

Moving Memories

CREATIVE DRIVES FOR
A CHANGING EUROPE

Courses for citizens and trainers



by trainers and researchers from six European countries



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Introduction

By Sophia Bickhardt, weltgewandt e.V.

In the past 70 and 30 years (after the opening of the East-West borders), the societies of Europe have come closer together. The idea of peace and mutual, transnational understanding is filled with life through a culture of encounters and cooperation. Nevertheless, what do people in Europe know about each other? How can peace in Europe be preserved and developed in times of war and crisis - by the people, the citizens? How can they develop a resistance against stereotypes, prejudices, exclusion and lack of understanding? How can interest between people in different parts of Europe be promoted?

Knowledge of history - of another person, of another country - opens the door to understanding. The history of Europe is as diverse as the continent - full of upheavals, destruction and new beginnings. These form the focus of the courses by authors from six countries on the learning platform <https://lp.moving-memories.eu>. The unifying theme is **transformations** in the history of European states. The topics of the individual courses are wide-ranging: they "tell" about transformations in the 1990s in Poland, the German-German unification process and the wars in Yugoslavia. They shed light on the "transition" in Spain, when society embarked on an also painful path from the Franco dictatorship to representative democracy from the 1970s onwards. They reflect drastic changes of "big politics" in people's "small" lives. The learning platform encompasses three examples: 1/ The Greek-Turkish conflicts of 1912-1923 and the population exchange that was imposed on members of the Greek minority in Asia Minor and members of the Turkish minority in Greece. 2/ The resettlement of Karelians in areas of Finland after the Second World War. 3/ Propaganda, repression and resistance in Poland under Nazi rule.

However, history is not only what is imposed on populations by powerful people "from above". The course on the Greek Revolution (1821-1830) sheds light on the uprisings for the country's independence from domination and this in interaction with European great powers. Emancipation and independence aspirations of a different kind become visible as part of Serbian history: that of women from the late 1970s onwards. Emigrating and arriving elsewhere changes an entire society. For Finland, this is described with regard to the immigration of people from Somalia.

When talking about history, the present is alive. Knowledge and assumptions of today flow into the perception of the past. These can vary, and they themselves change over time. The courses therefore present events in the horizon of their reflection in the present. In this way, the possibility of different perspectives and alternatives becomes visible. The courses may therefore sensitise to the process character of events. They may sharpen the sense for complexity, paradoxes and ambivalences that often characterise developments.

Who are the courses for?

The materials are intended for citizens to engage with themselves and for adult education facilitators and trainers across Europe.



How are the courses structured?

They are structured in such a way that a) you can get a first **overview** of a topic. Those who have more time or who want to know more can b) study the **background information**.

By means of c) **interactive exercises**, they can go even deeper.

For trainers in adult education we also offer d) **training materials** for working with **non-formal methods** in groups. They can be used in adult education as well as in out-of-school youth education.

And who are we?

The courses have been developed by adult educators from a museum (Finland), a university (Poland), a theatre (Serbia), an educational company (Greece) and non-governmental organisations (Germany, Spain). Find out more about the participants, their organisations and the two-year cooperation project on our website: <https://moving-memories.eu/>.

History is also thinking about the future. Taking an interest in it is part of a democratic learning process that also generates ideas for a peaceful, diverse Europe in the decades to come. With the learning platform and the courses, we would like to invite you to set out on your journey and we hope that you will find much inspiration along the way.

You are welcome to share questions, comments and feedback via the forum and the chat on the learning platform.



Memories on resettling, racism and rebuilding by Karelian evacuees

By Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi, Helinä Rautavaara Museum

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1. Overview

After the Second World War more than 500 000 Finnish citizens formerly living in the eastern part of Finland had to flee their homes because of the occupation by the Soviet Union. The people were offered housing and land to farm across Finland, but many of them faced harsh discrimination. New studies on this topic deal with dislocation of people from their dwellings and their relocation during the crisis period of 1939-1949. Besides history from written sources they include oral history too, including emotional memories. The methods, among new ones, have been applied to serve also the didactic part of this project: creative writing, quotes and small narratives, photo telling and collage books with objects.

After painstaking debates a new Land acquisition law was decreed to solve the resettlement of Karelians. The law that came into effect in 1945, interfered with private land ownership that had traditionally been highly valued in Finland. It helped in stabilising living conditions and helped in the self-subsistence of Finns in food production, supporting especially farming on small homesteads. The state relied mainly on the independent peasant's own work, although it was supplemented by various support measures. 16% of the settlements were so called 'cold farms' in remote areas, where families had to fell trees in order to make arable land. Some of the families had to build their new home twice. Others moved to more urban areas where the local people did not want them to take their jobs. The Karelian evacuees became scapegoats for many a social problem. The sudden appearance of the evacuees on the road ignited an old prejudice against wandering people, especially outside large population centres. Questions such as "Why did you start to wander in the first place?", worsened the distress of the evacuees who were grieving the loss of their dear homes.

The land area handed over to the Soviet Union consisted of more than 12% of the total surface area of Finland. The resettled part of the population was also large. Now, after 75 years of peace, a quarter of Finns have at least one ancestor or family member who was a Karelian evacuee, and practically everyone knows someone who has a Karelian background. There are a lot of un- or understudied family histories and personal memories, both good and bad, waiting to be told and Karelian cultural heritage to be recovered. The migrants themselves fell silent because they were ashamed of the discrimination they had encountered from the local population. In the public they wanted to show the side of the Finnish survivor identity.

The bad treatment of the evacuees arose from differences in religious customs, as many Karelians were Greek Orthodox, whereas the majority of Finns were Lutheran protestants. Religion has been an avoided discussion topic. Many of the memories of Finns from Karelia are nostalgic. Remembering past homes and neighbourhoods can be considered as a future-oriented community-maintaining practice by which Karelian identity is constructed. But the memories of fear and loss have been too hard to share for many. For others, however, there has been emotional protection by a big family capable of sharing and a sense of humour, acting like a buffer.



Some Karelians have been able to save objects as memorabilia from evacuated Karelia, and they are precious tools for remembering dear places and relatives. Some still have family, hobby groups or bigger associations where they can talk using the Karelian dialect, which creates a ‘safe space’. The history and emotional stories of Karelians can teach the public about empathy and remind everybody that according to the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, people have the right not to be ridiculed for their faith. On the other hand, the rich cultural traditions of Karelians, such as the Karelian pies and Easter traditions have been accepted and are celebrated in Finland proudly as part of the national treasure of the country’s cultural heritage.

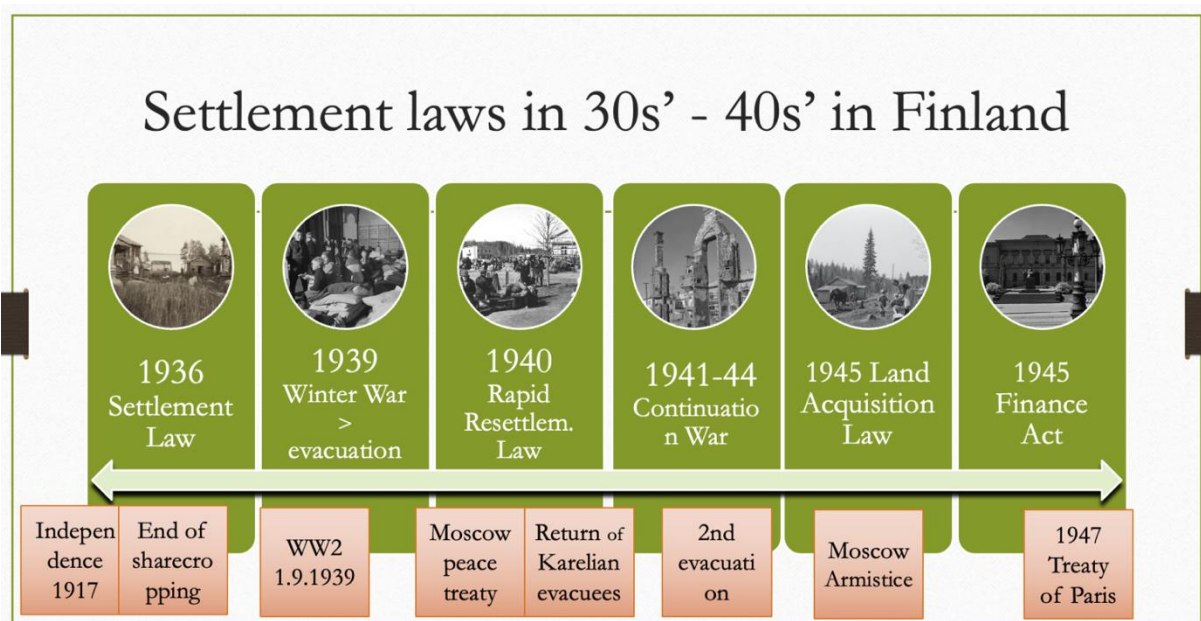
2. Background information

Reference to history shapes the self-perception as a citizen of a society. In the discourse on history, attitudes, values and interpretations of the present are 'negotiated', and feelings of belonging can be experienced. Research on mentality or the intergenerational social effects through qualitative content analysis and methods of oral history, women’s history, and emotions history.

“Nostalgia is similar to a historical inversion, a temporal trans-positioning which, according to Mikhail Bakhtin, is typical for mythological and artistic modes of thought.”

Introduction

In the historical European crises people have moved, taking their memories as wanted or unwanted packages along. Stories about translocations and their accompanying memories have built up over centuries. What can we learn from stories of our own and of other Europeans for the democratic future of our countries?





The main topic of this study is the Finnish version of the 2nd World War, which consists of the Winter war and the Continuation war. During this crisis and adaptation period half a Million Finnish citizens living in the eastern part of Finland had to flee their homes because of the occupation made by the Soviet Union. The people were allocated land, which consisted of redistributed land properties from private land-owners and from communal lands. Private owners of the land given to resettlers were monetarily compensated for the loss of real estate. Many of the resettled Karelian people, however, faced harsh discrimination. The Rapid resettlement law was decreed during the Winter war, under a necessity that united the Finnish political parties. It was followed by a Land acquisition law in 1944, which helped the Finnish authorities to resettle the homeless Karelians after the peace treaty of Moscow (a treaty between Russia, Great Britain and Finland). The war veterans received land from the state, as well. Altogether, the people in need of resettlement were nearly 500 000, because the land area handed over to the Soviet Union consisted of more than 12 % of the total surface area of Finland, and its population the same percentage. This means that now, 75 years after the peace treaty, by far most Finns have friends or relatives that are Karelian evacuees or their offspring.

In this study, I refer to sources that convey an overview of the war and resettlements, such as Antti Palomäki's historical research on settlement, and the mentality historical research of Aapo Roselius and Tuomas Tepora. In his article Tepora (2018) has used as sources wartime mood reports, by which the decision makers were provided with information on how to eliminate major problems. Oral history research complements their studies. I also refer to newspaper articles and autobiographical narratives of evacuees who fled Karelia. In these memoirs, the events of history are manifested as experiences and are often transmitted through emotional memories. According to new research, sources of oral history, such as recollections, have been unduly criticised. They often include nostalgia for the past domicile. Nostalgic remembrance can be considered as based on the past and as a future-oriented community-maintaining practice by which Karelian identity is constructed by gilding a certain place as unchanged and unbroken.



Photo: Karelian evacuees and a Russian war prisoner in the fields of Ulriksnäs farm in Ohkola, Mäntsälä, 1941-1944.1

Emotional historical writing in itself does not make research non-analytical. At its best, it helps the reader in generating associations, insights and empathy. This is how an approximately 80-year-old Karelian woman recalled in her evacuation-history as a contribution to a writing competition:

“In the evening we got the order and the next day I had to leave. I went to do work in the barn, I fed the animals, stroked the animals, caressed them well, and then the tears came into my eyes, I cried lots and lots, we had toiled so much, worked in order to get everything well, and now we had to leave it behind and leave towards the unknown future”.

The decreeing of the land acquisition law was not easy, because it interfered with the private land ownership that had traditionally been highly valued in Finland. The law came into power in June 1945. 1945 and 1946 were the main years of movement and migration. In Finland the housing and land substitution questions of the Karelian evacuees were mainly solved by the end of 1940s', whereas in other parts of Europe the situation of migrants was dealt with at a slower pace, and there the Marshall Aid offered by the USA came into play, too.

New homesteads were founded and, in towns and cities, building lots were donated, too. Part of the land for resettlement was on woodlands, and the families had to fell the trees in order to make arable land. In order to stabilise living conditions and to heave the production of foodstuffs back on its feet, the laws supported especially the perquisites of agricultural production, and on the other hand, through populating marginal and remote areas workforce for the forestry was guaranteed. A fear existed that unemployment would grow if the population apt for resettlement was not attached to agriculture. Especially the Rural Party believed in residual social policy, and its cornerstones were mainly the free yeomen farmers' work – even if supported by various forms of assistance.

1 Mäntsälän museotoimen valokuvakokoelma, nr. 8512_34. Photographer unknown. User rights: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0



The time of crisis gave light to agreement despite appeals from interest groups such as land donors. Cities also became responsible for settling the population in the form of plots and subsidised mortgages. In 1945, the Finance Act was enacted to support the migrant population. According to this Finance Act, low-interest loans could be granted to residents in addition to the acquisition of land for clearing and the construction of residential and outbuildings. At the grassroots level, a lot of support work was done, as the neighbours helped each other in a wartime spirit. The returning servicemen also went to the buildings of the war widows to work together. There were no known social boundaries in construction. In the memoirs of the builders, workers and educated people built their houses side by side.



Photo: Karelian mothers and children eating supper in joint lodging premises of Huittinen. HK19890416:12. Finnish Board of Antiquities. CC BY 4.0.

Memoirs of successive evacuation trails

After the Winter War, in 1940, large numbers of residents of Karelia, the eastern border and the bombed cities were transferred to the countryside for civil protection reasons. In order to settle the Karelians, in the spirit of the Winter War unanimity, a Law on Rapid resettlement was enacted, by means of which tens of thousands of evacuee families started farming in new residential areas. During the peace, return and reconstruction began in ruined Karelia. A large part of the migrants returned to their home communities, even though they would also have had the right to remain on their settlements. The resumption of the war in June 1941 also brought military political nuances to the settlement of Karelia.

An Anthology of Wartime Children written by writers born in 1933-40, paints an intimate picture with emotions such as longing, empathy, prejudice, a sense of inferiority, adaptation, or indifference. The writers depict different ways in which children have reacted to fear and threat during the war and later in life - even for generations - and how imagination has given them wings in difficult times. Professor Laila Hirvisaari, who was born into a rural homestead, narrates about how she had to leave her home after the outburst of Winter war:



*"I looked at the gate and cried. It was three years since Dad was on vacation. When he left, he turned twice from the gate into the living room and back. It was hard for him to leave mom and me, his only child, when returning back on the front. From that road, my Dad never returned. It felt so woeful, too, when going past that gate... I looked at our house, sauna and barn. I looked at three birches, my friends who were afraid of war as well."*²

Hirvisaari writes about the evacuee trail:

*"Eating supplies on the way was such that everyone offered each other bread, lard, butter, and then it was as if the supplies were exchanged. 'Eat, my love, eat... my dear child, eat now!'" ...
... "But during that night it was warm. I remember it well, because I always held my hand under my cheek. For some reason, I had slept in the following cattle wagon. In the morning I woke up to Aunt Mari Tuuva clapping her hands and shouting loudly: My dear Lord, that baby is lying next to cow shit... Oh boy, wasn't there laughter for some time."*

In the memories by Hirvisaari she was under the protection of a big family capable of sharing with a sense of humour that acted like a buffer. And they had the luck to meet with house-lenders capable of empathy, too:

"There I sat on the steps of the Minor house of that Jäppilä farm and cried a little while I thought about the war. And I got this wondrous feeling when all the people in that yard cared about us. The women of the Minor House always stroked my hair and hugged awkwardly."

However, Ulla Savolainen, a researcher of oral history, writes about memoirs as a source of the past, emphasising the memory narrator's ability for self-reflection: "Therefore, idyllic writings, for example, cannot be seen as reflecting the author's understanding of reality directly". This can be applied to Hirvisaari's humour-inspired evacuation recollections, which fit the stereotype of cheerful Karelians. An autobiographical recollection of a woman from a farm-owning family who was evacuated as a young wife, on the other hand, is more realistic:

"We lived day by day as visitors within foreign gates, in poor conditions, trying to buy the most necessary household and clothing for us, our apartment was so cold that in the winter the water froze inside the bucket but in springtime it was warmer inside as it was warm outside, too. The people at the house were kind to us, and they gave firewood to us so we could keep the fire in the little stove during the day, but the room was flimsy, and cold at night when the stove was not heated. Life was distressing when we knew from the news that our home had been lost and everything, had to try in those circumstances, there was no choice. My husband was released in the spring of 1940."

A more lasting resettlement of the evacuated population was organised after the Continuation war. The Moscow armistice (signed between Soviet Union, Great Britain and Finland), that ended the war in most of Finland, was signed on 19.9.1944. The aim was to place the population evacuated from Karelia in as uniform an area as possible. Still, the winter of 1944-1945 was spent by part of the settlers



in temporary accommodation housed and catered by the maintenance organisation. The same farmer's wife reminisced:

*"We were able to move into a still unfinished house on November 5, 1945. Everything was unfinished but living right there left more time to craft and fix up the place. During the construction, a temporary stove was made between the stones so that I could cook food and heat drinks for the family because the way to our lodging was rather long, I took care of the livestock and milked the cows. In the rain we kept rain under a big spruce, to the apartment we went just for the night."*³

The move to the actual resettlement area did not take place until the resident board had appointed a settler to the farm applied for or until access to the farm by voluntary transaction had become possible. The main consequence of the implementation of the resettlement plan was that the agricultural population of Karelia generally remained more tightly together than the population of industrial municipalities. It was considered important that the old neighbourly relations were kept alive and that the conditions of the new home and farm corresponded as much as possible to the natural, linguistic and religious conditions prevailing in the surrendered area. Southern Finland, and especially Southern Tavastland became the core resettling area of the migrants. The lives of migrant population who were not protected by the rules and quotas of the those protected by Resettlement law became very harsh, as the author Raisa Lardot wrote about the evacuation trip and the apartment of her family who had moved from behind Petrozavodsk:

*"After the war, the name refugee camp was not yet used. Like many others, we were placed in immigrant camps. But we had escaped for our lives, that is clear. Our father was a traitor in the eyes of the Red army, because he had changed sides and became a soldier in the Finnish army..." ... "It can be said that the early years in Finland were a miserable time for us. Our mother tried to support six minor children as a single parent. At first, there were not even child allowances yet. We lived in a kind of construction site hut. In design, it was an ordinary house, but built for workers working in a sand pit. A few Karelian families also lived in the house with us."*⁴

In Raisa Lardot's memoirs, she uses third person consistently, when talking about Karelians. She had an ingrained notion of difference in her childhood, and as a writer she has also boldly highlighted her suffering as a refugee displaced from her home, and stages it differently from the 'great story' of Finns who persevere no matter what. Her suffering was of a refugee displaced from her home and whose father had been returned back as part of Finland's post-war extradition treaty with the Soviet Union. In that respect, Lardot's father's fate is reminiscent of the fate of Russian war captives, who had been placed to work on Finnish farms around the country, and who were afraid of being returned to Russia where they were treated as deserters. War captives were not the only ones who lived under surveillance, during the war. After the Moscow armistice, so called 'susceptible people', citizens of Germany and Hungarians had to be gathered into camps, where they lived until 1947. Many of these

³ SKS/KRA SATA, (translation by Hirvonen-Nurmi)

⁴ Lardot 2006, p. (translation by Hirvonen-Nurmi)



camps were situated in Southern Tavastland. The local Finnish inhabitants, however, felt pity for the interned people and tried to ease their life with small supportive actions.

Evacuees subject to racist and other prejudices

Industrialization was taking its first steps in Finland in the 1940s, and as it grew, construction in cities only intensified in the 1950s. In addition to poor living conditions, harmony of the society was affected by other forms of social deprivation. Social policy reforms were initially accelerated by cooperation between the three largest parties in a coalition government⁵, but the failure of cooperation in 1948 weakened the Left-wing parties, leaving the Central Agrarian Union as the ruling party.

The forced rapid decision-making and joint effort to resettle the displaced Karelians, especially during the early wars, concealed the seeds of diversity and disagreement brought to light by new research and publications. They tell, for example, more about Karelians living in rural areas through publications, than about those living in cities. There was a lot of unemployment among the settlers in the urban settlement sites, and Karelians had to live on temporary jobs, on their own resources, or on state care. Other Finns often blamed the evacuees for being the cause of many social problems that arose after the war.

After the start of the Winter War, the sudden appearance of the evacuees on the road ignited an old prejudice against wandering people, especially outside large population centres. Questions “Why did you start to wander in the first place?” or a general statement, “No one forced you to leave” worsened the distress of evacuees. “I wonder where the market is as the gypsies move in such big crowds?” asked people in Lappeenranta when the first evacuation trains came to the city on their transit journey. Comparison to ‘wanderers’ and discriminated Roma people were expressions of rejection that also sought to show newcomers their lower position in the social hierarchy.

Nothing caused tighter and longer-lasting tensions in the settlement of the migrant population than a misconception that the Swedish-speaking population would have been spared from the statutory obligations of land transfer and settlement. Small farms of less than 20 hectares were exempted from the land division, as a result of which little evacuees were hardly inhabited in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia. In the information climate marked by censorship, rumours often took the place of the news, and they, among other things, branded the people of Ostrobothnia as frugal and also reluctant to sacrifice their lives to the extent that the Eastern Finns did. The idea was that the settlement of the Karelians should not substantially change the language relations of the municipalities. The Language Section was registered in the law with the background support of Prime Minister Juho Paasikivi. However, the law did not affect the settlement of evacuees a great deal, and 13,000 evacuees were settled in Swedish-speaking areas.⁶ The language dispute is an example of the long-lasting tensions in Finnish society that have erupted in various historical crisis situations.

The practical supervisors of the resettlement of evacuees were the local maintenance managers who enjoyed state pay. Evacuations and relocations were management of chaos, especially after the Winter

⁵ After gaining independence in 1917, Finland had fought the Civil War in 1918, a class conflict that divided Finland’s society sharply in two and caused the death of more than one per cent of the population in just six months. This made the government weary of new causes for uprisings due to civil discomfort.

⁶ Pesonen/YLE news 17.9.2020. Academic debate still continues on this topic.



War, and an important task was to prevent the influx of people into cities. In May 1940, for example, Kirkkonummi's maintenance manager was given two days to acquire living space for 150 Karelians, even though the apartments were still full of wartime evacuated Helsinki residents. The evacuees were typically first gathered at primary schools and youth club houses. When many people moved to the locality at once, negative and slanderous stories began to spread rapidly. Most often, they concerned willingness to work versus living on the cost of others.

Cultural differences included e.g. different conceptions of time, which people related with working ethics. The Karelians did not work according to the clock but according to the actual conceived need for work, instead. In Western Finland the work culture followed the pace of the clock that indicated hours of work and hours of rest more rigorously. In the locals' eyes, the Karelians who had already completed their work in one long shift, were lazy.

Some of the evacuees were trained in middle-class occupations and were unskilled as farm hands. Those who did accept temporary jobs willingly, were new competitors in the local labour market and received demeaning speech by envious locals. The Karelian food tradition also differed from that of Western Finland. In Karelia, rye bread and Karelian pasties were baked at least once a week, while in Western Finland, flat rye breads were made twice a year. The loaves were dried on skewers and eaten by dipping them in food. The smoke rising from the chimney of the baking Karelians made the surrounding villagers consider them extravagant.



Photo: Karelian pasty (karjalanpiirakka) is a traditional Finnish dish made from a thin rye crust with a filling of rice. Butter, often mixed with boiled egg (eggbutter), is spread over the hot pasties before eating. Wikipedia. Public domain. Photo taken by Jarno Elonen

In Raisa Lardot's first residence in Ostrobothnia, her family was housed in a clubhouse, where they were placed on a stage to live in. In her later residence in Mellilä, it was very difficult for her to accept her differences with the local children and dare to go to elementary school. Fortunately, there was an enlightened teacher who guarded compassion for the Veps immigrant in class:

"The teacher had explained to the other children that I was from the Veps People and that I had had difficult times. He asked that everyone try to be really kind to me, because once I had hard times." ... "Fortunately, I found this teacher, who was not just anyone, but a civilised man who knew more than the others, these locals."

Postdoctoral researcher Heli Kananen has re-read the Karelian memory data and found descriptions of the living conditions and attitudes towards the evacuees of the minorities who had previously been silent in academic studies. Contemporary writers hid the social reality of the time of return to peace



and the contradictions that emerged between the Greek Orthodox migrants interviewed and the local population that received them in the 1940s. Both the narrators and the researchers wanted to maintain the Finnish survivor identity. The migrants themselves fell silent because they were ashamed of the discrimination they had felt from the local population. One of the reasons was also that differences between religious customs arose, and religion used to be a topic not discussed.

The brave author Lardot, who dared to describe her negative memories as early as the 1970s, says in the afterword of a reprint of her book *Ripaskalinnut*:

“This book is about a war invalid. For I think not only those who are wounded in the trenches are wounded in the war. A small child, a civilian, is also injured.” ... “Today, refugees are well taken care of here in Finland, educated, dressed, fed, helped to get started. It's good. I am proud of my mother. Thanks to her, I can say that a Veps person is also hardy, not just a Finn.”

In Lardot's autobiographical novel, her mother was the most dramatic victim of the family. Unskilled, she could not get milk from the dairy at the right hour or defend her rights to social aid in the municipality. Because of the temperament of the parents, family quarrels were heard far away. On the one hand, the author tells that she was ashamed of her mother's lavish gestures, on the other hand, how she enjoyed her comedy on the home 'stage':

“She started acting like a Finn, not trying to be the way we did. And we couldn't escape laughing. How could we, when the Finns suddenly, represented through our mother, became whimsical, arrogant and stupid, instead of being admirable and worth imitating as otherwise. Mom just strolled in the middle of the floor, took arrogant expressions and gestures, and at times fell into tragic lament: no money no money, she was moaning. Or put a fist high on her head, and shouted: ‘You bloody Russkies, get out of here fast, as if you were already, fast, fast!’ And we started playing, too.”

Recent research shows that remaining silent about the emotional injuries caused by the war may lead to the transfer of emotional burdens to future generations. The work of grieving ought to be completed. Whether it will be possible to reach the emotions that the war raised, is a different question, still. The war can be characterised as a key experience that influenced the worldview of those who went through it.

Doctor of Education Eeva Riutamaa has studied emotional memories of evacuees. Four-fifths of her interviewees were well received in the new home region. Riutamaa's interest in the stories of evacuees arose from her own mother's sadness, which included a hidden truth about childhood and evacuation experiences. “I had always wondered about my mother's sadness. At times she was happy, but the other day was quite different. She fell silent and kept her background secret for decades.” Many evacuees felt that they had been heard about the harsh experiences for the first time in connection with Riutamaa's study. She had been the first one to be interested and to listen. When the hosts or land donors did not want strangers, it had manifested itself as ill-treatment in everyday life.



Free from emotional burden by community power

Finland has a strong tradition of non-governmental organisations. Evakkolapset (Child evacuees) is an association of Karelian people founded in Vihti in 2002. The child evacuees' own organisation was specifically set up to explore and discover common feelings that have emerged as a legacy of evacuation. Evakkolapset has a web page for collecting emotional memories, on which material is still accumulated. Many workshops have been held through the organisation, where emotional burdens have been dismantled by writing, participating in setting up exhibitions, or painting. Remembrance and cultural events are central to the organisation's work.

Jorma Huuhtanen, the former director with Karelian roots, of the Social Insurance Institution of Finland, told about his own evacuation trip at a seminar of the Evakkolapset in 2019. In the relocation district, Juuka, the reception was not good. "I needed milk, but it wasn't given from big houses. Milk was obtained from the houses of one cow, only." "We started as chasers in the race" summed up Huuhtanen the position of the Karelians in the local economy of Juuka. When others had completed fields and houses, the Huuhtanens, like other evacuees, had a mere forest from which the fields were cleared. From this rear arc, however, they rose to the forefront of development.

According to the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, people have the right not to be ridiculed for their faith. Freedom of religion provides protection for a person's religious beliefs and religious feelings. Would post-war avoidance of discussing religious differences continue to complicate the debate on differences? The essential element of human dignity is that people have an innate value. We all have to respect it. The state must create laws that strengthen human dignity. Laws and decrees alone are not enough, they must be seen to influence in practice.

Museums carry their share of the task of keeping Karelian heritage and histories alive. Not only material culture, but also intangible heritage is important. In 2017, the Kuopio Museum hosted a Pop-up exhibition 'Homes of the Heart: Migrant Karelians and their Descendants in Savo'. It presented the experiences of the displaced Karelians and their descendants about the evacuation period and about life in Savo afterwards. The exhibition included their photographs and objects from the evacuation period. Two experienced interpreters with Karelian background interpreted it for YLE's news reporter. For both Viktor Jetsu, evacuated from the Karelian Strait at the age of 6, and Marja Asikainen, a second-generation displaced Karelian, the importance of their Karelian language community was big. The bullet dug from Jetsu's father's shoulder during the Winter war, is infinitely valuable to Viktor. It was hanging by the father's military image in the museum. Jetsu told:

"Every other evening we gathered with someone's family and recalled the experiences of the war and, what I most loved, the parents talked in their own Karelian language."

Asikainen's mother had not been able to bring anything with her during the evacuation, but she had brought her Karelian language and stories:

"Mom had just a mattress cover bag in which she had put a photo album and something for the kids. She had to leave within two hours" ... "Through my family, I have gained a strong cultural identity."



According to Kuopio Museum's director Merja Heiskanen, the lesson learnt from the exhibition was that there have been people in Savo who have had to leave their homes and people who have invited them into their table, in the past, too.

Advices for further studies

The second World War's evacuation process is more easily understood against the background of Finnish Settlement laws in the 1920s and earlier. The cultural history of war has changed the contemporary treatment of emotions in history. Nuancing the insight into the long-lasting emotional burden of war, the history of emotions has even started to challenge the public discourse on the emotional heritage of war.

Conclusion and future prospects

What can we, as adult educators and learners, learn from history of our own and of other Europeans from the democratic future of our countries? Through new studies it is possible to open up old silences and to learn empathy, if only the researcher has the time to listen and to read new sources. Finnish historians have brought forward and re-evaluated the emotional qualities of oral histories from the war period and found new strengths in these sources. Emotional tones in sources have changed from weaknesses into strengths of historical research. Quoting postdoctoral researcher Heli Kananen: "The feelings of shame and injustice felt by the Greek Orthodox internal migrants when being mocked, laughed at and called names, left a deep memory trace, and it was helpful of reawakening those memories later, too." It is crucial for the researcher to create a kind of safe space which enables the interviewee to describe his or her experience without the need to protect him- or herself. This is an important lesson to learn for many different actors dealing with memory-work and the past.

In adult education it is possible to create new partnerships between museums and artistic recreation premises in order to find the safe spaces necessary for reminiscing, for interviewing and for producing creations based on memory-work. In an example from Helinä Rautavaara Museum's past activities, a 71-old child evacuee created a digistory using reminiscing, personal objects, photos and archival material. Public social media material can give good examples of different styles, by second and third generation reminiscing and creating therapeutic contents. A popular one is a vlog "Lotta ja pappa" by a 3rd generation young woman who interviews her grandfather and sings with him songs of her Karelian grandpa's youth.⁷

⁷ "Lotta ja pappa" by Lotta & Jorma Saahko, Sepontie 37600 Valkeakoski.
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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity title	Making intergenerational interview and writing short biography
Overview	The training will provide the participant with methods and skills in collecting private or family histories into a short biography. Working through a semi-open interview will help the work go along and will result in an outcome that can be printed out.
Objectives	Intergenerational memory-work can offer emotional support and facing problematic memories together. Dismantling over-generational emotional barriers. Understanding of experiences from an evacuee's trail or other challenges in one's life history will grow. The memories from the older generation will be passed on as new knowledge and new skills.
Materials	Well-known biographical novels for reading excerpts, as models for captive impressions and descriptions: - <i>The Diary of a Young Girl</i> , also known as <i>The Diary of Anne Frank</i> - Fabio Geda's <i>In the Sea There are Crocodiles</i> , from 2011; - stickers to write descriptive words on the wall, - paper and pens to sketch an idea pie or an idea tree (Complementary material for the workshop facilitator: Shute, Sarah 2002. <i>Anne Frank: diary of a young girl</i> . Cambridge: ProQuest.)
Time	2 x 1 hour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> workshops for practicing the skills of writing and describing in two sessions.
Group size	from 2 to 24 (divided in pairs)
Instructions for trainers	<p>The first workshop starts with a short teaching session. Led by the facilitator, the group will reflect on biography as a text: what are the typical features of a biographical text? The facilitator reads aloud excerpts from the books given beforehand. Pupils draw up mind maps of typical features of the text type, paying special attention to descriptive words and ways to create an atmosphere. The pupils are then divided into pairs groups and each pair discusses one of the biographical texts. They tell each other ideas what narrative features they might use in their writing.</p> <p>The second workshop starts again by reading aloud excerpts from the example biographies. After discussing, what kind of timeline or lifeline might be the best in their case and what themes might come up, they start to sketch, using tools to help to plan and write a biography:</p>



	<p>1. Timeline. Where does the mother's story begin and where does it end? How does his life fit into the timeline? What to choose for your own text, what to leave out of the timeline?</p> <p>2. Idea pie: practise telling one topic at a time: in the idea pie, you choose topics that are central to your life and collect key words from these topics to fill the pie.</p> <p>3. idea tree: the idea tree can be used in the same way as the idea pie: on the branches of the tree, you collect the themes you want to address in your text.</p> <p>4. Notepads: descriptive narrative is difficult for some writers: many of them are brief and descriptive, and the text never really takes off. An idea bank can be helpful: collecting descriptive words on slips of paper to stick on the wall.</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	
Tips for trainers	<p>Capturing embodied (memory) information by means of sensory ethnography, by showing sensitivity to silences and/or by participating in walks in places associated with memories.</p> <p>A possible outcome of remembering and creating a genuine atmosphere is a digistory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reminiscing with personal objects, photos and archival material, a story told by a 71-year old woman from Espoo, who was 3 years during her family's evacuation trip from Karelian straight to eastern central Finland. See the digistory at https://youtu.be/gZdfWZmd0qI. -Vlog "Lotta ja pappa" by a 3rd generation young woman who interviews her grandfather and sings with him songs of her Karelian grandpa's youth: https://youtu.be/qCip9ond6dA <p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u> The writers/ creators may feel threatened by their environment if it resembles too much the wartime or after war mockery.</p> <p><u>Remark:</u> Create a group of peers. Start with cultural program. Provide some decoration of pedagogical objects that can function as identity symbols.</p>



4. Interactive learning

Activity title	Memory-work and short life history through intergenerational interview
Overview	The training will provide the participant with methods and skills in collecting private or family histories into a short biography. Working through a semi-open interview will help the work go along and will result in an outcome that can be printed out.
Objectives	Intergenerational memory-work through writing a short biography can offer emotional support. Sharing and listening problematic memories together can enhance empathy and learning. Understanding of experiences from an evacuee's trail or other challenges in one's life history will grow. The memories from the older generation will be passed on as new knowledge and new skills.
Materials	<p>Preparation: an offline pre-workshop OR reading independently:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well-known memoirs for reading excerpts, as models for captive impressions. For example, <i>The Diary of a Young Girl</i>, also known as <i>The Diary of Anne Frank</i> or <i>Fabio Geda's In the Sea There are Crocodiles.</i>, from 2011 <p>Online template for interviewing and writing down memories, with open questions regarding life history. Annexed as online material:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father_remember_with_me.htm • Mother_remember_with_me.htm
Time	<p>(Preparation: Reading and practicing the skills of writing and describing) Carrying out the interview/ memories in 2 sessions (1,5 hours each)</p> <p>Optional: Editing a booklet, 1 hour</p>
Group size	from 2 to 24 (divided in pairs)
Instructions for trainers	<p>Online template for writing a short biography based on interviews and memories</p> <p>Optional preparation: offline workshop. The method of creative biography writing based on interviews and memories, works well as a workshop to start with. Time permitting, an extra gathering can be added to get in the mood. It can include some rehearsals, such as walking in a landscape, finding old dear objects from the past, dancing dance steps from past decades, singing a song evoking old times and places or cooking a traditional recipe.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Choose either the online template for interviewing your father (or grandfather) or the online template for interviewing your mother (or grandmother). 2. During the interview itself, it is possible to open up old silences. The only thing needed is to gather between an elder person who is ready to share their life story and a child, grandchild, a relative or a volunteer who has the time to listen and to write down the story, using a template with questions to start with.



	<p>It is crucial for the interviewer to create a kind of safe space of co-working, which enables the interviewee to describe his or her experience without the need to protect him- or herself. Reminiscing is tiring. Depending on the age of the interviewee, a suitable length of a session to fill the online template may vary between 1 and 2,5 hours.</p> <p>The annexed online template for interviewing can be edited, and the title changed into grandfather/ grandmother, or another name. Print out the edited interview and ask for possible corrections from the interviewee.</p> <p>In adult education it is also possible to create new partnerships between museums, creative spaces and artistic recreation premises in order to find the safe spaces necessary for reminiscing, for interviewing and for producing creations based on memory-work.</p>
<p>Debriefing and evaluation</p>	<p>Evaluation can take place either by face-to face contact or telephone or other online contact between the interviewee and interviewer. It can also, be carried out in a workshop, during which texts can be shared between pairs and read, followed by spoken feed-back.</p>
<p>Tips for trainers</p>	<p>Example of intergenerational reminiscing:</p> <p>-Vlog “Lotta ja pappa” by a 3rd generation Karelian woman who interviews her grandfather and sings with him songs of her Karelian grandpa’s youth: https://youtu.be/qCip9ond6dA</p> <p>Challenges that might occur: The suitable meeting spaces for interviewing (in libraries/ culture centres) may be reserved for bigger group activities. The writers/ creators may need more time that the interviewer has available.</p> <p>Wartime memories may seem too heavy.</p> <p>Remark: Create a group of peers. Start with cultural program. Provide some decoration with objects that can function as identity symbols.</p>



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1821: 200 years from the Greek Revolution- Historical Background

By Alexandros Diamantis Balaskas, Action Synergy

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1. Overview

In 2021, in the midst of the Covid-19 crisis, the Greek State was preparing to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Revolution. The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution of 1821 or Greek Revolution was a successful war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries against the Ottoman Empire between 1821 and 1830. The war led to the formation of modern Greece. The revolution is celebrated by Greeks around the world as Independence Day on 25 March.

Greece came under Ottoman rule in the 15th century, in the decades before and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. During the following centuries, there were sporadic but unsuccessful Greek uprisings against Ottoman rule. In 1814, a secret organization called Filiki Eteria (Society of Friends) was founded with the aim of liberating Greece, encouraged by the revolutionary fervor gripping Europe in that period. The Filiki Eteria planned to launch revolts in the Peloponnese, the Danubian Principalities, and Constantinople itself.

The first revolt began on 6 March/21 February 1821 in the Danubian Principalities, but it was soon put down by the Ottomans. The events in the north urged the Greeks in the Peloponnese (Morea) into action and on 17 March 1821, the Maniots were the first to declare war. In September 1821, the Greeks under the leadership of Theodoros Kolokotronis captured Tripolitsa, the capital city of Morea and the centre of the Ottoman administration in the area. Revolts in Crete, Macedonia, and Central Greece broke out, but were eventually suppressed. Meanwhile, makeshift Greek fleets achieved success against the Ottoman navy in the Aegean Sea and prevented Ottoman reinforcements from arriving by sea.

Tensions soon developed among different Greek factions, leading to two consecutive civil wars. The Ottoman Sultan called in his vassal Muhammad Ali of Egypt, who agreed to send his son Ibrahim Pasha to Greece with an army to suppress the revolt in return for territorial gains. Ibrahim landed in the Peloponnese in February 1825 and brought most of the peninsula under Egyptian control by the end of that year. The town of Messolonghi fell in April 1826 after a year-long siege by the Turks. Despite a failed invasion of Mani, Athens also fell and the revolution looked lost.

At that point, the three Great powers—Russia, Britain and France—decided to intervene, sending their naval squadrons to Greece in 1827. Following news that the combined Ottoman–Egyptian fleet was going to attack the island of Hydra, the allied European fleets intercepted the Ottoman navy at Navarino. After a tense week-long standoff, the Battle of Navarino led to the destruction of the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet and turned the tide in favour of the revolutionaries. In 1828 the Egyptian army withdrew under pressure of a French expeditionary force. The Ottoman garrisons in the Peloponnese surrendered, and the Greek revolutionaries proceeded to retake central Greece. Russia invaded the Ottoman Empire and forced it to accept Greek autonomy in the Treaty of Adrianople (1829).

After nine years of war, Greece was finally recognized as an independent state under the London Protocol of February 1830. Further negotiations in 1832 led to the London Conference and the Treaty



of Constantinople; these defined the final borders of the new state and established Prince Otto of Bavaria as the first king of Greece.

2. Background information

1821: New approaches

The Greek Revolution, as the founding event of the modern Greek state is the single most important event in modern Greek history and as such, it was the subject of many approaches and interpretations. The purpose of the current article is not to question the importance of the Greek Revolution to the formation of the Greek State and the symbolism that carried the next two centuries, but to highlight different approaches that are scarcely being discussed in the Greek public discourse. In this article we will pose some questions and we will try to discuss the different approaches and bring to light new approaches that are often kept in the shadows.

Which is the Greek Official Approach?

The official approach is mainly the one that children are taught in schools and the one that appears in the official discourses every 25th of March. The school historiography in Greece is targeted towards the formation of the national identity of the modern Greek nation. Its main targets are the cultivation of national pride and homogeneity. The accomplishments and the sacrifices of the known (mainly) as well as the unknown are projected as the most appropriate examples of patriotism. Through the pages of the schoolbooks, the Greek nation appears to survive its untold suffering of the Turkish Occupation mainly due to its dedication to Orthodoxy and the action of the clergy. The dominant characteristic of the history schoolbooks is the idealised action of the heroes. As far as the Turks are concerned, they appear as exploiters, barbarians, cowards and bloodthirsty. Consequently, the story of the Greek revolutions is being told as a single-sided story.

What problems does the official approach create?

Nowadays, the single narration of history does not cover the needs of the modern learner. According to our point of view, this is a false approach in the science of History; History is taught as a poem, as a single narration and not as the sum of research, awareness and synthesis of different points of view. The narration of the events of the Greek revolution divides the Greek people, by creating two extremes: those who idealise everything related to the Greek Revolution and those who deny anything related to the Greek Revolution. The wide and open discussion and debate regarding the Greek revolution is a rare phenomenon.

What is more, dominant ideologies in nowadays Greece (mainly conservative) are being imposed in the narration of the events of the Greek Revolution. Religion, nationalism, the military are glorified,



other approaches that are especially important for trespassing the symbolism of such an important event are often kept in the shadows.

The Greek revolution both symbolically and practically is an especially important point in the history of Europe. Greece was the first country to win independence against the Ottoman Empire. A revolution of a small nation against a big empire. Many of the people (not all) who fought in this fight believed in a greater cause and sought for their right to be free. In addition, Greeks fought for their independence in a period that conservative powers all over Europe had decided to conserve the situation as it is (Holy Alliance- Metternich). We believe that focusing on the nationalistic approach of this result in losing the essence and symbolism.

1821: Revolution, Greek War of Independence, Uprising or Something Else?

Every nation writes its own history and aims to promote their own version of history. This is evident even from the words they use to describe an event. In the Greek national historiography, for example, it is always called a Revolution. According to this approach the Greeks have started a revolution against the oppression of the Ottomans that deny them their right to a national identity. Revolution means that there was an organised effort and common understanding of the purpose of the fight. Was it really like that? It is not a simple task to give a definite answer.

In the Turkish historiography, the most common description is “Uprising”. The term is used so it is not portrayed neither as a revolution nor as a war of independence, just a simple regional uprising that happened in a region, one of many, of the Ottoman Empire. In the International historiography, outside Greece and Turkey, the most common terminology to describe what happened in 1821 is “Greek War of Independence”. According to this approach, the Greeks fought a war against an enemy- the

Ottomans- in order to gain their independence. But was independence the main objective of the Greeks, and did everybody share a common vision of a new Christian Orthodox nation called Greece? It is evident that even the choice of the terms used to describe a specific era in history, contain a certain bias towards the sequence of events.

Understanding the International Context

It is impossible to understand what inspired the events between 1821-1830 without taking into consideration the international context of the period. This is important to highlight as it is rarely mentioned or scarcely discussed in the “official” Greek historiography which tends to study the Greek Revolution as a “unique” event. In the field of ideology therefore, two “independence waves” played major roles in the Greek one: The American Revolution and the ideas that carried and the French Revolution of 1789 and the Napoleonic Wars

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness”



In parallel to these important movements, the right of the people to self-determination, the movements of nationalism and ethnicism were ideas that came to directly oppose the existence of the empires.

In concrete, the Napoleonic Wars came as a result of the French Revolution and shaped the situation in Europe in the first two decades of the 19th century. In 1798 Napoleon with his army invaded Egypt, a part of the Ottoman Empire. The Napoleonic wars contained an ideology – they carried the ideas of a national identity. When in 1815 Napoleon got defeated, this meant the end of the revolutionary movement.

The winners of the Napoleonic Wars: Prussia, Russia, Austria (as well as the defeated France) have decided to prevent any attempt for revolutionary movements. That is why in 1815 they decided to hold the Congress of Vienna and create the Holy Alliance. They decided to create a body that would stop all wars or uprisings and to find common solutions and responses to them. The Greek Revolution started to take shape into this framework. That is why the first response of the Holy Alliance was negative. Similar responses were given to revolutions that took place in Spain and in Italy (Carbonari) that were stopped during this period.

As a result, the Greek movement was inspired by the liberal and national ideas of the French and American Revolution and managed to survive despite the opposite initial will of the Holy Alliance.

What is the Ottoman Empire?

In Greek schools, the Ottoman Empire is being portrayed as an evil empire that held the Greeks occupied for more than 350 years (it is thought that the fall of Constantinople is the starting date). It is never discussed how it functioned, its values, etc. During the period near to 1821, it had a nickname to the rest of the European powers, the “Sick Man of Europe”, a very big empire with many administrative deficiencies. The power of the Empire was declining. The Sultan has given authority to many local governments. Consequently, many uprisings took place at this period. In the Ottoman Empire the division of population was done according to religions, and not nationalities. Consequently, Christian Orthodox church had great power in its hands. Before the Greeks, the Serbs revolted against the Ottoman Empire and especially the janissaries. There was also a Russian-Turkish war in 1813.

Towards the Revolution – A plan or an opportunity?

In the official historical approach, the Greek Revolution is presented as a natural outcome of a plan and of the endless fight of the nation towards its national independence. In reality, it came more as a result of an opportunity that was presented.

Filiki Etaireia, Greek Society of Friends, was a secret organisation founded in 1814 in Odessa, whose purpose was to overthrow the Ottoman rule of Greece and establish an independent Greek state. Most of the members in the beginning were merchants. Their first leader was Alexandros Ipsilantis.



As mentioned, the Ottoman Empire was huge and was ruled in different regions by local chiefs, called Pashas. One of the most prominent in this period was the Ali Pasha of Giannena. He was under the administration of the Ottoman Empire. However, he became stronger and stronger and revolted against them various times. Therefore, in the period 1820-1822 a war started between him and the Ottoman Empire. Most of the later Greek heroes of the revolution fought for him during this war. The Filiki Etairia decided that 1821 was a great opportunity to start the revolution during the uprising of the Ali Pasha.

The Revolution of the Greeks starts in Moldavia and Vlachia (today Romania). It ended in a defeat. The people who fought were very different from each other. From idealistic students that sacrificed their lives for the cause of independence to adventurers and opportunists that were fighting in many different parts of Europe for the sake of money. This resulted in the death of most of these idealistic students and many rapes and slaughters in Moldavia and Vlachia from opportunists who were not interested in the Greek cause, but only to their own.

The fights on the Greek mainland started in March of 1821, the day that modern Greeks celebrate the “start of the revolution”.

Who fought in this Revolution and who were staying on the Greek Mainland in 1821?

One of the main problems with the official approach is that it presents the Greek Revolution as a result of the efforts of a unified Greek nation while the Greek nation was not fully formed at the time and the people that fought the revolution were anything but homogenous.

As mentioned before, the people who participated in the fight were very different from each other in terms of motivation, geography, ethnicity, religion, language etc. The people who fought in Peloponnesus were very different from those who fought in Roumeli (mainland Greece) and again the people from the islands were in very different positions from the rest. What is more, many people came to fight from abroad either for glory and money or for pure emotion to the Greek cause (philleninism).

Armatoloi were officers of the Ottoman Empire and usually they had power in the local regions. The Ottoman Empire tried to collaborate with them to maintain rule in the regions. Some of the most important figures of the Greek Revolution were indeed Armatoloi. In the first years of the fight, they tended to change sides according to which side they thought they would win. In Peloponnesus, the patrons, owners of the land were those who decided to enter the cause as most of the farmers just followed their decisions. In the islands like Hydra and Spetses, the situation was quite different. Most of the population were merchants with good connections with Europe, who were in touch with liberal ideas from abroad.

Apart from them, the population was very varied. A great part of the population was Christian Orthodox speaking Greek. However, not all of them were spoke Greek, as many people who fought



spoke only Albanian (Arvanites). Many people, who usually participated in the Ottoman Empire Army -with some important exceptions- were Muslims speaking Albanian and Turkish and/or Greek.

The myth of “the secret school” and the role of the Christian Orthodox Church

There is an important inaccuracy that is still being reproduced in the Greek school system and the official approach which mentions that education in Greek was forbidden during the Ottoman Occupation. Children had to go to learn Greek at night in local churches. This is indeed a myth. Many important Greek schools were fully functioning during the Ottoman years. Many of the most educated figures of the revolution studied there.

The Orthodox churches had important power in their hands during the Ottoman years, as the Ottoman Empire divided their population according to religion and not nationality. The Orthodox Church claims to be the single institution that allowed the “Greek Nation” to continue to exist in the years of Ottoman ruling. However, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch renounced the revolution. This caused a split between the Patriarch and the Greek Church in December 1821. Since then, there is a ministry of Religion in Greece and churches belong to the state. This reality applies today and explains a lot of why the Greek State is not divided from the Greek Orthodox Church. Priests up to now are considered as public servants.

Democracy: Early steps & Constitution

The 1st National Assembly in January 1822 proclaimed the principle of constitutionalism as the fundamental and necessary prerequisite of political stability. The assembly had three branches: the “parliamentary”, “executive” and “judiciary”. In April 1823, another assembly, the Second National Assembly, convened in the town of Astros, in Kynouria. The Third National Assembly convened in Troizena in 1827. After unanimously electing Ioannis Capodistrias as “Governor of Greece” for a seven-year term, the Assembly aspired to provide the country with a stable government, modelled on democratic and liberal ideas. For this reason, it referred to the principle of popular sovereignty for the first time:

“Sovereignty lies with the people; all powers derive from the people and exist for the people and the Nation”.

Merchandise and the theory of Revolution

Another approach through which we can explain the Greek Revolution is the so-called “Theory of Revolution”. According to this theory, revolutions occur when, after a period of prosperity, there is a decline. This can be confirmed in the case of Greece,

Greeks were considered to have a very good navy. They were trading goods to all of the Ottoman Empire and big urban cities up until the Danube (Bucharest, Budapest, Black Sea etc). Hydra was a very rich island, opposite to Peloponnesus, very important for the revolution. During the Napoleonic Wars,



traders from European Countries were fighting, and that created space for the Greeks to flourish. But after 1815, slowly they lost their place.

1821-1825 From glory to Defeat

Another issue that is not highlighted in the official approach is that, from a military point of view, Greeks lost the war of revolution, largely because they were fighting each other.

In the first part of 1821 a very important victory led by one of the most prominent figures of the revolution, General Theodoros Kolokotronis took place. Up to 1823 Greeks fought and won many fights. The Ottoman Army in the beginning was busy with fights in different parts of the Empire (for example with Ali Pasha's rebellion)

In 1823-1825, the Greek Civil War started. Even though in 1821 a provisional Greek Government was formed, the regional lords did not cease to exist, creating a lack of power to the central administration. Moreover, the arms lords that played an important role in the victories wanted to capitalise on these and take a larger part of power. Politicians were not trusted as governors. Furthermore, there was local division and different interests (For example lords of Peloponnisus vs lords of Hydra).

In 1825, the important city of Messologi fell after a one year siege. Lord Byron died during this siege. Later the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha comes to Greece and the military part of the revolution is officially over. The Greeks have lost from a military point of view after the defeat of Athens.

Art and Revolution and the role of the Philhellinism

During the Revolution, many foreigners were interested to help the cause. Mostly, this wave was triggered by news of big massacres (Like in Chios and Messologi) and by the great appreciation they had for the ancient Greek history and culture which was seen as the cradle of the whole Western civilisation. These people were called "Philhellines" (friends of the Greeks). They were trying to raise money through operas, theatre plays, poems etc. Greek Figures of the revolution could be found on plates or playing cards. Some of the most prominent philhellines were very important men of culture such as Lord Byron. Most of the Philhellines were found in Germany where classicism was thriving. The Greek revolution in the eyes of these people revived the image of ancient Greece fighting the Persians. The reality was very different.

The Foreign Factor in the Greek Revolution: Positive or Negative?

Not all people went to fight out of idealism. Many fought for the ones that paid the most. That resulted in the looting of whole cities and populations. The provisional Greek Government sought a loan. The Greek State did not officially exist, so providing a loan meant essentially recognition. That was a very difficult task to accomplish. Finally, a British bank from London gave the loan in 1823 at very high rates, which was explained by the uncertainty of a revolution in progress. Diplomatic win- Economic Loss. Greek dept journeys started there and never ceased to exist.



Until 1823 the powers of Europe (Holy Alliance) decided not to act against the revolution. In 1823 things started to change for the first time: George Canning, foreign minister of the United Kingdom, changed the British doctrine towards Greece. "Greece is a navy nation, through them we can more easily control the Southeastern Mediterranean region". Consequently in 1825, the heads of the Greek Army were from the UK. In 1826 after the military loss of the Greek cause, the 3 big powers (Russia, France, UK) demanded from the Sultan to not proceed in major massacres (it was a common policy to punish the "naughty" ones).

In 1827, the naval Battle of Navarino took place. The three Great Powers fought against the Ottoman Empire and the result was a great loss for the Ottomans. In 1828, there was the Russian-Turkish war, for issues irrelevant with the Greek revolution Russia won and one of the clauses in the Peace Treaty was to provide autonomy for Greece under the Ottoman Empire. In 1830, the British did not want Russia to appear as the saviour in the region and demanded full independence for Greece which they were given in the London Conference. In 1832, after the Greek independence, the UK demanded the change of the regime to Monarchy because it was suspicious that the governor of Greece Ioannis Kapodistrias acted as a Russian spy. King Otto from Bavaria was named the first King of the Greeks. The question of Monarchy has led to several civil wars ever since. In the following years, the Russian, the French and the British were the main political parties in Greece and Greece was effectively a protectorate of the foreign powers which very frequently intervened in the internal political life of the country.

The use of the symbols of the Revolution throughout the years

With the passing of time, the main heroes of the Greek Revolution have started to become symbols and enter in the sphere of legend. However, the use of these symbols was different according to the historical period that Greece was living. Since the Greek Revolution was combined with the birth of the modern Greek state, in certain historical periods, the symbols of the Greek Revolution were combined with nationalism, the army and mainly with the right-wing political spectrum which has used these symbols for political propaganda. Therefore, the Greek Independence Day was (and still is) combined with army parades, nationalistic rhetoric against the Turks etc. During the peak of Greek Nationalism (Military Dictatorship, 1967-1974), there were organised public festivals where a folkloristic version of the heroes of the Revolution had a central role. However, the heroes of the Greek Revolution were also combined with the concept of revolution, self-determination and independence. In this way, there was also a source of inspiration for the left-wing activists. During the German occupation in the second World War (1940-1944), the fighters of the main resistance movement (the left-wing EAM) associated themselves frequently with the figures of the Greek Revolution.

The 1821 today.

The birth and independence of the Greek State was a great accomplishment against many odds, against a big empire, the Ottoman, in the age of empires. Also, it was achieved initially against the will of the big powers, the lack of organisation, funds etc.



It was inspired at a certain point by the liberal Ideas of the French and American Revolution, ideas that were later adopted in the first constitutions of Greece.

The official history tends to glorify those who fought in the Greek revolution by highlighting only certain parts of their personalities and hiding others. They are not portrayed as humans with their deficits but rather as superhumans. Everything compared to them seems small.

Greek dependency on foreign powers existed since the beginning of the Greek State. The debts begun there, the big powers and the competition against them, allowed the Greek State to exist.

The Greek orthodox church is often glorified for its role during the years of the Ottoman Empire. Many times, it is referred to as what kept the "Greek spirit" alive. Since the very beginning it became part of the Greek State, and until now it holds a very important role of intervening in state matters.

History is too complex to be told as a simple narration where good people are fighting bad people to secure independence. Humans themselves are complex and constantly changing and developing. The Greek Revolution took place in a specific framework, in a specific time in history. In order to understand it is crucial to try to approach it from as many points of view as possible in order to reflect on its importance 200 years later.



3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity 1: Discussion based on photos

Activity title	Discussion based on photos
Overview	<p>- The participants sit in a circle and around 20 photos are exposed on the ground. Each participant is asked to choose a photo and explain why s/he chose the photo and what s/he thinks that the photo is representing. Then the facilitator, explains what the historic meaning of this photo is.</p>
Objectives	<p>- Based on the answers that are given, we could understand the ideas/ preconceptions of the participants and start a discussion among the whole group. This discussion could be made between people that have some background knowledge about the revolution but also to people that do not have previous knowledge about this (for example international audience).</p> <p>-Audience is being introduced in a historic theme in an interactive way</p>
Materials	<p>- Material: Photos (paintings, symbols, sketches etc.) that depict different approaches of the revolution (role of church, role of foreign powers, depiction of the enemy, role of the Philhellenes, traditional approaches, and contemporary narratives etc.).</p>
Time	1 hour
Group size	20 people
Instructions for trainers	<p>-Give space to the participants to express themselves</p> <p>-Encourage people to speak up</p> <p>- The trainer needs to have a historic background in order to relate the photos with the content</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>After the end of the activity, the trainer asks the participants the following questions:</p> <p>What did you like the most?</p> <p>What historic incident made the most impression to you?</p> <p>Can you relate the photo with a current situation?</p> <p>Can we draw any analogies?</p>



Tips for trainers	<p>Trainer will need to have good content knowledge of the subject. Try to combine photos that are related to the same historic incident and group them</p> <p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p>Try to keep the conversation into the subject Try to divide the time equally between the participants</p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>
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Questions that would support the discussion:

- What do you think that this photo represents?
- What story do you think that this photo is trying to narrate?
- How does this relate to your own experiences/ ideas/ history/memories?
- Can you relate this photo with something that is happening today?



Activity 2: Fishbowl Discussion

Activity title	Didactic Approach 2: Fishbowl Discussion
Overview	<p>- The participants are divided into two groups. The first group (the inner circle) is sited in a circle. It is composed of a maximum 6 people and is divided equally in people that support the first view and people that support the second view. They discuss the issue freely for 10 minutes providing arguments in favor or against a position. The facilitator intervenes only if the discussion gets out of scope or if it gets stuck. The discussion should relate with the experiences of the participants and therefore if the participants are not Greeks should relate with their own context and experiences</p> <p>- When the discussion of the inner circle is completed, the facilitator asks the participants how they feel, if they have listened to valid arguments from the other side, if they have considered things that they have not considered before, if their opinion was slightly moved etc.</p> <p>- The second group of people (the outer circle) is observing the discussion without intervening. Then it is asked to comment on the arguments, discuss how discuss on how they felt on the different opinions and express their feelings and views on the arguments discussed.</p> <p>Indicative Discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greece did not really gain its independence as it was “dependent to the banks since the very beginning” - The states should teach history as a uniform story to sustain the identity of a nation
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The participants will familiarize themselves with different narratives in history - They will exercise on the art of debating, since they will be called to support opinions that are different from theirs.
Materials	- Material: 2 articles on a topic related with the revolution presenting 2 opposing views on a common theme (for example the role of the foreign powers: positive or negative)
Time	40 minutes
Group size	Flexible (8 and above)



Instructions for trainers	<p><i>-Sometimes debates can get heated, since people relate a lot -history with their feelings. Try to debrief when/if this happens.</i></p> <p><i>Sometimes people are providing very 'safe" statements. Try to provide some challenging arguments if/when this happens.</i></p>
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>-How we understand history today? -How have you felt supporting opinions different than yours?</p>
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p><i>Try to keep the conversation challenging by providing arguments when needed. We want to avoid a "flat" conversation.</i></p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>



4. Interactive learning

Activity 1: Revolutionary Maps

Activity title	Online activity 1 : Revolutionary Maps
Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We use an online map of Greece (using Google Maps or other similar application) - We invite the participants to take photos of an object related with the Greek revolution (name of a street, monument, name of building, sculpture, piece of art) and post the photo on the map together with information of what is depicted from two different sources (if possible, presenting two different opinions on the same object). - In this way, we create an online collage of different objects related to with the Greek revolution and we train participants to search from different sources and points of view on a specific issue. - Because of its nature, this activity can be only by Greek participants
Objectives	To train participants to search from different sources and points of view on a specific issue.
Materials	Online Map Mobile phone
Time	-
Group size	Individual
Instructions for trainers	Allocate to participants to research different characters and protagonists of the Greek revolution
Debriefing and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What did you learn? -Why sources tell different version of the same stories?
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p><i>Try to prevent participants from present two similar opinions</i></p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>



Activity 2: The „Art“ of Revolution

Activity title	Online activity 2: The “Art” of Revolution
Overview	<p>By using google, participants will find pictures of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Characters <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) A photo of a main character of the Greek Revolution b) A photo of a main character from the continent of Africa that his story could be related to the character of the Greek Revolution 2. Location <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) A major location where an important event of the Greek revolution took place b) A major location from the continent of Asia that could be related to an event 3. Artwork <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) A famous artwork referring to the Greek Revolution b) An artwork from the continent of Latin America <p>In the end, every participant should make a collage combining these 6 photos with their own artistic expression</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To familiarize the participants with the main characters and events of the revolution - From passive receivers to active creators. - The ability to draw analogies to historical events now and then
Materials	<p>Laptop Google Paint</p>
Time	-
Group size	-
Instructions for trainers	<p>It is a creative process, so not many interventions should be made, only those that are related to the accuracy of the content.</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How people and places that have lived in different historical eras and locations can be related to each other? - What lessons can we learn?



Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p><i>That the analogies drawn will not be well elaborated</i></p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>
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Creative commons advice

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Women during the transformation period in Poland in the 1990s

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1. Overview

Joanna and Anna. Two women - two stories

This educational material applies to women during the transformation period in Poland in the 1990s. It refers to Derrida, who wrote about the present "haunted" by history, and to Geertz, who pointed out that it is impossible, and certainly very difficult, to completely abandon one's own way of seeing the world and draw a comprehensive, objective picture of culture or epoch. The stories of Joanna and Anna shown here are an attempt to describe the epoch through the prism of a person embedded in a specific fragment of reality. Each individual story is unique, and at the same time it is the carrier of a specific epoch.

The proposed tasks and questions for discussion are to stimulate thinking about the past, present and future as well as go beyond reflection and initiate actions towards conscious creation of myself and the world in which I want to live.

2. Background information

Women during the transformation period in Poland in the 1990s

"1989 - the Autumn of Nations in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe - fundamentally changed the face of the continent. However, in our consciousness, autumn symbolizes the end of an era rather than the beginning of a new one. The Autumn of Nations marks the collapse of the communist system in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. This is the collapse of the Yalta order, the end of the bipolar confrontation between East and West. The current world order has collapsed. " (Mehlhorn, 2007, p. 36)

After the collapse of the existing world order, a new order is created. In Poland in the 1990s, this new order was created in all areas of life. A centrally planned economy is transformed into a capitalist market economy, state-owned enterprises are liquidated or privatized, and the private sector of enterprises is built. As a result of the collapse of many state-owned enterprises, there is high unemployment, a decline in real wages and a deterioration in the quality of life of some social groups. Economic life is disrupted by numerous economic scandals and crime. The beginning of the 1990s was also a flourishing of political life - the establishment of several dozen new political parties, the first presidential and parliamentary elections in Poland's post-war history (Zdziabek, 2021).

There is chaos in the socio-cultural sphere, from which a new order is slowly emerging. Chaos results in a variety of forms and contents in all spheres of social life, ranging from forms of work and family life to interior design (Nowakowska, 2017). Olga Drenda refers to this period as *hauntology* adapting the term taken from Derrida, who wrote about a present "haunted" by history. Drenda applied the term *hauntology* until the turn of the 1980s and 1990s "(...)" and it turned out that the combination of peculiarities, absurdity, nostalgia and anxiety is familiar to many people who experienced the moment



of a small end of a certain world, entropy on the ruins of utopia, or those who at least they can imagine it "(Drenda, 2016, p. 6)

Entropy created on the ruins of utopia was to take on a new shape, or was it never meant to get order again? Clifford Geertz writes, "What we really need is not great ideas or the complete abandonment of synthesizing concepts. We need ways of thinking that are sensitive to details, to individual cases, to peculiarities, discontinuities, contrasts and unique things, thus sensitive to what Charles Taylor called "profound diversity" (1993), a multitude of ways of belonging and being, capable of extracting from these details and diversity a sense of connectivity, connectivity that is neither universal nor uniform, primitive or unchanging, and yet real "(Geertz, 2003, p.277).

Olga Drenda also refers to Geertz, saying that it is impossible, and certainly very difficult, to completely abandon one's own way of seeing the world. "It is also impossible to draw a comprehensive, objective picture of a culture or epoch, and it is vain ambition to embark on such intentions, because we only see fragments. However, we can - and should - describe them as densely and contextually as possible in order to avoid falling into the illusion of generalizations "(Drenda, 2016, p. 16).

The stories of Joanna and Anna shown here are an attempt to describe the epoch through the prism of a person embedded in a specific fragment of reality. Each individual story is unique, and at the same time it is the carrier of a specific epoch.

Joanna

Joanna was 17 in 1990 and went to high school. In 2000, she was 27 and started her first full-time job.

Entering adulthood

The beginning of the 90s was the time of entering adulthood for Joanna. In 1991, she turned 18, which meant that she became an adult, and that's what she felt.

"I felt very grown up here. A lot of such personal things happened here. I had my first relationship which started in 90 and ended in 93 actually, so those 3 years were so intense. And here I went to various trainings: yoga, drawing, some creativity courses, I conducted yoga myself, I conducted some classes myself. Between 90-93 I gained a lot of such experiences, which translated into my whole life. Exactly such a fascination with this personal development and putting it on yourself, such a fight for oneself, for one's autonomy, a fight with the family, with parents, their views, with relegation, fascination with the East.

For example, in 1990, I left home alone for the first time, without any care, and that's where I met my partner. I went to such a liberting camp and that's where I went in those years. I've been there several times. At first, I was fascinated by this transformation of the whole person. Some spiritual experiences, such a mega, for example one day when you are blindfolded and you do not eat anything, you do not talk. Any sessions that are going to turn you into someone else. Liberting was such a mixture of the East and some such American approach. The idea was that a person should relive their birth and start their life from the beginning, undergo such a spiritual transformation. When we used to go to these groups, me and those people who were there thought that the older generations were nonsense at all, that they know nothing about life and that we are the creators of reality and that we have our own idea for ourselves, on our own lives, that we are adults and that we can decide about ourselves and that no one will dictate our lives.



Anyway, it was such a rebellion for me, because my parents did not really accept the fact that I was going to study art, especially my mother, so that was the first point of opposition. The second is that there is a lot of intergenerational difference and they were also very religious, so these eastern trends scared them a bit, and the fact that I stopped going to church at all was also such an element of rebellion. Well, they raised a lot of opposition, but I was then a very strong and very autonomous person. Actually, I'd like to be like that then. I would like to believe so, change the world in such a way. It was such a tremendous force that seemed to affect my whole life.

And one more element of this rebellion was that my parents did not accept my relationship at all and the whole family did not accept it at all. But for me it was such a striving for enormous freedom, such personal autonomy."

Joanna emphasizes the pursuit of freedom and autonomy, which was associated with a rebellion against various people and values for which she did not agree.

"Autonomy was in every sphere, because, for example, I ignored school. I had a friend with whom we had such a rebellious program. We believed that the school did not teach anything, we have our own school outside the school. She was scouting and I had my awesome training sessions. We were telling adults what we thought, we were going into such a very adult attitude. For example, this trip of mine, lonely in 90, where I ran away from school actually, I obtained a sick leave myself, lying to the doctor, and went in the school year for some weekly training. Well, it was autonomy. I went alone and I went alone on all these trips and I fought for example later for my parents to allow me to do various things at all, which they did not want me to do.

And at the same time, what came later, I started to rebel against the groups I was in. Because at one point I noticed that they were controlling us. There was a moment of rebellion against what I was in. Not against yoga. But because there was a lot of ideology, at some point a rebellion against that ideology arose. I chose the studies I wanted to go to and I fought for them. I didn't get into it, which was a big failure because my parents were against the studies. So not getting into college, which they were against, suggested that I am not fit at all and should change my path at all. "

Joanna emphasizes the role of a significant person in her life. A person who supported her in her aspirations and activities. "At that time, one person helped me a lot. My sister-in-law helped me, she was the only person in the family who supported me in everything. And she was kind of against the family. She fought a lot for me to go to these art studies and encouraged me to such an adult attitude and said that if I did not get into college, I should show my family that I was independent and that, for example, I would go to work, not that I will fall apart and cry. "

First job

"And I went to some idiotic job, like making modeling clay brooches, which was a terrible shock to me, because you know after school, suddenly I end up in some factory where I come every day, replace the card and deal with some idiots. I quickly quit this job and in just 2 days I actually found another job. "

Another job, also like the previous one received from the employment office, also seemed completely wrong to her, turned out to be a turning point in Joanna's life.



“It was just my biggest change - this next job. And it resulted in everything that happened later in my life. I went to work as a marketing interviewer. The job was that you had to go from company to company and propose a survey plus some funny product. It was an emergency job, from the unemployment office. And I was a very introverted and terribly shy person in general, so going to companies seemed to me to be totally wrong for me, some idiotic idea. And I went to the meeting with the employer with my mother and aunt, which amused the future employers a lot. Half a day I was going with my mother, and the other half of the day I was walking alone and it turned out that I was doing great, but that's because I was talking to these people instead of filling in this questionnaire. And when they saw such a shy girl - they let me in, made me tea, told me about their experiences and difficulties, and this was the beginning of such a biographical work and the discovery that I had good contact with people, that I could go out to people and it became the basis of everything I did afterwards.”

Studies

Joanna got into her dream art studies, which were also a time of change for her.

“At the beginning there was a breakdown, because this is not the kind of study I imagined. It was my dream study, it was a vision of freedom. That I will be who I have always wanted to be, that is, that I will be a creator. And here it turned out that I am not a creator, that the professor in painting tells me "please paint like a friend", that I cannot express myself, but I have to do as the professors want, that the workshop counts, not some creative idea. And after all the experiences from the creativity workshops that I went to, yoga and all those departures and so on, I just had a different vision. I had a vision that I realize throughout my life that I want to develop creatively, and not learn to be an artist or a designer. And because I was not doing very well in college, and I was very good at theoretical subjects, and we had a lot of them - we had psychology, we had sociology, and all these subjects were very easy for me. In art history, I was the best of all. I started to wonder that if I was doing so well in all these theoretical subjects, philosophies, that I should plan my future somehow, and that I would not find myself as a designer. I decided to go in the pedagogical direction. ”

Here again a significant person in her life reappears - a yoga instructor. “The person to whom I went to yoga helped me then. I went back to yoga because I was on a break. She got pregnant and told me that she needed a replacement to go to Stuttgart (this was the first trip I was talking about) and that I was to teach creativity and yoga there. I was going on this trip without any experience, never having been abroad before, not knowing at all where Stuttgart was. It was 1996. I was scared no matter what, so I started looking for other things. And I found a friend of mine who worked at the newly established private university and told me that they were organizing a camp in the Bieszczady Mountains and that I could conduct similar artistic and creative classes there. First, I went to the Bieszczady Mountains, where I conducted art classes for children, and it turned out that I was doing well, and that I had good contact with people and that people listened to me, even though I was only 23 at the time. ” It turned out that this pedagogical path, work in contact with people, started in the seemingly meaningless, ex officio intervention work of the interviewer, is for Joanna a way of life, on which she works, on which she fulfills herself. The Bieszczady camp was the first successfully passed test.

Another test was Joanna's first trip abroad, also in training, but this time it was much more difficult both due to the participants of the training and other members of the staff. “And then I went to



Stuttgart and there were young people and gifted young people, aged 17-21. And I was terribly concerned. The rest of the staff were elderly people with extensive work experience and they were somewhere far away from these young people. Such a post-commune."

And here Joanna experienced a kind of dazzle, a situation that she herself calls a significant event. "In addition, I was given my own room as the only one with access to the roof. And when I entered this room, it was such a significant event, I went abroad for the first time, I was supposed to conduct my classes (and I was a student, still one that the lecturers did not appreciate too much, with problems), I entered this room, I opened this door and I said: This is my life. I will live like this. And it was true. These kids used to come to me and tell me about their lives. They shared their problems with me. And they used to go to that roof."

In Stuttgart, Joanna met the painter Fryderyk, who had a huge impact on her life and her painting. The meeting was organized as part of the camp. Joanna completely ignored Fryderyk, having no idea who he was. She entered into a discussion with him about art, then he took her to his studio, showed her various techniques - and then she changed completely. It was such another step, such a transformation. "I returned to the painting studio and started painting completely differently. One of the professors said "what happened to you, this is a completely different style, a different painting, a different person at all!" Joanna stayed in touch with Fryderyk for a long time.

Joanna admits that the youth who were there also had a big influence during her stay in Stuttgart. One of the guys told her that he would be a very good facilitator because he felt very well during the classes. Interestingly, it was a boy who never came to her room with access to the roof, who was not friends with her. "I don't even know his name and I haven't even noticed him." Joanna says.

They too, these young people, changed her image at that time. "They told me that I dressed badly for the theater, that I dressed badly, and that I should wear a dress, and I had no dress. Then I went to the store, gave up everything, quit my classes and bought myself dresses and started to dress differently. And at the meeting where I met Fryderyk, this artist, I was wearing a dress. It probably caused him to start talking to me at all, because if I was sitting there like that gray mouse in his gray clothes, he might not have noticed me at all. These young people made me think about my appearance. It was a minor matter, but it made a huge difference. I started to dress differently, look different. See yourself differently. These dresses were very important."

After returning from Stuttgart, Joanna was a completely different person. "And even if the professors criticized me in some way, I was already answering them from the position of such an autonomous person. I answered them as an adult, like a person who has a plan, I was a completely different student. Which caused conflicts also between us."

The fact that Joanna could go abroad was, in her opinion, one of the consequences of the political transformations of the time. "This trip to Stuttgart was also related to the fact that the borders were opening up, that you could even dream of going somewhere else. That this is how I imagined my life."

Moreover, the work she had undertaken in 1992 was, in her opinion, also an element of the political transformations of that time. "These procedures for hiring yourself as unemployed and then getting intervention work. The fact that a lot of companies were established then and that I was employed in this company at that time. " Another element was the establishment of the university, where she got a job in 1999, because this private university was established in 1993, which is exactly when Joanna



started her studies. "So I fitted into these systemic transformations, that this school was being created, that there were camps organized for young people. All these circumstances were related to the economic development in Poland."

She herself also notices her contribution to the transformation of the socio-cultural reality. "I worked as a marketing interviewer and I was supposed to collect information about companies that are established in Łódź, so I was creating a database of some kind. By talking to these people, maybe I influenced them somehow, because they confided in me about their problems, which maybe changed them somehow. Maybe the fact that I met X then in Stuttgart, who is now a great actor and believed in his potential. Perhaps I also told him (X) behind his back - you are great".

She also sees her contribution to building the specifics of the then emerging and currently one of the largest private universities in Poland. "From the very beginning I was associated with such a main pillar of the university, which is creativity. I did not like the program that was proposed then, because it was very artistic and I wanted to implement what I knew from the past, from these trainings, from what I did in Stuttgart and I wanted it to go in this direction and I fought for that. So later I became a tutor of creative activities, maybe that's why

that I had my own idea for it, I think." Joanna also feels that her ideas have been put into practice.

"I wanted this idea of my own. If someone tried to impose something on me, then I rebelled."

Artifact

As an object connected with this period Joanna gives the clock with the funnel.

"Funnel clock"

Assessment work. It was created during a class in composition in 1994. The theme was the metaphor in art. It was about combining two items that together would create a new meaning separate from their prior importance.

The clock itself was a family heirloom, my mom's clock. The funnel was made to order from a tinsmith.

The idea of work refers to time running out, time overflowing in life, time that can elapse irrelevant or may mean something important. Work is a metaphor for changeability, impermanence, life. The blue sky, on the other hand, refers to the works of the surrealist painter Rene Magritte, who used this theme in his works. Heaven is a symbol of eternity, therefore also it refers to the concept of time. Eternity will be the opposite of escaping, "overflowing in time" of human life. The sky is limitless, the time measured by the clock determines the limits.

I would add to this description a fragment of a poem by Arthur Rimbaud, which is very dear to me.



“Found at last!

- But what? - Eternity! It

is the sea that connects

With the sun. ”



Photo 1 Artifact 1: Joanna’s clock with the funnel

Anna

In 1990, Anna was 35 years old and worked in state-owned enterprises, which would soon collapse. In 2000, she was 45 and had just married her daughter and buried her mother.

In 1992, the state-owned plants in which Anna had been working as an accountant for 15 years broke up. For the first time in her life, Anna was unemployed and started receiving unemployment benefits. In 1993, thanks to friends, she managed to find a job for a while as a cashier-warehouse manager at a school. She worked there for six months as a substitute for a person who was on maternity leave. After six months, she was unemployed again.

At that time, her mother fell ill, and Anna, together with her sister, who worked and developed her own company at that time, agreed that in this situation, the best solution would be for Anna to take care of her sick mother and, at the same time, to cook dinners for the family, who at the same time was a family business run, among others, by Anna's husband.

Anna tells about everything in short, laconic sentences. “My workplace fell apart and I went unemployed. For unemployment benefit. In 1993, I went to work at school. Cashier-warehouse worker. Half a year. Then looking after my mother. From 1993 to 1998, the care of the mother and the death of the mother and the end. ”

Anna assesses the period of the 90s in her life well, comparing it to the end of the 80s, when the old system was in decline. “When I went on unemployment benefit, I was better off, because I didn't work in that damn X, where the electricity had already been turned off. In winter there was no electricity, no water, everything sucked. In addition, they already let some people, merged different departments, and I had to do the work for others. It was a lot of work and it was cold.”



After losing her job and switching to unemployment benefits, Anna felt fine. At that time, her husband, together with his brothers-in-law, founded his first company, which, like all private companies that were being established at that time, prospered very well. Anna states: "I felt relieved, so free. There was a company, so I didn't have to worry about money anymore. I had something to do. I went every day, looked after my mother, cooked dinners for 14 people, for two courses! I was free, no one was in charge, I did what I wanted, I had money. My daughter got married and started building a house."

The daughter's wedding is also a significant event for Anna. She mentions it several times. She ends her statement again with a laconic statement: "In 1997, my daughter's wedding. From 1997 I was on a pension. And the end of my career."

When asked if she has a sense of influence on the socio-cultural reality of that time, she replies: "I have no sense of influence on the economy. I was an ordinary pawn."

Artifact

As an object connected with this period Anna gives the two necklaces.

These are necklaces bought very cheaply in one of the first, newly established hypermarkets. Anna says it was like choking on the fact that you can buy anything cheap and in any quantity you want. And because they had money then, because her husband started his own business, she was buying a lot.



Photo 2 Artifact 2: Anna's necklaces



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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Introduction

Introducing each other in the circle – what do the 90s mean to me personally? Participants give their name, country, one event from the 90s that occurred in their life – where were you, what were you doing?

My bag – my world

- a. One person is sitting in the middle of the circle on the floor with his/her bag and showing what he/she has in his/her bag – belongings that create his/her world.
- b. He/she closes his/her eyes and everybody puts around him on the floor different objects from their belongings
- c. She/He opens her/his eyes and :
 - 1) Says what are his/her feelings – how do you feel?
 - 2) What do you think of the situation?
 - 3) What would you like to do?
 - 4) Which of them would you like to take with you, to be yours?
 - 5) Which of them you don't actually know what is it for?
- d. Summing up – the metaphor of the situation of the person in Poland in the 1990s. After 1989 the world was open and there was a great amount of everything coming from the west. There was chaos in the socio-cultural sphere resulting in a variety of forms and contents in all spheres of social life, ranging from forms of work and family life to interior design.

A PHOTOGRAPH – 90s in Poland – helicopter view

- Participants (in small groups of two or three) receive a photograph from the 90s in Poland
- Glue it in the middle of bigger sheet of paper
- Write around all the observations, associations connected with the photo, draw a picture, that can be the second part of the picture. They try to think, what does this photo say about the 90s in Poland.
- Presentation, discussion

Optionally: Put the photo on the walls – gallery like.

TWO STORIES

Reading the stories individually

General discussion questions:

1. How did the political changes in the 90s in Poland affect the lives of Joanna and Anna.



2. Is the strong pursuit of freedom and autonomy simply a feature of youth, or was it related to the period of changes?
3. Could the political changes help Joanna to achieve her aspirations for autonomy and freedom?

Life line

- Draw the line of life of Anna/Joanna. Highlight a start date at the beginning, and an end date for the period at the end. Write down how old she was then.
- Mark on the line all the events that were of particular importance to her at that time.
- Add some photos from newspapers, drawings to illustrate the line
- Select the 3 most important events and share them with the other person

Significant person

- Find in the text about Joanna all the significant people - people who supported her in her aspirations and actions, or people who stood in her way, upset her and provoked some actions / changes.
- Select / randomly select one of the significant people and describe them using the SIGNIFICANT PERSON tool.

Questions for discussion:

- What do you think is the role of other people in our lives?
- Who becomes a significant person? Who matters to us?
- Can you help yourself in meeting a significant person? How to make it easier? How do you make it possible?
- How to be a significant person to others? How and when can you support another person in their activities?
- How to help others become significant to someone? How to help your students support others?



Significant event/dazzle - A room with an exit to the roof

Joanna says:

"In addition, I was given my own room as the only one with access to the roof. And when I entered this room, it was such a significant event, I went abroad for the first time, I was supposed to conduct my classes (and I was a student, still one that the lecturers did not appreciate too much, with problems), I entered this room, I opened this door and I said: This is my life. This is how I will live. "

- Have you had an enlightenment similar to that of Joanna in your life? Was there a moment when you said / said to yourself: This is how I want to live.
 - Share your story with partner (pair work)
 - Sharing some stories on forum (just volunteers)
 - What are the factors of the enlightenment? When are we conscious of what way we want to live our life? What were the factors of enlightenment in Joanna's story/ lives of women in the 90s in Poland?

4. Interactive learning

Sense of influence - Pawns and players

Joanna said: "I wanted to have this idea of my own. If someone tried to impose something on me, then I rebelled. "

Anna said: "I have no sense of influence on the economy. I was an ordinary pawn."

Joanna has a great feeling of having an impact on reality, while Anna feels like a mere pawn who doesn't decide about reality.

- Based on Joanna's story, try to create a player profile by describing it using the

PLAYER PROFILE tool.

Interactive version:

- Based on Joanna's story, try to create a player profile by describing it using the PLAYER PROFILE tool.

Player profile tool in on-line version to complete. Finally, there is a player profile built on the basis of all previous entries, just like in wordcloud - the words that were typed most often are the largest and bold. The number of their occurrences may also be given in parentheses.



Artifacts

Look at the object connected with this period given by Anna and Joanna (photos of the objects - see attachment).

What do you think:

1. What are they?
2. Which one belongs to Anna and which one to Joanna?
3. Where do they come from?
4. What do they symbolize for you?
5. Read the descriptions of the objects given by women. How have the meanings of the objects changed now?
6. Do we create objects or do they create us?

Interactive version:

1. Look at the object connected with this period given by Anna and Joanna (activity: **looking at the photos of the objects - see attachment**).
2. Which one belongs to Anna and which one to Joanna? (activity: **linking a photo with the name - Anna or Joanna, puzzle**)
3. Activity: Choose one of the objects and write down what can be their stories and meaning to the woman in the context of the 90s in Poland.
4. Share your description
5. Read the other descriptions written by other people
6. Read the description given by the author – Anna or Joanna



Attachment

Material to task 3

– a PHOTOGRAPH – 90s in Poland – helicopter view



June 4, 1989, a village near Warsaw, photo: Chris Niedenthal

Source: <https://natemat.pl/214185,teraz-to-taka-przyjemnosc-zycia-sie-pojawila-chris-niedenthal-i-mariusz-szczygiel-wspominaja-rozowe-lata-90>



Piotr Lipiński i Michał Matys, " The unique charm of liquidation. Report from Poland in the 1990s."

Source: <https://kultura.onet.pl/ksiazki/zagubiona-dekada-nie-bardzo-chcemy-wspominac-polske-lat-90-mowi-piotr-lipinski/4be4yhz>



Queues - this time not for meat, but for RTV (1989), photo: Chris Niedenthal

Source: <https://natemat.pl/214185,teraz-to-taka-przyjemnosc-zycia-sie-pojawila-chris-niedenthal-i-mariusz-szczygiel-wspominaja-rozowe-lata-90>



Mariusz Szczygieł In Paris in 1993 fot. Sławomir Kamiński / Agencja Gazeta

Source: <https://natemat.pl/214185,teraz-to-taka-przyjemnosc-zycia-sie-pojawila-chris-niedenthal-i-mariusz-szczygiel-wspominaja-rozowe-lata-90>



Source: Drenda, O. (2016). *Duchologia polska. Rzeczy i ludzie w czasach transformacji. [Polish hauntology. Things and people in times of transformation]*, Kraków: Karakter.



Round Table Deliberations, February-April 1989

Fot. Krzysztof Miller / Agencja Gazeta

Source: <https://wyborcza.pl/51,75398,13046986.html?i=1>

Material to task 5

The photos of the objects connected with this period given by Anna and Joanna.





Creative commons advice

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THE ROLE OF THE THEATRE IN KEEPING THE MEMORY FOR THE FUTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF EX YUGOSLAVIA

By Dijana Milošević, DAH Teatar, Belgrade, Serbia

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1. Overview

In the former Yugoslavia, we are trying to heal from our “tragic periods.” Individual identity is shaped in part by national identity and the physical map of the country where one has been born. When this map changes, the whole notion of identity is changed, and this process can be violent and painful, as the example of the former Yugoslavia is showing us.

2. Background information

At the beginning of 1990' Serbian society started to change in a very radical direction. People were polarized by the wars of that decade, the harsh economic circumstances, and the country's wholesale militarization. Unfortunately, the majority of the population decided to take an active role in the wars and/or to support the Serbian government in elections, thus accepting the rhetoric, ideas, and actions of a criminalized government that led the country deeper and deeper into an abyss of nationalism, hatred, and destruction. The minority of the population who did not want to accept all that generally felt despair and hopelessness. Among them, people started to create activist and artistic groups that opposed the regime. The only way to keep sanity and sense in those years was to find ways of obstructing the state. “To be normal means to be subversive,”¹ said Veran Matić, the Chief Executive Officer of the first independent Radio station, B92, which played a crucial role in keeping the voice of the “other” Serbia heard during Slobodan Milosevic's dictatorial regime.

Because of political circumstances soon after World War II, with its strong-minded President Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia distanced itself from the Soviet Union. But as a Communist country, it did not belong to the so-called Western bloc either. During Tito's rule the country got its reputation as a country without political freedom and with only one political party—the Communist party, where dissidents ended up in prison. Those who did not agree with the system left the country in big numbers. Yet, unlike other Communist countries, Yugoslavia's people were able to travel, it had a comparatively developed economy, a high level of education, and good medical care.

Before its split, which started in 1991, Yugoslavia was a country constructed on the idea of “Unity and Brotherhood” between all nationalities. It consisted of six republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina and Montenegro. Beside the main nationalities (Serbs and Croats), around thirty other nationalities and ethnic groups lived in peaceful coexistence. The main religions were Christian Orthodox (practiced by Serbs, Macedonians, and some Bosnians), Catholic (Croatian, Slovenian, some Bosnians) and Muslim (mainly Bosnians and Albanian people in Kosovo, which was then a Serbian province).

That Yugoslavia, constructed after WWII, hid deep wounds: during WWII Serbian and Croatian militant nationalists opposed each other in bloody conflicts. Croatia even declared itself an independent state, took the Nazi's side, and established concentration camps for Serbs, Roma people, and communists. In Bosnia, an extremely militarized paramilitary group was formed with an aim to exterminate Serbs.

1 1 Veran Matić -Chief Executive Officer and Editor in Chief of Belgrade's leading independent radio and television station B92, Serbia's sole commercially funded public service broadcaster, managing the company's radio, TV, online, publishing and cultural services.



The main thing about all of these militant groups was their hatred for communists. They were opposed by anti-Nazi Partisans and communists from all over Yugoslavia, led by Tito. At the end of WWII, the Partisans won and the country became a communistic country under President Tito. He tried to wipe out all the above-mentioned militant nationalist groups under the mantra of “Unity and Brotherhood”— all people suddenly had to become Yugoslavs above all. The roles that nationalists had during WWII were never really explored; atrocities were officially forgotten; wounds were never healed. For almost fifty years the powerful fist of Tito and his Communist Party kept the country in happy oblivion about the past

With Tito’s death the Pandora’s Box of nationalism was opened and the end of socialism in Yugoslavia drew near. Under the new system, each Yugoslav republic had its own leadership that feared losing power through democratization, so they used ethnic nationalism to manipulate people and create a popular base for their continuing control. Over several years, old unresolved ethnic and national conflicts were given new life. These tensions pulled Serbs toward Serbia and pushed others toward their own nationalist groups, who then chose to create their independent states to escape the growing Serbian nationalism and repression (the majority of population in Yugoslavia were Serbs, the capital of Yugoslavia was Belgrade, the capital of Serbia too, where the government and military power was concentrated).

It all resulted in the disappearance of Yugoslavia, the formation of several new states, and three wars. All that left thousands dead, exiled, and without any property or home.

In Serbia, there was a major economic, social, and moral fall. The consequences included the country’s exclusion and isolation from the European community, leaving many of its citizens with enormous feelings of guilt and grief mixed with denial. Ralf Fuks² points out that this period also gave birth to the Serbian resistance: “In this tragedy it is not that only Milosevic took part with his immediate followers but the whole battalion of Serbian society took part too! But in Serbia, at the same time, civil resistance has been created, that cannot be reduced only to one name – it was the whole culture of resistance.” Part of this resistance came in the form of artistic actions. During Serbia’s “fall,” the question of art’s position within the society became more tangible and urgent, and different artists and artistic groups started to find ways of opposing the government. At the same time, activist groups began to emerge, and some of them started to use art, specifically theatrical actions, as a powerful tool of opposition to the regime.

State-controlled TV, radio stations, and print media produced piles of misinformation. They fueled hatred by positioning the “other” as the guilty one. They dug out the old, unresolved conflicts between ethnic Serbs, Croats, and Muslim populations, and, instructed by politicians, they denied that the Milosevic regime had any responsibility or involvement in the wars that followed, one after the other. The majority of the Serbian population supported the war by actively taking part in it or by accepting that denial. While the conflict was happening literally “under their windows,” a huge number of people felt that it was happening somewhere far away and that they did not have anything to do with it. The level of denial and oblivion was frightening.

There was also the part of the population that was in fear—afraid to search for the truth about the situation, feeling hopeless and helpless. They felt that huge injustices were happening, but, accustomed as they were to listening to the voice of the state, they did not know where to turn or who to ask or what to do. They feared the face of “the other” that was described by the officials as the face of a monster. They were metaphorically and literally (because of numerous power cuts) roaming around in the darkness.

² Ralf Fuks “Dosije Srbija – Procena stvarnosti 90-tih godina”



And finally, there was the part of the population that was in constant pain because they had friends and relatives in war zones; they had a source of information, or they simply wanted to hear the truth and they sought it. And what they found was the horrific reality that atrocities were being committed in “their names.” Many people suffered terrible guilt over their inability to help the situation, and while some buried it and denied it, some of us had a great need to address it. For this to be done, it was essential to create a space of mourning, since even mourning was officially forbidden. It was essential to come together with like-minded people and simply share all the feelings we had been experiencing. This need led to the questions that were explored in theatre and activist work over the next several years.

In 2000 the political situation changed with the fall of the Milosevic dictatorship and the beginning of a fragile democracy in Serbia. For a short period of time, hope began to live in our country, but it was soon destroyed with the 2003 assassination of the new prime minister, Zoran Djindjić. It left the country again divided almost in two parts. One, people who supported changes, democracy, and the European Union, people who wished to face the past and work to resolve old conflicts by accepting responsibility and truth. And two, people who were sympathetic with or belonged to the previous regime—Serbian nationalists who did not envision the country as part of Europe, who blindly fought for power and basically tried to stop all progressive forces.

Today, Serbia is a highly traumatized society that is trying to find its way and its position within Europe, while still battling with the dark legacy of its previous regimes. Those who wish for peace and reconciliation are no longer dealing with an immediate crisis of violence, but instead with the question of how to help people overcome denial and face the past, including how to help them recover memories and cast a light on harsh truths. Art, specifically theatre, has shown incredible power thus far in helping people to do this work.

QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

In this article, I will discuss the ways in which the “creative power” of art and theatre transforms difficult experiences, creates safe ground where people can meet in all their differences, creates space for memory and thus contributes to the region’s healing.

Through speaking about the work of DAH Theater that was founded during “the dark times” in my country, I would like to explore questions such as: What is the role and potential power of theatre and art in keeping the memory alive? What power does art have to help us confront the crimes committed in our name? And can people empower themselves and others by taking actions that are not destructive but that oppose the “spirit of the times”?

Throughout this article, I will also explore the question of how artists working in highly charged political situations can balance the social/political relevance of their work with its aesthetic quality. It is difficult, of course, for artists and activists to find this balance in a politically charged environment. The playwright Bertolt Brecht believed that art would be essential to the human experience of tragedy. He said: “Will there be singing in the dark times? Yes, there will be singing about the dark times.” But the painter Matisse wanted to keep his political environment out of his work: “Two world wars have passed and I am proud that none of it came into my art.” In my article, I also hope to unpack the paradox embodied in the statements of these two artists.

Being a theatre director and one of the founders of DAH Theatre, I am personally involved as an artist who actively took part in the theatre work and theatrical actions that I describe, and I am also a citizen of Serbia and was there during those hard times. I am the artistic director of DAH Theatre, and I have



directed all its performances. Together with the core members of my group I produce our performances and different events within our DAH Theatre Research Center.

I will give a very specific story from my own subjective point of view, related to objective facts. In the telling, I will try to give a sense of the specific spirit of my region in order to shed light on a rather complex situation.

In this article I focus on four performances of DAH Theatre and one theatrical action that took place on the public bus in Belgrade. I chose these examples because they are related to the topic of this text. They speak about how theatre creates a safe zone for self-expression and allows people to address their difficult feelings of fear, anger, pain, and suffering, creating the space where people can express mourning, bring memories to life, and give voice to the ones that cannot otherwise be heard.

“WILL THERE BE SINGING IN THE DARK TIMES?”

DAH Theatre's first performance, *This Babylonian Confusion*,ⁱ happened in 1992 during the era when the government of our country denied that they were perpetrating a war. At this time, the media were totally silent on this matter. Our performance was based on Bertolt Brecht poems, and it was decidedly anti-war. It was set outdoors in one of the main squares of Belgrade, witnessed by hundreds of spectators. Actors were “angels,” dressed in black (later we learned that the activist group Women in Black also used black clothes in their public appearances). Brecht sounded like our contemporary, warning us about the nationalist war and slaughter that were happening in our name.

*When those above
talk about peace
simple folks know
there's going to be the war.*

*When those above
curse the war,
orders for mobilization
have already been signed.*

*Those above have
met in one room,
little man on the street,
say farewell to hope.*

*Governments are writing
agreements about not attacking.
little man, write your will.ⁱⁱ*



By using this Brecht poem in public we wanted to openly speak about something everybody knew was happening but no one could talk about. It created space for the truth to be heard. And we used the following poem to give information to the people that they did not know—or that they did not want to hear:

*From the chimneys of the arms factories
rises smoke.
The hands that lay folded are busy again.
They are making shells.iii
What kind of times are they, when
a talk about the trees is almost a crime
because it implies silence about so many horrors.?iv*

This poem addressed our pain caused by the silence about the horrors that were happening, and it allowed people to feel that pain in the presence of other citizens of Belgrade. This is how we managed to create space for solidarity between the people.

When we decided to create performance in the main square in Belgrade, to express what we had felt through our performance, we knew that it could be dangerous. But we felt that we had to take the risk because we had the privilege of a public voice. In that moment we did not know that peace-building also requires risk in some situations. But we physically felt that people on the street needed to hear the truth, to hear that they were not alone in their pain. They needed to know that perhaps there was a way for them to speak in public about their beliefs. In that way we provided the model for action.

After the performance, many people came and thanked us because they had finally heard publicly something that they knew and felt to be true, but that was officially denied and was forbidden to mention. After our performance, the world that surrounded them did not have just one face anymore, the face of the state that produced lies.

Many times since that performance, we have asked ourselves, “Why is it that we were not attacked doing an anti-war performance during those very violent and oppressive times?” The answer that I have found is that the commitment and artistry of the actors—their techniques, focus, and channeled energy—protected them. The things an actor or actress learns while doing physical training are not just elements of gymnastics, yoga, martial arts, or any other technique; far more important is the knowledge of how to be present, in the moment, to be focused and precise and to persist despite mental and physical tiredness, boredom, or outside conditions. To work with various theatre techniques is to learn how to be visible—something very important in a public space—and how to take the attention of the people, how to project the voice and to use it as a physical power. It’s also to learn how to protect oneself, while opening the heart and giving the deepest emotions to the audience. When confronted with a human being giving his/her best, people will give their respect. All these things protected the actors during that risky performance.

This Babylonian Confusion (co-directed with Jadranka Andjelić) put me at peace with my city and my people, and I decided to stay in my country and work through the war years. Before this performance I had asked myself many hard questions regarding staying in the country with a dictator, whose government was deeply engaged in the war. But I realized that we were creating something meaningful, a healing experience for the audience. And I realized that we could oppose violence and



destruction by creating sense. Through this experience I concluded that theatre allows people to take active roles in expressing their views rather than being passive receivers of the situation. And I concluded that theatre could be a tool of opposition to a repressive regime.



Photo: Goran Basarić; On the photo: “This Babylonian Confusion” with Slobodan Beštić, Maja Mitić, Petar Pjer Rajković,
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THE POWER OF BEAUTY AND HOPE

When the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia started in 1999, I felt like I no longer understood anything. All my years of working in the theatre, fighting for sense against the nonsense of destruction, did not help me in that moment to understand what was going on. The decision of the NATO countries to bomb Serbia and Kosovo in order to stop atrocities perpetrated by Milošević and his military in Kosovo was very wrong. The bombs killed mostly civilians, both Serbs and Albanians, and many of them were opposed to Milošević. It did not make any sense, and it gave new excuses to the regime to isolate the country, go after the opposition, and strengthen the order of fear and terror. We, the people who opposed the dictator, had been trapped between air raids and bombs on one side and Milošević’s revenge on the other. We felt scared, angry, and desperate at the same time, hearing terrible stories of what had been happening in Kosovo and what would happen to us. As it turned out, it was the beginning of an era of so-called “humanitarian” bombing that has destroyed countries, peoples, and even civilizations.

I thought that I would not do theatre anymore, that I should spend my time doing something that would help people more directly and efficiently. But soon I realized that, in a war of bombing, it was not possible to do anything direct and efficient to help people. I could not stop the atrocities perpetrated by the government of my country, nor could I help people who were under the falling bombs. In this type of high-tech war one can only sit and wait for the bombs to fall on one’s house—or not.

If I cannot do something to create a difference, I asked myself, what can I do? What do I know best? And naturally the answer was theatre. Soon after, we in DAH started to work on a new production: Documents of the Times.

At first, I had no idea what the performance would be about. The actresses had enough confidence in me to accept this and allow the process to move forward. Slowly, while the world around us was literally falling apart, I realized that I needed the perspective of someone very, very old, who could look at the 20th century with different eyes and with the wisdom of an age. For this reason, the characters



we chose to work with were two very, very old elderly ladies. I had an image that they were coming from the dusty archives in museums and libraries, that they carried enormous wisdom and knowledge. Working with these women brought in the idea of time, of something that was bigger than politics and even history.

Starting from the dry technique, all at once we were overcome by the idea of old age, old people, of the weight of history and past that these old people carry with them, of the wisdom that they have because of this accumulated knowledge of destruction. The old women in the performance are centuries old. They are the documenters of time, that still carry inside them the message of humanity and forgiveness.

I also realized, as the production process continued, that working in a traditional or familiar theatre space would be restrictive. I chose to do site-specific performances on the staircases of museums, libraries, schools, theatres, etc.—places tied into the city's history. Staircases functioned as transitional spaces between the world of the people and the world of ideas. One could ascend and descend both physically and metaphorically. I wanted to invite the audience to an encounter with the unexpected, to a new space where we could meet without the “masks” of the theatre and social life. As we developed the performance I realized that we were making another form—it was more like a meditation in motion, like a piece of poetry. It was a very slow and peaceful piece; I tried to create something that felt as if we were turning the pages of a book together with the audience. I felt that in the time of bombs, with physical destruction around us, terrible noise, anger, and despair, we needed to create something gentle that would search for the light within.

The singing of the musician in the performance was angelic, while actresses—“old women”, in their old fashioned dresses and hats, slowly sat down on the top stair and began to roll down the stairs very, very slowly. When they finally descended, they took off the



“Documents of Time” with Aleksandra Jelić and Sanja Krsmanović Tasić; Photo:Archive of DAH Theater

costumes, almost in slow motion, and stayed in white slips. They were like the souls left behind. That performance reminded us about beauty and hope in the times of terror. It talked about the human spirit and the necessity for art, for creation, for forgiveness. And it hinted at the importance of storing memories and cherishing the child inside us. This is why I believe that Documents of the Times was responsible for keeping many of us sane and alive during these incredibly difficult times.

Through that performance, I found I was able to forgive and understand the world.



THE IMPORTANCE OF MOURNING

In the 2001 performance *Maps of Forbidden Remembrance* (co-produced with 7 Stages Theatre from Atlanta), we created a scene that we called "marketplace." It begins with an actress Maja Mitić who enters dressed in black carrying a big bundle on her back. She crouches and takes out a loaf of bread and says: "Srebrenica, killed and disappeared"—and begins to recite an apparently endless list of male names, Bosnian people killed by Serbian forces. For every name she puts down one loaf of bread and makes one step. When she does not have any bread left she just continues to whisper the litany of names.

Srebrenica is the site of a massacre in Bosnia in 1995, when Serbian forces killed about 8,000 Muslim men and boys (the precise number of victims is still not known). In 2001, it was still taboo to talk publicly about our government's involvement in this horrendous crime. *Maps of Forbidden Remembrance* served different peace-building functions, as we performed it in different contexts and for different audiences. Performed in Belgrade, the "marketplace" scene served first of all to create public space for mourning, and to give voice to the silenced history. After seeing the performance, the director of Mostar Youth Theatre from Bosnia, Sead Djulic, said that it meant more that a Serbian group devoted one scene to the Srebrenica issue than if a Bosnian group had devoted a whole performance to it. It meant that people related to the victims finally heard publicly from Serbians about Serbian involvement in that tragedy. It was mentioned loudly and it brought some condolence because the denial of the Serbian population was so painful for the relatives of the victims. Performed in the U.S., it informed people about the tragedy and inspired a similar process of facing the past. As performed in Mostar, Bosnia, a city whose citizens experienced the worst atrocities during the war of the early 1990s, the scene helped the audience in the healing process. By addressing injustice publicly, being Serbs ourselves, we created a situation where empathy was strengthened, losses were grieved, and bitterness was diminished. Performed again in 2004, at the invitation of activist group Women in Black, that wanted to mark the 10th anniversary of the massacre—the scene served as an exorcism of the demons still living within our society. To this day it is still a "hot" topic which provokes big tensions between Serbian nationalists (people who did not want to accept the dark role the Serbian government played in the wars of the 90s) and people who want changes. It was very important to perform that scene. It showed that theatre can be a place of truth-telling, testimony, taking responsibility. Through theatre, people can express mourning, bring memories to life, and give voice to the ones that cannot be otherwise heard.



Theatrical actions "Maps of Forbidden Remembrance- Srebrenica" Photo: Archive of DAH Theater

LIFTING THE VEIL: "WHAT DID THEY DO TO US?"

In the last decade and a half, the ethnic and cultural diversity of Serbia became increasingly invisible. After the period of prevailing nationalism in the 1990s, many members of minority ethnic groups became silent and withdrawn, gradually receding from public life or from everyday contact with ethnic Serbs. Ethnic intolerance was commonplace, but information about it was hidden, creating a false picture of a relatively tolerant society. In DAH's theatrical action (In)Visible City, (co-directed with Jadranka Andjelić) which was performed on Belgrade public buses in 2005, we addressed this disappearance of ethnic and cultural diversity and importance of keeping the memory of it alive for the generations that are to come.

With Serbs still under the negative influence of the previous regime, nationalistic propaganda, as well as traditional prejudices about ethnic minorities, an atmosphere of intolerance was still present in the early

2000s. We witnessed growing racism and intolerance towards, for example, the Roma, Jews, Hungarians, Slovaks, and Albanians. This intolerance was often supported by growing Christian conservatism, including among officials from the Serbian Orthodox Church, who tended to identify the Serbian state with its dominant religion. In 2005 we witnessed a number of inter-ethnic conflicts and incidents in Serbia.

Thus, it was (and continues to be) of the greatest importance to inform and educate the Serbian people about tolerance and to work against ethnic prejudices and to remind them that "once upon a time" we have been tolerant and multicultural society. With this aim in mind, we created a theatrical event on the local public transportation, playing off of the history and culture of Belgrade's various ethnic groups.

Performers (actors, dancers, musicians) were "strange passengers" on the buses, characters from various ethnic groups. An actor playing "tour guide" guided the passengers along the route, bringing their attention to the multi-ethnic history interwoven also in the contemporary life of the city. We tried to draw the passengers back to the time when we had all been proud that we were mixed, that our culture had been a blend of many cultures and influences, that we used two alphabets, spoke many dialects, and had churches and mosques in our cities. While working on this production we felt that we were bringing back the richness of our culture that was lost or buried.



Passengers often left the buses saying how deeply moved they had been by the insight that nationalism is one of the roots of violence in our society. They expressed a desire to rebuild the diversity that had been damaged. Many of the passengers asked: “What did they do to us?”—probably referring to the politicians, the military, the people in power. By helping the passengers see the war from a new perspective, the theatrical action demonstrated theatre's power to educate people about “the other.”



“In/Visible City” with Jugoslav Hadžić and Aleksandra Jelić; Photo:Đorđe Tomić;

THE SPACE WHERE MEMORY CAN LIVE

DAH had worked for many years in a certain theatre tradition, which takes a theme or topic of interest as a starting point for developing a performance. Until 2006, we had never started with a classic play as our foundation. Searching for new ways of working and challenging ourselves, and keeping in mind the three actresses who were at the core of our group, I decided to work with the classic play *Three Sisters* by A.P. Chekov.

In that play, one of the main themes is missed opportunities. The three sisters think about traveling by train to Moscow, the city of their dreams, but they never go. The parallel with Serbia was obvious: as a society we are waiting for the train that will take us to the “better future,” but we never seem to take this train.

Another association was a famous 1993 case in which people were abducted from a train en route from Serbia to Montenegro. Serbian paramilitaries stopped the train in Štrpci, a little town in Bosnia near the Serbian border. Paramilitaries went through the train, took out 19 men simply because they had Muslim names, drove them away, and executed them the next day. This tragic event gave people the green light from the state to provoke fear and terror in the Muslim population and drive them from Serbia. This green light stayed on through the massacre in Srebrenica and beyond.

This case is very well-known. Eventually, officials took responsibility for the killings, and the main killers were captured and imprisoned. On an official level, justice has been done. So the goal of our performance was not to raise awareness or reveal the truth about this case, but, rather, to explore the question: “How can we create a space of remembrance?” Neither the previous government nor the new one has ever said any words of condolence to the loved ones of the murdered, nor connected this incident on the train with events that followed. The family and loved ones of the victims felt that the whole case was buried and denied, and they were never offered support in healing or reconciliation. This is the picture of our society: we bury things, literally and metaphorically. Our performance was grounded in the belief that as a society we cannot move forward until we face what has happened in our name.

Another important theme in *Three Sisters* is the way people find a space within tragic circumstances to celebrate life. Reading the *Three Sisters* does not feel like reading a tragedy, even though we witness murder, fire, a brother who gambles and loses everything, and sisters who never fulfill their dreams. The genius of Chekov is that, despite all of these circumstances, his characters are chit-



chatting, eating, doing many everyday things. Life is being lived in its full complexity: there is a funeral; then we go and eat. We praise a good recipe while we are talking about existential questions. In our performance, we were concerned with the question of how to entwine remembrance of tragedy with this sort of celebration of life. A scene where all the actors are singing and dancing and running around with instruments was between a scene about the assassination of our Prime Minister in 2003 and one about the abduction at the train in Štrpci. The middle scene gave the audience a chance to relax, to simply enjoy the powerful feast and emotions of loving life. And it hinted at how we can go on and celebrate life even when we face times without hope.

In this production, the setting was again very important. This time, we created our performance indoors, in the theatre, but the audience was placed on two sides, mirroring each other, just as people would in a train compartment. The performance was happening between them. During the opening scene, actors offered cups of real tea to the audience, while chatting about the history of the tea. Nineteen spectators got 19 cups of tea; 19 people had been abducted from the train and executed. At the end, actors brought tea candles to these same 19 spectators, creating a vigil and mourning space for all who died from that train, and for all who died in the wars. In that way we created the space of remembrance.



“The Story of Tea” with Jugoslav Hadžić, Aleksandra Jelić, Sanja Krsmanović Tasić, Maja Mitić; Photo: Jovan Čekić;

CONCLUSION

Through common participation (i.e. projects, performances, meetings) theatre can be one of the most powerful mediums for creating live contact between individuals from opposing sides of a conflict. In this way, theatre helps remove barriers between people and nudges them to face the truth and overcome harsh experiences, thus directly contributing to reconciliation. Theatre can answer people’s need to understand the moment they live in, and it can help them meet the fear, anger, prejudice, pain, and suffering in safe surroundings. It can remind people of the suffering of others. It can influence people profoundly without political pressure and propaganda. It can give the energy of life manifested in the dancing, singing body of an actor. It can make people smile together again.

One of the fundamental aspects of theatre is people of all different backgrounds working together—and this is also what is most needed in our region. Theatre is an attempt to share the space. Every country in our region faces the same important questions: can we create a shared space? What would it take?



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Through theatre work, tolerance and the possibility of creating new life from the ruins can be explored. Theatre can be a way to gently initiate discussions about a country's troubled history, opening the door for facing the truth and reconciliation.

The creative theatre techniques and programs could support participants in beginning and continuing the process of reconciliation. Theatre creates a safe zone and safe environment for the expression of individual needs and the overcoming of traumatic experiences through creative work. In this way, theatre can play a vital role in the society. Also, theatre done with social awareness has an important role as witness. Sometimes, it is more important just to be present, in silence, than to act.

And finally, theatre can create a space that allows memory to live in its full dignity—memory that opens the way for the truth to be heard again, that gives voice to the ones who cannot be otherwise heard.



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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity title	The Map of the World
Overview	Participants learn about the links between the personal identity and the map of the country they leave in.
Objectives	Understanding how the changes of the map of one's country affect the life of people on all levels
Materials	Paper A4 format for each participant and pen for each participant. Big, empty room where participants can move is needed.
Time	90 minutes
Group size	15-20 participants
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Participants are being asked to take the paper and the pen and draw the objective map of the world as much as they could. -Participants compare their drawings of the maps and learn from each other about the accurate map. - Participants are then asked to stand in the line at one side of the room, being in front empty space. They are asked to imagine, to “translate” the map on the floor, imagining where are the continents, states, etc. -Trainer then calls specific cities (like Paris, city where they are, Warsaw, Beijing , etc.) and ask participants to move on the floor where they imagine the city is (having in mind that map is now on the floor). -When participants establish the map by moving to different cities, they are asked to stand again in the line, one beside the other, facing the space and imaging the map on the floor. -Trainer ask participants to move at the same time but individually to six spots: the place where they have been born, the place where they travelled abroad for the first time, their dream place, the place of sorrow, the place where they will do /or are doing their big life work and to the place where the are right now. -Trainer asks everybody to start again from the line and to repeat all the spots they went to. The result will be kind of “choreography”. They could discuss for a bit the places they chose. - Trainer asks participants to move again from spot to spot (places they choose) but this time trainer asks them to do concrete tasks: in the place they have been born at to do one action that represents that place; to move to the place they travelled for the first time to, in a way how they felt when they travelled to that place: to do one action they like in their dream place;;to do one transformative action at the place of sorrow; to “sign” their name when they arrive to the place of their big work and to finally come all together to the place where they are right now.



	<p>-Establishing precise map in the space, participants understand that they share the space on this planet and that we are influencing each other with our movement through the world.</p> <p>-Trainer then divides the “map” on the floor using chairs and they get half of the “map”. Trainer asks now participants to move to different places, using only the half of the map. Participants then understand what does it mean where they are not able to move freely through map.</p> <p>-Trainer makes “map” even smaller, using chairs to divide space in four parts. Trainer asks participants then to move to their six places but only one quarter of the space is available. Participants understand now what does it mean if they cannot go to their birth place ,or their dream place , etc.</p> <p>- Discussion follows where participants exchange how they felt when they realized they could not move to their places, what does it mean today, what this could mean in their lives.</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>



4. Interactive learning

Activity title	CREATE YOUR MAP
Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is an online interactive activity. • It is designed preferable for ZOOM or similar platforms • The work is done in the group, with individual assignments. • It is especially appropriate for international group of participants.
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants coming from different countries should get an idea about shared space and shared histories. • Understanding the notion of the map of the world. • Understanding position of one's one country in relation to the world. • Understanding what does it feel when parts of one's country are not belonging to the country anymore- how it influences the sense of identity.
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good internet connection. • Each participant should have couple of sheets of white paper A4 format and a couple of pens with different colours.
Time	45 minutes
Group size	15
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each participant should get five minutes to draw the map of the world "from the head". • Trainer asks each participant to show the map they just drew. They compare maps and discuss it. • They agree about the most accurate map and if needed speak about what needs to be added to that map. • Trainer asks that each participant marks their country on the map. • Trainer asks each participant to draw the map of their own country. They can consult internet if needed. They show the maps so everyone sees each map. • Trainer asks participants to mark six places on their maps: place where they have been born; place where they travelled for the first time in the country; place that represents the "dream place" for them in the country; place that represent the place "of sorrow" in the country; place where they work right now; place where they are right now. They should do this using different colours. They show their maps to the group and they can discuss a bit like what happens if someone is not born where he/she lives right now, what if all places are at the same spot, etc. • Trainer asks participants to use red colour and draw lines that divide the map in four parts. Then to choose which part of the map they want to be standing at in that moment. They should colour that part of the map. The rest are not belonging to the map of the country any more. • Trainer asks participants to observe which places would be missing with that, new situation in their lives. For example, being just in one quarter of the map, maybe they would not be able to go to their birth place, or dream place, etc.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Trainer asks participants to change the part of the map they can use now and see what happens, which places would be missing now. They can do this with all four parts of the map. Trainer could ask participants to divide map in as many parts as he/she wants. Like in the case of ex-Yugoslavia map would be divided in seven parts.
Debriefing and evaluation	It is important to discuss what insights participants got from this work, to share how their lives would be changed.
Tips for trainers	<p>While drawing maps, trainer could encourage participants talking about how notion of the map depends on where one comes from, for example how we in Europe think that Europe is huge on the map while it is tiny, how people from US often think that US is in the centre of the map , etc. When participants show their maps, they should not be criticized but rasher trainer should encourage funny and playful exchange.</p> <p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>



Creative commons advice

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ⁱ "This Babylonian Confusion"- the title of the performance is the title of the poem by B.Brecht - Bertolt Brecht, Kriegsfibel (Berlin: Eulenspiegel Verlag, 1955); Brecht, War Primer (London: Libris, 1998).

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THE SPANISH TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

By A.M.E.F.E.

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1. Overview

The Spanish Transition is known as the series of events aimed at leading the country in a peaceful and orderly manner from the dictatorship of General Franco to full democracy embodied in the Constitutional Monarchy that is the current form of State. It is sometimes presented as a model process to be taken as an example to be followed in other countries. In recent years, however, more and more historians have questioned such a positive view. It is a fact that the transition was carried out without serious social trauma and within a reasonable period of time and ended in a stable democracy; but it is also true that for many years terrorism, especially ETA terrorism, dealt harsh blows to the incipient democratic institutions, to the state security forces and, in short, to all citizens; the recalcitrant right wing did everything it could to ensure the continuity of the old Francoist institutions, even going so far as to organise an attempted coup d'état. Due also to the global economic crisis and the lack of civil rights, social and labour unrest was very intense, as were student protests. The question of the territorial configuration of the Spanish state, which is still an unresolved issue, was also raised with all its force and complexity. From 20 November 1975, the day of Franco's death, events unfolded rapidly: first, on 22 November, the coronation, the Prince of Asturias became King Juan Carlos I and delivered his first speech to the nation before the Cortes, still under Franco, declaring the beginning of a new stage in Spain's history, his intention to integrate all Spaniards, the recognition of social and economic rights and the monarchy's firm commitment to integration into Europe. The following months saw a succession of reforms, at first moderate, until the continuism of some of the members of the government, then presided over by Arias Navarro, was gradually displaced by a new generation with Adolfo Suárez at the helm. The street protests and the climate of dissatisfaction with the economic, political and social situation, among other problems, led to the resignation of the government. On 1 July 1976 the King appointed a new cabinet headed by Suárez, who immediately took the initiative: on 6 July he addressed all Spaniards on television, pledging to lead the country to a "modern democracy respecting the free will of the majority of Spaniards". Before the month was out, there was already a reform of the Penal Code allowing the legalisation of political parties and a first Amnesty Decree was published; fundamental rights such as the right of assembly and association were recovered and the dreaded Tribunal of Public Order was dissolved. At the end of August 1976, the Political Reform Bill was presented, and after many meetings and explanations with the institutions of the Movement still in force and, above all, with the army commanders, it was approved on 18 November by a Cortes whose representatives were ultimately voting for its own demise. The way was thus cleared for the election of what would become the Constituent Cortes.



2. Background information

Introduction

On 22 November 1975, after almost forty years of dictatorship, "the caudillo" died. The question that then arose was what would his successor, King Juan Carlos I of Bourbon, do? In principle, everything seemed to favour continuity with the Franco regime:

- Juan Carlos had been chosen by Franco himself in 1969,
- when he came to power he swore allegiance to the fundamental laws of Franco's regime and to the principles of the Movement,
- the "bunker" - the supporters of immobility - carries a lot of weight,
- Juan Carlos's first minister was Carlos Arias Navarro, a Francoist, known for his intransigence and severity. Moreover, it was he who officially announced Franco's death.

But there were certain conditions that argued for an inclination towards change: Spain was a young nation, mentalities had evolved and the standard of living had changed, and the king is very clear about his intentions. So the future of Spain was a real mystery at the end of 1975: it was not known which of the forces at work would predominate.

What does the word "transition" mean?

The word "transition" implies three things:

- 1. A starting point.** In the case of Spain, it was the Franco dictatorship, characterised by totalitarianism, repression, the domination of the Falange, the Church and the army
- 2. A point of arrival.** In the Spanish case, the transition is "democratic". So the point of arrival is democracy, that is, a political regime based on the sovereignty of the people. To study the Spanish transition is to ask how Spain went from a dictatorial, conservative and isolated country (although the Francoist period is not a uniform whole, but it is not our object of work here) to the democratic, modern and European country it is today.
- 3. A certain kind of change.** Transition and revolution are antinomial: transition is a change that is made without rupture, without destruction. This does not mean that it is all easy and linear.



What were the dates of the Spanish transition?

While the starting date of the transition is clear - Franco's death - it is more problematic to define its end date. Historians do not all agree: for some, the transition came to an end in 1978, with the establishment of the Constitution. For others, it was 1981, with the failed coup attempt by Tejero. Others consider it to be 1985, with the European decision to recognise Spain as a democracy and to include it in the Union (official entry on 1 January 1986). Here we have opted for 1982, chosen by many historians as the year in which the alternation of power between Spain's two main parties began, a sign that the political spectrum was already plural and therefore the vote was fully free, as in other European democracies.

A government vacillating between change and immobility

On succeeding Franco, Juan Carlos asked Carlos Arias Navarro to remain as Prime Minister, a strong symbol of continuity. But the government also included reformist figures (Fraga, Areilza, Garrigues, Alfonso Osorio, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, Rodolfo Martín Villa). Moreover, the king himself asked Arias to include Torcuato Fernández Miranda (his teacher when he was still prince) in the shortlist for the presidency of the Cortes. The government was therefore very heterogeneous, and Arias's task of asserting himself as a true leader was not an easy one. Certain aspects of the act of swearing in and proclamation of the king, read before the Council of the Kingdom and the Cortes on 22 November 1975, reflect this vacillation, this ambiguity between continuity and change. Thus, Juan Carlos devotes a very eulogistic paragraph to Franco in which he says of him:

"An exceptional figure enters history" or "With respect and gratitude I would like to remember the figure of the one who for so many years assumed the heavy responsibility of leading the government of the State". However, the fact that Franco's name is mentioned

only once in the speech is striking. On the other hand, it is worth quickly analysing the following expression: "As King of Spain, a title conferred on me by historical tradition, the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom and the legitimate mandate of the Spanish people...". What can be deduced from this sentence? That if Juan Carlos acknowledges that he owes the throne to Franco, who appointed him as his successor (the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom), he also insists on two other sources of legitimacy: his belonging to the royal family (historical tradition, although as we will see later, the legitimate king was in fact his father) and the support of the nation, which can be interpreted as an invitation to democracy. The consequence of this ambiguity was ambivalent, timidly liberal government action: laws on the right of assembly and the status of associations were imposed (May and June 1976) but with many restrictions, the amnesty granted was limited, the problems caused by the right of association were considered, the reform of the Law of the Cortes was not resolved...

A government locked between two opposing forces

Spain is emerging from almost forty years of dictatorship in which all power was in the hands of Franco, who exercised it with the support of the Falange, the Church and the army. However, the choice of a peaceful solution meant that the political and industrial leaders were not dismissed... The most tenacious Francoists remained in decision-making positions, forming what was known as "the bunker". They tried to ensure that nothing would change, that Francoism would outlive Franco. When the government undertook reforms, it needed to do so without provoking rejection,



because mass resignations could weaken the country. And even the army could decide to rebel and organise a coup d'état. But if "the bunker" is doing everything it can to promote conservatism, there is another part of public opinion that is acting in the opposite direction. In fact, in the face of the government's timid measures, there are sectors that want to go much further towards change: they want a total amnesty, political freedom, a major constitutional reform...

They expressed this through the formation of new movements such as the Democratic Coordination (March 1976), through demonstrations such as the one on 1 February 1976 in Barcelona in favour of amnesty, or through widespread mobilisations and strikes involving all public services (Post Office, RENFE, the Metro). The government tried to control such movements, for example by imprisoning the leaders of the Democratic Coordination. But it was soon overwhelmed, with fatal consequences: in March 1976, faced with a prolonged strike in Vitoria, the authorities tried to evict a church, resulting in the deaths of five people. Thus, we see that the internal and external difficulties faced by the government hampered Arias' action, and he was forced to resign in July 1976. The King and Torcuato Fernández Miranda chose Adolfo Suárez as his successor and managed to impose him on the shortlist for the presidency. The more liberal sectors wanted José María de Areilza, but the Kingdom's advisers would not have accepted him, as his position was too liberal and open-minded: choosing Suárez was a step towards openness, but once again with prudence.

ADOLFO SUAREZ'S FIRST GOVERNMENT

Suárez's appointment was seen by many as a step backwards, as he came from the Falange and was civil governor of Segovia under Franco. Ministers such as Fraga, Areilza and Garrigues refused to join the new government. But we will see that the main actions and reforms, decisive for the process of political change, were carried out under his mandate. Thus, in 1981, the King awarded him the title of Duke of Suárez for his role in the democratic transition. The first actions of the Suárez government were symbolic: a broad amnesty was granted to those imprisoned for political crimes, professors expelled from the Complutense in 1965 were given back their professorships, meetings were arranged with leaders of the democratic opposition, and contact was even secretly established with Santiago Carrillo (leader of the Spanish Communist Party). But the process of political reform was soon to begin in earnest, with the modification of existing legislation to recognise and guarantee the public freedoms and fundamental rights of the Spanish people.

The Political Reform Act of 1976

Franco's regime was based on a charter of Seven Fundamental Laws, which governed the powers of the so-called generalissimo, the organisation of work, the functioning of the Cortes and so forth. In order to reform this legislation without overturning everything, Miranda had the idea of adding an eighth law that would invalidate the others. This law was passed on 18 November 1976 by the Cortes Generales and submitted for approval by referendum on 15 December 1976, with 77% of the electorate participating and 80% voting in favour. Its name is "Law for Political Reform", and it has the status of Fundamental Law.

It establishes the minimum conditions for electing a Cortes by universal suffrage, empowering it to proceed to the constitutional reform of the Fundamental Laws. It also established the concept of popular sovereignty and the bicameral parliamentary system (Congress of Deputies + Senate). In other words, by approving this law, Franco's Cortes accepted their own death. Thus, there was talk of the



"harakiri of the Cortes". It is difficult to explain why they approved it. It was partly because of internal weaknesses, and partly because of the intense efforts made by the government to get them to accept it, favouring consensus on sensitive points such as the legalisation of the Communist Party. The approval of this Law for Political Reform was a fundamental step towards democracy, which opened the way for many measures from March 1977 onwards: regulation of the right to strike, lockout and dismissal; freedom of association and suppression of the Trade Union Organisation; dissolution of the National Movement; a new pardon for Basque prisoners for terrorist crimes... Even on 14 October 1977 (after the elections), a total amnesty was finally declared: all punishments inflicted since 1939 for crimes of opinion were annulled.

The Abdication of Don Juan de Borbón, Count of Barcelona

Another major event of the first Suárez government - albeit one that received little media coverage because Spain was already thinking about the elections - was the abdication of Don Juan de Borbón in favour of his son. Juan Carlos came to power as Franco's heir because Franco had designated him as his successor on 23 July 1969. Here is an extract from his speech: "I consider the time has come to propose to the Spanish Cortes as the person called upon in due course to succeed me, as King, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón, who, having received the appropriate training for his high mission and having formed part of the three Armies, has given irrefutable proof of his patriotism and of his total identification with the Principles of the Movement and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and in whom the other conditions established in the ninth article of the Law of Succession are met". The one who was to reign according to the laws of monarchical succession was not Juan Carlos but his father, Don Juan de Borbón. But on 14 May 1977, in order to legitimise his son as monarch, as heir to the throne, Don Juan de Borbón abdicates, declaring : "With the Monarchy established and consolidated in the person of my son and heir Don Juan Carlos, who in the first few years of his reign has clearly demonstrated popular support and who is opening up new paths for the country on the international stage, I believe the time has come to hand over to him the historic legacy I inherited and, as a result, I offer my son and heir to the throne, consequently, I offer my homeland the renunciation of the historical rights of the Spanish Monarchy, its titles, privileges and the headship of the family and the Royal House of Spain, which I received from my father, King Alfonso XIII, wishing to keep for myself, and to use as I have done until now, the title of Count of Barcelona.

The difficulties on the road to the elections

Once the Law for Political Reform had been passed, elections for new, democratic Cortes could take place. But the road to elections was not so easy. The first problem came from terrorist destabilisation attempts by supporters of the revolution. Both extreme right-wing groups (Guerrilleros de Cristo-Rey, Ejército Nacional Anticomunista, Antiterrorismo ETA, Comandos Antimarxistas...) and extreme left-wing groups (ETA, GRAPO), multiplied pressure actions and attacks. The second problem was the legalisation of the Spanish Communist Party. Indeed, legalising the parties was part of the conditions for democratic elections. But it was one of the points on which "the bunker" was most reluctant. To achieve this, Suárez met secretly with Carrillo, bypassed the Supreme Court and summoned the Board of Public Prosecutors to issue a favourable legal opinion (9 April). It was risky: some ministers resigned, the Army High Council expressed its disapproval. Nevertheless, he managed to get it legalised, along with the PSOE, the trade unions and many political groups.



The various political forces present

We can highlight three different categories:

- **The nationalist parties:** Basque Nationalist Party, Unió Democràtica de Catalunya, Pacte Democràtica per Catalunya
- **the left:** PSOE, PCE, Popular Socialist Party.
- **the right wing:** Alianza Popular, Unión de Centro Democrático

While the first two categories were made up of clandestine political parties under Franco and legalised in the months leading up to the elections, the case of the right-wing, which did not exist under Franco because the Falange reigned supreme, was more problematic. Thus, Manuel Fraga Iribarne created the Alianza Popular, in the Francoist tradition. And in May 1977, Adolfo Suárez created the Unión de Centro Democrático, a coalition of fifteen different parties characterised by its centrism but also by its great ideological heterogeneity.

The elections

The elections were finally held on 15 June 1977, a key stage in the transition. The turnout was 78.7% and the big winner was the UCD, with 34% of the votes.

Next comes the PSOE, with 28.9 % of the vote. The PNV and the PDC also achieved good results. But the PCE and the AP obtained less than 10 %, because they were two parties strongly marked by the past of the civil war and Franco's regime.

ADOLFO SUAREZ'S SECOND GOVERNMENT

The problems he has to deal with

- **The problem of autonomy and terrorism:** To encourage the peace process, the government accepted several autonomous demands: the principle of autonomy was recognised (special status, regional government, the possibility of a second official language), the pre-autonomous status of the Basque Country was established in June 1978... But terrorism continued to claim victims: in 1978, 89 people died as a result of terrorist acts, 69 of them caused by acts committed by ETA. The idea is therefore growing that the establishment of democracy will not be enough to eradicate the problem.
- **The economic crisis:** If political problems were the government's main priority, it was also a matter of strength to fight the economic crisis, which was caused by the world economic situation but also by Spain's archaic production structures. The four major parties (UCD, PSOE, PCE, AP) agreed on a plan to improve the economy and reduce social unrest. This meeting gave rise to the Moncloa Pacts on 25 October 1977. Devaluation of the peseta, increased public investment, restructuring of industrial sectors in crisis (mainly steel and shipbuilding), increased social measures by the State (progressive free education, greater



State participation in financing Social Security, measures for urban planning and housing), and reform of the banking system were some of the measures adopted. Although the achievements are insufficient, it is a first stage in the awareness of the need to reform structures and stimulate productivity.

The Spanish Constitution of 1978

But the main priority of Suárez's second government was the constitution, its preparation and establishment.

Its preparation The constitutional project was prepared by a commission made up of: 3 members of the UCD, 1 member of the PSOE, 1 member of the PCE, 1 member of the AP and 1 member of a Catalan party. The work lasted eight months.

Its contents

A Constitution is a "superlaw" or supreme law, i.e. it is the synthesis of the principles and ideas that define the regime itself: it outlines the main lines, it indicates the higher values that then condition the entire legal system of the country. The Spanish Constitution consists of 169 articles, divided into a Dogmatic Part that contains the main principles and fundamental rights and an Organic Part that defines the profile of the political regime, the division of powers, the model of territorial organisation... Ideologically, it is an eclectic Constitution, as it was the product of a policy of consensus. Thus, together with ideological elements typical of conservative programmes (the right to private property and inheritance), there are other liberal elements (recognition of the freedom of enterprise in the framework of the market economy) and others of a socialist nature (broad public initiative in the economy, freedom and equality). Overall, however, it is described as progressive.

Its establishment

The Constitution was approved by the Cortes on 31 October 1978. On 6 December a national referendum was held in which 87.7 % of voters approved it. The last two stages were its sanction by the King (27 December) and its publication in the Official State Gazette (29 December). It establishes a real legal and institutional rupture between Franco's Spain and democratic Spain.

The end of the second Suárez government

The legislative elections of March 1979, the first free elections after the Constitution, confirmed the 1977 results with the victory of the UCD. But the rise in abstention and the growth of the left testified to the loss of power by Suárez and his government. The persistence of violence and economic problems put an end to the Suárez government, whose political heterogeneity was an advantage in allowing the transition to elections and the Constitution, but became an obstacle when it came to solving the country's problems. On 31 January 1981 Suárez resigned, both as president of the government and as president of the party. He was replaced by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo as president of the government and Agustín Rodríguez Sahagún as party president.



TEJERO'S COUP D'ÉTAT

The question of military intervention in civil and political life is fundamental for Spain, as its history is littered with coups d'état. Putting an end to this characteristic was therefore part of the requirements of the democratic transition. During our period, we can observe two first military crises. The first took place on 21 September 1976: as a result of negotiations between the government and the still illegal Workers' Commissions, the vice-president of the government (General Fernando de Santiago) resigned. The second crisis, already mentioned above, was caused by Suárez's legalisation of the PCE without the agreement of the Supreme Court. The Minister of the Navy, Pita da Veiga, resigns. The Army High Council met and issued a communiqué on 14 April 1977 in which it stated that it accepted it out of a sense of discipline, but condemned it. Faced with this crisis, the government asked Carrillo to make a gesture to placate military discontent. Thus, the PCE publicly accepted the unity of the fatherland and the monarchy, and adopted the flag. However, the reasons for military discontent increased. Faced with the constitution of the autonomous regions - which many saw as a dislocation of the nation - and the escalation of terrorism, the army wanted to intervene, but was prevented from doing so by the reduction of its role: in the Constitution, it was no longer the guardian of public order and in May 1980 it was a civilian who was appointed Minister of Defence. As a result, meetings of the Patriotic Military Union – made up of senior officers loyal to the Franco regime - multiplied from 1978 onwards, and acts of indiscipline followed one after the other. A conspiracy called "Operation Galaxy" (involving Tejero, among others) was uncovered, which envisaged the storming of La Moncloa and the hijacking of the government. The climax of these circumstances can be seen as the attempted coup d'état by Tejero on 23 February 1981 (known as "23-F"). At the time of a parliamentary vote (for the approval by the Congress of Deputies of Sotelo as Suárez's successor), Lieutenant-Colonel Tejero invaded the Cortes with a platoon of the Guardia Civil. His intention was to win the simultaneous support of the captaincies-general throughout Spain and the uprising of the main garrisons. Meanwhile, General Milans del Bosch, captain general of the Valencia region, proclaims a state of emergency. Most of the military chiefs remained on standby. At 1 a.m. on 24 February, the king broadcast a message on TV and radio in which he declared his total opposition to the putsch. His stance put an end to the military leaders' hesitation: no one else joined the coup, and the few insurgents were left without strength. The generals and men involved were arrested and the kidnapped deputies and ministers were released. Milans and Tejero were sentenced to 30 years in prison. For his action against the attempted coup d'état, the king once and for all affirmed his legitimacy, and on 27 February, the people took to the streets to demonstrate their attachment to democracy.

FROM TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

But Suárez's resignation in favour of Calvo Sotelo as prime minister was not enough to overcome the country's economic and social crisis. Internal dissension within the party was too strong, and there was a succession of presidents from February 1981 to October 1982, none of whom managed to prevail. Ministers began to leave the UCD, until in July 1982 Suárez himself left the party and founded the Democratic and Social Centre. Faced with this situation, Calvo Sotelo dissolved the Cortes in August 1982, and new legislative elections were held on 28 October. The Socialists emerged victorious from these elections, with 46% of the votes. This marked the normalisation of democratisation, as political alternation is one of the criteria for the functioning of democracies. It marks the end of the period of democratic transition. When it comes to highlighting the milestones of the transition, the three key moments that stand out are the approval of the Law for Political Reform, the holding of the first



legislative elections and the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution. As for those that made this democratic transition possible, several groups can be distinguished:

- the protagonists: Juan Carlos, Arias Navarro, Torcuato Fernández Miranda and Adolfo Suárez the indirect collaboration of those who did not oppose: especially the King's father, Don Juan de Borbón
- the collective protagonists are mostly favourable: the Spanish people, the political opposition (who did not resort to violence), the media (most of them defend values of stability and peace)

The period from 1975 to 1982 was a decisive period in the history of Spain, which would now be able to join the ranks of the European democracies. But it must be said that the problems facing Spain today had already emerged during the transition: regional demands, deadly acts of terrorism and the fragility of production structures.

Conclusion

The balance of the Spanish transition to democracy is clearly positive, not only because it resulted in the configuration of a democratic regime of coexistence despite the initial difficulties that arose. For the first time, the experience of the transition was that of a history made in common by all Spaniards, which pointed out a path for coexistence.

But the change experienced during the Transition to democracy was not confined exclusively to the political sphere; it also had social characteristics. Spanish society has undoubtedly become more egalitarian. Egalitarianism is but a testimony to the growing modernisation of society as manifested in:

- Decrease in the population engaged in agriculture.
- The growing role of women in society. The activity rate of women has increased very rapidly since the 1980s.
- Decrease in the Spanish fertility rate.
- Family values continue to be decisive. The family has served to alleviate serious problems such as unemployment.
- A growing process of secularisation that had also occurred in other parts of the world.

The great Spanish transformation during the 1980s perhaps took place in the field of education, where public spending increased considerably, education became compulsory up to the age of 16, one and a half million school places were created and the number of students receiving scholarships also increased.

During the transition to democracy in Spain, the censorship that had weighed on cultural activity for forty years was brought to an end. Since then, but especially since the 1980s, a large number of artistic trends have proliferated in all fields.



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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity: The transition and Spain today: the great fight (national)

Activity title	THE TRANSITION AND SPAIN TODAY: THE GREAT FIGHT (NATIONAL VERSUS INTERNATIONAL VERSION)
Overview	<p>The teacher will distribute the work by drawing lots, which will consist of a research topic for each group, Group 1, national version of the transition: for example: "The first government of the monarchy of Juan Carlos I". The teacher will point them to both written and audiovisual sources, for example: the audiovisual collection entitled, "The Spanish Transition", among other collections. They will also have to search the Internet for other documents, both texts and audiovisuals. With the materials, they will prepare a presentation of each work, lasting between 10 and 15 minutes each, which they will have to present to their fellow students. Exactly the same will be done with Group 2, but the national version will be replaced by the international version of the topic.</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Learning historical concepts using a more active methodology. ● Learning the procedures of history and the use of historical sources. ● Motivating pupils, breaking away from the textbook and leading them to seek information in other ways. ● The use of ICT in Social Sciences. ● Teamwork, which will force them to be more cooperative. ● And autonomy in learning, something basic at this age. ● Encourage open debate
Materials	<p>The teacher, trainer, will be in charge of providing the materials to carry out the activity. In addition to the texts that he/she has chosen, the students will be able to use all digital materials at their disposal.</p> <p>Computers, tablets, smartphones, etc. The internet will be the great ocean where they will have to find the strongest arguments to win "the final battle."</p>
Time	<p>1,5 Hours (90 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 30 minutes to read and study the topics that have been awarded. ● 30 minutes to seek as much information as possible to help us defend our position before the start of the debate. ● 30 minutes to debate and defend our issue
Group size	10 – 12 persons (2 teams, 5 or 6 for team)



Instructions for trainers	<p>The proposal and methodological instructions can be diverse. On one hand, we can use the material as an extension activity for students who wish to deepen their knowledge of the historical period. On the other hand, we can work with the groups, asking students to carry out activities such as public presentation of the article analysed with the support of ICT, making summary sheets, creating a chronological axis in a cooperative way (in digital or physical support), etc. Always ending with a "Fight - Debate".</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>The work will be assessed throughout the process by means of observation of each group by the teacher, in addition to the different oral presentations by each group at the end of the process. The activity correctly elaborated and presented to the whole group will be assessed by the teacher, for which the structure of the exercise will be modified, which will always include a final debate in which each group will have to defend a position. Group 1: The transition, national version; Group 2: The transition, international version. This struggle of positions will involve the students in a direct way in the subject being dealt with. The teacher will always act as an impartial figure and moderator. Finally, for the evaluation of the activity, 2 open questions will be asked:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● What have we learned?● What has been our experience with this project? <p>At the end of the exercise, a SWOT analysis should be carried out, with the strengths and weaknesses presented by each of the groups.</p>



Tips for
trainers

- The teacher/coach should be uncompromising and assertive.
- They should put aside their own opinions and should gently analyse the arguments offered by the participants.
- They should instil critical thinking in all participants.
- You should evaluate the activity fairly.

Challenges that might occur:

- Participants not respecting the discussion turn.
- Participants exceeding their speaking time.
- May the dialectical struggle gain momentum and become a real battle.

Remark:

- There will be 2 cards with different colours: the green card will indicate the turn to speak, the red card will indicate "silence and listen".
- We will have a timer to keep track of the turns during the debate.
- Before we begin, we will make it clear that the team that loses its temper when defending its arguments will be eliminated from the activity.



4. Interactive learning

Activity 1: Quizizz

Activity title	QUIZZIZ: THE SPANISH TRANSITION
Overview	<p>Quizizz is a website that allows us to create online quizzes the group can answer in three different ways:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a live game • As a homework (the results are sent to the teacher) • Individually ("solo game") <p>It is a free web/app and you can register with your Google user, so you don't have to create an account.</p> <p>For Quizizz participants do not have to register, they only need to enter the game pin given to them by the trainer.</p> <p>Nor do they need to install any app on their device (mobile, computer, tablet ...) from any browser they can play. There is an app, which makes things quite easy, but as I say it is not necessary to have it installed.</p> <p>When you answer a Quizizz you do not need to be looking at the blackboard or projector in the classroom, but the question appears on each of the devices along with the possible answers.</p> <p>Once familiarized with the tool, the trainer will conduct the Quizizz with questions related to the Spanish transition, in which the participants will have 3 answer options.</p> <p>The winner of the contest will be the one who gets the most correct questions.</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to dynamize the teaching-learning process with interactive activities. • encourage e-learning through evaluations. • design a comprehensive educational material. • integrate content, activities and evaluation to fulfill an educational objective. •
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pc, laptop, smartphones, tablets, internet connection, paper and pens. •
Time	30 minutes
Group size	15 – 20
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They can create a set of personalized "memes" or cartoons that appear after each correct (or incorrect) answer of the participants. • They can include images, not only in the question, but also in the possible answers, which allows them to adapt a little better to the diversity of the class. • Also in the test setup options, the game creator can choose whether to display the correct answers after the failure or not. And there is also the



	<p>option for students to review their failures (and the answers that were correct) after finishing the quiz.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• They can organize the quizzes into collections to find them more easily.
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>The results reports are very complete, and it is possible to send the participant a pdf with all the details of the test.</p> <p>It is possible to select that the response time is not worth points. This function is very important because there are many participants who get nervous when they have to answer quickly and fail much more than usual.</p> <p>It is possible to select whether the participants see in which position they are in relation to the others during the test or not. Depending on what you are interested in, it is possible to decide what to do with this option.</p>
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Difficulty in handling the application.• It is done in real time offering the possibility of playing in 'classic', with which the participant progresses at his own pace and the trainer can see the results at the time; or 'at the instructor's pace'.• Difficulty for everyone to progress at the same time. <p><u>Remark:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• We use Quizizz as a substitute for some of the written tests, which allows us to make a formative evaluation of what our students are learning and to intervene in the process when we detect "gaps". It is one more evidence of the many that we take into account when evaluating both the students' learning and the teaching process itself.



Activity 2: Utellstory

Activity title	UTELLSTORY: THE SPANISH TRANSITION
Overview	<p>For this activity we will use Utellstory, which allows you to create and share stories for free.</p> <p>You can create stories based only on images or with video, background music or audio recording.</p> <p>Participants can embed the videos on their website, blogs, social networks, etc.</p> <p>When they post on Utellstory the community is automatically invited to tell their stories using images, audio, video, or words from your topic.</p> <p>We will have participants tell their own version of the Spanish transition through images, videos, music, funny memes, etc.</p> <p>With this tool we make the activity entertaining as well as educational.</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflection: the stories will seek reflection in the participant, by giving them a personal meaning from their own context, experience and perspective. • Collaboration: we can enrich the utellstory experience, promoting the contrast of different perspectives, including the different emotions felt by the participants, in order to exchange opinions and experiences, in order to stimulate creativity. • Creativity: by being in contact with a story, the participant will identify or not with the characters of the story and will develop his/her own point of view and perspective. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Their position in relation to the story will influence imagination, inspiration and intuition; stimulating the diversity of ideas as the story unfolds. • Problem solving: these stories help the participant to see the problem from different points of view and therefore to broaden the alternative solutions to a given problem.
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pc, laptop, smartphones, tablets, internet connection, paper and pens.
Time	45 minutes
Group size	15 – 20
Instructions for trainers	<p>The only advice we should give to the trainers who carry out the activity is to leave "total freedom" to the participants when creating their stories.</p> <p>Remember that everyone has in his imagination a different point of view of any historical fact.</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The idea is that, instead of assigning our participants presentations loaded with slides full of concepts and theories that no one will remember and that we can all find on the web, we can give them the opportunity to elaborate utellstory as a learning activity. • To do so, we propose to the participants the elaboration of a real story, related to a topic of study. In this case the Spanish Transition.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• During this creation process, they will have to develop an exhaustive work on the knowledge of the subject, since as trainers know: to tell something in a simple and funny way, you need to know it in depth.• In addition, they will have the opportunity to work collaboratively, looking for the key ideas to write a good script, design their own story, making sense of everything they have researched and share it in order to reflect with the trainer and their peers, in order to achieve meaningful learning.
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Be clear about the direction of your story. Before starting the activity, be clear about the starting point of your story and how it will end.• Include emotions. Decide, through which emotions you want to connect and empathize. It can be a joy or worry, a need, a fear, a dream, etc.• Do not forget the important events and the outcome. Since, in addition to knowledge, we are looking for motivation and to capture attention in an emotional context. We must present stories that generate intrigue, curiosity or suspense, so that they incite us to want to know what will happen.• The importance of a great character in an utellstory. <p><u>Remark:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The idea is to disseminate educational content in the classroom through well-told stories, in order to make them easier to remember, seeking to make the student the protagonist of these narratives. If we also incorporate the exchange of opinions among their peers, with all the different positions in a conflict, we will increase the range of options to solve the problems presented.



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The immigration and reception of the first Somalian refugees into Finland in the 1990s

By Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi

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1. Overview

A big group of Somalian¹ refugees came to Finland in the 1990s, from Somalia or from the Soviet Union where many of them had been studying. The first refugees often didn't know which country they were arriving in. Although the Finns had learned a lot from settling hundreds of thousands of internal refugees from Karelia during WW2, it by no means worked as a model for settling refugees from Somalia.

The Somalian people gradually became the biggest refugee group in Finland. Research on people who came from Somalia and found refuge in Finland after the 1990s has found important differences between the first comers and the later comers. The first refugees did not suffer as much racism as the later refugees. Those who came in the 2000s have found it more difficult to approach immigration officials and fight the prejudices against African heritage people. Women of the first refugee generation were often schooled, whereas later-comers had more traditional roles as actors in the unofficial sector.

At the beginning of this millennium, many of the “new Finns” with Somalian backgrounds who were educated and had a command of English become known as doctors, development workers, poets, or teachers. In 2022, the Somalians in Finland celebrated the 30th anniversary of grammar and literature of their own. The development of this culture is very rich, and its verbal expressions have not disappeared despite challenges in multicultural social integration. With a positive push from the Finnish society towards Somalian background women to become translators and support persons for their peer group, in language studies and in dealing with paperwork, the future would look much brighter. Although many Somalian immigrants are pleased with the health care provided, especially the aging sector has scarce experience in social services. Many immigrant women lack the motivation for studying the Finnish language, and their attention is occupied with issues related in their families that often have a transnational character.

Helinä Rautavaara has cooperated with Somalian immigrants in the capital area. A co-curated exhibition ‘Somali wedding’ in 2012 gave the opportunity to both revive oral traditions as well as document other traditions related to weddings. The youth had their part, too expressing their view on life under the expectations of two cultures. Another cooperation that took place within the museum’s institutional umbrella was a project to plan methods of support for immigrant children’s mother tongue at preschool age. Finnish Somalian women were active in the project.

¹ Somalian in this text refers to nationality, both before and after acquired Finnish citizenship. Somali refers to ethnicity.



The „First big Arrival“ of Somalians in Finland, in the 1990s

A full-fledged civil war started in Somalia in 1991. Many Somalian refugees came to Finland from Somalia or from the Soviet Union where many of them had been studying. Many refugees who have arrived in Finland tell the same story, regardless of their country. “I didn't know which country I came to. I got here, I was told to get on a train or a plane. There was a strange white substance in the soil that was not sugar or salt.” But many people found that Finland was a peaceful country, that it offered education for all, and that you could even get used to the snow. Many stayed, but many preferred to settle in countries with more people of Somalian origin.²

In the 1990s, Finland was a post-industrial society of around five million people. The share of immigrants in the population roughly doubled between 1990 and 1999. The number of foreign citizens increased from 26 thousand to 91 thousand during the decade. Finland had received refugees earlier, too. A case in point is the resettlement of Karelians that were evacuated from zones occupied by the Soviet Union in WW2. Time was different and the first Somalians in the 1980s and 1990s were in majority culturally very different from the receiving country's culture. A markable difference was that the big Karelian workforce was needed in the survival means of the still quite rural country, whereas in the 1990s Finland was suffering from recession and big unemployment. Later groups of refugees from international conflicts were rather small. Finland fulfilled its duties as a signatory of the UN convention for the protection of refugees, but the UNCHR quotas were in size just above the level of saving its face as a state, internationally.

Theoretical and methodological considerations

The sources for this essay contain both statistical information and books and interviews about personal experiences. For example, Amran Mohamed Ahmed is a writer, poet, translator, and editor, Marja Tiilikainen is a researcher with a background in the Science of Religion and Medical Anthropology; Mulki Mölsä is a medical doctor and Nimco Noor is a teacher, mother of eight children and a writer, whose recent book (2022) is a biography. One of the sources of this text, the book on Finnish Somalis (Suomen somalit) by three writers³ is based on interviews with 75 people living in Finland. Methods employed in the sources are mostly ethnographic, some enriched by focus group interviews. One interesting concept that illuminates the Somalian women's position is transnationality, as extended Somalian families are often scattered all over the world.⁴ A mother caring for a family in Finland might have her security net on the other side of Europe or even The Atlantic. The research of the educationist Katjamaria Halme regarding the importance of the mother tongue as the basis of all learning has been influential to this article. Mother tongue is both parts of children's identity and a big resource for language learning in their later life.⁵

² Mubarak et alii 2015, 34

³ Mubarak, Nilsson and Saxén, 2015.

⁴ Tiilikainen 2003; Martikainen 2006; Huttunen 2006; Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007

⁵ Halme 2011, 86–87.



2. Background information

Immigration and reception of Somali refugee women in Finland in the 1990s

Refugees had been accepted in Finland as immigrants with refugee status from Latin America and from Asia, but the first important group of immigrants from Africa was the Somalian refugees. The civil war of Somalia made it impossible for many schooled Somalians working or studying abroad to return to their homeland which targeted members of the 'elite'. Voluntary asylum seekers came to Finland, many from the former Soviet Union, others from UNHCR's refugee camps. The crisis in Somalia had both colonial and foreign political backgrounds, but most of all it was prompted by president Siad Barre's rule which had grown repressive.

Seen from a human rights perspective, Finland participates in the UN systems of refugees, accepting a certain quota of refugees from UNHCR camps annually⁶, and on the other hand, it follows EU norms regarding the country of first entry to the union. Thus, it must study the background of all immigrants searching for asylum. It has been a long lesson for Finnish immigration authorities to understand the background of the Somalian asylum seekers, starting from the fact that in that culture first name is the preferred name for self-identification. From human rights point of view, the first big wave of refugees from a Muslim country created a need to recognize many issues of well-being that depend on accepting daily habits related to Muslim culture, on the other hand, it is a general human right to decide one's devotion, were it atheism, Christian or Muslim religion. This article starts with background information giving a glimpse of the historical events that led to a big number of Somalian refugees entering Finland in the 1990s. It proceeds to describe how Finland dealt with receiving Somalian refugees and how especially women felt and dealt with the big challenge of becoming refugees. Helinä Rautavaara Museum has actively participated in cooperation with Somalian immigrants, including women of several generations, as the article describes.

Background to the flow of refugees from Somalia

Somalia is a previous Italy colony, which during the 1900s has also been under Great Britain's rule. Somalia's process of impendence started in 1960 and ended in 1968. The early days of the republic included border disputes with neighboring Kenya and Ethiopia. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke won the presidential election in 1967. In the 1969 elections, the SYL, Somali Youth League, was elected to rule the country. During decades, SYL's aims had been to unite all the colonial territories inhabited by Somalis into an independent state, establish compulsory education, develop Somali (an Afro-Asiatic language and the dominant language spoken in Somalia and Djibouti) as the official language of the country, protect Somali interests and oppose Italian colonialism. SYL opposed clan division.

Siad Barre declared the country socialist and nationalized foreign, mainly Italian, companies. In 1974, he signed an agreement of friendship and support with the Soviet Union. One of Barre's first acts was to make Somali the official language of instruction. With this, Barre wanted to address the living standards gap between the colonial-speaking elite and the Somali-speaking common people. After losing the war against Ethiopia over the rulership of the Ogaden area, Barre became more and more

⁶ Finnish Immigration Service: Quota refugees.



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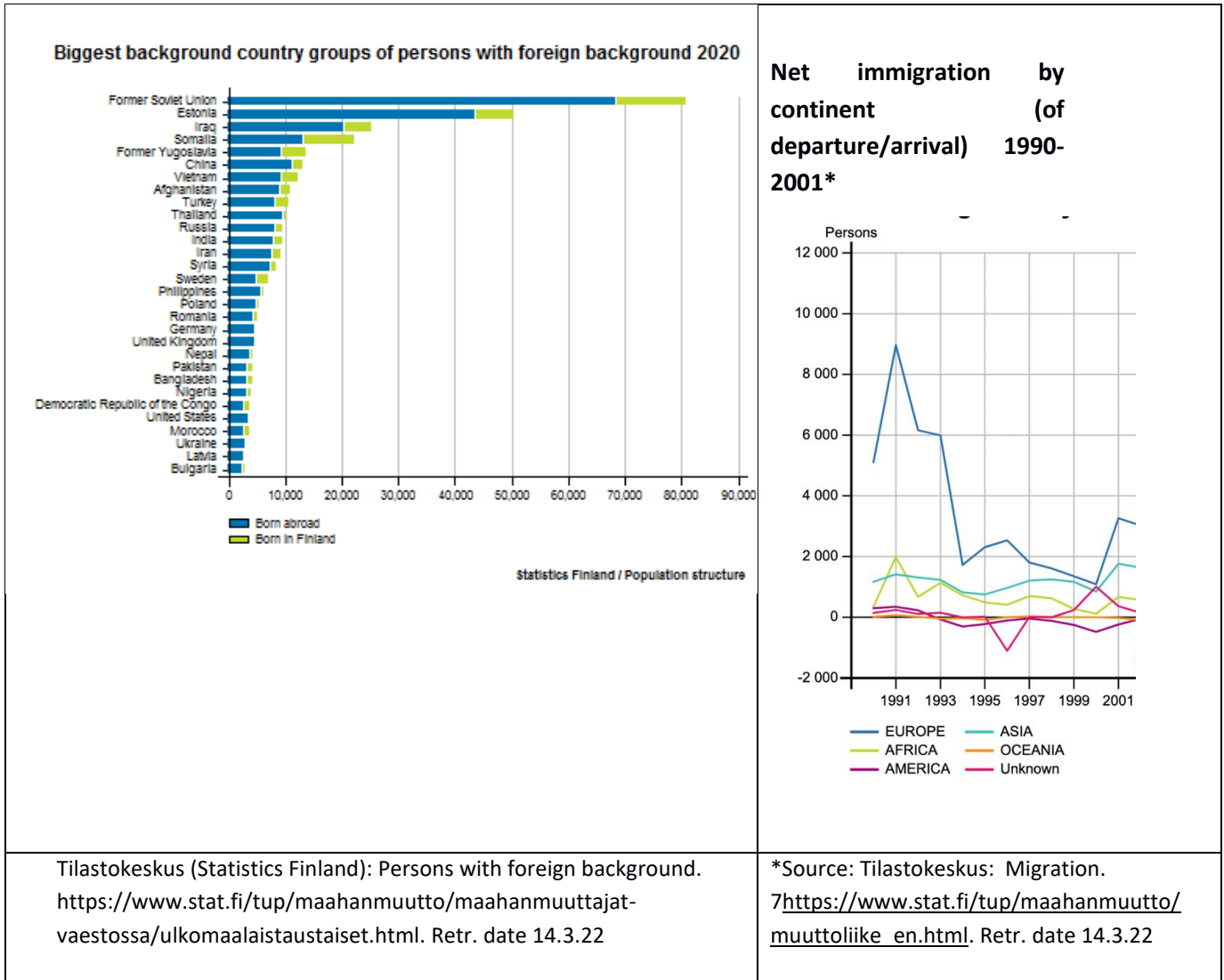
dictatorial, blatantly violated human rights, and ruled the country with divide-and-rule tactics, creating discord between strategically important clans. The year 1991 was the start of Somalia's civil war. After many turns, in 2004 Transitional federal government, TFG was established in Nairobi, Kenya. TFG got support from Ethiopian troops, and it fought against ICU, Islamic Courts Union. Later ICU allied with TFG against Al Qaeda-led jihadist groups.

Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed a.k.a. Farmaajo became president in early 2017 in an election that seemed to usher in a period of hope. Somalia had modeled a federal system that was believed to be the best structure for a society of historically independent nomads with deep clan ties. In 2021, the Somali opposition started fighting in the capital Mogadishu. The reason was that the country's president extended his term of office without a vote. Violent attacks are still a severe threat to Somali society in 2022.



Finland' reception of refugees

The share of immigrants in the population roughly doubled between 1990 and 1999. In particular, the number of Russian or Soviet immigrants increased, as did the number of Asian and African immigrants. The first Somalian refugees arrived in Finland in 1990, and by the end of the decade there were more than 4 000 Somalia-born people in Finland.



Source: Tilastokeskus⁸

By means of Statistics Finland's origin classification, you can easily break down persons born abroad (so-called first generation) and persons born in Finland (so-called second generation) with a foreign background. In the origin classification, the person's origin and background country are determined based on the country of birth data of the person's parents. At the same time with Somalians came refugees affected by the crisis in Balkan. It is possible to see from the statistical graph (the lightest line, originally of green color), that although the Somalians were not numerically the biggest foreign population, they attracted attention due to their visual difference among the rest of the population.

⁷ Tilastokeskus: Migration.

⁸ Tilastokeskus <https://www.stat.fi/tup/maahanmuutto/maahanmuuttajat-vaestossa/ulkomaalaistaustaiset.html>. Retrieved 14.3.2022



In other words, they became victims of racism. The Somalians were the first big wave of Muslim refugees, too, which added to the fears of difference between the newcomers and the majority population.

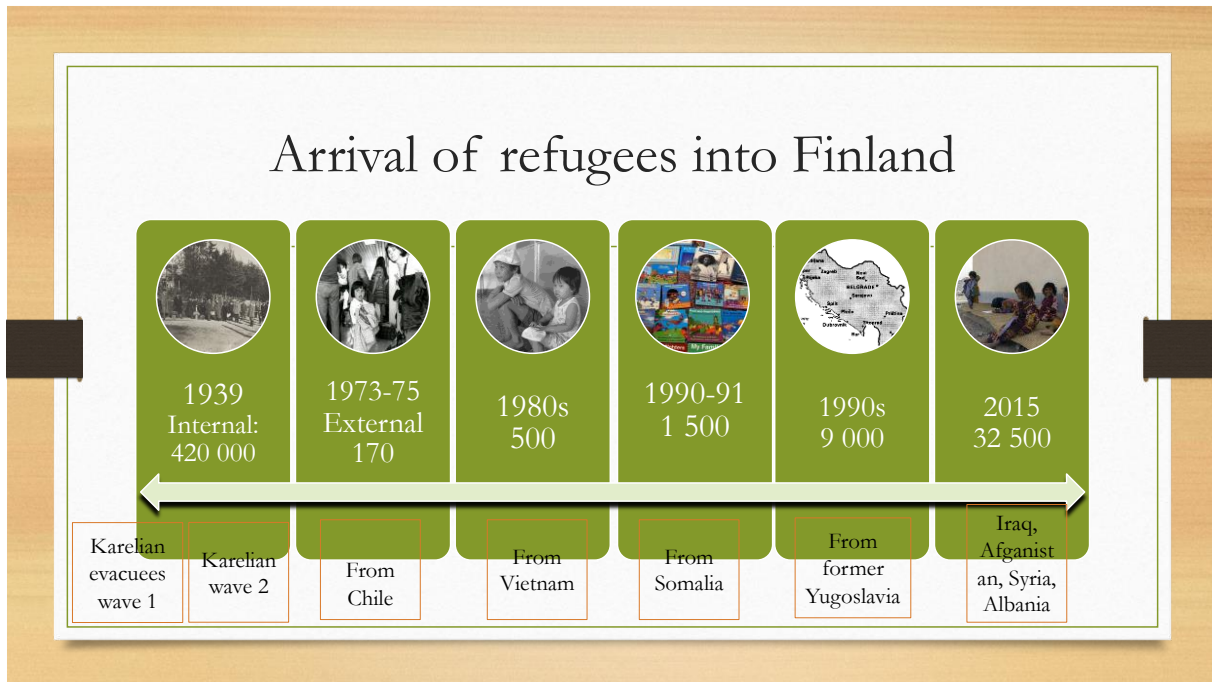


Illustration: Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi

The arrival of Somalians in Finland coincided with the economic downturn in the country. Finland plunged into a banking crisis and the deepest recession in its history. Apart from the collapse of trade with the East, the main factors that led to the recession included the overly rapid liberalization of financial markets in the previous decade. This means that many Finns lost their jobs at the same time. This created a negative atmosphere that Somali refugees suffered from. The traditional role of men as the main breadwinners was undermined among the newcomers. Mosques became important places for men to discuss their affairs and study. The role of women grew, including in religious communities, and was followed by a redefinition.⁹

Research on people who came from Somalia and found refuge in Finland after the 1990s has found important differences between the firstcomers and the later comers. The first refugees did not suffer as much racism as the later refugees. Women’s traditional clothing and especially the way of covering their heads with scarves in the public have made them more visible targets of racism than men, who more often wear mainline culture’s outfits. Somali people living in Helsinki enjoy the possibility of mingling with people that share their background. A young woman described her living environment positively:

“I live in Vuosaari, what is good about Vuosaari is that many Somalians live there, there are many shops, and a health-care center and social services are good, although there are a lot of Somalians and the problems of the immigrants are many but the positive features are many.”¹⁰

⁹ Tiilikainen 2003, 59–60.

¹⁰ Somalis in Helsinki. 2013, 35.



Family relations become transnational

Two women who worked in Helinä Rautavaara Museum in 2021-2022 responded to my questions about the first refugee generation versus later comers: “In Somalia, the girls and young women were schooled before the Somalia-Ethiopia war and the civil war. Both boys and girls, both rich and poor went to school. Women who wanted could go to the university and could take a job. It was a good country. When the wars started, that meant an end to the schools.” Both women came to Finland as married housewives. One with her many children, the other without her grown-up children. Finland feels like a secure and peaceful country, but they long for their good homeland, Somalia - if it only had peace. Besides working at the museum as a guard, one of them is busy caring for her family, the other keeps herself busy teaching Quran to women. They carry with them traumatic memories from their youth when fleeing from missiles and gunmen. And the memories and stress are revived by news and petitions for help from back home, families suffering from drought and famine, cattle dying due to the lack of rain, and paramilitary groups still active. Both women find support from their daily routines of praying.

Marja Tiilikainen has described the Somalian families in Finland as transnational. An example of transnational relations in the fact example, many immigrant mothers have had to leave some or all their children in the country of origin, and through a wide range of contacts they create a transnational motherhood. Women who have the means, often send money to their mothers in Somalia to arrange a party for a newborn or wed grandchild, although the main person of the party is in Finland.¹¹ Many other reasons for economic support exist, too.

Tiilikainen writes: “It is difficult to understand the magnitude of loss Somali women experienced: everyone has lost family members in the war; homes are in ruins and the home country has been destroyed.”¹² She deduces that Islam gives meaningful answers to the problem of suffering and the means to alleviate it. She has noticed that many Somalian women rediscovered Islam after entering Finland. It has featured as a practical and moral guideline to them and helped them to manage in a new religious and cultural environment. Islam even surpasses clan or ethnicity in importance.¹³

Somalian women fight for the survival of their mother tongue in Finland

The development of Somali literary culture in Finland is worth mentioning. Somali had become a written language in 1972. The decision-makers in Somalia at the time started using it for both administration and education. Literature in the Somali language (*Af-Soomaali*) was in its baby steps at the beginning of this millennium. The primacy of Arabic as the language of the holy scriptures and the power of moving and still image in the mass media vs. books are some of the challenges against a thriving Somalian culture among refugees. The English language is often linked to success in life. Many of the English-speaking “new Finns” with Somalian backgrounds have become known as doctors, development workers, teachers, poets, and actors.

¹¹ Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007, 270.

¹² Tiilikainen 2003, 64.

¹³ Tiilikainen 2003, 62, 64, 67.



Somalian women poets in Finland strongly denounce the war in Somalia. Considering heritage conservation as well as women poets' point of view, writing in the Somali language, is worthy of applause. Ahmed M. Mahdi, for example, has published Somalian folktales in Finland; Amran M. Ahmed is a poet and a life story writer, as well as Nimco Noor. The rich verbal expressions have not disappeared despite many challenges. Policies of social integration don't always meet their aims of support for children's background culture and mother tongue in the realities of preschool and primary education.

In 2011 Helinä Rautavaara Museum started a many-year exhibition project with Somalian immigrants, aiming at bringing forth the intangible heritage of the refugees. The contents, dealing mainly with traditions related to Somalian weddings (*arooska*), were curated together with the Somalian community in Finland, and many workshops were arranged for 1st generation Somalian refugee women. Young people participated, too, expressing their views on life under the expectations of two cultures through theatre play. The women decided to construct a traditional *aqal* (nomadic hut) in the exhibition. In an *aqal* workshop in 2012, traditional women's work was discussed, and women sang songs to be sung in preparation for the *aqal*. Traditions, such as dressing up the bride, decorating with henna and hairstyling, and dancing and singing the *buraanbur* (a dance performed by women at weddings and other ceremonies), were documented and explained to the Finnish audience. When the exhibition was over, many women stayed for a weekly language course led by Finnish volunteer teachers.

Helinä Rautavaara Museum's next step was to host a project to promote bilingual preschool classes for children with Somali or Kurdish language as their mother tongue which, in the 2010s', were not supported by official early childhood education programs. The project was based on research results showing that mother tongue is the basis of all learning. Mother tongue is both parts of children's identity and a big resource for language learning in their later life.¹⁴ The "Mother tongue project's" leaders were a Somalian background illustrator-designer, Warda Ahmed, together with the museum's project coordinator Wisam Elfadl. The "Mother tongue project" re-inforced the Somali-speaking and Kurdish-speaking children's command of their mother tongue before they go to school¹⁵. It pioneered help in form of native teachers (facilitators), schooling them in hands-on and creative methods. Although public programs for enhancing the social integration of immigrants have been carried out, the responsibility of supporting the mother tongue learning of immigrants has been in the hands of the parents. The language spoken in day-care centers is mainly Finnish. During the "Mother tongue project" Warda Ahmed put together a pedagogical toolkit for early childhood educators.¹⁶ Intensive multidisciplinary courses were organized for the project facilitators, where 20 immigrant women participated, one of them Nimco Noor who later became a teacher and writer. Eight workshops were organized for children in each of the participating day-care centers, involving 119 children altogether.

On March 24th, 2022, a literary event was held in Helinä Rautavaara museum: a celebration of 50 years of publishing in the Somali language. The prime movers of the event were Abdurahman Ali, an influencer from Espoo and an old friend of the museum, and Abdulaziz Ali Ibrahim, a London-based writer (also the museum's friend). The event was filmed and snippets of it are being shown on news in Somalia. "The importance of the mother tongue for one's identity is huge," says Habiba Ali, an Espoo

¹⁴ Halme 2011, 86–87.

¹⁵ Ojanen 2015

¹⁶ Ahmed 2015



politician who attended the 50th anniversary event. "There are many children born in Finland, whose oral and written Somali language skills are in danger of being lost. Through events like this and literature in Somali, we want to encourage and support young people."

As young mothers, women like Habiba Ali and Warda Ahmed fight for support for truly multicultural and thriving communities. Habiba Ali works as the Reach Out project coordinator to prevent violent radicalization. Other women point out the generational differences: The young generation in Finland has forgotten the Somalian oral traditions, as they are required to learn other languages at school. Some of them, however, do rap lyrics. The older generations keep *gabay* lyrics alive at the weddings, and on other occasions, too.

Women's literacy as a key factor

Nimco Noor is actively volunteering in Somali organizations in Finland. Because of her own experiences, struggling to get an education in her new homeland Finland, she keeps reminding especially immigrant girls, that they are privileged in getting the chance to be educated. Many Somalian women in Noor's generation were not motivated to learn the language, after arriving in Finland as refugees, but rather made the error of staying in their thoughts in the old homeland. They considered the Finnish language too difficult to learn, thus hampering the possibilities for their future education. Somalian women, such as Amran Ahmed and Nimco Noor, who had language skills in English, could manage better. Noor hired her friends to function as support teachers for teaching her children at home and managed to open a way for their success at school.

Nimco Noor shares her experiences in her biography:

"Now that I was an independent and autonomous woman, I started to think about all the things I could do. I wanted to work with the school and my neighbors. I wanted to do things differently than before. I wanted to learn the Finnish language and Finnish culture." Her professional life got on track, too: "I work in my dream job as a teacher. The keys to the schools are the keys to the various cupboards and lockers of my heart. I am enthusiastic and motivated, and I feel I am good at what I do. However, I must start my teaching from scratch because there are no books. My heart is like a well full of words, but I lack the means to get them out."¹⁷

Finland, as a small nation with few previous contacts with Somalia, had difficulties in providing enough translators when receiving Somalian women in the 1990s. According to Nimco Noor, for many a woman, traumatized by war experiences and facing a new environment, meetings with Finnish authorities were stressful. The best translator for women would be Somali-speaking women themselves. Recruiting volunteers and professional Somalian background women for translating and supporting their peer group in language studies would greatly help future immigrants. She was able to accomplish many of her aims, and she wants to go further, still. She is pleased to be able to give a voice to many Somalian women and their dreams, who are not able to speak for themselves.

¹⁷ Luukinen & Noor 2022, 152; 199–200.



Conclusion and future prospects

At the beginning of this millennium, many of the “new Finns” with Somali backgrounds that came with their English skills and schooling have become known as doctors, development workers, teachers, or poets. Yet, as Nimco Noor describes, many women got trapped in the power of transnational ties that directed their thoughts and dreams toward memories in past Somalia. For helping the growing generation of Finnish Somalis to thrive, support for their mother tongue – and thus, for their identity – and creative means in learning Somali are needed in preschool and early school age. In 2022, the Somalis in Finland celebrate 50 years of grammar and literature of their own. Many second-generation Somali-Finnish citizens are finding new channels for expressing themselves. The development of this culture, very rich in its verbal expression, has not disappeared despite of challenges in multicultural social integration. The next generations enjoy a rich verbal culture of different genres, but most of them express themselves through mainline genres, such as rap lyrics.



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3. Interactive learning

1. Quiz, testing the learning outcome of the text

Activity title	Quiz, testing the learning outcome of the text
Overview	The quiz tests, whether the facts in the article on Somalian refugees stayed in the learner's memory
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning • Having fun
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Computer or smartphone or tablet ✓ Internet connection ✓ Pen and paper
Time	8-15 min. (after reading the text)
Group size	1 – 29
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trainers must reserve enough time for the learners for reading the text: half an hour as a minimum. • There are six questions. The learners can mark the letter of their selected answers on a paper. OR • The trained can read the questions aloud as a quiz and tell the correct answers after each question. • After the task, the learners can check the correct answers from the end of the formula (on the last page)
Debriefing and evaluation	The learners can share their thoughts on the course and send feedback through the chat-function of the learning platform
Tips for trainers	<p>Keep both the text and the quiz files open simultaneously, to find the answers from the text.</p> <p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The big number of details in the original text ✓ The possibility of considering one of the other answers as correct, too, may cause a feeling of irritation



2. Quiz based on text IO2 article on Somalian refugees

Select one of the alternatives A-D:

When did Somalia become independent?

A	1884
B	1960–1968
C	1991
D	2017

What is a 1st generation migrant?

A	General mobility impairment
B	Person whose parents work abroad
C	A person with a relative
D	Person born abroad

In which language are the main Islamic scriptures written?

A	In Swahili
B	In English
C	In Indian
D	Arabic



Which of the following is a Somali (wedding) party where women dance and sing?

A	Buraanbur
B	Anaabur
C	Taabor
D	Jigue

Why don't some Somalian-born people in Finland learn Finnish?

A	No one teaches the Finnish language
B	No books have been written in Finnish
C	Finnish is a slow language to learn
D	No Somalis have ever been able to learn Finnish

Why is it important to learn an immigrant's mother tongue in kindergarten?

A	To keep grandparents happy
B	It supports the child's identity and learning other languages
C	The child's hearing has not yet developed into other languages
D	To keep the child alone, away from other children

Correct answers are on the next page.



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Correct answers:

B
D
D
A
C
B



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Author: *Katri Hirvonen-Nurmi*



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1923-2022: A hundred years from the Treaty of Lausanne and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey

By Alexandros Diamantis Balaskas, Action Synergy

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1. Overview

The Lausanne Convention was signed on 30 January 1923 and specified the conditions of the compulsory exchange of minority populations between Greece and Turkey. The Lausanne Treaty of July 1923 determined on the one hand the relations between the new nation state of Turkey with the Great Powers, and on the other hand the borders and further relations of Greece and Turkey, which is the main focus of this text. It was the only Treaty that allowed a defeated power to redefine the peace terms. Its signing meant different things to the two countries. For Greece, the treaty put an end to the “Megali Idea” and the history of thousands of years in the Minor Asia. It concludes a decade of triumphs with an ultimate catastrophe. On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire after a decade of great losses, which meant practically the collapse of the Empire, achieved with the treaty transformation into the new strong nation state of Turkey and to restore its sovereignty.

2. Background information

In order to understand if the Lausanne Treaty and Convention were an effective response to the consequences of the Greco-Turkish War, we should define what is considered effective to the different recipients. In this case we should try to understand the strategies and the plans of the main policy makers in the two countries, and the interests of the international community. In order to do so, we should examine these factors under the emergence of the specific events and understand if there were other possible options under the pressure of time. What is more, we should try to understand if it was effective for the people involved. Did it prevent them from further massacres, or was the decision to expatriate more than 1.500.000 people, changing entirely their way of life, and forcing them into exile for the rest of their lives? And that brings us to the second scope, under which we are going to assess the Treaty: the long term. A hundred years after, we can try to understand if the homogenization projects were achieved in the two states, and how and if these people were integrated. In order to do so we should look at what happened in the cases where the minorities stayed. These were the cases of Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos for the Christian Orthodox population, and the Muslims of Western Thrace. In this context we will examine the incidents of Cyprus in 1974 as well. Finally, it is very important to understand and evaluate if the Lausanne Treaty set a good example for similar minority situations in other parts of the world. Was it the best solution to the problem?

Crisis decision making

The catastrophe of Smyrna in September 1922 was the climax and tragic conclusion of a series of events and a brutalization process that started in the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913, continued with the forced labour, atrocities and displacement of the Greek Population within the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the First World War, the entrance of the Greek army and the atrocities launched on the failed march to capture Ankara, and the reprisals of the army of Mustafa Kemal. When the policy makers

1 Naimark Norman, Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in twentieth century Europe (Massachusetts, Harvard University Press 2001) p.45



assume the responsibility to negotiate the peace terms in Lausanne after the armistice of Mudania in October 1922, they took the burden to give an effective response not only to the consequences of the Greco-Turkish War that started in 1919, but to a whole decade of violence.

During the negotiations, there were main urgencies that had to be addressed under the constant threat for revival of hostilities from the Greek army of Euboea in Western Thrace and an explosive state of emergence inside Greece². The most important was the situation of the refugees, the people trapped inside the enemy's territory and the pending of the war prisoners. For this reason, a Convention targeted entirely to this matter was signed before the treaty of Lausanne, in order to give a preferable solution to the situation and had for the first time a compulsory force. The Armenian Genocide was a very specific and fresh example to avoid. Lord Curzon thought the exchange should be compulsory because otherwise it would take months to implement it, it would help Greece to make place for the newcomers, and that it would also make it easier to compensate the exchanged people for the property they would be leaving behind³. But, the convention did not provide them with institutional and practical measures for the transfer⁴.

The convention defined religion as the only criterion for the population transfer. Even though the millet system, which divided people according to their religion throughout the existence of Ottoman Empire seemed a rational model to follow for the split, in practice the cultural, linguistic, economical differences proved to be factors that hindered the exchange⁵. For these people, their homelands in which they and their ancestors were born and lived were of greater importance⁶. For them, it was not a repatriation but expatriation.

By the time the Lausanne talks began, most of the Greek-orthodox population had already left their homes⁷. However, many other populations continued to live peacefully in regions which were not affected by the war. These were Cappadocia, Pontos, Trebizond etc in Turkey, and Macedonia, Epirus and Crete in Greece which were included in the treaty. The decision for the transfer came as a shock to them, as from that moment their lives changed entirely. The only populations that were excluded were the Greeks in Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos and the Muslims of Western Thrace.

When we evaluate the Lausanne Treaty in humanitarian terms, we should try to address a very important question: Was it the only way to prevent a massacre? Was the permanent exile for 1.500.000 people the only response that would at least save their lives? In order to answer this, we should bear in mind two important factors: Firstly, the will of Turkey to receive the Christian populations back in its territories and protect their rights⁸. Turkey in 1923 was no longer a multinational empire like the Ottoman Empire, which even though far from perfect was more tolerant to different ethnicities. The Ottoman society, with its system of millet, allowed Christians and Muslims

2 Immediately after the Smyrna Catastrophe, the Venizelist Generals Gounaris and Plastiras organized a coup de etat against the government and the kingdom. In 15 November 1922 6 people amongst them ex prime ministers and generals were executed as responsible for the catastrophe.

Smith Michael, Ionian Vision (London, Allen Lane 1973) pp.323-329

3 Oran Baskin, "The story of those who stayed: Lessons from Article 1 and 2 of the 1923 Convention in "Crossing the Aegean, An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey Ed. Renee Hirschon (New York, Berghan Books 2004) p.101

4 Yildirim Onur, Diplomacy and Displacement, Reconsidering the Turko-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934 (New York, Routledge 2006)p.179

5 Clogg Richard, A concise History of Greece (Cambridge University Press 1992) , p. 106

6 Gallant Thomas, Modern Greece (London, Honder Education 2001) p.147

7 Yildirim Onur, Diplomacy and Displacement p.193

8 Hirschon Renee, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe, The social life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus, (New York, Oxford University Press 1989) p.9



to live together⁹. But the process of redefinition from a multinational empire to a national state, was in most occasions a violent and not a tolerant one. Secondly, the international community was not willing to guarantee the safety of the minorities with a direct intervention and wanted a more practical response to the matter. We should not forget that the international law was very different at the time, as it dealt mostly with relations between states and addressed the protection of minorities as a collective issue and not from the perspective of personal rights¹⁰.

The humanitarian factor was not the only consideration, and some would argue that it was not even the main, for the national states and the Great Powers, whose contribution was crucial to the outbreak of the war. In that time, the two states had in progress their homogenization projects. For Turkey and Greece, the situation after the armistice created an opportunity to proceed with their national state projects and the population transfer was apparently something that both wanted¹¹. Mustafa Kemal, wanted to remove the Christian population from the republic he planned to build. Eleftherios Venizelos declared that his goal at time was the departure of Muslims from Greece, since the majority of Greeks were already driven out from Turkey¹². The aim was to create space and land in order to resettle the huge number of Greek Refugees.¹³ The two leaders also wished to deprive the two states from motives for a new circle of violence. This was also the goal of the Great Powers, who wanted stability in the region, in order to serve the interests that traditionally considered as the most important: Iraqi oil and freedom of navigation in the case of Britain, economic privileges in the case of France and Italy¹⁴. So, if we want to assess the Treaty from a more brutal point of view, the exchange “allowed the governments involved to reap the benefits of a unilateral eviction of unwanted minorities, without incurring the moral opprobrium ¹⁵”. It was also a rare opportunity for Greece and Turkey to implement an ethnic cleansing procedure with international consent¹⁶. From that point of view, the two national states, as well as the Great Powers involved, achieved at the time the goals they had set. But in order to be able to appraise the effectiveness of this Treaty we should see the results that it provoked in the years that followed.

A hundred years after – Lessons from History

A hundred years have passed since the signing of the Lausanne Treaty. The passage of time can help us understand how refugees were integrated in their new homes, how was the life for those who eventually stayed, if the Lausanne treaty itself withstood in time and finally to examine which was the Legacy that Lausanne left for other similar cases of territories with intermixed populations.

⁹ Clark Bruce, *Twice a Stranger, How Mass Expulsion forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (London, Granta Books 2007) p.107

¹⁰ Hirschon Renee, “Unmixing Peoples in the Aegean” in *Crossing the Aegean, An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey* Ed. Renee Hirschon (New York, Berghon Books 2004) p.6

¹¹ Clark Bruce, *Twice a Stranger* p.100

¹² Barutciski Michael, “Lausanne Revised: Population Exchanges in International Law and Policy” in *Crossing the Aegean, An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey* Ed. Renee Hirschon (New York, Berghon Books 2004) p.31

¹³ Schechtman Joseph, *European Population Transfers 1939-1945* (New York, Oxford University Press 1946) p.18

¹⁴ Clark Bruce, *Twice a Stranger* p.100

¹⁵ *Ibid* p.60

¹⁶ Pentzopoulos Dimitri, *The Balkan exchange of minorities and its impact upon Greece* (Paris, Mouton & Co 1962) p.64



The asymmetry of the burden of the population transfer was significant between the two countries. For Greece, the refugees would consist of twenty five percent of its population. The state has experienced significant population pressure ever since. The people were settled in terrible conditions in camps for the first years, and the Muslim settlements were occupied by old residents leaving the refugees faced with a terrible housing shortage. Their social and economic status changed entirely. Their expertise was not properly deployed in most cases¹⁷. They felt entirely different from the locals who welcomed them with hostility and gathered them as “Turkish seeds”¹⁸. As a result, they always distinguished themselves for the locals, and it took many generations to overcome this distinction¹⁹. After the economic crisis of 1929 and the Treaty between Greece and Turkey in 1930, many refugees sought justice through their active participation in the Communist Party. That led them in the discredited part of the society for many years to come. Religion as the only criterion for this exchange proved to be inadequate. The homogenization project in Greece managed to overcome the religious issue, but created many more. In the case of Turkey, even though the Muslim refugees from Greece were addressed with the same hostility and disorganization, the homogenization project was a success since they were a very small addition to the total population and it was easier to be integrated. The national policy of the Republic Party as well did not give them another option²⁰.

On a more positive side, it is said that the Treaty deprived Greece and Turkey from their usual sources of tensions. Apart from the two minorities that were constantly used as pressure elements, the situation across the Aegean was stabilized and peace was maintained. The borders were not changed nor questioned. However, in 1996, the Imia/Kardak crisis led to a dangerous escalation and war was only avoided last minute, thanks to the intervention of the USA and NATO alliance. Their main source of misunderstanding was the sovereignty over some isles in the Aegean. This disagreement arose from the Lausanne Treaty which doesn't mention every little island and there are more than one thousand in the area. As an extension to this problem, the two countries cannot agree to the definition of Exclusive Economic Zones²¹. However, the Lausanne Treaty is one of the more durable peace treaties of the First World War and was never altered from revisionist powers²². In that sense the treaty fully achieved its objectives. On the other hand, the problematic definition of sovereignty on the small islands from the Lausanne Treaty, and the real economic interests that originate from them, are constantly a source of intensity and oblige the two states to be always militarily prepared and spend a lot of their annual budget on military expenses.

But what happened to those who stayed? As we mentioned before, the Christians of Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos were excluded from the exchange as well as the Muslims of the Western Thrace. Their treatment depended on the relation between the two countries at every different period. In 1955, in Istanbul a pogrom occurred against the Christian population with the tolerance, if not the guidance, of the Turkish Government in an event that was related with Cyprus. In 1963 after the murder of Turkish

17 Hirschon Renee, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe* pp.9-12

18 Gallant Thomas, *Modern Greece* p.150

19 Hirschon Renee, “Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An overview” *Crossing the Aegean, An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey* Ed. Renee Hirschon (New York, Berghan Books 2004) p.17

20 Clark Bruce, *Twice a Stranger* p. 46

21 Veremis Thanos, «Οι Ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις», *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* τομ. ΙΣΤ (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon 2000) p.411 – The translation of the title from Greek is : “Greek Turkish relations” in *History of the Greek Nation* vol. ΙΣΤ

22 Vokan Vamik and Norman Itzkowits, *Turks & Greeks: Neighbours in conflict* (Cambridgeshire, The Eothen Press, 1994) pp.104-107



Cypriots by Greek Cypriots there were exportations of the Greek Populations in Istanbul²³. Nowadays, the Greek minority in Turkey is almost nonexistent. The Minority in Thrace as well, is a non integrated part in the Greek society, with several violations against their liberties. By taking the example of those who stayed and evaluate it as mainly problematic, we can vice versa evaluate the Lausanne Treaty as an effective way that addressed a complex situation, in which the national states were not ready to respect the minority rights. In the case of Greek presence in Turkey, we have a similar de facto ending with that of Lausanne.

And that brings us to the legacy of Lausanne. The Treaty of Lausanne, even though it is unique for its compulsory character, formed a blueprint to other similar situations from Nazi's German borders in 1940 to the India/Pakistan split, Cyprus etc ²⁴. The example of Cyprus could be useful for this essay, as we could draw analogies to what could have happened if there was no Lausanne Treaty. Even though Cyprus was not a subject of the Treaty, it proved that the coexistence between Greeks Christians and Turkish Muslims, in the only place they were preserved in mass numbers, proved unworkable in practice. In 1974, after a series of events and the invasion of the Turkish Army, a de facto partition and exchange was held, and many civilians were slaughtered²⁵. In the late war in Yugoslavia, it is a debate if an early exchange of populations would have saved lives. However, in the nineties an anti-Lausanne consensus and a pro-Helsinki approach were dominant²⁶.

Conclusion

The Lausanne treaty has caused many contradictions, not only at the time it was issued but also in the years that followed, about whether it was a good example to apply in similar situations. We should always remember that it was agreed under the threat of another full scale massacre, and the danger of a new round of violence. With that in mind, it is obvious that it was not a perfect agreement but more "a lesser between two (or many) evils". The moral and philosophical extensions about the state power over the individual are important. It was said that the whole concept of population exchange rewards the use of force of those who want to provoke it²⁷.

When we examine if the Lausanne Treaty was an effective response to the consequences of the Greco-Turkish War we should identify the possible recipients of this effectiveness. For the mass population of over 1.500.000, the majority of which had little in common with the local population and were obliged to live in exile the rest of their life, without even the option of returning at some point, the Treaty was a stab in the back. But, on the other hand, with the national states determined to homogenize and with a circle of violence from 1912 to 1923 that have led to a huge number of victims, it is questionable if their permanence in the opposite states would have been a secure option. Having in mind the historical events in other regions with similar problems, the fate of the minorities that were preserved from the Treaty in the two countries and the disposal of the international community not to intervene directly to guarantee the safety of the local population, we can assume that the coexistence would have been very difficult.

From the perspective of states, the success of the Treaty is more obvious as it succeeded its two main goals. The first was to eliminate a source of new tension between the two states, even though as we have seen with the Imia crisis, not with a total success. Secondly, to homogenize the population and

²³ Oran Baskin, "The story of those who stayed ": in Crossing the Aegean pp.101,104

²⁴ Barutciski Michael, "Lausanne Revised" in Crossing the Aegean p.28

²⁵ Ibid p.30

²⁶ Clark Bruce, Twice a Stranger, preface

²⁷ Barutciski Michael, "Lausanne Revised" in Crossing the Aegean p.27



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reduce the numbers of what it was presumed as an enemy within. In the case of Turkey, this procedure is almost perfect. On the other hand, in Greece, the huge number of the refugees, and their unsuccessful integration in their new home, led to a clear distinctive line between the refugees and the locals for a number of years that lasted longer than anyone would have expected.

Finally, to understand if it the Treaty was a good example for the international community, the answer depends on how we assess the humanitarian and realistic achievements of the Treaty. The balance between the two would have been the perfect combination. According to this opinion, the international community with the tools that has now in its possession, having proclaimed the individual rights and having established instruments for protecting them in practice, it should not be satisfied with new Lausanne type treaties. The Lausanne treaty sacrificed the first in order to secure the second. Nowadays, the goal should include both as far as possible.



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Propaganda, repression and resistance during the Nazi occupation of Poland. The problem of the ghetto

By Kamila Witerska

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1. Overview

The article introduces the problem of the ghetto in the context of World War II but also shows references to the present day.

Ghettos and concentration camps had already been established since the first months of the Nazi party's rule in Germany, which clearly demonstrated the planned process of isolating and then physically liquidating opponents of the regime (Łabuz, 2022). In October 1939, the Germans established the first ghetto on Polish territory, and in the following years about 400 such ghettos were created in Poland. Over 1500 ghettos were established throughout Europe (Łabuz, 2022).

The largest ghettos at the time were those in Warsaw (with up to 400,000 inhabitants), Łódź, Kraków and Lublin. As soon as the Germans began to implement the plan for the "final solution of the Jewish question", as the extermination of the whole nation was called, they began the brutal liquidation of the ghettos. The inhabitants were either shot on the spot or sent to concentration camps. In August 1944, the Lodz Ghetto, which during the war held up to 160,000 people at a time, was one of the last to be liquidated. The extremely high mortality rate among ghetto inhabitants was mainly the result of the occupant's deliberate policy: hunger, lack of hygiene, which led to the spread of epidemics. It is estimated that in the ghettos in occupied Poland alone up to 750 thousand people could have died. This statistic does not include Jews deported to concentration camps, where they also awaited death. (Łabuz, 2022).

The main organisation providing aid to Jews during World War II was ŻEGOTA - the Council for Aid to Jews at the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland - a Polish underground humanitarian organisation operating between 1942 and 1945 as an organ of the Polish government in exile. Its task was to organise help for Jews in and outside ghettos. The Council to Aid Jews "Żegota" was the only State-supported institution in occupied Europe established to save Jews during the Holocaust. Its members' activities included, among other things, finding hiding places for Jews hiding on the so-called Aryan side, providing them with false identity documents and distributing aid. (Dzięciołowska K. , 2017)

The article presents two stories of people who saved the lives of others, those imprisoned in the ghetto: Irena Sendlerowa and Jan and Antonina Żabiński.

It concludes by addressing the problem of the modern ghetto and the phenomenon of ghettoisation as elements of contemporary culture that can pose a threat to democracy.



2. Background information

Repression and propaganda

Ghettos and concentration camps were actually established from the first months of the Nazi party's rule in Germany, which clearly showed that the process of isolating and then physically liquidating opponents of the regime was planned. The Nazi party saw enemies not only in political opponents but also in representatives of various social, ethnic and national groups. The fight against the Jewish population was most fierce, as a result of the deep-rooted racism and anti-Semitism present in the doctrine of Nazism (Łabuz, 2022).



Fot.1 A group of Jews on their way to the wagons that transported them to concentration camps. Warsaw 1943. Reproduction from the Stroppa album. Source: (Science in Poland, 2012)

In October 1939, the Germans established the first ghetto on Polish soil, and in the following years about 400 ghettos were created in Poland. More than 1,500 ghettos were established throughout Europe (Łabuz, 2022).

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A model ghetto was built in the Czechoslovakian city of Terezin, which German propaganda used to present to the world the supposedly excellent living conditions of the inhabitants of the isolated districts. (Łabuz, 2022)

In 1944, an inspection was carried out by the International Red Cross and representatives of the Danish government to assess the living conditions of the prisoners. It was also an opportunity for the Nazis to present a positive image of the camp. Every effort was made to clean the camp and prepare it for the visit. Many prisoners were sent to Auschwitz to avoid overcrowding, cafés and shops were installed, rooms were repainted and refurbished. Prisoners were also instructed on what to do during the visit. Children played in the main square and were made to take part in performances. (Mesic, 2019)



Photo.2 A scene from the Nazi propaganda film "Furer gives the Jews the city" made in Terezin in the summer of 1944. Source: (Lebovic, 2019)

In practice, a significant number of Terezin's Jews were sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp and murdered there. (Łabuz, 2022)

The Nazis made a similar film in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1942. One scene showed Jews who were well-dressed enjoying themselves in a restaurant and ignoring beggars asking for alms.



Photo 3 Well-dressed Jews enjoying themselves in a restaurant,,,,,, insensitive to street beggars. This is how the Germans depicted life in the ghetto in 1942. Source: (Borkowski, 2018)

Resistance movement

The main organisation providing aid to Jews during World War II was ŻEGOTA - the Council for Aid to Jews at the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland - a Polish underground humanitarian organisation operating between 1942 and 1945 as an organ of the Polish Government in Exile. Its task was to organise help for Jews in and outside ghettos.

The Council to Aid Jews "Zegota" was the only State-supported institution in occupied Europe established to save Jews during the Holocaust. The activities of its members included finding hiding places for Jews hiding on the so-called Aryan side, providing them with false identity documents, and distributing relief supplies. (Dzięciołowska K. , 2017)

Personal stories and herstories

Story 1: Irena Sendler and her children

Irena Sendlerowa is one of the most famous Polish Righteous Among the Nations. She received this title for her merits during World War II - acting in conspiracy, including in the structures of the "Żegota" Council for Aid to Jews, she led a campaign to rescue Jewish children from the Warsaw Ghetto. Together with a group of her collaborators, she managed to save several hundred children. (Dzięciołowska K. , 2018).



Photo 4 Irena Sendlerowa source: (Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2018)

As early as the autumn of 1939, Sendlerowa, together with a group of co-workers, founded a secret cell for helping Jews at the Department of Social Welfare of the Warsaw Municipal Government. She helped Jews before the Warsaw Ghetto was even founded. When the Polish underground organisation - the Council to Aid Jews "Zegota" - was created in 1942 - Irena Sendler, aka Jolanta, was appointed head of the Children's Department. As an employee of the Welfare Department, she had a pass to the ghetto and thanks to this, under the pretext of sanitary inspections, she and her co-workers carried food, medicines and money to the ghetto. (Bernat, 2010).

According to the Jewish Historical Institute, Sendler and her couriers managed to save several hundred children. Irena Sendler and her female liaison officers smuggled the children in various ways, for example in a car which brought cleaning materials to the ghetto and returned with the children, who were taken away in a box, a crate or a sack. The driver would take a dog in the car, which would bark to drown out the crying of the children, or the children would be put to sleep. The children were also taken out through the interconnected cellars of the tenement houses on either side of the wall, as well as through the building of the court in Leszno, adjacent to the ghetto. Two caretakers, who collaborated with the organisation, would open the door and lead the children through the building to the rear exit on the Aryan side. Another "transfer" route began in the tram depot on the Jewish side, thanks to the fact that the husband of one of the liaison officers was a driver. At dawn, when the trams started, he would find a cardboard box with a sleeping child under a bench in the carriage and take it to a safe place behind the walls. These methods applied to small children; boys and girls as young as twelve were taken out with the so-called "work brigades". Behind the walls, the liaison officers took further care of them. (Bernat, 2010).

All children were first placed in one of ten emergency care centres, where they went through a period of adaptation to their new environment, depending on their needs, lasting several days or several weeks. During that time, new identification documents were prepared for them, most often those of deceased Polish children. Then they were handed over to foster families, municipal institutions or monasteries; many of them ended up in orphanages run by Franciscan sisters, among others in



Warsaw, Anin, Białołęka, Chotomów and Płudy (Bernat, 2010).

The data of each child was written down on narrow pieces of paper, called after the war "Sendler's List". She put the strips of blotting paper into jars, and buried the jars under an apple tree in the backyard at 9 Lekarska Street in Warsaw. On them "was written the child's real name, his or her name according to the birth certificate, and the place of current residence. This data was necessary in order to be able to deliver money, clothes, medicines, and generally to have some, at least minimal, control over whether any harm was done to the child, and, after the war, to be able to find the child".

- Sendlerowa wrote in her biography.

Irena Sendlerowa was arrested in 1943 by the Gestapo; she was held in the so-called tramway in Szucha Avenue. She was interrogated and tortured at the Pawiak prison. The Germans constantly questioned her about the leaders of the organisation; they did not realise that the main organiser of help for Jews in the ghetto was in their hands. Sendler was sentenced to death. However, "Zegota" managed to save her by bribing German guards. She continued to work in hiding to save Jewish children. (Bernat, 2010).

In 2009 a film directed by John Kent Harrison, *The Courageous Heart of Irena Sendler*, was made. (Harrison, 2009).

Story 2: The Zoo Asylum. Antonina and Jan Żabiński

The Warsaw zoo was established in 1928 on the initiative of Wentanty Burdziński, who was its director for only six months, until his death. In March 1929, Jan Żabiński and his wife Antonina took over the institution. They created the zoo from scratch, planning and building a "great breeding farm of wild animals". (Żabińska, 2010, p. 8).

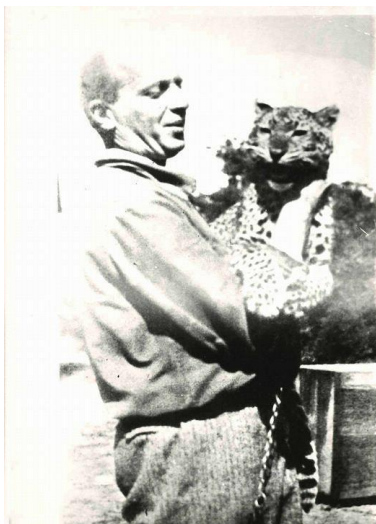


Photo 5 Jan Żabiński, pre-war years, source: private materials/family archive (2017).



Fig.6 Antonina
Jerzy Dudek / Forum,
in archival photographs



Żabińska, 1930s Warsaw, photo rep.
source: (Antonina and Jan Żabiński
[gallery])

The Żabiński house, named Noah's Ark by Antonina and Jan's friend, the sculptor Magdalena Gross, was always full of people and animals. Antonina and Jan's daughter, Teresa, recounts her home at the zoo as follows years later: "This house was always a refuge precisely for the weak, for those who needed help. And this mission of helping and rescuing them was mainly fulfilled by my mother". (Czajka, 2019).

In the spring of 1940 another congress of the International Union of Zoological Garden Directors was to be held in Warsaw...

In September 1939, Warsaw was under siege for several weeks during which air raids and bombings continued. The zoo is also bombed, as a result of which white bears are released. In order to prevent further escapes of predators, which endangered human lives, it was decided to shoot lions, tigers and other predators.

Antonina and Rysiek wandered around Warsaw, seeking shelter in safer parts of the city. Finally, in October, after the capitulation of Warsaw, they return to the bombed zoo. In the winter, a decision is also made to liquidate the zoo. Some of the animals were taken to zoos in Germany and others were shot. In the spring of 1940, the Warsaw zoo was converted into an institution for breeding pigs.

One warm night in May, two boys who belonged to the sabotage group that had caused the fire of huge petrol tanks in the last action appeared in the zoo. They had been lying in the bushes near the Żabiński house for several hours and when night came they gave Jan the agreed signal of the owl's sound. They were placed in the pheasant house - a large aviary with a wooden house in the middle. From dawn, they were not allowed to make a sound all day long. Ryś used to bring them food and something to read. These were the first "pheasants".

From the beginning of the war Jan Żabiński was involved in underground work in the Home Army. He lectured at secret medical classes, kept fuses and various parts for bomb-making in his home laboratory. In a huge manure barrel he stored iron trichloride, which was used to blow up German trains. Jan and Antonina always carried a small dose of cyanide with them.

In July 1943, the great deportations of the inhabitants of the Warsaw Ghetto began. Antonina and Jan Żabiński asked themselves a desperate question: How can we help these people? The ghetto was surrounded by a wall, all entrances were guarded, contacts with Jews could be punished by arrest and deportation to a camp, and hiding Jews could result in the death of the entire family. Jan Żabiński obtained a pass to the ghetto under the pretext of caring for the green areas and used it to smuggle food or news



into the ghetto.

One Sunday, in the summer of 1941, a German limousine pulled up in front of the Żabińskis' house. Antonina quickly sat down at the piano and started playing loudly the couplet from Beautiful Helena - "Go to Crete" - a warning signal to everyone hiding in the zoo that danger was approaching. It turned out that the limousine was driven by Ziegler, a German officer, head of the Jewish Arbeitsamt, who had treated teeth in the ghetto with Dr Leonia Tenenbaum, wife of the entomologist Szymon Tenenbaum. Ziegler, an entomologist by avocation, wanted to see Tenenbaum's insect collection kept at the zoo. Ziegler found that Tenenbaum was asking to visit, and he could facilitate this in some way. And so Jan Żabiński, crossed the ghetto gate for the first time, in a limousine, next to a German officer. In the presence of the gatekeeper opening the gate, Jan asked if he would be able to contact Tenenbaum by this means, and Ziegler agreed and said to the gatekeeper, "Please let this gentleman in whenever he comes to me." (Żabińska, 2010, p. 102). In the following weeks, Jan walked this way to the ghetto several times a week and visited Jewish acquaintances. "And finally there came a moment of rehearsal before using the <<paved road>> for the purpose for which it was <<paved>>. Jan descended the official stairs to the gate not alone, but with someone dressed as elegantly as possible, and therefore looking somewhat different from the average ghetto dweller. And with nonchalance he made himself open the gate. It worked." (Żabińska, 2010, p. 103). The fourth time the watchman questioned the passage of the person accompanying Jan, but he took out his own pass, showed it from a distance to the watchman and said in an indignant, confident voice, "But this gentleman has a pass!" (Żabińska, 2010, p. 104). From then on Jan encountered no problems from the caretaker. At first, Jan acted alone, but soon the "Zegota Action" joined in to help. , an organisation helping Jews.

And so the asylum for animals became an asylum for people. They came to the zoo for short or longer periods. For most of them, the zoo was a way station, and then they were smuggled to other places where they were given shelter and hiding places, often outside of Warsaw. Some, such as the sculptor Magdalena Gross or her later husband Maurycy Paweł Fraenkel, stayed at the Żabiński home longer, hiding in wardrobes or in the attic in case of danger. They were also visited by scouts, still children, school-age boys who fought in the Grey Regiments, taking part in various sabotage and information actions.

"Jews who were looking for a hiding place after leaving the ghetto or who had to quickly leave the "burnt" place on the so-called Aryan side came to the Żabiński family for help. (...) Among those hiding in the garden were: Magdalena Gross, Maurycy Paweł Fraenkel, Rachela Auerbach, Regina and Samuel Kenigswein, Eugenia Sylkes, Marcelli Lewi-Łebkowski with family, Marysia Aszerówna, Joanna Kramsztykówna, Eleonora Tenenbaum, the Keller couple with child, Irena Mayzel, Lawyer Lewy, Kinszerbaum, Dr. Anzelmówna" (DzięciołowskaK. , Polin. Polscy sprawiedliwi, 2015).



Photo.7 Magdalena Gross, source: archive of Magdalena Czerwosz (2020)

People were given animal names, mostly depending on which aviary they were hiding in. If they lived in a wooden house, in a pheasant aviary - they became pheasants. Magda Gross called herself a starling, and little Moshe (Mieczysław) and Stefcia Kenigswein, hidden in the cellar, were christened squirrels, after Antonina tried to bleach their black hair blonde and it came out red. It was safer to be an animal than a human during the war.



Photo.8 A post-war photograph of the Kenigswein family (from the Moshe Tirosh family archive). In the first row Regina Kenigswein with her three younger children, in the second row - older children: Mieczysław and Stefania (Urzykowski, 2015)

Antonina and Jan Żabiński gave shelter to several hundred people during World War

II. For their help, Jan and Antonina Żabiński were awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations in 1965.



In 2016, there was a Hollywood production telling the story of a Warsaw zoo during World War II - *Asylum* (*Zookeeper's Wife*), directed by Niki Caro (Caro, 2016).



Photo 9 Antonina and Jan Żabiński before 1950, photo by Rajmund Wełnic, archive of Teresa Żabińska-Zawadzki, source: (Dzięciołowska K. , Polin. Polscy sprawiedliwi, 2015)

Modern ghettos, ghettoisation

Sociologists point out that a characteristic feature of ghettos is the isolation of a certain category of population from others. In this sense, a ghetto may be a harem in a Muslim city, a real socialist housing estate inhabited by party nomenklatura, or closed housing estates (Pirveli & Rykiel, 2007). Many researchers point out that also the so-called gated *communities* are a modern form of ghetto. Characteristic features of gated communities are their location in ecologically good space, the above-standard economic status of their inhabitants and their higher level of education and aspirations. (Szczepański & Ślęzak-Tazbir, 2007).

Contemporary sociologists consider a ghetto to be an area isolated in urban space, which can be described by specific characteristics unique to it. A model ghetto will be characterised by the following features:

- clear spatial distinctiveness
- relative similarity of status of residents
- a sense of social distinctiveness and awareness on the part of the inhabitants
- sense of enclave (exclusion) by both residents and observers outside the study area
- low permeability between the excluded area and the surrounding world (Szczepański & Ślęzak-Tazbir, 2007).

Ghettoisation, in the sociological sense, is the process of creating ghettos, or homogeneous areas (Szczepański & Ślęzak-Tazbir, 2007). A key role in this process is played by the creation of physical barriers, separating some categories of people from others. Jałowiecki notes that in Polish cities, considered to be among the safest in Europe, such fencing has no rational justification. The reason for cordoning off is



primarily the desire to secure one's material goods or the prestige that comes with living in a cordoned-off fragment of space (Jałowiecki, 2007).

Jałowiecki (2007) draws particular attention to a number of negative effects of the ghettoisation process.

- introducing and reinforcing divisions into "better" and "worse". This gives rise to a sense of relative disempowerment, frustrations and social conflicts, the effects of which are often disproportionate to the objective causes (the actual stratification of society)
- the tearing up and absorption of public space belonging to all citizens of a city. Public space is a sphere of freedom, a place where everyone in the city can feel free. Fragmented, "ghettoised" space is subject to a variety of restrictions, often considered absurd by those who use it
- The fragmentation of space is associated with a spontaneous privatisation that takes place without any control. As a result, such space evokes negative aesthetic experiences. Buildings located in private spaces are often unattractive from the outside, bordering on kitsch, because all the effort of their owners is focused on ensuring the attractiveness of the interior.



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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity 1: Repression - what did children learn in the ghetto?

Activity title	Repression - what did children learn in the ghetto?
Overview	Using traditional children's games to show and understand the situation of children in the ghetto and the repression of the civilian population during World War II.
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiencing the situation of a child locked in a ghetto • Understanding the repression suffered by children and their parents in the ghettos during the Second World War. • Learning about the history of children in the ghettos during World War II and actions like the "Great Search" •
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strings approximately 3 metres long - one per pair. • Various items to play the "old owl" game
Time	45 minutes
Group size	15-25 persons
Instructions for trainers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hiding - a game of hide and seek 2. Mini lecture - children in the ghetto were accustomed to darkness because they sometimes had to hide from Nazi soldiers and police searching flats, during deportations of people from the ghetto, for example during the Wielka Szpera action in the Lodz ghetto. 3. The return of the thread to the ball - the return of the thread to the ball game In pairs - one person is A and the other is B. They line up in different parts of the room . The leader connects them with a string. Their task is to find each other by rolling up the ball and not letting go of the ends. 4. Mini lecture - children in the ghetto were taught to hide in wardrobes, cellars and in order not to be afraid they held the end of a string by which they could return to their parents, grandparents. 5. Playing the old owl Participants sit in a circle. One person sits down in the middle with their eyes covered with a scarf. Various objects are spread out around the "owl", e.g. a pen, a book, keys to the flat, etc. "Old owl" sits and watches over the spread objects. A person indicated by the teacher has the task of taking away any object so that the "owl" does not hear anything. However, if the "owl" hears the thief and correctly points in the direction of the sound, the participant is "killed" and is out of the game.



	<p>6. Mini lecture - children in the ghetto were taught to behave quietly. Similarly, children hiding in flats, after being smuggled out of the ghetto, had to behave quietly so that none of the neighbours would realise that the family was hiding a Jewish child.</p>
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u> After each activity, strong emotions may emerge among participants during the discussion.</p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>



Activity 2: Resistance movement: Righteous Among the Nations

Activity title	Resistance movement: Righteous Among the Nations
Overview	Participants in the class learn about the activities of those involved in the resistance movement in Poland and Europe. They gain knowledge in this area by learning personal stories.
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning about the concept of awarding the title "Righteous Among the Nations" • Learning about people who have received the title "Righteous Among the Nations" - Helena Sendler, Oskar Schindler • To learn about the situation of Jews in Poland and Europe and other groups that were particularly persecuted and exterminated during the Second World War. •
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cards with text • Device with Internet access for each group
Time	25minutes
Group size	15-25 persons
Instructions for trainers	<p>5. Students divided into groups are given cards with the text by the teacher:</p> <p>Group 1: "Whoever saves one life - saves the whole world". Group 2: Righteous Among the Nations Group 3: Helena Sendler</p> <p>6. Each group searches the internet for information about the card text. 7. Representatives of the groups present the results of their explorations. 8. Discussion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the situation of the Jews in Poland and Europe during the Second World War? What other groups were particularly persecuted and exterminated during World War II? • How did people save other people during the Second World War? • What might the rescuers and the rescued have felt? • What qualities did someone rescuing others in wartime have to possess?



Activity 3: Resistance: Zoo Asylum. Antonina and Jan Żabiński

Activity title	Resistance: Zoo Asylum. Antonina and Jan Żabiński
Overview	Participants in the class will learn about the activities of those involved in the resistance movement in Poland: Antonina and Jan Żabiński. They gain knowledge in this area by learning about their personal history.
Objectives	Learning about the rescue of people from the Warsaw Ghetto in the context of the story of Jan and Antonina Żabiński ☑ Developing an attitude of helping
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cards with a piece of text - one per group of three. • Access to the Internet, projector and computer • Optional film 'Asylum' by Niki Caro (Zoo keeper's wife)
Time	25 minutes
Group size	15-25 persons
Instructions for trainers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Class participants sit in a circle. The facilitator asks them a question: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •If you were an animal what animal would you be and what would you do? 2. Everyone says out loud what kind of animal they would be and what they would do. 3. Participants, in groups of three, are given a piece of text, on a sheet of paper, and try to guess: What place is the text about and who is Antonina? <p><i>"People were given animal names, mostly depending on which aviary they were hiding in. If they lived in a wooden house, in a pheasant aviary- they became pheasants. Magda Gross called herself a starling, and little Moshe (Mieczyslaw) and Stefcia Kenigswein, hidden in the cellar, were christened squirrels after Antonina tried to bleach their black hair blonde and it came out red. It was safer to be an animal than a human during the war. "</i></p> 4. Discussion. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •What place does the above text describe? •At what time/circumstances did the events described in the text occur? •Who might Antonina have been? 5. Mini - lecture: The teacher tells the story of Jan and Antonina Żabiński. ☑ Screening of the trailer for the film Asylum (available on you tube)



	<p>4. Jump in and say Participants stand in a circle. Everyone , in any order jumps one step into the centre saying how they can help someone in the near future.</p>
	<p>5. Jump in/out, jump right/jump left 6. Participants stand in a circle. At the instructor's word, they perform the command while repeating it: Jump in/jump out, jump right/jump left. In the second round they repeat the command, but perform the opposite action, i.e. on jump left - jump right, etc.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Optional: Screening of the film "Asylum".• Copy of the article text: Zoo Asylum. Antonina and Jan Źabiński for each participant.



4 Interactive learning

Activity 1: Repression: Ghettos during World War II - how did it happen?

Activity title	Repression: Ghettos during World War II - how did it happen?
Overview	Participants experience in fictional roles the situation of dividing people into better and worse and the isolation of particular groups.
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of categorising people into better and worse ☒ • The experience of imprisonment in the ghetto. • Learning about the history of the ghettos during World War II • Learning about the term modern ghetto and ghettoisation • Reflecting on the idea of an open city
Materials	computer, phone or other music playing equipment
Time	45 minutes
Group size	15-25 persons
Instructions for trainers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Walking to music The group chooses music and everyone walks around the room to the rhythm of the music. When the leader stops the music, participants join pairs and talk for a minute on a given topic, e.g. what do you like to do in your free time, where would you like to go on holiday, etc. 2. Best and worst place When the music stops again, the participants first choose the best and then the worst seat in the room. 3. Better-better <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Some people (half the group) are given stickers for their blouses, which they stick on their arm. They join together as a group. People without stickers also join a group. b. Walking at a pace from 1 to 3, where 1 is the slowest pace and 3 is the fastest.... The better ones avoid the worse ones (with stickers), do not touch them, do not look them in the eye, because too much contact can turn them into worse ones. The teacher is a policeman and if he notices that someone has made contact with an inferior - he takes away his sticker and moves him to the inferior group. c. Discussion: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. What are your impressions? ii. How does it feel to be inferior/better?



	<p>d. Ghetto - the worse ones get locked in a separate part, in a small space, the better ones can walk around the whole room. If a policeman sees that they are trying to change the revue/ make contact he kills such a person - that person sits on the floor, or becomes a policeman.</p> <p>e. Discussion - feelings</p> <p>f. Estate beyond the gate - some of the better off become even better off, they get nice stickers and the estate beyond the gate - a luxury estate (e.g. with food) that everyone else is not allowed access to, and they can move into the general area of the city. The worst stay in their ghettos and the better stay in the general area of the city, but they are not allowed to enter both ghettos.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. The worst walk at a rate of 1,2,3, unable to talk or interact in any wayii. better-they walk around in the general space of the city, they can talk, greet each other,iii. Best of all, on the estate outside the gates they can walk around as they please, they can play music.
	<p>g. Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. Perceptionsii. An analogy to World War II - the confinement of the Jewish population in ghettos
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">iii. Contemporary gattos and ghettoisation - what is the situation today, what are the reasons for building gated settlements, what are the consequences of such settlements, what does the idea of the open city mean?iv.



Debriefing and evaluation	
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Roleplay participants should take the experience seriously, so the facilitator should tell them at the outset that the symbolic punishments for not following the rules were in fact real - you could actually die - your own death and that of your family - for breaking the rules.• It may happen that one of the groups rebels against the police and starts a riot, uprising, etc. It is necessary to agree with the group before the exercise that if the leader shouts STOP, we stop in a stop-frame-freeze. <p><u>Remark:</u></p>
Interactive version for e-learning platform	On a plan of any city, the student draws a "fence" - closing off any small area (a few streets), creating a "settlement behind the gate". He/she zooms in on the image, analyses the objects that are in the marked area and writes below (or chooses from a list) the consequences that closing the area will have on the surrounding population.



Activity 2: Propaganda: the ghetto in photographs

Activity title	Propaganda: the ghetto in photographs
Overview	Participants learn about Nazi propaganda activities during World War II by working with photographs.
Objectives	☑ Learning about the nature of Nazi propaganda efforts during the Second World War.
Materials	☑ Photographs
Time	25minutes
Group size	15-25 persons
Instructions for trainers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students divided into groups are given photographs by the teacher. Each group is given one propaganda photograph and one real photograph. 2. "Find the differences" Each group wonders what the essence of the difference between the two photographs is, they can support themselves with the Internet. 3. Representatives of the groups present the results of their explorations. 4. Discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What propaganda activities were undertaken by the Nazis during the Second World War and to what end? • What are the opportunities in front of propaganda today?
Debriefing and evaluation	
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u> .</p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>
Interactive version for e-learning platform	True or false?



1. Look at the two photos shown (displaying two photos - appendix).
2. Which of the photographs was taken by for propaganda purposes and which is a true documentation of the ghetto? (Paste the photos into two albums - truth and propaganda)
3. Evaluation - viewing two albums - if an image is pasted wrongly, when opening an album on this page - information appears and you are asked to move the image to the correct album - click.



Annex

Materials for the exercise: **Propaganda. Ghetto in the photo**



Happy
people...

Women in Kutno Ghetto Fot. Hugo Jaeger



Warsaw ghetto

The ghetto girl...



The girl in Kutno ghetto Fot. Hugo Jaeger



The girl by Gela Seksztajn, painter, died in Warsaw Ghetto



Children playing...



A scene from the Nazi propaganda film "Furer gives Jews a city" made in Terezin in the summer of 1944. Source: (Lebovic, 2019)



The Litzmanstadt ghetto. Displacement of children from the orphanage. 09.1942. Source: ŽIH



Well-dressed Jews have fun in the restaurant, insensitive to street beggars. This is how the Germans portrayed life in the ghetto in 1942. Source: (Borkowski, 2018)

Food sharing...



Sharing food in Litzmanstadt Ghetto



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Creative commons advice

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Feminist Practices in Contemporary Serbia

By Jelena Višnjić

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1. Overview

New feminist history – the case of Serbia

Although it may seem that today our essential rights are secure (suffrage, choice of workplace, right to education, abortion, and divorce), the patriarchal system is trying, again and again, to reconquer lost territory, thus manifesting its capacity to regenerate itself. “Creating space means creating an area that will help people to find out where they are and who they are” (Ellin, 2002: 66). Consequently, an awareness of the continuity of action and the constant review of positions lost and gained is one possible form of resistance against the seizure of free spaces. From its very beginnings, feminist politics has produced various strategies in the process and struggle for the emancipation of women. Moreover, it has established a political model of social solidarity with *others* who are also exposed to systemic oppression.

In Yugoslavia the first Serbian feminist initiatives emerged in the late 1970s. The international conference *Drug-ca žena-žensko pitanje*, held in 1978 at the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade, is considered to be the decisive event for feminism in Serbia. It was here that “for the first time, there was a public inquiry into women’s issues, and when a space for feminism was provided in the media” (Papić, 1989). The conference was important for the development of the feminist movement in all parts of Yugoslavia. In Zagreb, “Woman and Society,” the Women’s Section of the Sociological Association, was formed, and with support from Zagreb a feminist group bearing the same name was founded in Belgrade in 1981. In 1987, the first feminist congress with representatives from all over Yugoslavia took place in Ljubljana, marking “the existence of an alternative political activity of women and authentic women’s activism in this area” (Kolin, Čičkarić, 2010: 122).

The Serbian feminist movement began with a relatively small number of enthusiastic women from different professions and with a strong background in feminist theory. The introduction of a multi-party system led to more feminist groups, which, in the early 1990s, opposed the regime, its wars, and the growing patriarchal tendencies in society.

In Serbia, the war situation caused a real explosion of feminism. Without losing contacts with women from other regions – except when they had been rejected, the feminists from Serbia were willing to talk about their responsibility for the war, as part of the collective responsibility of Serbia. The real power was gained in the period of intensive mobilization of 1992-93, when they were able to move freely, and thus to hide, guide or transfer Serbian deserters across the border.¹

In addition to traditionalization, instrumentalization and naturalization that women suffered in our society (and this happened throughout the former Yugoslavia and in the new states), the war in Serbia actually opened up a new free space owing to the crack in the system. In fact, the state was not able to control or monitor the social and humanitarian moments caused by the

¹ <http://www.yurope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/96/145/145-16.html>, accessed 15 June 2018



*war, because it was busy with war. Therefore, the women took advantage of the abandoned space to meet the daily demands, but doing it in their own different way they had changed not only their mind but the society in which they operated as well.*²

Feminist groups attempted to normalise and democratise a broken social system in times of war and transition, initiating a number of alternative political structures that played a major role in the development of civil society in Serbia.³ However, regardless of the active participation *in the realm of politics*, the work of feminist groups, female opposition politicians, and women reformers was continually shunned. The patriarchal strategy of producing *manipulable* women was thus replaced by the strategy of producing *invisible* women. The question of who is excluded and who is not – and the *different levels of inclusion and exclusion* – can help to understand the workings of an oppressive system (Višnjić, Lončarević 2011: 22). Although there is some continuity in Serbian power structures, there also is continuity in feminist activism – an activism that, more or less, helped change the system. “Feminism is political, and in these countries this *must* mean not only the old ‘personal is political’ but also that feminism is anti-militarist and anti-nationalist.”⁴

2. Background information

Methods of feminist resistance

In order to create a democratic society it is necessary to have and uphold a political culture that fosters the active participation of women and men. However, the retraditionalization during the 1990s rehabilitated traditional patriarchal stereotypes about the roles and responsibilities of women. During this time, one group of women, which resisted the war as well as male and “structural state violence” (Čičkarić, 2010: 124), created new political spaces – and a different *women’s politics*.

On 9 December 1990, the first multi-party elections were held in Serbia. During this period, several feminist groups formed with the goal to defend women’s human rights, among them the Women’s party ŽEST (ŽEST stands for women, ethics, solidarity, and tolerance) and the Belgrade Women’s Lobby. ŽEST, the feminist group Woman and Society, and the Women’s Lobby created the “Women’s Parliament,” which monitored the work of the *male parliament*. The Belgrade Women’s Lobby networked among women in political parties, organised events in the run-up to the elections, and lobbied for women’s rights and interests. Between September 1993 and July 1997, the Women’s Lobby held 59 public events, defending women’s rights and reproductive rights, as well as protesting against male violence. Considerable efforts also went into anti-war activities.⁵ The impact these actions had cannot be measured, nevertheless they certainly opened up new and different political spaces. At the time, many political parties had female functionaries, yet there were very few female MPs. Overall,

² http://rwfund.org/sites/default/files/Zen_u_crn_Beog.pdf, accessed 28 June 2018

³ During this period, an “alternative cultural space” (N. Žunić) was created, in which different groups sprang up – such as the SOS Helpline for Women and Children Victims of Violence, the Autonomous Women’s Center, the Women’s Safe House, the Incest Trauma Center, as well as anti-war and civil society groups such as the Women in Black, the Women’s Lobby, the Women’s Parliament and, in 1992, the Center for Women’s Studies and Research plus the first female publisher, Feminist 94.

⁴ www.h-alter.org/vijesti/ljudska-prava/zenski-stomak-i-zenska-prava/, accessed 17 December 2018

⁵ Even before the first conflict in Slovenia, a member of the Belgrade Women’s Lobby and female members of the SDP Slovenia issued a joint appeal, “Women for Peace.”



there was much discrimination of women in all areas of society, turning a “sex difference” into a “political difference and the basis for excluding women from the domain of political power” (Pateman, 2000).

In the 1990s, militant nationalism led to a retraditionalization, viewing women’s bodies, above all, as tools for reproduction and thus for strengthening the nation. In 1990, the draft Law on Population Policy, as well as other repressive legislation, and the Serbian Orthodox Church’s aggressive anti-abortion stance led to a series of protests that were organised by feminist groups, and a large number of women in Serbia signed a petition in protest.

The first anti-war demonstrations took place in front of the National Assembly of Serbia. The organisers were three women’s organisations – Women’s Parliament, the Belgrade Women’s Lobby, and the Women’s Party. These women thus laid the foundations of the Serbian anti-war movement. One activity was a *andle-lighting ceremony* for those who had died in the war, and this took place in front of the National Assembly every night between 8 October 1991 and 8 February 1992. The initiators were two women, Nataša Kandić and Biljana Jovanović, and most participants were women, too. This period also saw the beginnings of Women in Black and the Women’s Center for War Victims (which focused on women and children). “Women in Black, as a pacifist and feminist group, was actually a response to the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, which was supported by the nationalist parties present in all republics.”⁶ The first *vigil* of the Women in Black took place on 9 October 1991 in front of the Student Cultural Center, and ever since they have been actively promoting peace and non-violence.

The overthrow of Slobodan Milosević’s regime was the result of a continuous action by the opposition and an active civil resistance movement, with women’s groups heavily involved. Part of the resistance were civic and student protests throughout Serbia from November 1996 to February 1997,⁷ and after the rigged local elections, the opposition coalition *Zajedno* (“Together”) organised daily mass protests in major Serbian cities. The Autonomous Women’s Center, SOS, Feminist 94, and the Belgrade Women’s Lobby launched a campaign, *Women, whistle!*, explaining in an open letter: “*when I whistle, I can hear myself, when I whistle, others can hear me, by whistling I protect myself, when I whistle, I am stronger!*”

In 1997, the feminist group Women and Society was registered under the name “The Association for Women’s Initiatives” (Ažin). Its basic tenet was “*improving the quality of life of women – strengthening women’s activism.*” Another group, Voice of Difference, was founded in 1999 to bring together activists from different NGOs and promote the political participation of women. In May and June 2000, the network Women Can Do It (founded by Ažin and the Working Group for Gender Equality at the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe) organised the programme “Knowledge for Democracy” in forty-three cities in Vojvodina and Serbia, in order to train female members of political parties, NGO activists, and trade union members. That same year, the conference “Women’s Political Perspective” demanded that women have equal representation in the political sphere, and Voice of Difference campaigned with the slogan “Your voice, the voice of difference”, targeting female voters. After the election victory of the DOS coalition (Democratic Opposition of Serbia) in September 2000, which the regime of

⁶ http://rwfund.org/sites/default/files/Zen_u_crn_Beog.pdf, accessed 28 June 2018

⁷ “Approximately, half of the organizers of the student protests in 1996/1997 were women.” (Blagojević, 1998: 359)



Slobodan Milosevic refused to acknowledge, mass demonstrations were held on 5 October in front of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. During this period many women were constantly politically active, yet in the elections of September 2000 this did not translate into parliamentary power, with women winning only 8 out of 178 seats and no female ministers.

Subsequently women's groups focussed on new campaigns such as the one against gender-based violence that ran from 2001 until 2010. Its aims were to inform women about their rights and to lobby decision-makers in favour of legal reforms. In 2003, during the run-up to parliamentary and presidential elections in Serbia, Voice of Difference worked with women's organisations from thirty-nine cities and towns across Serbia on a campaign titled Come out and outvote.

Other notable women's initiatives during this period included Not on our behalf (2004) against the law on the rights of the accused at the International Criminal Court (18,200 signatures were collected); the Initiative for a boycott of the referendum on the new constitution (2006); the Declaration on Srebrenica (2005); and, based on UN Resolution 1325, the Declaration women, peace, and security (2006). Also in 2005 and 2006, Women in Black launched several campaigns, for example on the abolition of conscription; against growing anti-Semitism in Serbia; for the punishment of war crimes and co-operation with the Hague Tribunal; for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325; for the adoption of the resolution 'Women, peace and security'; and against the Law on Churches and Religious Communities.

Frequent political changes, uncertainty, and a deeply divided public presented women's groups with a difficult terrain and made the improvement of the situation of women very challenging. Women's groups had an impact on national politics, producing, for example, guidelines for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Still, to the present day, many institutions in Serbia continue to be characterised by traditional gender roles.

Institutionalisation of feminist politics – pitfalls and misconceptions

After the September 2000 elections, first steps were taken to establish institutional mechanisms for gender equality and transform women's political participation. The method used was *gender mainstreaming*, which was combined with equal opportunity policies and positive discrimination. The primary function of *mainstreaming* is to build institutions that will implement gender policies at all levels.

At the national level, the Republic of Serbia established the following mechanisms for gender equality: The Gender Equality Committee of the Parliament (2003), the Gender Equality Council of the Government (2003 and 2004), the Deputy Ombudsman for Gender Equality (2008), and the Directorate for Gender Equality (2008). In the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina the institutions included the Gender Equality Committee of the Assembly (2003), the Provincial Gender Equality Institute (2004), the Provincial Deputy Ombudsman for Gender Equality (2006), and the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality (2010). By 2005, as part of an OSCE project, fifty municipalities had set up gender equality committees, however no information is available about how effective they were or whether they still exist. In the last ten years, the government of the Republic of Serbia passed a number of laws and action plans, in which the role of women was purely nominal, while an overhaul of fundamental values and policies is still nowhere in sight.

Serbia's institutions for gender equality do not have a mandate to make binding decisions, and consequently their role in the decision-making process is marginal, often making them nothing but a



“cosmetic addition to the inefficient state.”⁸ On the other hand, “the tendency of marginalising and ignoring independent women’s NGO”⁹ is all too obvious.

Feminist politics has to review constantly its gains and losses, while also trying to act with some degree of continuity. One of the basic principles of feminist theory and politics is to constantly review and reflect reality and to criticise established patterns of thinking, including feminist ones. Similarly, institutions will have to learn while “integrating part of the feminist demands into their structures and making them state policy” (V. Kesić, 2007: 14).

In contemporary Serbian society, the legal framework and the existence of mechanisms for gender equality have failed to provide actual equality between women and men. However, feminist political action is very visible, and feminists will frequently make public appearances, advocating legal and policy reform, promoting civic courage, and discussing sensitive social issues such as poverty, dealing with the past, war crimes, corruption, homophobia, etc.

Notes for Future

Feminist practice is not some predefined pattern, but action in a certain political context presenting various technologies of resistance to governing structures of power that produce inequality. More than ever, we need a strong mobilization of the civil society, women’s movement, LGBT groups which will react, act and be visible in public and media space. Also, a key part of feminist work is building community among feminist activists on local and international level and creating spaces for (feminist) knowledge building and sharing. For that reason the space that feminism opens is crucial for the cross-movement and intergenerational collaborations that will keep feminist movements more connected and responsive to the constant shifts of context. The idea of networking, connecting, unity in a women’s movement isn’t new neither in the region nor in the world, but again and again it turns up to be revolutionary for every community, since it brings changes, whether slower or faster. Why? Because a feminist action is always political and the very possibility of such action is the first step toward changes.

⁸ <http://www.zamirzine.net/spip.php?article3135>, accessed 3 July 2018

⁹ http://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/CEDAW/srbija_alternativni_izvestaj-kombinovano.pdf, accessed 4 July 2019



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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity title	Renaming the streets
Overview	This is an offline activity that requires open space/walk through city.
Objectives	Participants should get idea about the presence of the women in the public space.
Materials	Sheets of white papers. Several markers in intense colours. Stickers to stick the paper on the walls of the building. Cell phones with internet.
Time	90 minutes
Group size	15-20
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Trainer meets participants at a certain spot in the city centre. • Work starts already in the street where trainers and participants meet. •Trainer asks participants to read the name of the street. Usually, streets are named after the male figure or after some historical date or event. In very few cases streets are named after females. •Participants look on the internet for a brief information/ history of the person or event/date after whom/which the street where they are, have been named. They exchange information. •Trainer asks participants to think together about the female figure that is somehow connected to the figure or event/date after whom/which the street has been named. For example if the name of the street is after a famous revolutionist, participants should search for the female equivalent. If the name of the street is after the famous writer, participants discuss and then search the name of the female writer from that country. •When participants agree about the female name of the street, they write it in capital letters on the paper and stick it on the wall of the building and stick it under the plaque with the street name. •Everybody took a group photo with the new plaque. •They continue to walk, arrive at the next street and repeat the same process in each street where they go. •They go to as many streets as they can in 90 minutes.
Debriefing and evaluation	Discussion about the presence of women in different areas of life follows.
Tips for trainers	Trainers should be ready to explain and give full information to passers-by, what the work is about.



	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p>Not all participants feel comfortable doing street actions even if they agree to do it. Nobody should be forced to do an action, rather more shy participants should be encouraged to help in searching and providing information about persons or dates/events after whom the streets have been named.</p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p> <p>Trainer and participants should be ready to walk through the city and to do the public action.</p>
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4. Interactive learning

Activity title	Your voice, the voice of difference
Overview	This is an online activity. It is designed for zoom or similar platform. The work is designed for the group work, asking engagement from each participant.
Objectives	Deepening understanding of the women rights. Getting broader overview of the situation of women in different s Activating participants to influence change in their communities in relation to women rights.
Materials	Good internet. Information about the women rights and the years when women in specific country got right to vote.
Time	45 minutes
Group size	15
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Trainer initiates discussion about women rights and about the exact dates when women got right to vote in different countries. •Participants are asked to use 10 minutes to think about specific event they witnessed when the rights of women were broken. •Participants are asked to exchange the stories and then to use the story of the other participant to work with. •Participants are asked to write answers to following questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Which woman’s right was violated in the story they got? 2. To write a short inner monologue of the women whose rights were violated. 3. To write the short monologue of the one who violated rights. 4. To write another outcome of the story, where at the end women got her rights. 5. To change the story from the perspective: what needed to happen in order to have different, “positive” ending of the story. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Trainer asks everyone to read short answers to the questions. After each reading trainer initiates discussion about the ways to change to situation.
Debriefing and evaluation	Participants take a time to evaluate the work, speaking about what did they learn and how this could be applied further:
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u></p> <p><u>Remark:</u></p>



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Author: Jelena Višnjić



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TERRORISM IN SPAIN DURING THE TRANSITION

By A.M.E.F.E.

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1. Overview

Terrorism itself in Spain began to appear during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. On September 12, 1948, anarchists of the MLE-CNT (Movimiento Libertario Español-Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) exiled in France carried out an assassination attempt against Francisco Franco. Their plan consisted of dropping incendiary and fragmentation bombs from a light aircraft, taking advantage of Franco's presence in the Concha Bay on the occasion of the trawler races held in San Sebastian. The plan was aborted due to the presence of a group of fighters and two warships with anti-aircraft artillery. During the Spanish transition, the 2 terrorist groups with the greatest boom were ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, País Vasco y libertad*) and the GRAPO (*Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre*).

ETA:

ETA's first attack was the assassination of José Pardines Arcay agent of the Civil Guard in 1968.

The first indiscriminate attack was that of Calle del Correo, on September 13, 1974 Up to December 30, 2006, when it killed its last victims, two Ecuadorian citizens in the Barajas T4 bombing, it had caused 873 deaths, both during the dictatorship and during the period of transition to democracy. ETA's targets are broad, including military, police, politicians, journalists, businessmen, etc., and although it has never acknowledged its intention to provoke indiscriminate attacks, which they attribute to "miscalculations", they have caused real massacres as was the case of the attack on a Hipercor in Barcelona.

GRAPO:

In 1975, with the assassination of four Civil Guards in Madrid, the Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre (GRAPO), became the second active terrorist group in Spain (if we discount minor groups such as the Grupos de Acción Carlista). Since then, they have been responsible for assassinations, kidnappings and economic extortion. Although their low activity in comparison to ETA led people to think on several occasions that they had disappeared, they still continue, their last victim being Ana Isabel Herrero, a businesswoman from Zaragoza, on February 6, 2006.

DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION:

The Spanish transition to democracy was a time of particular terrorist virulence. In the summer of 1975, the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota (FRAP), considered a terrorist organization by the Spanish justice system, the European Union and the United States, was a Marxist-Leninist organization

that made the opposition to Franco's dictatorship the core of the resistance. Founded with the help and under similarities with the French, decided to resort to violence, murdering 2 policemen, members of Franco's secret police, known as BPS (Brigada Político-Social). The Franco regime responded harshly, shooting two of its members on September 27th of the same year. These executions caused a great popular rejection all over the world. Finally, after the triumph of the political reform operation and the new situation led to its end and its dissolution in 1978. Also at this time the Fuerzas Armadas Guanches (FAG, 1976-1978), a pro-independence group from the Canary Islands, was active. In 1978 began the actions of Terra Lliure, a Catalan pro-independence group, which would not disappear until 1995. Between 1978 and 1984 also operated Loita Armada Revolucionaria, an armed group of the Galician



pro-independence left. Under the umbrella of late-Francoist terrorism, a series of attacks were carried out by a series of neo-fascist extreme right-wing or state groups, using names such as the Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance (AAA or "Triple A"), ETA Anti-Terrorism (ATE), the Spanish Armed Groups (GAE), the Guerrillas of Christ the King (Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey) or the Spanish Basque Battalion (BVE). Their fatalities, ranging from 15 to 40 people, include left-wing labour lawyers (the "Atocha massacre") to ETA militants, as well as citizens with no connection to politics. Their failure in their attempt to abort the transition led to their definitive disappearance in 1982. At the beginning of the eighties, the political-military ETA (a breakaway branch of ETA, whose best known member was Mario Onaindia) decided to renounce violence and reconvert itself into a political party. In 1980 the 28 de Febrero Armed Groups (GAVF) also emerged in Andalusia, whose acts did not go beyond material damage. During the 1980s the Asturian group Andecha Obrera, in the Asturian language "Colaboración Obrera", would be active. Its framework of action was always linked to workers' conflicts, such as the naval conflict, or to the linguistic conflict such as the explosion of an artefact in the FEVE station of Gijón after a sanction that the railway company imposed on a worker for using the Asturian language.

STATE TERRORISM:

From the mid-1980s appeared the Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (GAL), an illegal state terrorist group, created by the PSOE in order to wage "dirty war" on ETA. Between 1983 and 1987 they carried out 23 murders, as well as several kidnappings, torture and economic crimes. Their acts took place mainly in the French Basque Country, at that time a habitual refuge for ETA members, since the French government did not collaborate with the Spanish government in its fight against ETA. Their victims included ETA militants and sympathizers, as well as people not involved in terrorism. In 1987, ETA perpetrated the Hipercor bombing and the Zaragoza barracks bombing, with 21 and 11 deaths, respectively. In 1991, 10 people died in the bombing of the barracks in Vich (Barcelona). After the disappearance of the GAL, the French government began to collaborate with the Spanish government in combating ETA, which effectively put an end to the so-called "French sanctuary".

DECLINE AND DISAPPEARANCE:

ETA's activity has been declining over the years, mainly due to police actions and the progressive social and political rejection of its actions. Its last fatal victims prior to the absence of assassinations in 2004 and 2005 were policemen Bonifacio Martín Hernando and Julián Envit Luna, in 2003 ; although it continued the rest of its actions until March 24, 2006 when a "permanent ceasefire" was announced which led to the so-called peace process and in which the President of the Government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, on June 29, 2006, announced to the media in an official statement in the Congress of Deputies the beginning of direct talks with ETA. After the 2006 Madrid-Barajas Airport bombing by ETA, in which the Ecuadorian citizens Diego Armando Estacio and Carlos Alonso Palate died, the peace process was considered closed, although the terrorist group later declared that "the process is not broken and the permanent ceasefire remains in force". The gang's activity during 2007, 2008 and 2009 resulted in two, four and three fatalities respectively. ETA perpetrated its last assassination to date on March 16, 2010, killing Jean Serge Nerin on French soil, assassinating a French policeman for the first time in its history. Six months after the gang's last assassination, on September 5, 2010, ETA issued a communiqué announcing that it would not carry out "offensive armed actions". On January 10, 2011, ETA issued a new communiqué, in which it spoke of a "permanent, general and verifiable ceasefire ". The main difference of this communiqué with respect to the previous one was that for the



first time it spoke of an internationally verifiable ceasefire, as had been suggested from Brussels, in addition to declaring that it renounced the continuation of extorting businessmen. On May 2, 2018, by means of an official communiqué, ETA declared the official dismantling of the organisation

2. Background information

WHAT IS TERRORISM?

As with other complex phenomena, there are different definitions of terrorism. There is no consensus among specialists on what terrorism is, but in almost all cases it is underlined that it is a tool to impose a certain political project by force, by instilling fear in opponents. We summarise the following elements of terrorism:

- **CLANDESTINE VIOLENCE:** Terrorism acts in a secret or hidden way to evade justice. Clandestinity in turn leads to greater isolation and radicalisation of the group.
- **GENERATES A CLIMATE OF FEAR:** The etymology of the word indicates that terrorism comes from terror, which is precisely what it is intended to provoke through this resource: intense fear among rivals.
- **SEEKS TO IMPOSE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES:** Behind terrorism there is a project of power, directed against some institution or organisation that is intended to be subdued through the use of force.
- **PROPAGANDA IMPACT:** Terrorist groups use the impact of their attacks to spread their demands.

Terrorist organisations of different ideologies have been active in Spain during the transition:

- **RADICAL NATIONALISTS:** The most bloody and long-lived terrorist group belongs to this tendency. It is ETA, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Country and Freedom). The different branches of this organisation are responsible for the death of more than 800 people between 1968 and 2010, in a violent campaign whose main objective was the independence of the Basque Country. In addition, in Catalonia, members of EPOCA (three fatalities) and Terra Lliure (one), in Galicia, members of the Exército Guerrilheiro do Povo Galego Ceive (two) and in the Canary Islands, members of MPAIAC (one), wanted to emulate ETA.
- **EXTREME LEFT:** The main exponent of this category was the GRAPO, Grupos Revolucionarios Antifascistas Primero de Octubre. Founded in 1975, they remained active until the first decade of the 21st century. They sought to establish a socialist republic in Spain by force. They are responsible for around 80 murders.
- **ULTRADERECHA:** Terrorism of this type was fragmented into different organisations: BVE, Batallón Vasco Español, Triple A (Alianza Apostólica Anticomunista) or GAE, Grupos Armados Españoles. Their main goals were to return to a dictatorship like Franco's and to respond to ETA with terrorism of the opposite sign. Some 60 murders are attributed to them between 1975 and 1982.



- **YIHADISTS:** Their aim is to establish a caliphate under an orthodox interpretation of Sharia, Islamic law. In Spain, the first attack of this type took place in 1985 in the El Descanso restaurant. Jihadist cells linked to Al Qaeda caused the biggest terrorist massacre in our history: the 11 March 2004 attacks in Madrid, which killed 193 people and injured hundreds. More recent are the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils on 17 August 2017, which killed 16 people and injured more than a hundred. These terrorist actions show that the jihadist threat is still present in Spain, as in many other countries.

Once we know what terrorism is, we can ask ourselves: how has it affected Spain throughout different historical stages? It is not the same to situate ourselves in the context of Franco's dictatorship as in the years of democracy, and both phases are different from the transition.

In dictatorships such as Franco's, different terrorist organisations also emerged. The first fatal victim of terrorism in Spain was the girl Begoña Urroz in 1960. She was hit in a train station in San Sebastián by the explosion of a bomb planted by the DRIL, Directorio Revolucionario Ibérico de Liberación (Iberian Revolutionary Liberation Directorate). In addition, before Franco's death, the ultra-left-wing GRAPO and the radical Basque nationalist ETA were born. After breaking with the PNV, ETA was founded in 1958. Its first fatal victim was the civilian traffic policeman José Pardines Arcay, in 1968.

ETA thus wanted to start a spiral of violence, consisting, first, of committing attacks; second, of provoking an aggressive response from the dictatorship; and third, of generating a current of sympathy for its cause among the Basque and Navarrese population. Few foresaw then that terrorism would continue after the dictatorship, with greater intensity than during it.

Contrary to what has sometimes been argued, the emergence of terrorism was not an inevitable consequence of the existence of a dictatorship in Spain. We have already seen that terrorism also arose at the same time in democratic countries around us. Moreover, the vast majority of the anti-Francoist opposition parties and trade unions did not resort to murder against the dictatorship, but to peaceful tools such as strikes, propaganda and demonstrations. Terrorism was the instrument of a minority that had irreversible consequences. In the case of ETA, it killed 43 people between 1968 and 1975.

Paradoxically, this choice of violent methods made the terrorists resemble the regime they claimed to oppose. Terrorism dehumanises, causes victims, and therefore never has a moral justification. All victims of terrorism are innocent: they did not deserve the harm caused to them.

DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

In November 1975, Franco's death ushered in a period of uncertainty and hope in Spain. The dictatorship had lasted 40 years, during which Franco exercised power in an authoritarian manner. His faithful wanted the regime he had founded to continue after his death. However, the majority of the population wanted a change so that Spain would no longer be a dictatorial exception in the European framework. The democracy sought by this majority implied, among other things, that the state would have a monopoly on the use of violence and would exercise it in accordance with the laws, at the head of which would be a constitution.

From 1976 onwards, a process began of dismantling the institutions of the Franco regime and gradually building up freedoms. Thanks to successive pardons and amnesties, by the end of 1977 all political prisoners and also those belonging to terrorist organisations such as ETA and the GRAPO had been released from prison, including those accused of murder. Crimes committed in the name of the Franco regime were also amnestied. The aim was to overcome a past of violence in favour of principles that



were very much in evidence at the time, such as reconciliation and consensus. However, those who had opted for terrorism refused to stop killing.

The Spanish Constitution, the basis of the new system of rights and freedoms, was approved by referendum in December 1978. In the following years, the State of Autonomies developed, thanks to the approval of the statutes of autonomy of the different nationalities and regions. Decentralisation came to replace the previous political and cultural standardisation of Francoism.

A minority wanted to destabilise this process of building democracy in order to impose their ideas on the rest by force. On the one hand, those nostalgic for Franco's regime tried to return to the dictatorship and attacked the rights that were being won, such as freedom of expression. For example, in 1977 the Triple A sent a parcel bomb to the editorial office of the satirical magazine *El Pápus*, killing the caretaker Joan Peñalver. The GRAPO, on the other hand, tried to carry out their own particular revolution with weapons and assassinated numerous policemen, civil guards, and businessmen.

The main terrorist threat to the nascent democracy was ETA, the most deadly organisation and the one with the strongest support, centred around the electoral coalition HB, *Herri Batasuna* (Popular Unity). The environment that justified and protected ETA was key to its survival. Thus, ETA and other related organisations killed 11 people in 1977, 66 in 1978, 80 in 1979 and 96 in 1980, the year with the most terrorist murders in Spain during the transition. At the same time as the main milestones of democratisation were being achieved (the amnesty, the Constitution, the autonomy statutes), the terrorists redoubled their efforts to destabilise the process.

In those years (1975-1982) there were certain extremist minorities who did not see their political rivals as people with rights, but as enemies to be eliminated in order to achieve their particular objectives. On 23 February 1981, reactionary sectors of the army staged a coup d'état. One of their main pretexts was the continuous attacks by ETA against the military, the police, etc. Democracy finally prevailed, but the transition was not a peaceful stage, but was shaken by strong violence.

In the early 1980s, democracy was consolidated in Spain. The coup d'état of February 1981 had failed and a path of European integration and economic, social and cultural modernisation was beginning. However, democracy continued to face various terrorist threats.

Democracy facilitates formulas for the peaceful resolution of conflicts through dialogue. In this sense, terrorism was increasingly seen as a marginal, extremist option. Terrorists, however, still had the capacity to cause pain and to threaten the freedoms of all.

Throughout the 1980s, ETA claimed numerous victims. For example, it was responsible for the attacks on the Guardia Civil barracks in Zaragoza, which killed 11 people (including five children) and the *Hipercor* supermarket in Barcelona, which killed 21 (including four children). The latter was the biggest terrorist massacre in Spain until 11 March.

In the 1980s, a type of vigilante terrorism also made its appearance, under the acronym GAL, *Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación* (Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups). Some public officials, policemen and civil guards were involved in this illegal plot. Its purpose was to combat ETA using the same methods. Between 1983 and 1987 the GAL committed 27 murders. Their case reminds us that the fight against terrorism must respect the rules of the rule of law to avoid being on a par with the terrorism it faces. The security forces, acting in accordance with the law, arrested numerous ETA members, including its successive leaders, in such a way that the gang was greatly weakened in the 1990s and, above all, in the first decade of the new century.

But the 21st century began with another threat: jihadism. Jihadism had been active in Spain before, for example in the bombing of the *El Descanso* restaurant in Madrid, which killed 18 people. But now it was back with a vengeance, as demonstrated by the 11 September 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers



in New York, perpetrated by the Al Qaeda organisation, or the 11 March 2004 attacks on four trains in Madrid, the biggest terrorist massacre ever in Spain, carried out by terrorist cells linked to Al Qaeda, as was declared proven in the National High Court ruling of 31 October 2007 in the judicial proceedings for these attacks. Fernando Reinares documents that the decision to carry out this terrorist act had been taken at the end of 2001 in Pakistan, within the framework of Al Qaeda's strategy of attacks against Western interests.

Islamist terrorism is still active today in different countries around the world, most recently Spain has suffered the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils, committed on 17 August 2017. Meanwhile, that other terrorism that has marked the history of Spain for several decades, that of ETA, ceased in 2011. The work of the Security Forces, together with the political, judicial and social response, reduced this gang to a minimum.

As for the social response to terrorism, the peace movement emerged in the mid-1980s. Organisations such as Gesto por la Paz or Denon Artean-Paz y Reconciliación called for silent rallies every time a new murder took place. Hundreds of citizens, including victims of terrorism, took part in these public acts. The pioneering AVT, the Association of Victims of Terrorism, had already been set up in 1981. Later, other groups and foundations were created, until the current thirty or so were created. Its work focuses on a series of demands: justice, truth, dignity and memory.

In the 1990s, Gesto por la Paz devised a campaign to demand the release of those kidnapped by terrorist organisations. It consisted of wearing a blue ribbon on their clothes. Between 1996 and 1997, prison officer José Antonio Ortega Lara was held by ETA for 532 days in a tiny, damp cell. This was the longest kidnapping ever in Spain, but ETA has kidnapped more than 80 people in its history.

The main demonstrations against terrorism in Spain took place around the 1997 kidnapping and murder of the young Ermua councillor Miguel Ángel Blanco by ETA and after the 11. March attacks. On those occasions millions of people took to the streets in cities and towns across Spain. One way in which citizens expressed their rejection of terrorist violence was by raising their hands in white. The demonstrators wanted to express that, unlike the terrorists, they did not have blood on their hands. After the jihadist terrorist attacks of 11 March 2004, the black ribbon was the expression of the rejection of such attacks and of solidarity with the victims.

Terrorism, in addition to the direct victims - the dead and wounded - and the material damage, causes another type of victim, the threatened. ETA is the group that has caused the greatest number of threatened victims. These are people who lived with the anguish of suffering an attack, who sometimes had to leave their homes and their land to seek safety in another part of Spain. Some were threatened because they belonged to certain groups targeted by ETA (members of the FSE, public officials of constitutionalist parties, intellectuals critical of terrorism, etc.). Others were part of the group of those threatened for various particular reasons, such as refusing to pay extortion money to ETA or being accused by the terrorists of anything that made them worthy of an attack. The terrorist threat forced thousands of people to live under police protection for years and others were forced to leave their homes and jobs to seek safety elsewhere.

DEMOCRACY

At the beginning of the 1980s, democracy was consolidated in Spain. The coup d'état of February 1981 had failed and a path of European integration and economic, social and cultural modernization was beginning. However, democracy had to continue to face different terrorist threats.



Democracy provides formulas for the peaceful and dialogued resolution of conflicts. In this sense, terrorism was seen more and more clearly as a marginal option, typical of extremist sectors. Terrorists, however, still had the capacity to cause pain and threaten the freedoms of all.

Throughout the 1980s ETA caused numerous victims. For example, it was responsible for the attacks against the Guardia Civil barracks in Zaragoza, with a death toll of 11 (including five children) and against the Hipercor supermarket in Barcelona, which resulted in 21 fatalities (of which four were children). The latter was the biggest terrorist massacre in Spain until 11. March

In the eighties a type of parapolitical terrorism also made its appearance, framed under the acronym GAL, Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups). Some public officials, policemen and civil guards were involved in this illegal plot. Its purpose was to combat ETA using the same methods. Between 1983 and 1987 the GAL committed 27 murders. Their case reminds us that the fight against terrorism must respect the rule of law to avoid being on a par with the terrorism it faces.

The Security Forces and Corps, acting in accordance with the law, arrested numerous members of ETA, including its successive leaders, in such a way that the gang was already very weakened in the nineties and, above all, in the first decade of the new century.

But the 21st century began with another threat: jihadism. Jihadism had already acted previously in Spain, for example by means of a bomb against the El Descanso restaurant in Madrid, where 18 people died. But now it was back with virulence, as demonstrated by the attacks of September 11, 2001 against the Twin Towers in New York, perpetrated by the Al Qaeda organization, or the attacks of March 11, 2004 on four trains in Madrid, the largest terrorist massacre ever in Spain, carried out by terrorist cells linked to Al Qaeda, as was declared proven in the judgment of the National Court of October 31, 2007, handed down in the judicial process following those attacks. Fernando Reinares documents that the decision to carry out this terrorist act had been taken at the end of 2001 in Pakistan, within the framework of Al Qaeda's strategy of attacks against Western interests.

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As for the social response to terrorism, the pacifist movement emerged in the mid-1980s. Entities such as Gesto por la Paz or Denon Artean-Paz y Reconciliación called silent rallies every time a new murder took place. Hundreds of citizens, including victims of terrorism, participated in these public acts. The pioneering AVT, Association of Victims of Terrorism, was born in 1981. Later, other groups and foundations would be created, until reaching the thirty that exist today. Their work focuses on a series of demands: justice, truth, dignity and memory.

In the 1990s Gesto por la Paz devised a campaign to demand the release of those kidnapped by terrorist organizations. It consisted of wearing a blue ribbon on their clothes. Between 1996 and 1997 the prison officer José Antonio Ortega Lara remained 532 days in the hands of ETA, locked up in a tiny, damp cell.

This was the longest kidnapping ever in Spain, but throughout its history ETA has kidnapped more than 80 people.

The main demonstrations against terrorism in Spain took place around the kidnapping and murder in 1997 of the young Ermua town councilor Miguel Angel Blanco, at the hands of ETA, and after the 11 March attacks. On those occasions millions of people took to the streets in cities and towns all over



Spain. One way in which citizens expressed their rejection of terrorist violence was by raising their hands in white. The demonstrators wanted to express that, unlike the terrorists, their hands were not stained with blood. After the jihadist terrorist attacks of March 11, 2004, the black ribbon was the expression of the rejection of such attacks and of solidarity with the victims.

Conclusion:

Terrorism, in addition to the direct victims -dead and wounded- and the material damage, causes the existence of another type of victims, the threatened ones. ETA is the group that has caused the greatest number of threatened victims. These are people who lived with the anguish of suffering an attack, who sometimes had to leave their homes and their land to take refuge in another part of Spain. Some of those threatened were threatened because they belonged to certain groups that were targeted by ETA (members of the FSE, public officials of constitutionalist parties, intellectuals critical of terrorism, etc.). Others were part of the group threatened for various particular reasons, such as having refused to pay extortion to ETA or being accused by the terrorists of anything that made them worthy of an attack. The terrorist threat forced thousands of people to live under police protection for years, and others were forced to leave their homes and jobs to seek safety elsewhere.

ETA's violence is the main challenge to democracy as far as terrorist organizations are concerned.

Among the shadows of the transition period are several terrorist attacks: the assassination of ETA member Pertur by, possibly, members of his own organization, the attack against Cubillo by persons belonging to the Spanish police services, according to the sentence of the Audiencia Nacional. The same situation affects the possible instrumentalization of GRAPO by a foreign information service and the actions of the so-called Spanish Basque Battalion, as the embryo of what would become the GAL. Finally, there are many shadows with regard to the collaboration received and the signalling of targets to the extreme right-wing commandos. Acting in the late Francoist period, and even in the first phase of the transition, by members of the different information services and security forces. These security forces who, having been trained as professionals during the dictatorship, would have contravened the orders received from the governments presided over by Arias and Suarez and sought to destabilise Spanish life in order to give arguments to the coup plotters.



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3. Training material: Exercises for group activities

Activity: terrorism in Spain as a pressure in the political transition

Activity title	TERRORISM IN SPAIN AS A PRESSURE IN THE POLITICAL TRANSITION
Overview	<p>We will use a methodological structure around each of the topics that follows a common pattern divided into five sections, adapted from the approaches of Inquiry Learning. The sessions on the content covered: "Terrorism and political transition in Spain: from dictatorship to democracy (1975-1982)", will follow this structure:</p> <p>QUESTION</p> <p>This phase is made up of one or several questions that guide the work through the topic. It is intended to promote discussion and reflection on the content to be covered. After the debate, the teacher makes a theoretical presentation of the topic that can last for a class of one hour.</p> <p>RESEARCH</p> <p>At this point, students are offered a series of resources (readings, presentations on the subject of terrorism) that are recommended and that help to understand and deepen the questions proposed in the previous phase. For example, to know the historical context of the events that took place.</p> <p>CREA</p> <p>At this point, students are asked to elaborate a practical proposal in which the contents worked on in the previous phase are applied. A set of indicators can be established regarding the type of document to be elaborated, as well as the conditions for its elaboration.</p> <p>DISCUSS</p> <p>Afterwards, the proposals generated by the rest of the classmates are reviewed and a constructive criticism is generated to establish an improvement for each trio or work group.</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● To recognize the terrorist organizations that have acted in Spain, differentiating their periods of activity. ● To value the response given to terror by State institutions and citizens. ● To analyze the testimonies of the victims of terrorism. ● To identify the actions of terrorist groups.



Materials	<p>The following is suggested as possible session structures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Start from a previous work of the students through different searches and sources of information: news, definitions, interviews to victims, documentaries, etc. - Develop a list of basic concepts that help students to contextualise the situation. - Organize the work in small groups to respond to a given question (socio-political context, terrorist groups in different periods, terrorist acts, consequences, social and institutional responses) based on the documentation provided (news, texts or photos). - Sharing, resolution of questions and debate to clarify different points of view. - Synthesise the most relevant aspects addressed.
Time	<p>1,5 Hours (90 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 30 minutes to read and study the topics that have been awarded. ● 30 minutes to seek as much information as possible to help us defend our position before the start of the debate. ● 30 minutes to debate and defend our issue
Group size	<p>10 – 12 persons (2 teams, 5 or 6 for team)</p>
Instructions for trainers	<p>Once the objectives are clear, in order to achieve them, it is recommended, as far as possible, that the participants play an active role by investigating, analyzing and discussing terrorism and some of the most relevant events. We highlight five basic lines with the methodological aspects of this proposal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Knowledge about the subject matter. - Critical analysis of the incidence of terrorism in the social sphere. - Reflection on the position that each one takes. - Decision-making on the intervention in different situations where violence and conflict can be generated. <p>These four axes are the backbone of the teaching action lines. They are intended to generate a reflective and critical thinking regarding situations of violence and terrorism in our context.</p>
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>It is recommended to provide students with information that allows them to carry out different activities of synthesis and analysis related to:</p> <p>Individual search of news from the period studied related to the topic. Analysis of different questions about the context, the motives for the terrorist actions, the consequences and the institutional and social responses.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Critical appraisal of different journalistic documents about the events dealt with. - Design of "timelines" from the information distributed by the teachers. For example, a mural can be made in which each student places in



	<p>chronological order information that responds to different questions (context, event, terrorist group, consequences, institutional and social responses, victims' statements).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comparison of terrorism in the different periods studied. - Analysis of the impact of terrorist acts on the life of a society through the testimonies of the victims. <p>This learning standard could be divided, among others, into the following evaluation criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identifies the terrorist organizations that have acted in Spain, differentiating their periods of activity. - Knows the institutional and social responses given to terrorist processes. - Is sensitive to the testimonies of the victims of terrorism. - Participates actively in the processes of collection, organisation and analysis of information (leaving evidence of it in their portfolio), as well as in the debates generated from it. - Provides argued peaceful solutions to the problem of terrorism. <p>In order to be able to evaluate the learning process, teachers and students can have different records during the course of the activities developed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The documents elaborated by the students in the information search processes. - The work done in the classroom (chronograms or timelines, arguments on peaceful solutions to the problems of terrorism, answers to different questions posed, etc.). - The expositions in the common debates and discussions based on the work carried out. <p>It would be interesting if the students were to elaborate a portfolio with all these materials in which the process developed would be recorded. The degree of formal and reflective elaboration of this portfolio would be an additional source for evaluation.</p>
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<p>Tips for trainers</p>	<p>The key competences to be developed with this unit are the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Competence in linguistic communication since it will be essential for the completion of the activities related to comprehensive reading, the ability to produce texts as well as adequate oral expression. - Digital competence since it will be necessary to use the technological means of information and communication to complete some of the activities. - Social and civic competence since the student will have to put him/herself in the place of the victim in order to understand the importance of peaceful coexistence.
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Challenges that might occur: .

- Different political ideals in the target groups. Confrontation.
- Different ethnicities in the target groups. Faith.
- Historical differences depending on the opinions of the authors consulted.

Remark:

The final evaluation can be carried out jointly by teachers and students based on different criteria such as:

- Fulfilment of the tasks of collecting information and organising it.
- Sensitivity towards the victims of terrorism.
- Knowledge of the subject (contexts, terrorist groups in each period, consequences, institutional and social responses, or statements by victims).
- Argumentative and context-appropriate contributions to the peaceful resolution of terrorist conflicts.



4. Interactive learning

Activity 1: Kahoot: terrorism during the spanish transition

Activity title	KAHOOT: TERRORISM DURING THE SPANISH TRANSITION
Overview	<p>Kahoot! is a very useful tool for teachers and students to learn and review concepts in an entertaining way, as if it were a quiz. The most common way is through quiz questions, although there is also room for discussion and debate.</p> <p>Finding a game or application that adapts exactly to the theme of a class or group is complicated, and that is why one of the main advantages of Kahoot! is that anyone can create the content for a game, no matter what type it is. In our case we have chosen the theme of "Terrorism during the Spanish transition".</p> <p>Kahoot has the potential to motivate students, since the sooner the answer is given, the more points can be earned if the answer chosen is the correct one. Each participant must have his or her own device if we want to play individually so that he or she can mark it on it. If we do it as a group, each team will have its own device. Both methods enhance the competitive nature, which is a lot of fun.</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning while having fun • Reinforcement tool, as the questions are too short to go into detail. • Participating in cooperative activities causes participants' brains to release dopamine, which promotes information storage and long-term memory and reduces anxiety.
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pc, laptop, smartphones, tablets, internet connection, paper and pens.
Time	30 minutes
Group size	15 – 20
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trainers must correctly differentiate the use of Kahoot and its 4 possibilities, and choose the one that best suits the content we want to convey. • To make the activity more complete, we suggest the trainers to develop each of the 4 options offered by Kahoot, since with it they will achieve all the objectives we pursue, such as: learning, debate, constructive discussion, etc.
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>Once a Kahoot has been created, other people, players must join in by entering a PIN code in the mobile application. In this way, the cell phone becomes a remote control with which they can easily answer the questions, while the screen displays the question and who is winning.</p> <p>Kahoot will be an appropriate option for the evaluation of certain of the contents on the topic we are working on and provides the trainer with immediate feedback on the progress of the participants. With the information the student receives After</p>



	taking the test, the student can learn more about the points on which he/she should focus and study more.
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u> .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• One of the drawbacks of Kahoot is the speed with which you have to answer and the difficulty some participants have in reading the question, all the answers and responding.• Its use should be rationed so that participants want it and look forward to an evaluation with this tool.• Difficulty for everyone to progress at the same time. <p><u>Remark:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• After the above, we recommend the use of Kahoot for online activities, as a motivational tool to improve the learning process and make the participants an active part of it. Kahoot is another way to evaluate, fun and enjoyable. Participants learn, remember and reinforce without realizing it, and we make them lose their fear of content evaluation. Let's not forget that evaluating is not the same as grading and we should not use Kahoot for this. Let's make learning meaningful and make participants lose the fear of that dreaded evaluation. Let's take advantage of these tools to improve our teaching process.



Activity 2: Crossword: terrorism during the spanish transition

Activity title	CROSSWORD: TERRORISM DURING THE SPANISH TRANSITION
Overview	<p>The crossword puzzles are intended for students to practice their level on the subject in an entertaining way. Therefore, we propose a series of crosswords with questions about "terrorism during the Spanish transition" that they will have to solve skillfully.</p> <p>This website is free, you only need to register as a user. Nor is it necessary to install any app or mobile application, as it can be done from any browser.</p> <p>Participants must find the words that are related to each of the descriptions provided by the game. The one who manages to solve all the words in the shortest time will be the winner of the game.</p>
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To promote gamified learning. • Understand the basic concepts studied in the classroom. • Improve attention and information retention. • Promote concentration, memory, attention... •
Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pc, laptop, smartphones, tablets, internet connection, paper and pens.
Time	30 minutes
Group size	15 – 20
Instructions for trainers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The different descriptions made can be accompanied by drawings and images to help in the pictures to help in recognizing them. • Providing the students with the correct or incorrect answer will help them to advance in the activity. advance in the activity. • Allow students to work in pairs and help each other with the crossword puzzle. the crossword puzzle. • Give guidelines for the completion of the activity, step by step.
Debriefing and evaluation	<p>Use rubrics for the evaluation of the activity in which different items such as: knowledge of the topic, spelling, use and to insufficient for different items such as: knowledge of the subject, spelling, use and use and management of ICTs, content, etc.</p> <p>Students can finally see what their score has been in a ranking by groups or individually.</p>
Tips for trainers	<p><u>Challenges that might occur:</u> .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before creating the activity, check the level of knowledge of the students in order to be able to adapt it to be able to adapt it appropriately.



- This activity should be done as a complement to the concepts and knowledge that have been previously knowledge that have been previously seen in class.
- Avoid interferences and interruptions at the time of the activity, so that the students' concentration does not so that the concentration of our students is not impaired.

Remark:

- We must keep in mind that the activity is focused on participants who have not had close contact with the topic being developed. Therefore, we must ensure that they have read and analyzed the other resources that we have uploaded to the platform, in order to successfully execute this activity.



Creative commons advice

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