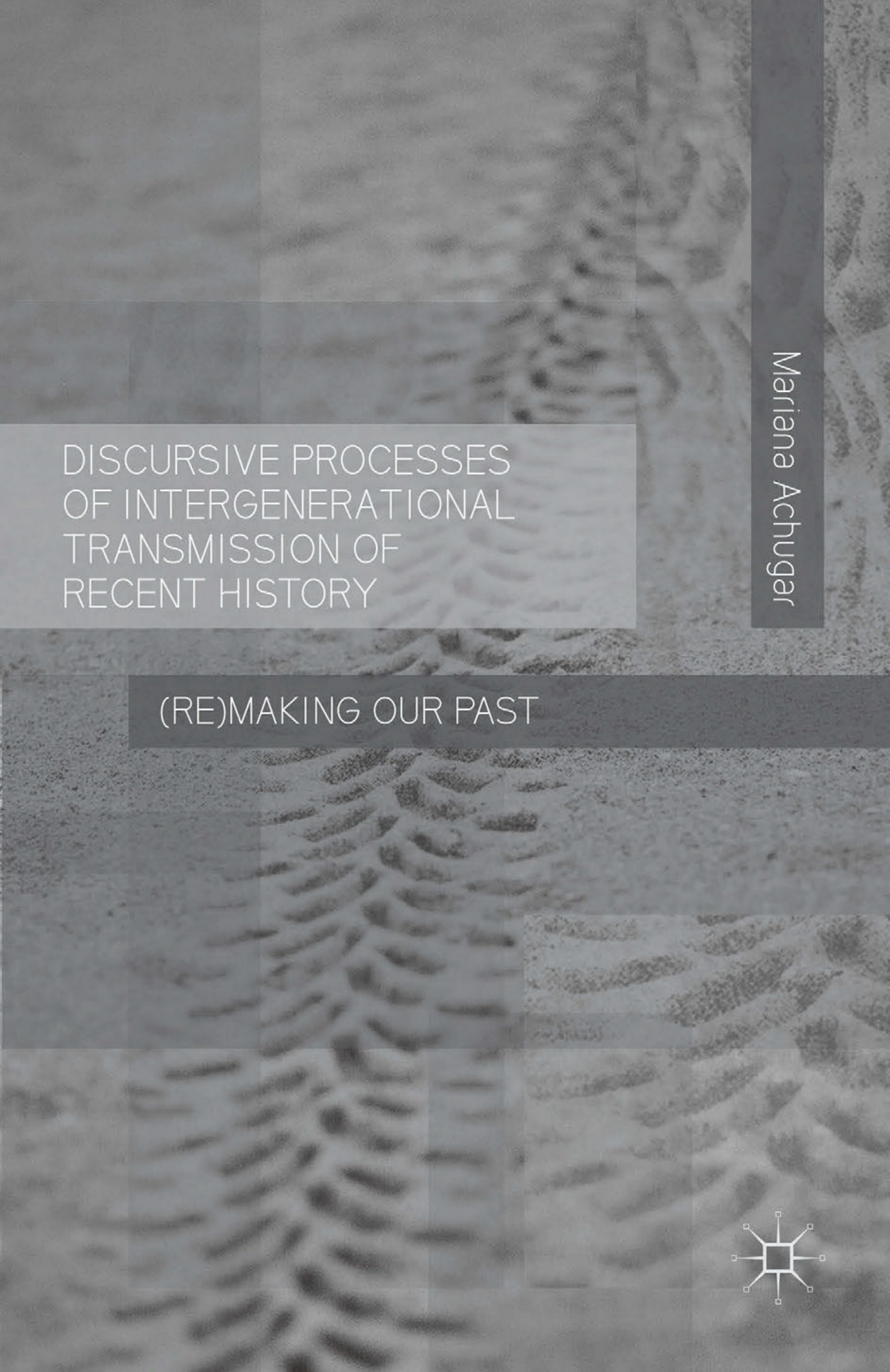

DISCURSIVE PROCESSES OF INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF RECENT HISTORY

(RE)MAKING OUR PAST

Mariana Achugar

Discursive Processes of Intergenerational Transmission of Recent History

Also by Mariana Achugar

WHAT WE REMEMBER: The Construction of Memory in Military Discourse (2008)

‘Mariana Achugar has written a powerful and solid book in which she gives voice to new generations of Uruguayan youth from Montevideo and rural Tacuarembó, who enter the public debate about the contested traumatic past of recent dictatorship. As Mariana emphasizes in her work, “the goal of intergenerational transmission of the recent past is not only to remember, but to understand”, and this is precisely what youth manifested to be interested in, because understanding their past enables them to construct their national and civic identities. Mariana expands the theoretical and methodological approaches in discourse analysis and focuses on the circulation and reception of texts. She examines intertextuality and resemiotization in recontextualized practices, for analyzing what youth know about the dictatorship and how they learn about it. In doing so, Mariana reveals the complexity of this circulation of meanings about the past through popular culture, family conversations and history classroom interactions in school contexts. We learn that the youth, as active members of society, construct the past of the dictatorship through both; schematic narratives that are available in the public sphere, and from their own elaborations grounded on the materials available in the community. This is a highly relevant and much needed book for scholars interested in memory and critical discourse studies.’

– **Teresa Oteíza**, *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Chile*

‘Memory scholars agree that the inter-generational transmission of collective memories is key to shaping the future, and others have noted that Uruguay is in the vanguard of using the school to transmit historical memories of the recent past to children who did not live it themselves, but no one has studied this process so closely or so well as Mariana Achugar . . . A landmark in Memory Studies.’

– **Peter Winn**, *Tufts University, USA*

Discursive Processes of Intergenerational Transmission of Recent History

(Re)making Our Past

Mariana Achugar
Carnegie Mellon University, USA

palgrave
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DISCURSIVE PROCESSES OF INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF RECENT HISTORY

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For Miranda and Gabo

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* * *

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1

Intergenerational Transmission, Discourse, and the Recent Past

Last year, I heard a report on the radio about a study of Czech deer that still avoided the Iron Curtain a quarter of a century after the end of the Cold War.[1] Tracking 300 deer showed that the animals maintained the boundary even though the electric fences dividing the Czech–German border had been taken down. Despite the fact that the land is now a forested part of a national park with no barriers, the deer continue to stay on "their side" of the border. Since the life expectancy of deer is about 15 years, none of the deer now living would have encountered the physical barrier. How do they learn these boundaries? The scientists involved in the study believe that the fawns learn these boundaries and movement patterns by following their mothers. Thus, the territory remains the same for new generations, because of the reproduction of embodied practices. The story is a metaphor for the main goals of this book. I seek to reveal how intergenerational transmission of recent history occurs and how, in this process, youth construct a historical identity.

Intergenerational transmission of the past in human lives can explain why we can remember things we have not directly experienced. For example, how can we remember the Iron Curtain, if it disappeared before we were born? As members of a group, we learn to remember what is of concern to most members, or the nearest members. Collective memory[2] is the space where intergenerational transmission operates. In communities shaped by exile, political persecution, state terrorism, and emigration, the transmission of memories of the past affects the construction of group identity and forms of participation. Disruptions in processes of intergenerational transmission can explain why younger generations do not feel as if they are part of a national group or engage in political processes. How do young people who did not live certain events learn about them? How does this learning process affect their understanding of themselves as historical beings? How do they connect their personal futures with their national or family's pasts?

These are important questions when attempting an understanding of cultural reproduction and change. Continuity across generations enables groups to pass on social knowledge accumulated through time by the community. This type of sharing of knowledge enables communities to build on their pasts to construct a future, and simultaneously constructs a sense of belonging or membership that ensures individuals' allegiance to the group. So, intergenerational transmission processes impact the sustainability of a group, as well as its identity. At the individual level, intergenerational transmission contributes to a sense of self as a historical being. Our personal trajectories are linked to those of larger historical processes. Understanding what makes us similar to and different from others contributes to the construction of a self-image. These dual processes of identification and differentiation are part of the identity construction that youth undergo, and help them understand their place in society, their family, or a particular interest group. However, in cases of conflictual and violent pasts where there is no consensus on what to pass on to younger generations, the legacy of the past becomes problematic.

Recent debates about the meaning of contested pasts – such as fascism in Europe, apartheid in South Africa, or state terrorism in Latin America – reveal the challenges of coming to terms with the past. Present debates about the past are part of the struggle to shape the future. Deciding how to remember these painful pasts, understanding the roles of different social actors in these events, and what these events mean for us today are situations that parents, politicians, and scholars have to deal with. Investigating how contested pasts are transmitted enables us to shift focus from the legitimacy of representations to the space in between generations in a process of meaning making. Focusing on how the discursive process of intergenerational transmission occurs foregrounds the coconstructed and intersubjective nature of what is passed on. Simultaneously, putting our lenses on younger generations who were not direct participants in the events, allows us to better understand their roles in shaping the cultural transmission processes. Which of the competing social memories is taken up by youth? How do they make meaning of the past? In what ways is the past (re)made by youth in these transmission processes?

In this book, I explore how a contested recent past is remembered by younger generations who were not direct participants in these events. The particular case investigates what Uruguayan teenagers know about the civil–military dictatorship (1973–85),[3] what discourses come into play in shaping these views, and the role of discourse in intergenerational transmission.

Intergenerational transmission

The intergenerational transmission of the past is a communicative process (Welzer, 2010). This transmission is semiotically mediated and supported by an interpretive community (Wertsch, 2002). The transmission occurs in embodied and discursive practices. In this book, the focus is on discursive transmission. This process requires participants' work and active engagement in meaning making, resulting in the transformation of discourses about the past (Kaës, 1996; Koselleck, 2001; Halbwachs, 1992; Welzer, 2011). "Discourses are made by the social and cultural interactions of many actual, individual speakers over a period of time" (Lemke, 1993: 2). The intersubjective nature of these processes requires conceptualizing discourse, not only as instantiated texts, but also as social practices. Discourses are produced, distributed, and consumed in social and cultural contexts.

Discourses that youth engage with shape their identity and their understanding of the recent past. These discourses about recent history occur in diverse contexts, including the home, the school, and in popular culture (Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat, and Duncan, 2007), and constitute social practices where different interpretive communities construct views of the past and value orientations towards it. These experiences enable youth to become socialized into specific relations of alliance or opposition with regards to competing discourses about the past.

Discourses about the past not only construct particular representations of events, participants, and circumstances, but also orientations towards these representations of the past. When there are competing discourses, individuals need to negotiate differences in order to construct a sense of self and other as members of groups. How do Uruguayan teenagers construct a sense of themselves as members of a national space and orient to political ideologies that imagine the future and the past of the nation in different ways? How is their understanding of the past affected by their participation in these social conversations?

This book intends to enrich our understanding of the transmission of traumatic pasts, contributing a discursive perspective. Adding to the growing scholarship on recent history from critical discourse studies (e.g., Anthonissen and Blommaert, 2007; Bietti, 2014; Flowerdew, 2010; Martin and Wodak, 2003; Oteíza, 2003; Richardson and Wodak, 2009;

Schiffrin, 2001; Wodak and Richardson, 2013), this book provides a historiographical sociosemiotic perspective. This entails investigating how the past is produced and received across time and space. In addition, to this aim, from a critical perspective, the analysis integrates the exploration of uses of the past and its political effects.

Approaching the topic from a *process* perspective requires us to rethink traditional discourse analysis tools and focus on the circulation and reception of texts. This means expanding conceptual analytic tools such as *intertextuality, recontextualization,* and *resemiotization* to track the connections and constructions of meanings across time and space. These three related concepts refer to different types of transformations and circulations of discourses across time and space. Intertextuality refers to the links established between texts that precede or follow others in time. These links are established through shared and repeated semantic patternings (Lemke, 1995). Recontextualization is a linguistic process through which a text produced in a particular context of time and space is used in a different context (Bernstein, 1996, 2000). This process of delocation and relocation produces some forms of recognition that link the text back to its context of production, but simultaneously transform it to adapt to the new context. The concept of resemiotization (Iedema, 2001, 2003) complements the process of recontextualization by focusing on how resignification is affected by the change in semiotic mode. These three concepts are tools to historicize dimensions of ideational representation, axiological orientation, and semiotic organization. Through use of these concepts, we will be able to explore the processes of (re)appropriation of discourses about the recent past, and their reaccentuation (Voloshinov, 1973) and transformations when translated into other semiotic systems and contexts.

Additionally, a critical approach demands the exploration of discursive strategies as legitimation and identity construction resources. At the interpretation level, focusing on transmission as a situated discourse process indexes different meanings at various scales. The main contributions of this approach are to show *how* discourses of the past are transmitted and *what* semiotic resources are deployed to (re)construct the past. The actions and interpretations of a community produce the discourses about the past. This semiotic work not only represents the past, but also enacts orientations and organizes the respective meanings. The meanings are not in the texts, but in the complex processes through which semiotic relations between discourses and audiences/authors are established.

Learning about the recent past

Learning about the recent past is a socialization process realized through guided participation in situated activities which are mediated by semiotic systems (Rogoff, 1981; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Lave and Wenger, 1991). This means that, in order to become members of a group, social actors need to participate in activities where they negotiate meaning, and adapt themselves or the activity to achieve social goals. Participating in the negotiation of meanings of the recent past connects youth and older generations, making the past relevant to the present.

Youth can make a substantial contribution to social change and cultural reproduction through their participation in social practices where the past is (re)constructed. Opportunities for such participation where they can make meaning of the past provide a space for developing legitimate ways of becoming members of the group. When learning about the past, youth might participate in a variety of social activities where they engage in semiotic work with more experienced members of the community. These activities could include: sharing family anecdotes, participating in a political event, attending a history class, talking with friends about the lyrics of a political song or even going on a school field trip to a museum. Research on the learning of recent history has shown that it occurs in diverse contexts including the home, community, school, and popular culture (Wineburg et al., 2007). For example, a growing number of studies have explored the role of family conversations in youth's political socialization (George, 2013; Gordon, 2004; McDevitt and Chaffee, 2002; Ochs and Taylor, 1992). These studies have shown that teenagers take an active role in shaping the nature and direction of family political conversations. Researchers also found that discussions about news media and political events affect youth's political interests (Dostie-Goulet, 2009). In the context of popular culture, work on the learning of history in museums has documented and revealed that conversations which visitors engage in shape their identities and their discipline-specific knowledge (Leinhardt and Gregg, 2002). Research on peer groups and siblings' multiage socialization has also shown that practices such as play, storytelling, and gossip provide opportunities to learn community values and “appropriate” ways of interacting in local social groups (Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2011). All of these different contexts provide affordances to learn a culture while participating in it.

The process of socialization as a member of a group is culturally constructed and follows different trajectories according to the participants' social and historical conditions. Memories of important political events and social changes are structured by age; specifically, early adolescence and early adulthood are the main periods in life which shape political memories (Schuman and Scott, 1989). Therefore, learning and knowing about a dictatorship are not the same for all youth. Not even those who live in the same neighborhood, attend the same school, or belong to the same family necessarily share the same representations or orientations to the past. Each individual enters the process in different moments that qualitatively affect their relations with meanings and affect their possibilities to negotiate, (re)construct, and understand the past (Wortham and Rhodes, 2012). The focus of this book is to understand the semiotic conditions that make possible the construction of meanings and what semiotic spaces are the ones recognized as relevant by youth themselves.

Generations and connections to the past

The construct of transmission as an intersubjective communicative process requires the specification of participants involved in the process. Generation, taken as a temporal unit, makes it possible to explore how influences from prevailing intellectual social and political circumstances are experienced by some individuals during their formative years and by others later in life (Manheim, 1928). Belonging to a generation means being subject to common influences (Manheim, 1928: 286). But this type of belonging is different from that of concrete social group membership. Being part of a generation means having a *historical location*, an identity that qualitatively influences forms of experience and thought in a limited section of the historical process (Manheim, 1928). The dialogue between generations permits the continuation and transmission of accumulated knowledge. However, youth can reorient to the culture's heritage, forgetting and selecting from it. These different orientations to heritage enable one generation to distinguish itself from the previous one.

Members of a generation are similarly located in relation to the collective social process, but that does not mean they share an intellectual or practical orientation. "Youth experiencing the same concrete historical problems may be said to be part of the same actual generation; while those groups within the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experience in different specific ways, constitute separate generation-units" (Manheim, 1928: 304). Analyzing the different meanings an idea has for separate members of a generation can help understand to what degree a generation is divided into generation-units. For example, the meaning of the dictatorship will be totally different for conservative and liberal generation-units.

In generations impacted by painful social events such as the Holocaust or the Southern Cone dictatorships, studies have shown that the experience of time is altered, and this affects a generation's capacity to distinguish itself from the older one. This produces a distortion of the chain of renewal and innovation between old and young (Prager, 2003). In these cases, the generational strain is avoided by adopting the past as it is experienced by older generations (Fried, 2004) or by adapting social memory to erase fractures in the social fabric (Welzer, 2010).

Understood through a sociocultural historical perspective informed by Vygotskian views, belonging to different generations entails that participants have different expertise. Language socialization studies have shown how experts socialize novices in practices involving parents and children or teachers and students (e.g., Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984). However, the socialization of novices affects experts also, as it is an apprenticeship for both participants (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi, 2001). These types of interactions support intersubjective sharing, which involves shared intentionality, joint attention, and joint commitments that produce a common ground (Tomasello and Carpenter, 2007).

Aleida Assman (2009, 2011) distinguishes two forms of transmission: intergenerational transmission and transgenerational transmission. *Intergenerational* transmission refers to transfer through the family of embodied experiences. *Transgenerational* transmission refers to national or cultural collective memory transmitted through symbolic systems. This type of transmission foregrounds the importance of spaces for collective remembrance where values that are important to the nation are passed on because they constitute what the nation has learned from particular historical events.

Marianne Hirsch (1997) coined the term "post-memory" to refer to the relationship between the memories of those who had experienced the Holocaust and the second generation of survivors who have fragmented and emotional connections to that past. Traumatic events such as the Holocaust pose a break in the transmission process that needs to be reconstituted. Post-memory strives to "reactivate" or "reembody" distant cultural and political social memory, reinvesting it with individual and familial forms of mediation (Hirsch, 2012). This affective investment ensures that memories are transmitted in powerful ways and constitute memories of a different nature. These second-order memories are not completely understood by those who inherit them. Post-memory is not an "identity position" but a "generational structure of transmission" (Hirsch, 2012); it refers to a type of relation between generations that produces a particular type of memory. Hirsch also makes a distinction between familial (identification with family members) and affiliative post-memory (identification with contemporaries) as different forms of identification in the transmission process.

Assman's and Hirsch's distinctions point to the importance of considering the context of transmission (family vs. culture, family vs. contemporaries, communicative vs. institutionalized), as well as the quality of what is transmitted (individual vs. group memories, protagonist vs. witness, cultural values vs. affective orientations, erased vs. marked, traumatic vs. "normal" experiences). However, the adoption of these categories that have been produced to describe particular experiences may not apply to other contexts (e.g., Faber, 2014).

Studies of the post-dictatorship generation in the Southern Cone (e.g., Fried, 2004, 2011; Kaiser, 2005; Levey, 2014; Llobet, 2015; Ros, 2012; Serpente, 2011) have shown the diversity of experiences for those within the second generation. On the one hand, the focus of some of this work has been documenting the transmission of memory from those who suffered state repression as a form of embodied communicative transmission in familial and contemporaries' contexts (e.g., Fried and Levey's work). But there has also been interest in how the "general population," those not directly affected by the violence in the dictatorships, has appropriated this traumatic past (e.g., Kaiser and Llobet's work). Llobet explores the memories of those who experienced the dictatorship as children, pointing to the effects of authoritarian social norms on the cohort's sensibilities and to the conceptualization of familial relationships and gender roles. Kaiser's work on oral histories of youth that were not related directly to the violence explores the meanings about the dictatorship they have appropriated through school curricula, popular culture, and family conversations. On the other hand, part of this work on the Southern Cone experiences has explored institutionalized intergenerational transmissions (e.g., Lazzara, 2009; Levey, 2014; Ros, 2012; Tadeo Fuica, 2015). Ros's (2012) work has been in the area of institutional memory exploring the role of cultural production by post-dictatorship generations comparing films and novels concerning the meanings of the dictatorships for the second generation. Lazzara explores the artistic production of the children of those affected by state violence. He shows the difficulty of representing loss for second-generation artists. Levey's (2014) study of the 1.5 generation's organization of political subjectivities, as based on traumatic experiences, provides an interesting approach to post-memory as a hybrid form of familial and institutional memories. Tadeo Fuica (2015) also investigates the problematic use of post-memory to refer to the Uruguayan transmission experience through an analysis of documentaries produced by second-generation directors. She shows that the distance to the experience impacted the quality of their memories and their relationship to the past, which in turn affected the documentary's artistic characteristics. Her main point is the importance of considering the diversity of experience of those who lived through dictatorship as children, and thus have their own memories that resemble those of the first generation. Serpente (2011) explores the second generation's memories of the dictatorship in exile communities. Her work demonstrates that youth in the exile context used the dictatorship to construct political identities and a connection to their heritage.

In this book, I investigate how the younger generations who did not experience the dictatorship learn about it during their adolescence. As a third generation, the group has different connections to the past based on their families' histories: from those whose families have direct connections to the violence (e.g., imprisoned, exiled, disappeared, or civilian, military, and police repressors) to those who have no relatives involved in producing or receiving violence.[4] The goal is to better understand, from the perspective of youth, what that period means to them and how they learn about it from what older generations offer them in private and public contexts. Youth are agents of cultural reproduction and change, not just the recipients of adults' practices and ideologies. Exploring youth's appropriation of others' discourse and the discursive practices they engage in to evaluate and categorize social actors and events provides a window into dominant discourses and the challenges posed to them by newer generations. This also tells us what, as a society, we learn from our past history. What is left as "moral" from the experience of our predecessors? Is there some meaning of the dictatorship that this cohort shares? Is their understanding of the period shaped by particular groups they participate in?

Learning about the Uruguayan dictatorship: how youth make meaning of the past

Many contemporary societies debate how to deal with recent painful pasts. The cases of the Nazi past in Europe, apartheid in South Africa, the Japanese occupations of China and Korea, the Spanish Civil War and Vietnam in the U.S., or Latin American dictatorships of the 1970s, constitute examples of recent history where the meanings are still being contested. When there are competing discourses about the past, individuals need to negotiate differences to construct a sense of self and other as members of groups or as a nation. Investigating the role of discourse in the transmission of this contested past can contribute to the understanding of how certain meanings become naturalized and how negotiations over differences take place. This investigation can also reveal some of the ways in which youth enter the public debate about contested pasts, by displaying their understanding of it and documenting the discourse practices they participate in.

This book explores three questions in order to contribute to our understanding of a concrete case, as well as to theories of discourse and social memory. How do young people learn about recent history? What representations are passed on and what is the role of discourse in this process? How are discourses about the past reproduced or transformed?

The case of Uruguay's latest dictatorship (1973–85) provides a useful scenario to explore these issues because of its unique path to address human rights violations committed during the period. In comparison to other countries in the region, such as Argentina and Chile, the transitional justice tools used in Uruguay were amnesty and plebiscite instead of trials and truth commissions (Lessa, 2011; Skaar, 2007). Uruguay is the only country where the pardon to the military was voted by the people – not once but twice (in 1989 and 2009). Uruguay's trajectory in the struggle for accountability has lasted until the present, when the trials of the military and official reparations to the victims have begun. Through these peculiar historical and political developments, youth are still confronted with the past of the dictatorship, which emerges in history textbooks, in public conversations, and in the media. The construction of a civic identity and active citizenship requires that youth deal with the past to evaluate and position themselves in relation to competing discourses that try to explain current debates about ethics and accountability in relation to the dictatorship.

The other reason for focusing on the Uruguayan case is personal. I am Uruguayan and the dictatorship period affected me directly. I remember the first time I had to talk to my daughter about the dictatorship in Uruguay. It was during the 2009 presidential election in Uruguay, when two of the candidates were, respectively, a former member of the 1960s guerrilla movement, Tupamaros (José Mujica), and the son of the man who had led the coup d'état in 1973 (Pedro Bordaberry). During that election, there was also a plebiscite to achieve nullification of the Law of Expiry (15.848) that had given amnesty to violators of human rights (see Lessa, 2011).[5] In order to explain to my daughter the significance of these events, I had to point out the connections between past and present. I also had to tell her about my experience growing up as the child of exiled parents. The dictatorship had marked my life personally, and it was also impacting our current lives directly through the political choices in that election. This is an example of how personal history intersects with national history.

Discourses of the recent past: memory, history, and forgetting

The recent past is an open past (Franco and Levín, 2007). It connects the personal subjective experience with that of larger societal processes. Discourses about the recent past occur in a space where personal memories and interpretations interact with public memories and institutionalized representations of that past.

History explores how and why things happened and what meanings are made of this past. The focus on recent history as an area of study is a contemporary development. Recent history became a focus after the Second World War, when several institutes were created in Europe and the Holocaust became a paradigmatic case in discussions about what it means to write history.[6]

Recent history refers to the closeness of the experience, but not only in chronological terms. Recent history also deals with a past where protagonists and actors are still present in current time. It also refers to the closeness of the historian to those who experienced what she/he is investigating. However, according to Franco and Levín (2007), the defining quality of recent history as a historiographic area is its connections to memory. Work in this area of history has typically focused on themes related to politically contested and painful events such as wars, genocides, and dictatorships. These events are typically experienced as breaking points in the social fabric (Franco and Levín, 2007). Because of the continued debate in society over how to give meaning to this recent past, it is different from other historical debates that focus on academic differences of interpretation. Debates about recent history are not between academics, but amongst political and social actors who battle over how to come to terms with a contested past. The past in the present (Jelin, 2010) makes discourses about the past a space of both academic and political production.

Recent history is also linked to epistemological shifts in the construction of discourses about the past. Oral history, microhistories, and political history have also made relevant and appropriate the explorations of subjective experiences, cultural practices, and the social actor's agency as a valid source from which to construct knowledge of the past. This epistemological shift has also produced a methodological enrichment of the historians' tool kit which draws from anthropology and linguistics.

The ways in which societies relate to the past go beyond history as a discipline. Representation is a key concept in the construction of discourses about the past. Representations of the past are present constructions of the meaning of past events which are shaped by the circumstances of their production. This mediated relation to the past through the present in relation to an imagined future is realized through language or other semiotic systems:

> What has happened, and has happened beyond my own experience, is something that I can experience merely by way of speech or writing. Even if language may – in part – have been only a secondary factor in the enactment of doings and sufferings, as soon as an event has become past, language becomes the primary factor without which no recollection and no scientific transposition of this recollection is possible. The anthropological primacy of language for the representation of past history thus gains an epistemological status, for it must be decided in language what in past history was necessitated by language and what was not. In anthropological terms, any "history" constitutes itself through oral and written communication between generations that live together and convey their own respective experiences to one another. (Koselleck, 2002: 27)

There are three constructs typically used to explain our ways of experiencing the past, mediated by language: memory,[7] history, and forgetting (Ricoeur, 2010). These constructs not only represent different discourses about the past, but also different types of experiences with the past (Ricoeur, 2010). Memory represents a more direct link to the lived experience and enunciation position of the protagonist or witness. On the other hand, history represents the reformulation of experience according to disciplinary practices, and from the position of a scientific discourse. Memory focuses on continuities in the past, while history foregrounds change and the causes of it. The claims of legitimacy made by memory and history also differ. Memory attempts to be faithful to the past, while history aims to be factual. One is legitimated by its subjective closeness to the past, while the other by its distance from it. In different contexts, arguments based on *having been* there or having *documentary proof* allow for different values and persuasive effects.

However, memory and history are related in many ways. History uses memory as a *document* to index a larger past. Historical practices such as documentation, explanation, and representation transform memory fragments into a historical discourse that aims to explain, and not only retell, the past. In addition to this consideration, memory and history are related by forgetting. The production of these discourses about the past has silencing effects (Trouillot, 1995). What is left out of memory, what is not included in the historical narrative, is also part of the process of making meaning of the past. Recognizing the agency of individuals in making history makes clear why it is difficult to construct totalizing narratives about the past. Historical knowledge is always provisional and open to revision. This is why it is important to explore the circulation and reception of discourses about the past. The hegemony or permanence of certain historical discourses in particular groups or times makes visible the appropriation and contestation of discourses about the past. These semiotic processes involve collective symbolic practices and individual acts of meaning making that position groups and individuals in relation to others.

Organization of the book

The main argument of the book is that, in cases where youth have to learn about contested recent pasts, their interactions with others reaccentuate and expand potential realizations of established arguments and evaluative perspectives about the past. The interactions within and across generations provide spaces to recontextualize and resignify the past. This type of intergenerational transmission involves meaning-making processes through which individuals choose from the culture's reservoir of available discourses while resignifying them to serve their own purposes. A focus on the circulation of meanings about the past in popular culture, home, and school contexts, captures the dynamic nature of processes of intergenerational transmission and the variety of opportunities youth have to construct their national and civic identities.

This book's main contributions are related to the areas of critical discourse studies, memory studies, and Latin American studies. By bringing a critical discursive perspective to intergenerational transmissions of the past, the book shows how semiotic work – as revealed in particular discursive practices – is used to construct social memory. In addition to this aim, the book provides a deeper understanding of the ways in which youth make meaning of the past and construct their identities as historical beings, linking past and present to project themselves into the future. Finally, the transdisciplinary and multiple-scale approach to the topic shows how social activities like the transmission of the past occur at simultaneous scales. These different scale levels (i.e., instance, situation, culture) link moment-to-moment local interactions with discursive practices that then form portions of longer translocal social groups, as well as long-range historical processes at the regional level.

The book is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the case of Uruguay, describing the ethnographic project and the focal participants. The main question addressed here is what youth know about the past. Chapter 3 focuses on family conversations, exploring in depth how youth learn about the past within familial contexts. The analysis centers on styles of communication and family anecdotes as the genre of transmission. Chapter 4 investigates the role of peer conversations in learning about the past. The analysis focalizes the forms of appropriation of others' discourse, as well as youth's orientations towards others' positions regarding the past. Chapter 5 focuses on history classrooms as a space where youth learn about the past. Pedagogical discourse and practices are explored through the analysis of textbooks and classroom discussions. Chapter 6 looks at popular culture as a context that provides access to mainstream public discourses about the past. The analysis of the recontextualizations and resemiotizations of a political song is connected to youth's uses and interpretation of this cultural product. Finally, Chapter 7 integrates the findings and interprets them, making connections across scales (individual, group, society) as a conclusion to the work.

The focus of the full book is on the spaces in between individual and collective memory. The spaces of transmission are where memory of the dictatorship emerges through negotiations of meaning, both across generations and within groups.

2

Narratives as Transmission Tools: Learning about the Dictatorship in Uruguay

In the year 2000, Teve Ciudad – a public TV station run by the city of Montevideo in Uruguay – produced a documentary directed by Aldo Garay in which youth were interviewed to learn what they knew about the dictatorship. Despite the short time that had elapsed since the end of the dictatorship in 1985, most of the youth were not able to identify the period, nor explain what had happened. This "lack of transmission" has been related to the policies of oblivion that limited public discussion, as well as political and judicial resolution of the traumatic past (see Fried and Lessa, 2011; Yaffé, 2004). Twenty-five years after the dictatorship ended, the topic became part of public debate once more after the "wall of silence" started to break down, through trials for violations of human rights, recovery of the remains of the disappeared and reparation policies for victims, and so youth were more exposed to the topic. As a result, we could expect the youth of this period to be able to know more about the dictatorship period. This is what the case study presented in this book explores: *what do youth know about the dictatorship?* and *how do they learn about it?*

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical framework used to explore how youth learn about the dictatorship. Then, I will introduce the research project through which the above-mentioned questions were explored. Subsequently, I will introduce the sociopolitical and historical context of the Uruguayan dictatorship and the transitional justice context. Finally, I will present analysis of the responses of 20 focal youth to answer the first question. Then, in subsequent chapters, there will be an exploration of the affordances of different contexts (family, school, peers, and popular culture) to allow for an understanding of how youth learn about the dictatorship and give meaning to the past.

Learning the historical legacy

The link between sociocultural heritage and an individual's understanding of recent history can be explored through the concept of semiotic mediation. Concepts, structures of reasoning, and forms of discourse constrain and enable interactions within communities – so they function as tools (Resnick, Pontecorvo, and Säljö, 1997). They are cultural resources for understanding reality, and they are continuously used as points of reference for arguments and knowledge construction.

To connect society's discourses about the past with individual discourses about recent history *narrative* is a key semiotic mediational tool. The role of narrative as a semiotic meditational tool for the transmission and construction of the past has been established by previous work in sociocultural historical psychology (Wertsch, 1998, 2002) and discourse studies (Schiffrin, 2001, 2002; Wodak, 2006; Wodak and Rheindorf, 2015). Exploring narrative as a sociocultural framework allows us to track how "inter-psychological" processes become "intra-psychological" in Vygotskian terms. Narratives have a cultural history that makes processes of intergenerational transmission social, even beyond moment-to-moment interactions (Wertsch, 1987). In this sense, narratives are collective tools that have evolved sociohistorically, and as part of a social activity they are included in a system of social relations (Wertsch, 1987). This means that one's construction of the past is constrained by the available narratives of the past in the community, the awareness of conflicts about the past among individuals or groups, and one's choices (Shudson, 1987). We not only reproduce what is given to us, but the degree of creativity and agency in constructing the past is not limitless either. Narratives change through time because they adapt to the requirements of the situation and respond to an individual's goals. However, to be able to maintain continuity and be recognized as part of the same stock of knowledge, narratives keep certain content and structural features. This tension between structure (i.e., system and community's meaning resources) and agency (i.e., individual and situation goals) is what allows us to connect our past individually to that of a community. For us to be recognized and validated by the community, the narratives we individually construct need to resonate in some form. However, it is important to remember that there are competing narratives, and that even when a community does not validate a narrative, it can recognize it, thus making it intelligible. So the legitimacy and intelligibility of a narrative may not always coincide. Some narratives can be understood, but still not be accepted as valid by a community. As a result, when making a narrative of the past, we are not only representing the events, but also positioning ourselves in relation to the values of a particular community. We select from the several available narrative stocks, and these choices are influenced by our identity and work in relation to the communities we want to align ourselves with or differentiate ourselves from. In different historical periods and in the choices of different social groupings, affordances and the narratives produced may vary.

What are the materials available in the community to construct individual narratives about the past? How do young people recycle these narratives to make their own interpretation of the past? These questions can be explored considering complex texts as cultural tools that have evolved from sociohistorical descriptions and explanations of events. We can focus on historical narratives as cultural tools for intergenerational transmission. According to Wertsch (2004), *specific narratives* have precise settings, characters, and sequences of events. This type of narrative is the one that appears in history textbooks, for example. On the other hand, at a more abstract level, schematic narrative templates provide a more abstract conceptualization about particular functions that underlie a range of specific narratives in a cultural tradition (Wertsch, 2004). This type of narrative is a kind of mental model (Van Dijk, 2009) or social representation (Moscovici, 2000). “This viewpoint suggests that collective memory comprises not a long list of specific narratives about the past as separate items, but a cultural tool kit that includes a few basic building blocks” (Wertsch, 2004: 57). These schematic narratives are used unreflectively and in an unanalyzed manner.

What we are interested in in this chapter is the active appropriation of these schematic narratives in the youths’ narrative. As previous studies have shown (Carretero and Van Alphen, 2014; Van Alphen and Carretero, 2015), the degree of appropriation of schematic narratives by young people can vary in terms of their age. However, what we will look at here is the degree of variation across a group that belongs to the same age cohort, but one which has had different experiences with discourses about the past. We can expect youth to have different representations of these past events as based on the opportunities they have had to interact with or become aware of the master narratives. The degree of appropriation of these narratives will be shown by how the events can be understood in relation to the totality in which they are embedded (Shotter, 1987). What specific narratives do they learn and what narratives do they use as schematic frameworks? The focus here is on how events are tied to others, and how youth relate them to what they already know.

To understand the learning of history, we need to focus not only on what youth know in terms of historical content, but also on how they organize their historical knowledge. Focusing on historical thinking means looking at what is being done to construct the meaning of the past. There are particular operations that have been identified as characteristic of historical explanations and descriptions, including: defining categories and words, locating events in time and place, categorizing social/historical actors and institutions, interpreting actions and intentions, and relating actors and intentions to the sociocultural context (Pontecorvo and Girardet, 1993). Historical thinking is also characterized by a tension between continuity and change – understanding that the past may seem familiar because it is linked to the present, but that it is also strange because it is different from the present. To understand the past historically, we need to contextualize it, corroborate the evidence, and interpret it with consideration of how our position and that of the sources affect the meanings we construct (Leinhardt and Ravi, 2013; Wineburg, 2001). To better understand how youth make sense of the past, we also need to look at what epistemic operations they use to construct their meanings of the past. This can reveal some of the spaces of creativity and ways in which youth actively (re)construct the past, not simply repeating previously available discourses about the past. Thus, learning about the past requires the dual process of taking available evidence and previous interpretations (specific and schematic narratives), and using these elements (epistemic operations) to make meanings that are relevant to the present conditions.

Intergenerational transmission of recent history: learning about the dictatorship in Uruguay

To explore the role of discourse processes in what young people know about the last dictatorship and how different contexts shape the construction of this knowledge, the research project was designed as a linguistic ethnography. The project's fieldwork lasted two years (2009–11), and involved data collection at three different sites (Hannerz, 2003; Marcus, 1995). Three high schools were chosen as study sites, including a small private one in a middle-class neighborhood and a public one in a working-class neighborhood in Montevideo (the capital), as well as one in Tacuarembó (the countryside); these schools were selected to represent regional and socioeconomic diversity. I followed the learning trajectory of youth (14–18-year-olds) participating in the required high school history courses which address the period of the dictatorship.

Through participant observation in these three classrooms, I was able to understand students' experiences with the past as part of a social group and a particular local culture. A focal group of 20 young people were chosen as case studies, and these students participated in a series of interviews that included individual, family, and focus group interviews. These were ethnographic interviews that occurred throughout 2010. Teachers, parents, and other adults were also interviewed in order to contextualize the experiences documented in the observations occurring during 2009 and 2011. In addition to these data sources, I collected cultural artifacts and documents dealing with the dictatorship; these were produced during the data collection period or referred to by participants over the course of the study (i.e., books, songs, TV programs, carnival songs, newspaper articles). I also participated in social events with the youth, such as visits to a museum, a school cleaning day, movies, dinners, and other social events. These events were documented through ethnographic notes.

The critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992) processed data through multiple lenses that included: (1) description of the discursive choices in the texts (written and oral) drawing on systemic functional linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014; Martin and White, 2005), sociocognitive approaches (Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak, 2010), and sociosemiotics (Fairclough, 2010; Lemke, 1995; Van Leeuwen, 2008); (2) interpretation (processing the analysis) through searching for patterns and unusual cases, integrating data from different sources (e.g., linking discursive choices to participants' trajectories or other contextual factors); and (3) explanation of the discursive findings drawing on social theory, including sociocultural practices, and societal and institutional structures. As a qualitative study, the work attempts to provide a thick description of the cases, not a generalization about Uruguayan youth. However, the detailed exploration of the cases allows us to better understand some of the possible ways in which the phenomenon studied occurs (Peräkylä, 2004).

The topic of study and the types of relationships that I established with the youth, teachers, and others involved in this project had an impact on me as well as them. I shared my own history and positioning with respect to the dictatorship, letting them know about me being the daughter of exiles and having lived in Argentina, Venezuela, and the U.S. during the dictatorship. I also answered their questions about the motivations and goals of my work. This disclosure and honest sharing of my positioning towards the topic and historical identity allowed them to understand in what ways we were both different and similar.

My being a Uruguayan who lives in the U.S. meant that we share some cultural referents, but also explained why I wanted more explanations about certain issues. This type of sharing led to “truer” data in the sense that it tries to capture the insiders’ perspectives and be reflexive about the role of the researcher in this process. Additionally, this critical stance to inquiry attempted to involve dialogic consciousness-raising. For example, the ways in which data was collected included social activities, such as getting the three groups together on two occasions, once in Montevideo (the capital) and once in Tacuarembó (the countryside). These field trips allowed us to develop deeper relationships and connections that went beyond the topic of inquiry. I also believe that these events became “learning moments” because they created spaces for the youth to articulate and reflect about their views – and expand the conversations to others who were very different from them. In these experiences, teachers, youth, and family members had opportunities to engage in meaningful conversations and respectfully listen to others who had a different experience with the topic. The youth and families also had a chance to review the transcripts and provide feedback on the analysis. These opportunities enriched my interpretations and demonstrated their deep engagement with the topic. This type of humanizing inquiry (Paris, 2011) tries to value what youth do know instead of focusing on what they do not. However, this is not an example of inquiry where the questions and issues explored were negotiated with the community. Even though I had my own agenda, through this process and the input from the participants I modified and learned much more than I had set out to do. I hope my written representation of these young people portrays them with dignity and respect.

Participants

The youth who participated in this project represent a wide spectrum of political ideologies, socioeconomic positions, and structures. A survey was conducted in all focal history classes and, based on the findings, families which represented the diversity of backgrounds present in the class were invited to participate. In addition to these considerations, those who wanted to be a part of the study, but had not been selected, were also included. Since not all of those who were invited chose to participate, and some who had not been preselected wanted to join the study, the number of participants from each of the locations is different. The 20 youth who participated in these interviews included some students with life trajectories that represented direct involvement in the dictatorship's period, as well as others who had not been directly involved in the process because of age or apolitical orientation. Table 2.1 describes the main characteristics of each of the youth in order to provide a general panorama of the scope of perspectives that were examined. The categories used were those provided by the participants.

As can be deduced from Table 2.1, most young people whose families were politically involved were also politically active themselves. Additionally, youth who identified their parents as left wing, were more likely to be politically involved than their right-wing counterparts. Social class and regional differences were not a salient factor, although the youth who were politically involved in the countryside were exclusively from right-wing families. There does not appear to be a direct relation between the involvement and experience which parents had during the dictatorship and their current political participation. Based on this survey information, we can anticipate that the political socialization of these youth may differ, and that the information they have received about the dictatorship will also vary, depending on their individual levels of political involvement.

In the following section, I provide a brief sociohistorical contextualization of the Uruguayan dictatorship to enable readers who are not familiar with the historical period to better understand the data and its analysis.

Sociohistorical context: the Uruguayan dictatorship

At the end of the 1960s, Uruguay faced an economic crisis that produced a high level of social and labor conflicts.[1] The student movement was highly mobilized at the university and secondary level. The labor movement had united its forces by constructing and integrating the union movement, the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT). The political system had been weakened by a debilitation of the political parties and a consolidation of executive power. In order to respond to the crisis, the executive branch – with the acceptance of Parliament – started limiting individual rights and using repression to control civil unrest and impose economic restrictions.[2] In this context, paramilitary and guerrilla groups emerged as a result of this complex scenario of social tensions. According to Varela Petito (2004), in the context of the Uruguayan crisis there was a dichotomy between authoritarianism and democracy, between the state and insurgency, and also a third dichotomy typical of the Cold War between socialism and capitalism. Claiming an emergency and a threat to the state,[3] in 1971 the executive

Table 2.1 Youths' profiles[4]

Participants	**Family political ideology**	**Occupation of parent(s)**	**Regional location**	**Experience during dictatorship**	**Political activity of youth**	**Family unit structure**
Adriana	Right	Low-rank military officers, teacher/tutor	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, no political participation. Parents work in military	None	Orphan, lives with father and stepmother
Alberto	Right	Housewife, truck driver	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, no political participation	None	Mother, father, and brother
Ana	No affiliation	Housewife, public employee	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, no political participation	None	Mother, father, and sister
Andrea	No affiliation	Nurse, nurse	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, politically active in left-wing parties	None	Mother, stepfather, half-brother, and sister
Andrés	Left	Housewife, owner of bar/canteen	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, politically active in left- wing parties, and exiled. Disappeared grandfather	None	Mother, father, and niece

Diego	Left	Housewife, factory worker	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, politically active in unions	None	Mother, father and brother
Luis	Left	Cook, traveling salesman	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Youth, politically aware but not involved	None	Mother, father, and sister
Micaela	No affiliation	Housekeeper	Capital, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood	Childhood, was born during dictatorship	None	Mother, brother, and grandfather
Sofía	Right	Schoolteacher, businessman	Tacuarembó	Youth during dictatorship, aware but not involved	Yes	Mother and stepfather
Marina	No affiliation	Student teacher, public employee	Tacuarembó	Youth during dictatorship	None	Mother and younger sister
Marco	Left	Housewife, public employee	Tacuarembó	Youth during dictatorship, exiled	None	Mother, father, siblings
Federico	Right	Housewife, teacher	Tacuarembó	Youth during dictatorship, aware but not directly involved; father teaches in military school	Yes	Mother, father, and brother
Carmela	Right	Housewife, ranch handyman	Tacuarembó	Youth, not directly involved but aware	None	Mother, father, sister, and grandparents
Sandra	Left	Psychomotor specialist, accountant	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, directly involved in political activities	Yes	Mother, father, and sister

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Participants	Family political ideology	Occupation of parent(s)	Regional location	Experience during dictatorship	Political activity of youth	Family unit structure
Miles	Independent	Court clerk, engineer	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, not involved, lived in countryside during dictatorship	None	Mother, father, and siblings
Luciana	Left	Manager, journalist	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, aware of political situation	None	Mother, father, and brother
Juana	Left	Engineer, engineer	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, politically involved	Yes	Mother, father, and older sister
Jorge	Right	Lawyer, businessman and retired military officer (high ranking)	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, politically involved (military school)	None	Mother, father, and brother
Ernesto	Left	Language teacher, businessman	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, politically aware	Yes	Mother, father, and older siblings
Augusto	Left	Ecologist and translators	Capital, middle-class neighborhood	Youth, politically aware	Yes	Mother, father, and older sister

branch (with the approval of Parliament) brought in the armed forces to support the work of the police in controlling the armed challenge to the government. However, some Uruguayan senators and representatives of the opposition issued accusations of brutality and torture being used by the state in suppressing civilian protests and guerrilla groups. In 1971, the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), a left-wing coalition, was formed in order to participate in the democratic elections as an alternative to traditional parties. There were reports of problems in the election, but all political parties accepted its results. By 1972–73, the armed forces had controlled the armed guerrilla situation,[5] and through authoritarian force, also mitigated other forms of social protest. The armed forces attacked labor movements, student organizations, and the political opposition – in particular, that from Frente Amplio. These events helped to build the political power of the armed forces as the only actor capable of "controlling the chaotic situation." Policies of economic adjustment and social control were implemented in an effort to rescue the deteriorating economic situation. However, the continued crisis and recourse to force to impose these policies enhanced the power of the military and weakened that of the president. In February 1973, after a failed coup d'état, there was an agreement between the armed forces and the president, Juan María Bordaberry (Pacto Boizo Lanza), that ensured a place for the military in political decisions.[6] During this period, the armed forces produced communications to the general population that made explicit their new role as political actors (see Achugar, 2009). However, the Uruguayan dictatorship formally began on June 27, 1973 with the closing of Parliament by President Bordaberry (see Figure 2.1). The Left and labor unions responded with a general strike that lasted two weeks. From then on, the military became a formal part of the government and took complete control in 1976 after a disagreement between Bordaberry and the military.

The regime resembled a totalitarian state controlling both public and private life (Lessa and Fried, 2011). Citizens were classified in different categories according to their political leanings and this affected their opportunities for finding work and keeping their jobs. It was the country with the highest ratio of political prisoners, with hundreds of disappeared, and over 400,000 exiled out of a population of 3 million. According to Amnesty International, one in 50 Uruguayans at this time had been interrogated by the regime. After a failed plebiscite to ratify a new constitution in 1980, the military began its exit process. The dictatorship ended with an agreement between political party factions and the military (Pacto del Club Naval) in 1984 that set the stage for the

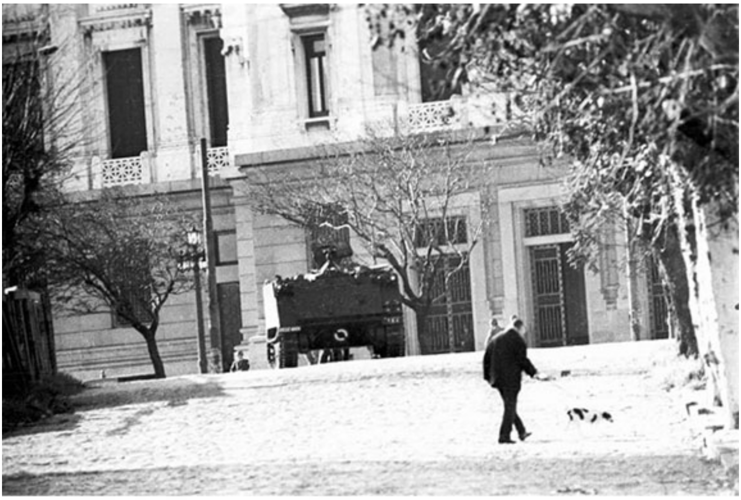

Figure 2.1 Uruguayan Parliament Building on June 27, 1973. © Aurelio González

election in November, with some political parties and politicians still banned. The new government was established in 1985.

The Law of National Pacification released political prisoners in 1985. There were also laws to reinstate people who had lost their jobs due to political persecution, as well as a commission to support the return of the exiled. The Parliament created two committees to investigate violations of human rights. However, the military were not willing to contribute information or go to court when violations of human rights cases were taken to the courts.[7]

In December 1986, Law 15.848 (Law of Expiry) was passed, ending the state's intent to prosecute military and police officers who had committed violations of human rights during the dictatorship. In April 1989, a plebiscite ratified this law by popular vote. This law gave the president the capacity to decide which crimes fell under the rule of this law, which itself opened up a discretionary interpretation that would potentially allow investigations. There was also an article that required the executive branch to investigate what had happened to the disappeared. During the three first governments following the dictatorship, opportunities to investigate the crimes were ignored, resulting in a policy of impunity. In 1996, the topic of violations of human rights and, specifically, of the disappeared, returned to the public sphere with the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the killing in Argentina on May 20, 1976 of two members of Parliament who were in exile. During this period, several new organizations for victims of human rights violations were formed, one for female political prisoners (Memoria para armar), another to support former political prisoners (CRYSOL), and one for children of those determined to be dead, jailed, disappeared, and exiled (HIJOS). Confessions from the military in Argentina, and international requests for the Uruguayan government to investigate the fates of children of the disappeared, did not break the code of silence.[8]

In the year 2000, there was a change in the state's position regarding the topic when President Battle established the Peace Commission (Comisión para la paz) to investigate what had happened to the disappeared. This commission had limited results due to the lack of collaboration from the military.[9] When the left-wing coalition, Frente Amplio, won the elections in 2005, President Tabaré Vazquez interpreted the Law of Expiry in a more flexible way, allowing for trials and investigation of violations of human rights to proceed. Additionally, he requested a historical investigation of these crimes from the leading historians in the public university.[10] During his presidency, several high-ranking military officials and civilians were tried and sent to prison, including former presidents Bordaberry and General Gregorio Alvarez. In addition to these results, investigations into the disappeared found the remains of several people,[11] thus demonstrating the existence of state terrorism.

In 2009, 20 years after the first referendum organized by grassroots organizations to nullify the law, there was another attempt led by cultural and public figures, as well as human rights organizations, which received 47 percent of the votes for nullification and resulted in the Law of Expiry being maintained. During José Mujica's presidency, the progress that had been made in this area faced a setback. Investigations were stalled by a lack of collaboration between the Ministry of Defense and the Supreme Court in cases under trial, and the judicial process was thus interrupted. In 2011, Congress tried to declare the law unconstitutional, but it did not succeed.[12] In that same year, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) ruled that Uruguay was responsible for the 1976 disappearance of María Claudia García, daughter-in-law of the Argentinian poet Juan Gelman, and for hiding the identity of Macarena Gelman, his granddaughter, who had been appropriated by the military during her mother's captivity. The court declared Uruguay to be out of compliance with international human rights agreements it had signed.[13] At the end of 2011, Parliament passed a law to declare that the crimes committed during the dictatorship were *imprescriptible crimes against humanity*. Tense political debates occurred that were triggered by this law, exposing disagreements and different perspectives in society. On March 21, 2012, President Mujica acknowledged Uruguay's international responsibility in the Gelman case in order to comply with the IACtHR ruling. This public act also generated a big controversy within the political sphere. During 2013, the Uruguayan Supreme Court decided that the category of *crimes against humanity* – which includes torture, kidnappings, and rape among others – did not apply to the crimes committed during the dictatorship. As a result, because of the time that had elapsed, the trials for these crimes could not continue or new ones begin. In May 2015, human rights organizations and members of civil society carried out their twentieth March of Silence, demanding that the government seek truth and justice for violations of human rights during the dictatorship by removing all obstacles to the investigation and punishment of the individuals responsible. The new government of Tabaré Vázquez has promised to establish a working group (Grupo de trabajo por Verdad y Justicia) to investigate these violations of human rights and ensure that the judicial process can proceed with the support of the state. Human rights violations against Uruguayans, and committed by Uruguayans in other countries, are being tried as part of the Plan Condor[14] trials in Argentina and Italy (see Lessa, 2015). Thus, international pressure is also maintaining attention on the topic as part of local political debate.

The legacy of the dictatorship in the region is still felt in everyday life. As Alvaro Rico (2004) has pointed out, the dictatorship had immediate destructuring effects, but also long-term institutional effects on the post-dictatorship period. The dictatorship conditioned the process for reconstruction of democracy and extended authoritarianism to the microsocial spaces of today (Rico, 2004). The effects of the dictatorship are still present in the social imagination where a culture of fear and insecurity justifies the use of violence by the state and questions as antinational challenges to the continuity of the economic model and impunity.[15]

Youth's (re)constructions of the dictatorship

In this section, I report the findings from the analysis of the first individual interviews of the young people where they were asked about what the dictatorship was. The discourse analysis focuses on identifying the representational, interpersonal, and textual meanings construed by youth in their response to a hypothetical scenario in which they had to tell someone from another country what they thought the Uruguayan dictatorship had been. As has been established by previous interview data research, the interview situation creates a context in which the responses are a product of how the interviewee interprets the task demands (e.g., provide a narrative, respond with an assessment, and display awareness of the difficulty of the task). It is also important to consider that these responses do not constitute evidence of what the youth "know" about the period, but are examples of what possible meanings youth make of the past. As a result, these findings can provide us with a glimpse into the possible meanings that youth make of the dictatorship, while also revealing some of the ways in which they organize their thinking in historical terms.

The analysis process included identifying intertextual links manifested in references to schematic narrative structures about the dictatorship part of the cultural reservoir. The principal memory narratives of the dictatorship include "War," "Dark Times," and "Resistance" (see Lessa, 2013; Marchesi and Winn, 2013). The dominant narrative in the public sphere is the "War," which in some variations is also known as the "Two Demons."[16]

Several social actors – including the armed forces, presidents, the Tupamaros, and political leaders – subscribe to the narrative of "War." This narrative foregrounds the situation preceding the coup d'état; it represents the period as a "civil war," a war "against democracy," or a "revolutionary war." The situation is depicted as full of conflict and chaos. The main characters are the military and the guerrillas. However, there are variations in the levels of responsibility attributed by narrators to these actors. From conservative perspectives, the guerrillas are responsible for the conflict and the military only for responding to it. For the left-wing narrators, the guerrillas are responding to an authoritarian state and to an oppressive capitalist system that cannot be transformed through democratic means. In the "Two Demons" version of this narrative, these two "demons" are out of control, and the people suffer the consequences because the military remained in power after they defeated the guerrillas (see Demasi, 2004; Lessa, 2013).

Primarily, human rights groups and victims subscribe to the "Dark Times" narrative, which is also known as state terrorism. This was the main counternarrative to the "War" narrative until the 2000s. More recent events, such as the appearance of the remains of the disappeared and the public apologies by the state reported in mainstream media, have drawn attention to this narrative. Historical discourse, as reported in history textbooks, also portrays the period as a "Dark Time" (see

Chapter 4 for a detailed analysis of history textbooks). This narrative foregrounds the period after the coup d'état representing the curtailment of civil rights, surveillance, and fear as key features of life during the period. The main characters are the people, as victim, and the state, military, or unnamed power as the victimizer.

The labor movement and progressive groups of political parties have been the primary subscribers to the narrative of "Resistance." This narrative is linked to the "Dark Times" narrative, foregrounding the role of the state in repressing social movements. The focus of the narrative is the combative and active role of organized groups of people in response to unjust economic and repressive measures by the government. The main characters involved are the people, as hero, and the government and military as villains. This narrative was used to organize the exhibition about the dictatorship in the Museo de la Memoria (Marchesi and Winn, 2013) and is also the focus of several recent documentaries such as *A las cinco de la tarde* (the story of the general strike after the coup d'état), *Héctor el tejedor* (the story of a labor organizer), and *El almanaque* (a student's story of survival in jail).

The youths' responses were analyzed by searching for these narratives through intertextual references (Fairclough, 1992) in the form of metaphors, use of terms that represent characters or contextual aspects of the narrative, and implicatures or presuppositions that link to the narratives. In addition to these techniques of analysis, the analysis of the organization of the responses in particular genres also provided information in terms of the functional constituents recognizable in the text. The orientational meanings analyzed included the evaluations constructed in the text in terms of attitudes (Martin and White, 2005) as judgments (evaluating behavior), affect (responding emotionally to events or actors), and appraisal (evaluation of things). I also analyzed the respective points of view through the use of pronouns, time markers, and wording that revealed distance or proximity in personal and temporal terms. The representational meanings were analyzed by identifying social actors and responsibility as constructed through the selection of processes and participants (i.e., transitivity and ergativity, Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014).

Finally, the coding included an analysis of the historical explanation procedures and an identification of particular epistemic operations (Pontecorvo and Girardet, 1993). These explanation procedures used for describing and interpreting historical events include: definition, categorization, predication, evaluation, and appeal to a variety of types of justifications to support a claim (e.g., analogy, exemplar cases or instances, conditions, rules, general principles, motives, goals, consequences, implications, experts, time, sociocultural context, and spatial and temporal context). This analysis can reveal historical thinking in the youths' elaboration of their responses.

Table 2.2 presents some examples of the analysis in order to illustrate the coding categories.

The analysis showed that most of the youth made intertextual references to the schematic narrative of the "Dark Times" (54 percent) and the "War" (19 percent), followed by the "Resistance" (12 percent). The rest are "no narrative" and "Cold War" narrative. This last is not a schematic narrative which has been identified in previous analysis of cultural narratives about the dictatorship, but appears in the historical literature when looking at Uruguay's case comparatively, and also in the news with reference to the Plan Condor. Additionally, the "Resistance" narrative which appeared in several of the responses points also to the potential impact of field trips to the Museum of Memory. We can infer from these intertextual links that youth draw on evidence from different sources to construct their respective meanings of the dictatorship, and that the school experience provides new interpretive frameworks (i.e., "Cold War" and "Resistance").

Considering the evaluations of the period, we find that a majority of the youth have negative moral judgments regarding the period, whereas, for some, there is also an affective component, typically linked to some specific narrative connecting them personally to the events. The point of view that constructs their orientation to the events positions them as distant in time, while some others display empathy towards those experiencing the "Dark Times." Additionally, the use of pronouns shows that there is a distancing and differentiation between the now and then, but also in terms of who is involved. Notably, too, there are impersonal uses such as passive constructions with "se." These choices reflect the dual relationship with the past as distant and strange, but hard to understand.

The epistemic operations used by youth to construct their explanations of the dictatorship demonstrate different levels of historical thinking. There is evidence of focusing on situating the events in time, identifying concrete social actors (i.e., military, people, government), providing evaluations of the events, and appealing to a variety of strategies in order to justify their positions. Figure 2.2 shows the group distribution of epistemic operations.

The most common operation is an appeal which provides different types of justification to support claims about the meaning of the

Table 2.2 Narratives: what was the dictatorship?

Talk sequence	Organization	Orientation	Representation	Epistemic operation
Luis “I would tell them that there were people that protested, right? And I think that it was for their rights, no? And that, well, a lot of people died and I am not sure what else I would tell them because it’s like I’ve only had as a source of information the high school only so . . . ”	*Resistance* (intertextual link) Genre: narrative	Evaluation: moral judgment, affect Point of view: distance, outside, hedging to position self as nonexpert Pronouns: I, they	Social actors: people (agents and victims) Responsibility: people agent (material processes’ actor), people experiencer (behavior processes)	Predication Appeal to: motives, expert sources (high school)
Andrea “I know it ended in nineteen eighty-five.”	No reference to narrative (intertextual links) Genre: statement part of the interview	Evaluation: none Point of view: personal, objective Pronouns: I	Social actors: none Responsibility: none	Predication Appeal to: time
Ana “There was a war.”	*War* (intertextual links) Genre: statement part of the interview	Evaluation: none Point of view: impersonal, outside point of view Pronouns: there (indefinite)	Social actors: No social actors Responsibility: none (existential)	Categorization

Marina "And the dictatorship, I don't know it was an event that occurred some time ago in Uruguay where the Army in a way took . . . took over the country and we could not vote or anything of that sort and, well, where there were different ways of thinking and for example the people that thought differently to the people of the army would go to prison and they had tortures and those things and then through a vote it was eliminated but there are many people who feel hurt talking about it because it happened a short time ago and it hurt a lot of people and that kind of thing."	*Dark Times* Genre: narrative	Evaluation: moral judgment, affect Point of view: distance in time, but closeness in affective terms Tense: past, hypothetical mode in the past, present Pronouns: we, they	Social actors: army, people Responsibility: army agent (actor in material processes), people who thought differently victims (beneficiary of material processes, sensors of mental processes)	Definition Predication Evaluation Appeal to: consequences, causes, temporal and spatial context, exemplar cases or instances
Jorge "I think I would tell them, well, the truth: the United States got us into this beef with that, so that now I can't remember the word . . . . The doctrine that for the dictatorships it wasn't anything good and so it seems to me that it was very repressive. And since I did not live in that moment I don't know exactly the feelings. It was very bad. It was horrible. There wasn't freedom of expression. Can you imagine yourself without freedom of expression?"	*Dark Times and Cold War* (intertextual link) Genre: observation	Evaluation: moral judgment, affect Point of view: outsider with distance in time, but empathetic Tense: past Pronouns: they, I, us, you	Social actors: United States, people Responsibility: U.S. agent (actor material processes), impersonal constructions (relational processes to describe through attribution)	Predication Evaluation Appeal to: sources of authority, spatial and time context, conditions, exemplar case

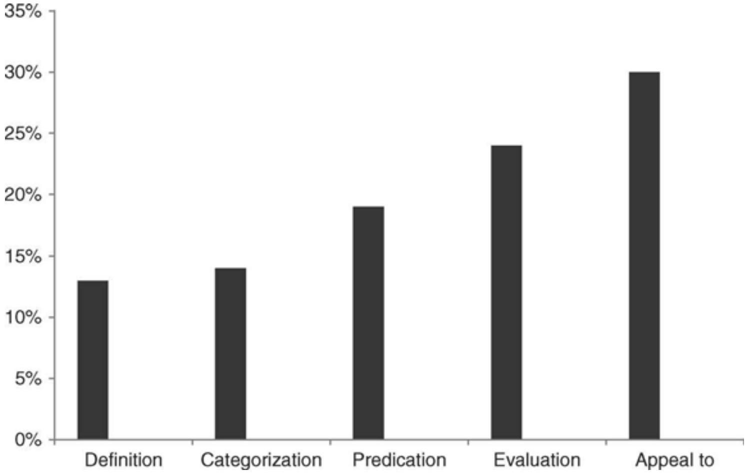

Figure 2.2 Explanation procedures and particular epistemic actions (percentage of distribution of epistemic operations)

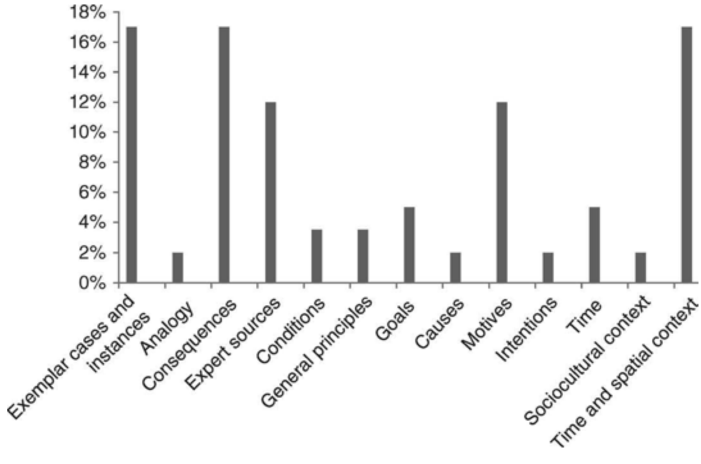

Figure 2.3 Appeal operations (percentage distribution)

dictatorship. In Figure 2.3, we see a more fine-grained description of the types of appeals and their respective percentages.

As we can observe in Figure 2.3, exemplar cases and instances, consequences, and time and spatial context are the most frequently used appeals. These types of justification demonstrate that the youth are contextualizing the events, which is an important aspect in historical thinking. To understand historical events, we need to situate them in their time and spatial context. The appeal to exemplar cases shows that youth have some specific information about the period, as well as concrete cases to illustrate their explanation. It is interesting to note that some of these examples come from family anecdotes (see Chapter 3 for more on this topic). Additionally, some of the examples reveal an understanding of how things have changed, another defining feature of historical thinking. Finally, the use of appeal to consequences points to awareness of causal logic, typical of historical explanations.

I will now provide a more detailed analysis of a few examples to give an in-depth view of the youths' constructions of the dictatorship. I have selected these four examples because they show the complexity of the youths' thinking about the topic, and also foreground the differences in the ways they understand the period. The transcripts of the responses include my question and the youth's response. The responses have been tagged in terms of the genre functional constituents and also marking social actors through the use of italics and bold. The original text in Spanish is included together with an English translation to help the reader follow the analyses which point to particular wording choices.

Federico constructed a narrative of the dictatorship with all of its generic functional constituents (setting, problem, resolution, evaluation, coda):

*MAR: ¿Y: si tuvieras que explicarle a alguien que no es de Uruguay que viene acá un joven que ponele viene alguien de otro país a la clase y le tenés que explicar qué fue **la Dictadura** qué le dirías?
And if you had to explain to someone who is not from Uruguay that comes here – a young person, let's say, who comes from another country to your class – and you have to explain to him what the dictatorship was, what would you tell him?

*FER: **[setting]**Y le digo todo empezó por una gran crisis y que ***la gente*** estaba muriendo de hambre acá en Uruguay y que no tenían nada que hacer
I tell them that everything started with a big crisis and that the people were dying of hunger here in Uruguay, and that they didn't have anything to do

> **[problem]** y se empezó a manifestar en la calle y se formó **un grupo** que se llama los ***Tupamaros*** que empezó a protestar contra ***el gobierno*** y dijeron que *se iban a levantar en armas*
> and protests on the streets began and a group called Tupamaros was formed and started to protest against the government and they said that they were going to take up arms against [the government]
>
> **[resolution]** y ta ***el ejército*** no tuvo otra salida que tomar el poder
> and yeah the army didn't have another option but to take power
>
> **[evaluation]** pero también ***el ejército*** se pasó un poco la rosca con las torturas y todas esas cosas que hizo
> but the army went a bit overboard with tortures and all those things that it did
>
> **[coda]** pero ta dentro de todo salió todo bien y ahora podemos estar viviendo en democracia.
> but yeah considering everything it ended up well and now we can be living in democracy.

In Federico's narrative, we can identify the main characters (Tupamaros, army, and people) and the representation of the events as a "War." The Tupamaros and the military appear as actors of material processes. They are the "Two Demons" creating the situation (protesting, torturing, and fighting). The government and the people appear as the ones who experience or receive the effects of others' actions. The circumstances chosen provide a spatial context for the economic crisis and social protests, and the organization of the text provides a cause and a consequence. The evaluation of the military is negative in terms of moral judgment: "they went a bit overboard with torture and all of those things that they did." However, the use of hedging to mitigate the force of the evaluation in the phrase, "a bit overboard," limits the degree and impact of the moral sanction. This critique of the military follows the "Two Demons" schematic narrative that presents state repression as "excesses" which were needed. This is confirmed by the final coda that provides a moral to the story: "all turned out ok, because we have a democracy now." The conciseness and clarity of Federico's construction show that he has internalized the schematic narrative which was dominant in public discourse and in his political party's explanations of the dictatorship (Federico is

Colorado). But there is also a unique characteristic which shows that Federico's appropriation of the narrative is not a mere adoption of the master narrative of Two Demons. In his narrative, the setting includes a detailed description of the historical and political context preceding the coup d'état, thus revealing that the people were active participants in the challenge to the government (i.e., people protested). In addition to this factor, the depiction of the people as "dying of hunger" provides a rationalization of the protests. However, there is a "blank spot" in the explanation that does not provide a relation between the people's active protest, the Tupamaros taking up arms, and the government's response. The role of the government in this narrative is left unexplained. What did the government do to respond to the people's protest and dire circumstances? What was the relation between the government and the military?

Another interesting feature in Federico's narrative is the use of reported speech to integrate the voices of different actors. For example he says "they [the Tupamaros] said they were going to take up arms against the state." This retrospective reconstruction of the others' words demonstrates Federico's awareness of the importance of sourcing and evidence in constructing a historical explanation. However, this balanced perspective of voices is manipulated to provide an indirect critique of the Tupamaros through the following statement about the military's actions – "the military did not have another option, but to take power." However, this construction also shows the limited danger of the Tupamaros since they did not really "take over the government," but only "said they would." This positions the military as overreacting to the actual threat.

Andrés' explanation of the dictatorship provides an atypical narrative.

*MAR: ¿Y: si tuvieras imaginate que viene un estudiante de otro país a visitar acá el liceo y te pregunta qué es la dictadura o que pasó en la dictadura que le dirías?
And if you had, imagine if a student from another country came to visit here, the high school and he asks you what is the dictatorship or what happened in the dictatorship – what would you tell him?

*AND: **[definition]**A mi forma de pensar yo le diría que fue **algo** malo porque mataban.
In my view I would tell him that it was something bad because they killed.

[problem] La gente vio que **se** los llevaban para … en los vuelos y los tiraban en el río de la Plata y **había gente** que por ejemplo no pensaban igual que **ellos** te trataban mal y eso.
The people saw that they were taking … in the flights and they threw them in the River Plate and there were people that for example, did not think the same as them and they treated them poorly and that kind of thing.

[resolution] Por ejemplo **mi padre y mi madre** se tuvieron que ir para Argentina porque ta ellos.
For example my father and my mother had to go to Argentina because well they …

*MAR: ¿Vivieron en Argentina en esa época?
They lived in Argentina at that time?

*AND: Sí los llevaron para Argentina y en Argentina estaban haciendo.
Yes they took them to Argentina and in Argentina they were doing …

[explanation] Hubo un tiempo ¿que qué hacían?
There was a time that what? what did they do?

Buscaban a **todos los uruguayos** para traerlos para acá
[evaluation] y **ellos** por suerte se salvaron.
They would search for all the Uruguayans to bring them here and they [the parents], luckily they got away.

In this explanation of the dictatorship, Andrés provides a claim about the meaning and value of the dictatorship through a moral judgment and affective evaluation ("les diría que fue algo malo porque mataban" ["I would tell them that it was something bad because they killed"]). There is an intertextual link to the "Dark Times" narrative. The social actors identified are the people who are victims of some other agent who has a lot of power but is unnamed. The use of the pronoun "they" presents them as distant and retrievable to the audience, but not explicitly mentioned. The responsibilities of killing, taking people on flights, throwing people out of airplanes, and treating them poorly are all negative actions that are morally judged without directly identifying the agent. The people experience events and are forced to do things ("had to leave"), but are not in control of their destiny. The only indication of a motive to explain these terrible actions is that "they think differently." Chance is the only explanation for survival, and there is no heroic action or option that explains the successful outcome. Later on in the interview, Andrés mentions that he is scared of knowing and talking about that period. The past of the dictatorship is not understandable or rationally explainable.

Juana defines the dictatorship and then provides a justification of her response in the form of a narrative. Her story has intertextual links to the "War" narrative in its "Two Demons" version. The main actors identified are the military and the guerrillas. The people appear as victims who suffer from the actions of others. The evaluation of events is in moral judgment terms, and affective terms, also. Her explanation connects past and present, emphasizing the consequences of violations against current human rights.

*MAR: ¿Y: si tuvieras que explicarle imagínate que viniera un estudiante de otro país a tu clase acá y te dice bueno sé que aprendieron sobre este tema, sobe la dictadura en Uruguay qué le dirías?
And if you had to explain, imagine that someone came, – a student from another country came to your class and said that he knows you have learned about the topic, about the dictatorship in Uruguay –, what would you tell him?

¿Qué significa, qué fue?
What does it mean? What was it?

*JUA: **[definition]** Yo diría que fue la toma de poder de ***los militares*** del gobierno.
I would say that it was the taking of power by the military from the government.

[problem] había una ***guerrilla*** por un lado
[resolution]y entonces para defender el país los ***militares*** tomaron el poder
[evaluation] y fue un período antidemocrático que en realidad se caracterizó por la represión de las libertades.
there were guerrillas on the one hand and then to defend the country the military took power and it was an antidemocratic period that really was characterized by repression of liberties.

> **[evaluation]** Represión física también y que fue bastante reciente y dejó huellas sobre ***las personas*** por ejemplo la lucha contra los desaparecidos y es como un tema muy importante por la verdad y justicia que tanto se pide ahora.
> There was physical repression also and that it was pretty recent and it left marks on people for example the fight against the disappeared and it is like a topic very important for truth and justice that is so much asked for today.
>
> **[coda]** Para **el Uruguay** es un tema delicado en la historia del Uruguay.
> for Uruguay it is a delicate topic in the history of Uruguay.

Juana's response begins with a definition of the dictatorship that is justified with a narrative that has all the functional components. She identifies the main characters as the military and the guerrillas. The only actors are the military who "take power." The justification for this action is that "they had to defend the country." This impersonal statement presents, and with very little modalization – "had to" – the military's perspective, opening up the possibility of an alternative discourse that challenges this obligation. However, the voicing of the military's perspective legitimizes and reproduces it.

In the first part of the narrative, which is told in the past tense, the "people" are not present. The dictatorship appears as a nominalization that has characteristics which are evaluated in negative moral appreciations of things ("fue un periodo antidemocrático" [it was an antidemocratic period]). The people are represented as affected in today's scenario, dealing with the consequences of the dictatorship – "dejó huellas sobre las personas" [it left traces on people]. This narrative does not provide any explicit motive besides the existence of guerrillas that implicitly produces the need "to defend the country." The moral obligation and duty drive the military, but there is no temporal, spatial, or sociocultural contextualization to understand what this presence of the guerrillas means. The representation of the events is left at a very abstract level, and with a dichotomous view. There are terrible consequences, but the aftermath of the dictatorship does not have an explicit agent to whom to attribute responsibility. Most of the story is implied. In terms of epistemological perspective, Juana points to a direct link between past and present. This connection reinforces the importance of understanding history, but her narrative does not provide enough information to make sense of how those consequences came to be. This could be the product of the interview situation. Since she knows the interviewer already has some information about this, and shares common ground, Juana may not find it necessary to explicitly point out the reasons or causes of these events. It is important to note, however, that Juana was politically active in a left-wing party and that she appealed to the "War" narrative to frame her response.

Finally, in Sofía's explanation of the dictatorship, there is no narrative. Her response provides a definition of the events and then a reflection on how we can know about the past. In Sofía's response there is an intertextual link to the "Dark Times" and "War" narratives:[17]

*MAR: ¿Y: si tuvieras que explicarle imagínate que viene alguien de otro país, un estudiante que viene a visitar la clase y le tenés que contar qué fue la dictadura qué le dirías?
And if you had to explain, imagine that someone from another country comes, – a student that comes to visit the class and you need to tell her what the dictatorship was –, what would you tell her?

*SOÑ: **[definition]** No sé como explicarle porque ***yo*** le diría que fue un acontecimiento que modificó todo lo que fue ***Uruguay***
I don't know how to explain it because I would tell them that it was an event that modified everything that was Uruguay

[claim] y creo que yo le diría que fue algo que no se puede juzgar por quien lo hizo
and I think I would tell them that it was something that cannot be judged by who did it

[**justification**] porque no tenemos las pruebas necesarias.
because we don't have the necessary evidence.

[**counterargument**] Puede haber documentos, puede haber todo lo que sea pero **yo** creo que nunca.
There could be documents, there could be anything but I believe that never…

[**claim**] **La historia** para mi es indescifrable
History for me is undecipherable

[**justification**] porque nunca vas a ver si es verdad lo que vos sabes o es mentira.

> because you will never see if it is true what you know or if it is a lie.
>
> [**counteragument]** Pueden investigar mucho pero nunca van a llegar al final.
> They could investigate a lot but they are never going to get to the end of it.
>
> O sea ¿**quién l**o causó **yo** no creo que sepan?
> I mean who caused it, I don't think that they'd know.
>
> [**claim]** Ta puedo decir que lo causaron ***los Tupamaros*** o como le dicen ahora.
> Well I could say that it was caused by the Tupamaros or as they call them now.
>
> [**justification**] Puedo decir eso porque a mi me enseñaron eso
> I would say that because they taught me that
>
> [**claim]** pero no te puedo decir si es verdad o mentira.
> but I cannot tell you if it is true or a lie.
>
> [**justification**] ***Yo*** te voy a decir lo que ***yo*** sé no ***quién*** lo causó.
> I'm going to tell you that I don't know who caused it.

Sofía's response focuses on evaluating the impact of the dictatorship in negative terms and then centering the argument on how the justification for the claim is difficult to find. Her main argument is that evaluations and definitions, including the attribution of responsibilities, depend on the speaker's ideological position. Her own identification of responsibilities points to the "Tupamaros." However, she is aware of the fact that this is a result of what she has been taught, and not because she has evidence to support the conclusion. Here, we see that most of her statements focus on the epistemological particularities of historical knowledge – "history is undecipherable." The truth or legitimation of historical knowledge is not related to evidence, but more to constructing an argument based on one's orientation to the topic. Sofía makes an interesting distinction between what she knows and who caused it ("te voy a decir lo que yo sé no quien lo causó"[I'm going to tell you what I know, not who caused it]). This relativization of historical knowledge demonstrates a clear awareness of how history is used for other motives and how the research is incapable of answering some of the questions we are interested in, each of which have a moral origin.

Conclusions

The youths' meanings of the dictatorship have connections to schematic narratives that are prevalent in the public sphere, but they also differ in unique ways, reflecting their own interpretations of the evidence available to them. The circulation of schematic narratives such as the dictatorship – as a "War," a "Dark Time" or a "Resistance"– confirms there are continuities between the social memory of older generations and younger ones. However, the tendencies in frequency seem to differ. According to reports in the media (see note 15), and expert analysis (e.g., Lessa, 2013; Marchesi and Winn, 2013), the hegemonic narrative among older generations is the "War," but in this diverse group of youth, the most prevalent is that of the "Dark Times." This change may be connected to how the "battles for memory" have been transforming (Allier Montaño, 2010). In the current context, youth have more access to other sources of information – such as those of government reports, international courts, and anthropological forensic investigations that go beyond the human rights organizations which have been the traditional voices maintaining this narrative. This discourse has also been legitimized by historical investigations. This academic discourse has also entered classrooms through textbooks and historical approaches that incorporate disciplinary habits of mind and practices (see Chapter 4).

Regarding the discursive patterns observed in the youths' constructions about the dictatorship, there were interesting evaluation choices. The evaluations were negative for the most part, and they tended to be moral; however, while most were judgments (e.g., "the military abused the people"), some occurred as appreciations ("They lived bad things"). Besides, affective evaluations also occurred in connection with the effect the topic produced on the youth. Two boys expressed fear about the dictatorship, and described hearing and learning details about the period as upsetting. For example, when I asked Marcos how he had learned about the dictatorship, he mentioned that his father and family sometimes discuss the period when it comes up in the news.

*MAC: Cuando pasa por ejemplo en la tele algo.
when something happens for example on TV

Mi padre le pregunto algo y él me dice.
I ask my father something and he tells me

Sí porque fue esto y esto.
Yes, because it was this and this

Y: me cuenta las cosas ahí.
And he tells me the things there

Y a veces me causa un poco de miedo porque debe de ser feo ¿no?
And sometimes that makes me feel a bit of fear because it must be ugly, no?

Las cosas que **le** hacían a **la gente**.
The things that they did to people.

*MAR: ¿Te da miedo como qué?
You feel scared like what?

*MAC: Como que me da cosa, impresión que mataran a **gente.**
It's like I feel kind of strange impression that they killed people.

Que **la** torturaran sólo por unas ideas y **mi padre** siempre me dice y ta pero era así.
that they tortured them only because of some ideas and my father always tells me and yeah but it was like that.

Los partidos siempre fueron así.
The parties were always like that.

*MAR: ¿Miedo te da que continué así o que pueda pasar otra vez?
Are you scared that it could continue like that or that it could happen once again?

*MAC: Que pueda volver a surgir porque como puede cambiar esto puede volver atrás.
That it could emerge because like this can change and things can go back.

Porque hay muchos **países** que tienen dictadura como estado.
Because there are many countries that have dictatorship as a state.

*MAR: Es verdad.
It's true.

*MAC: Eso es lo que da un poco como de miedo.
That is what makes me a bit scared.

In this description of the fears Marcos has about the period, he points to concrete information about the "Dark Times," the killings, and torture. The violent details are unbearable because there is no justification for them ("only because of some ideas"). There is no understanding of the other's actions, and the fear is that it could happen again – that it could be repeated. This link between the experience of previous generations and his imagination of a potential future in which this type of thing could occur to him reveals Marco's construction of a horizon of expectation (Koselleck, 2001). This past's future is scary and serves to construct a dystopian outlook.

Another interesting discursive pattern is the use of exophoric reference (i.e., using pronouns without a referent in the text), as well as indefinite constructions, such as using only the conjugated verb without explicit subjects (e.g., "los agarraban" [took them]) and the use of passive "se" constructions (e.g., "se vivía en dictadura" [one lived in dictatorship]). In terms of responsibility, it is also interesting that most social actors are represented as groups, not as individuals (e.g., "the people," "the military"). There is only one youth who identified Juan María Bordaberry as the author of the coup d'état, the rest referring to the "government" or "the military" when they attributed responsibility for the coup. This means political parties and politicians' involvement in these events is not represented.

Regarding what the youth know about the past, we can observe in the responses a wide range of specific narratives that include family experiences (e.g., exile), as well as more specific examples that refer to everyday experiences during the dictatorship (e.g., going to high school). There are others, however, who do not have a lot of information or do not feel confident enough to state what they know. In these cases, it seems that the dictatorship is treated as are other more distant historical periods that do not have direct connections to the youths' lives. Those who were able to articulate a more elaborate response about the meaning of the dictatorship had taken a point of view that not only positioned it as distant and unfamiliar, but they also simultaneously considered how that past connected to their present (i.e., democracy, freer dress codes) and to more universal human issues (i.e., human rights, freedom of expression). This could be considered evidence of historical empathy (Lévesque, 2008).

How can we understand predecessors who lived in different sociocultural contexts and had different moral frameworks? To think historically requires this dual operation of defamiliarization and avoiding presentism, together with contextualization and moral judgment (Lévesque, 2008). In terms of historical thinking, some of these youth revealed that they were able to identify, contextualize, and evaluate evidence in order to construct their own meaning of the dictatorship. This illustrates a form of historical consciousness (Seixas, 2004) that has more lasting effects than knowing the specific "facts" about the dictatorship. Since the facts are still "coming in," and historical knowledge is provisory and open to revision, being able to evaluate evidence and sources, and then come up with an interpretation, are all important practices that will enable youth to continue learning about the past. In the following chapters, we will track this group of youth through different contexts to see how they use the information afforded by the context to make meaning of the recent past.

3

Families' Conversations about the Dictatorship: Appropriating Anecdotes and Taking an Affective Stance

Why do family conversations matter in processes of intergenerational transmission? Family narratives provide a context for creating and re-creating individual and group identity. In addition to this consideration, families have different styles of reminiscing that may influence how individuals remember the past (Fivush, 2008). Family conversations have previously been examined to better understand how youth are socialized into political discourse in the private sphere (e.g., George, 2013; Gordon, 2004; Ochs and Taylor, 1992) and to explore how the historical self develops (Fivush and Nelson, 2006; Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat and Duncan, 2007).

In the case of politically contested or painful pasts, studies of family conversations have shown that the transmission of the past requires semiotic work (e.g., rejections, corrections, reformulations, or agreements) that results in the transformation of narratives and meanings of the past (Bietti, 2010; Schiffrin, 2002; Tschuggnall and Welzer, 2002; Welzer, 2010). In family conversations, the transmission of traumatic memories foregrounds the distributed nature of knowledge; social memory exists *between* subjects, not within them, and it comes to life through communication. Family conversations serve as "triggers" for reconstructions of memory, which link the self to others and connect past, present, and future. Thus, the narratives that emerge in such familial interactions are complex and controversial, and even, at times, incoherent. The lack of clarity that can be observed in family conversations arises primarily from the speaker's need to negotiate the emotional framing of narratives about the past. Over time, many of the family stories about painful or contested pasts change the tone of their evaluative language.

Studies have also demonstrated that family memories are affected by the national, cultural, and generational schema which bring societal grand narratives into the private reminiscing experience. "[B]oth individual and collective life stories are constantly overwritten in light of new experiences and needs, and especially under conditions of new frames of meaning from the present" (Welzer, 2010: 15). This means that the very sociohistorical positionings of those who reminisce affect what information they remember. Furthermore, as the sociohistorical circumstances change and new experiences accumulate, both individual and family stories are reconstructed and rewritten.

Apart from being spaces in which to pass on information about the past, family conversations also entail interpersonal work, which in turn produces identity effects. Youth negotiate the meaning(s) of the past in conversations with their parents, while simultaneously positioning themselves vis-à-vis their parents' orientations towards their representations of the past, resulting in certain identity effects. Thus, axiological positionings related to the meaning(s) given to the past also have the function of helping youth differentiate themselves from (and/or align themselves with) their parents. Family history is constructed by alignments that signal the similarities between the values of one generation and the other (e.g., Kaës, 1996; Fivush, 2009). Nevertheless, *individual* identity requires a process of differentiation from parents (and previous generations) that allows youth to mark themselves as agents who contribute something unique to the meaning-making process, resulting in a generational identity (Schuman and Scott, 1989; Mannheim, 1928).

There are several "forces" operating in these family interactions that contribute to the construction of a shared familial memory of the past, while at the same time providing opportunities to distinguish younger from older members of the group. However, this possibility of differentiation within the family group is not always seized by youth. In studies of the transmission of traumatic memories, researchers have found that parental trauma may be experienced by younger generations as their own (Prager, 2003). This lack of differentiation within the family group, between generations, impairs the development of self-autonomy and identity (Prager, 2003).

The transmission of traumatic memories occurs through two broad processes that include: (1) *implicit* parental embodied behaviors, which are expressed through *nonverbal practices* (e.g., not talking about the topic, or making impersonal and generalized references to the topic); and (2) *explicit* parental practices (e.g., the handling of children's questions, the type of emotions displayed when participating in activities like demonstrations, sharing objects, editing narratives, or justifying their actions) (Fried, 2004). This type of intergenerational transmission impacts those who were directly affected by traumatic events and their families alike.

But all youth must learn and deal with the recent past, regardless of what type of experience their family has had with contested historical events. Family conversations that involve the past are spaces where youth and older family members construct a shared understanding of the past, as well as their family's relation to it. These conversations also provide their participants with a space to develop a sense of self as historical actors. As historical actors, youth understand their agency in constructing the future and how their identity is shaped by changes in time. Understanding the historicity of everything and the relativity of all opinions – the situated nature of beliefs, practices, and meanings – involves taking a reflexive position in relation to what is handed down by tradition, evaluating and understanding the significance of it (Gadamer in Seixas, 2004).

For youth, family conversations constitute a sociocultural practice, in which learning with others occurs through making sense of the past in relation to an individual family's experience and values. The type of social learning that occurs when families engage in joint meaning-making activities *generates* meanings more than it transmits meaning. The intersubjective sharing of information concerning the past creates a common space and psychological common ground that enable collaborative activities and communication (Tomasello and Carpenter, 2007). This joint attentional frame guides younger family members to focus on information that is available on the environment. Given this perspective, what distinguishes this type of learning is that there is depth of meaning afforded by the social interaction between more and less experienced members of a group. The family, therefore, can be regarded as a community of resources for learning about the meaning and value of the past in order to understand the present.

However, the affordances of the family environment are not always perceived. There exist individual differences in terms of how agents "pick up" the available resources, and these resources need to be identified in order to be used meaningfully. As a result of this individual variation and need for guidance, we arrive at the following questions. What prompts youth to become aware of and be receptive to available resources in their families which allow for making meaning of the past?

How does one affect the family environment so as to bring attention to subjects that have not been raised before?

In this chapter, the focus is first on describing the different styles of interaction between parents and children when they engage in discussing the dictatorship in Uruguay, and, second, on identifying family narratives about the past which are available for Uruguayan youth to inherit. Finally, I explore the question of the effectiveness of the different styles and narratives in order to consider the idea of more "sharable" narratives. Are some styles of discourse, in fact, "better culture," in the classic sense of the sharing and transmission of beliefs and practices across generations (Urban, 1996: 24)?

The families

The families that participated in this study represent a wide spectrum of political ideologies, socioeconomic positions, and structures. In order to identify potential participant families, a survey was conducted in all focal history classes and, based on the findings, families that represented the diversity of backgrounds present in the class were invited to participate. Additionally, those who wished to be part of the study, but had not been selected, were also included. Since not all of those who were invited accepted, and since some who had not been preselected sought to collaborate, the final number of participants from each of the participating locations varied. The 20 families that participated in these interviews were also diverse in life trajectories: some families had direct political involvement during the dictatorship in Uruguay while others did not participate directly in dictatorship-era politics due to age or apolitical orientation. For a more detailed description of the participants' families, see Table 2.1.

The family interviews data

In order to collect data that could be comparable across cases while maintaining the uniqueness of each family experience, the interviews combined semistructured questions that used emblematic photographs of the dictatorship period and dates of historical events as triggers for conversations and also as a form of assessing participants' knowledge of the period.[1] Interviews also had an open-ended section, wherein families were invited to share anecdotes and narratives about their collective experience during the dictatorship. The interviews were audio-recorded and conducted, in most cases, at the participants' homes, with the few exceptions taking place at school sites. A total of approximately 20 hours of recording was collected, with each interview lasting an average of 35–40 minutes. All family members were invited to participate in the interview; however, in most cases, the focal youth participated with only one of their parents. In one case, the whole family (i.e., parents and siblings) was involved. These differences produced data that is not completely homogeneous in terms of the context of production, but it is deemed reliable because, in all instances, interviews elicited discourse practices related to giving meaning to the recent past.

The examples chosen to illustrate the findings come from all of the interviews in order to represent the patterns, as well as the divergence, in responses across cases. The objective of this chapter is to show and describe how families interact around the topic of the dictatorship in Uruguay, while also acknowledging the importance of individual differences in the instantiation of these patterns of communication.

Interaction between parents and children

Family conversations provide a variety of opportunities to engage in semiotic work in order to make meaning of the past, such as through discussing historical events, responding to a youth's inquiries regarding the past, and sharing family anecdotes. In these activities, youth can play an active role in their socialization process as it is linked to making meaning of the past. The task of negotiating the meaning of the past also entails work on enacting interpersonal relationships, which have to do with identity construction vis-à-vis one's parents. The participation frameworks (Goffman, 1974) in which parents and children engage can help us better understand how social and family roles are distributed, and how meanings are negotiated through interaction. In this section, I describe the patterns in interactional styles as observed in the 20 families that participated in these interviews.

There were three distinct styles of interaction among parents and children:

1. Cooperative interactions and co-construction of meaning (*Federico, Alberto, Marcos, Sandra, Luciana, Luis, Andrés, Sofía, Ernesto, Juana).*
2. Minimal interaction or dominance of parents' semiotic work (*Adriana, Andrea, Ana, Diego, Carmela*).
3. Differences and conflict in the construction of meaning (*Augusto, Micaela, Marcos, Jorge, Sandra, Miles, Marina*).

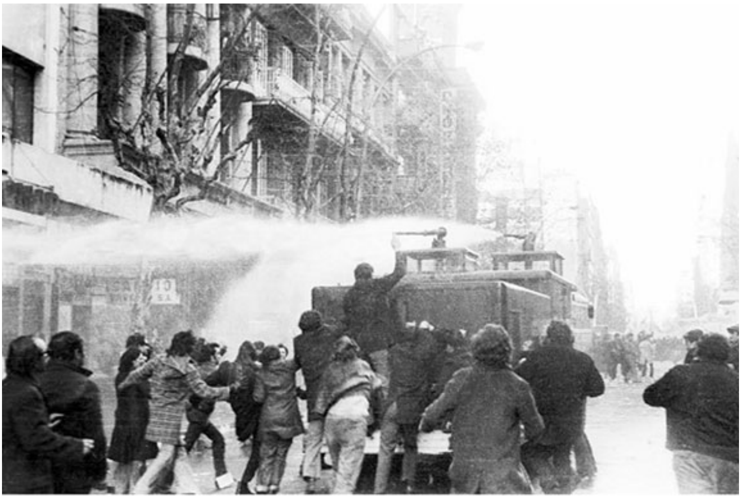

Figure 3.1 July 9, 1973 Dieciocho de Julio Avenue, © Aurelio González

It is important to note that these patterns sometimes overlapped (particularly (1) and (3)) since, as the conversation progressed, the participation frameworks and footing of interlocutors changed.

To explore in greater depth how these interactions unfolded, we will examine examples from comparable interview sections, in which the discussions revolved around the same photographs from the dictatorship period. The following examples show the aforementioned three types of interaction in conversations regarding a photograph taken by Aurelio González in 1973 (Figure 3.1), which represents the protests and state repression in Montevideo when the coup d'état occurred.

This photograph taken on July 9, 1973 depicts a protest held against the coup d'état on Dieciocho de Julio Avenue. The composition localizes the elements in the center and middle of the image, placing protestors at the bottom (their being perceived as "real" according to Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) and the buildings and sky at the top (these being viewed as "ideal" following Kress and Van Leeuwen's 2006 model). The black and white picture produces a contrast between the people in the background and the water emitted from the truck which is used to quell the protest. The frame is medium-sized with a diffuse focus and low resolution, rendering the participants nonrecognizable. On an interpersonal level, the picture is taken from a short distance and from a horizontal angle, which constructs a relation of social commitment with participants (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). The image's interaction with the audience occurs through an indirect gaze, as the participants face the opposite direction, exposing only their backs to the viewer of the photograph. This framing makes one feel as if part of the action in progress, since one is *immersed* in it, rather than placed as a mere onlooker (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006).

This photograph focuses on an activity (i.e., the protest) and presents it as a symbol of resistance to the coup d'état. The juxtaposition of the people protesting against the truck that represses them (human vs. machine) foregrounds the humanist perspective and the positive orientation towards the protestors. In addition to this element of composition, the subversion of public space through the protest on the street highlights the attempt to disarticulate the established order (e.g., people on the sidewalk, cars on the streets). On an intertextual level, this photograph has circulated in books and textbooks that represent the dictatorship period, serving as an example of social unrest and conflict.

As a cultural artifact, this photograph triggers semiotic work that can help to support the families' constructions of meaning. The affordances provided by the activity (i.e., interviews) and the artifact (i.e., the photograph) enable participants to actively engage in meaning making with respect to the dictatorship period. In spite of the fact that the conversation topic of the dictatorship did not arise "naturally" in some of the families interviewed, the environment created for these exchanges forced the interviewees to use the resources available for interpretations of the past.

The following examples illustrate the different styles of participation identified in the interviews, in order to show interactional patterns across cases. Hereafter, we will look at some examples that evidence variation between cases to demonstrate the complexity of intergenerational meaning making and warn of the dangers of reducing family communication to particular styles which are generally associated with certain participant characteristics. For example, associating a cooperative interaction style with a particular type of family would hide the complexity of the unfolding communication, as well as the use of a variety of styles within one family to serve particular functions.

I present below three examples of the different communication styles used by these families to show their relations to the types of meanings that are produced. The first example displays an instance of "cooperative interaction." In this style of interaction, parents and youth co-constructed meaning(s) by expanding on each other's contributions and responding in the expected manner to each other's offerings. The key actions that characterized these constructions of meaning, where one member supported another, included: (1) positive evaluations of the other's contributions and (2) expansion of the other's contributions by adding information, enhancing it, or further elaborating on the matter.

The first example comes from Sandra's case. Sandra was 15 years old and attended a private high school in a middle-class neighborhood in Montevideo. She did well in school, and at the time of the interview was politically active in a left-wing political party. Her future plans included going to university to study social work or sociology. In this interview, which took place in her home, both parents were present, along with her older sister. Sandra's mother was a psychomotor specialist in her mid-forties and had been highly involved in politics during her youth. The father was an accountant in his early fifties and had been active in politics until recently. Sandra's older sister was attending university, where she studied sociology.

In example 1, the case of Sandra's family, we can observe that even though the youth do not personally possess much information, the parents build on what they know and recognize them as legitimate interlocutors when answering their questions, thus expanding their knowledge of the topic. In this example, Sandra (SAN), her sister (SIS), and their father (FAT) and mother (MOT) discuss the slang term used to refer to the vehicle depicted in the picture, later moving on to converse about the historical context where this type of event used to take place.

Example 1[2]

*SIS: And here (.) *chanchita* [a slang term used to refer to police vehicles used for repression] two.
*MOT: and = laughs
*FAT: <a *guanaco* is that>
*MOT: <it is another one (.) that is> another [/] another [/] another [/] . . .
*SIS: <Was there a *chanchita* in Tacuarembó [?]?>
*MOT: Sandra has to say something first (.) right? or has she already said it?

*INV: she said something but I am not sure if you can say <what it reminds you of or if it makes you feel something>
*SAN: <But I don't know what that is>
*MOT: <It is another vehicle that one>
*SAN: I don't know. Is that water?
*MOT: Hm
*FAT: that is what they used to call *guanaco* <because it spits>
*MOT: <because it threw> (..) it spit water.
*SAN: ah.
*FAT: the *guanaco* theoretically (.) I am no sure if it is that animal that spits <or what>
*MOT: <o> elephants. Yes (.) the *guanaco* spits at you.
*SIS: But how (.) that is what people called it or [/] . . . ?
*FAT: *Chanchita* was a vehicle more like for [/] repression and for [/] <for arrests>
*MOT: <they put you inside it>
*FAT: This one was a vehicle for (.) yes (.) for repression but it shot water at you.
*SIS: <that [/] that they took out during> <demonstrations>
*MOT: <for the forced water that came out from the hose>
*FAT: <very strong>
*MOT: Strong to dissolve the [/] the protest.
*FAT: Sure (.) if you were close by you could do that (.) there they are kind of (..) climbing on it. Theoretically this vehicle comes (.) there was already a protest and with the water it spreads/dissolves it or <makes the people run>.
*MOT: <XXX with a force> incredible the water (.) right?
*SIS: sure.
*FAT: that (.) I don't know (.) maybe it was the 9 of July of 1973 because (. . .) there are people everywhere. that was a huge demonstration there was <XXX>
*SAN: <Líber Arce?>
*FAT: No.
*SIS: sure (.) some days later (.) there was a general strike (.) right? and = mumbles
*FAT: There was [/] <there was> (.) the general strike from the 27th of June.

49 *MOT: <It was the general strike>
50 *FAT: the 9 of July there was a big demonstration there in (..)
51 [/] in Downtown.
52 *SIS: and you were there?
53 *FAT: And (.) eh (.) that night (.) I believe that same night
54 Seregni went to jail.
55 *SIS: Hm.

The above conversation surrounding the photograph lasted about six minutes (6:10–12:45 of the recording). In this short period of time, we can observe how the contributions made by the youth are taken up and expanded by their parents. The exchange begins with Sandra's sister providing a label to identify the scene by focusing on the main artifact – the truck – and providing a label for it that goes beyond referential meaning to a more symbolic one that suggests a deeper understanding of the event.

The youth's lexical choice "chanchita" (little piglet), denotes a historical understanding of terms of popular culture, as this is a slang term used to refer to police vehicles utilized for repression. In addition to this level of comprehension, referring to the vehicle by this term situates this material object as part of an activity which indexes the scene in the photograph as part of political protest and state repression in Uruguay. Thus, this image is emblematic of a period of political unrest and protest against state violence in general, not only the one represented by the photograph (i.e., the demonstration on the 9th of July in 1973).

The semiotic work of the family around Sandra's sister's contribution expands the understanding of the historical artifact and the events depicted therein. Sandra's parents' expansion of their daughter's contribution has a dual effect of validating her contribution and, at the same time, refining her understanding providing a more precise term (i.e., "guanaco"), adding to the taxonomy of the field (i.e., instruments of state repression), and providing a functional definition for it (i.e., used to dissolve protests). Then, Sandra's father builds on his daughter's identification, moving to a more precise naming of the historical event (i.e., "protest of the 9th of July 1973") in line 40. Sandra accepts this information and tries to add to it by making another connection to a historical actor, Liber Arce, in line 43. This attempt is recognized once again, but not developed because it is incorrect (the event concerning Liber Arce had occurred in the 1960s). The positive response of the parents to the youths' contributions encourages them to continue their attempts at making meaning of the past. In the next turn, Sandra's sister makes another attempt to enhance her father's contribution by establishing another connection to an event that occurred during this time period (i.e., the general strike). This contribution is validated and expanded upon, since it took place during the time frame that is being discussed (lines 49–52). This negotiation of meaning illustrates how Sandra's family endeavors to situate the event in terms of historical periodization. This interaction progresses from identifying *who* the participants are, to *what* type of event it is, and, finally, to *when* it happened. The discussion increasingly focuses on how to make connections between events and historically set boundaries around the dictatorship period.

The conversation continues moving from the political to the personal after Sandra's sister asks their father if he took part in these protests.

Example 1 continues:[3]

(. . .)
1 *MOT: Sure (.) I from that [/] from that vehicle I also only
2 have an image from photographs (.) I never
3 participated in a <protest> like that (.) with that
4 kind of repression.
5 *SIS: <sure> you were [/] four years old at that time. no?
6 *MOT: No (.) no (.) I was <(. . .)> no (.) I was twelve.
7 *SIS: <How silly of me!>
8 *MOT: I was starting middle school.
9 *SIS: twelve (.) of course.
10 *SAN: ok (.) but it depends.
11 *SIS: Sure (.) but you were <already older>
12 *MOT: <XXX>
13 *FAT: Hm
14 *SAN: Did they throw water at you?
15 *MOT: Everything (.) Eduardo [father].
16 *FAT: Mmmm (.) yes (.) but no.
17 *SIS: And there they couldn't believe it (.) they didn't know
18 what was going to happen (..) or what?
19 *FAT: what?
20 *SIS: You didn't know what was going to happen (.) there
21 (.) in that moment?
22 *FAT: And (.) well (.) it was like an attempt at that point to
23 do something very big to see if . . .

*MOT: if it could be stopped <something>
*FAT: <if it> could be stopped (.) but no.
*SAN: but what did you want to do?
*SAN: Did you see the military officers there?
*FAT: hm?
*MOT: there was the general strike (.) right? (.) it was like at that time the workers basically the [//] the C_N_T (. . .) well (.) or the students when the rest of all the social movements (.) but it was from [///] they were like trying to stop (.) they had like (. . .) that stance basically. Also it was like some political parties [///] some sections of the Frente (.) right? (.) were supporting that. I think.
*FAT: yes (.) all of the Frente (..) and a little bit of the others. a little bit.
*SIS: Wilson? and = mumbles
*MOT: I don't know (.) about the general strike I don't know much.
*FAT: in the university (.) hm (. . .) the colorados brought rice and . . .
*MOT: rice?
*FAT: yes
*MOT: <for what?>
*FAT: <bags of> rice . . . for [/] the occupation.
*MOT: !Ah! they collaborated
*FAT: And the blancos went a little bit. a little bit.
*MOT: and the ones occupying (..) were from el Frente.
*SIS: But in reality all of the (.) well (.) eh (.) everything about the fall of democracy was really by the [/] from the side of the pachequismo and the Colorado party (.) right? eh (.) then I don't understand why . . .
*MOT: well (.) some groups would bring rice.
*SIS: that in the university why . . .
*SAN: and rice for what?
*FAT: <Well (.) yes (.) but> . . .
*MOT: <to help with the food> for the pot.
*FAT: there were groups that were (..) against.
*FAT: Within the colorados there were groups that (..) were against the coup d'état.
*SIS: ok.
*SAN: Batlle (.) right?

65 *FAT: Hm (.) yes. And from (.) yes (.) from the blancos the
66 majority (..) were against it. Because (.) of course (.) the
67 government was Colorado with the support of the
68 blancos. and it was (..) at the time (.) headed by
69 Bordaberry. Not all of that government participated in
70 the coup d'état. Well (.) but then there was a big group
71 from the Colorado party that supported it or <(. . .)> said
72 (.) well (.) thankfully the upheaval is ending (.).
73 *SAN: <they stayed quiet>
74 *MOT: and = coughs.
75 *SIS: how? Who [/] who are those (.) the colorados? the ones
76 on Bordaberry's side?
77 *FAT: Sure (.) they were the majority of the Colorado party.
78 *SIS: it is the end of the upheaval of the Tupamaros.
79 *FAT: <I don't know (.) I suppose they said that>
80 *MOT: <and the strike also>
81 *FAT: Eh (.) it was a very adversarial society at the time right?
82 *SIS: Mhm
83 *FAT: Many people supported (..) the coup d'état.
84 *SIS: Yes because there had recently been deaths and things
85 we are not used to now (.) let's say. I don't know.
86 *MOT: XXX (.) but there was like a climate of . . .
87 *FAT: It is more violent: (.) the confrontation.
88 *MOT: <and = coughs> Much more confrontation (.) that's it.

The next comment made by Sandra's mother transfers the topic of discussion to the personal realm (line 1). She makes a connection between the events and how she knows about them. This foregrounds the fact that the father was a direct participant, while she was an indirect witness. As a result, both parents are providing different types of knowledge about this historical event. By stating that she only knows about this through pictures, Sandra's mother is aligning herself with her daughters and positioning the father as more knowledgeable because he had first-hand experience. This alignment reaffirms the fact that legitimacy is achieved through one's proximity to the events in question. The daughters' uptake of this contribution underlines the importance of empathy when trying to understand what these events were like from the point of view of their parents (lines 2–27). In this portion of the interaction, they appear to become aware of how the events have a dual meaning on a historical level, as part of both national history and family history.

The question Sandra poses to her father, "Did they throw water at you?" (line 14), links the picture and the previously provided definition to a concrete experience to which she can relate. What does it feel like to be part of something like what the picture represents? At the same time, this is a recognition of her parents as historical actors. Sandra's father was part of history, and he could have been one of the protestors depicted in the photograph. Sandra's mother responds, trying to support the positioning of the father as the legitimate voice for the experience and as the historical actor. He reluctantly takes on this role, providing an ambiguous response, "yes but no" (line 16). Sandra's sister wishes to elicit more out of their father by offering a description of what it was like to be there for the protestors by using the second-person plural pronoun (you, "ustedes") instead of the singular (line 20). This makes the topic focus on the father as part of a group – protestors – instead of as an individual actor and protagonist, which seems to be something with which the father is not comfortable, as illustrated by his hesitation and indirect response (lines 16–19).

The contribution *is* taken up by the father, however, who provides an impersonal and broad description of the motivation of the group for being there – "it was like an attempt at that point to do something very big to see if ..." (lines 22–23). The mother supports his statement ("if it could be stopped <something>"), linking the protest to trying to stop the coup d'état (line 24). The father repeats this sentiment, and then Sandra demands some clarification and expansion by posing several questions: "but what did you want to do? Did you see the military officers there?" (line 27). Her speaking turn begins with the conjunction "but," which directly connects with her parents' prior contributions, but produces counterexpectancy because there is ultimately no clear link between the motivation offered and the depiction of the events. Sandra requests more information to understand the expected outcome, while her father responds by expressing a lack of understanding ("hmm?"); Sandra does not attempt a repair turn[4] (line 29). Subsequently, the mother tries to respond by expanding the events to what had been happening earlier and in other forms of protest: general strikes (lines 29–36). She provides an answer to what they did as a social movement to try to end the coup. Then, the family continues identifying social actors who were part of the movement (e.g., workers, students, and political parties). The father supports the mother's response, providing more details that enhance her statement (lines 37–49). The focus of the daughters' questions now shifts to comprehending the political symbolism of activities, like "bringing rice" (line 57) and the political groups (e.g., divisions within political parties, lines 64–76). The level of detail reaches a point where the youth lose interest and stop attempting to understand the motivations for political actors' actions. ("I don't know) (lines 84–85).

In the last part of this speech event (lines 60–86), we see the same conversational pattern unfold: the children offer information that is relevant, but not always correct. The daughters' contributions are acknowledged, taken up, and expanded by their parents, who provide more precise information and historical connections that present an interpretive frame for the events, these going beyond the mere identification of actors and actions. This in turn produces active engagement on the part of the four participants and legitimizes the youth as valid interlocutors who are able to understand the meanings of the recent past at historical and political levels that surpass constructing a historical recount.

In this exchange, we note that the younger generation *co-constructs* the meanings of the past through cooperation with the family, whereby they make connections between what they already know and also request new information that goes beyond basic facts to involve more interpretive schemas. In terms of historical explanations, we can see that – in this conversation – the negotiation of the photograph's meaning shifts from identifying the artifact, to delimiting its historical period, to understanding the purpose of these events and, later on, to the identification of the social actors involved in them, as well as the various motivations for their actions.

The second style of interaction is *minimal interaction*. In this type of family interaction the parents take the lead in constructing meaning of the photograph, and the youth's contributions are minimal or not recognized as valid. As a result, most of the speaking turns in these family conversations are taken by the adults, while the youth are positioned as uninformed and lacking interest.

Example 2 comes from a conversation between Adriana and her stepmother. Adriana was 15 years old and attended a public high school in a working-class area of the city (as described in Chapter 2). She was not particularly interested in studying and planned to enroll in a technical school to complete a beauty course once she finished her required secondary education. Adriana's father was a retired low-ranking military officer and her mother died when she was young. She was primarily raised by her stepmother, who was a low-ranking military service person and also provided private tutoring sessions to students in the neighborhood. This conversation took place at her high school.

In example 2, Adriana (ADR) and her stepmother (MOT) talk about the same photograph described above; INV is the researcher. However, when Adriana is not able to identify the event or provide relevant information, the mother takes on a "teacher like" role trying to guide Adriana to reach the desired answer without building on or expanding her knowledge of the historical events.

Example 2[5]

*ADR: Isn't that the old city? No. Downtown?
*INV: It seems that it is downtown (.) yes. and what can you see?
*ADR: Everyone hanging from a truck.
*INV: Hm.
*ADR: From [/] a firefighter's truck? no.
*MOT: That is an epoch (.) yes (.) precisely one she doesn't know about.
*INV: No.
*ADR: But that [/] that seems to be water.
*MOT: yes: .
*ADR: XXX
*MOT: Pay attention to the clothes they wore. all the guys with lo: ng hair.
*ADR: Like the hippies from another time. and = laughs
*MOT: and = laughs. well (.) yes (.) I lived that time (.) that is why and = laughs
*INV: <I come from your time>
*MOT: <yes> and = laughs I am old (.) you see? Yes (.) obviously that is a street downtown (.) right?
*ADR: <Yes>
*MOT: And (.) there are a lot of people (.) that surround a vehicle. Now (.) might they be going out for a stroll those people?
*ADR: no (.) running.
*MOT: Yes (.) then (.) what could it be? It is not a common stroll (.) it would be a PROTE: ST. That is a pro [///] the photograph of a protest. What else can you see? Why do they throw water? For watering the plants?
*ADR: No (. . .) you can see there is fire or something (.) but I don't understand anything.

32 *MOT: Yes (.) in general water was thrown to calm down the
33 spirits (.) let's say (.) of the protests that were violent.
34 the way to express in public.
35 *ADR: And wasn't there the police?
36 *MOT: Good question.
37 *MOT: Everything was all very much mixed up (.) it was a time
38 of (.) in which the police did not participate (.) but they
39 took more drastic measures. They had a name those
40 trucks. Those are protests in downtown Montevideo.
41 dieciocho [/] dieciocho de Julio.

In the first speaking turn, Adriana offers a representation of the image in terms of its geographical reference. She presents this in the form of a question, which mitigates the certainty of the identification and requests validation from a more expert "other." However, Adriana repairs the statement herself, not waiting for a response, by denying the validity of her previous claim and providing a new identification of place: "downtown" (line 1). Once again, this is done through the use of an interrogative intonation that signals a lack of certainty on her part. The researcher validates her statement and requests an elaboration of her response by soliciting more information about what she can observe (line 2). Adriana depicts the scene ("everyone is hanging from the truck") by using the present tense and describes, in general terms, the actors and the event, producing an ahistorical account of the event.

Adriana tries to further specify the type of truck, initially identifying it incorrectly as a firefighter's truck, but ultimately performing a self-repair that demonstrates her awareness of her lack of knowledge and her apprehension regarding providing information (line 6). The stepmother interjects, directing her comment at the researcher, to offer an explanation for her daughter's unsuccessful response to the task, indirectly providing a negative evaluation of her daughter's contribution (lines 7–8). Adriana responds by introducing her speaking turn with a "but" to counter her stepmother's negative evaluation of her response, trying thereby to validate her own response. Adriana asserts, "that seems to be water" in order to contextualize her initial inference concerning the "firefighter's truck" (line 10). Even though the stepmother accepts her repair by answering "yes," she does not elaborate or build on this affirmation. The stepmother begins a new speaking turn, focusing on eliciting new information from her daughter by directing her attention to the photograph, using a command: "Pay attention to the clothes they wore" (lines 13–14). This seems to be an attempt to guide Adriana into identifying the historical period of the image, also signaled by her use of the word "epoch," as the daughter's focus had previously been on identifying the place and the actions captured in the photograph – rather than situating it temporal-historically. By leaving out time, which is a typical feature of historical discourse, Adriana limits her meaning making to the here and now.

In the next speaking turn, the stepmother takes on the role of interviewer, leading the daughter to expand her response by providing a model: "all the guys with long hair" (lines 13–14). This statement is taken up by the daughter, who tries to identify the social actors by connecting them with what she knows: "hippies" (line 15). This impression is presented as less than certain by the modalization ("like") and by the laughter that follows Adriana's statement (line 15). The stepmother responds nonverbally by also laughing and making a comment to the interviewer about how this is a time she knows well (lines 16–17). The daughter's comment is not taken up or evaluated directly. However, the change of topic and focus to the stepmother's personal history indirectly provides a negative evaluation of the daughter's contribution, in terms of its historicity. Through delving into the realm of the personal, the stepmother diffuses the negative evaluation of the comment provided by her daughter.

Subsequently, Adriana's stepmother constructs an identity as an expert as a result of having been a "witness" – being old provides closer contact to the period and information. Then, the stepmother offers the "correct answer," modalizing the daughter's contribution with terms that connote a high degree of certainty (e.g., "obviously"), which contrast her response against those of her daughter's that were low in certainty (lines 19–20). Adriana's stepmother builds upon what has been stated by her daughter, identifying the place and what the participants are doing in the image. Then, she begins a new speaking turn, wherein she endeavors to elicit more information from her daughter through providing a description with an interrogative intonation that requires her daughter to respond minimally (i.e., by agreeing or disagreeing with the stepmother's representation of the events): "might they be going for a stroll those people?" (lines 22–23). Moreover, the stepmother's inquiry serves as an exaggerated depiction to make a particular desired response evident to Adriana. The inference made by Adriana's stepmother from the information provided is clearly not possible, which makes the response evident and positions the daughter as incapable of arriving at the information. The answer provided by the daughter – "running" – is formally accepted ("yes"), but not entirely validated since the next speaking turn includes another question, that requests information about the motivations for these actions (lines 28–29). Thus, although the previous speaking turn focused on eliciting information related to what was going on, this turn presents a new question as a repair that focuses on the identification of the type of social activity photographed. The stepmother provides the answer herself, using an exaggerated tone of voice and an overemphasized articulation of the term "protest" to produce a nonverbal modalization of the utterance as "evident" (line 27). These actions position the daughter not only as having little familiarity with the past, but also as not understanding what is going on in interactional terms.

In the next speaking turn, the stepmother asks for more information, posing two questions in succession that focus on describing the event, "What else can you see?" and on identifying the reasons that explain it, "Why do they throw water?" (lines 28–29). Then, without providing space for the daughter to respond, she adds a third question that is similar to the one posed earlier, "For watering the plants?" This question constructs an exaggerated scenario wherein the inferences and evidence provided to the interlocutor result in an illogical response that clearly must be rejected. Moreover, such a contribution provides neither an alternative in historical terms, nor a clue of what type of response is expected (line 29). Adriana's answer is ultimately correct, but minimal: "no."

Adriana confesses that she does not understand what the scene means in terms of what the image can reveal regarding motivations and explanations, stating "there is fire but I don't understand anything" (line 31). The daughter then asks for clarification and introduces a new social actor (i.e., the police) in an effort to connect the past with the present, "wasn't there the police?" (line 35). The stepmother provides a positive evaluation of her daughter's question and offers an explanation that does not directly respond to Adriana's original inquiry. In lieu of providing an explicit answer, the stepmother supplies more details relating to the larger picture of this historical period (lines 37–41). The stepmother's response does not explain why the police did not take on the role of administering state repression, nor does it identify which other social actors did so, as it uses the third-person plural pronoun "they" to homogenize dictatorship-era repressors.

Therefore, in terms of historical explanation, this conversation does not go beyond identifying a place and a number of activities. There is neither a clear identification of the historical period, nor the social actors and their motivations. The personal connection expressed by Adriana's mother to the events symbolized by the image does not transcend a description of an indefinite, nebulous past. Adriana does not possess a great deal of information regarding the recent past in Uruguay, which both she and her mother negatively evaluate. This family style of interaction does not produce more knowledge or understanding of the dictatorship period, since it does not go beyond identifying what can be seen on a superficial level and evaluating the events in a general sense as negative. The past is portrayed as a "foreign country" that is beyond their understanding and unrelated to their current experience.

The last family style of interaction is *conflict in the construction of meaning*. In this style of family interactions, parents and youth have differing views that produce interactions centered around not only *what* the meaning of the past is, but also *who* has the authority to construct this meaning. In these types of interactions, family-related interpersonal issues overlap with the construction of knowledge, beyond referential differences, to the point where there are power differentials in asserting who has the legitimacy to have a voice in this process.

This example comes from Augusto's case. He was a 15-year-old who was very interested in history and politics. He attended a private high school in a middle-class neighborhood, excelled in school and planned to attend university in order to study social sciences. Augusto was politically active in a left-wing party. His family resided in the countryside when he was born, but at the time of the interview was located in Montevideo. His father was in his early forties, worked for a nongovernmental organization and was originally from Colombia. His mother was in her early forties, also worked in an NGO, and lived in Argentina and the Uruguayan countryside during the dictatorship period. Augusto also had an older sister, who did not participate in the interview. The conversation took place in their home.

In example 3, Augusto (AUG), his mother (MOT), and his father (FAT) talk about the same photograph and debate the father's right to contribute to the conversation as well as the overall value of his contributions. It is important to note that Augusto's father, being from Colombia, did not live in Uruguay during the dictatorship. The researcher is INV.

Example 3[6]

*AUG: and = laughs. A (.) eh (.) tank or something that (.) ok (.) that is (.) that [/] it has the [/] the [/] the [/] the water jet that [///] was thrown to the people there that (.) well (.) like (.) wait. Yes (.) they are spraying [.] spraying water kind of for pushing people away and to kind of (.) I don't know if it was for repression or (...) what. that is (.) there are enough people like that (.) it seems a kind of (...) I don't know if it is a protest or something because there are like (..) a lot of people lying down there. <and = laughs> <They throw a lot of people> there. People all piled up (..) and that (.) let's see (.) I don't know what avenue that is (.) it seems (.) like that (.) but I don't know which one. But I don't have [/] I don't recognize streets at all.

*INV: No.

*AUG: it isn't my forte (.) nor buildings.and = laughs. So well (.) and (...) and I don't know (.) it seems (..) like it is people quite young.

*INV: Hm.

*AUG: I believe (...) and (.) ok (.) that. Seeing (.) That is what you can see. But I believe there is some sort of march (.) protest or something like that because there is kind of a lot of people (.) you can see them in the back also there. And ok (.) they are with the tanks there (.) taking people (.) with the water (...) and (...) what does it make me feel? Well (.) I don't know. ok (.) no (.) that looking at those youth that for me they seem students and that (.) ok (.) that (.) well (.) it is like [.] it (.) yes (.) it [/] it is the different (.) how complicated that it was (.) I mean (.) also the different that it was to be a student (.) young (.) at that period in the dictatorship. I mean that (.) ok (.) they are living a moment of much more (...) of repression and all of that and (.) ok (.) and the students normally were the ones that more (..) I am not sure how to tell you (.) they [///] the youth were the ones that moved more (..) maybe (.) in [/] against and (.) ok (.) it was like very different to what it can be like nowadays (.) but (.) yes (.) that only. Now it is your [/] now it's your turn. Who is going next?

*MOT: Yes (.) sure (.) no (.) the students (.) sure (.) protesting against the dictatorship (.) but . . .
*AUG: I don't know (.) I tell you (.) of street I don't know anything.
*FAT: That must be the 18 de julio avenue around the university.
*AUG: Yes (.) it has [/] it looks like that (.) but ok (.) I don't want to risk it.
*INV: and = laughs. yes
*AUG: I can try to tell you . . .
*FAT: sure.
*MOT: Yes.
*FAT: It is a student protest (.) obviously that is already.
*MOT: Sure. Or the students taking them out when the milicos (military) <occupied> the university (.) <because> several times they went . . .
*FAT: <Sure (. . .) sure> (.) sure (.) sure (.) sure.
*MOT: To occupy and get in (.) not respecting the autonomy of the university.
*FAT: yes (.) yes. And it must be in the time . . .
*MOT: that already had begun in sixty eight (.) really.
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: I mean before the <dictatorship> even.
*FAT: <Mhm (.) mhm>
*MOT: I mean (.) that of [/] of occupying [///] of going in.
*FAT: Mhm. sure.
(. . .)
*MOT: Since I lived in the countryside (.) I remember more the repression (.) eh . . . Yes (.) the one [//] in the last years of the dictatorship (.) but more I remember that of the [/] the one of eighty five (.) let's say (.) with Sanguinetti the repression continued being super strong. And well it is incredible. Well (.) and also that the repression in Uruguay did not start with the dictatorship (.) clearly (.) right? (.) the repression in <Uruguay> started (..) a lot earlier than the dictatorship.
*FAT: <Sure>
*MOT: already in sixty seven there was . . .
*FAT: yes (.) yes . . .
*AUG: <You can't remember anything because you were not here>

*MOT: <And the students (.) of course(.) were>...
*FAT: Eh?
*MOT: <The students>
*AUG: <you can't remember anything> because (.) <well (.) I>
repeat
*FAT: <and = laughs> XXX no
*MOT: But it was [/] all over in Latin America <that of the
repression>
*FAT: <And yes (.) sure>
*AUG: Sure (.) but he wasn't in Latin America.
*INV: About this image in Colombia [///] could it have been
a photograph <in Colombia>?
*FAT: <yes (.) for sure> For sure (.) yes (.) because in Colombia
the (.) I don't know (.) from (..) [//] from around forty
eight really (.>) until today (..) practically it was lived
as a civilian dictatorship.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: That was the same there was here. Military-civilian (.)
well (.) that is why (.) but there...
*MOT: Yes (.) yes (...) civilian but it was [/] it was a dictatorship
before the dictatorship.
*FAT: Sure. But a big difference (..) is that here (..) I mean (.)
in that photograph (.) you see that it is... let's say (.)
in Colombia the normal would be that it is [/] the
thing throwing water and the people running away.
And here the students are taking over the thing. I
mean (.) they (..) are resisting (.) better said. You see
that they are...
*INV: hm
*FAT: they are not running (.) they are...
*INV: no.
*AUG: Anyway in Colombia technically there wasn't a
dictatorship (.) right? (.) I mean.
*FAT: I know. well (.) but here there is an image that is of
resistance (.) right? the people (.) you see (.) I don't
know (.) I would say that (..) <I don't know it is as if it
were> (..) during the general strike or I don't know (.)
do you understand? (.) that the people are there
like that...
*MOT: <yes (.) if not XXX nothing> Yes (.) yes. Yes (.) the
student and worker.

123 *FAT: Yes (.) yes (.) yes.
124 *MOT: Like (.) risking (..) everything.
125 *FAT: Well (.) the . . .
126 *MOT: And because of that the dictatorship didn't last longer
127 either.

In example 3, we can observe that Augusto feels comfortable offering a response that identifies the type of scene captured in the photograph (i.e., a march or student protest, and an act of repression). However, Augusto hedges his identification by presenting it as something he believes, but is not very sure of, as he states, "I don't know," "it seems," and "like" throughout his comments (lines 1–14). He demonstrates a clear understanding of the scene represented in the image and its historical context; however, he is unfamiliar with the specialized vocabulary or key events of this era, for which this picture could not only be a symbol, but also an index. It is in these details, such as identifying the exact location of the event, that Augusto assesses his knowledge as lacking (e.g., "I don't recognize the street" and "It isn't my forte") (lines 15–17). However, Augusto does not view these details as critical to an understanding of the dictatorship period, as he laughs about it (line 17).

In his next speaking turn, Augusto offers an evaluation that displays historical empathy through comparing what it was like to be a student during the dictatorship versus the current time (e.g., "how complicated it was" and "how different it was") (lines 30–31). This comparison highlights his understanding of historical thinking as pointing to the need to consider a variety of factors, such as: the historical context (i.e., a period of repression) and relevant social movements (i.e., dictatorship-era students were highly active). To illustrate this point, Augusto states, "they are living a moment of much more (. . .) of repression and all of that and (.) ok (.) and the students normally were the ones that more (..) I am not sure how to tell you (.) they [///] the youth were the ones that moved more" (lines 33–37).

Augusto then nominates his parents to speak by posing a question that invites them into the dialogue (line 40). The mother responds, validating and confirming Augusto's offerings: "Yes (.) sure (.) no (.) the students (.) sure (.) protesting against the dictatorship" (lines 41–42). Then, Augusto takes the next speaking turn to acquire information from his parents that he does not already have: the name of the street. His father responds with the name "18 de Julio Avenue" and Augusto accepts this answer (line 45).

These exchanges show how the youth is positioned as competent and informed about this historical period. Augusto was able to complete the task by identifying the event, social actors, and historical period as well as through evaluating in order to showcase the importance of the events in the photograph. In addition to these benchmarks, he possesses the interactional resources to ask for assistance to expand his understanding of the information. Augusto's parents legitimize his position as knowledgeable and with the power to impose reception by acknowledging his offerings and responding favorably. The negotiation of meaning seems to take place among equals in this interaction.

Nevertheless, there is a shift in the collaborative interaction once Augusto's parents begin to identify the precise historical period in which the events featured in the image took place. Augusto had situated these events in the dictatorship period; however, the mother moves the period further back to the late 1960s, pointing out that repression in Uruguay had begun earlier (lines 41–65). This modification in the periodization is not considered problematic by Augusto, as he accepts it, "Yes, I know…" (line 67). The mother then introduces her assessment of the events by positioning herself as not having directly experienced state repression since she lived in the countryside and was younger (line 68). She subsequently makes reference to another comparable period that occurred after the dictatorship ended – the government of Sanguinetti in 1985. This comment is relevant for two reasons. First, it highlights that the legitimacy for establishing historical identification can be based on personal experience. Second, it illustrates that the dictatorship was not the only local period characterized by state repression, as this practice also occurred before and after the dictatorship in Uruguay.

In the following speaking turn, the father accepts and validates the mother's offering, stating, "yes, yes" (line 60). At this point in time, Augusto challenges his father's right to speak and claim legitimacy as a participant in the conversation, raising the point that his father was not living in Uruguay at the time: "You can't remember anything because you were not here" (lines 80–81). The father responds by posing a question that shows his confusion – "Eh?" (line 83). Then Augusto repeats the challenge to his father's legitimacy of being a valid interlocutor on the topic, commenting, "<you can't remember anything> because (.) <well (.) I> repeat" (lines 85–86). The father laughs and dismisses the challenge by not responding to it seriously (line 87). The mother, on the other hand, responds to her son's challenge: "But it was [/] all over in Latin America <that [practice] of repression>" (lines 88–89). Her statement expands the rights for legitimacy to regional membership beyond national borders. Here we can observe how the parents claim a "Latin American" identity as something they have in common, and link this particular historical event to larger regional processes. We can also see how the discussion jumps scales, progressing from local, to national, and finally to the regional level (lines 101–124).

The conflict emerges here on two levels: on the one level, there is a struggle over how to exercise legitimacy and impose the right to be heard and speak about the past (i.e., protagonist > witness > member of the group > informed person) while, on the other level, the disputed matter relates to what knowledge and learning from this period should be passed on (i.e., a historical event vs. a political event). The connections between the past and the present and the causes and consequences of the main events discussed, are used differently by each generation. The youth, Augusto, attempts to utilize the concrete historical event as a key to understanding the recent past and how it connects to his own experience today. For this type of historical knowledge, time and place are central categories for organizing information and constructing an explanation. The parents highlight how the historical event in question is part of a larger set of political practices that represent the ways in which the state exercises violence over its citizenry, for which periodization and location are not critical categories.

These marked differences may be due to family dynamics and efforts on the part of the son to differentiate himself from his father, as part of constructing an identity as an individual. However, this explanation does not mean that other generational differences did not also play a role in how this interaction unfolded, as this style of interaction was also observed in other families.

Summary

As we can observe from the three examples presented above, not all families approach the past in a homogeneous manner. There are clear differences in terms of the kind and amount of information each of the families and its members have. For example, Augusto was able to identify the historical context, the event, and its meaning on his own, while Adriana did not have any idea of when or why this scene occurred. There are also multiple ways of interacting with youth, and these styles position them in different roles that grant differing levels of agency in the process of constructing meanings of the past. For example, Sandra's family engaged the youth in ways that built their specialized knowledge of vocabulary and provided historical significance as well as political socialization. Simultaneously, Sandra and her sister learned about the way in which her family's history connected to that of the country by learning about what their father's participation in those events had entailed. Likewise, Augusto's family provided him an opportunity to expand and deepen his understanding of the events in political terms, linking the past and the present to show continuities. However, Adriana's family interaction style showed how parents' responses to youth's questions about the past can stall understanding of the recent past. Even though there were instances in Adriana's conversation with her stepmother that were similar to those that occurred in Sandra's and Augusto's cases (i.e., where participants made connections between family identity and national history), these "teachable moments" were not used to develop the youth's understandings of the significance of the past.

Family anecdotes

This section explores the role of anecdotes in constructing the past and how these narratives function as discursive strategies in the formation of an argument that explains the meaning of the past. Anecdotes are a form of informal social knowledge. The original Greek term refers to unpublished or private material. In today's world, anecdotes are used as testimony or exemplary stories that recirculate, making private knowledge public (Ullyot, 2011).

As intergenerational cultural tools, anecdotes are a form of personal narrative that serve several functions in the construction of social memory. First, they form part of a process to narrativize personal memories, making them a tool for passing on experiences in everyday social interactions. Second, the anecdote reworks experience in the process of remembering and can make an emotionally intense experience bearable (Laanes, 2013: 199; Fivush, 2012).

As rhetorical strategies, anecdotes function to construct a point of view and representation from a personal perspective (Laanes, 2013). On the one hand, anecdotes are used as evidence for persuading the audience of a particular argument or as an explanation of the past. Moreover, anecdotes are characterized by features such as interest, narrative comprehensibility, vividness, emotional appeal, and engagement of the character of the person recounting (Govier, 2011). These features make anecdotes more credible in persuasive terms, but also on an epistemic level, they establish the legitimacy of testimonies. Because of their proximity to the actor's experience, anecdotes are deemed legitimate as sources for accessing the past. Anecdotes can also function as rhetorical strategies in an argument, using the rhetorical space to support a wide variety of claims (Van Eemeren, 2010). This type of personal narrative produces a "reality effect" (Barthes, 1981) that attempts to blur the distinction between history as lived and the history we construct (Ricoeur, 2010).

This type of narrative activity is a tool to collaboratively reflect on specific situations and how they relate to larger issues. In families, anecdotes function as meaning-making activities that serve as a socialization space to develop frameworks for understanding events (Ochs and Capps, 2001). This means that participation in anecdotal narratives among family members opens up a space to work through the meaning of experiences through co-constructing a storyline or raising questions and challenges with relevant background knowledge. This type of collaborative meaning making and reflection can reproduce prevalent explanatory frameworks or challenge them, producing a destabilizing effect capable of fracturing hegemonic narratives (Ochs and Capps, 2001; Tuschuggnall and Welzer, 2002; Welzer, 2010).

As a genre, this type of personal narrative can be defined by a number of discursive features: chronology, evaluation, and a moral stance (Martin and Rose, 2008; Ochs and Capps, 2001). In terms of the participation framework arrangement, these narratives have a "teller" (i.e., an animator in Goffman's terms), but this role can be distributed among several people – depending upon the community. The role of the "teller" is different from that of the "author" (i.e., the one whose experience is being recounted); this role can also be distributed among several authorial voices through incorporating revoicing (i.e., reported speech). The listeners can be involved in various ways, including: being an attentive audience, posing questions, or supplying details. The responsibility for sharing in the telling of a personal anecdote varies across languages, social groups, and even within families (Ochs and Capps, 2001).

In this section, I will describe the ways in which anecdotes were used by the families I interviewed to construct a sense of the Uruguayan dictatorship period. I will focus on the rhetorical function of the anecdote, the roles taken by parents and youth, and the type of evaluation that the interviewees gave to the narrated events and their actors. This analysis will allow us to explore how axiological communities are constructed, as well as the moral stance the families take vis-à-vis the dictatorship period. As Ochs and Capps note, "recounting the violation and taking a moral stance towards it provide a discursive forum for human beings to clarify, reinforce, or revise what they believe and value" (2001: 46).

The examples selected to illustrate the different functions of anecdotes in the transmission of the recent past were extracted from the open-ended part of the family interviews examined above. In this section of the interviews, participants were invited to share which topics they typically discussed when they conversed about the dictatorship in their families. Many of the interviewees stated that this topic did not generally emerge in family conversations. However, several interviewees pointed out that current events and political discussions had served as triggers to bring the past back to life. The following anecdotes were retold in the interviews and show a variety of ways in which personal narratives are used to make sense of the past in the context of the family, given that not all families reminisce in the same way (Fivush, 2008).

The following example comes from Luciana's case. Luciana was a 16-year-old who attended a private high school in a middle-class neighborhood of Montevideo. Luciana was a good student, and her future plans involved becoming a sports reporter or something related to the tourism industry. She practiced sports, and was involved in a school group of "animadores" [entertainers]. Her mother was in her early forties and worked as a manager at a restaurant; she had family members who had been in prison and exiled during the dictatorship. The mother's father was a union member and, during the dictatorship, had suffered repression. Luciana's father was in his late forties, and he worked on television, producing investigative reporting programs. In his family, there were people from "los dos bandos" [both sides], which caused heated discussions in family gatherings. His father had also suffered repression for being a union member during the dictatorship. Luciana had a younger brother who did not participate in the interview. The conversation took place in the family's home.

In example 4, Luciana (LUC), her mother (MOT), and her father (FAT) had finished discussing the photographs and then went on to recount family conversations around the topic of the dictatorship. The researcher is INV.

Example 4[7]

LUC: Only one thing (.) I have (.) I mean (.) the anecdotes
they have told me (.) for exam (example) [///] my
grandfather told me (.) since he worked at a travel
agency (.) that (.) well (.) there were searches more often

(.) that they would hit them when they were lying on the ground. He told me how there had been a search and he told me that (.) you see that he had experienced (.) I mean (.) there had been books that were banned (.) but the books had nothing to do with [politics]. Books about Australia (.) because since it was a travel agency (.) they were books about Australia or books about other places that (..) that you could have (.) but they would take them anyways. And (.) I don't know (.) some anecdote that they would have told me I don't know.

*MOT: What grandpa told you about the most was [/] about how life was like in that epoch (.) that I myself really did not notice <about that> [<]...

*LUC: <Ah (.) he> told me that before brushing your teeth (.) the first thing you did when you woke up was get your ID. <because> you got up (.) the ID (.) the first is to have it...

*INV: <¿really> [<]?

*LUC: You could not go out into the street without your ID (..) you would end up in jail. And it was the first thing you thought about. All the <time> [<].

*MOT: <It was> [/] <the Pensions > [<]...

*FAT: <I remember one> anecdote <it was> it was one day that they stopped him and he showed his ID (.) the old man looked at it and told him (.) go on (.) and it was the ID of his wife.

*MOT: <Yes> [<].

*INV: and = laughs

*FAT: I mean <they didn't even look at it [ID]> [<].

*MOT: <When he gets to> the house late <my mom tells him> (.) Pocho (.) why are you late (.) what happened?

*FAT: <and = laughs> [<].

*MOT: No (.) in Ramón Anador [street] the chanchitas [police vans] were stopping... and what did they ask for [/] and what did they ask you for? The ID. How come the ID? (.) and what did you give them? The ID. He takes it out like this and it was my mom's ID. Certainly (.) my mom (.) who had already seen his ID and was very nervous because it was the salvation card that one <had> (.) having the proper identification (.) no undocumented at that epoch (.) and (.) well (.) he would say (.) I'm

46 lucky that I got one [/] an ignorant milico who didn't
47 know how to read.
48 *INV: <sure> [<].
49 *MOT: and = laughs
50 *LUC: and = laughs
51 *INV: but not even the photo (.) nothing.
52 *INV: and = laughs
53 *MOT: Because if it hadn't been like that (.) he would not have
54 told <the> tale.
55 *INV: <yes> [<].
56 *MOT: So he [/] he would explain to her (.) he told her that
57 anecdote (.) well (.) explaining to Luciana the
58 importance of (.) well (.) <of having an ID> [<].
59 *LUC: <having the ID> [<].
60 *INV: Hm.
61 *MOT: At that time it meant coming back home or [/] or not
62 coming back

The exchange begins with Luciana offering an example of a potential anecdote upon which to elaborate: her grandfather's story (lines 1–14). Luciana positions herself as not very knowledgeable, stating "I don't know" and "some anecdote they would have told me, I don't know" (lines 13–14). In the next speaking turn, Luciana's mother tells her what her grandfather had shared with her, stating "What grandpa told you about the most was about how life was like in that epoch" (lines 15–16). The mother's statement confirms there has been transmission and, through a declarative statement, asserts what her daughter has had access to, indirectly demanding her remembrance. In that same turn, Luciana's mother positions herself and her own experience as distinct from those of her father: "I myself really did not notice about that" (lines 16–17). The generational difference is marked by the juxtaposition of her negative statement ("did not notice") and the use of force with an adverb ("la verdad" [really]) to raise the degree of veracity of the statement, highlighting how the dictatorship affected adults and children in different ways (i.e., she did not notice the everyday surveillance because she was too young).

Luciana accepts her mother's request to continue with the narration of the family anecdote, and here we see a shift in point of view, going from the grandfather's experience told as distant other (third-person singular) to the grandfather's experience reconstructed as close to one (second-person singular) (lines 18–21). The use of the second-person singular continues thereafter, giving the anecdote an ambiguous status of being both personal and impersonal. Luciana becomes the animator of her mother's demand to remember and represents her grandfather's beliefs about the dictatorship.

The second-person singular construction that gives this anecdote a general meaning, which is valid for the period beyond the family's experience, is supported by the use of the imperfect ("te levantabas" [you would get up]) in order to make the events undefined in the past. Luciana's rendition of the anecdote paraphrases, through an indirect report, the main points of her grandfather's story. This mininarrative includes a series of events with moral consequences that are negatively evaluated, positioning the military as irrational (e.g., "you could not go out into the street without your ID because you would end up in jail") (line 24). The level of fear and control in daily life is represented as extreme (i.e., "Y era lo primero que pensabas. Todo el tiempo" [it was the first thing you thought about. All the time]) (lines 24–25); through the use of graduation, such as with ordinal numbers ("lo primero" [first]) and quantification ("todo" [all]), the force of the negative judgments was raised. Luciana's rendition of the anecdote provides a general description of the importance of IDs in daily life during the dictatorship. Her use of the indefinite past (e.g., "podías," "pensabas," "terminabas") and the present (e.g., "lo primero es tener" [the first is to have]) construct her past as a historical generalization (i.e., how things were then).

In the following speaking turn, Luciana's mother attempts to elaborate on her daughter's contribution by providing a concrete location for the event, "la caja" [the Pensions building]. Simultaneously, Luciana's father provides a reanimation of the anecdote to expand upon his daughter's. He grounds the general description in a particular story format. Luciana's father provides a setting and a series of events, with a complication, a resolution, and an evaluation (lines 27–30). Luciana's mother validates his story ("yes") and builds upon it by retelling it with more specific details (lines 34–47). The change in the third reanimation of the anecdote provides a full narrative, including uses of reported speech, dialogue, and the introduction of new characters (i.e., the grandmother and the military officer). The mother's rendition of the story also adds an ironic tone to the plot, which allows her to construct more complex characters while creating a differentiation between "us" and "them." The final coda that shows the grandmother knew all along what was going on, and also that the military did not even notice the wrong

ID, positions "us" as resilient and resisting the authoritarian regime. The victims of Luciana's rendition are transformed into agents who "trick" the dictatorship.

Luciana's recollection is then rendered legitimate and valid by the revoicing of the direct participants of the anecdote (i.e., the grandparents). The different variations of this anecdote provide a deeper understanding of life in Uruguay during this time period (e.g., "there were searches," "they would take them [the books]," "the first thing you did before brushing your teeth was get your ID"), and reinforce the overall negative evaluation of the dictatorship: a period during which military officers would arrest citizens for petty bureaucratic reasons (e.g., not having your ID) (line 23).

This anecdote is co-constructed by Luciana, her mother, and her father, and, in the process, changes occur in the teller role and within the participation framework. The teller is first only an animator who revoices another's experience using indirect speech. Then, there is an overlapping of points of view through which the teller and the author are conflated, using the first-person point of view and indirect discourse to project what has happened. There is axiological alignment between Luciana and her parents, in terms of the evaluations of the events and their actors. Additionally, they explicitly identify the voices that are brought to bear in the narrative. The direct appeal to the memories of the indirect witnesses – Luciana, her mother and her father, who had heard stories from direct sources – and the protagonist and direct witness – the grandfather– provide legitimacy to the story.

The transformation of the personal story into a public one makes this anecdote an exemplary story from which one can learn about what life was like for Uruguayans during the dictatorship. Throughout the conversation, there is a negative evaluation of the dictatorship, which highlights the arbitrary implementation of rules by those in power. The state of surveillance and control made it difficult to go about your daily life, so much so that: "[Having the ID] at that time meant coming back home or not coming back" (lines 61–62). This is the moral teaching of the anecdote that provides an interpretive framework to make sense of the past linking individual experience and larger historical events.

The next example comes from Andrés' case. Andrés was a 15-year-old who attended a public high school in an economically disadvantaged area. Andrés was a good student and planned to attend university and become a computer scientist or engineer. He lived in a neighborhood that was "made" by residents who had originally occupied a vacant lot on the outskirts of Montevideo. The family owned a small neighborhood kiosk and bar in the front part of the house. Andrés lived with his father, mother, and his niece. His parents were in their forties, and had been exiled in Argentina during the dictatorship. Andrés' grandfather was a "desaparecido" [missing person, dissappeared].

In example 5, Andrés (AND) and his father (FAT) talk about the family anecdotes they remember while conversing in their home. The researcher is INV.

Example 5[8]

*AND: that he told me that (..) one day in the children's center
(.) so (.) they gave a snack to children and that and (.)
when the lady was serving the snack (..) a truck went
by (..) with automatic weapons and started firing (.) like
that (.) and they hit the one (.) the one who was serving
the snack. the cook.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: She was eighteen years old.
*INV: the cook [//] the girl?
*FAT: that was in seventy-one.
*INV: hm.
*AND: Ok (.) and another anecdote.
*FAT: <and it was attributed to the> and = sighs. Ay (.) what
were they called those?
*INV: what was it a paramilitary group?
*FAT: Yes. We had just finished painting the curb that
belonged to us. it was the same. it was the political club
that was in what today is (the street) Javier Barrios
Amorín. Today there is a flower shop.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: and Durazno (street). and we had done a cross [/] a cross
with the colors of the Broad Front. I was still bothe [///]
bothering (.) we have to paint them black and yellow
(.) I said.
*INV: and = laughs.
*FAT: Well
*INV: But (.) how old were you?
*FAT: eleven years old. Those were the elections (..) fraudulent
(. . .) that the Blanco party lost. Later they found some
ballot boxes thrown away in the rambla (. . .) votes. I

31 believe that the one that took power (.) that was when
32 the one that took power [///] that took the presidency.
33 Later on Pacheco had to give the elections and
34 Bordaberry took power…
35 *AND: Eh (.) and also I remember that the other one I heard (..)
36 several times. it was the one about that woman that one
37 that they gave her [///] they brought her like a gift a
38 wine and it was kind of poisoned (.) so (.) they had
39 put some kind of poison in it. I don't remember who
40 it was that gave it as a present to her (.) but I heard
41 that one several times.

In example 5, Andrés initiates the telling of the anecdote, taking the role of animator: "He told me that one day" (line 1). Using reported speech, Andrés positions and identifies his father as author, and describes a setting and chain of events that ends with a negative evaluation which provides a moral stance. The father supports his son's telling of the personal narrative by supplying specific details that position himself as a credible source (e.g., through referencing precise information – "[it] was in seventy one") (line 10). Moreover, the father also supports the evaluation of the participants associated with them as victims, through representing them as being young (e.g., "she was eighteen") (line 8). The entire narrative portrays the children and cook as victims of violence committed by an unidentified group which the father later identifies as "paramilitary groups" (lines 15–19). The scene, as told by the youth, contrasts the serenity of the victims with the cold brutality of the violent other and positions the father as a victim. The main lesson learned from this narrative, as told by Andrés, involves the moral teachings of the event.

However, once the father intervenes in the storytelling, he begins to reframe the narrative as a political anecdote of general political significance (lines 16–24). The personal and situated story becomes part of larger sociopolitical conflict and achieves relevance on a general level. The father's revoicing of the same anecdote builds upon what his son has offered, adding another layer of political and personal meaning. The father takes on the roles of teller, animator, and author, switching to the first-person point of view: "we had just finished painting" (line 16). The father describes the setting anew with greater detail, such as an account of what the victims were doing when the attack occurred. The father relates a narrative situated in the past, constructed using the imperfect: "habíamos terminado de pintar" [we had just finished painting], "Habíamos hecho una cruz" [we had made a cross] (lines 21–24). Then, the father shifts to the use of direct discourse to report what he was saying at the time of the event in order to highlight his emotional state as jovial and lighthearted, unaware of the violence that would ensue (lines 22–24). In this account of the narrative, there is also a depiction of the father's group as innocent victims, but in a more political light, as the father makes references to practices associated with political militancy. The father's anecdote omits the representation of the climactic scene of the attack, which had been the focus of his son's rendition. The father then proceeds to situate the events in a larger politico-historical landscape, transforming a human interest story into a political happening. The evaluation of the period is underlined through pointing to other violations of social conventions that occurred at the time, such as the "misplaced" ballot boxes (lines 28–34).

At the end of the exchange (on line 35), the son offers another anecdote that refers to a personal story of someone more distant. He is the teller who animates the story of someone who is not clearly identified. The author and source are unnamed, which makes this story less interesting than the previous one, but permits Andrés to recover his role as teller, independent from his father. The story is about a woman who was killed by a "gift" of poisoned wine bottles.[9] The contrast between what is known about the period through family stories, and what is validated by the author's direct account (i.e., a protagonist's perspective), is juxtaposed against what is "heard" through more distant and impersonal sources; this constitutes another type of knowledge with a different type of legitimacy and persuasive power. This last story could have been told by anyone and is part of the general stock of narratives that have become public – thereby losing, in a way, its status as a testimony or anecdote and becoming more of a general narrative about the dictatorship.

The next example comes from Marcos' case. Marcos was a 15-year-old from Tacuarembó (in the countryside). He attended a public high school in the city, was an average student, and planned to attend university. Marcos also played soccer in a little league team. His father was in his early forties and used to be a professional soccer player in the minor leagues. He lived in Argentina during the dictatorship period. At the time of the interview, he worked for a government employment assistance program. Marcos' mother is from Argentina and was a homemaker. Marcos had an older sister and two younger siblings. The interview took place in the family's home with the mother, father, and Marcos participating.

In example 6, Marcos discusses with his mother (MOT) and father (FAT) a particular anecdote about an acquaintance who was a political leader in the region. The researcher is INV. With their being from the countryside, social relations and networks permit closer ties with political actors, as well as significant access to the stories regarding important players in the dictatorship. The following example shows how families co-construct an anecdote to support a particular moral stance that has a message, in terms of *life lessons* or *family values*.

Example 6[10]

*MOT: it is good that they [//] they know what others experienced (..) or a grandparent of a friend could have experienced…
*FAT: An uncle (.) whatever.
*MOT: Well (.) as the (..) father of [//] Lula that he was saying he who is an excellent person and (..) [/] and who experienced it firsthand. and a year [//] it was not even a year ago that he <passed away>
*FAT: <Lula's father> passed away. Lula's father (..) eh (..) he went out everyday to ride his bike because if not (.) he couldn't walk anymore with all those tortures that were done to him.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: And (.) in spite of that (.) you talked to him and never (.) eh (.) people no [/] no [/] no [/] Without spite.
*INV: Hm
*FAT: All they did to him and…
*MAR: and he didn't change his thinking.
*FAT: Sure.
*MAR: He continued being…
*FAT: Sure.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: He fought for <the liberty> of: [//] the worker…
*MAR: <A Pacifist>
*FAT: and = mumbles.
*MAR: And a lot of people who were (..) Pacifists (.) eh (.) died tortured also. Being Pacifists (..) because they manifested even without arms and they killed them anyway.
*FAT: Sure. They would catch you and (..) [/] and they put you

30 in the can. That was what happened to the majority.
31 the majority no [/] no [/] no . . . they killed a ton of
32 people [/] that are disappeared and that.
33 *MOT: Yes (.) that even until today there are mothers who don't
34 even know where the bodies of their children are.
35 *INV: Hm
36 *MAR: and the fathers because (..) everyone who was a man
37 *FAT: sure
38 *FAT: No and <women also>
39 *MOT: <No (.) women also> Women also.
40 *FAT: Women with children (.) that they took away their
41 children.
42 *INV: Hm
43 *FAT: There like they did with that girl when she was put in
44 prison.
45 *FAT: They [/] took her the military (.) in Argentina (.) there.
46 *INV: Hm.
47 *FAT: Gelman (.) no?
48 *MAR: Yes.
49 *MOT: Yes.

In example 6, Marco's mother offers an anecdote to support her argument in favor of teaching students information regarding Uruguay's dictatorship. The father affirms the mother's position and builds upon it by providing another example. Then the mother uses direct discourse to introduce the anecdote from the point of view of an indirect witness, who animates the voice of an author and is also a recognized political figure in the area: "As the father of Lula was saying" (lines 5–8). It is important to note the mother's explicit evaluation of the source: "he who is an excellent person," right before we anticipate reported speech (line 6). However, her evaluation leads to a turn by the father that introduces the anecdote as an impersonal narration about a third person (lines 9–17). The protagonist's behavior relates to his experience during the dictatorship, and this experience is presented as an explanation for his current behavior.

Thereafter, Marcos' father uses indirect discourse to present the moral stance of the protagonist as exemplary. Lula's father's behavior is evaluated as free of negative feelings (i.e., "sin rencor"); the fact, though, that this positive evaluation is introduced by the connector "sin embargo" [however] provides a counterexpectancy that raises the volume of the positive evaluation, through presenting it as out of the ordinary (lines

14–17). This is further graduated by a comment that highlights how much Lula's father suffered "all that they did to him," which provides a potential justification for a different stance (line 17). Therefore, what is highlighted in this anecdote is the protagonist's moral stance in the face of extreme circumstances.

Marcos, the son, supports his father's rendition of the anecdote and his evaluation of the character by adding new information: "and he didn't change his thinking" (line 18). The father accepts and endorses the son's contribution, "Sure," and then completes his idea, stating "he fought for the liberty of the worker" (lines 21–23). However, the son provides another word to complete his thought: "Pacifist" (line 24). This particular term portrays the protagonist in a positive light through a nominalization of a social sanction; rhetorically, it provides the link to the claim making this particular case relevant to understanding the larger picture. Marcos' next statement focuses on how this particular story connects to the larger experience of the Uruguayan dictatorship: "and a lot of people that were Pacifist died tortured also" (lines 26–27). This coda to the anecdote includes another teaching embedded in the narrative and an evaluation of other political actors: "Being Pacifists . . . they killed them anyway" (lines 27–28).

The father accepts and supports Marcos' contribution, expanding it with more information about the general experience, and adopting an impersonal narrative voice in the second-person singular, which positions the anecdote as reflecting the point of view of a typical person: "They would catch you and they put you in the can" (lines 29–30). Subsequently, the father includes a new category of social actors – the "disappeared" who function indirectly as a strategy to evaluate the actors as victims of the actions of others (the disappeared are the ones who received negative effects and are the object of violent actions carried out by others). This shift in the narrative presents the more political overtones that underlie the moral stance, relating the dictatorship to political actors who behaved in an immoral manner.

The mother's speaking turn provides another piece of information that expands upon the father's addition to the anecdote and makes it relevant to contemporary issues (e.g., disappearances). The mother gives a new moral to the anecdote: the past still affects us today – "hasta el día de hoy hay madres que ni saben adónde están los cuerpos de los hijos" [still today there are mothers who don't even know where the bodies of their children are] (lines 33–34). This information about the relevance of the past appears in present tense, building upon the link the father had previously established when he identified the victims of violence as "disappeared" (line 32). In this co-construction of the anecdote, Marcos wishes to make another contribution, using the same discursive strategy as his parents: extending the information by providing more details and/or new information. Nevertheless, Marcos' attempt is unsuccessful, as his parents validate his intention and role as co-constructor of the narrative, but do not accept the information he provides: "and of the fathers" (lines 39–41). It is important to note that this rejection offers Marcos an opportunity to repair through providing an example that substantiates the general account that had been co-constructed previously. The father brings in the case of Gelman to illustrate that women had this type of experience (i.e., "women with children that they took away their children") (lines 47–48). Family harmony and alignment are constructed on a moral level, even though there is not complete agreement about what happened in terms of representation, as observed in the discussion about the importance of gender (i.e., were men only, or also women affected by the violence).

The next example involves the contrasting case of Alberto's family. Alberto was 15 years old and attended a public high school in an economically disadvantaged neighborhood of Montevideo. He was an excellent student, and planned to attend university to study computer science or physics. Alberto participated in extracurricular activities – including soccer, playing with the computer, and folk dancing. Alberto's father was a truck driver in his early fifties and had his own business. Alberto's mother was in her late forties and was a homemaker; her parents had emigrated from Italy to Uruguay. Alberto lived with his mother, father, and older brother in a house they had built themselves on a piece of land in the same neighborhood as Andrés (see example 5). Alberto's family did not have relatives directly affected by the violence or involved in the repression during the dictatorship. The family was also apolitical at the time of the interview. Example 7 shows how this family which was not involved in politics during the period, evaluates the dictatorship in different terms and assumes a dominant moral stance that focuses on people's nature. The interview took place at Alberto's house.

In this example, Alberto (ALB) talks to his mother (MOT) about an anecdote concerning the father's youthful experiences in connection with the dictatorship; the researcher is INV. Alberto begins by sharing something he learned during his visit to the Museum of Memory regarding protests against the dictatorship (i.e., "cacerolasos" [pot banging protests]).[11] Alberto's mother expands this narrative with an anecdote from her husband's experience, in support of their characterization as being outsiders unaffected by the conflict. The dictatorship had been represented by all of the family members in the previous segment of the conversation as a chaotic and violent period, which seemed to belong to another country, not the one they lived in (i.e., "como que no fue en este país" [as if it wasn't in this country], "que no fue acá" [that it wasn't here]). The anecdote (transcribed below) focuses on those affected by state violence and contrasts with that told by her son, which highlighted the people (in general) opposing the dictatorship regime.

Example 7[12]

1 *ALB: [I asked] dad (.) last time when I came back [/] from the
2 museum (.) it was when I asked him about [///] that they
3 threw those lamps with [//] right (.) those celebrations
4 with [/] with the cans and so on.
5 *INV: Ah.
6 *ALB: that they would be inside the house and start banging (.)
7 and so. That he told me that yes that (.) it was true.
8 *MOT: Ah (.) but that was (..) how was it? The banging
9 *ALB: of pots (.) how was it? that's it (.) it was that.
10 *INV: Yes (.) *caceroleos*.
11 *MOT: That's it. My husband tells us (..) there were
12 some vans of the milicos [slang term for
13 military] or something like that that were
14 called *ropero* [slang term for police van] (.)
15 can that be [the name]?
16 *INV: Hm.
17 *MOT: the <*ropero* it was> [<]?
18 *INV: <Yes (.) yes (.) yes> [<].
19 *MOT: And (.) well: (.) and that if they saw that a
20 group of young guys (.) eh (..) they [/] they
21 would kick them and shove them into the
22 *ropero* (.) they would take them (.) e: h (.) and
23 well (.) then they would release them a few
24 hours later.
25 *INV: Hm.
26 *MOT: But: (.) my husband says that he has been like
27 that (.) well: (.) standing in a corner (.) with
28 good guys and suddenly (.) they have taken the
29 others and they never did anything to him.
30 He never ever went on [the van]…

31 *INV: He never had any <problem> [<].
32 *MOT: <No (.) no (.)no> (.) never. He says that they would go
33 on the bus. Ay (.) I'm very cold. Well: (.) they would get
34 on the bus and (.) well (.) and they would take some
35 people also.
36 *INV: Hm.
37 *MOT: And nothing like that ever happened to my husband.
38 Well (.) thank God (.) right?
39 *INV: Luckily (.) yes.
40 *MOT: Well: (.) never a beating (.) never anything. I mean (.)
41 common citizens without [/] without any problems.
42 *INV: Hm.
43 *MOT: I don't know if it was because one would get away from
44 the problems or [/] or I don't know why (.) or for being
45 lucky only (.) I don't know. (...)
46 *ALB: Then he said that if you didn't get in trouble with
47 anyone (.) well (.) you didn't (have) [///] I mean (.) you
48 didn't have problems (.) you didn't have to be outside
49 so many hours [//] at late hours at night you shouldn't
50 be out and about (.) because for sure that is when the
51 *ropero* would stop you and he says they would take
52 you. They would ask for your documents [ID]. But he
53 says that if you did not get involved with anyone if you
54 did not start any trouble (.) you would not have
55 problems.
56 *INV: Hm.
57 *ALB: And he did not have any problems.

In this anecdote, Alberto discusses information he obtained during the field trip with his history class to the Museum of Memory. He points out that he has checked this information about the period with his father and he validated it (i.e., "eso sí me dijo que sí que era cierto" [that yes he told me that it was true]) (line 7). Alberto's statement positions the father as the voice of authority who can legitimate the information about the period. In the next speaking turn, Alberto's mother shows familiarity with the events (i.e., "caceroleos" [protests with pots]), but asks a couple of questions which position her as unknowledgeable (i.e., "how was it?") (line 9). The researcher answers the mother's question by providing a name for the practice (i.e., "caceroleos"). Subsequently, the mother shows that she remembers the practice and introduces a new anecdote whose author is the father (lines 11–35).

The mother positions herself as the animator of her husband's anecdote about the dictatorship: "My husband tells us there were some vans of the milicos [slang term for military] or something like that that were called *ropero*" (lines 11–15). Although Alberto's mother uses slang terms to construct her story ("milicos," "ropero"), she interrupts the narration process to check on the use of specialized vocabulary (i.e., "can that be?"). She positions herself once again as distant from the events by her lack of familiarity with the term. The story's legitimacy is achieved through her husband, who is the source of knowledge. As animator, she did not experience the events, but her legitimacy comes from having heard it from her husband in a firsthand account. The mother's next speaking turn provides a series of events in the imperfect past that describes how things used to happen (lines 19–24). The story focuses on the attributes of the protagonist, the military, as a collection of agents who behaved in socially sanctioned negative ways. The youth appear as recipients who suffered the consequences of the military's actions. This explicit negative evaluation of the military (i.e., the representation of negative socially sanctioned activities, such as kicking and shoving into the vans) is augmented by the implicit evaluation constructed through the seemingly unmotivated nature of those actions: "si veían una barra de muchachos los metían a patadas adentro del ropero, los llevaban y bueno después los soltaban a las horas" [if they saw a group of young guys they would kick them and shove them into the *ropero*. They would take them and well, then they would release them a few hours later] (lines 22–24).

The mother's negative evaluation of the behavior of the military highlights her moral stance towards respecting individual rights, clearly positioning herself as not being on the military's side. In the following speaking turns, Alberto's mother provides an evaluation that grounds the general story in her husband's concrete experience. Once again, there is a recounting of the same type of event (i.e., the military picking up youths on the street); however, in this rendition, the evaluation is different as the ones who are implicitly questioned are the youth. The implicit negative evaluation of the anecdote and its participants distances the mother from the youth: "se han llevado a los otros y a él nunca le hicieron nada. Nunca jamás subió [al ropero]" [they have taken the others and they never did anything to him. He never ever went on [the van]] (lines 28–30). The opposition between what happens to the others and what happened to her husband creates an implicit difference between "us" and "them" (i.e., the youth who are taken by the military). This positioning is reinforced later on with the repetition of the same scenario (i.e., police arresting youth in public spaces), in a different setting: the bus (lines 33–35). In the next speaking turns, Alberto's mother provides an explanation for this difference: "ciudadanos comunes sin problema ninguno. No sé si era porque uno se alejaba de los problemas o no sé porqué por suerte nomás, no sé" [common citizens without any problems. I don't know if it was because one would get away from the problems or I don't know why or for being lucky only. I don't know] (lines 43–45). The identity of the family is constructed through dual differentiation from the military and the youth who are arrested, positioning them as "common citizens" who, in the midst of violence and chaos, are left untouched.

Alberto's subsequent utterances validate his mother's telling of the anecdote and provide a new version of the explanation for their different experience during the dictatorship (lines 46–57). This construction uses the past imperfect and the *if* clause conditional structure to describe what things were like and how you needed to behave in order to avoid problems (i.e., "si no te metíás con nadie no tenías problema, no tenías que andar muchas horas, a altas horas de la noche no tendrías que andar por ahí" [you didn't have problems (.) you didn't have to be outside so many hours, at late hours at night you shouldn't be out and about]) (lines 46–51). Alberto's last speaking turn repeats the moral of the story by stating that "nothing ever happened to him [his father]" (line 57). Thus, the anecdote has nothing to do with memorable events derived from the historical consequences they produced (i.e., the military's surveillance and arresting of groups of youth on the streets), but instead foregrounds the attributes and moral qualities of those who were involved in the events (i.e., people who acted properly and would not get into trouble). The frequency of these occurrences, together with the validation by someone who had direct knowledge of the events and participants, provides legitimacy and a "truth effect" that constructs a voice of authority.

The family's alignment and co-construction of the anecdote demonstrate that this was a story known by each of them and reveal that there was agreement on its meaning and value as a source of knowledge about the dictatorship. Distinguishing "us" from "them" makes the anecdote function as an exemplary model of how to conduct oneself, but also emphasizes how different "they" are from "us." The positive self-evaluation is constructed indirectly, through assessing the other (military and youth who were arrested) as deviant and morally reprehensible. This anecdote appears to make implicit intertextual links to the "Two Demons" schematic narrative (see Chapter 2).

The next example comes from the case of Carmela, a 14-year-old from Tacuarembó who attended a public high school. She performed adequately in school, and her future plans included becoming a pediatrician or midwife. Carmela lived on the outskirts of the city, in a rural area with her parents, an older sister, and her grandparents. Her mother worked as a homemaker and was in her mid-forties. Carmela's family's case serves as a contrast to the previous one, as even though her family was also conservative, they represented their in-group (i.e., the conservatives) as victims of state repression and focused on how life was controlled for everyone at the time, including the military. Her family also reported a related event through two anecdotes that position the teller as author and animator, giving the mother's and daughter's voices legitimacy.

In the following example, 8, Carmela (CAR) and her mother (MOT) share an anecdote about how the dictatorship affected daily life in Tacuarembó. The researcher is INV.

Example 8:[13] Carmela

1 *CAR: Eh (.) that (.) ok (.) what they said like (.) that in the
2 times of the [/] <like of > that [///] of the dictatorship
3 the military couldn't go out or listen to . . .
4 *INV: <of dictatorship>
5 *MOT: Sure (.) because when for example <the Olimareños>
6 came (..) all those that were <past> (..) so (.) then like
7 the military could not come to see them.
8 *INV: <yes> <yes>
9 *MOT: They had to hide to see them.
10 *INV: Ah (.) because it was forbidden <that music>?
11 *MOT: <it was forbidden> that type of [/] of [/] of people that
12 came for them to see them.
13 *INV: <yes> hm
14 *MOT: I tell you (.) I don't know (..) what it had <to do with>
15 because . . .
16 *INV: <yes>
17 *CAR: You know that in Spanish the other day we covered a
18 topic like that (.) about the song Cielito (.) that I think
19 is by the Olimareños.

*INV: <Yes>
*CAR: That here it was also banned to listen to that music like that (.) and if someone would have listened to you and reported you (.) they came (.) went through everything and if they found the record they would break it or put you in jail.
*INV: Hm
*CAR: Yes (.) that is what I have heard.
*MOT: And who told you that?
*CAR: The professor of [/] of Spanish that…
*INV: And what (.) the song said something <that was XXX>?
*CAR: <Yes (.) but something like justice> (.) like that (.) I don't know <what kind of silliness>
*INV: <ah (.) about justice>
*CAR: yes. And that those were bad times (.) something like that.
*INV: But the military didn't either [///] if they liked the music they could not listen to it.
*CAR: Yes (.) no (.) they couldn't (.) it was kind of (.) eh (.) what is it called? <saturated>…
*INV: <censored>
*CAR: Ay (.) ok (.) censored is.
*INV: Yes.
*CAR: Yes.
*INV: and you brother (.) eh…
*MOT: My brother I remember that <at that> epoch (.) one time that he came from seeing the Olimareños in the stadium (.) ok (.) we went (.) right? (.) with him (.) but he was hiding because he said (.) I can't (.) if they end up televising this and they see me (.) he says (.) and they scold me or…
*INV: <yes>
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: Then it was like he was hiding there (.) behind one or another <to> not have to appear.
*INV: <yes>Hm
*MOT: I tell you (.) well (.) <those are things> that certainly <that>
*INV: <yes> <Hm>
*MOT: That yes (.) I remember well that you couldn't do that (.) yes… I mean (.) the military could not go.

In example 8, Carmela introduces an anecdote using an impersonal narrative that states something as general knowledge, expressed through the use of the imperfect (lines 1–3). Then the mother continues the story by providing a concrete experience to illustrate the daughter's point, "when for example the Olimareños came" (lines 5–7). This particular case is still framed as something that was typical of the period itself ("in the times of the dictatorship the military couldn't go out or listen..."), establishing a panorama of what life was like in general. Thereafter, the mother comments on what was forbidden rather than who was doing the forbidding ("estaba prohibido" [it was forbidden] (lines 11–12). Then, Carmela offers another example to support her mother's point, as she connects her mother's reference to the musical group "Los Olimareños" and an incident they had discussed in her Spanish literature class (lines 21–29). This association allows Carmela to bring in another anecdote about what happened to those who violated the norms, and is narrated in the imperfect to foreground the fact that this was the typical course of events in the past.

The mother subsequently asks Carmela to identify her source (line 28). The daughter provides the name of the actor and the researcher asks about the reason for censoring the song (lines 29–35). Carmela provides the answer (the topic was about justice) and then gives a negative evaluation of the events, remarking: "what a silliness." Carmela describes this period in general in a negative light: "those were bad times" (line 34). When responding to the researcher's question, she explains what was happening by using the adjective "censored" (line 41). However, Carmela's struggle with the word and her failed first attempt to provide a label demonstrate her lack of experience and competency with the story.

The next contribution is made by her mother, who supports the general anecdote about censorship during the dictatorship with a personal experience. The mother individualizes the general anecdote with an experience she had with her brother (lines 45–50). The mother's retelling of the anecdote – of attending a concert with her brother – illustrates what it was like to be censored and controlled during the dictatorship period in Uruguay, even for those worked for the dictatorship (e.g., the military). Then, the point of view shifts in the anecdote to that of first person – "I remember" – and combines simple past and imperfect to construct a complex narrative that situates a series of events in a particular time and place, while also incorporating the voice of her brother in the present tense (through direct reporting of his words): "he said I can't" (line 48). This choice of using a direct quote in the present tense brings us closer to what it was like to suffer such censorship on a personal level.

In this anecdote, affective evaluation and interpersonal closeness are constructed through the incorporation of various points of view and a variety of verb tenses that make us feel the experience without directly evaluating it. The deployment of these discursive resources gives the audience a chance to come closer to the military officers' perspectives, and serves a persuasive function by adding more evidence to support the family's argument about the widespread extent of censorship at the time across political lines. This family's moral stance positions civilians and the military as victims of a regime, stressing authoritarianism's responsibilities as a system, over individual actions of actors.

Finally, I present an example from Micaela's case. Micaela was a 14-year-old from Montevideo, who attended a public high school in a working-class area of the city. She was an excellent student and planned to go to university in the future. Micaela's mother was in her early thirties and worked as a housekeeper. Micaela lived with her mother, younger brother, and grandfather (53 years old). This family was not politically involved, and reported not talking about the dictatorship. The interview took place at Micaela's high school.

In example 9, we are given a window into what discussing the dictatorship is like for families which have not shared anecdotes across generations. Micaela (MIC) and her mother (MOT) are too young to have lived during the dictatorship and, as such, both share the experience of being post-dictatorship generations vis-à-vis the dictatorship. The researcher is INV.

Example 9[14]

1 *MOT: Because he [the grandfather] (.) e: h (.) I beli (believe) (.)
2 eh (.) my dad only once told about a time when he was
3 at a square and everything suddenly he was walking at
4 a square and that it happened (.) he says that everyone
5 started to run (.) that horses were going on the square
6 (.) all of that. Only once that happened to him.
7 *INV: Hm.
8 *MOT: that it was then when they took him.
9 *MOT: He says (.) everyone [///] that we were all hanging out

and suddenly (. . .) he says (.) the horses started to come over the square [///] and they would go over you and all of that.

*INV: Hm.

*MOT: But only once he <(..)> [/] he lived through that.

*INV: <Hm> [<].

*MOT: later on no. So (.) later on there were no more things like that <(. . .)> [/] hasn't passed on (.) I mean (.) <like> to be able to say (..) something that stays with us (..) no (.) I mean (.) it doesn't (..) concern us you know XXX.

*INV: And what you were saying about when you talked about that epoch or about (..) that there was more control and all of that (.) of that do you talk about that also <how was it like to live then (.) I mean (>) because it must have been XXX>

*MOT: <Sure (.) because yes (.) sure (..) no (.) no (.) sure> because we start to (..) to listen to the news or if there is something going on already (..) I mean (.) we start to talk and yes (.) and there the topic comes up yes (.) because before it was like this (.) maybe if that retur:ned or if there were a bit more (.) I mean (.) there wouldn't be so much (.) all of those things.

*MIC: only in some of those things <because it isn't either like they take you in the street and then they would take you and hit you and all of that right?>

*MOT: <I mean (.) sure (.) I am (. . .) sure (.) but that is what I say> I don't say that everything would come back but some of the strict things that there were at the time (..) that maybe that now in this moment here (.) at this time (>) it would be useful. Because you go by yourself at ten at night (.) at eleven at night and you see little kids of nine years old (.) eleven years old (..) in the street. That for me (.) I mean (.) it is not normal even though <that> (.) I mean (.) if there were that they picked them up and take them or something (.) maybe then even (.) you see (.) their own family is going to [///] the parents themselves (.) I mean (.) they are going to be worried more about the ones they are taking away every [/] every day.

*INV: <Hm>

50 *MOT: That wouldn't exist. That is why I say (.) I (.) say (.) that
51 is what I am getting to (.) I am not talking about them
52 going out and start hitting people, no (.) that no (.)
53 obviously: (.) but I say that someone a little more of
54 rules for [//] to see if it can be done. I mean (.) that is...
55 I mean (.) for me I would like a bit more (.) for the one
56 who has children (.) that walks on the street (.) that can't
57 go out. Less of them nowadays.
58 *INV: hm
59 *MOT: It would be a bit more of control.

In example 9, Micaela and her mother, who lack the concrete experience necessary to offer an anecdote from the past, display their understanding of this period in terms of a moral stance. In this interview, the general claim made about the dictatorship is used to justify a position regarding social control. After retelling the only anecdote about the dictatorship she had heard from her family, Micaela's mother states that: "it [the dictatorship] doesn't concern us." According to her report, there are no anecdotes that have stayed with them and they do not know much about the dictatorship period. However, even though they do not have concrete anecdotes about what it was like to live during that period, they seem to have some implicit idea about it being a time of more state control and policing. The mother's incomplete phrases provide enough information about her evaluation of the dictatorship period for the audience to fill in the blanks (lines 25–31). Her juxtapositions of contemporary news stories with the control that existed during the dictatorship construct an implicit positive evaluation of state policing and surveillance. The mother then concludes – "maybe if that came back or there was a bit more... there wouldn't be so much" (lines 29–31).

The daughter partially rejects her mother's statement, through graduating it "only in some things" (line 32). Micaela justifies her position by providing a hypothetical anecdote that brings to life what this claim means in terms of a concrete story with a beginning, middle, and end (lines 32–35). However, given that this narration uses the subjunctive, even though the point of view is in the second-person singular – a general person with whom anyone can identify – the anecdote is rendered distant and impersonal. This discursive strategy allows Micaela to challenge her mother's positive evaluation of the dictatorship, providing evidence of why it would be morally negative, while simultaneously mitigating the face-threatening act. This strategy functions as a precontextualization intertextual link, connecting future, past, and present.

The mother repairs by modifying her position, expanding on which aspects from the past would be important to recover in the present (lines 35–48). The mother uses the imperfect and the conditional to connect past and present in an indefinite space that constructs a general moral stance more than a particular representation of the past. The primary theme of this conversation is thus the societal value of state control and repression, not what had occurred in the past. A hypothetical anecdote is used as evidence to support a moral stance.

Summary

The representations of the past in the aforementioned anecdotes serve as material evidence to support the moral stances of the various families that were interviewed. These anecdotes are told from different points of view (e.g., witness, protagonist, indirect witness, and impersonal voice), and thus provide a variety of framings. Moreover, these points of view are realized through a number of discursive resources, including: direct and indirect discourse, past narrative voice, and hypothetical past in the future (subjunctive and conditional). Even though the anecdotes are constructed using different discursive resources, their ultimate rhetorical function appears to be similar: to support a moral stance through evaluations that produce different levels of distance in interpersonal terms. These interpersonal variations produce effects in terms of the power, affective involvement, and familiarity of the participants with the past. The representations of the past are thus put in the service of the speakers' interpersonal orientations to the past, constructing axiological communities. As shown above, parents and children tend to share their evaluations and moral stances in relation to the dictatorship, even when there is not an equal level of detail in terms of familiarity with this period between generations. In most cases, nevertheless, parents and youth *co-construct* anecdotes to produce a unified representation and orientation to the past.

Conclusions

What seems to be the most important function of these family conversations is their role in passing on a moral stance vis-à-vis the dictatorship, rather than an "accurate" or "historically based" representation of this period. In the context of intergenerational transmission, experience is particularly important – not so much in terms of how direct a contact the families have had with the past that is being passed on, but more in terms of interactional style. During the interviews, participants had interactional opportunities to co-construct meanings and explore various layers of semiotic nuances that allowed youth to articulate and expand upon their understandings of the past. Additionally, cultural reproduction, through the sharing of personal narratives like anecdotes, was most important in these interviews in terms of aligning the families' orientations to the past. The moral stance taken in relation to the past by each family was the primary focus in these interactions. Anecdotes served as evidence to support arguments that focused on constructing group identities and maintaining a family history around certain moral positions. Youth brought in anecdotes from other spheres of experience to support and/or challenge the respective family's stance.

A leitmotif in all of the family interviews was a representation of the dictatorship as a period of significant social control. Regardless of their political affiliations or involvement in this period, the families passed on – almost without exception – the idea that it was a time in which society was under surveillance and when civil liberties were curtailed. As the analysis demonstrated, there were no clear explanations provided by the families for why the dictatorship's government exercised violence against its own people or why people behaved in ways that appear immoral or irrational. The differences between families' social memories of the dictatorship emerged at the level of their moral stance. The manner in which families evaluated and positioned themselves in terms of the moral and affective significance of this period related to their political–ideological position and the level of involvement which the family, as a group, had in dictatorship-era events.

It is pertinent to note that families which identified more with conservative political views and the military represented this period as questionable in moral terms and did not align themselves with the dictatorship. Those on the left appeared to have stronger negative evaluations of the state, as they clearly constructed evaluations that position the dictatorship government as abnormal, illogical, and violent; there were notable variations regarding how left-leaning families evaluated social actors from the left. Although, within left-leaning families, victimization and the role of passive recipients were the most typical evaluations and representations for left-wing actors, there is also another type of representation and evaluation that highlighted their responses, which were those of an active role as agents responding to extraordinary circumstances in exemplary ways. It should also be noted that families on both sides of the political–ideological spectrum employed victimization, the construction of the other as deviant or immoral, and an "us" versus "them" discourse strategy to construct their identities in relation to others in the community.

In family conversations about the recent past, there is an attempt to "reanimate" or "reperform" certain key cultural texts (Silverstein and Urban, 1996), highlighting the fact that there are certain grand narratives about the dictatorship which occupy a special position in the social imagination of the period. For example, anecdotes about the state's control and repression during the dictatorship ("Dark Times") and the "Two Sides" involved in a political struggle ("War") appear as generalized and personal narratives. The telling and retelling of anecdotes mediate between the situated use of language within speech events and larger structures of cultural reproduction as social memory transmissions. These anecdotes function as a tool for transduction, the process that makes the recent past transmittable across generations.

Another important aspect observed in these interactions was the youths' active role in constructing and reconstructing the meanings of the recent past. Their active involvement in these exchanges contributes to the development of historical consciousness and their having a sense of making history and belonging to history (Ricoeur, 1985). The newer generation contributed to the construction of discourses about the past and also became aware of their being part of a larger history as members of a family or other groups. The circulation of discourses about the past provides opportunities for processes of identification and disidentification enacted through the circulation and appropriation of evaluative stances.

One important question that emerges after considering this data is how youth gain rights to particular modes of transforming (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) and appropriating the past. In the case of the interviewed families, what seem to be key are the interactional experiences in which youth participate. Family interactions – wherein youth initiative and contributions were recognized, validated, encouraged, and expanded upon – positively affected the youths' legitimacy as historical actors and participants in the group. In contrast to this outcome, interactions wherein youths' contributions were ignored, corrected, or devalued produced less participation, withdrawal, and a reduced level of interest on the part of the youth.

The critical exploration of the past, as well as the active participation of youth in the process of (re)constructing the meaning of the recent past, are connected to how legitimacy is achieved. The right to have a voice in this discussion is gained when there is a decentering of the narrating voice that opens up opportunities for renegotiating meanings and social relations (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). The collaboration in the production of the meaning of the past permits the introduction of different voices and points of view, resulting in a variety of perspectives that illustrate the complexity of history. To become legitimate members of the group, the youth have to assume an authoritative voice that enables them to become part of the process of symbolic construction of discursive continuity with a meaningful past (Bauman and Briggs, 1990).

This socialization into political discourse is mediated by discursive practices, which decontextualize and recontextualize the meanings of the past, in order to construct a particular understanding of how the past relates to the present and impacts the construction of a shared future. These discursive processes entail power differentials that result in "differential access to texts, and differential legitimacy in claims to and use of texts, differential competence in use of texts, and differential values attaching to various types of texts" (Bauman and Briggs, 1990: 76). As Table 3.1 shows, there were differences in the youths' abilities in terms of identifying and historically situating the photographs that were used as memory triggers in the interviews. These differences appear to be linked to the differing interactional styles of the families and the number of opportunities for youth to engage in meaning-making activities with more family members.

In these family interactions, there were not only particular communication styles, but also certain types of anecdotes that appeared to make the past circulate more easily across generations. By and large, families whose youth were part of the negotiation of meaning, and whose contributions vis-à-vis the anecdote were recognized and built upon, had a better sense of the past. Anecdotes that positioned the narrator as the one giving testimony – due to personal proximity to the events narrated (animator and author) – provided greater legitimacy and had the power to impose reception. Also, these narratives focused on constructing a stance with respect to the events more than depicting particular historical events. As previous studies have shown, family conversations serve

Table 3.1 Identification of dictatorship-era photographs

Family	**Photo identification**		
Youth/parents	**Tank**	**Protest**	**Politicians**
Diego/father High school A	✗/✗	✗/✗	✓/✗
Andrés/father High school A	✓/✗	✓/✗	✓/✗
Luis/father High school A	✗/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗
Micaela/mother High school A	✓/✓	✓/✓	✓/✗
Andrea/mother and father High school A	✓/✗	✓/✗	✓/✗
Adriana/mother High school A	✓/✗	✓/✗	✓/✗
Ana/mother High school A	✓/✗	✓/✓	✓/✗
Alberto/mother High school A	✗/✗	✗/✗	✓/✗
Carmela/mother High school B	✗/✓	✗/?	✓/✗
Federico/mother and father High school B	✓/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗
Marcos/mother and father High school B	✗/✗	✗/✗	✓/✗
Marina/mother High school B	✗/✗	✓/✓	✗/✗
Sofía/mother High school B	✗/✗	✗/✗	✓/✗
Augusto/mother and father High school D	✓/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗
Ernesto/mother High school D	✓/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗
Jorge/mother and father High school D	✓/✗	✗/✗	✓/✗
Juana/mother and sister High school D	✓/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗
Luciana/mother and father High school D	✗/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗
Miles mother and father High school D	✓/✗	✓/✗	✗/✗
Sandra/mother, father, and sister High school D	✗/✗	✗/✗	✗/✗

as a space to construct moral and evaluative positionings in relation to the past. This practice provides a way to pass on political ideologies and socialize youth into interpretive communities that have preferred ways of giving meaning to the past, as well as framing it within larger narratives that connect it to the present.

4

Arguments with Peers: Negotiating the Past in the Present[1]

How do youth[2] produce and negotiate the meanings of the past when interacting within their generation? What discourses about the past do they draw on in order to construct their positioning vis-à-vis their peers? How is the past used to construct their identities as youth? In this chapter, we explore youth-centered interactions to capture a glimpse of peer-to-peer discursive processes of transmission of the recent past. This allows us to focus on youth as cultural agents in the process of transmitting the recent past.

The specific alignments and positions negotiated in interaction with peers shape youth's knowledge of the past. As mutual apprentices of discourses of the past (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi, 2001) youth learn from peers with different life trajectories and experiences of engagement with the topic of the dictatorship. They participate in situated interactions that evaluate, ascribe categorizations to social actors, and create differentiation among groups while simultaneously constructing identities-in-interaction. In these interactions, identities are constructed by establishing intertextual connections with other discourses that provide semiotic ways of aligning and disaligning. These discursive resources that youth and their peers can use to construct their social identities include: voicing (Bakhtin, 1981; Voloshinov, 1973), performance (Bauman and Briggs, 1990), and manipulation of participation frameworks (Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 2010). Then again, identities are negotiated in moment-to-moment interactions by positioning the self in relation to peers. Through the analysis of an interaction among peers, we will explore how youth draw on available social discourses about the dictatorship to reproduce and resist the narratives available to them.

Discourses about the past not only construct particular representations of events, participants, and circumstances, but also orientations toward these representations of past experience. When there are competing discourses, individuals need to negotiate differences in order to construct a sense of self and other as members of groups. How do Uruguayan teenagers construct a sense of themselves as members of a national space and orient to political ideologies that imagine the future and the past of the nation in different ways? How is their understanding of the past affected by their participation in these social conversations?

In this chapter, we look at an interaction as an instance of situated language use that serves to show the circulation of discourses about the past, as well as the (re)construction of representations and the enactment of different orientations toward those discourses. Our analysis reveals how young people enter the public conversation about a contested past by displaying their understanding of events and social actors, as well as by negotiating a space for themselves to be heard – drawing on available sociohistorical discourses. We focus on the socially distributed and dynamic nature of meaning making as processes for establishing relations between discourses and performing positioning to different orientations toward these discourses.

A conversation with peers: (re)constructing the past

From November 5th through 8th in the year 2010, the focal youth from the three sites (two high schools in Montevideo and one in Tacuarembó) got together in Montevideo to participate in a focal group interview and visit the Museum of Memory (see Figure 4.1). Since the youth came from different neighborhoods in Montevideo, others coming from the countryside (Tacuarembó), and had not met each other previously, a dinner was planned to let them get to know each other before the focal interview. The next day, on a special bus, we all went to the Museum of Memory where, after a guided visit and lunch, we began the focal interview. Afterwards, the youth got into groups with people from different sites in order to write the script of a documentary meant to inform other youth about the meaning of the dictatorship. Once those activities were completed, we went on a sightseeing tour around the city and finally got together for dinner and a movie related to the dictatorship (i.e., *Mundialito*).[3]

The data analyzed in this chapter comes from the 55-minute conversation among 17 youth from the focal group, documents, observation notes, and other artifacts collected during the ethnographic project. The research questions addressed are: What representations of the dictatorship do youth construct? How do youth position themselves in relation to discourses about the dictatorship which are available in the public sphere? How are contested versions of the past negotiated in interaction?

Figure 4.1 Project participants at the Museum of Memory © Mariana Achugar

The discourse analysis focused on exploring how the representation of the past through linguistic choices of participants, processes, and circumstances constructs different versions of the contested past. We conducted a transitivity analysis (Halliday, 1994) concentrating on how the dictatorship and social actors are represented, and an argumentation analysis (Van Eemeren, 2001) to identify how the dictatorship is explained. In addition to these analyses, we investigated the different positionings (subjective, intersubjective, and intertextual) that contribute to the construction of identities vis-à-vis others in terms of axiological affinities or differences. We drew on appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), and intertextuality theory (Authier-Revuz, 2003; Bakhtin, 1981; Fairclough, 1992, 2003; Voloshinov, 1973) to do an analysis of how participants enact different types of orientations toward the past and negotiate differences connecting their texts to others' texts either implicitly or explicitly. We identified subjective positioning as evaluations in terms of attitudes toward people, places, events, and things. Then we coded for intersubjective positioning where interpersonal relations are negotiated through graduation and recognition of alternative positions. And finally, we looked at intertextual positioning as the evaluation of other discourses through direct or indirect reference to others' discourse (content and texture). These discourse analyses were later interpreted using middle-range theories from history, sociology, and sociocultural learning theory (Koselleck, 2001; Halbwachs, 1992; Welzer, 2010; Wertsch, 2002; Wineburg et al., 2007) to explain how youth make sense of the past while constructing individual and group identities as historical beings.

We conducted an analysis of the complete transcription of the conversation among the youth and later integrated it with the discourse analysis of other sources (i.e., textbooks, classroom observations, family interviews, and popular culture artifacts). The analysis was completed using a coding scheme developed for adapting the categories from the theories listed above.[4] We conducted the analysis and reviewed each other's work. Below, we present the results of our discourse analysis, focusing first on the representations of the dictatorship the youth constructed, and then on how they negotiated differences and used available discourses about the recent past.

Representations of the dictatorship

At the beginning of the focus group interview, participants were asked to complete a phrase, "the dictatorship was..." and then exchange it with a partner to be read aloud. Even though all participants were provided with the same structure, there was wide variation in the way they chose to complete the phrase. The dictatorship was represented as a participant associated with a relational process in response to the question, which produced a definition-like response. However, the youth chose to represent the dictatorship differently by using modifying attributes that denote affective or moral responses, identifying it as a type of experience or as the trigger of certain actions. The following examples illustrate these different representations of the events in terms of transitivity participants.

(1) La dictadura fue muerte. [The dictatorship was death.]
(2) La dictadura fue una Guerra donde hubo mucha violencia e injusticia y donde nadie ganó. [The dictatorship was a war where there was a lot of violence and injustice and where no one won.]
(3) La dictadura fue una matanza de los milicos a la gente. [The dictatorship was a killing of the people by the milicos.[5]]

These representations also used metaphorical meanings that construct the dictatorship in terms of implied comparisons with other things. These metaphors, listed from (a) to (g) below, include implied comparisons that link the dictatorship to cultural experiences through language mediations (see examples above).

(a) the dictatorship as social illness
(b) the dictatorship as socially reprehensible actions
(c) the dictatorship as a change (event)
(d) the dictatorship as a war/catastrophe/killing
(e) the dictatorship as experiential time
(f) the dictatorship as a historical period
(g) the dictatorship as a historical process

This variety of representations of the dictatorship provides us with a first glimpse into the differing views and social voices that were constructed when remembering the past in this conversation with peers.

Arguments used to explain the dictatorship

The analysis of argumentation constructed during interaction entailed exploring how speakers defended and advanced reasons regarding their individual standpoints on the dictatorship. The speaker who advances argumentation defends his/her standpoint to a listener who doubts the acceptability of this standpoint or has a different one (Van Eemeren, 2001: 12). According to Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Snoeck Henkemans (1996), argumentation can be defined as a verbal, social, and rational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by advancing a constellation of propositions which justify or refute the propositions expressed in the standpoint. In our analysis, we identified the premises used to justify the standpoint, as well as the claims reached through them. The premises were recovered by inferring presuppositions in the texts. For example, the premise "crisis caused by the guerrillas" – used as logical support for the "Two Demons" argument – was inferred by the ways in which the guerrillas are evaluated and the actions they are depicted doing.

> (4) Porque los militares tuvieron que recurrir a la violencia para reprimir el grupo de violentos que andaban en las calles. [Because the military had to resort to violence to control the group of violent ones that wandered around the streets.]

Here, the military's entrance on the scene is explained as a response to violence from "the group of violent ones," which refers to the guerrillas.

This binary representation of military vs. guerrillas and the negative characterization of the latter in terms of their violence are the core of the "Two Demons" argument.

In Table 4.1, we present the main arguments used to explain the dictatorship during this group discussion.

These arguments operate as assumptions that implicitly link this interaction to other discourses in the public sphere by appealing to similar explanations of events. These assumptions are a type of implicit intertextual link (Fairclough, 2003) that present an explanation of the events against the background of other available explanations already circulating in the public sphere. These assumptions connect this text to others through relations that can be established by informed listeners who may have heard them elsewhere.

Subjective positioning: orientation toward events and social actors

The analysis of subjective positioning focused on identifying the types of evaluations that events (i.e., the dictatorship) and social actors related to the dictatorship (i.e., military, people, guerrillas, political parties, government) were given in the text. Following Martin and White (2005), we distinguished between three types of evaluations – affect (reaction), judgment (human behavior), and appreciation (things) – which are encoded linguistically as adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs. For example:

(5) Yo creo que fue [la dictadura] un exceso de poder. [I think it [the dictatorship] was an excess of power.] **Judgment: negative social esteem**.

This evaluation of the dictatorship highlights the unacceptable qualities of the behavior associated with the period and personalizes the event to evaluate it as socially inappropriate. In example 6, we see the affective evaluation of the dictatorship as a thing that produces a certain effect on those people causing problems.

(6) La dictadura fue un sedante para los problemáticos. [The dictatorship was a sedative for the problematic.] **Affect: positive effect**.

Most of the evaluations of the dictatorship are judgments; there are only a couple of affective reactions. On the other hand, the evaluation of

Table 4.1 Arguments used to explain the dictatorship

Argument	Premises	Claim
Reaction ("Two Demons")	a. Crisis caused by guerrillas b. President represented the majority c. Democracy is not viable with high levels of social crisis d. Extreme measures are justified in extreme situations e. Response of the government to crisis	*In response to guerrilla violence, the government limits civil liberties and closes Parliament*
Authoritarianism	a. The state imposes austerity measures and people respond with protests b. The state represses popular demonstrations and public protests c. There are limits to individual civil liberties d. Gradual deterioration of democracy e. Abuse of state power f. Armed struggle is a response to defend the population from the authoritarian government	*Deterioration of individual civil liberties is the outcome of state repression, triggering protests and armed struggle on the part of the population and resulting in the total destabilization of the democratic system*
Ideological regional war	a. Regional and international context influences local politics b. Cold War at the local level results in militarization and anticommunism as well as national liberation movements and left-wing groups c. Doctrine of national security explains the deterioration of individual civil liberties and military/government repression	*International situation and regional context lead to dictatorship (involvement of U.S. in local politics)*
Intolerance	a. Fear of change and conservatism typical of national identity b. Extreme positions lead to intolerance of differences and discrepancies c. Stopping change through violence	*Control of population through force and intolerance of differences*

social actors reveals that the two most prominent social actors are the military and the guerrillas (both occurring 37 times each). The types of evaluations associated with these social actors are mainly judgment and affect. For example:

(7) Los militares no están hechos para gobernar... pero en esa época me parece que estuvieron bien. [The military are not made to govern... but in that time, I think they acted right/ appropriately.] **Judgment: negative capacity and positive social esteem**.

(8) Cómo era eso que te agarraban y te torturaban hasta que dijeras que sí para que digas cualquier cosa. [How was it that they would capture you and then they'd torture you until you said yes for you to say anything.] **Judgment: negative immoral behavior and unacceptable/unfair behavior**.

(9) Pero muchos militares vieron morir amigos en los brazos por culpa de los Tupamaros también. [But many military saw friends die in their arms because of the Tupamaros also.] **Affect: negative reaction of suffering caused by the Tupamaros**.

The representation of the Tupamaros (i.e., guerrillas) is equally focused on judgment and affect. However, their evaluation in affective terms is not as frequent, and when it happens, it is as producers of negative feelings in others. Examples 10 and 11 illustrate evaluations of this social actor.

(10) los tenía ahogados un grupo de iluminados que andaba por las calles [they were drowned by a group of enlightened folks who went around walking on the streets] **Judgment: negative, unacceptable, and abnormal**.

(11) Los tupamaros no eran un grupo de sicarios que iban por la calle matando gente. [The Tupamaros were not a group of hired assassins walking on the streets, killing people.] **Judgment: negation of negative moral and abnormal evaluation**.

The last example shows how – even when speakers were trying to counter negative evaluations of the guerrillas – they did not do it by constructing positive evaluations. Their discursive strategy was built only to deny the validity of the negative evaluation, implying there is no positive quality to be attributed to the group. This is also supported by example 12, where there is an explicit statement by one of the speakers which shows that no one has a positive evaluation of the guerrillas.

(12) Nadie está defendiendo a los Tupamaros. [No one is defending the Tupamaros.] **Affect: negative reaction**.

The other social actor that appears to be mentioned a significant number of times in the text is “la gente,” “el pueblo” [the people]. This social actor appears and is represented 64 times as “gente” and 10 times as “pueblo.” The latter has a more political connotation and the former is a more neutral term to refer to people in general. The evaluations mostly position them as victims in affective appraisals and as having moral and socially valued attributes, such as being common or innocent. For example:

(13) Salieron para defender a la gente. [They [the military] went out to defend the people.] **Judgment: positive capacity/moral of military and incapacity of people (need to be defended by others**).

(14) Un grupito de la población salió a asustar a la gente con armas y a derrocar el gobierno. [A small group of the population went out to scare the people with guns and to depose the government.] **Judgment: negative unacceptable behavior in a small group of the population (referring to guerrillas). Affect: negative produced effect on people (scare), negative reaction of people (fear)**.

(15) La gente normal que no andaba con armas. [The normal people who were not carrying guns.] **Judgment: positive capacity and normality**.

These examples show how the people are evaluated, mostly in negative terms, as being at the mercy of others’ actions and without agency. However, it is also interesting to note that there seem to be differences within the “people.” The “normal” ones are contrasted with those who appear to be breaking the norms and acting differently from what is expected (i.e., those who carry guns and those who attack their own people). This complex construction of the “people” as the source of the crisis, and also as the victim of it, highlights the contradictions in some discourses about the dictatorship – those where the people are not seen as active players in the process. The fact that the people appear often, but still in nonagentive roles (except when seen as equivalent to the guerrillas), foregrounds the fact that these discourses do not offer a lot of roles for youth to identify with besides victim or perpetrator. If you do not want to align with the military or with the guerrillas, what alternatives do you have? Associating yourself with the people positions you as victim and puts you in a nonagentive role that does not seem like an attractive option for these youth. This is demonstrated by the fact that no speaker in this conversation used the pronouns "us" or "we" when talking about the "people." The people were always referred to in the third person. It is a social actor for whom they can feel pity, but not one with whom they can identify.

Intersubjective positioning: negotiation of differences

In dialogue, speakers organize their contributions in relation to those of the other participants in the interaction. The positioning at this level serves a different function than that of evaluating content as described in the previous section. The intersubjective positioning functions to create solidarity among the group and save face while maintaining a standpoint. We focus here on the interaction as an interpersonal meaning-making situation where speakers react to those immediately in front of them.

The analysis revealed that the main points of difference emerged from Federico's standpoint in explaining the cause of the dictatorship as the government's reaction to the guerrillas' actions. Most of the other participants responded to this position by trying to point out flaws in the argument. These counterarguments were rebutted by Federico. For most of the discussion, there was no clear presentation of a new standpoint until the Cold War and the regional situation were introduced by Juana as alternative explanations. Some of the discursive strategies used to establish solidarity among participants who held different positions included: humor, recognition of the other's right to hold a different perspective, and agreeing with parts of the other's argument. For some of the participants, the interpersonal strategy was to avoid vocal participation altogether. Even though they had expressed clear and strong positions in their individual interviews and in class discussions, they chose to remain silent in this group discussion. The social purpose of the interaction, at the intersubjective level, appeared to be maintaining a cordial relation among participants.

The extract presented in example 16 gives a taste of what the discussion and negotiation were like.[6] The coding focused on dialogic positioning that brings in or responds to other voices encoded through a variety of linguistic resources, such as: projection (i.e., projecting clauses, names for speech acts, projecting within the clause, scare quotes), modality (i.e., polarity, probability, and necessity), and concession (i.e., conjunctions, continuatives). These resources can be deployed to open up or to close dialogue. The other coding represents subjective positioning and different types of evaluations (i.e., judgment, appreciation, and affect). We also coded for graduation resources used to raise or lower the force of the evaluations, or to sharpen or diffuse the focus of the evaluations. The alignment of evaluations constructed difference or solidarity through an axiological prosody or a disruption of it.

(16)[7]
*Luis: ¿was it good or bad that the military had been here?
*Federico: Everything has its pro and cons. The dictatorship has a lot of pros and it has a lot of cons
*Sofía: <most are cons>
Federico: The Tupamaros also would have a lot of pros and a lot of cons. But I:
*Sofía: The cons were that people died, that's it: and the pros don't matter.
*Ernesto: yes that is clear what:
*Sofía: There is nothing pro since so many people died.
*Federico: ¿And you what do you find pro in going out to the streets with guns and trying to take over the government?
*Sofía: Nothing.
*Federico: And so do you see then either. I don't find pro either in that.
*Juana: No one is defending the Tupamaros.
*Sandra: And not all the people who were in jail were Tupamaros.
*Marcos: Right, they didn't do anything and they put them in jail.
*Ernesto: they simply thought differently.
*Marina: Simply for having liberty of expression.
*Ernesto: <for thinking differently>
*Marcos: <for thinking, for thinking only>
*Ernesto: because neither were there so many Tupamaros.
*Federico: But I think that liberty of expression is not to go out to kill people on the street.
*Marina: Well because that is just what we are telling you.
*Federico: <and to rob banks>
*Marina: It wasn't everyone.

32 *Sandra: No it wasn't every:
33 *Juana: <not all the population was like that> And in the
34 schools there was repression they didn't allow the
35 teaching of something free because a little group of
36 the population went into the streets to scare
37 the people with guns and to bring down the
38 government.
39 *Federico: The government was not brought down Bordaberry
40 closed the parliament himself alone.
41 *Sofía: Well because in part there was pressure from both
42 sides.
43 *Federico: The military were not made to govern but in that
44 time I think they were right.

Example 16 shows one interaction in response to a question from Luis (line 1) that demonstrates what this interpersonal negotiation looked like. Here Federico establishes his standpoint about the dictatorship, evaluating the event as a thing in terms of its qualities, having positive and negative attributes (lines 2–3). Sofía responds, challenging this evaluation by adding some graduation to part of his evaluation, stating that "la mayoría" [most of it] was negative (line 4). This overlap and modification of the other's statement leave unchallenged the premise and shows some degree of agreement since there was no complete refusal of his premise. Federico responds to the challenge by establishing a comparison, switching the focus to a new social actor (line 5). By substituting the dictatorship for the Tupamaros, Federico builds his argument by changing focus. Graduation (e.g., "also") becomes a key resource to negotiate difference in this conversation.

Sofía continues the negotiation by changing focus again to foreground the negative aspects of the period in general, and without mentioning any social actor. Here she introduces a new actor, the "people," as victims of a process in which the agents are deleted to avoid confrontation (line 7). Sofía makes a statement that directly challenges Federico by centering on the negative evaluation of the period (e.g., "los pro no importan" [the pros don't matter], "no hay nada de pro" [there is nothing pro], lines 8 and 10). Federico does not accept this dispute and opposition to his evaluation, showing his dissent through a question about the actions of the Tupamaros without directly mentioning them (lines 11–13). He offers a negative evaluation of the Tupamaros that positions them as morally negative. Sofía is thus invited to agree because Federico's question closes the dialogue by only creating a space for a favorable response. Sofía says "nada" [nothing] (line 14), using graduation to express agreement. Federico accepts her response, taking it as an agreement with the premise that the Tupamaros acted incorrectly, instead of interpreting it as being a negative evaluation of the dictatorship (lines 15–16). The intersubjective relation is maintained through a "simulated" axiological alignment. However, Juana intervenes (line 17) to clarify the point and reinstate the dispute about the evaluation of the dictatorship. By stating that it is not a "true" agreement, she rebuts Federico's point by arguing that the discrepancy is not about the Tupamaros. However, this move does not go beyond denying Federico's binary implied premise, that critique of the dictatorship equals support for the guerrillas (Tupamaros), because the following speaking turns focus on *who* was affected by the dictatorship and not on *what* the qualities of the dictatorship were. In the next speaking turn (line 18), Sandra expands upon Juana's contribution using the conjunction "y" [and] to rectify Federico's statement ("not everyone that went to prison was a Tupamaro"). Then Marcos elaborates on Sandra's offering with a more general description of who was affected by the dictatorship (i.e., "no hacían nada" [they didn't do anything] in line 20). Marcos' statement of the consequences of "thinking differently," evaluated as being socially inappropriate, provides an indirect evaluation of the "dictatorship and its actors" ("They put you in jail" in lines 20–21). Then, Ernesto supports Marcos' contribution by providing an example of what they "did" as a mental activity, which does not have direct impact on others ("pensaban distinto" [they thought differently] in line 22). Marcos, Marina, and Ernesto subsequently repeat the same premise (i.e., "thinking differently") in lines 23–25. This series of offerings adds weight to the negative moral judgment of the implied other (i.e., the dictatorship). Nevertheless, the indefinite reference to the dictatorship through the use of the third-person plural pronoun ("they") adds to the defocusing of the negative aspects of the dictatorship. In the following speaking turn (in line 26), Ernesto introduces a new challenge, pointing out a flaw in Federico's argument (i.e., the Tupamaros were not that many) and implying their actions would not have been enough to explain the dictatorship's extent. As a result, these challenges to Federico's point, while building alignment around a different position, are all accomplished through graduating the force of Federico's claim and not by challenging the basis of its premise.

Federico responds to these disputes by using a contrastive conjunction – "pero" [but] – to acknowledge the other side's points, but introduces a new piece of information. By linking back to the others' turns and using a direct citation that resignifies the others' wording (i.e., "libertad de expresión no salir a matar gente a la calle" [liberty of expression is not to go out and kill people] in lines 27–28), Federico challenges the claims made by the other side. Marina responds by showing agreement, starting her speaking turn with "bueno" [well]; however, she then uses the conjunction "porque" [because] which presents her point as building on Federico's instead of challenging it (line 29). She states "that is what we are telling you," trying to reestablish the notion of an agreement while maintaining the differentiation of "us" versus "you." Federico overlaps his response by stating more information to support his claim (i.e., "robar bancos" [robbing banks]) which presents a negative evaluation of the Tupamaros. Then Marina, Sandra, and Juana use graduation as a strategy to contradict Federico's claim by providing a more precise focus and mitigating the force of his negative evaluation (e.g., "no era todo el mundo" [it wasn't everyone], and "no toda la población era así" [not all the population behaved like that] in lines 31–33). Their implied rebuttal is that the effects of the dictatorship were felt by more than those who Federico mentioned: the dictatorship was a negative experience for everyone and not only for the Tupamaros. The modification of "population" with quantifiers such as "all" and "everyone" challenges the legitimacy of Federico's argument by questioning the inclusive relation implied in the comparison between those who suffered the negative effects of the dictatorship and those who are described as being responsible for having caused it (i.e., the Tupamaros).

Then, in lines 33–38, Juana reformulates her challenge to Federico's argument by quoting him directly, but with an ironic tone (i.e., "un grupito de población" [a little group of people]). By defining more explicitly the meaning of "liberty of expression" and changing the focus to a different context (i.e., schooling), she makes another attempt at rebuttal. However, Federico disregards Juana's rebuttal, focusing on correcting a fact in her statement ("derrocar al gobierno" [bringing down the government]) instead of giving credit to the main challenge. By focusing on highlighting the president as the actor responsible for the coup d'état, Federico discounts Juana's point and indirectly legitimizes his own by presenting himself as knowledgeable. Sofía then intervenes once again in order to try to reach consensus and diffuse differences, pointing out that there were excesses on "both sides" (lines 41–42). This reestablishes Federico's main premise that there were both pros and cons, and implicitly aligns with the representation of there being two main actors (i.e., the military and the guerrillas). Federico, however, does not take this as an offer to end the dispute. He restates his argument, explicitly introducing the military as a key actor in the dictatorship, through the negative evaluation of the military's capacity as he concedes that there were "cons," but finishes by saying he agrees with their actions in that specific context ("but at that time I think they were right") (line 43–44).

After this long interaction, Federico makes few accommodations to the rest of the group's members who have challenged his standpoint. Yet, we can observe a couple of instances where both "sides" of the argument made efforts to establish agreement by modifying the other's statements, using force to make them compatible or by selectively changing the focus to diffuse difference. The negotiation of difference was a struggle, but it was not avoided by participants. In the end, they reached a semiagreement without completely accepting the other's side by diffusing focus to eliminate clear implications of responsibility for the dictatorship.

Intertextual positioning: orientation toward other discourses

This interaction was not only an instance where this particular group of youth made meanings to fulfill their immediate communicative needs, but also a mode of participation in larger social discourses. This particular interaction connects the youth to other discourses about the past. "Each act participates in local constructions of meaning on shorter timescales at the same time that it also participates in the systematic networks of interdependent activities that sustain institutions and societies over much larger distances and longer times" (Lemke, 2002: 84). The web of intertextual connections established in this interaction enables us to understand the external relations of the text as they are connected to other discourses about the dictatorship which are available to youth. Discourses are "always oriented toward the already uttered" (Bakhtin, 1981: 279). The struggle over the representation and value of the dictatorship in this particular instance reflects the creation of something that never existed before, but also the creation out of something which was given (Bakhtin, 1981).

Our analysis of intertextuality focused on the evaluation of other discourses through direct or indirect reference to the discourse of others. We did a referent analysis to identify ideational representation of others' discourses and a texture analysis to document the interpersonal meanings through which others' words are commented upon and evaluated. This meant analyzing not only the content that revealed connections to other discourses, but also the way in which the speakers positioned themselves in relation to those discourses by expressing agreement, critique, or irony, etc. We distinguished the direct report, indirect report, and quasi-direct report. In addition to these elements, we explored the types of evaluations of these discourses and how they were used to contract or expand dialogue (Martin and White, 2005). This allowed us to establish which set of other texts and voices were potentially relevant and incorporated into the text by youth (Fairclough, 2003: 47).

The following examples illustrate the various ways in which speakers introduce other discourses into their conversation.

(17)[8]

*Federico: An uncle of my father saw several of his friends die, many friends died in his arms. Several of them he saw.
*Luis: <¿And does he think that it was right, the dictatorship?>
*Federico: And him I don't know, I never asked him his opinion about that but he always told my father you don't know what it was like for me fighting against this kind of crazy people who were on the streets. Only because the one above me told me to and that they come and kill one of my friends with a gunshot to the head and that I have to hold him in my arms.
*Marina: <and wasn't it like that on both sides that they did that?>
*Marcos: How was that thing that they would grab you and torture you until you said yes to tell them WHATEVER. They would say you did that and that.
*Federico: That is why I am against torture. But going to repress that little group of enlightened ones yes I do agree with that.

In example 17, we can observe three different discursive strategies used to make connections to other discourses available in the public sphere. The first instance of reported speech brings in family experience by using indirect and direct report to cite people who were directly involved in the events (lines 7–12). The reference to Federico's uncle and his words as mediated by Federico's father serve to legitimize Federico's position through a connection with firsthand accounts. This type of sourcing strategy enables Federico to use direct reported speech via his father ("él siempre le decía a mi padre" [he always told my father] in line 7). The use of the first-person reference ("vos no sabés lo que fue yo estar peleando" [you don't know what it was like for me fighting] in lines 7–9), together with the contrast between "you" and "I," transforms Federico into a kind of ventriloquist (Tannen, 2010), who animates his uncle to life. The past becomes present in that moment where he completely identifies with his source.

The second type of discursive strategy used to position oneself in relation to other discourses in example 17 occurs when Marcos appeals to his interlocutors to support his recollection of other accounts that provide a different version of the events (in lines 15–17). Nonetheless, since he does not remember exactly who made the point, the persuasive effect is not as powerful as was the case with Federico's citation. The more general reference to an established anecdote that has been depersonalized and made into a general truth highlights the fact that this is a discourse to which everyone has access, albeit more indirectly. It seems to be a predominant discourse in the public sphere, to which youth have access by just being members of society, but not necessarily through membership of a particular group.

The last example of intertextual positioning in example 17 comes once more from Federico. In his last utterance (lines 18–20), he uses a euphemism for the guerrillas ("grupito de iluminados" [the little group of enlightened ones]) that evokes a negative connotation which is typically used in political discourse to refer to the Tupamaros. He not only states his position on the topic, but does it by using irony to align with certain axiological positions that index particular ideological interpretations. In this example, we noticed how intertextuality was used to legitimate the youth's argument and to align them in larger ideological debates over how to remember the past.

Example 18 shows another discourse that is integrated into the debate, the knowledge of expert sources about the topic of the dictatorship. Ernesto cites his history teacher and information they had discussed in his history class as evidence to rebut the positive evaluation of the dictatorship that was being advanced by Federico.

(18)[9]

1 *Ernesto: There is a piece of evidence that the history teacher
2 told us about and I suppose that it is correct.
3 *Augusto: I am not sure if it is correct (Laughing)
4 Everyone laughs
5 *Sandra: Do you doubt the prof (Laughing)
6 *Ernesto: NO, I mean I want to say that yes but I want to say
7 that for all sources it happens. Then I don't know.
8 My source is from High school D. One out of three
9 people was in prison during the dictatorship.
10 And I doubt, I don't know and there are not as many
11 Tupamaros. And it had more to do with anything:
12 (referring to the imprisonments)

In example 18, Ernesto gives a direct citation of an authority to legitimize his argument. However, the citation is made with some evaluation that opens up the possibility of questioning its veracity ("I suppose that it is correct", in line 3). He uses a citation of authority as a rhetorical strategy to strengthen his argument, but at the same time he questions authority to establish his alignment with his peers. By not taking authorities or adults' versions of the dictatorship at face value, Ernesto positions himself as critical of everything, even of established and legitimate sources. Ernesto is trying to deconstruct the opposing argument while maintaining a position that does not necessarily align him with the "other" side. This seems like an attempt to construct a third position to break the dichotomous discourse (i.e., military vs. guerrillas) that had dominated the debate so far. It is also an attempt to construct his identity as a third-generation member who does not have direct access to memories and must rely on other types of evidence to legitimize his position. Nevertheless, his citation of an authority with an interpersonal evaluation that questions its credibility seems to be inappropriate for the rest of the group, leading to everyone laughing. Here we can observe the transmission of a specific piece of content (i.e., the high number of political prisoners), but with a new orientation to it. This represents a particular take on what has been passed on, not just an automatic acceptance of this discourse.

In example 19, the youth incorporate a new discourse about the past where the main argument is that local events were connected to the Cold War. Miles brings a new political actor into the debate – the United States. As a new key player, the U.S. becomes part of a novel explanation for the causes of the dictatorship.

(19)[10]

1	*Miles:	The United States suggested that thing of national
2		security and gave those options to the countries.
3		Brazil I believe for what you all said was the first one
4		that took it: It was in:
5	*Sofía:	Sixty four
6	*Miles:	The coup d'état?
7	*Sofía:	Yes. Then it was in Argentina.
8	*Miles:	And so then it was like Uruguay took it.
9	*Luis:	Uruguay already had had an attempt of a coup
10		d'état in thirty-three I believe it was before. I think
11		that it failed: And then in nineteen seventy-three
12		I think.
13	*Sofía:	I think that it starts with the Cuban revolution when
14		the United States says "these ones I want out." THERE
15		it was where the mess started.
16	*Sandra:	They feared that communism was going to expand
17		around Latin America.
18	*Sofía:	Sure
19	*Juana:	The mess was there before the revolution.
20		LAUGHTER
21	*Juana:	The mess was there before with Marx (laughing)
22	*Augusto:	Don't say anymore.

Example 19 shows a different discourse being introduced through more indirect references, such as: using a word to evoke a larger discourse (e.g., Marx for Marxism), or using metonymy to represent an ideological position through the name of a country (e.g., the U.S. for capitalism). Miles, with the support of his peers, builds on what others have mentioned and constructs a little narrative to explain the causes of the dictatorship (lines 1–8). In this narrative, countries become participants who engage in dialogue and in a game of persuasion. The indirect discourse used to represent what the United States "suggests" (line 1) or "says" (line 14) depicts it as a verbal act which has material effects: countries act to satisfy the suggestion of the U.S. by violating norms and doing away with democracy. It is also interesting to note how these discourses are framed in more affective terms, switching the tone of the interaction from a moral debate to a more enthusiastic one. The distancing of the debate to impersonal and foreign players allows these young people to give the debate a lighter tone (as shown through their laughter and joking) while at the same time bringing in more academic interpretations of the historical events under discussion (lines 5–22). This discursive strategy of sourcing and alignment enables the youth to reconstruct their identity as youth who are distinct from older generations and ideological groups. It also positions them as informed and aware of the importance of time and space as historically organizing categories.

These references to other discourses show that these young people are familiar with several discourses about the dictatorship, and deploy them to different degrees of rhetorical effectiveness by citing them to support their arguments or deconstruct those of others. Family, school, and popular political discourses about the dictatorship emerge in this discussion, framed as legitimizing devices in the search for a successful explanation of events.

Summary

The discursive forms of transmission of the past that emerge in this conversation show the various ways in which youth have access to discourses of the past and construct their own understanding of it. We observed that the representation of the dictatorship highlights its socially questionable and negative value – together with its definition as a historical event, period, or experience rather than as a personal experience. The exploration of the different types of orientations youth enacted in this interaction reveals that most of their interpersonal work was meant to maintain dialogic relations and construct a sense of solidarity among interactants. Table 4.2 provides a summary of the frequency of positionings (i.e., subjective, intersubjective, and intertextual) in relation to one another.

Even though positioning with respect to other discourses (intertextual) was not prevalent in this interaction, youth demonstrate awareness of a variety of discourses regarding explanations of the dictatorship. Additionally, the variety of sources cited or implicitly referred to during the conversation showed the influence which different contexts have on the shaping of the youths' views about the dictatorship. The family, the

Table 4.2 Positionings enacted throughout the interaction

Subjective	**Intersubjective**	**Intertextual**
274	346	187
34%	43%	23%

school, and popular political discourses emerged as relevant sources of knowledge about the recent past. It is also important to highlight the distributed nature of this type of knowledge about the past, since as we observed in example 19, the construction of the meaning of the past is achieved as a collaborative effort among interactants.

Conclusions

The analysis of this dialogue about the dictatorship provides a window into the process of transmission of the past within cohort groups. The circulation and recontextualization of discourses about the past occur in communicative situations that include conversations with peers. This process entails the reaccentuation and subtle change of discourses about the past as they are deployed in interaction to serve multiple functions, including group identity and generational identity. As members of the same generation, none of the youth experienced the dictatorship directly. However, their knowledge, positioning, and identification with the discourses about the past reveal a variety of ways in which members of the same generation appropriate the past. To understand discourses about the past, youth not only take the ideational meanings of available discourses to construct a particular representation of the past, but also orient themselves with respect to these discourses in order to find a proper place for themselves in these narratives in the present context (Voloshinov, 1973: 102). Discourses about the past are not only received as particular ideational representations, but also as particular expressions of subjective orientations to these ideas.

The analysis of these texts showed that there were some similarities and differences among these youths' reconstructions of the past. In the first place, their reconstruction of the events in terms of social actors and circumstances appears to be very similar. The general evaluation of the period is negative for everyone. Most differences among the youth emerged in their explanatory arguments. According to Hodges (2008), "a well-formulated argument can resurface many times to emphasize a position in the struggle over the representation of an issue" (p. 500). We saw in this interaction that youth were mostly debating one argument – the one that explains the dictatorship in terms of a "War between Two Demons" (i.e., the military and the Tupamaros). Even though other arguments emerged toward the end of the discussion, most of the time was spent in trying to counter this argument. This discourse about the past is also the hegemonic position in the public sphere (see Demasi, 2004; Lessa, 2013, and Chapter 2). Therefore, it is not surprising that the debate unfolded in this manner.

In addition to this observation, it is important to consider that politeness and general conversational norms also played a role in negotiations of difference during the dialogue. The youths' alignments in terms of communities of values showed that, to construct a positive self-identification, some of them needed to distance themselves from the dichotomous construction of the past. By creating a third space that allowed them not to take sides, while constructing a negative evaluation of the dictatorship, they attempted to construct an alternative meaning of the past. On the other hand, for some youth, adopting the "Two Demons" argument required a choice between positive or negative identification with the Tupamaros or the military. These different interpretations of the positions available to them resulted in an extended negotiation of ways of framing their identities in relation to explanatory arguments. This ultimately resulted in the construction of a dialogic text that brought in other voices to constrict possible explanations more than to entertain new ways of thinking about the issue.

The transmission of the past occurred through both the integration and attribution of other discourses to construct the youths' positions. Several discourses emerged in the form of anecdotes, emblematic examples, or words that evoked connections to larger discourses about the past. These intertextual connections involved the reproduction and contestation of the meaning and value of the dictatorship, as well as the social actors associated with it. This type of analysis of intertextuality in action (Hodges, 2008) contributes to "the understanding of how forms of sociocultural knowledge (e.g., truth claims, narratives, accounts) come into being and may be reproduced resisted, or challenged" (p. 484).

The process of transmission of the past develops as the unfolding of semiotic work that constructs representations and axiological meanings to produce ideological perspectives on the past. The interaction with peers reaccentuates and expands upon potential realizations of established arguments and evaluative perspectives about the past. "The need for negotiation and defense of one's proposals increases attentiveness and involvement in the task, besides mobilizing argumentative skills" (Orsolini and Pontecorvo, 1992, in Fasulo, Girardet, and Pontecorvo, 1998: 136). As a result, group discussions are one of the most favorable situations for observing the use and display of knowledge and causal reasoning.

Discourses about the past constitute particular representations of historical events, but also evaluative orientations that produce possible readings and understandings of the past within situated interpretive communities. In the case at hand, the discussion about how to explain the causes of the dictatorship centered around the language and central argument of the "Two Demons" narrative. This conclusion is demonstrated by the fact that the two most frequently mentioned social actors during the discussion were the military and the Tupamaros. Even those who opposed it ended up using its binary logic, which in this instance was ineffective at rebutting the hegemonic argument during the discussion with peers. Some of the questions we are left with are: how are changes in alignment linked to changes in the representation of events at the ideational level? And how are hegemonic discourses about the past destabilized by negotiations of identities during an interaction?

To find their voice and space to contribute to the construction of the future as active members of society, the individual youths need to negotiate their understandings of the space of experience and the horizon of expectations (Koselleck, 2001). Historical consciousness operates as a compass to guide us in our historical understanding of the present by explaining a current situation in connection to a temporal frame (Rusen, 2004). To think historically entails connecting the past and the future. For youth to make sense of the past and position themselves as agents in the project of constructing society's future, they have to be able to make these connections. Investigating these peer communicative processes of transmission shows the tensions between the determinism of the inherited tradition and beliefs embodied in discourses, in relation to the creative action of individual, meaning-making agency.

5

Conversations in the History Classroom: Pedagogical Practices in the Transmission of the Recent Past

Processes of intergenerational transmission are discursive practices through which social actors, in interaction with other subjects and objects through time and space, give meaning to the past. As a communicative process, intergenerational transmission has an institutionalized space in school contexts (e.g., Heer, Manoschek, Pollak, and Wodak, 2008; Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat, and Duncan, 2007; Welzer, 2008; Zullo, 2014). The history classroom is a socially legitimated space to transmit values, arguments, and representations of the past. This space is also designed to construct national identity based on our "common past." Educational discourses have an important role in the reproduction of shared beliefs in society. "For their impact in the shaping of beliefs of a large amount of people, public discourses have a primordial influence, much more meaningful than private conversations and texts" (Van Dijk, 2004:15).[1] Potentially, the educational context can influence how a large number of people construct the recent past. As spaces of cultural reproduction, schools have a role in the legitimation or challenging of dominant narratives about the past.

Exploring the teaching and learning of the recent past in formal educational contexts enables us to understand *what* and *how* socially authorized public discourses about the dictatorship are passed on to youth. In this chapter,[2] I present the analysis of the representations, evaluations, and explanations of the Uruguayan dictatorship as constructed through pedagogical practices and artifacts used in secondary-school history classrooms.

The history classroom operates as a meaning-making device (Verón, 1987) where, mediated by disciplinary discourses of history and social memory, students and teachers can negotiate senses of the past. The conversations in the classroom reflect and have the potential to modify the narratives about the past that youth bring with them to the discussion. The history classroom functions as a space to think about the past as different from the present while relating it to the present (Ricoeur, 2010). Discussing the dictatorship in the history classroom embeds the conversation within the rules and practices of disciplinary discourse. This implies taking a critical perspective on narratives about the past that explore their contextualized, authored, and argumentative nature. The practices of history as a discipline include questioning narratives by asking: what was put in and what was left out of the narrative; what perspective the narrative is presenting; and what the historical context of production is for this narrative.

When discussing the dictatorship in the history classroom, teachers and students focus not only on accounts about the past (i.e., the content of the narratives), but also on how those accounts were constructed (i.e., the process of producing the narratives). In the history classroom, students encounter not only a diversity of narratives and explanations about what happened, but also disciplinary operations to evaluate those different interpretations and construct their own. Teachers and students can "do history" by identifying representations of actors and agency, how events change over time, and evaluating evidence and authorship (i.e., author's positioning) in different historical accounts. Engagement with these narratives within a disciplinary framework empowers students to understand narratives about the past as historical products that emerge from particular sociohistorical contexts and respond to particular identities and interests (Levín, 2007).

The construction of the past in the history classroom is an active process, more so than the mere reproduction of the "official narrative." This means that negotiations of meaning in the history classroom draw from available narratives in the interpretive community of professional historians and the narratives that circulate in the public sphere, in order to construct a situated understanding of the dictatorship. Through the mediation of the teacher, the youth recontextualize (Bernstein, 1990) and resignify these discourses, constructing a "new narrative."

This semiotic space connects social memory and history. As several of the participants in this study mentioned, the history classroom provides access to alternative narratives and explanations of the dictatorship, for example:

> Y: está bueno porque o sea uno a no ser en el liceo, bueno, yo por lo menos en mi casa como que todos más o menos tenemos una misma

> idea de lo que fue y con esto cada uno tiene un ideal diferente o más o menos así entonces todo lo vemos desde un punto de vista distinto y eso me parece que es lo bueno. [And it is good because well one unless it is in high school well I at least at home it is as if we all more or less have the same ideas about what it [the dictatorship] was and with this each one has a different view and more or less then we see everything from a different point of view, and that is what I think is good.] (Marina, interview, May 2010)

This multiplication of meanings of the dictatorship expands the narrative reservoir and opens a space to challenge "naturalized" and "official" versions of the past. Moreover, discussions about the construction of discourses regarding the past contribute to the development of youth's historical consciousness (Rusen, 2004). Historical consciousness refers to the understanding and use of space and time to position oneself as a member of social groups that predate and will outlive oneself.

In this chapter, we explore: What is the redundancy of narratives in this context? What is the role of disciplinary knowledge in the challenging or legitimation of hegemonic narratives? What opportunities do youth have to (re)construct the past and develop their historical consciousness?

Teaching and learning about the dictatorship in Uruguay

The case of the last dictatorship in Uruguay represents an example of how dictatorships emerge from democracies (Rico, 2009). Long before the coup d'état occurred, there was a crisis in democratic institutions that had social, economic, and political repercussions (Weschebor, 2003). The gradual deterioration of institutions was especially evident in the limiting of individual liberties. The executive branch had frequently resorted, since 1968, to constitutional resources that allowed the curtailment of these liberties, and to govern by decree without the checks and balances of the other branches (e.g., censorship and special security measures). The military slowly began occupying public spaces and functioning as part of the government (e.g., internal defense actions and trials of civilians). However, this process of democratic weakening and growing authoritarianism is not recognized in social memory or in historical studies as part of the dictatorship period. The last dictatorship began, *strictu senso*, in 1973. However, there is still a debate, at the political and academic level, about when precisely it began: in February when the armed forces confronted President Bordaberry (resolved through the

Pacto de Boiso Lanza which enabled the armed forces to take part in power), or on June 27 with the closing of the Parliament and its substitution by a State Council which was directly selected by the president and the military.

Furthermore, the debate continues regarding the attributions of responsibility for the beginning of the dictatorship. On the one hand, there are those who state that the political crisis caused by the guerrillas was the main trigger; on the other hand, there are those who affirm that authoritarianism emerged as a response to popular protest, set off by the economic measures applied to overcome the crisis. Finally, there are those who attribute priority to the international context of the Cold War and the other dictatorships in the region as causes for the coup d'état.

Although in recent years there has been some academic agreement, the lack of consensus at a social memory level – plus the politicized nature of the topic and its teaching – have produced different perspectives that go beyond academic differences. The content and practices of the history classroom are immersed in a social context of *battles over memory*, which impact the teachers' and students' decisions and practices. For example, when youth bring in family narratives or establish connections to the present, social memory enters the classroom. Furthermore, disciplinary discourses about the past are also carefully monitored and exposed to challenges from the political sphere because the past is used to serve present political agendas. The teaching of history in Uruguay has become part of the political debate and is, as a result, the object of careful scrutiny by students, parents, and educational authorities.[3]

At the curricular level, the topic of the dictatorship became part of secondary-school-level programs in 1986, and has remained part of all subsequent curricular reforms.[4] The changes in school programs have included aspects that go beyond the topic and have to do with how to teach history in general. The pedagogical disciplinary perspective has shifted from an approach that integrated social studies and history toward one that focuses only on history. There have been two historical approaches: one that integrated the study of Uruguay into that of Latin America and Europe, and a second that distinguished national from international history. Regarding the approach to the study of the dictatorship, the three separate programs include it in slightly different forms, as shown in Table 5.1.

With the passing of time, the periodization of the dictatorship has expanded to include years preceding the coup d'état and moving on

Table 5.1 Curricular program reforms and the Uruguayan dictatorship

Program year	Unit description
1986	Unit 4: The world after 1945. Uruguay: social tension, political crisis, and the institutional break. The reestablishment of democracy
1996	Unit 3: Uruguay in the contemporary world: from a bipolar world to today. The stagnation of the country's model: the political, economic, and social crisis; the dictatorship (1973–84); the restoration of democracy
2006	Unit 2: 1930–90. Uruguay. The stagnation and economic, social, and political crises. The advance of authoritarianism. The civilian–military dictatorship and the restoration of democracy. The intellectual and artistic context. Human rights, the advance of their conceptualization, and the role of the state

through the period of democratic recovery, which includes the 2000s in the latest program.

However, in spite of the fact that the topic was integrated into the curriculum soon after the return to democracy, this decision has generated a lot of discussion and polemics at the political level. The debate around the teaching of the dictatorship has centered on three main aspects: "the possibility or not of dealing with the topics in the classroom, the ideologization of the program, and the lack of objectivity" (Appratto, 2002: 1). Teachers have also found it difficult to approach the topic because of a lack of access to bibliography, the need for professional development (i.e., an interdisciplinary approach to the topic), and the difficulty of finding appropriate pedagogical practices suitable for dealing with the emotional aspects (e.g., the teachers having experienced the period themselves or having strong emotional reactions to it) (Zaffaroni, 2002). Another important impediment to teaching lessons related to the dictatorship is lack of time; because the topic appears at the end of the curriculum, there is not enough time to cover it properly.

During the last reform of the program in 2006, there was a very heated debate because the left wing were in power and the policies around how to deal with the dictatorship past were changing at the executive and judicial levels of government. The most controversial issue was the challenge to researchers in charge of writing the new program, who were accused of producing a "leftist account of the period." That discussion resulted in concrete proposals on how to teach the topic, suggestions regarding academic freedom, the impact of the media on the information youth have about the period, and the role of students in the learning process (passive recipients vs. critical actors). Among history teachers, there was also a debate about the need to confront arguments that present different views of the past and make the topic of human rights a central aspect of approaching the period. There was also a discussion about the importance of distinguishing and exploring the complex relationship between memory and history (Caetano in Novarese, 2005; Carvalho, Lorenz, Marchesi, and Mombello, 2004). These changes in the program were accompanied by a series of professional development courses and a list of references that included primary source documents as aids in teaching the topic.[5]

At the time when I conducted my fieldwork, teaching of this topic was still controversial. Teachers need to satisfy various audiences: families, institutions, the state, students, and the general public. This makes the decision to teach this topic in particular one that has important consequences both inside and outside of the classroom, and distinguishes it from teaching other historical topics (e.g., the French Revolution). For instance, there were cases of teachers who had received reprimands, administrative inquiries, or dismissals for the ways in which they approached the teaching of the dictatorship.[6] Then again, there were several projects by teachers in high schools, throughout the country, with innovative approaches to the teaching of the dictatorship; these projects included having students do oral histories and archival research, and what is more, producing films and books to report on their findings.[7] Bertinant and Rubio (2013) designed an interdisciplinary approach which was based on reading and influenced by conceptual history (Koselleck, 2001) in order to teach the recent past in Uruguay. Their work as reflective practitioners and intellectuals proposes a unique contribution to pedagogical strategies in approaching the recent past: engaging with the "readers of history" (i.e., students and teachers). Focusing on the conceptualization of time (i.e., the space of experience and the horizon of expectation – Koselleck, 2001), Bertinant and Rubio propose a pedagogy of "hermeneutics of listening" that strives to create more indeterminacy in the interpretation of experience and a more determined horizon of expectations.

In this chapter, we will look at the textbooks used and some classroom discussions which center on the dictatorship in the three history classrooms that were part of the project. The following sections present the results of the analysis, showing some of the possible ways in which the topic of the dictatorship is approached in history classes. These examples provide evidence of the historical approaches, as well as the types of representations and explanations that circulate in this context of intergenerational transmission.

(Re)presenting the recent past: the Uruguayan dictatorship in history textbooks[8]

The history textbook as a site of memory (Nora, 1989) is an artifact that crystallizes social memory and enables the transmission of hegemonic representations (Martínez Bonafé, 2002). Then again, textbooks can be considered discursive practices because they produce meaning in situated instances, linking past and present. As pedagogical devices, textbooks have an important role in the regulation and control of a teacher's work (Martínez Bonafé, 2002). The textbook always impacts teachers' practices. Because of its discursive features and their use, textbooks represent an index of institutional discourse about the recent past.

Pedagogical historical discourse in textbooks is characterized by organizing, interpreting, and generalizing information from past events through distancing from the here and now (Unsworth, 2000). Historical discourse is characterized by abstracting periods of time, causal relations, evaluations, and arguments that construct a historical gaze (Martin, Maton, and Matruglio, 2010). Previous studies of history textbooks (e.g., Coffin, 2006; Martin, 1991, 2002; Oteíza, 2006; Unsworth, 1999) have identified various discursive patterns in these texts: use of nominalizations, reasoning within the clause through verbal choices, and ambiguous use of conjunctions. Through the use of nominalizations, experiential and interpersonal distance enables the representation of events as participants (e.g., the dictatorship) and the generalization of individual experiences (e.g., the violation of human rights) to foreground the most relevant aspect for argumentation (Martin, 1991, 2002). Manipulation of agency hides the actors responsible for events (e.g., "el 11 de septiembre *se produjo* un golpe militar que puso fin al gobierno de Salvador Allende" [on September 11 there was a coup d'état that ended Salvador Allende's government]) (Oteiza, 2006: 139). Another typical pattern in history textbooks is the indirect construction of causality through the use of processes instead of connectors to establish causal relations (e.g., "la disputa *causó* la division del territorio" [the dispute caused the division of the territory] instead of "*porque* hubo una disputa, se dividió el territorio" [*because* there was a dispute, the territory was divided]), the use of temporal connectors with causal functions (e.g., "*después* que los Cherokee se rehusaron a irse, la milicia de Georgia comenzó a atacar a los pueblos indígenas" [*after* the Cherokee refused to leave, Georgia's militia started to attack the indigenous people]), or the use of nonfinite dependent clauses to construct causal relations (e.g., *ignorando el tratado de derechos Cherokee*, los oficiales de Georgia se prepararon para la expulsion" [*ignoring the treaty of Cherokee rights*, Georgia officials prepared for the expulsion]) (Achugar and Schleppegrell, 2005). Evaluation is another discourse-semantic resource used to construct interpretations and points of view in implicit ways. For example, the construction of different voices – such as recorder, interpreter, or adjudicator (Coffin, 2006) – creates different levels of commitment and relations of the historian to the content being presented. While the voice of a recorder presents the information in a factual manner, avoiding explicit evaluation, the voice of an interpreter focuses on the construction of an evaluation of behavior as judgment, and the voice of an adjudicator realizes moral evaluations in more subjective ways. Different types of voices are typically associated with different historical genres. Furthermore, in historical discourse, there is a tendency to produce evaluations of social esteem and social sanction – judgments – to explain the value and relevance of certain events or historical characters by using evaluative lexis, modification, and comparison, as well as implementing adverbs of frequency and manner, among other linguistic resources.

Particular discourse genres have been identified within history, including recount, account, description, explanation, and argumentation (Coffin, 2006; Martin, 2002). These genres satisfy the need to document the past, explain it, and debate it. When reading a history textbook, the reader is confronted by all of these genres, since textbooks juxtapose primary and secondary sources, along with constructing a genre as the main text. According to Coffin (2006), the genre that functions as the backbone of the textbook is generally that of a historical account, since those texts serve to orient students and support their understanding of the historical period being studied. In more traditional textbooks, the historical account is the main source of information and primary sources appear on the periphery. In more modern textbooks, the main texts are more fragmented and include a series of primary and secondary sources in order that students may compare different interpretations and points of view on the events. The new textbooks are multimodal and use visual resources to support the main text or add new information.

These general characteristics of pedagogical historical discourse have been confirmed in analysis of Latin American and Spanish textbooks (e.g., Atienza, 2007; Born, 2013; D'Alessandro, 2014; Giudice, 2010; Giudice and Moyano, 2011; Morales and Lischinky, 2008; Moss, 2010;

Moyano, 2010; Oteíza, 2003; Oteíza and Pinto, 2008). These general features provide a baseline to compare and contrast our findings in the analysis of representations and evaluations of the dictatorship, and the social actors associated with it. This comparison allows us to determine if the patterns we found are typical of this type of discourse or if they constitute significant choices associated with the topic of the recent past.

Our discourse analysis centered on the following meaning-making systems: transitivity and ergativity (agency and representation of social actors), evaluation (attitudes, engagement, and graduation), and multimodal organization. These analyses allow us to focus on the discursive representation, orientation, and organization textbooks accomplish in relation to the Uruguayan coup d'état of 1973. The analysis of transitivity and ergativity demonstrated how agency and responsibility for the events is constructed through choices of process and participants (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). The examination of evaluation using the appraisal system (Martin and White, 2005) enabled us to identify the lexicogrammatical and discursive resources used to inscribe or evoke the positions of the text in relation to the events, participants, and other discourses. We also examined the relationship between text and images in the textbooks to determine if they support, add, or contradict the information presented in the main text (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Oteíza, 2006). We conducted these analyses in all of the texts in order to identify patterns and differences across texts.

In addition to these analyses, we explored intertextual positioning to identify ideal reading positions and intersubjective relations which open up, cancel, or preclude particular readings. According to Eco (1979), there are differences between open texts that generate an unlimited semiosis and closed texts that confirm, limit, and reinforce conventions and beliefs. The structure of closed texts contributes to the simplification, reinforcement, and repetition of messages since it hides its situated nature and claims to be objective. According to Martin and White (2005), all texts construct a relationship between speaker and writer, just as they have an ideal audience with whom the text may or may not align. There are ways in which the author inscribes an ideal reader in the text's presentation, for example in assuming the audience takes a specific point of view, anticipating certain propositions as problematic, or constructing a persuasive argumentative position. Through these discursive choices, the relationship between audience and author is negotiated from a monoglossic position that does not acknowledge alternative viewpoints, or from a dialogic position that expands or contracts multiple voices.

The corpus was constituted of textbooks used by the participant teachers in the ethnographic study, and their representative nature was confirmed by a large survey of history teachers. Through this process of selection, four textbooks were chosen for a detailed qualitative discourse analysis: *Pensar la historia 3* by Demasi, Piñeyrúa, Zavala, and Artagaveytia published by Ediciones Ideas (1990); *Historia, Mundo, América Latina y Uruguay 1850–2000 3* by Artagaveytia and Barnero, published by Santillana (2009), and *Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo 3* by Abadie, Feo, Galiana, and Sandrín, published by Monteverde (2009); and *Comprender el Uruguay Actual 3* by Cabanilla and Gutiérrez, published by Montevderde and ANEP (2000). In addition to these texts, we analyzed the fourth-year history textbook by Santillana to contrast how the dictatorship was presented in connection to others in the region at a higher grade. The sections analyzed in the corpus were those dealing with the Uruguayan coup d'état in 1973.

To document how textbooks are used, we conducted a web survey of history teachers, all of them members of the Asociación Uruguaya de Profesores de Historia del Uruguay (APHU), during May and June of 2010. This survey included a series of questions about the use and functions of the textbook in the history class. We had 102 responses and coded their answers, quantifying the answers as related to the use of the text and searching for patterns and themes that represented the functions of the textbook in the classroom. The information was triangulated with that of ethnographic observations conducted during the 2010 academic year in the three focal classrooms. Below, I present the results of the survey, discourse analysis, and ethnographic observations.

The survey showed that in both public and private high schools in the capital as well as in the countryside history teachers used the textbook (90.9 percent). Most of the teachers reported using textbooks for a variety of functions, such as reference for students (82 percent), homework assignments (64 percent), practice exercises (54 percent), or for in class reading (52 percent). The teachers mentioned that textbooks also provide access to primary documents, and to secondary sources of historiography. All teachers (100 percent) reported using other supplemental materials in their teaching, such as maps, images, videos, fragments of books, testimonies, and handouts. Ethnographic observations in the three classrooms confirmed these findings.

The history textbooks analyzed are multimodal texts, which include a base text in the documentation genre (Coffin, 2006), together with primary and secondary sources that support this account from the periphery. Additionally, there are photographs and charts that contribute information which supports and expands upon the base text. The historical explanations presented tend to be multicausal, integrating background causes that originate in the distant past – structural causes – with more immediate ones. The base text integrates the recounting of what happened with the consequential or factorial explanation, evaluating it according to its historical significance. These base texts are characterized by the inclusion of a few human participants (e.g., Bordaberry and Pacheco), more generic participants (e.g., political parties, the armed forces, the executive branch), and abstract participants (e.g., democracy and internal war) or generalized behavior of groups of people during the given time (e.g., the protests, the security measures). There is a specialized lexis that includes resources to aid in constructing chronologies (i.e., adverbs and prepositional phrases of time, nominalizations that pack events as things, sequential organization, and Theme–Rheme patterns) and implicit explanations (i.e., causal verbs, juxtaposition of cause, temporal connectors with causal implications). Direct quotes of experts and protagonists of history are the most frequently used resources included to construct intertextual links with other discourses about the past. For example:

(1) El MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional) sostenía que, en ese momento, debido a las condiciones de "ineficacia de los politicos," solo era possible la "acción directa." [The MLN (National Liberation Movement) assured that at that moment due to the conditions of "inefficiency of politicians," it was only possible to engage in "direct action."] (*Pensar la historia 3*, p. 196)

There is also indirect reference to the discourse of others through comments about alternative interpretations. For example:

(2) En la lucha contra la subversion, los militares no escatimaron ningún recurso; entre ellos, la tortura. A partir de 1968 se hicieron práctica corriente en dependencias policiales y desde 1971, también en los cuarteles. Aún concebida como un combate, las reglas de la Guerra estipuladas en diversas convenciones internationales prohibían la tortura. [In the fight against subversion, the military did not spare any resource; among them, torture. From 1968 on they became common practice in police

> headquarters and since 1971, also in the military barracks. Even conceived as a combat, the rules of war specified by diverse international agreements prohibited torture.] (*Santillana 3*, p. 237)

Evaluative language and quantification to graduate the intensity of those evaluations were common resources used in the textbooks to inscribe the position of the text regarding the events and participants represented.

> (3) La política autoritaria del Ejecutivo se vio favorecida por la fragmentación existente en los partidos politicos que impidió hacer una oposición firme entre los parlamentarios. [The authoritarian policy of the executive branch was favored by the existing fragmentation of the political parties, which prevented making a strong opposition within parliamentarians.] (*Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo*, p. 234)

Additionally, the textbooks used verbal periphrasis, using gerunds that constructed intensified evaluations in aspectual (duration) terms to produce indirect appraisals.

> (4) La situación política continuó deteriorándose. [The political situation continued deteriorating.] (*Comprender el Uruguay Actual*, p. 74)

The explanations constructed in the textbooks are mostly multicausal and focused on arguments about *how* the dictatorship began, describing a process of gradual corrosion of the democratic system in a context of economic and social crisis. The main actors represented as involved in the coup d'état were politicians, the military, and especially the president, Bordaberry. The coup d'état was represented as a nominalization that packs into noun phrases a series of events involving responsible actors who are, in most cases, not directly represented (e.g., "el quiebre institucional" [the institutional break], "la disolución de las cámaras" [the dissolution of Parliament], "la ruptura institucional" [the institutional rupture]). The images that appear are mostly of events and prominent actors in the epoch. See for example Figure 5.1 which is representative of the type of illustrations of the period that appear in textbooks. There are also primary source documents that support the

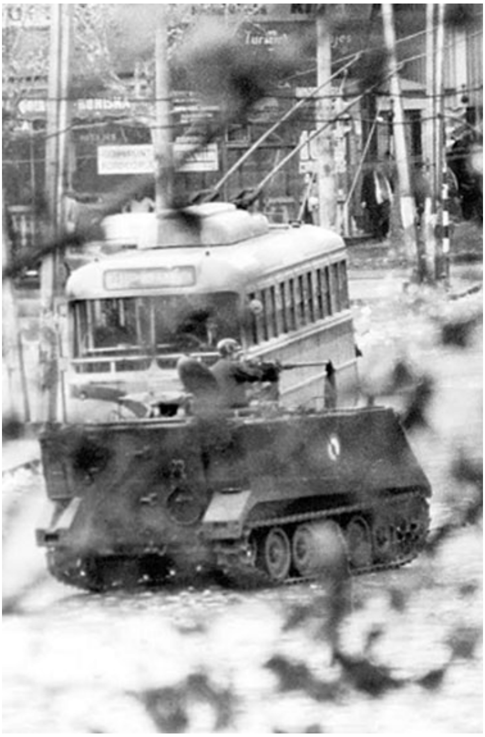

Figure 5.1 Tank on Dieciocho de Julio Avenue on July 9, 1973 © Aurelio González

main account and provide an opportunity to question it, and not only expand its meaning.

The analysis of transitivity and ergativity[9] (Halliday, 1994) in the textbooks allowed us to identify the discursive resources used to represent events in conjunction with the participants responsible for them. We identified material processes that require a responsible actor to operate in the outside world, and we categorized them according to the social actors to which responsibility is attributed. Table 5.2 shows a summary of this analysis.

There are patterns exhibited here, such as with the use of passive constructions (i.e., *pasiva refleja*, *pasiva perifrástica*) and the nominalization and impersonal constructions (metaphoric plural, subjects of unspecific interpretation), which are all typical choices in textbooks, as has been shown by previous studies. However, what is unique in this case is to

Table 5.2 Representation of social actors and responsibility

Textbook	**Military**	**Legislative**	**Executive branch**	**Defenders**	**Opposition**	**Impersonal, passive, nominalization**	**Indefinite**	**Total *N***
Santillana 3	6	4	6	0	8	11	1	36
Comprender el Uruguay Actual	13	1	5	1	6	15	4	45
Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo	6	6	12	1	8 (1 MLN)	37	2	72
Pensar la Historia	3	0	1	0	4	17	0	25
Santillana 4	10	0	3	6	1	22	1	43
Santillana 3 Terra's coup d'état in 1933	4	1	9 (dictator, dictatorship)	4	2 (population neutral)	6	0	26

whom responsibility is attributed when it is explicitly marked. As seen in Table 5.2, the concrete social actors who appear as responsible for the events vary across textbooks. In *Santillana 3*, most of the responsibility is equally attributed to political actors (i.e., executive branch and political parties) and the military, in comparison with the use of impersonal constructions. On the other hand, in the textbook *Comprender el Uruguay Actual,* responsibility is mostly assigned to the military; besides this, it is shown as equally using impersonal constructions. However, in *Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo,* most of the responsibility falls on the executive branch, and there is a high use of impersonal constructions. Finally, *Pensar la Historia 3* also attributes more responsibility to the military than to other social actors, but much more prominent is the use of impersonal construction. We can observe that, in cases where agency is explicitly marked, there is a continuum of responsibility that goes from attributing it to the executive branch or to the military, to distributing it equally across different social actors. It is important to note that in none of these textbooks is there direct responsibility attributed to guerrilla groups (e.g., MLN), nor to the protests by social movements (e.g., students' organizations, labor unions, or other interest groups). It is also noteworthy that the use of impersonal constructions, which permits the elision of responsibility, occurs more frequently in themes related to recent history. While in our contrastive cases of textbooks from higher levels (i.e., *Santillana 4to*), we found similar ratios of impersonal constructions, in the analysis of a previous dictatorship (i.e., the coup d'état by Gabriel Terra in 1933) in *Santillana 3ro*, the use of impersonal constructions was considerably less. This may be due to the fact that it is harder and riskier to attribute responsibility when the topic is still being debated in society or when there are social actors still alive.

The representation of the coup d'état is realized through a variety of linguistic resources in the four textbooks. The responsibilities for the beginning of the dictatorship are attributed to the executive, the president, or an agreement between the president and the armed forces. There is use of passive and active constructions, and subordination to construct an image of what caused the dictatorship. In these accounts of the recent past, there is emphasis placed on the climate of tension and disorder as generated by protests and guerrillas. There is also, in all of the textbooks, attribution of responsibility to the executive branch for its incapacity to solve the structural problems which caused the social protests.

Causality is constructed through the use of causal verbs such as "disolvió" [dissolved], or "dio" [gave] that present a process with several participants in which one of them directs, orders, or precipitates the action that another performs. For example:

(5) El 27 de junio de 1973, el Poder Ejecutivo disolvió las Cámaras y creó en su lugar un Consejo de Estado. Se iniciaba así la dictadura que se extendió hasta 1985. [On June 27, 1973 the executive branch dissolved the Parliament and created in its place a State Council. In that way began the dictatorship that lasted until 1985.] (*Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo,* p. 240)

In example 5, there is the use of the active voice to mark a series of processes, which require an agent and attribute responsibility directly to the executive branch. This clause with the causal processes heads the one that marks the beginning of the dictatorship. This means that the dictatorship is presented as being the result of prior events. The use of the middle construction "se iniciaba" [began], constructs this event as a change in the state that affects the object. The use of the imperfect in this case also marks the durative aspect and gradual nature of this change.

(6) La situación política continuó deteriorándose y el Presidente Juan María Bordaberry, apoyado e impulsado por las FFAA, dio el golpe de Estado el 27 de Junio de 1973. Se decretó la disolución de las Cámaras de Senadores y Diputados, la limitación del derecho de reunión, y el Palacio Legislativo y las radios fueron ocupadas por las FFAA. Daba inicio la dictadura militar. [The political situation continued deteriorating and the President Juan María Bordaberry, supported and encouraged by the armed forces, led the coup d'état on June 27, 1973. By decree it was declared that the Chamber of Senators and the House of Representatives were dissolved, the right to assemble was limited, and the Parliament and radios were occupied by the armed forces, initiating the dictatorship.] (*Comprender el Uruguay Actual*, p. 74)

In example 6, we can observe the use of causative processes, "dio" [gave] and "decretó" [decreed], together with subordination and thematic organization to construct a chaining of events that relates causes and motives as results (i.e., the coup d'état and the beginning of the dictatorship). The information is organized in a clause complex of coordinated clauses that presents in the first clause (in Theme position) the series of events presented previously (i.e., "continuó deteriorándose" [continued deteriorating]), which allows the representation of the causes that lead to the coup d'état as being gradual. At the same time, there are nonfinite processes that insert the causal motivations (i.e., "apoyado e impulsado por las FFAA" [supported and encouraged by the armed forces]). Then with the use of the passive *se* construction (i.e., "se decretó" [it was decreed]), the agent responsible for the dissolution is backgrounded and presented as new information in the series of consequences produced by this event. The armed forces appear as agents for the first time, explicitly, in a periphrastic passive in which they are represented as acting over others in an unusual context. Finally, the beginning of the dictatorship is constructed through a middle voice and the use of the imperfect (i.e., "daba inicio"), beginning the period in an indefinite manner that blurs agency and time.

Another configuration of linguistic resources used to construct causality is the *pasiva refleja* – in passive clauses with *se* and with an explicit agent – and with causal verbs to produce a complex causal explanation that results in the general strike as a response to the coup d'état. However, it is interesting to note that, in the following example 7, there is no explanatory priority given to the dissolution of Parliament as a key event in the causes of the dictatorship.

(7) Finalmente la crisis se resolvió con la creación del CO.SE.NA. como órgano asesor del Poder Ejecutivo. En junio de ese año – 1973 – se decretó la disolución del parlamento por parte del presidente Bordaberry en coordinación con las Fuerzas Armadas a través del CO.SE.NA. Este último hecho motivó una prolongada huelga general, que se extendió por más de diez días, y la prohibición de la actividad sindical (clausura del CNT) y política (proscripción de todos los partidos políticos). [Finally, the crisis was resolved with the creation of the CO.SE.NA. as an advisory body of the executive branch. In June of that year – 1973 – the dissolution of Parliament was decreed by President Bordaberry in coordination with the armed forces through the CO.SE.NA. This last event motivated a long general strike, that lasted over ten days, and the banning of labor unions (closing of the CNT) and political activity (prohibition of all political parties).] (*Pensar la Historia* 3, p. 196)

Example 7 shows how causality is globally constructed in the development of the text and not only at the clause level. To understand the reason for the "institutional rupture," the reader needs to connect the series of events and recover the agents involved that are not directly represented as agents. Furthermore, we can observe that the account does not end with the coup d'état, but with the people's response to it. This integrates to the explanation the consequences of the institutional rupture, instead of only providing the causes for the dictatorship.

In example 8, there is a different configuration of resources to construct causality. A causal process, together with a *pasiva refleja* and causal connectors, is used to elaborate upon an explanation of the events that produced the coup d'état, with an easily recoverable agent.

(8) En plena sesión, estando en trámite la discusión, el presidente Bordaberry disolvió las cámaras, el 27 de junio de 1973. De esta manera se consumaba un golpe de Estado, que en realidad venía procesándose en etapas desde hacía varios meses. [During the session, while the discussion was taking place, President Bordaberry dissolved Parliament, on June 27, 1973. In this manner a coup d'état was accomplished, which in reality had been developing in phases for several months.] (*Santillana 3*, p. 272)

Causality is also represented in nonfinite clauses that construct potential motives for the actions. Moreover, there are subordinated clauses that express the cause, reason, or motive of the main clause and are introduced by a conjunction such as *que, pues, porque, puesto que,* etc.

These examples show that the construction of a historical explanation is realized together with the construction of a representation in the account. Through the selection of processes, participants, and circumstances, there is a construction of an indirect explanation for the coup d'état. The ideational and logical resources are used to construct a historical account in which a scenario with processes, actors, and motivations produces an explanatory historical discourse.

The analysis of the evaluation of events and social actors permits an exploration of how the authors' subjectivity is inscribed in the texts. Our analysis indicates that most of the evaluations are judgments where value is attributed to human behavior in terms of social or moral norms (e.g., moral/immoral, legal/illegal, acceptable/unacceptable, normal/abnormal). These values are grammatically realized as adverbs, attributes, epithets, nouns, and verbs. For example:

(9) Se hicieron denuncias en el Parlamento por violación a los derechos humanos y en determinadas oportunidades, no se tuvieron en cuenta las decisiones del Poder Judicial. [There were

complaints made in Parliament for violations to human rights and in some opportunities, decisions of the judicial branch were not taken into account.] (*Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo*, p. 239)

Example 9 reveals an evaluation of the behavior of the executive branch as illegal (i.e., complaints), immoral (i.e., violations of human rights), and unacceptable (i.e., decisions of the judicial branch were not taken into account). These negative actions are appraised without attributing responsibility for them. In example 10, there are more explicit judgments of the behavior of social actors.

(10) A lo largo de 1972, las Fuerzas Armadas lograron varios operativos exitosos contra el MLN-T. Descubrieron las "cárceles del pueblo" y capturaron a los principales dirigentes del movimiento, entre ellos a Raúl Sendic. Para setiembre de ese año, la guerrilla había sido derrotada. [Throughout 1972, the armed forces mounted several successful operations against the MLN-T. They discovered the "people's jails" and captured the main leaders of the movement, among them Raul Sendic. By September of that year, the guerrillas had been defeated.] (*Santillana 3*, p. 238)

This example demonstrates the capacity of the armed forces being evaluated through the modification of the consequences of their actions (e.g., "operativos exitosos," "capturaron a los principales dirigentes del movimiento"). There is also an evaluation of the guerrillas as less powerful since they were defeated by an implicit agent: the armed forces. Indirectly, this representation of the guerrilla positions the armed forces as capable and powerful.

In some of the textbooks, there is also an affective evaluation that displays a high degree of personal involvement at the emotional level, which is unusual in academic discourse. This type of evaluation is typically realized through relational processes and attributes that encode affect, and through nominalizations of emotions. For example:

(11) La aplicación de esta política, en un año que fue tan conflictivo a nivel nacional e internacional, acarreó al gobierno duros enfrentamientos con sectores sindicales y estudiantiles (que por primera vez, cobraron varias vidas humanas). [The application of this policy, in a year that was so conflictive at the national

> and international level, burdened the government with strong confrontations with labor unions and student organizations (which for the first time, cost several human lives).] (*Pensar la Historia 3*, pp. 195–6)

In example 11, we can observe how – together with the affective evaluation (e.g., conflict, confrontation, cost in human lives) which denote affective reactions to the events – there is a use of graduation to raise the tone of the emotions through the use of comparative adverbs, quantifiers, and other types of modification. In example 12, there is a direct construction of the affective impact of the situation in various participants. The development of affect is constructed as a reaction.

> (12) Este clima de violencia desconocido en el país generó angustia en la población, la que se veía impactada por permanentes comunicados a través de la radio y de la televisión, allanamientos de domicilios, incluso nocturnos o detenciones arbitrarias. [This previously unknown climate of violence in the country generated anguish in the population, who saw itself impacted by the permanent communications through radio and television, house searches, even at night, or arbitrary arrests.] (*Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo*, p. 239)

In this example, there is a reaction to the uncertainty and anguish developed with the permanent violation of individual rights. There is an indirect construction of judgments through which the government's actions are evaluated as illegal and inappropriate. This produces an indirect construction of the people as "victim." We can observe how the combination of attitudes and graduation produces evaluations of judgment and affect that themselves create a highly evaluative prosody. This is how the historical account that claims to be "objective," by not representing responsibilities for the actions, incorporates a high degree of subjectivity through the resources that indirectly evaluate the events and participants, producing explanatory interpretations and not only enumerations of events.

Table 5.3 presents an aggregated summary of the types of evaluations of social actors and events that appear in the textbooks. Table 5.3 reveals that most of the evaluations of the participants and events are negative. There is recognition of the capacity and power of some social actors, like the armed forces and the executive branch, but when combined with negative judgments of social and moral sanction, the

Table 5.3 Evaluation of social actors and events of the dictatorship in textbooks

Social actor/events	**Judgment**	**Affect**
Armed forces/military/ police	Inappropriate, illegal, immoral, courageous, powerful	
Executive branch	Illegal, immoral, inappropriate, weak	Produces "fear"
Legislative	Inappropriate, not powerful	
Political parties	Weak	
MLN (guerrillas)	Inappropriate, illegal, not very powerful	
Labor movement	Powerful	
Student movement		Produces: "pain"
People (*pueblo*)		Reaction: "anguish"
Coup d'état/dictatorship		Reaction: "dark times"

rhetorical effect is of general negative appraisal. The actors who are not evaluated negatively, such as those that appear as "victims" or receivers of the actions of those more powerful, are the ones who experience affective evaluations (e.g., the people, the students, and the workers).

At the intertextual level, these textbooks dialogue with those that preceded them and follow them (Bakhtin, 1981). To analyze how the textbooks position themselves in relation to diverse discourses about the recent past, we explored the resources deployed toward introducing and/or silencing other voices in the text. This analysis also allowed us to document how the textbooks construct a space for the reader, and negotiate meanings with "ideal" audiences (Martin and White, 2005). The rhetorical potential of the textbook was investigated, exploring the evaluative positions constructed in the text as more or less compatible, and converging or in sync with the positions which are anticipated from potential audiences. The semantic options of the text constrict and delimit reader interpretations. The structure of the text presents certain interpretive options to the reader and the text itself produces the pragmatic conditions for its reception (reconstruction).

In the following examples, we will illustrate the different resources used in these textbooks to position them in relation to other discourses. Example 13 demonstrates how mental processes are used to project the ideas/positions of a group, implying that there are others who can have different positions with respect to the topic.

(13) En 1967, al igual que en 1958, el electorado pensó que un cambio político ayudaría a luchar contra la crisis. [In 1967, as in 1958, the electorate thought that a political change would help to fight against the crisis.] (*Pensar la Historia 3*, p. 195)

The use of the conditional also shows how the idea of probability, with respect to the future, indicates that there was no certainty or that there were other possibilities. There is also an intertextual link established through the comparison between 1967 and 1958 since this gap invites the reader to make connections and interpret this particular case in relation to other historical moments, offering a "preferred reading" of the events as an economic crisis that can be solved politically.

In example 14, there is the use of direct and indirect discourse of authorities to illustrate the diversity of opinion, while validation of the account occurs through use of legitimate voices as argumentative evidence.

(14) El golpe de Estado del 27 de junio de 1973, se explica por múltiples causas. Algunos autores consideran que el quiebre del orden institucional se debió a la debilidad del sistema político que fue incapaz de resolver la crisis que afectaba al país. Otros investigadores explican el golpe por el creciente peso de las Fuerzas Armadas, que fueron ingresando al ámbito político. También se considera que las acciones de los tupamaros contribuyeron al deterioro democrático, porque si bien en 1973 el movimiento estaba derrotado, habían incidido en el deterioro de las instituciones. Otros politólogos le adjudican responsabilidad al Presidente, por la debilidad de sus convicciones democráticas. Éstas son algunas de las explicaciones con respecto a un proceso complejo en el que interactúan diversos factores. [The coup d'état of June 27, 1973, is explained by multiple causes. Some authors consider that the break in the institutional order was due to the weakness of the political system that was unable to solve the crisis that affected the country. Other researchers explain the coup d'état as the growing presence of the armed forces that were entering the political sphere. Also some consider that the actions of the Tupamaros contributed to the democratic deterioration, because even though in 1973 the movement was defeated, they had influenced the deterioration of the institutions. Other political scientists attribute

responsibility to the president, for the weakness of his democratic beliefs. These are some of the explanations with respect to a complex process in which diverse factors interact.] (*Uruguay en el Mundo Contemporáneo*, p. 240)

We can observe how, in example 14, several experts are clearly identified who provide different explanations about the cause of the coup d'état that are projected through the use of mental and verbal processes. The extravocalization allows the authors of the textbook to avoid making a choice while presenting the different narratives that compete in the public sphere. This type of explicit debate over how to interpret the dictatorship displays historiographical discourse in action. Discussion of this nature about competing versions of recent history does not occur in accounts of more distant periods about which there is more consensus or at least dominant explanations. Even though different interpretations of the dictatorship are presented, they are introduced through impersonal or generic construction. As a result, the reader is only able to know that there are competing interpretations, not their sources (i.e., concrete researchers or groups).

In example 15, there is the use of quantification, connectors of expectation, and counterexpectation to construct a multivoiced discourse.

(15) Algunos legisladores denunciaron valientemente el proceso de copamiento del Estado por los militares, pero muchos callaron. [Some legislators courageously denounced the process of takeover of the state by the military, but many were silent.] (*Santillana 3*, p. 271)

The impersonal voice constructed through the use of indefinite pronouns (i.e., "algunos" [some], "muchos" [many]), together with the use of a counterexpectancy connector (i.e., "pero" [but]), makes more salient the positive evaluation (i.e., "valientemente" [courageously]) and highlights the fact that it was an uncommon position.

It is important to point out that the main account in the textbooks tries to present a "neutral" version of the events, constructing a monologic recount. However, this discourse still has implicit or evoked indexes that enable the reader to recover or understand there are other possible accounts. For example:

(16) El Pacto de Boisso Lanza (febrero de 1973) dio origen al COSENA (Consejo de Seguridad Nacional), integrado por el

> presidente de la República, los ministros de Defensa, Interior, Relaciones Exteriores y Economía, el director de la Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto, los comandantes en jefe de las tres Fuerzas y el jefe del Estado Mayor Conjunto. De esta manera, los militares ocuparon un lugar prominente – e inconstitucional- en el Poder Ejecutivo. [The Boisso Lanza Agreement (February 1973) gave origin to the COSENA (Council of National Security), formed by the president of the republic, the ministers of Defense, Interior, Foreign Relations, and Economy, the director of the Office of Planning and Budget, the commanders in chief of the three Forces and the chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In this way the military occupied a prominent – and unconstitutional – place in the executive branch.] (*Santillana 3*, p. 271)

The first clause presents the information as monoglossic (one voice) through the use of a declarative clause, but the following clause is causal and reveals an evaluation of the events, presenting a "preferred" reading of them.

Other semiotic resources used to open the dialogue are images and supplementary documents. All of the textbooks include primary source documents as material that extends and elaborates upon the main text. Most of the textbooks also include a great number of photographs of the events, as well as their protagonists. The photographs are mostly conceptual with images of emblematic political actors, but there are also narrative photographs that illustrate the scenes depicted in the written text (e.g., the protest during the general strike). The textbook that has more images and documents is *Santillana* (eight). The rest of the textbooks have between two and five. On the other hand, *Pensar la Historia* only has images in the activity book. This difference in the number of images has to do also with the sections where the dictatorship was discussed in the different textbooks, and with the size of the publishing company. Larger companies with more resources have access to picture banks, and follow a design that is driven by marketing forces. On the other hand, smaller publishing companies do not have resources to include as many visuals or devote money to more contemporary designs.

In the next section, we look at the use of textbooks and the circulation of meanings of the dictatorship in classroom discourse. The goal is to focus on the meaning-making process to better understand how youth and teachers make sense of the narratives about the dictatorship which are available in the interpretative repertoire of the community (i.e., including but not limited to the disciplinary community of historians and the community's social memory).

Explaining the Uruguayan dictatorship: classroom discourse around the recent past

Pedagogical historical discourse is a recontextualization of disciplinary discourse, mediated by the teacher to overcome differences in knowledge and practices that distinguish full members of the discipline from novices in the field. The goal of teaching history is to create the possibility for the student to develop a new conceptualization of the topic that enables deeper understanding. This means moving from everyday concepts to scientific ones (Vygotsky, 1986), or from congruent forms of semiosis to more incongruent ones (Halliday, 1993). The development of knowledge from this sociosemiotic perspective is conceptualized as a movement from commonsense forms of knowing to more distinctive forms that are unique to specialized communities (Byrnes, 2006). However, pedagogical historical discourse is also bound by limits established by the discipline and the respective educational institution. Even though questions and approaches to the historical topic emerge from the discipline, teachers need to close the gap between the students' commonsense knowledge and the knowledge valued by the disciplinary community, as well as the teaching strategies accepted by the educational institution. Thus, the way of teaching history responds to levels of knowledge on the topic of experts (i.e., the teacher) and novices (i.e., students), the orientation of the teacher to historiographical practices (e.g., humanistic, sociological, anthropological), and the teacher's concept of history (e.g., postmodern, constructivist, positivist). The traditional goal of teaching history is to expand the students' understanding of the topic, not to generate new historical knowledge at the disciplinary level (Leinhardt, Stainton, and Virji, 1994; Wineburg and Wilson, 1991). However, more critical approaches to teaching also aim at creating opportunities to challenge established disciplinary knowledge and construct new knowledge.

Classroom discourse analysis in the history classroom has shown that knowledge building happens (when it happens) in "spoken interactions with teachers unpacking unfamiliar technicality and abstraction and re-packing it orally and in notes on the board to consolidate it" (Martin, 2013: 33). This unpacking and repacking process can be understood as "making semantic waves" which can be described in terms of their *semantic density* (i.e., degree of condensation of meaning) or *semantic gravity* (i.e., degree of context dependence of meaning) (Maton, 2013). The knowledge of primary and secondary sources in history displays stronger semantic density and weaker semantic gravity. In their explanations, teachers unpack these specialized and technical texts by providing stronger semantic gravity (i.e., providing concrete examples) and weaker semantic density (e.g., translating technical terminology into everyday language). A key pedagogic strategy in cumulative knowledge building is shifting the temporal and spatial coordinates of the discussion in order to recontextualize knowledge (Matruglio, Maton, and Martin, 2013). This implies moving from the time of the classroom to the time of the text. Instructional explanations (Leinhardt, 2001) also have a key role in the mediation the teacher provides to support the students' development of historical concepts and ways of thinking of the discipline. In instructional explanations, a teacher and their students negotiate the historical meaning and uses of language to communicate knowledge, but also model the ways of thinking of historians (Leinhardt, 1993). In these explanations, there is generally included something that requires explanation (e.g., an event, a topic, a structure, or a metasystem), an example, a series of discussions that connect what is being explained to certain principles, and a discussion that delimits the field where this explanation can be applied (Leinhardt, 2001: 341). Teachers make explicit connections and analogies with other content through these explanations, but also mark atypical cases that do not fit into the scheme. In this manner, a web of relations is created, building the semantic density of the new concepts by linking them to others. These explanations emerge when teachers want to explain a particular topic because of its historical significance, or in response to students' questions or confusion. The visibility of disciplinary practices and the exploration of the meanings of historical processes are enabled through explanations. As a result, this type of pedagogical activity constitutes a prime site for intergenerational transmission since it contributes to the passing on of knowledge, as well as practices.

In this section, we explore the role of classroom dialogue in the development of historical ways of understanding the recent past. The assumption is that this type of dialogue provides a window into the intergenerational transmission process because it creates spaces for experts and novices to co-construct the meaning(s) of the past. Below, I present an example of a classroom discussion about the dictatorship that took place at one of the sites observed in Montevideo.

The three classrooms observed were located in geographically and economically diverse high schools. Observations were conducted throughout 2010 as part of this ethnographic project (see Chapter 2). These high schools reflect, in part, the diversity of experiences that exist, without claiming to be exhaustive. Access to these classrooms was obtained through negotiations with the Secondary Public Education Authority (Consejo de Secundaria) and the directors of private high schools. Once approved, I talked to the history teacher supervisors for public education (Inspección de Historia del Consejo de Secundaria) to get suggestions for potential teachers who might want to participate. In the private high school, the director suggested one possible candidate. Based on recommendations, I invited four teachers to participate. Three accepted the invitation to collaborate on the project; the history teachers participated as volunteers and did not receive compensation. The teachers chose which of their classes would be observed. The criteria for selection of these classrooms included: academic reasons (i.e., most of the students in the group were motivated and worked well), scheduling reasons (i.e., that was the only time possible for observation due to distance and conflicts with other classes observed), and group characteristics (i.e., ideological diversity of families and the students' degree of interest in the topic). Afterwards, we negotiated a routine for the visits and decided on the type of participant observation I would undertake. In each classroom, I participated in different ways, including: teaching a lesson, contributing to debates, bringing in a primary source document, or going on field trips. At all of the sites, I had a chance to interact with youth outside of the classroom and observe other groups taught by the same teachers in order to have an idea of the representativeness of the focal groups. I visited the focal groups regularly during the academic year, but more often when the topic of the dictatorship was being taught. The three teachers had extensive teaching experience (from 8 to 20 years of teaching, respectively), all of them were certified to teach history, and they were all pursuing graduate-level degrees. The three were considered model teachers at their places of work and were well regarded by students. The average number of students per class was 30, but about 20 attended regularly.

Although there is a national curriculum in Uruguay, teachers have freedom to organize their courses according to their own preferences. In the case of these teachers, the ways in which they approached the topic of the dictatorship varied: (a) as a historical process of change generated by an economic and social crisis, (b) as an ideological struggle over two opposing visions of society, and (c) as a local instance of the Cold War. These different conceptualizations of the dictatorship show how these teachers constructed a historical perspective, not only an account of the period, which corresponded to their teaching philosophies and not only to their own position regarding recent history.

The following example comes from the public high school in Montevideo and is part of their unit about the most recent Uruguayan dictatorship. The teacher is explaining the coup d'état as something that emerged from democracy. By making explicit references to topics that appeared in previous lessons, she offers an analogy between the case of Uruguay and what had happened in previous historical moments during the rise of Fascism in Europe. The case of the Uruguayan dictatorship is presented to students as a case to be solved using the historical toolkit. The teacher presents a historian's explanation about why dictatorships occur, and subsequently asks students if it could be applied to explain the Uruguayan case. After receiving some answers from students, the teacher asks students to read a primary source document: the decree of the coup d'état. Then, she repeats the question about dictatorships emerging from democracies, as stated by the historian they had just read. Next, she asks students to look for evidence in the document to support their position. Later, they analyze (as a whole group) the meaning of the word "decree." They arrive at the conclusion that this document, which is a product of democracy, serves as proof for the historian's theory. The discussion continues unpacking the decree in order to understand how the change from a democratic government to a dictatorship occurred. They go line by line, reading the document together and explaining its meaning. In the following class, they go on with the same topic. I will present only parts of the classroom discussion to illustrate in detail how the explanation and meaning of the coup d'état are co-constructed by participants.

The teacher's goal in this exchange was to explain what a coup d'état is. The exchange starts a conversation about technical vocabulary that allows them to resort to disciplinary discourse: providing a political explanation of the event. In example 17, we can observe how the explanation develops through collaboration between the teacher and the students. The transcription includes material from field notes and a simplified transcription of the verbal exchange (STU = student; SST = several students; TEA = teacher).

(17) The teacher mentions the topic of the day and says that they will talk about the coup d'état of June 27, 1973. She distributes an extract from Álvaro Rico (2009) about the dictatorship.[10]

1 *STU1: the last thing we saw was the video of the coup d'état
3 *TEA: What was a coup d'état?

4 *STU1: Taking the government by force
5 *TEA: What was the president called in that epoch?
6 *SST: Bordaberry
7 *STU2: Juan María!
8 *TEA: What party did he belong to?
9 *SST: colorado
The teacher asks students to take notes and she writes on the blackboard:
27 de junio de 1973
(1971) Juan María Bordaberry

In example 17, there is a typical classroom exchange where the teacher asks a question (the answer to which she already knows) in order to seek out the students' participation in reviewing what had been accomplished in the previous lesson. Then they continue the analysis of the document and stop at the section that identifies the institutional break: "disolvió las cámaras" [dissolved Parliament]; at this moment, the students take the floor, demanding information from the teacher in order to understand the meaning of the concepts of *coup d'état* and *dictatorship*.

Example 18 is the continuation of this conversation.[11]

(18)
1 *TEA: dissolved Parliament THERE is where he doing the coup d'état
2 *STU1: what is the meaning of dissolved?
3 *STU6: dissolved sugar in water (.) it disappears
4 *STU7: the dissolution of Parliament (.) can only be done by the president?
5 *TEA: yes, the constitution of 1966 article 168 permits the dissolution of Parliament

Here, we can note how the teacher signals prosodically the emphasis on "ahí" [there] to explain what the coup d'état means. Even though the document does not explicitly use the lexical term "coup d'état," there are indexes in the text that point to it (line 1). By establishing the connection between the new concept and the technical term "coup d'état," as well as the wording in the text "dissolved Parliament," the teacher creates a complex set of relations that allows for a systematic and abstract understanding of what happened that goes beyond the particulars of the case (which had already been identified in the previous exchange – see example 17). This moves from the known, familiar, and concrete (i.e., social actors involved, setting, and date), to *how* the event occurs in a legal fashion. Thus, the meaning of the change from democracy to dictatorship in this political explanation represents a type of abstraction and argumentation that is more incongruent and less familiar. The teacher creates a "semantic wave" (Martin, 2013) by increasing the semantic density while decreasing the semantic gravity of the explanation. Through this explanation the group is able to explain the concrete historical event, but also learn about a disciplinary type of explanation that applies to other cases.

The conversation continues with a student asking about the meaning of the word "dissolved" (line 2). Even though it is a term of high frequency in everyday language, its particular use in this context indexes a different meaning, which the student notices, as evidenced by her question. The fact that the student has noticed this more technical use of the word shows that there is some awareness of the difference between the congruent term and the technical one. The answer by STU 6 (line 3), on the other hand, reveals that he is using the congruent meaning to understand the word (i.e., "dissolve the sugar in water"), explaining the technical use as a metaphor. He then offers another word ("desaparece" [disappears]) as quasi-synonym. The mediation between the known and the quasi-scientific is carried out by another student (line 4), not the teacher. This could be considered an instance of *register meshing* (Gibbons, 2004), the move from situated knowledge that refers to a concrete situation (i.e., eating) to more abstract but familiar knowledge ("disappear"), which is not yet a technical usage or scientific concept. Since the teacher does not intervene, we can assume that she approves of the student's interpretation of the word.

The conversation continues with another student asking about who has the right to perform this action (line 4). This question shows that a new concept is being formed by establishing systematic relations between an action and the rules that regulate participation in it, as something precise. The teacher responds, providing an answer that uses the Constitution as evidence. Using a document as a source of evidence is a typical historiographical practice. This response explains the functioning of the legal procedure, differentiating it from the previously mentioned meaning ("dissolving sugar"). At the same time, this examination of the meaning of "dissolving Parliament" legitimizes the explanation (i.e., dictatorships come from democracies) and provides historical evidence to support the argument that is being explored. This means that the fact that dissolving Parliament is in the Constitution makes the coup d'état fall within what is democratically possible: the dictatorship emerges from democracy.

In this classroom dialogue, the work of making meaning of the document opens up the possibility of historically understanding the dictatorship through "time travel" and expanding out from what they already know, on to the accumulation of knowledge. The students are building their historical understanding and their semantic meaning potential (i.e., being able to recognize the different meanings of "dissolve").

The following example comes from the continuation of this dialogue about the meaning of the coup d'état.

(19)[12]
1 *TEA: What else happens besides dissolving Parliament?
2 *STU7: freedom of expression is prohibited.
3 *TEA: freedom of expression is limited.
4 *STU: wasn't it true that they could go into your house at any time?
5 The teacher provides the word "allanamientos" [searches] and clarifies how searches were:
entering the house without previous notice at any time. Then she writes on the blackboard the
following:
7 **limitations to freedom of expression and thought*
8 *TEA: in what way was this done [pointing to the writing on the blackboard]?
9 *SST: censorship.
10 *TEA: censorship, closing newspapers (. . .)
11 *STU: they asked permission to get together, right?
12 *TEA: yes. So, what happens? Who governs?
13 *SST: Bordaberry.
14 *TEA: Bordaberry governs alone?
15 *STU6: no, also the military.
16 *TEA: Read the text.
17 *STU7: The State Council.

In example 19, we can observe that the teacher's question (i.e., "What else happens besides dissolving Parliament?") produces a response from student 7 (line 2) that is corrected by the teacher, substituting the wording with a more precise term (i.e., "limit"). This shows the teacher's mediation from familiar knowledge and the use of congruent vocabulary to more specialized and technical terms. Then a student brings up their knowledge about the event as based from their family context (referring to an anecdote that circulates in the public sphere), making a contribution to the discussion (line 4). This intertextual link between social memory and disciplinary knowledge is mediated by the teacher through rewording, using a technical term: "allanamientos" [searches]. The teacher continues the mediation by requesting a description of the activity, which decontextualizes it and provides a more general meaning. In the following speaking turn (line 8), the teacher creates a semantic wave, moving in the opposite direction: weakening semantic gravity by requesting concrete examples of what "limiting freedom of expression" means. Students provide concrete examples (e.g. "censorship"). This shift to the concrete opens up the space for another student to make the "time travel," bringing in his knowledge of what it was like "then" as based on social memory ("they asked for permission to get together, right?"). The use of the echo question at the end demands validation from the teacher in order for understanding of the connections between what is already known and this new understanding of the dictatorship. This contribution is validated by the teacher, but pushes them forward to repackage it as historical knowledge. The semantic movement by the teacher asks students to understand what these particular activities meant in the larger sociohistorical context by focusing on who is governing (lines 12–17). It is also important to note that the teacher directs students to search for the answer in the document (line 16), making students engage in a historiographical practice (i.e., using evidence from documents).

In these examples of classroom dialogue, we can observe how the instructional explanation (Leinhardt, 1993) begins as an investigation of a query posed by the teacher and then follows the disciplinary logic of a historical argument: identifying actors, purposes, and consequences; analyzing documents; and negotiating previous knowledge and new information to construct an explanation. The result is a historical explanation that provides an account of the events and a political theory to frame and interpret them. There is also an explanation of the structure of government (powers of the governing body) and the use of some disciplinary practices, such as the analysis of documents, the exploration of a theory, and the use of specialized vocabulary. These examples also demonstrate how social memory enters the history classroom and serves to guide the questioning of documents, mediating the construction of a historical understanding that builds on what students already know.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored how certain narratives about the dictatorship are distributed and reproduced in intergenerational transmissions in the context of schooling. The textbooks are specialized artifacts designed to work as tools of intergenerational transmission. These texts embody the legitimized versions of history, values, beliefs, and knowledge that society wants to pass on to younger generations (Luke, 1988; Williams, 1977). However, these meanings constructed in texts come alive when they are used. The pedagogical discourse of a history classroom has a central role in the reproduction and transformation of narratives about the recent past. As important as understanding *what* is transmitted, is to know *how* it is transmitted.

The analyses presented in this chapter showed that there is a dominant discourse about the recent past in history textbooks. The dictatorship is explained as the result of a gradual deterioration of democratic institutions in response to the economic and social crisis. However, there are slight variations in the attribution of responsibility for the coup d'état; some textbooks assign more responsibility to the military, while in others it is the executive branch which is the main responsible party. All the textbooks avoid, to some extent, alluding to political parties' responsibility since it is still a controversial issue.

At the linguistic level, the extensive use of impersonal and passive constructions demonstrated the variety of resources that serve to mitigate responsibility and also construct causality in implicit ways. Through medium voice constructions (e.g., *se reflejo*), passive with *se* and periphrastic passive and causative verbs, explanations are constructed indirectly to maintain distance and avoid inscribing responsibility. While these are discursive resources typically used in history textbooks, they seem to be more frequently deployed when dealing with the recent past. Regarding the subjective positioning of these textbooks, the analysis showed that there are mainly evaluations of judgment and affect. In terms of intertextual positioning, these texts recognize other discourses and construct voices of the recorder and interpreter that resort to authorities and witnesses for legitimation. The textbooks open up dialogue and acknowledge diversity of opinion, producing an open text that allows for various readings. The contested nature of the dictatorship forces the authors to make use of distance and avoid making a choice with respect to it.

The pedagogical discourse of history textbooks is an index of discussion in the public sphere. The debate over what to teach and how to teach it is not over. Because teachers do not adopt just one textbook as a teaching aid, but use a variety of them – together with primary and secondary sources – students are exposed to a variety of views. Teachers make an effort to contrast different sources and read textbooks critically. However, even though there is a problematization of "historical truth," the distinction between memory and history is not explicitly addressed; for this reason, all past is identified as "history" (Demasi, 2004: 140).

The dialogues around textbooks and primary sources in the history classroom are activities of guided participation in the construction of meanings of the past. Through participating in these activities, youth appropriate concepts, technical language, and practices on how to evaluate discourses about the past. This shows how the cultural transmission of the past is performed through participation in activities where interaction around a text to construct meaning guided by an expert allows youth to participate in discourses that are not yet their own (Rogoff, 1995). The guidance in these activities refers to the direction that is offered by the teacher in how to interpret and use the semiotic resources available in the community in order to make meaning of the past. The guided appropriation enables individuals to change their conceptualizations of the dictatorship through participation in disciplinary activities (e.g., analyzing a document). Participation in these meaning-making processes prepares youth to construct meanings of the past in other moments and situations (as was evidenced in previous chapters). The history classroom provides a space to learn about the dictatorship while communicating with others and trying to make sense of the past in relation to the present with the assistance of more expert others.

Another key issue that emerges from the analysis of classroom discourse about the recent past is the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and social memory. How can teachers work with narratives about the past that challenge disciplinary discourses about the dictatorship? What epistemological legitimacy and value does social memory have in the history classroom? How can the point of view of actors and oral history be incorporated into mainstream pedagogical history practices? How can we deal with the emotional aspects and alternative interpretive frameworks that social memory discourses introduce? These interactions between academic discourses and social knowledge also provide opportunities for establishing new types of pedagogical relations between teachers and students. If the knowledge of students and the community is integrated into the curriculum, power relations and ways of constructing knowledge have to be transformed. The teaching of recent history forces teachers to face teaching at a more personal level and to grapple with connections between past and present in relation to political identities. Another important aspect that enters the field when dealing with recent history in the classroom is how to approach diverse narratives and positions at an ethical level. Are all stories equally valid? How do discourses become legitimized? How are discourses about human rights transmitted? These questions demand a more reflexive practice that means not only having more information, but also being aware and ready to deal with epistemological and ethical challenges.

The complexity of explaining the dictatorship appears to reside not only in how to present the events and what events to present, but in differentiating the process of constructing knowledge in disciplinary ways and the manner in which we construct knowledge in everyday experiences. Thinking historically, youth can arrive at explanations that are based on historical evidence which makes the historical conditions that produced the *horror* comprehensible (Carretero and Borrelli, 2008: 206).

The development of a historical consciousness implies reflecting on our own situation as social beings who live in a particular time and space, and who belong to social groups that have a past which influences future objectives. This historical consciousness can also develop in the history classroom through practices such as contrasting different versions, evaluating sources, contextualizing events, and understanding the provisional and contingent nature of knowledge. This perspective distinguishes the past as lived from the past as seen from the outside. The historical perspective affords distance and reflexivity with the past, with the goal of understanding how past and present relate to one another. Conversations in the classroom about the meaning of the dictatorship provide students with access to alternative versions from those they are generally exposed to, since they offer narratives from the disciplinary community and also from other actors' memories. The youth that participated in this study highlighted this aspect in their interviews. For example, Juana, a 16-year-old, said the following about learning about the dictatorship in the history classroom:

(20)[13] (MAR: Mariana, JUA: Juana)

*MAR: Do you think you learned something in class [about the dictatorship]?

*JUA: Yes, a bit about the more technical aspects of the dictatorship Like that about the declaration that we read word by word. And that about the Doctrine of National Security and if someone mentioned it before they would say it like a law,

> or some acts. Something like that. And also to see other points of view, I think, because I had never discussed with people that had different points of view about the dictatorship kind of.

As Juana states, the classroom becomes a space for youth to engage with the past in ways that challenge their naturalized understandings and orientations to it. The explanations about the past which youth encounter in this context seem to go beyond their collecting more information. These explanations provide a metareflexive space for thinking about how we know about the past. These analytic reflections about the meanings of the recent past generate new understandings and interpretations, but also construct an interpersonal space where it is a legitimate act to dissent. This last aspect seems extremely relevant in societies where people who thought differently "disappeared." However, this does not mean that all explanations about the past have the same value or legitimacy. The history classroom provides specific practices to construct, and criteria through which to evaluate discourses about the past. These practices can become resources to question hegemonic narratives, making visible the perspective and subjectivity of all historical narratives.

6

Transmission Processes in Popular Culture: Recontextualization and Resemiotization in Music[1]

Popular culture is an archive of cultural memory (Sobral, 2010). Youths' active engagement with popular culture provides a space to observe intergenerational transmission processes in action. Cultural memory is constructed through the mnemonic activities of social groups such as the family, peers, and cultural–political communities. These sociocultural activities are embodied in artifacts of memory as art, songs, and literary texts. These sites of memory create an opportunity to fill the gaps that separate one generation from the next, constructing continuity through identity (Nora, 1989). Generational memory is constructed through participation in and engagement with sites of memory. In this chapter, we explore a representative cultural product related to the Uruguayan dictatorship and its recontextualizations. The processes of recontextualization (Bernstein, 2000) for cultural products and their resignification by youth are spaces of transmission.

The transmission of the past requires the active work of individuals and groups through time (Kaës, 1996; Welzer, 2010). In this process, discourse plays an important part since – together with other semiotic systems – it allows us to materialize periods and actors that are no longer with us to mobilize them in the service of present objectives (Halbwachs, 1992). These discursive practices of transmission across generations also involve processes of resemiotization (Iedema, 2001). The transformation of discourses of the past sometimes involves a change in semiotic modes with subsequent semiotic effects.

Meanings of the past are not *in* the objects themselves, but are the semiotic *effects* of intersubjective relations (Lemke, 2000) between people, and also among people and artifacts. These different ways of making meaning in a community generate discourses that can be recognized as similar, while at the same time they are reaccentuated in each instantiation (Voloshinov, 1973). These discursive practices – through which interpretations of the past are transformed to serve current objectives – enable the transmission of the past as part of *our* own history, crossing the personal with the social.

Understanding the meaning(s) of the dictatorship in contemporary Uruguay requires a type of semiotic work that includes interpreting and positioning oneself in relation to contested topics, actors, and events. Through participating in culture and engaging with concrete cultural products, youth respond and use particular discourses contributing to their development. "It is in this discursive construction and reconstruction of what is remembered or forgotten that media play important roles in incorporating memory issues into the public sphere and shaping the ways that societies remember" (Kaiser, 2005: 147–8). What are the semiotic affordances of the popular culture context? What meanings of the dictatorship circulate in popular culture? How are these meanings interpreted and appropriated by youth?

In this chapter, we explore how youth learn about the latest Uruguayan dictatorship within the context of popular culture. To investigate this complex process in a vast context, I selected the case of a cultural artifact which had been mentioned by participants, and then traced its circulation and consumption by youth. The case is the analysis of a protest song, "A Redoblar,"[2] produced during the dictatorship, and later covered by a young group of musicians and used by a student movement in relation to political debates about how to deal with violations of human rights. The uses and conversations surrounding the song allow us to document how a cultural product is used to understand the meaning of the dictatorship, as well as how it is recontextualized and resignified to serve present agendas.

Learning from popular culture: a sociosemiotic process of cultural socialization

The process of reproduction and transformation of discourse involves cultural practices through which meanings are constructed. Cultural practices are things that people do together, and cultural artifacts used in these practices are resources for the recognition of actions and activities of others. To understand this type of social learning, we need to examine: the nature and forms of artifacts, as well as the cultural tools used; the social relations, the rules, and the division of labor; and the historical development of individuals and communities (Rogoff and Gutiérrez, 2011: 33).[3] We can think about this complex process as a chain of interactions distributed in time and space that make visible the webs and connections between individuals and discourses. Aggregates of meaning permit the recognition of discursive formations in terms of sociosemiotic practices, and the relations between semiotic practices produce discourses about the dictatorship. The possible meanings of the dictatorship that these discourses from popular culture offer are affordances that youth can potentially engage with or avoid.

Popular music and politics have long been connected in Latin America, and have had an important role in the construction of narratives and axiological positions around the dictatorship (Kaiser, 2011). Music as a cultural practice has unique qualities that make it an effective medium for the transmission of the recent past. Each performance is a unique rendition that resignifies a song, adapting it to the particular situation. Moreover, covers and adaptations of songs by different interpreters have become another vehicle for making music relevant and flexible to the needs and fashions of different historical moments. Cover songs create a relationship between song, composer, and interpreter that validates imitation, repetition, and change as a form of tribute and authenticity (Plasketes, 2010). We can trace the genealogy of a song and its various versions as processes of recontextualization that add their own ideological accent to the overall meaning of a song. The act of selecting a song to reperform and rerecord indexes political and generational forms of affiliation. The transgenerational cover song "intends to tease meaning out of perceptions of the past, to take what residual signification exists in memory, and either 'idealize' and/or 'naturalize' it through its re-presentation and re-performance"(Schiffer, 2010: 91). The new versions of the song constitute acts of interpretation of the past in the context of the present. But to understand the meaning of the new version, the listener needs to recognize the contextualization cues in the cover which refer to the first version. "While each generation may use the cover song to reflect the economic and political conditions of their times, the meaningfulness of their references requires a persistence of memory and process of selecting signifiers that will simultaneously trigger the signifieds of the past while constructing new ones" (Schiffer, 2010: 90–1). The cover version serves as a site of memory (Nora, 1989) that creates a space to reanimate memory of the past while providing an opportunity to transform the signified song. As Kaiser (2011) suggests, the investigation of remembering through music should integrate the singing about the past, as well as the public reception of the audiences to understand how youth insert themselves in the political process.

The investigation of music around the dictatorship in Uruguay has focused on documenting the use of this cultural practice as a tool to construct identities through propaganda and resistance (Fornaro, 2014; Olivera, 2014). For example, Fornaro documents how the music used by the military was a tool for manipulation and population control through official communications of the regime, as well as functioning as background music for important public commemorations (e.g., "March 25th of August" by Alberto Ballestrino). In addition to this practice, the military also deployed *criollo* music (i.e., folkloric music) as a way to invent traditions that reinforce national identity. Most of the research on music of this period in Uruguay has focused on the emergence of the Canto Popular Movement as a form of resistance to the dictatorship, particularly through deceiving censorship laws (Fornaro, 2014). There have not yet been studies exploring how youth recontextualize or respond to popular music related to the dictatorship period.

Cultural production around the dictatorship reveals public discourses where the past becomes present through recontextualizations that make this topic relevant to youth. Cultural artifacts mediate between the protagonists of the events and the audience. In this process, listeners perform an act of memory that is potentially healing, because it calls for political and cultural solidarity with the performer, and generates a narrative that "makes sense" (Bal, 1999). In the following sections, we explore recontextualizations and resemiotizations of an emblematic resistance song from the dictatorship period as forms of intergenerational transmission.

Recontextualizations of a popular song: "A Redoblar"

In my fieldwork, there were frequent references to music as an important medium through which youth had learned about the recent past. They referred to *murgas*, the typical music and dance performed at carnivals, and to traditional groups like Los Olimareños,[4] as well as national rock groups that mentioned the dictatorship in their lyrics. During one of the history classes' observations, students discussed the role of the Popular Music Movement in the resistance to the dictatorship. The classroom activity centered on the documents and artifacts which the students had gathered during their field trip visit to the Museum of Memory. After mentioning photographs related to the Theater "El Galpón"[5] and what had happened to many of the actors who worked there (i.e., exile in Mexico), one of the students asked about the situation of artists during the dictatorship.[6]

1 S1: Is there any musician that hasn't been exiled or that hasn't
2 had to leave?
3 T: Let's see... Did you see the movie HIT?
4 S4: Yes, we saw it last year, one section in music class
5 T: There they show you what happened with music during the
6 epoch of the dictatorship. There was a resurgence of popular
7 music with Mateo and Rumbo... during the transition to
8 democracy.
9 S1: Was there a case of someone who had not composed music
10 related to the dictatorship?
11 S2: Who were the ones that were not banned?
12 T: It is easier to say the ones that were prohibited
(Fieldnotes, High school D. June 16, 2010)

In this brief exchange, we can observe how S1 requests evidence of a different type of experience for artists during the dictatorship ("Is there any musician that hasn't been exiled or that hasn't had to leave?" in line 1). He is not satisfied with the construction of the experience of the group through the example of a particular case (i.e., El Galpón). The attempt to try to establish a link between the documents collected in the Museum of Memory (i.e., the photograph of El Galpón) and the meaning of the dictatorship for artists shows the youth's awareness of a diversity of experiences during the dictatorship. It also demonstrates his understanding of historical practices by attempting to corroborate the information, searching for details across multiple sources. In the next speaking turn, S2 supports this request by stating that if there were musicians banned there must also have been some who were not banned (line 11). The youths search for what is not said or implied in the message, revealing their active engagement in the construction of the meaning of the past. In this exchange, the teacher appeals to popular culture, the documentary *Hit* (line 3), to contextualize the situation and make a connection to what students already know about music during this period. She also mentions emblematic groups that represent musicians of the epoch (i.e., Mateo and Rumbo) (line 7).

The documentary *Hit*[7] retells the story of Uruguayan popular music through five hit songs ("Río de los pájaros" by Aníbal Sampayo, "Brindis por Pierrot" by Jaime Roos, "Break it all" by Los Shakers, "A Redoblar" by Mauricio Ubal and Rubén Olivera, and "Príncipe Azul" by Eduardo Mateo and Horacio Buscaglia). The movie is based on interviews with local artists of different generations, which in itself makes it an example of intergenerational transmission. The documentary has two segments in which the topic of the dictatorship appears as meaningful to an understanding of the origin and impact of these songs.

The first time the dictatorship is mentioned is in relation to the song "Río de los pájaros" by Aníbal Sampayo, the first hit song of Uruguayan popular music. The common identification of this as a hit song is the fact that "it was a song all children sang at school"; however, the young musicians who are asked about it do not recognize it. The implicit question posed by the directors was: Why was this hit song forgotten? To explain the break in the transmission of memory regarding this hit song from the 1950s, the authors reference the dictatorship.

In this part of the documentary, there are photos of the dictatorship period and references to the particular experience of artists as victims of political prosecution. Aníbal Sampayo's music was banned, and he was a political prisoner and later an exile in Sweden. The effects of the dictatorship are represented also as the cause of his illness during the filming – Alzheimer's, which makes him forget the lyrics of the song. Thus, the dictatorship is depicted as a period with a negative impact at both the cultural and personal level. Likewise, the dictatorship is presented as the explanation for the intergenerational cultural memory gap.

The second instance when the dictatorship appears in the documentary is during the section on the hit song "A Redoblar." In this case, the dictatorship appears as the sociohistorical context in which the song is produced. The song operates as a symbol for what making music and being an artist meant during the dictatorship, and also as a symbol of resistance to the regime.

Part IV of the documentary, entitled "Un cambio no se da por una canción" [A change does not occur because of a song], begins with an interview with Mauricio Ubal and Rubén Olivera, the writers of the song "A Redoblar." The question that opens the interview is: "¿Qué debería tener una canción para converstirse en un hito?" [What should a song have to become a hit?]. Following this scene there appears the sound of a remix cover of the song made by the duo DJ Omar, in 2004, with images of youth dancing to its beat in a disco. This juxtaposition of the original production and its recontextualization in 2004 reinterprets the song not only as a symbol of a period, but also as a symbol of the meaning of the period which is passed on from generation to generation. The hit song was still being heard in discos at the time when the film was made. The opposition, through an antithetic parallelism between the dictatorship and the disco, and between oppression and liberty, shows how the song remains present as a symbol of a quest for freedom. At the same time, this case contrasts with that of "El río de los pájaros" of Aníbal Sampayo, which is not remembered by youth. In the related documentary's scene, the dictatorship appears as a space of connection between generations although it does not have the same meaning for young and old musicians.

In this particular scene from part IV of the documentary, where the younger generation makes meaning of the song almost 30 years after its creation, there is an example of how youth appropriate cultural memory. Using a close-up of one of the youths who make up the duo DJ Omar (Ignacio Benedetti and Pablo Bonilla) on the right side of the image, and with a computer on the left side in the background, the composition of the image connects the song produced during the dictatorship with the present. Then there is a black screen with a title, centered in white letters, which explains the context for the production of the cover song heard in the background. The text reads: "En 2004 el dúo DJ Omar lanzó una versión remix de la canción 'A Redoblar' " [In 2004 the duo DJ Omar released a remix cover of the song "A Redoblar"]. The agency of youth is marked through the choice of a process ("lanzó" [released]) that represents them as actors in the material world, positioning them as agents. Additionally, the change in the song is highlighted by the modification ("version remix" [remix cover]) that functions as a beneficiary of the actions of the youth. This modification marks the transformation and appropriation that the new generation makes of the song. This means that the song is recontextualized through a musical transformation that changes the original to another musical genre more typical of contemporary musical styles. The connection between past and present is accomplished through the new musical genre of electronic music that maintains the content, but changes the form through a box of rhythms and *sampling* that repeats part of the chorus section. This recontextualization at the genre level functions as a form of translation in time and makes the cultural product more contemporarily relevant.

Then the scene changes, and the black screen turns into a disco where a pair of youths dance to the song with a medium shot centered on them. This composition of the image, together with the background music that repeats "muchachos, muchachos" [young guys], emphasizes the generational change and the new meaning of the song. In the next shot, the camera gets closer to the dancing youths, but the image becomes blurry and darker. There is a new text on the screen with white lettering that reads: "La canción de tiempos de dictadura/ahora se baila en las discotecas" [The song from the time of the dictatorship is now danced in discos]. This text makes a contrast that also occurs through the images and editing of the film: "canción" [song] – a noun that objectifies the experience of the past as a product is contrasted through parallelism with "baila" [dance] an activity in which people actively participate today. The passing of time allows for the transformation of "things of the past" toward new meanings and uses today.

The following scene shows a close-up of the youth of the duo DJ Omar from a side angle, which creates a distance from the audience. The musicians report their experience performing the song on the dance floor. We can only hear the words of one of them, who says: "en el fondo era ver en la pista la gente bailando y escuchar en el fondo A Redoblar: no?" [Really it was about seeing people dancing and listening in the background to "A Redoblar," wasn't it?]. This message constructs an affective evaluation that encodes a surprise: observing the reaction of youth to this new use of the song. We are not given any more information about the meaning of the song, either for these musicians or for those dancing this remix cover. The audience also does not know how these youth interpret the song because they are not interviewed about it.

In the following scene, there are voices of musicians from the period of the original song's production. Several minutes pass in which various musicians express their views about the meaning of the song. Once again, there is a shift to the black screen with a text that moves the story along: "Montevideo 30 años antes" [Montevideo 30 years earlier]. The background music is a military march that was used to announce the armed forces' communiqués, in public broadcasts during the dictatorship. The images depict military, tanks, house searches, and people reading newspaper headlines, composing an environment that directly references the dictatorship. Subsequently, there is a visual opposition between images of military marches and social protests, and signs and graffiti that protest against the coup d'état. After the visual contextualization, a title appears "1979 a redoblar" which introduces the testimony of the authors, who give details about the creation of the song.

The testimony of "El Sabalero"[8] begins by referring to the "conmoción"[commotion] that Uruguay was experiencing at the time when the song was released. Raúl Castro[9] provides more information about the context of the production of the song – that it was "un momento muy difícil" [it was a very difficult time] and adds "mucha gente sufriendo" [a lot of people suffering]. These affective evaluations include some judgments, revealing a negative orientation towards the historical moment of the production of the song. According to the musicians who are asked to interpret the significance of the song, the main explanation for its success and impact is that it captured the experience which people were living at the time and said what could not otherwise be said. The song is personalized, representing it as a participant in verbal processes that can "speak" for those who are not able to speak for themselves. This contrast between the negative context and the function of the song to overcome it legitimates its categorization as a *hit song*.

In the following scenes, there are images of the group Rumbo[10] in 1980 and testimonies of other musicians from that generation, all talking about the song. For example, the musician Dino[11] states of "A Redoblar": "Fue una canción que a la generación nuestra nos dio ánimo [...] nos juntó y no nos dejó dar un paso atrás. A Redoblar muchachos" [It was a song that to our generation it gave us hope and it got us together and it didn't let us take a step back. Let's redouble the effort guys]. This evaluation of positive judgment for the song personalizes it and constructs a generational identity as beneficiary of the actions of the song. The song is represented as an agent of change (i.e., "dio ánimo" [gave hope], "juntó" [got together], "dejó" [left]). The song is constructed also as an invitation to action, an exhortation not to give up ("A Redoblar"). This interpretation explains the song's success by its effects: it produces a change for the positive in a negative context.

With a medium shot and a handheld camera, the interview of the two authors of the song, Mauricio Ubal and Rubén Olivera, continues. They make reference to the importance of censorship at the time, and explain how – in that context – the connotation and evoked meaning were more important than what was said. Raúl Castro also states that, because of censorship, literary images were more subtle, and that effect made the audience interpret the double meaning of everything. The authors mention that several people had interpreted the chorus ("porque el corazón no quiere **entonar más** retiradas" [because the heart doesn't want to chant any more retreats/farewells]) as "armas" [arms] because – when it was performed – the singing blended the words "entonar‿más retiradas" [sing more retreats]. For this reason, the authors of the song consider that they are the "channel" of a social manifestation, and quote Mario Benedetti as stating that "una canción no cambia nada" [a song doesn't change anything]. According to the authors of the song, it was the zeitgeist, and not the song that made it into a hit song. "A Redoblar" was a symbol of resistance and hope at a time when it did not seem possible to imagine something better. In these accounts, the positive evaluation of the song and its impact are constructed by comparing it directly with the negative qualities of the dictatorship period: repression, social control, limits to freedom of expression, and restrictions of alternative voices. At the same time, most of the testimonies construct the social actors of the generation as beneficiaries of the actions performed by the song, instead of agents of change. Thus, when the song is depersonalized, agency disappears and there is no explicit marking of what triggers the change. The generation of the original song's production period foregrounds the context over the cultural product itself. For them, the meaning of the song is interpreted in relation to the sociohistorical context. The lived experience of the generation explains the significance of the song, which is something that is not transferable or understandable outside of its historical moment.

This documentary provides access for youth to the older generations' cultural products and their meaning. Likewise, through viewing the documentary, youth not only have access to a cultural artifact (i.e., the song "A Redoblar") and images of the dictatorship, but they also virtually interact with other actors as a way of making meaning of the song and the dictatorship period. However, the transmission process entails another step: appropriation. The cultural practice of using and understanding the song allows youth to become participants in a web of meaning and readings of the past.

Below, we analyze the lyrics of the song, "A Redoblar," and then a new recontextualization of it which was released through social media (YouTube and Facebook) after the negative results of the 2009 plebiscite to annul the Expiry Law (see Chapter 2 for detailed information about these events). In the documentary *Hit,* we got a sense of how the song was received and interpreted by audiences and musicians when it was first produced. The analysis of the lyrics will describe the discursive features of the song, in order to understand the transformations and recontextualizations made by younger musicians.

The original song was created by Mauricio Ubal and Rubén Olivera. It was debuted in a joint performance by Rubén Olivera and the group Rumbo in 1979.[12] Subsequently, it appeared on Rubén Olivera's first record, *Pájaros*, in 1980, featuring the group Rumbo.[13] The song was released in the months preceding the plebiscite which the military organized in order to establish a new constitution and legitimate their power in government. The song has become emblematic of the resistance to the dictatorship through popular culture. The website of the National Administration of Public Education (ANEP) provides information about the song, stating[14]:

> a song that rapidly became a fundamental referent of our popular music and the protest song movement during the military

> dictatorship in which our country was immersed at the time. The song is "A Redoblar". Authored by Mauricio Ubal and Rubén Olivera, this song invited people to redouble the hope, using a series of metaphors in anticipation of the return of democracy. (ANEP, Uruguay Educa)

As the quote states, the song is emblematic because of its moment of production during the period of renewed fighting against the dictatorship, and also for its creative qualities in the use of metaphor and images, these elements working to avoid censorship. The song was also innovative in its musical style, which contributed to its positive reception. According to Rubén Olivera, this song was one of the first uses of the rhythm "a marcha camion," of which Jaime Roos was a pioneer, but Rumbo (the first to perform it) was the group which developed it in Uruguay since Roos was living abroad. Even though Rumbo did not use a "*murga* style" in their rendition, nor have any "murguistas" in their group, the atmosphere of their rendition is one of *Retirada* (the farewell section of a *murga*), singing in harmony, and producing an epic collective sound that is not triumphant (Olivera, personal communication, 2015).[15] Below are the lyrics of the song, which we analyze in order to describe how language is used to construct this message of hope and resistance.

Lyrics of "A Redoblar" (1979) Mauricio Ubal and Rubén Olivera[16]:

1 Volverá la alegría a enredarse con tu voz
2 *Happiness will return to tangle up with your voice*
3 A medirse en tus manos y a apoyarse en tu sudor.
4 *To measure up in your hands and to rest on your sweat.*
5 Borrará duras muecas pintadas
6 *It will erase tough painted grimaces*
7 Sobre un frágil cartón de silencio
8 *Over a fragile cardboard silence*
9 Y en aliento de murga saldrá
10 *And with the breath of a murga it will go out*
11 A redoblar
12 *Let's double it*
13 A redoblar muchachos esta noche
14 *Let's double it tonight guys*
15 Cada cual sobre su sombra
16 *Each one over their own shadow*
17 Cada cual sobre su asombro a redoblar

18 *Each one over their surprise let's double it*
19 Desterrando
20 *Banishing*
21 Desterrando la falsa emoción el la la la
22 *Banishing the false emotion the la la la*
23 El beso fugaz
24 *The fleeting kiss*
25 La mascarita de la fe.
26 *The little mask of faith.*
27 A redoblar
28 *Let's double it*
29 A redoblar muchachos que la noche
30 *Let's double it guys that the night*
31 Nos presta sus camiones y en su espalda
32 *It lends us its trucks and on its back*
33 De balcones y zaguán nos esperan
34 *Of balconies and entryway they wait for us*
35 Nos esperan otros redoblantes otra voz
36 *They're waiting for us, other drums, another voice*
37 Harta de sentir la mordedura del dolor.
38 *Tired of feeling the bite of pain*
39 A redoblar muchachos la esperanza
40 *Let's double the hope guys*
41 Que su latido insista en nuestra sangre
42 *That its beating insists in our blood*
43 Para que ésta nunca olvide su rumbo
44 *So that it never forgets its way*
45 Porque el corazón no quiere entonar más retiradas
46 *Because the heart doesn't want to sing any more retreats*

The analysis of the representational meanings (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) shows the use of nonfinite processes beginning with the title of the song, and the use of the reflexive future to refer to "la alegría" [happiness]. The text begins "volverá la alegría" [happiness will return] (line 1), possibly making metaphorical reference to democracy in opposition to the moment of enunciation, the dictatorship, associated with pain.[17] The main actor represented is a feeling – happiness – that appears personified, in place, perhaps, of "democracy" as a desire or expectation. It is interesting to note that, at the same time, this linguistic choice removes agency from the process, "volverá" [will return], and it constructs it from an ergative[18] perspective as a middle voice with no reference to what causes it. However, there is an alternation of the pronouns used between "su" [its] as the main actor, or "tus/tu" [your] as a vocative that invites the audience to form part of the struggle, with the motto: "let's recover happiness."

In lines 1–2, the verb "volverá" [will return] in the future is completed with three different infinitives: "a enredarse" [to entangle], "a medirse" [to measure], and "a apoyarse" [to rest on] omitting the finite verb only, using the preposition "a" followed by the nonfinite form. The use of reflexive verbs makes "la alegría" [happiness] appear as the actor of the reflexive process which is directing the action to itself, and the beneficiary/recipient is the listener who is alluded to through the metonymy – "tu voz" [your voice], "tus manos" [your hands], "tu sudor" [your sweat]. It is interesting also to point out that the choices used to refer to the participant being addressed are terms that symbolize workers (i.e., "the hands," "sweat").

In line 5 appears the next finite process, "Borrará" [will erase], in the future tense and without an explicit actor. The meaning of the process, "borrará," is completed with "duras muecas pintadas" [tough painted grimaces], which is evaluated in a negative way through appreciation ("tough grimaces"). However, the attributes used to describe the negative elements are ephemeral and can be eliminated (i.e., "pintadas" [painted]). This representation of fragility indirectly produces a positive evaluation of "happiness," which is powerful and can cause the erasure of the negative. In line 7, this representation of the negative as weak is reaffirmed ("sobre un frágil carton de silencio" [over a fragile cardboard silence]). The silence refers, in part, to the atmosphere of censorship and secrecy. However, "frágil cartón" [fragile cardboard] reaffirms the idea of being weak and transitory in juxtaposition to "aliento de murga" [breath of *murga*] that will come out strong as the voice of the musicians in this part of the song. The *murga* is responsible for the emergence of happiness.

The chorus (lines 11–13) goes back to the leitmotif of the text "A Redoblar," which refers on the one hand – as the Dictionary of the Royal Academy (Real Academia Española, 2012) states – to augmenting something a bit or doubling what it was, and also to playing rolls in drums, this last meaning very much related to popular culture and (in a metaphoric way) to the resistance and opposition to the dictatorship. The metaphor, "a redoblar," puts emphasis on the idea of giving hope and strength to continuing the fight for democracy. In the second verse of the chorus (line 13) appears the vocative "muchachos" [guys], which makes explicit the beneficiary that appeared earlier as a singular possessive pronoun ("tu" and "tus" in lines 1–3).

Metaphorically represented, the dictatorship appears to be a painful, but fragile entity that can be defeated. In the second stanza (lines 19–26), the dictatorship is negatively evaluated through affect and social judgment appraisals: "falsa emoción" [false emotion], "beso fugaz" [fleeting kiss], "mascarita de la fe" [little mask of faith], and "mordedura del dolor" [bite of pain]. The repetition of the chorus, "A redoblar," reiterates almost in synonymy the sound of the drum roll. In this stanza, there is also a shift in orientation that serves to strengthen the metaphoric reading of the song as a call to action. Previously (in line 13), the appeal to action has been for "esta noche" [tonight], marking the immediacy of the call. However, in the next stanza (line 29) there is a change in the modification of "night" – now it becomes "la noche" [the night]. This use of the determiner identifies the night as a character who collaborates with the endeavor ("nos presta sus camiones" [it lends us its trucks]. The song constructs solidarity by moving from an individual experience ("tu voz" [your voice]) to a collective one ("nos esperan" [they wait for us]). This change is also reinforced by the beneficiary: the other like us ("otros redoblantes" [other drums/people doubling] and "otra voz" [another voice]). It is once again through an alternation of plural and singular forms to refer to the beneficiary, that the call to action and the encouragement to join the struggle are fortified.

This alternation of pronouns of second person singular and first person plural appears once again in line 39, where the personal experience (i.e., the beating of hope) becomes collective ("nuestra sangre" [our blood]). The embodied experience expressed by individual feelings that are shared with the group functions as a rhetorical appeal to pathos in order to persuade the audience of the song. In the final stanzas (lines 41–43), there are arguments that appeal to reason to persuade the audience of this argument. The final stanza ("porque el corazón no quiere entonar más retiradas" [because the heart doesn't want to sing more retreats]) blends the emotional and logical reasons for constructing a more hopeful future.

The song constructs a negative representation and evaluation of the dictatorship in affective and moral terms. At the same time, it constructs a position for the audience as an ally and as part of a collective group in opposition to the "other" who produces negative experiences and feelings. This "other" is not explicitly mentioned, but it is clear who it is (i.e., the dictatorship) in contrast to the positive self-presentation of the "us." As we have mentioned above, the song was interpreted as a call to resistance and became a symbol for the fight against the dictatorship during the last years of the regime.

This association of the song with resistance to the dictatorship was appropriated by youth in 2009. The young musicians who covered the song, used it to position themselves as resisting the culture of impunity associated with the legacy of the dictatorship. The new version of the song establishes an intertextual link between past and present. This reading of the present context in light of past history establishes an implicit parallelism between the two historical moments: the plebiscite against the dictatorship in 1980 and the plebiscite against the Law of Expiry in 2009. What are the contextualization cues that index this possible reading?

The new version of the song was produced as a video clip filmed in the Memorial to the Disappeared Detainees in Montevideo. The original idea to make this new version came from Patricia Kramer. In the introduction to the video, she states: "It [the version of the song] is the result of a search to construct caused by sorrow. A political reaction – nonpartisan – humanly committed with justice, rights and liberty. Singing 'A Redoblar' is a symbol of that commitment. Updating the old slogan of hope" (Kramer, 2009).[19] The musicians that participate are young artists who sing different music genres as soloists or members of groups: Valentina Prego, Mónica Navarro, Edgardo Davich Mattioli (La Teja Pride), Maia Castro, Carmen Pi, Marcelo Gamboa (Contra las Cuerdas), Samantha Navarro, Patricia Kramer, and Christian Cary (La Triple Nelson). These youths position themselves as actors and agents who use an emblematic song from the past to make meaning of their current historical context. The song as a cultural artifact functions as a tool to interpret the relationship and continuity between past and present. They are not only reproducing the song, but resignifying it through a connection between the new meaning (i.e., what they want to say about the contemporary situation) and what the song means as a cultural symbol of resistance.

The 2009 version of "A Redoblar" is not only a recontextualization of a protest song, but also a resemiotization[20] (Iedema, 2003) that adds a layer of visual meaning to the text and music. This multimodal complexity responds to the new forms of circulation of popular music and youths' socialization practices which contemporary historical conditions afford. This blurring of semiotic boundaries creates serialized forms of representation (Eco, 1990) coordinating image, language, and sound in order to construct semantically dense and interpersonally rich meanings. The circulation of these meanings is also transformed through social media networks that provide more opportunities for audience participation through comments and liking options. The resemiotization process moved from reliance on live performance and recordings (these being more linked to the immediate contact and passive role of the audience) to more durable and mobile materials, along with more interactive roles. How do the means of cultural transmission modify the meanings being transmitted? How does this resemiotization process affect the formation of youths' subjectivities?

Below we analyze the view of "A Redoblar" made by this group of artists in 2009, focusing on the interplay of visual, sound, and language meanings. Then we explore how the new semiotic medium affects the different responses to the song. Finally, we look at how youth appropriate the recent past in this particular historical moment, taking from the tools and meanings available from previous generations.

The video begins with a shot from moving camera in which the images are blurred and there is background electronic music with an emphasis on a slow repeated tone. The continuity of the images in movement composes a blurry long shot of something that seems to be a landscape. The next sequence creates a more defined image that presents a caravan of old cars driving along a highway. There is a change in sequence through a jump cut that takes us back to the original scene. However, this time, the quality of the image is clear and as a result, we can identify particular landmarks (i.e., the Cerro de Montevideo) in the background, through a horizontal vector directing us to the caravan's destination. From this perspective, the viewer takes the role of someone traveling. This perspective is constructed with a camera shot from the car's window, allowing us to see through a long shot the Rambla portuaria (a street by the river) on the way to the Memorial to Disappeared Detainees.[21]

Then, after a cut and a change in sequence, the singers are introduced at the Memorial site. This location is already a visual intertextual link between past and present since the monument represents a direct tie to the dictatorship (the names of the disappeared are engraved on two glass panels creating a sort of tunnel through which people pass). The monument announces what happened (Achugar, 2003); it is a site of memory reanimated by the singers' presence. They are shown as a group through a long shot, representing them standing as if in a protest stance, and then they begin to sing "A Redoblar." The next shot is from a side angle, which has the monument remembering the disappeared detainees in the background. From the Memorial, there is a diagonal vector that directs the viewer's gaze to the monument. Then, the camera zooms in to a big close-up on the red jacket of one of the singers, which has a pin with the logo of the campaign for the annulment of the Law of Expiry (i.e., the word “Sí” [yes] in black print on a pink background). This contrast of colors makes the pin and logo more prominent. This composition establishes another intertextual link between past and present, using the music that refers to the past dictatorship in relation to the image that refers to the contemporary consequences/effects of the dictatorship. The relationship between image and music constructs a meaning of the dictatorship as something present and relevant for gaining an understanding of the current situation.

Afterwards, the camera shows a close-up shot of the serious faces of the singers who are not singing when the camera focuses on them. They do not look directly at the camera; as a result, there is not a direct connection with the audience, which continues being an outside spectator. The song continues playing in the background, but it has a boom box rhythm that recomposes its original musical structure. Then, with a handheld camera sequence, the close-ups of the other singers appear to move with the music which returns to the original musical composition with a *murga* style. The faces in the close-up shot exhibit happier singers who dance while they sing. The image is shot with an angle and at eye level, constructing closeness with the audience. Gradually, the camera moves from this close-up to a close-up of individuals and couples – until it displays the whole group in a long shot with a low-tilted angle. The singers look at the viewers directly from below. This constructs a visual appeal that demands the audience’s action. The following shots cut away, alternating between close-ups of the singers at eye level and long shots of the group from different perspectives (right angle and left angle). The rhythm of the song becomes faster and the singers appear to be more animated and content, which is a clear contrast with the beginning of the song where the same lyrics with a slower pace and long faces construct an atmosphere of disappointment. The changes in rhythm and emotional state, together with the movement of the singers, denote a more positive situation that is itself reinforced by the chorus: “A redoblar,” which is repeated several times. The composition of the image and the music constructs this appeal to action through a positive evaluation that produces a hopeful expectation in the face of adversity.

Then there appears a sequence in the recording studio where the singers are rehearsing. This suggests that there has been a previous reflection as to what we are seeing, and that it is not a merely spontaneous emotional response. There is a cut to change the scene back to the

Memorial with a long shot and a low angle of the camera, positioning the singers above the audience. This superior position can be interpreted as a representation of the ideal or the desired. The sound of the song once again includes electronic variations that distinguish this particular version from the original one from the 1980s. In this sequence, the camera is moving, but the angle of the camera continues being low, putting them at the top of the image.

Afterwards, when the words of the song state "porque el corazón no quiere entonar más retiradas" [because the heart doesn't want to sing more retreats], the close-ups of singers show them making gestures of negation with their hands and heads, emphasizing the meaning of the lyrics. This composition of the song, the gestures, and the camera zooming to a close-up of the singers while they look directly at the audience construct a direct demand and a clear invitation to overcome the results of the plebiscite. The following sequence is a full shot of the group at an eye-level angle, and with the final words of the original version of the song. However, through a cut and a change in the sequence marked by the electronic music and the blurry image of the musicians behind the glass panels of the monument, there is a transition into a rap. The following images take place in the "corridor" between the glass panels of the monument with the engraved names of the disappeared. The editing style gives the images a more experimental feeling through rapid changes that resemble photographs of the singers in different positions (e.g., looking at the camera, turning their backs to the camera, and looking at the monument). Then, there is a cut that changes the sequence and takes us back to the car driving through the streets of the neighborhood where the monument is located. With the camera in the back seat, the audience is positioned as someone who is accompanying the singers on their journey. The lyrics of the rap make reference to the young artists' readings of these events (i.e., the plebiscite results and the legacy of the dictatorship). The images that accompany the rap are close-ups of the singers in different locations (e.g., the recording studio, the streets, and the monument). The contrast between the composition of the images and the music in this section distinguishes it from the previous part since, at this point, the relationship between the images and the words is not an extension. The relationship is one of expansion through adding extra information that constructs a feeling or affective evaluation as developed by the connection between images and words.

Below, we analyze the lyrics of the rap, focusing on the ideational representation which adds to the old version of the song.

"A Redoblar" (2009) Lyrics of the rap (2:39–3:22)

1 Se eriza la piel color café
2 *The brown skin gets goose bumps*
3 Yo tengo la fe
4 *I have faith*
5 De que mis hijos
6 *That my children*
7 También canten lo pasado
8 *Also will sing the past*
9 Y no lo vivan lo olvidado
10 *And will not live the forgotten*
11 Acá estamos repasando
12 *Here we are reviewing*
13 No importa que bando
14 *It doesn't matter what side*
15 Ah, solo de bandoneón
16 *Ah, only of bandoneon*
17 Te recito mi mandado
18 *I recite to you my task*
19 Resultado del candado
20 *Resulting from the padlock*
21 Que nos han colocado
22 *That they have put on us*
23 Cambio el guión
24 *The script changed*
25 Otra vez el mismo actor en la escena
26 *Once more the same actor on the scene*
27 Qué problema
28 *What a problem*
29 No le des más avena a la hiena
30 *Don't feed more oatmeal to the hyena*
31 Que no pagan lo que deben
32 *That they don't pay what they owe*
33 No olvidamos la memoria
34 *We don't forget the memory*
35 Hijos del presente de esta historia
36 *Children of the present of this history*
37 Conscientes del futuro nos toca nuestro turno
38 *Conscious of the future it's our turn*
39 Rompemos el nudo con amor profundo
40 *We break the knot with deep love*
41 Y ese asunto del mañana

42 *And that issue about the future*
43 Es lo nuestro
44 *It's our thing*
45 Música maestro
46 *Music maestro*
47 Con respeto
48 *With respect*
49 Dejo esto
50 *I leave this*
51 Me manifiesto
52 *I make a statement*
53 Que nunca más
54 *Never again*
55 Nunca más
56 *Never again*
57 !No!
58 *No!*
59 Que tengan paz
60 *Let them have peace*

The rap's lyrics represent youth as part of a group tradition that establishes continuity between past and future. There is an emotional evaluation ("tengo la fe" [I have faith], in line 3) of the representation of the ideal future – in the subjunctive – wherein they assume the role of parents ("de que mis hijos" [that my children] line 5) who expect their children to act in certain ways ("canten lo pasado" [will sing the past] and "y no lo vivan lo olvidado" [and won't live the forgotten] in lines 7–9). These desires indirectly refer to what the singers are enacting themselves by singing "A Redoblar." The use of the adverb "también" [also] (in line 7) marks a similarity and comparison between the parents and the children. Afterward, they recite their "mandado" [task], their interpretation of their obligation, and their legacy. They convey their rights to express themselves about this issue, using the verbal process "recito" [I recite] (in line 17) wherein they are represented as the speaker who needs to respond to the actions of an indefinite "other" ("resultado del candado que nos han colocado" [resulting from the padlock they have put on us] in lines 19–21). This representation constructs the young musicians as those who receive the actions of other anonymous participants ("they have put on us"), and what they receive is a "padlock" that does not allow them to act. Symbolically, they are trapped by the past actions of others. The following stanzas represent the crossing of past and present as a history that repeats itself ("otra vez" [once more] in line 25). The youth appear as agents of "change" and can have an impact on the world by trying to stage a new "script," using a metaphor of society as a theater (lines 23–26). However, in the following stanzas, they represent their lack of control over the world when they point out that it is the "same actor" once again, without using a verb to mark what makes that actor appear. Subsequently, there is a negative affective evaluation ("qué problema" [what a problem]) as a reaction to that same actor. Once again, the youth position themselves as agents trying to direct the action of others by using a command ("no le des más avena a la hiena" [don't feed more oatmeal to the hyena] in line 29). The image of the hyena as a metaphor of the actor that returns enables the indirect critique of the actions of those who are kind to those who are dangerous ("dan avena a la hiena" [feed the hyena]). This allegorical representation of the contemporary situation represents the forgiveness of those who committed crimes through a judgment of this "other" (i.e., the hyena) as morally negative ("no pagan lo que deben" [they don't pay what they owe] in line 31). This is a double critique not only of the others who have violated norms, but also of those who allow them to do it.

In the next stanza, the youth reposition themselves by distancing themselves from the other actors ("no olvidamos la memoria" [we don't forget memory] in line 33). The polarity ("no") permits an implicit contrast between them and those who forget. The youth represent themselves as "children of the present history"; even though they recognize the continuity with the past, there is a subtle distinction made between present and past. This differentiation distinguishes their generation from previous ones by showing through a mental process ("forget") that they are reflexive in their positions to the future. They represent a break with the previous generations ("rompemos el nudo" [we break the knot]), evaluating this as a positive affective reaction ("con amor produndo" [with deep love]) (in line 39). The past is transformed into something related to the future (i.e., "an issue of the future"). The youth symbolize the future, so they demand their rights over the topic of the dictatorship, identifying it with their future. The following stanzas reconstruct their explicit position on how to deal with the past through affective evaluations conveyed through the intonation and tone, and moral social sanctions ("con respeto" [with respect], "nunca más" [never again]). They state their desire to break with the trauma of repeating the same behavior: not holding accountable those who committed crimes in the past (i.e., impunity). The last stanza is a command through which a positive affective evaluation is conveyed ("que tengan paz" [let them have peace]), which can be interpreted as a moral judgment that seeks justice and not revenge.

The video ends with the chorus of "A Redoblar" with the full-shot image of the group. During the credits of the production, the image to the left shows the old video of the group Rumbo performing "A Redoblar" framed by a black screen. The position on the left side of the screen is almost covered by the black frame that only allows the audience to see fragments of the people singing. This allows the audience to recognize it while at the same time not having complete access to the images of the past. To the right of the black section of the screen there appears new information: a written text by Patricia Kramer in which the young musicians' motivations to recontextualize the song are expressed (see quote above). The youths take their roles as agents, resignifying the song in the context of a haunting past. This restates their goal of "following" their fellow artists of the past – not only covering their song, but also borrowing their stance as politically committed artists.

The next part of the analysis covers the circulation of meanings of this recontextualization of "A Redoblar" in 2009 through the comments posted on the YouTube page where Patricia Kramer posted the video. The statistics available for this page show that there were 89,911 viewings from October 31, 2009 (when it was uploaded) until July 10, 2015, when it was checked for the last time for this analysis. At the time, there were 124 comments and 402 ratings: of those ratings, 393 were positive (i.e., 'likes'). The video was more popular in Uruguay, but also had viewings from other countries such as Chile, Spain, and Paraguay. It was more popular among men and women between 35 and 45 years of age. However, there were some comments written by youths between 15 and 19 years old (this age range comparable to those participating in this research project). In the following section, we present two examples of the type of comments made by younger Uruguayan viewers about this video (we also checked their user profiles, but in these cases, we find it interesting that they mention their age as a defining characteristic of their identity in order to frame their responses).

In the first example, we can observe the fact that the youth self-identifies with the song through reference to the generational gap in the interpretation of the past using an affective evaluation ("me llegó mucho más que el original" [it got to me much more than the original]).

(1) I got to this video through the video "Nos sobra una ley." Very good cover, it got to me much more than the original, maybe it is because it is closer to my time. I am 17, I could not vote in the previous round [plebiscite]. A bit from the side of youth I tell you, other drums await them, other voices. (Lope9421)[22]

When explaining his reaction to the video, the youth positions himself as someone who cannot participate in certain activities that define citizens (i.e., voting), thus distinguishing himself from the rest. There is also an intertextual link to the song, which makes important modifications in terms of interpersonal positioning. The youth states: "*los* esperan otros redoblantes, otras voces" [other drums await *you*, other voices], using "los" [you] instead of "nos" [us] as appears in the original version. The distancing marked through the use of object pronouns shows a generational gap and distance from the original song. Using the metaphor of music and the popular song as a symbol of continuity, the "redoblante" [snare drum] makes a semantic chain that simultaneously marks the similarities and differences.

Example 2 is of a young woman who explicitly frames her comment in terms of her age. The girl indicates that, even though she did not live during the dictatorship, she considers it a defining period for her personal history:

> (2) I don't understand how youth like me, don't understand that the past is part of our present and future, obviously I didn't live through the dictatorship, but I informed myself and I love learning to try to understand the rest, but some things don't have an explanation, like the disappeared, and it is hard to believe that the majority voted "no," the history of our country matters to all, because it is part of the history of our father, grandfather, etc. I hope one day the law is annulled.[23] (Uruguayita24 8)

After defining her identity in relation to her age, the youth frames her position as being different from that of her peers ("I don't understand how youth like me, don't understand the past"). This differentiation from her peers aligns her with the rest of the audience who understands the meaning, and also positions her as unique for going beyond the limitations of her age group ("I love learning"; "I try to understand"). She ends by foregrounding the commonalities among the community, constructing an indirect demand to become involved as the song requests.

Nonetheless, there are also negative comments about the video by young people, as illustrated by example 3:

> (3) Little leftists, you live in the past, you are only victims, you never do anything, you are saints. (Nemequittepas59.)

This user was 22 at the time he posted this comment on the video. He shows an affective reaction and a negative moral judgment when referring to the behavior of the other (i.e., Leftists). Through the use of graduation (i.e., "nunca" [never]) the negative evaluations are heightened and the relevance of the past to the present is constructed as problematic ("viven en el pasado" [they live in the past]). The other is identified through their politico-ideological features ("zurditos" [Little Leftists]), and the use of the diminutive (i.e., *-itos*) indexes the ironic tone of the statement – resulting in interpersonal distance and rejection. This positioning also sets the tone for the rest of the message, where the other is represented as a "victim" and a "saint," which can also be read as ironic and critical.

The analysis of the comments responding to the 2009 version of "A Redoblar" shows how webs of meaning are created in order to establish relations between past and present, reinforcing certain discourses about the past (i.e., ideological debate vs. ethical debate; politics vs. justice) and changing other discourses (i.e., youth have a different response and some want to take charge of responding to the legacy of the dictatorship in the future). The reception of this version of "A Redoblar" shows an ideological break that surpasses generational differences. In the new version, the symbolism of the original song as a call for resistance to the dictatorship is extended to an opposition to impunity. This new version – with the added layer of meaning – generates a break within the audience's response that corresponds to political ideological lines, more than to age differences.

The circulation of this cultural artifact continues and its new symbolism has been reinforced. For example, the 2009 cover of "A Redoblar" was recontextualized in the documentary *Nos sobra una ley*[24] in 2011, which explores the reasons why the plebiscite of 2009 did not annul the Law of Expiry. The movie uses a clip from the 2009 video of "A Redoblar," making an explicit intertextual link, but also reaccentuates it in the final scenes by changing the images for the close-ups of the cultural workers interviewed in the film. This is another example of how the webs of meaning are constructed – connecting past, present, and future.

More recently in 2015, "A Redoblar" was recontextualized and resemiotiziced as background music for a video of the Uruguayan Federation of University Students (FEUU)[25] inviting youth to participate in the twentieth March of Silence on May 20.[26] This new use makes intertextual links with the original and the version of 2009 by symbolizing a connection to the past resistance of the general population against state repression and the continuation of the resignification of the 2009 version as a tool to organize those individuals fighting against impunity in the present. The resemiotization operates by decomposing the complex multimodal text and making an intertexual link through the music. This music is reaccentuated by the use of new instruments: the bandoneon instead of the drum. Furthermore, the lyrics of the song are not used or transformed, as was the case in the version of 2009. In this newer version, the words are completely erased, and substituted with a new linguistic message that is longer and more elaborate. The argumentative text uses the voices of different social actors associated with areas of society that youth participate in, such as theater, art, soccer, education, and carnival. The images are filmed in black and white in the Museum of Memory and serve as a backdrop to each person's appeal that responds directly to the counterarguments for the fight against impunity (e.g., "Tenés derecho a que te chupe un huevo, pero también tenés derecho a preocuparte…" [You have the right to not give a fuck, but also have a right to be concerned…]). The slogan's message is: "volver el tiempo para adelante" [turn time forward]. The video ends with the music of the bandoneon version of "A Redoblar," which has influences of tango rhythms. This musical version seems less festive and hopeful in tone than the original one was with its influences from carnival's *murga* and drums. The images also support this darker orientation through its black and white colors and the serious demeanor of the participants. It is a call to act, appealing to a moral obligation and directly challenging the audience in a confrontational tone by the use of expletives, as well as reported speech that introduces the voices of the others who do not want to demand justice. It is not a call to those in "our" group, but more of a call to the "other."[27] This different tone may also be related to the occasion, which is the commemoration of victims of the dictatorship, that has a dual purpose – a memoralization of the victims and a demand for truth and justice.[28]

These cultural practices show youths to be producers and consumers of discourses about the dictatorship. In these dual roles, young people have active participation, engaging with history and previous generations' cultural productions. "Popular music, thus, is a key communication tool for transmitting and reconstructing political memory" (Kaiser, 2011: 128). The function of music as a tool for the transmission of memory does not end in the cultural product itself; it also extends to the conversations that it generates.

Conclusions

Cultural practices give meaning to our experience, and those who work in culture have a role in reproducing and transforming society. They put into circulation possible ways of understanding experience that contribute to the formation of a social imagination (Castoriadis, 1987). These productions are consumed and appropriated by audiences who resignify them and then use them to make their own meanings.

The cultural practices of recontextualization of a popular song produced during the dictatorship, "A Redoblar," serve as an illustrative case of how representations and orientations to the past are reproduced, circulated, and transformed through time and space. This cultural product still emerges as relevant for youth in their construction of the meaning of the dictatorship. These processes of resignification and the creation of webs of meaning that connect past and present function as mechanisms for understanding and learning about the recent past.

The analysis showed how – through processes of recontextualization and resemiotization of the recent past – generations who were not directly involved in these events appropriate these discourses in connection with present agendas. At the same time, the analysis revealed that the battles for how to make sense of the past go beyond generational differences having to do with ideological positions. The references to other implicit discourses in the 2009 version of the song demonstrate the intertextual positioning that constructs axiological communities. In the same manner, and more explicitly in regard to the reception of this version of the song by youths, the generational differences appear to be linked to evaluations that bundle certain orientations with the events. This means that the battles for how to interpret the past persist in youths' discourse about the dictatorship, even though there are new interpretations and positions that construct unique forms of differentiation in terms of those who "lived" it directly (older generations) and those who did not (younger generations who inherit the consequences of the past). As a result, there are continuities in these discourses at the ideological level of these recontextualizations of the past, while there are also discontinuities that have to do with differences in generational experiences. Future research needs to continue exploring the possibility of constructing a discourse that recognizes diversity while projecting a common future.

7

Appropriating the Recent Past: Meaning-Making Processes through Time

Maracaná. If you ask any Uruguayan youth about the events of Maracaná, anyone will most likely be able to answer what it means. The intergenerational transmission of the narrative of the 1950 soccer World Cup victory has been passed on for several generations. This narrative centers on how the Uruguayan national team was able to overcome incredible difficulties in order to win against Brazil in Brazil. The Brazilian team was the favorite to win, being on its own ground and with 250,000 fans cheering, and having defeated all their rivals in previous games in huge upsets (e.g., Spain lost against them, 6–1). The Uruguayan team were the underdogs, but they played to win. The team captain, Obdulio Varela, coined a phrase then that is still remembered today, "los de afuera son de palo" [those outside are made of wood], meaning that the team had to ignore the loud cheers of Brazilian fans, and the comments of all experts who went against them – to focus on winning. After a heroic game that ended with Uruguay's victory, 2–1 over Brazil, the narrative of the "garra charrúa"[1] [Charrua's-go-get-it attitude] was constructed. This narrative highlights team spirit and the desire to win, as well as the courage and fearlessness of the players. The Maracaná narrative contributes to a national identity construction where Uruguayans see themselves as confident, brave, and hopeful in the face of adversity. This narrative has been transmitted through family anecdotes, mass media,[2] popular songs, and even publicity. For example, during the last soccer World Cup in Brazil 2014, there was a commercial by Puma (the sponsor of the Uruguayan national team) that centered on the "ghost of 1950."[3] Or more recently, during the Copa America soccer tournament and the Pan American Games, newspapers wrote about the Uruguayan team's experience using the Maracaná's schematic narrative as background.[4] The discursive processes involved in the transmission of the Maracaná narrative include: (1) constructing a narrative with heroes (i.e., the soccer players: Varela, Schiaffino, and Ghiggia) and an epic battle, with a victorious ending; (2) performing the narrative in each competition of the national soccer team; (3) framing it with a positive evaluation that supports the construction of national identity; (4) reproducing it in the public and private sphere within a hegemonic narrative context; and (5) supporting the circulation and reception of discourses about Maracaná through discursive practices (e.g., mass media intertextual references, popular culture's artistic resemiotizations; and recontextualization through metaphoric and idiomatic expressions in colloquial language use). Why is this narrative's transmission different from that of the dictatorship?

The narratives about political confrontation and violence, and regarding repression and suffering, are highly contested (Allier-Montaño and Crenzel, 2015; Jelin, 2010). As we have documented throughout this book, the latest Uruguayan dictatorship is not remembered by all youth in the same manner. One of the main differences is that the dictatorship was a negative experience in comparison with Maracaná, which makes integrating it into the national identity problematic. However, there are some shared meanings across narratives that have been reproduced across time and space: the dictatorship was a period of state surveillance and control. The effects of state terrorism have left a mark on the whole population. Fear is a salient theme in almost everyone's account of the period.[5] The constant presence of a repressive military apparatus, house searches, roadblocks by the police, dismissals from jobs, and categorization of citizens according to their ideological threat, appeared in everyone's stories about the dictatorship (Sapriza, 2009). The sense of fear and intimidation has been passed on and appropriated by youth, even by those who claim they were not affected by the dictatorship. Nevertheless, there is no clear understanding of why this terror occurred. Furthermore, there is no consensus over the categorization of victims and aggressors. Finally, there is no generalized agreement on how to deal with crimes committed during the dictatorship.

What youth know about the recent past has to do with their trajectories and involvement in negotiations of meaning around the dictatorship. Different contexts afford youth a variety of opportunities to draw from society's reservoir of meanings about the dictatorship. There are different ways in which the youth appropriate these narratives of the past in order to construct personal, familiar, and national identities. At the personal and familial identity level, the dictatorship is used to construct axiological positioning that serves to create an emotional stance toward the period that influences ideological alignments. At the national level, the recent past is used to construct a narrative of group identity based on key moments and social actors while offering competing explanatory accounts. Individual trajectories also provide unique ways of integrating youths' experiences in different contexts as a way of constructing their own discourse about the past. For example, Diego's conversations with his father about his experiences as a union worker during the dictatorship provided a link between family history and the country's history. At the same time, Andrea's family decision not to talk about their political involvement in the past had not provided opportunities to make a genealogical connection to the period. Her personal connection was through popular culture (i.e., the news reports about violations of human rights), so she had an emotional investment in the topic, but no concrete information.

The discursive practices that enable society to transmit the legacy of the dictatorship include: intersubjective negotiations of meaning between family members, peers, and others (e.g., teachers–students); repeated occurrences of intertextual references in cultural products; resemiotization of narratives that incorporate redundancy in multimodal texts; and opportunities for younger generations to recontextualize the past through the construction of meaning to serve current purposes. "Processes of memory construction work through exposure over time to a series of sources of transmission, including the family, the school, and the media. This combination of sources and multiplicity of texts were shaping young people's postmemories"[6] (Kaiser, 2005: 197). The youths' learning about the meaning of the recent past was supported by discourses as tools that constrain and enable interactions with others in the community. Their knowledge and use of these discourses served as points of reference for arguments, and to position them as members of various communities. The differential access to information about the dictatorship and activities to learn about it created unequal opportunities for adapting and modifying spaces of participation for youth in various contexts (e.g., family gatherings, classrooms, and peer discussions).

The discursive processes involved in transmission of the past develop as the unfolding of semiotic work that constructs representations and axiological meanings to produce ideological perspectives on the past. Interaction with others reaccentuates and expands potential realizations of established arguments and evaluative perspectives about the past. This transmission can be understood as meaning-making practices through which individuals choose from the culture's reservoir of available discourses, while resignifying them to serve their own purposes. Discursive processes of intergenerational transmission are meaning-making activities in history.

The discursive practices used to reconstruct meanings include different types of intertextuality, resemiotization, and recontextualization. Intertextuality practices include various ways of integrating the voices of others into discourse. The practices observed in the case of Uruguayan youths' appropriations of discourses of the past included the uses of direct and indirect reported speech. Projecting others' discourse involved quoting the words of family members (e.g., anecdotes), academics (e.g., books or teachers), and artists (e.g., songs). However, the practice also included more interactive forms of positioning that affected participation structures in joint meaning-making situations. For example, youth were seen as taking on the role of animator of others' words, or being the coauthor of a message, which enabled youth to engage different forms of participation in the construction of meanings of the past. Another important aspect of intertextual practices involved being able to do particular readings or establish connections between discourses through logical inferences (e.g., examples of classroom discussions that integrated everyday knowledge with academic understandings of historical events). Another type of intertextuality that was used by youth in these processes involved adopting the rhetorical argumentative styles of various groups (e.g., arguments used by political groups and arguments used by historians). These argumentation styles reflected different discursive strategies for dealing with differences of opinion. For example, in peer interactions, youths legitimized their positions by resorting to testimonies and academic sources while trying to maintain interpersonal relations with their interlocutors. Similarly, in family conversations, youths took on a more confrontational stance – directly challenging the position of parents, or requesting parents' corroboration or expansion of their positions. Another type of intertexuality, precontextualization (Oddo, 2014), emerged in cases where youths were not familiar with the past and used their scant knowledge to design a future scenario. For example, during the family interview (see Chapter 3), Micaela used a hypothetical future scenario to explain the potential significance of reproducing repression tactics of the dictatorship in contemporary contexts.

Resemiotization processes involve the transformation of discourses from one semiotic mode to another. In the processes of intergenerational transmission explored in this book, there were "translations" of modes and multimodal discourses that integrated visual, linguistic, gestural, and musical semiotic means to make meaning of the past. For example, we witnessed the transformation of the visual meanings of a photograph into language to interpret and make sense of events that occurred during the dictatorship (e.g., state repression of civilians protesting), as well as the translation of music mode to multimodal videos that expand on the meaning of a cultural product (e.g., a song).

These semiotic practices (i.e., intertextuality and resemiotization) involve processes of recontextualization through which transgenerational meanings are constructed. The transmission of recent history depends on different types of recontextualizations that adapt to contextual characteristics in order to ensure that meanings circulate in time and space. The investigation of discursive processes as the circulation of meanings and the construction of meaning through time capture the dynamic nature of discourses about the past.

As many researchers have shown (Fried, 2011; Llobet, 2015; Sutton, 2015; D'Orsi, 2013), there are also nonlinguistic means of transmitting the recent past. Embodied practices and habitus that indirectly transmit an orientation and affective positioning with regards to the recent past are as important as the linguistic forms of transmission. I have not addressed these aspects in my work, but integrating a multimodal discourse analysis perspective into an investigation of this topic would be one method of incorporating further analysis in the future. However, when investigating intergenerational transmission diachronically, the distance from those who directly experienced the events impacts the power of reproduction of nonlinguistic forms. With investigation of the transmission process, language (what people say) and their records (what people narrate) provide a means to construct the sense and establish continuity with the past (Williams, 1977).

Investigating the transmission of the recent past as a communicative process highlights the tension between the creative action of individual meaning-making agency in relation to the determinism of the inherited tradition and beliefs embodied in discourses. This dialectic of quantitative changes that lead to qualitative shifts, through moment-to-moment choices that combine to construct discourses, displays the dynamic nature of cultural reproduction processes.

Understanding how youth make meaning of the past can help us open up spaces for more civic engagement and inform the teaching of recent history. Even though not all youth are interested or knowledgeable about the past, those who participated in this project – when given the opportunity – were able to engage with discourses about the past and worked to construct meanings of the dictatorship. The discourses about the recent part operate as contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982) providing signals of what to infer from current situations. For youth to understand current political debates and news about human rights violations, international court cases that involve the country, and political debates about the judicial system,[7] they need to have access to a stock of discourses about the recent past. In order to become active citizens, youth need to be able to understand the present in relation to the past.

(Re)making our past

Meanings about the past are a form of social action dependent on social relations between generations. In Uruguay, as in other countries, there is no consensus about the legacy of the dictatorship's pasts. Social and political tensions associated with the legacy of the dictatorship period are still resonating in the public sphere, thus impacting transgenerational meaning-making processes.

Dominant narratives about the past construct meaning-making traditions that produce continuities connecting the past and the present. The dominant discourses about the past construct the dictatorship as a terrible period in which civil liberties were curtailed, and to which we fear returning. They are mobilized in the present in order to limit public dissent, and challenges to the state and unpopular policies. The construction of counterhegemonic discourses about the past requires revising and recovering interpretations with clear lines of connection to contemporary issues. In this process, the residual, which has been formed in the past, is still active in the cultural process as an effective element of the present (Williams, 1977: 122). Counterhegemonic discourses about the dictatorship foreground the resistance of the people to state terrorism and connect to contemporary struggles against impunity and for social change. These alternative discourses have been gaining ground in the public sphere, but are not hegemonic (Burt, Fried, and Lessa, 2013).

The changes in the political context (i.e., Left governments) have not directly translated into changes in cultural practices that construct alternative hegemonic discourses about the past (e.g., former President Mujica's narrative about the recent past reproducing the "War" narrative even though he is from the Left). Although counterhegemonic discourses have gained more legitimacy (as seen through the analysis of the history textbooks and classroom discourse), the dominant formations of meanings and orientations to the past in connection to the present have not been subverted. As shown in this project, the affordances of the meditational means (Penuel and Wertsch, 1998) that Uruguayan youth had access to were dominated by the historical account of the dictatorship as a "War" (see Chapter 2). However, they also had access to counternarratives in the history classroom and in some family anecdotes (Chapters 3–4). Some of the youth were strongly opposed to this dominant narrative of the "War," but they used it in their arguments. Without resorting to the "War" narrative (by reproducing it or opposing it), most of the historical arguments produced by youth were not as persuasive in explaining the dictatorship. There was a sort of "hidden dialogicality" (Bakthin in Wertsch and Rozin, 1998) by which the youths' narratives resisted the dominant account. Most of the youths did not seem to have the resources to construct an alternative argument. Granted, some of the youths resorted to several narratives in order to compose their unique explanations of the past.

How can alternative narratives emerge? By reflecting on the meditational tools (i.e., schematic narratives) available to make sense of the past, youth can escape some of the constraints imposed on them (Penuel and Wertsch, 1998). Developing a critical consciousness, and not only collecting information about the past, can support an understanding and more effective use of the past.

Social consciousness develops in social situations and relations as particular knowledge and practices. To know about the past and to participate in certain activities that produce this knowledge creates a particular kind of consciousness. Historical consciousness develops as practical consciousness through participating in activities that give meaning to the past and apprentice youth into thinking historically. The youths in this study displayed different degrees of historical consciousness through the use of cultural tools in constructing their arguments about the dictatorship (e.g., Chapters 4 and 5). For example, they used analogies to represent and interpret contemporary experience in terms of the past. Luis contrasted his experience attending high school with that of students' experiences during the dictatorship period (e.g., "things changed for example in high schools everyone had to go with short hair and a uniform or shirt and a tie and everything up to your neck. Today a lot of things have changed. In high school not everyone comes with a uniform and the hair the hair of girls is long. And it is more free now, I am not sure how to explain it.").

The goal of intergenerational transmission of the recent past is not only to remember, but to understand. "The practice of memory, then, could not only be about attempting to understand an experience of the past through the significational marks *of the present* but also about going back and attempting to understand the meaning of the past in relation to the cultural marks that gave meaning to those experiences *in the past*"

(Forcinito, 2008: 94). Learning to think historically provides a new way of seeing, representing, and interpreting experience.

Why teach recent history? Besides learning to think historically, learning about the recent past enables the construction of identity. History provides a sense of group identity. To imagine the nation (Anderson, 1991), one needs to learn about it through texts, artifacts, and rituals. National, group, and individual identities are shaped by narratives about "where one has been and where one is going" (Wertsch and Rozin, 1998). The positioning of groups and individuals in concrete instances and across time shapes their identities in connection to a shared past and an imagined future. However, individuals' unique uses of the cultural narratives about the past available to them result in a wide range of possible relationships with the past (Wertsch and Rozin, 1998).

Affective elements of consciousness and relationships also shape identity formation. The youths' historical consciousness is affected by these affective elements and their connections within a generation. Family conversations function as a space for socialization of affective orientations to the past. The connections to the past through family experiences, as revealed through anecdotes, provide a structure of feeling (Williams, 1977). Affective solidarity of the second and third generation of those whose parents were not directly involved in the events occurs through other experiences outside the home (i.e., through friends, popular culture, or human rights violations discussions). However, discourses of human rights organized around the affective reactions to victims generate a depoliticization of discourses of the past.

Political affiliations (Faber, 2014) to the past are shaped by practices and experiences in other contexts besides the home (e.g., popular culture, peers, and student movements). According to Said (1983: 17–19, in Faber, 2014: 143), these may be "institutions, associations and communities whose social existence was not in fact guaranteed by biology, but by affiliation," or "a party, an institution, a set of beliefs, or even a world-vision [that] provides men and women with a new form of relationship [. . .] which is also a new system" to establish a genealogy connection. For example, the youth in this project who were politically involved or had families who valued politics developed a political identity that integrated the recent past, while youth not directly involved in politics or from families for whom politics was "corrupt" constructed depoliticized versions of the past.

As Said (2002: xxxv) has expressed, "it is what one remembers of the past and how one remembers it that determines how one sees the future." Changes in the sociopolitical context make possible changes in the transmission and resignification of the past. In this period, after the policies of oblivion, new generations' questions and sociopolitical pressures at the local and international levels have made visible the present significance of the dictatorship (Jelin, 2010). Youth consider that they have a right to know about the recent past. As Marina said: "A mi me interesa saber. Y creo, no creo que soy la única. A todo el mundo [le interesa] y tenemos el derecho a saber." [I am interested in knowing. And I think, I don't think I'm the only one. Everyone [is interested] and we have a right to know.]

Reflexive ruminations

As I write this book, I reflect on what it means to do research on recent history and topics in which there are moral questions. The researcher functions as a mediator of discourses about the recent past and a participant in the recontextualization process. My role as an outside observer of others' experiences involves, at the same time, a recontextualization of their experience through my interpretation and reporting of it. This type of research then directly intervenes in the phenomenon that is being studied. The research project becomes a political endeavor in a dual sense: by which the act of data collection produces spaces for intergenerational transmission (e.g., family conversation interviews); and through the generation of new interpretations and disseminations of the narratives of the dictatorship.

In addition to these complications, doing fieldwork, and reading and analyzing these topics which have a highly ethical and affective component, take an emotional toll on the researcher and makes reflexivity a key research practice. Doing interviews about each family's experience, going into their houses and learning about what this period meant to them – when it also meant something for me – required a systematic effort in order to reflect and be aware of how my own position affected what I was interpreting. It also involved checking that I was capturing the participants' experiences, particularly that of those families who had different positions than I. During fieldwork, I also had to become aware of how my "in-between position" affected the type of access I could get and the preconceptions that people had of me. Some people did "background" checks on me, like the youths who searched for me on Facebook, or the parents who asked their political friends to check me out to see if I was trustworthy. Having to follow the U.S. IRB review board regulations also made it difficult to position myself as trustworthy because the consent forms' level of detail and language was culturally foreign for participants. The IRB form became a cause of suspicion, as some people thought I was working for the U.S. government and did not want to participate. Building trust to talk about a sensitive topic like the dictatorship and its meanings was difficult for someone coming from the U.S.; however, being from Uruguay and sharing my own experience with the dictatorship helped in this process.

My goal with this project was to share the results of the project with larger audiences in ways that incorporated the youth, teachers, and families as collaborators. Besides doing participants' checks, I am currently working on a book in Spanish that compiles the perspectives of teachers, youths, and families about how to teach–learn the recent past. There are also plans to produce a documentary, to share with nonacademic audiences, using the scripts produced by the participants during our visit to the Museum of Memory.

The overwhelming amount of data and the "moral obligation" I feel to include every one of the participants' voices, as well as represent the complexities of their positions, have made the writing process both arduous and slow. This also connects to a theoretical challenge of doing linguistic ethnography: the dual focus on understanding a social issue in its linguistic realization through time, and in context. In addressing the complexity of the issues from a social and linguistic perspective, it is difficult to find a balance in how to write about subjects such as this one. My interactions with colleagues in LASA (Latin American Studies Association) who come from disciplines such as history, sociology, cultural studies, and transitional justice push me to focus on what I have found in terms of the meanings of the dictatorship. On the other hand, my disciplinary ties to discourse analysis and conversations with colleagues in this area lead me to explore the discursive aspects of the project. In this book, I have tried to integrate these two aspects by reporting on the discursive processes of intergenerational transmission, showing the inextricable relation between content and language. However, the level of depth in my analysis, at the social and linguistic levels, is not as profound as that of those colleagues who take on one perspective regarding this social phenomenon. The dialectic between language and content is as hard to address as is that which is found between instance and system. Shirley Brice-Heath's work looking at social history and linguistic practices in context serves as a model, but I am not sure I have been able to achieve what she has been able to. I leave it up to the reader to assess that goal.

Notes

1 Intergenerational Transmission, Discourse, and the Recent Past

1. For "Red Deer, Iron Curtain Habits Die Hard", http://www.kqed.org/news/story/2014/05/01/137156/for_red_deer_iron_curtain_habits_die_hard
2. "A person remembers only by situating himself within the viewpoint of one or several groups and one or several currents of collective thought" (Halbwachs, 1992: 33). Collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time. The social frameworks of the group filter our recollections. "While collective memory endures and draws strength from a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember" (Halbwachs, 1992: 48).
3. Chapter 2 provides a sociohistorical contextualization of the Uruguayan case.
4. It is important to note that everyone was affected by the dictatorship, however there are degrees of involvement and impact that differentiate individuals' experiences and the meanings they construct of the period.
5. The Law of Expiry (15.848) established that the government's intent to punish crimes committed by the military and police officers during the dictatorship had expired. The law impeded the investigation of any crimes committed by the military or civilians working for the state. This law has been an obstacle to the judicial process, even closing cases that were already in progress when the law was passed.
6. See Franco and Levín (2007) for a more detailed description of the origin of the field. Also see debates about the representation of the Holocaust in Saul Friedlander's (1992) *Probing the Limits of Representation.*
7.
   > Memory is a central part of the brain's attempt to make sense of experience, and to tell coherent stories about it. These tales are all we have of our pasts, and so they are potent determinants of how we view ourselves and what we do. Yet our stories are built from many different ingredients: snippets of what actually happened, thoughts about what might have happened, and beliefs that guide us as we attempt to remember. Our memories are the fragile but powerful products of what we recall from the past, believe about the present and imagine about the future. (Schacter, 1996: 308)

   Memory and remembering are experienced by individuals, meaning that it is individuals who actually remember and have memories, but individual memory is always connected to the social through language:

   > It [individual memory] is not completely sealed off and isolated. A man often appeals to others' remembrances to evoke his own past. He goes back to reference points determined by society, hence outside himself. Moreover, the individual memory could not function without words and ideas,

> instruments the individual has not himself invented but appropriated from his milieu. (Halbwachs, 1980: 51)

For a more elaborated discussion of memory please see Chapter 1 in Achugar's (2008) *What We Remember.*

2 Narratives as Transmission Tools: Learning about the Dictatorship in Uruguay

1. Pseudonyms of participants' names, high schools, and locations were used to protect their identity.
2. For a more comprehensive account see Marchesi and Winn (2013).
3. Since 1968, there had been security measures (Medidas Prontas de Seguridad) in place that curtailed individual liberties, claiming the need for internal security in the context of a "state of internal war" (*estado de guerra interno*).
4. The Tupamaro leaders who were imprisoned in Punta Carretas jail escaped just before the election in 1971. This event made it clear that the police were not able to control the guerrillas, even with special training from the U.S. that included instruction in torture techniques (Marchesi and Winn, 2013).
5. The main leaders of the Tupamaros were detained and imprisoned in extreme conditions of isolation. They were kept alive as "hostages" to ensure that their followers would behave (Marchesi and Winn, 2013).
6. The Council of National Security (COSENA) was formed, which institutionalized the political role of the armed forces as part of the executive branch.
7. The commander-in-chief of the armed forces, General Hugo Medina, refused to pass on the judge's indictments of active military officers. The military officers' refusal to appear in court created an institutional crisis for the new democracy.
8. The book *El vuelo,* which reported the confessions of Adolfo Scilingo – an Argentinian marine captain – revealed violations of human rights, including the flights from which living prisoners had been thrown into the River Plate. During that period, there was also the apology given by the commander-in-chief of the Argentinian army, General Martin Balza, for crimes committed during the dictatorship. In Uruguay, there was no admission of guilt – only one individual confession by retired Navy Captain Jorge Tróccoli (see the analysis of this "confession" in Achugar, 2008). The president at the time, Julio María Sanguinetti, refused to acknowledge state terrorism and did not respond to the request of Argentinian writer Juan Gelman to investigate the whereabouts of his disappeared granddaughter in Uruguay.
9. For example, in 2003 when military officers were called as witnesses for a deposition regarding the kidnapping and disappearance of the teacher Elena Quinteros, they refused to go to court and the police said they were not able to enforce this order of the judge (Yaffé, 2004).
10. This group coordinated by José Pedro Barrán, Gerardo Caetano, and Álvaro Rico worked from 2005 until 2007 to produce a 3500 page report that described the repressive procedures against particular political groups and included information about disappeared adults and children. It also provided information about the actions taken by human rights groups and the

archeological investigations of the forensic team searching for remains of the disappeared. See Rico (2007).

11. The first disappeared found through the government's archeological investigations were Ubagesner Chaves Sosa and Fernando Miranda in 2005 and 2006, respectively.
12. This law had been presented by the ruling party, Frente Amplio, however, President José Mujica asked representatives not to vote it through. As a result, the law did not pass: it received 49 votes in favor and 49 against. See Lessa and Fried (2011).
13. During 2011 the forensic anthropology team from the Universidad de la República found in the 14th Battalion the remains of Julio Castro, a 70-year-old teacher and journalist with no political affiliations who had disappeared in 1977. His body was found with evidence of having been executed with two shots to the head.
14. The Plan Cóndor was a secret transnational intelligence and counterinsurgency operation coordinated between the dictatorships of Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia.
15. For example, in 2010 a UN commissioner considered that the current situation of common prisoners in Uruguayan jails was a violation of human rights. In 2014, there was a report on the continued use of torture practices in adolescents' correctional facilities [*centros de responsabilidad penal adolescente*] (report of the National Mechanism for the Prevention of Torture – Institución Nacional de Derechos Humanos y Defensoría del Pueblo, 2014). In addition to these instances, the campaign to lower the age of criminal accountability from 18 to 16 shows the criminalization of society. The "other" is considered morally deviant and different; this has produced a polarization of society in cultural and social terms that is also related to economic differences.
16. See "Antonimos del Olvido" in *La Diaria,* June 16, 2015.
17. Transcription conventions follow CHILDES (MacWhinney, 2000). See http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/manuals/chat.pdf

3 Families' Conversations about the Dictatorship: Appropriating Anecdotes and Taking an Affective Stance

1. The photograph elicitation technique (Harper, 2002) has been used in sociology and anthropology as a data collection instrument. The photographs selected as emblematic of the dictatorship were chosen because of their ample circulation in textbooks and popular culture. In addition, the work of Rebecca Taylor's Fulbright project (2011) exploring the reception and interpretation of photographs of the Uruguayan dictatorship informed the final photograph selection.
2.
   *SIS: Y acá (.) chanchita dos.
   *MOT: &=laughs
   *FAT: <Un guanaco es eso> [<].
   *MOT: <Es otro (.) esto es> otro [/] otro [/] <otro [/] otro> [<]...
   *SIS: <¿Había una> chanchita en Tacuarembó [¿]?

*MOT: Sandra tiene que decir primero (.) ¿no? ¿O ya dijo?Ah (.) no (.) creo que ya dijo.
*INV: Dijo algo pero no sé si te [/] te <(..) hace acordar a algo> o te [/] <te hace sentir algo> [<]?
*SAN: <Pero es que no sé qué es eso> [<].
*MOT: <Es otro vehículo ese> [<].
*SAN: No sé.¿Es agua eso?
*MOT: Hm.
*FAT: Bolso <es lo que le lo que le llamaban> guanaco <porque escupe> [<]…
*MOT: <XXX sólo lo que te dijo sí> [<]. <Porque tiraba> (..) escupe agua.
*SAN: Ah.
*FAT: El guanaco teóricamente (.) no sé si es un bicho que escupe <o qué> [<].
*MOT: <O> elefantes. Sí (.) el guanaco te escupe.
*SIS: ¿Pero cómo (.) eso le decía la gente así o [/] o… ?
*FAT: Chanchita era un vehículo más bien de [/] de represión y de [/] de [/] <de detención> [<].
*MOT: <Te metían para adentro> [<].
*FAT: Esto era un vehículo de (.) sí (.) de represión pero te tiraba agua.
*SIS: <Que [/] que los sacaban en las> <manifestaciones> [<].
*MOT: <Por las fuerza XXX manguera> [<].
*FAT: <Muy fuerte> [<].
*MOT: Fuerte para disolver las [/] las manifestaciones.
*FAT: Claro (.) si estabas cerca te podías hacer eso (.) ahí están medio (..) subiéndose. Teóricamente ese vehículo viene (.) había ya una manifestación y con el agua la disuelve o <corre a la gente> [<].
*MOT: <XXX con una fuerza> bárbara el agua (.) ¿no?
*SIS: Claro.
*FAT: Eso (.) no sé (.) tal vez sea el nueve de julio del setenta y tres porque (..) hay gente por todos lados. Que fue una manifestación muy grande que hubo <XXX> [<].
*SAN: <¿Líber Arce> [<]?
*FAT: No.
*SIS: Claro (.) unos días después (.) fue un paro general (.) no. &=mumbles
*FAT: Había [/] <había (.) este> (.) huelga general desde el veintisiete de junio.
*MOT: <Fue la huelga general> [<].
*FAT: El nueve de julio hubo una manifestación muy grande ahí en el (..) [/] en el Centro.
*SIS: ¿Vos estabas?
*FAT: Y (.) eh (.) esa noche (.) creo que esa misma noche Seregni fue preso.
*SIS: Hm.

3. *MOT: Claro (.) yo de ese [/] de ese vehículo también tengo sólo la imagen de [/] de fotos (.) no participé nunca en una <manifestación> así (.) con ese tipo de represión.

*SIS: <Claro> [<].Tenías [/] tenías cuatro añitos ahí. ¡No!
*MOT: No (.) no (.) tenía <(. . .)> no (.) tenía doce.
*SIS: <¡Qué boluda> [<]!
*MOT: Estaba entrando al liceo.
*SIS: Doce (.) claro.
*SAN: Ta (.) pero depende.
*SIS: Claro (.) pero eras <ya grandecita> [<].
*MOT: <XXX> [<].
*FAT: Hm.
*SAN: ¿Te tiraron agua?
*MOT: De todo (.) Eduardo.
*FAT: Mmm (.) sí (.) pero no.
*SIS: Y ahí no lo podían creer (.) no sabían qué iba a pasar (..) ¿o qué?
*FAT: ¿Eh?
*SIS: ¿No sabían qué iba a pasar (.) ahí (.) en ese momento?
*FAT: Y (.) bueno (.) fue como un intento ahí de hacer algo muy grande a ver si . . .
*MOT: Si se podía frenar <algo> [<].
*FAT: <Si se> podía frenar (.) pero no.
*SAN: ¿Pero qué querían hacer? Viste [¿] el militar ahí.
*FAT: ¿Hm?
*MOT: Que estaba la huelga general (.) ¿no? (.) era como que ahí los trabajadores básicamente el [//] la C_N_T (. . .) bueno (.) o los estudiantes cuando todo el resto de los movimientos sociales (.) pero era a partir [///] estaban como intentando frenar (.) tenían como esa (. . .) esa postura básicamente. Además eso como algunos partidos [//] algunos sectores (.) ¿no? (.) del Frente apoyando eso. Me parece.
*FAT: Sí (.) todo el Frente (..) y un poquito algunos otros. Un poquito.
*SIS: ¿Wilson? &=mumbles
*MOT: No sé (.) de la huelga general no tengo idea.
*FAT: En la universidad (.) este (. . .) los colorados llevaban arroz y . . .
*MOT: ¿Arroz?
*FAT: Sí.
*MOT: <¿Para qué> [<]?
*FAT: <Bolsas de> arroz . . . Para [/] para ocupación.
*MOT: ¡Ah! Colaboraban.
*FAT: Y los blancos iban un poquito. Un poquito.
*MOT: Y ocupaban (..) los del Frente.
*SIS: Pero aunque en verdad todo como lo (.) este (.) eh (.) todo la [/] la [/] la caída de la democracia fue más bien por el [/] por el lado del pachequismo y del partido colorado (.) ¿no? Eh (.) entonces no entiendo por qué . . .
*MOT: Bueno (.) algunos sectores llevarían arroz.
*SIS: Eso en la universidad porque . . .
*SAN: ¿Y arroz para qué?
*FAT. <Bueno (.) sí (.) pero> [<] . . .
*MOT: <Para ayudar con la comida> (.) para la olla.
*FAT: Había sectores que estaban (..) en contra. Dentro de los colorados había sectores que (..) estaban en contra del golpe.

*SIS: Ta.
*SAN: Batlle (.) ¿no?
*FAT: Hm (.) sí.Y de (.) sí (.) y de los blancos la mayoría (..) estaban en contra. Porque (.) claro (.) el gobierno era colorado con apoyo de los blancos. Y que estaba (..) ahí (.) encabezado por Bordaberry. No todo ese gobierno dio el golpe de estado. Este (.) pero entonces había todo un sector grande del partido Colorado que apoyó o <(...)> dijo (.) bueno (.) menos mal que se termina (..) el relajo.
*SAN: <Se quedó callado> [<].
*MOT: &=coughs
*SIS: ¿Cómo? ¿Quién [/] quién es eso (.) los colorados? ¿Los del lado de Bordaberry?
*FAT: Claro (.) eran la mayoría del partido Colorado.
*SIS: Se termina el relajo de los tupamaros.
*FAT: <No sé (.) supongo que decían eso> [<].
*MOT: <Y la huelga también> [<].
*FAT: Eh (.) era una sociedad muy enfrentada en ese momento (.) ¿no?
*SIS: Mhm.
*FAT: Mucha gente apoyó (..) el golpe.
*SIS: Sí porque había últimamente muertes y cosas que ahora no estamos acostumbrados (.) ponele.
*SIS: No sé.
*MOT: XXX (.) pero había como un clima de...
*FAT: Es más violento: (.) el enfrentamiento.
*MOT: <&=coughs> [<].
*MOT: Mucho enfrentamiento (.) ahí va.

4. Repair turns are conversational segments that deal with problems in communication such as in hearing or understanding.
5. *ADR: ¿Esa no es la ciudad vieja? No. ¿El centro?
*INV: Parece que es el centro (.) sí. Y (.) ¿qué se ve?
*ADR: Todos colgándose a un camión.
*INV: Mhm.
*ADR: De [/] de ¿un camión de bomberos? No.
*MOT: Esa es una etapa (.) sí (.) justamente que no la conoce.
*INV: No.
*ADR: Pero eso [/] eso parece agua.
*MOT: Sí:.
*ADR: XXX
*MOT: Fíjate en la ropa que tienen. Los muchachos todos con pelo larg:o.
*ADR: Como los hippies de otra época. &=laughs
*MOT: &=laughs
*MOT: Bueno (.) sí (.) yo viví esa época (.) por eso &=laughs
*INV: <Yo vengo de tu época> [<].
*MOT: <Sí> [<].&=laughs Soy vieja (.) ¿viste? Sí (.) obviamente eso es una calle del centro (.) <¿verdad> [<]?
*ADR: <Sí> [<].

*MOT: Y (.) hay un montón de personas (.) que rodean a un vehículo. Ahora (.) ¿estarán paseando esas personas?
*ADR: No (.) corriendo.
*MOT: Sí (.) entonces (.) ¿sería qué? No es un paseo común y corriente (.) ahí sería una MANI:FESTACIÓN.
*MOT: Eso es una ma (manifestación) [///] la foto es de una manifestación. ¿Qué más se puede ver? ¿Por qué tiran agua? ¿Para regar las plantas?
*ADR: No (. . .) se ve que hay fuego o algo (.) pero no entiendo nada.
*MOT: Sí (.) por lo general se tiraba el agua para calmar los ánimos (.) vamos a decir (.) de las manifestaciones que eran violentas. La manera de expresarse en grupo.
*ADR: ¿Y no existía la policía?
*MOT: Buena pregunta. Estaba todo muy mezclado (.) es una época en que la policía no participaba (.) sino que se tomaba medidas más drásticas. Tenían un nombre esos camiones. Esas son manifestaciones en el centro de Montevideo. Dieciocho [/] dieciocho de julio.

6. *AUG: Un (.) eh (.) tanque o algo que (.) ta (.) o sea (.) que [/] que tiene la [/] la [/] la [//] el chorro de agua que [///] lanzándose a la gente ahí que (.) o sea (.) como (..) pará . . . Sí (.) tiran (tirando) [/] tirando agua como para alejar a la gente y como para (.) no sé si para reprimir o (..) qué. O sea (.) hay bastante gente así (.) parece una especie de (. . .) no sé si movilización o algo porque hay como (..) mucha gente tirada ahí. <&=laughs> [<]. <Tiraron a mucha gente> ahí. Amontonada (..) y que (.) a ver (.) no sé qué avenida es esa (.) me (..) parece que (.) pero no sé cuál. Pero yo no tengo [/] no tengo reconocimiento de calles para nada.
*INV: No.
*AUG: No es mi fuerte (.) ni edificios. &=laughs Así que ta (.) y (. . .) y no sé (.) como que (..) parece gente más bien joven.
*INV: Hm.
*AUG: Me parece (. . .) y (.) ta (.) eso. Ver (.) es lo que se ve. Pero me parece una especie de marcha (.) manifestación o lo que fuere porque hay tipo bastante gente (.) se ve el fondo también ahí. Y ta (.) están con los tanques ahí (.) sacando a la gente (.) con el agua (. . .) y (. . .) ¿qué me hace sentir? Pah (.) yo qué sé. Ta (.) no (.) que ver los jóvenes que para uno parecen estudiantes y eso (.) ta (.) que (.) bueno (.) es como lo [/] lo (.) sí (.) lo [/] lo diferente (.) lo complicado que era (.) o sea (.) también lo distinto que era ser estudiante (.) joven (.) en esa época de la dictadura. O sea que (.) ta (.) están viviendo en un momento mucho más (..) de represión y todo y (.) ta (.) y los estudiantes normalmente eran los que más (..) se (.) no sé cómo decírtelo (.) se [///] los jóvenes eran los que más se movían (..) capaz (.) en [/] en contra y (.) ta (.) era como re distinto a lo que puede llegar a ser ahora (.) pero (.) sí (.) eso nomás. Ahora le toca [/] ahora le toca a ustedes. ¿Quién va?
*MOT: Sí (.) seguro (.) no (.) los estudiantes (.) claro (.) protestando contra la dictadura (.) pero . . .

*AUG: No sé (.) te digo (.) calles no tengo nada.
*FAT: Eso debe ser dieciocho de julio a la altura de la universidad.
*AUG: Sí (.) tiene [/] tiene pinta (.) pero ta (.) yo no me quiero arriesgar.
*INV: &=laughs Sí.
*AUG: Te puedo llegar a decir . . .
*FAT: Claro.
*MOT: Sí.
*FAT: Es una manifestación estudiantil (.) obviamente que ya está.
*MOT: Claro. O los estudiantes sacando cuando los milicos <ocuparon> la universidad (.) <porque> varias veces fueron los . . .
*FAT: <Claro (. . .) claro> (.) claro (.) claro (.) claro.
*MOT: A ocupar y a meterse (.) no respetando la autonomía universitaria.
*FAT: Sí (.) sí.Y debe ser en la época . . .
*MOT: Que eso ya empezó en el sesenta y ocho (.) en realidad.
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: O sea (.) antes de la <dictadura> incluso.
*FAT: <Mhm (.) mhm> [<].
*MOT: Digo (.) eso de [/] de ocu (ocupar) [///] de meterse.
*FAT: Mhm. Claro.
(. . .)
*MOT: Como vivía en el interior (.) yo recuerdo más la represión (.) eh . . . Sí (.) lo [//] en los últimos años de dictadura (.) pero más recuerdo lo del [/] lo del ochenta y cinco (.) digamos (.) con [/] con Sanguinetti que la represión seguía siendo super fuerte. Y que es increíble. Bueno (.) y además que la represión en Uruguay no empezó con la dictadura (.) claramente (.) ¿no? (.) la represión en <Uruguay> empezó (..) mucho antes de la dictadura.
*FAT: <Claro> [<].
*MOT: Ya en el sesenta y siete era . . .
*FAT: Sí (.) sí.
*AUG: <No te acordás de nada porque vos nos estabas> [<].
*MOT: <Y los estudiantes (.) claro (.) eran> [<] . . .
*FAT: ¿Eh?
*MOT: <Los estudiantes> [<] . . .
*AUG: <No te acordás de nada> porque (.) <bueno <(.) te> repito.
*FAT: <&=laughs> [<]. XXX no.
*MOT: Pero era todo [/] todo en América Latina <lo de la represión> [<].
*FAT: <Y sí (.) claro> [<].
*AUG: Claro (.) pero no estaba en América Latina él.
*INV: De esta imagen en Colombia [///] ¿podría haber sido una foto <en Colombia> [<]?
*FAT: <Sí (.) perfectamente> [<]. Perfectamente (.) sí (.) porque en Colombia el (.) yo qué sé (.) del (..) [//] desde el cuarenta y ocho en realidad (..) hasta hoy (..) prácticamente se vivió como en una dictadura civil.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Que era lo que había acá (.) también. Cívico-militar (.) bueno (.) por eso (.) pero allá . . .

*MOT: Sí (.) sí (. . .) civil pero era [/] era dictadura antes de la dictadura.
*FAT: Claro. Pero una diferencia grande (..) es que acá (..) o sea (.) en esa foto (.) viste que está el . . . Digamos (.) en Colombia lo normal sería que está el [/] el bicho tirando agua y la gente saliendo corriendo. Y aquí los estudiantes están tomando el coso. O sea (.) están (..) en resistencia (.) mejor dicho. Viste que están . . .
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: No están corriendo (.) están . . .
*INV: No.
*AUG: Igual en Colombia técnicamente no hubo dictadura (.) ¿no? (.) digo.
*FAT: Ya sé. Bueno (.) pero acá hay una imagen que es de resistencia (.) ¿no? La gente (.) viste (.) yo qué sé (.) yo diría que (..) <no sé (.) como si fuera> (..) durante la huelga general o no sé lo que (.) ¿me entendés? (.) que está la gente así . . .
*MOT: <Sí (.) si no tXXX nada> [<] Sí (.) sí. Sí (.) estudiante y obrero . . .
*FAT: Sí (.) sí (.) sí.
*MOT: Así (.) jugado (..) en todo.
*FAT: Bueno (.) lo . . .
*MOT: Y por eso no duró más la dictadura tampoco.

7. *LUC: Sólo una cosa (.) yo tengo (.) o sea (.) las anécdotas que me contaron (.) por ejem (ejemplo) [///] mi abuelo me contó (.) como trabajaba en la agencia de viajes (.) que (.) o sea (.) había allanamientos más seguido (.) que los golpeaban en el piso. Me contó como había habido un allanamiento y me dijo que (.) viste que había habido (.) o sea (.) había habido libros que estaban prohibidos (.) pero que en sí eran libros que nada que ver. Libros de Australia (.) porque como era una agencia de viajes (.) sean libros de Australia o libros de otros lados que no (..) que lo podías tener (.) pero se lo llevaban igual. Y (.) no sé (.) alguna anécdota que me hayan contado no sé.
*MOT: Lo que más te contó el abuelo de [/] de cómo se vivía en esa época (.) que yo la verdad no me daba cuenta <de eso> [<] . . .
*LUC: <Ah (.) me> dijo que antes de lavarte los dientes (.) lo primero que hacías al levantarte era agarrar la cédula. <Porque> te levantabas (.) la cédula (.) lo primero es tener . . .
*INV: <¿En serio> [<]?
*LUC: No podías salir a la calle sin cédula porque (..) terminabas preso. Y era lo primero que pensabas. Todo el <tiempo> [<].
*MOT: <Era la> [/] <la caja de> [<] . . .
*FAT: <Yo me acuerdo una> anécdota <fue que> un día lo pararon y mostró la cédula (.) el viejo la miró le dijo (.) siga (.) y era la cédula de la esposa.
*MOT: <Sí> [<].
*INV: &=laughs
*FAT: O sea que <ni la miraban> [<].
*MOT: <Cuando llega a> la casa tarde <mi mamá le dice> (.) Pocho (.) ¿por qué llegás tarde (.) qué pasó?
*FAT: <&=laughs> [<].

*MOT: No (.) en Ramón Anador estaban parando las chanchitas… ¿Y qué te pidieron [/] y qué te pidieron? La cédula. ¿Cómo la cédula (.) y qué les diste? La cédula. Saca así y era la cédula de mi mamá. Indudablemente (.) mi mamá (.) que ya había visto la cédula de él y estaba muy nerviosa porque era la carta de salvación que uno <tenía> (.) estar documentado (.) no indocumentado en esa época (.) y (.) este (.) decía (.) suerte que me tocó un [/] un milico ignorante que no sabía leer.
*INV: <Claro> [<].
*MOT: &=laughs
*LUC: &=laughs
*INV: Pero ni la foto (.) nada. &=laughs
*MOT: Porque si no (.) no contaba <el> cuento.
*INV: <Sí> [<].
*MOT: Entonces él [/] él le explicaba (.) le contó esa anécdota (.) este (.) explicándole a Luciana lo importante que era (.) este (.) <tener un documento> [<].
*LUC: <Tener la cédula> [<].
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: En esa época que podía significar el volver a tu casa o no [/] o no volver.

8. *AND: Que me contó él que (..) un día en el merendero (.) así (.) le daban la leche a los niños y eso y (.) cuando la señora estaba sirviendo la leche (..) pasó un camión (..) con ametralladoras y empezaron a tirar disparos (.) así (.) y le dieron a la (..) que les estaba sirviendo la leche. A la cocinera.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Tenía dieciocho años.
*INV: ¿La cocinera [///] la muchacha?
*FAT: Eso fue en el setenta y uno.
*INV: Hm.
*AND: Ta (.) y otra anécdota…
*FAT: <Y se le atribuyó a los de…> &=sighs Ay (.) ¿cómo era que se llamaban ellos?
*INV: ¿Qué era (.) un grupo paramilitar?
*FAT: Sí. Habíamos terminado de pintar el cordón de nosotros. Era el mismo. El comité de base estaba en lo que es hoy Javier Barrios Amorín. Hoy hay una florería.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Y Durazno. Y habíamos hecho una cruz [/] una cruz con los colores del Frente Amplio. Todavía yo embro (embromaba) [///] bromeaba (.) tenemos que pintarlas amarillo y negro (.) decía.
*INV: &=laughs
*FAT: Este…
*INV: Pero (.) ¿y cuántos años tenías tú?
*FAT: Once años. Eso fueron las elecciones (..) fraudulentas (…) que perdió (.) eh (.) el partido Blanco. Después encontraron urnas tiradas en la rambla (…) votos… Creo que asumió (.) eso fue cuando subió [///] asumió… Después Pacheco había tenido que dar elecciones y subió (..) Bordaberry.

*AND: Eh (.) y también me acuerdo de otra que la escuché (..) varias veces. Fue a la mujer esa que le dieron [///] le llevaron como de regalo un vino y estaba como envenenado (.) así (.) le habían puesto como veneno. No me acuerdo de quién fue que se lo regaló (.) pero la escuché varias veces.

9. This anecdote refers to the case of the death of Cecilia Fontana de Heber in 1978. Three bottles of white wine were sent to the home of Luis Alberto Lacalle (former Uruguayan president), and addressed to him and two other politicians from the Partido Nacional (Carlos Julio Pereyra and Mario Heber). The wife of Mario Heber drank from one of those bottles and died. The case was still under investigation as of 2015.
10. *MOT: Está bueno que lo [//] ellos sepan lo que pasaron los (..) o pueden haber pasado un abuelo de un amigo...
*FAT: Un tío (.) lo que fuera.
*MOT: Bueno (.) como el (..) padre de [/] de Lula que estaba diciendo él que es excelente persona y (..) [/] y que lo vivió. Y hace [//] no hace un año <que falleció> [<].
*FAT: <El padre de Lula> falleció. El padre de Lula (..) eh (..) salía todos los días a pedalear porque si no (.) no caminaba más con todas las torturas que le hicieron.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Y quedó estéril el hombre.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Todas las torturas (.) pero (..) una barbaridad el hombre.Y todos los días uno lo veía pedaleando. Lo mató un camión (.) tuvo la mala suerte que (..) un colectivo lo agarró. En la ruta. Todos los días salía a pedalear.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Si él no salía a pedalear (.) no caminaba más (.) este (.) de tantas torturas <que le> hicieron (.) y esas cosas.
*INV: <Sí> [<].
*FAT: Y (.) sin embargo (.) vos hablabas con él y nunca (.) eh (.) la gente no [/] no [/] no [/] no... Sin rencor.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Todo lo que le hicieron y...
*MAR: Y no cambió el pensamiento de él.
*FAT: Claro.
*MAR: Seguía siendo...
*FAT: Seguro.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Luchaba por <la libertad> de: [//] del obrero...
*MAR: <Pacifista> [<].
*FAT: &=mumbles
*MAR: Y mucha gente que fue (..) pacifista (.) eh (.) murió torturada también. Siendo pacifista (..) porque se manifestaban a veces hasta sin armas y mataban igual.
*FAT: Claro. Te agarraban y te (..) [/] te metían adentro... Lo que le sucedió a la mayoría. La mayoría no [/] no [/] no... Que mataron gente en pila que [/] que son desaparecidos y eso.

*MOT: Sí (.) que hasta el día de hoy hay madres que ni saben a dónde están los cuerpos de los hijos.
*INV: Hm.
*MAR: Y de los padres porque (..) todo lo que era hombre.
*FAT: Seguro. No y <mujeres también> [<].
*MOT: <No (.) mujeres también> [<]. Mujeres también.
*FAT: Mujeres con hijos (.) que les sacaban a los hijos.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Ahí como hicieron con esa gurisa cuando fue presa. La [/] la llevaron los militares (..) en Argentina (.) ahí.
*INV: Hm.
*FAT: Gelman (.) ¿no?
*MAR: Sí.
*MOT: Sí.

11. Toward the end of the dictatorship in the 1980s, people began to protest against the dictatorship by organized pot banging at night when there was more anonymity. Within the security of their own houses, people turned off the lights and banged pots loudly with their windows open for a few minutes. This created solidarity and began to show organized opposition to the regime.
12. *ALB: A papá (.) la vez pasada cuando vine así del [/] del museo (.) fue que le pregunté de los [///] de que tiraban las lamparitas esas con [//] no (.) los festejos con las [/] con las latas y eso.
*INV: Ah.
*ALB: Que se ponían adentro de la casa y empezaban a golpear (.) y eso. Eso sí me dijo que sí (.) que era cierto.
*MOT: Ah (.) pero eso era las (..) ¿cómo era? Los golpes de cacerola (.) ¿cómo era?
*ALB: Ahí va (.) eso.
*INV: Sí (.) caceroleos.
*MOT: Ahí está. Mi esposo cuenta que (..) había unas camionetas de milicos o algo así que se llamaban el ropero (.) ¿puede ser?
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: ¿El <ropero era> [<]?
*INV: <Sí (.) sí (.) sí> [<].
*MOT: Y (.) este: (.) y que si veía una barra de muchachos (.) eh (..) los [/] los metían a patadas adentro del ropero (.) los llevaban (.) e: h (.) y bueno (.) después los soltaban a las horas.
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: Pero: (.) dice que mi esposo ha estado así (.) este: (.) en una esquina parado (.) de repente con muchachos bien (.) y se han llevado a los otros y a él nunca le hicieron nada.
*MOT: Nunca jamás subió…
*INV: No tuvo ningún <problema> [<].
*MOT: <No (.) no (.)no> (.) nunca.
*MOT: Dice que subían arriba a los ómnibus…
*MOT: Ay (.) estoy muerta de frío.
*MOT: Este: (.) subían arriba de los ómnibus y (.) bueno (.) y a algunos se los llevaban también.

*INV: Hm.
*MOT: Y a mi esposo nunca le pasó nada de eso.
*MOT: Bueno (.) gracias a dios (.) ¿no?
*INV: Por suerte (.) sí.
*MOT: Este: (.) nunca una paliza (.) nunca nada.
*MOT: Digo (.) ciudadanos comunes sin [/] sin problema ninguno.
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: No sé si era porque uno se alejaba de los problemas o [/] o no sé por qué (.) o por suerte nomás (.) no sé.
(...)
*ALB: Después decía que si no te metías con nadie (.) este (.) no te (tenías) [///] o sea (.) no tenías problema (.) no tenías que andar muchas horas [//] a altas horas de la noche no tendrías que andar por ahí (.) porque ahí sí te paraba el ropero y dice que te llevaban. Te pedían la documentación. Pero dice que si vos no te metías con nadie y no armabas lío (.) no tenías problema.
*INV: Hm.
*ALB: Y él no tuvo problema.

13. *CAR: Eh (.) que (.) ta (.) lo que decían así (.) que en los tiempos de [/] <de así de> esa [///] de la dictadura no podían salir los militares o a escuchar...
*INV: <De dictadura> [<].
*MOT: Seguro (.) porque cuando por ejemplo venían <Los> Olimareños (..) todos que eran <pasado> (..) este (.) entonces como que los militares no podían ir a ver.
*INV: <Sí> [<]. <Sí> [<].
*MOT: Tenían que esconderse para verlos.
*INV: Ah (.) porque estaba prohibida <esa música> [<].
*MOT: <Estaba prohibido> ese tipo de [/] de [/] de gente que venía <para que> ellos lo vieran.
*INV: <Sí> [<]. Hm.
*MOT: Digo (.) no sé (..) qué tenía <que ver> porque...
*INV: <Sí> [<].
*CAR: Vos sabés que en español los otros días dimos un tema así (.) de la canción El Cielito (.) que creo que es de Los Olimareños.
*INV: <Seh> [<].
*CAR: Que acá también estaba prohibido escuchar esa música así (.) y si alguien te escuchaba y te denunciaba (.) venían (.) te revolvían todo y si encontraban el disco te lo rompían o te llevaban preso.
*INV: Hm.
*CAR: Sí (.) eso he oído.
*MOT: ¿Y eso quién te lo dijo?
*CAR: La profesora de [/] de español que...
*INV: ¿Y qué (.) la canción decía algo <que era XXX> [<]?
*CAR: <Sí (.) pero tipo justicia> (.) así (.) no sé <qué tontería> [<].
*INV: <Ah (.) de justicia> [<].
*CAR: Sí. Y que eran tiempos malos (.) algo así.
*INV: Pero a los militares tampoco [///] si les gustaba la música no la podían escuchar.

*CAR: Sí (.) no (.) no podían (.) estaba tipo (.) eh (.) ¿cómo es? (.) <saturado> [<] . . .
*INV: <Censurado> [<].
*CAR: Ay (.) ta (.) censurado es.
*INV: Sí.
*CAR: Sí.
*INV: Y tu hermano (.) eh . . .
*MOT: Mi hermano me acuerdo que <en esa> época (.) una vez que vino de ver a Los Olimareños del estadio (.) ta (.) fuimos (.) ¿no? (.) con él (.) pero él se escondía porque dice (.) no puedo (.) que llegan a televisar o eso y me ven (.) dice (.) y me retan o . . .
*INV: <Sí> [<]. Hm.
*MOT: Entonces como que se escondía ahí (.) detrás de uno o de otro <para> que no fuera a salir.
*INV: <Sí> [<]. Hm.
*MOT: Digo yo (.) bueno (.) <son cosas> mismo <que> . . .
*INV: <Sí> [<]. <Hm> [<].
*MOT: Eso sí (.) me acuerdo bien que no se podía hacer (.) sí . . . O sea (.) no podían ir los militares.

14. *MOT: Porque él (.) e: h (.) me pare (parece) (.) eh (.) mi padre una vez sola contó que estaba en una plaza y todo y de repente estaba caminando en una plaza y que se vino (.) dice que empezó a correr todo el mundo (.) que caballos por arriba de la plaza (.) todo eso. Una vez sola le pasó.
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: Que ahí fue que lo llevaron. Dice (.) todo el mundo [///] que estábamos de lo más bien en la plaza y de repente (. . .) dice (.) empezaron a venir caballos por arriba de la [///] y te pasaban por arriba y todas esas cosas.
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: Pero una vez sola lo <(..)> [/] lo vivió.
*INV: <Hm> [<].
*MOT: Después no. Ta (.) después más de eso no <(. . .)> [/] no ha pasado (.) digo (.) <como> para decir (..) algo que nos quede a nosotros (..) no (.) digo (.) no nos (..) toca sabés XXX.
*INV: <Hm> [<]. <Sí> [<].Y lo que estabas diciendo de que cuando se habla de aquella época o de (..) que había más control o todo eso (.) de eso hablan también <cómo era vivir ahí (.) digo (.) porque tiene que haber sido XXX> [<].
*MOT: <Claro (.) porque si (.) claro (..) no (.) no (.) claro> (.) porque nosotros nos ponemos (..) a escuchar el informativo o si pasa algo ya (.) digo (.) nos ponemos a hablar y sí (.) y ahí sale el tema sí (.) porque antes era así (.) capaz que si eso volvie: ra o si hubiera un poquito más (.) digo (.) no habría tanto (.) todas esas cosas.
*MIC: Sólo en algunas cosas <porque tampoco es que te agarran en la calle y te lleven y te den palo y todo eso no> [<].
*MOT: <Digo (.) claro (.) yo no (. . .) claro (.) pero es lo que yo digo> [<]. No digo que venga todo sino algunas cosas estrictas que había ahí (..) que capaz que ahora en este momento acá (.) en la actualidad

(.) haría falta. Porque vos vas sola a las diez de la noche (.) a las once de la noche y vos ves chiquilines de nueve años (.) once años (..) en la calle. Que para mi (.) digo (.) no es normal por más <que> (.) digo (.) si hubieran que los levantaran (.) que los llevaran o algo (.) ahí aunque sea (.) viste (.) mismo los familiares se van a [///] los padres mismos (.) digo (.) se van a preocupar más de que se los están llevando todos los [/] todos los días.
*INV: <Hm> [<]. Hm.
*MOT: Eso ya no estaría. Por eso digo (.) yo (.) digo (.) voy a eso (.) yo no voy a que salga: n a dar palo, no (.) eso no (.) o: bvio (.) pero digo que a alguno: un poquito más de reglas para [///] a ver si se puede. Digo (.) eso me... Digo (.) para mi me gustaría un poco más (.) uno que tiene hijos (.) que anda en la calle (.) que uno no puede salir. Menos ellos hoy en día...
*INV: Hm.
*MOT: Sería un poquito más de control.

4 Arguments with Peers: Negotiating the Past in the Present

1. This chapter is based on a paper written with Amparo Fernández and Nicolás Morales, which was published in 2013: Re/constructing the Past: How Young People Remember the Uruguayan Dictatorship. *Discourse & Society*, 24 (3): 263–86.
2. I use the term *youth* following Bucholtz (2002: 532) because

> youth foregrounds age not as trajectory, but as identity, where *identity* is intended to invoke neither the familiar psychological formulation of adolescence as a prolonged 'search for identity', nor the rigid and essentialized concept that has been the target of a great deal of critique. Rather, identity is agentive, flexible, and ever-changing – but no more for youth than for people of any age. Where the study of adolescence generally concentrates on how bodies and minds are shaped for adult futures, the study of youth emphasizes instead the here-and-now of young people's experience, the social and cultural practices through which they shape their worlds (see also Wulff, 1995).

3. *Mundialito* (2010) is a Uruguayan documentary directed by Sebastián Bednarik about the 1980 soccer competition that occurred at the same time that the military carried out a plebiscite to change the constitution and legalize their regime. http://www.coralcine.com/es/mundialito-16.html
4. *Coding scheme for representation and evaluation of social actors and events:*

   Transitivity analysis (Halliday, 1994): identification of type of process (material, mental, verbal, behavioral, existential, or relational), participants and circumstances.

   Evaluation: attitude (Martin and White, 2005). Types of evaluation: affect (happiness/unhappiness; security/insecurity; satisfaction/insatisfaction; positive/negative; direct/indirect), judgment (social esteem and social sanction;

personal: admire/criticize; moral: praise/condemn), appreciation (reaction, composition and social valuation; positive/negative).

Identified: social actor evaluated, type of evaluation, nature of evaluation (positive or negative), and graduation (degree of force and focus). Force (grading): intensifiers, attitudinal lexis, metaphors, swearing; raise/lower. Focus (sharpen/soften). Engagement (source): monogloss (one voice, bare declarative); heterogloss (more than one voice; projection (projecting clauses, names for speech acts, projecting within clause, scare quotes); modality (polarity; probability; necessity); concession (conjunctions, continuatives).

Coding scheme positioning/forms of speech transmission
Subjective (attitudes/individual positioning with respect to information): evaluative lexis, modification, comparison. *Intersubjective* (dialogic positioning/with respect to interlocutors): repetition, dislocation, modals, conjunctions, interpersonal metaphor. *Interdiscursive* (implication/positioning with respect to other discourses): direct discourse (parallelism of intonation, rhetorical, interference, author's imposition) and indirect discourse (theme analysis, texture analysis).

5. "Milicos" is a derogatory term used to refer to the military. We tried to find an equivalent in English, but only found terms that may be dated since they were used during the Vietnam era (e.g., "green machine" or "uncle Sam").
6. Transcription code follows CHILDES (MacWhinney, 2000). http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/manuals/chat.pdf
7. *Luis: ¿estuvo bien o estuvo mal que hayan estado los militares?
*Federico: Todo tiene su pro y sus contras. La dictadura tiene muchos pro y tiene muchos contras.
*Sofía: <La mayoría son contras>
*Federico: Los tupamaros también tendrían muchos pro y tendrían muchos contras. Pero yo:
*Sofía: Los contra fue que murió gente, ya está: los pro no importan.
*Ernesto: ta claro lo que:
*Sofía: No hay nada de pro en cuanto murió la tal cantidad de gente.
*Federico: ¿Y vos que le encontrás de pro a salir a la calle con las armas e intentar agarrar el gobierno?
*Sofía: Nada.
*Federico: Y bueno viste entonces tampoco. Yo tampoco le encuentro pro
*Juana: Nadie está defendiendo a los tupamaros.
*Sandra: Y toda la gente que estuvo presa no eran tupamaros.
*Marcos: Claro, no hacían nada y los metían presos.
*Ernesto: simplemente pensaba distinto.
*Marina: Por simplemente tener libertad de expresión.
*Ernesto: <Por pensar diferente>
*Marcos: <Por pensar, por pensar solamente>.
*Ernesto: porque tampoco había tantos: tupamaros.
*Federico: Pero yo pienso que libertad de expresión no es salir a matar gente a la calle.
*Marina: Bueno porque justamente es lo que te estamos diciendo.
*Federico: <Y a robar bancos>

*Marina: No era todo el mundo.
*Sandra: NO era todo:
*Juana: <No toda la población era así> Y en las escuelas se reprimía no dejar enseñar algo libre porque un grupito de población salió a las calles a asustar a la gente con armas y a derrocar el gobierno.
*Federico: Al gobierno no lo derrocaron Bordaberry disolvió las cámaras él no más.
*Sofía: Porque ta en parte hubo presión de los dos lados.
*Federico: Los militares no están hechos para gobernar pero en esa época me parece que estuvieron bien.

8. *Federico: Un tío de mi padre vio morir a varios de sus amigos, muchos amigos morir en los brazos.
A varios los vio.
*Luis: <¿Y a él le parece que estuvo bien la dictadura?>
*Federico. Y a él yo no sé a él nunca le pregunté la opinión de ellos pero él siempre le decía a mi padre vos no sabes lo que fue yo estar peleando contra estos medios locos que andan en la calle sólo porque uno que está arriba mío me manda y que vengan y me maten a un amigo de un tiro en la cabeza y yo lo tenga que aguantar en mis brazos.
*Marina: <y no fue así de las dos partes acaso hacían eso?>
*Marcos: Como era eso que te agarraban y te torturaban hasta que dijeras que sí para que digas CUALQUIER cosa. Te decían vos hiciste esto y esto.
*Federico: Por eso yo no estoy de acuerdo con las torturas.
Pero con salir a reprimir a ese grupito de iluminados sí estoy de acuerdo.

9. *Ernesto: Hay un dato que dijo la profesora de historia, y supongo que está bien
*Augusto: No sé si estará bien. (riéndose).
Risas
*Sandra: Dudas de la profe (riéndose).
*Ernesto: NO, o sea quiero que sí pero quiero decir para todas las fuentes pasa. Entonces no sé. Mi fuente es la del Liceo D.
Una de cada tres personas durante la dictadura estuvo presa.
Y dudo, no sé y no hay tantos tupamaros. Y tenía más que ver con cualquier cosa:

10. *Miles: Estados Unidos planteó eso de la seguridad nacional y les dio esas opciones a los países. Brasil me parece por lo que dijeron acá fue el que primero la tomó:. fue en el:
*Sofía: Sesenta y cuatro.
*Miles: ¿El golpe de Estado?
*Sofía: Sí. Después fue en Argentina.
*Miles: Y ta después fue como que Uruguay lo tomó.

*Luis: Uruguay ya había tenido un intento de golpe en el treinta tres creo que fue antes. Creo que fracasó: Y después en mil novecientos setenta y tres creo.
*Sofía: Yo creo que empieza con la revolución cubana cuando Estados Unidos dice "a estos los quiero fuera". AHí empezó el quilombo.
*Sandra: Tenían miedo que se expanda el comunismo por Latinoamérica.
*Sofía: Claro.
*Juana: El quilombo estaba antes de la revolución.
RISAS
*Juana: El quilombo estaba antes con Marx. (risas)
*Augusto: no digas más.

5 Conversations in the History Classroom: Pedagogical Practices in the Transmission of the Recent Past

1. Author's translation: "Por su impacto en la formación de creencias de mucha gente, los discursos públicos tienen una influencia primordial, mucho más significativa que los textos y conversaciones privadas" (van Dijk, 2004: 15).
2. This chapter is based on two previously published papers: one written in collaboration with Amparo Fernández and Nicolás Morales (2011), (Re)presentando el pasado reciente: la última dictadura uruguaya en los manuales de historia. [(Re)presenting the recent past: the last Uruguayan dictatorship in history textbooks.] *Discurso & Sociedad*, 5 (2): 196–229; and Mariana Achugar (2013), La transmisión intergeneracional del pasado reciente: aprendiendo sobre la dictadura en la clase de historia. [The intergenerational transmission of recent past: learning about the dictatorship in the history classroom.]. *Proceedings of the VII International Congress of ALSFAL*, pp. 11–23. ISBN 978-9974-98-995-5.
3. See Marchesi and Winn (2013) for a detailed account of the controversy.
4. Uruguay has a state-mandated curriculum that needs to be implemented by all educational institutions granting diplomas recognized by the Ministry of Education.
5. The materials are available on the Administración Nacional de Educación Pública web page (http://www. Anep.edu.uy/historia/).
6. There were two emblematic cases in which the topic of the dictatorship emerged as taboo. The most recent was the dismissal of a teacher from the British School (a private elite school), where administrative authorities decided to fire the teacher without consulting the academic directors (see Brecha, edición 1311, January 7, 2011). The other case referred to an administrative inquiry into a history teacher in Colonia (the countryside) who had invited a former guerrilla member (Luis Rosadilla, former Senator and Minister of Defense) as a guest speaker to provide an oral history account regarding the action of the Tupamaros guerrillas in the Club de Tiro Suizo [Swiss Shooting Range Club] in Colonia.

7. One of the most innovative projects on the teaching of the dictatorship was designed by Professor Virginia Coutinho with her students. They produced a documentary about the Uruguayan dictatorship in order to teach the topic to another group of students from the Armenian High School who were investigating the case of the Armenian genocide by the Turkish government. This comparative project focused on systematic violations of human rights by the state, and it engaged students in a debate over the similarities and differences of the two cases. The documentary produced by the youth was presented at the Museum of Memory in Montevideo during April 2010. There was also another recent project where students and teachers of the public high school Number 58 Mario Benedetti in Montevideo, produced a book about the general strike of 1973 which occurred as protest against the dictatorship. The students organized in 70 teams of 4 members each and collected testimonies from people in their own neighborhood who had participated in the general strike. The students also did archival research and analyzed the materials in order to produce their historical account: *Memoria que es vida abierta* (2015). The publication was coordinated by Professor Verónica García, Gabriela Rak, and Marcelo Pérez.
8. This section was produced in collaboration with Amparo Fernández and Nicolás Morales; see note 2.
9. In systemic functional linguistics, transitivity and ergativity are semantic models of processes. From the point of view of transitivity, the processes are different. They represent different types of experience: material, behavioral, mental, verbal, relational, and existential. Looked at from the point of view of ergativity, every process is similar and is structured on the basis of one variable: the source of the process (i.e., what brings it about) (Halliday, 1994: 162). When completing these analyses of representation to determine how responsibility is attributed, we can classify types of processes and related participants (transitivity), or determine if a given process was brought about by a participant or other entity (ergativity).
10. 1 *STU1: lo último que vimos fue el video del golpe
    3 *TEA: ¿Qué era un golpe de estado?
    4 *STU1: tomar el gobierno por la fuerza
    5 *TEA: ¿Cómo se llamaba el presidente de la época?
    6 *SST: Bordaberry
    7 *STU2: ¡Juan María!
    8 *TEA: ¿de qué partido era?
    9 *SST: colorado

11. 1 *TEA: disolvió las cámaras AHÍ está dando el golpe
    2 *STU1: ¿qué significa "disolver"?
    3 *STU6: disolver azúcar en el agua, desaparece…
    4 *STU7: ¿la disolución de las cámaras la puede hacer sólo el presidente?
    5 *TEA: sí, la constitución de 1966 artículo 168 permite disolver las cámaras…

12. 1 * TEA: ¿Qué más pasa además de disolver las cámaras?
2 *STU7: se prohíbe la libertad de expresión
3 *TEA: se limita la libertad de expresión
4 *STU: ¿no era que podían entrar a tu casa a cualquier hora?
5 La profesora aclara cómo eran los allanamientos: entrar sin tener aviso previo a cualquier hora.
6 Luego escribe en la pizarra lo siguiente:
7 **limitación de la libertad de expresión y de pensamiento*
8 *TEA: ¿de qué manera se realizaba esto [señalando lo escrito en la pizarra]?
9 *SST: censura
10 *TEA: censura, clausura de los diarios...
11 *STU: pedían permiso para reunirse, ¿no?
12 *TEA: Sí. Entonces ¿qué ocurre? ¿Quién gobierna?
13 *SST: Bordaberry
14 *TEA: ¿Gobierna Bordaberry solo?
15 *STU6: no, también los militares
16 *TEA: lean el texto
17 *STU7: el consejo de estado

13. *MAR: ¿Te parece que en la clase aprendiste algo?
*JUA: Sí más o menos los aspectos mas técnicos de la dictadura. Tipo lo de la declaració:n que la leímos textual. Lo de la doctrina de seguridad nacional y si bien comentaban nadie te lo decía así como ley, no sé que actos. Algo así Y también a ver otras posturas supongo, porque nunca había estado discutiendo con gente que tuviera diferentes posturas acerca de la dictadura más o menos.

6 Transmission Processes in Popular Culture: Recontextualization and Resemiotization in Music

1. This chapter is based on a previous article written in collaboration with Amparo Fernández and Nicolás Morales in 2014, La dictadura uruguaya en la cultura popular: recontextualizaciones de "A Redoblar" [The Uruguayan dictatorship in popular culture: recontextualizations of "A Redoblar"], in a special issue on recontextualizations of the recent past edited by Mariana Achugar and Teresa Oteíza. *Discurso y Sociedad*, 8 (1): 83–108.
2. The title of the song has a dual reading: as "let's redouble the efforts" (against the dictatorship) or signifying the intention to play a roll on a drum. The style of music used in the song is the rhythm "a marcha camión" from Uruguayan *murgas* outside of carnival. This rhythm is produced with three percussion instruments: *redoblante* [snare drum], *bombo* [bass drum], and *platillos* [cymbals]. The name of the song makes references to the sound produced with the snare drum, "rum, tum, tum."
3. My translation.
4. Los Olimareños were a Uruguayan popular music group formed in 1962 by Pepe Guerra and Braulio López. Their music, influenced by traditional folklore rhythms, includes references to local interests, the everyday persona and

workers and the countryside mostly written by Rubén Lena. After the coup d'état, their songs became forms of political protest. During the dictatorship, their songs were banned and they went into exile in 1974 and returned in 1984.

5. El Galpón [the warehouse] is an independent theater group that began in 1949 producing local, Latin American, and international plays. It is also unique for its administrative organization that used a subscription system to support and finance the production of work. During the era of state repression the theater and its workers were threatened and persecuted. The repertoire of El Galpón during this period responded directly to the sociopolitical situation. In 1976 the dictatorship banned the theater, seized its property, and prohibited its members participating in any cultural performances or events. Due to political persecution most of the members of El Galpón went to exile to Mexico and resumed their activity there until 1984 when they returned to Uruguay. For a more detailed history, see http://www.teatroelgalpon.org.uy/hnnoticiaj1.aspx? 9, 6
6. This is an approximate transcription of the dialogue that captures the content of the conversation. S refers to students and T to the teacher. Real names are not used, in order to protect the privacy of participants.

   S1: ¿Hay algún músico que no se haya exiliado o no se haya ido?
   T: A ver . . . ¿vieron la película HIT?
   S4: Sí, la vimos el año pasado, una parte en música . . .
   T: Ahí te muestran qué sucedió en la época de la dictadura con la música. Hubo un resurgimiento de la música popular con Mateo y Rumbo . . . en la salida democratic . . .
   S1: ¿Hay alguno que no haya compuesto música que no estuviera relacionada con la dictadura?
   S2: ¿Cuáles no estaban prohibidos?
   T: Es más fácil decir los prohibidos . . .
   (Fieldnotes High school D. June 16, 2010)

7. The documentary *Hit: historias de canciones que hicieron historia* (2008) was directed by Claudia Abend and Adriana Loeff. It was shown in theaters in 2009 and appeared on national television in Uruguay in 2010.
8. El Sabalero (1943–2010) was a popular musician who composed famous songs of Canto Popular (e.g. “Chiquillada,” “A mi gente,” “Angelitos”) and collaborated with Uruguayan poets such as Idea Vilariño. He went into exile in the Netherlands during the dictatorship.
9. Raúl Castro was director of the *murga* Falta y Resto – which was famous for its resistance to the dictatorship – and a member of Patria Libre, a popular music group. He was banned during the dictatorship.
10. The Uruguayan group Rumbo (1978–85) made the version of the song “A Redoblar” that became more famous. This group was known as representatives of the genre “canción murga” [*murga* song].
11. Dino (Gastón Ciarlo) is an Uruguayan popular music singer and composer who began his career in the 1960s and is known for his fusion of beat music and local rhythms such as in *candombe*.

12. The song has been covered by several groups in Uruguay and other countries: the vocal group Opus 4 from Argentina, a group from Venezuela, another from Bolivia, and by Pepe Guerra from the Olimareños.
13. In 1978 the group Rumbo was formed. Its members included Mauricio Ubal, Laura Canoura, Miguel López, Gustavo Ripa, Carlos Vicente, and Gonzalo Moreira. In 1984, Carlos Vicente left and Amílcar Rodríguez took his place.
14. "una canción que rápidamente se convirtió en un referente fundamental de nuestro canto popular y de la canción de protesta durante el período de dictadura militar en el cual se encontraba inmerso nuestro país en esos años. La misma es 'A redoblar'. Con la autoría de Mauricio Ubal y Rúben Olivera, esta canción invitaba a redoblar la esperanza, utilizando una serie de metáforas en la espera de la vuelta a la democracia." http://www.uruguayeduca.edu.uy/Portal.Base/Web/VerContenido.aspx?ID=203481
15. Rubén Olivera, personal communication, June 29, 2015.
16. "A Redoblar" performed by Rumbo in 1980. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=stZi3-7fQDk
17. The same image was used in the publicity for the campaign against the plebiscite in Chile. The publicity slogan of the Concertación that led the return to democracy in Chile was: "Chile: la alegría ya viene" [Chile: happiness is already coming] (1989). We thank Teresa Oteíza for this information.
18. According to Halliday (1994), the analysis of representational meanings includes transitivity and ergativity. This regards not only the types of processes (transitivity), but also if the processes have internal or external causes (ergativity).
19. My translation of the original: "es el resultado de una búsqueda de construcción a raíz de la tristeza. Reacción política, no partidaria, comprometida humanamente con la justicia, los derechos y la libertad. Cantar A redoblar es un símbolo de ese compromiso. Actualizar la vieja consigna de esperanza." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aCYQMpIbxkQ
20. According to Iedema (2003), resemiotization refers to the historicization of meaning, asking why, how, and which meanings become recontextualized (Bernstein, 1990), as well as how meaning making shifts from context to context, and practice to practice (pp. 40–1).
21. See Lessa (2011) for a detailed description and analysis of meaning of the Memorial to Disappeared Detainees in the context of the policies of silence and memory in Uruguay.
22. "Llegue a este video a traves [*sic*] de el video 'Nos sobra una ley.'

    Muy buena version [*sic*], me llego [*sic*] mucho mas [*sic*] que la original, por ahí es porque se acerca mas [*sic*] a mi tiempo. Tengo 17, no pude votar la vuelta anterior. Un poco desde el lado de a juventud les digo, los esperan otros redoblantes, otras voces. lope9421 1 year ago." (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aCYQMpIbxkQ, copiado en Mayo 2012).
23. "No entiendo como los jóvenes [sic] como yo, no entienden que el pasado es parte de nuestro presente y futuro, obviamente no vivi [*sic*] la dictadura, pero me informe [*sic*] y me facina [*sic*] aprender para tambien [*sic*] tratar de entender al resto, pero algunas cosas no tiene expliccion [*sic*], como los desaparecido [*sic*], y cuesta creer que la mayoria alla [*sic*] votado "no," la historia de nuestros pais [*sic*] nos importa a todos, porque es parte de la historia de nuestro padre, abuelo, etc! Ojala algun dia se deroge [*sic*] la

la ley!uruguayita24 8 months ago 2" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aCYQMpIbxkQ, copied in May 2012).

24. The documentary *Nos sobra una ley* was directed by Daiana Di Candia and Denisse Legrand in 2011. Accessed on July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAr361Evhj8
25. Volver el tiempo para adelante- 20a Marcha del Silencio. FEUU, Uruguay. Published on May 13, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lPm_O2nim4c
26. Every May 20 since 1996 there have been silent marches demanding truth, justice, and remembrance of those who disappeared during the dictatorship. A more elaborate explanation of this commemoration appears in Chapter 2. See also Marchesi (2002).
27. The March of Silence on May 20, 2015 was one of the best attended of these marches. Estimated numbers are calculated as being around tens of thousands of participants. Almost 10 blocks were filled with people gathering in silence, demanding truth and justice regarding the crimes committed during the dictatorship.
28. In August 2015, "A Redoblar" was selected by the Organización de Madres y Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos [Organization of Mothers and Relatives of Disappeared Detainees] to be part of a special CD, "Haciendo Memoria," commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the March of Silence. The CD compiles 20 songs about the topics related to the dictatorship, disappearances, and impunity by Uruguayan musicians including members of the older generations (e.g., Daniel Viglietti, El Sabalero, Alfredo Zitarroza), as well as from younger generations of artists (e.g., Patricia Kramer, la Tabaré River Rock Band, Portadores de Hip Hop).

7 Appropriating the Recent Past: Meaning-Making Processes through Time

1. Charrúas are one of the original indigenous groups that resided in the territory which is now Uruguay.
2. In 2014, a new documentary about this historical event was produced in Uruguay by Sebastián Bednarik and Andrés Varela, entitled *Maracaná*.
3. Puma 2014 commercial "El fantasma del 50 ya llegó a Brasil": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VLb3yIRA8AU
4. "Nos tocaron la cola," *La Diaria*, June 25, 2015. "Adiós campeón," *La Diaria*, July 17, 2015. And "El fantasma del 50," *La Diaria*, July 24, 2015.
5. Some of the participants' parents, in particular those who belonged to the military or to more conservative groups, considered the dictatorship as a period when there was more security and order. But these participants were a minority in the larger group (3 out of 20).
6. Although Kaiser (2005) uses the term "postmemory," I do not consider it appropriate to describe the particular experience of second and third generations in this way since the main focus from a discursive perspective is the mediated nature of these memories and its appropriation by youth in integrating historical knowledge and family memory.

7. Current debates about the investigations of disappearances and torture, the Supreme Court's decisions, and the trials of the Uruguayan military in the Operation Condor case in Argentina and Italy are some examples of current topics in the public sphere which are directly connected to the dictatorship period.

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