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50 years of Scholarship on the Southern European Transitions: A Comparative Approach
Dossier. 50 years of Scholarship on the Southern European Democratic Transitions: A Comparative Approach

Social change, protest and participation in Greece, Portugal and Spain

Changement social, protestation et participation en Grèce, au Portugal et en Espagne

Cambio social, protesta y participación en Grecia, Portugal y España

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Résumés

English Français Español
This article surveys and compares recent research on protest and transitions in Spain, Portugal and Greece. It charts how this body of work has paid increasing attention to questions of gender, culture, race and sexuality; to the interaction between multiple actors, and to the role of transnational processes. It also shows how each national historiography has developed different concerns and approaches: culture, identities and the post-transition era are more central to Greek debates. In Iberia, the late authoritarian period receives more attention; Spain reveals a greater wealth of local case studies; and revolutionary politics are central to the Portuguese case. This survey aims to encourage cross-polination between research on and across all three cases.

Cet article examine et compare les recherches récentes sur la contestation et les transitions en Espagne, au Portugal et en Grèce. Il montre comment ce corpus de travaux a accordé une attention croissante aux questions de genre, de culture, de race et de sexualité, à l'interaction entre de multiples acteurs et au rôle des processus transnationaux. Il montre également comment chaque historiographie nationale a développé des préoccupations et des approches différentes : la culture, les identités et la période de post-transition sont plus centrales dans les débats grecs. Dans la péninsule Ibérique, la période autoritaire tardive reçoit plus d'attention ; l'Espagne révèle une plus grande richesse d'études de cas locales ; et les politiques révolutionnaires sont centrales dans le cas du Portugal. Cette étude vise à encourager la polinisation croisée entre les recherches sur et à travers les trois cas.

En este artículo se analizan y comparan investigaciones recientes sobre protestas y transiciones en España, Portugal y Grecia. Se demuestra cómo estos trabajos han prestado cada vez más atención a las cuestiones de género, cultura, raza y sexualidad; a la interacción entre múltiples actores, y al papel de los procesos transnacionales. También muestra cómo cada historiografía nacional ha desarrollado preocupaciones y enfoques diferentes: la cultura, las identidades y la época posterior a la Transición ocupan un lugar más central en los debates griegos. En la Península Ibérica el periodo autoritario tardío recibe más atención: España revela una mayor riqueza de estudios de casos locales; y la política revolucionaria es central en el caso portugués. Este estudio pretende fomentar la polinización cruzada entre las investigaciones sobre y a través de los tres casos.

Texte intégral

Introduction: “Two, Three, Many Transitions”

1 In approximately the past two decades, the study of the transitions to democracy in Greece, Portugal and Spain has passed from the domains of sociology and political science, which dominated the topic in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and into the hands of cultural studies experts (particularly for Spain) and historians. Like the present authors, most researchers that have been recently working on the topic are themselves of a generation once removed from the politics of the Transition and bring with them a range of new perspectives and questions. Many of these perspectives are influenced by concepts and approaches from the social sciences–such as social movement theory–but they also reflect wider debates in social, cultural and political history and, accompanying the transnational turn in historical research, seek to bring Southern European trajectories into broader conversations about social and political change at a European, or even global level.

2 In the aftermath of the Transitions, the leading social science interpretations of the Southern European cases focused on political elites ushering in new political systems made necessary by the process of modernisation. At an extreme, such works collapsed the Transitions in the three countries into an homogenising ‘wave’ of democratisation[1]. By the late 1990s, and particularly the early 2000s, mirroring the growing attention across the social sciences and humanities to protest (even violent, anti-democratic protest) and its political and social effects, several authors called for a re-evaluation of the role of social movements in Southern Europe in challenging authoritarianism. These works pushed the attention away from the short-term crises of the dictatorship, towards longer processes of change and to a broader constellation of collective actors[2].

3 Meanwhile, recent work on protest and transitions has also extended the temporality of the latter. This has been more noticeable in Portugal and Spain, where the question of opposition (or its absence) against long-lived dictatorships, and their relation to the Transition gains more attention. There historians have looked back to the 1960s and early 1970s for crucial processes of social and political change creating the conditions of possibility for the end of authoritarianism. In Greece, where the dictatorship was much shorter (1967-1974), attention has instead tended to look forward, to the creation and development of new political identities, cultures and movements. While some recent work has sought to integrate Greek movements around the era of transition into the political, social and cultural history of the European ‘long 1960s’–as evidenced in the work of Kornetis, Papadogiannis and Glystras[3]–most historical and interdisciplinary research on protest and the transitions in Greece focuses on the late dictatorship era (early 1970s) and the *Metapolitefsi*, commencing in 1974[4]. Our article echoes the different starting points that the aforementioned research employs for each of these cases, but for all three the article covers the era until the early to mid-1980s. While research on the *Metapolitefsi* in Greece offers diverse potential endpoints for this era, the early 1980s marked a turning point regarding social movements. New protest

subjects emerged, such as those running squats in Athens and Salonica, whereas the new Socialist government, which won the 1981 general election, tried to implement some of the demands that social movements had posed in 1974-1981[5]. In Spain, the early 1980s witnessed ruptures both in terms of the transition to democracy and of protest. Spanish scholarship usually construes the Socialist victory in the 1982 general election as the end of the *Transición* and as the beginning of *pasotismo* (dropping out) that succeeded the immediate post-1975 political and sexual euphoria[6]. In the case of Portugal, the 1982 revisions to the constitution removing military oversight are often seen as marking the end of the political transition, whilst levels of protest and labour conflict, which had already dropped significantly after 1975, see a further decline from the mid-1980s onwards[7].

4 Our article surveys a body of work that we argue shows that the peoples of Greece, Portugal and Spain were not only the makers of their own modernity, but did so by creatively engaging with social change, and with ideas and models from across the world, often long before (and after) the Transitions. We argue that these historiographies have followed overlapping, albeit not identical, paths. This article is among the few that explore jointly protests in those countries as a means of reflecting on such variations. Rather than collapsing the cases into a general model of transition, as earlier research based on political science did, we reflect on their differences[8]. Simultaneously and despite such imbalances, we demonstrate how historical and interdisciplinary research on protest has helped refine the study of political developments before, during and after the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Southern Europe by illuminating a widening range of social conflicts and their transnational dimensions.

5 We present our survey in a number of steps. We first analyse the three subjects that have attracted most attention in relevant historical and interdisciplinary research: militant workers, radical students and feminists. We then explore other social movements that have been gaining the attention of historians. Finally, we show the contribution of historical and interdisciplinary research on protest and transition on the study of the manner, time and place of political developments in Southern Europe in the 1960s-1970s in general.

Collective actors and the fall of the Dictatorships

6 While the 'high politics' view of the Transitions dominated analyses into the 1990s, some discordant voices argued grassroots actors had, in one way or another, shaped such processes. Amongst others, Bermeo argued that popular mobilisation (including extreme and violent acts) was a key part of the pressures leading 'pivotal elites' to opt for democratisation as a compromise[9]. Writing on Spain, Pérez-Díaz looked to worker mobilisations, lay religious associations and business organisations to argue for the development of a pro-democracy 'civil society' as a precondition for a country's transition to democracy. By the turn of the millennium these synthetic arguments were being fleshed out with greater attention to the role of collective actors in the Transitions. Workers, students, women, urban and rural movements, growing in intensity from the early 1960s, have figured prominently in the new historiography of protest and transitions in Portugal and Spain, and to a lesser extent Greece. Taken as a whole, this body of work started showing how social movements were not only a symptom of crisis in the regimes, but also contributed to the delegitimation of the dictatorships, and actively shaped the politics of transition.

Labour movements: between party and grassroots

7 The most visible and historiographically established of these actors is the labour movement. In both Portugal and Spain, the growth in numbers and confidence of labour mobilisations in the final decade of authoritarianism is increasingly seen as significant contributor to the demise of dictatorships. Both authoritarian regimes had outlawed and repressed independent workers' organisations, seeking to channel representation through regime-controlled sectoral corporations and unions. Nevertheless, with increasing frequency and commitment, working conditions, pay and other work-related issues were contested by a new generation of workers, a process charted by early post-transition histories of labour particularly in the 1980s and 1990s[10]. Since the 1990s, the focus of labour history has expanded and diversified its interests. Whilst earlier works tended to emphasise the 'heroic' struggle against the dictatorship, more recently, the role of these movements in the process of transition itself has been more marked, cutting across the poles of the 'moderation' versus 'transgression' debate, particularly in contrasting the role of labour in Spain's 'pacted' Transition with Portugal's revolutionary experience. For instance, building on a rich historiography, Domènech argues that the Spanish workers' movement was critical in catalysing the development of a broader oppositional civil society (a theme we will return to later). For Domènech this movement also contributed to the process of reform that followed the death of Franco, even if it lacked the strength to generate a rupture[11]. When it comes to Portugal, Noronha's important recent contributions on the creation of labour power in revolutionary Portugal underscore the contrast with the Spanish trajectory[12]. While growing in scale and boldness during the final years of the regime, the Portuguese labour movement lacked the scale and autonomy of the *Comisiones Obreras*. However, in the aftermath of the 25 April 1974 coup, Noronha shows how strikes and other worker mobilisations helped generate a 'crisis of state power'. The strikes precipitated not only the fall of the provisional *Junta* led by General Spínola in September 1974, but also seriously challenged the dominance of the Portuguese Communist Party over the labour movement, which had been built over the last decade of the dictatorship. This wave of mobilisation created the conditions under which the legitimacy of mobilised workers "had to be recognized and sovereignty rebuilt on different foundations, with the demands put forth by social movements acquiring the status of a source of law"[13].

8 In both Iberian countries, the radical nature of grassroots mobilisations went hand in hand with the emergence of myriad 'new left' political movements that sought to break free from the hegemony of the Communist and Socialist traditions in the labour movement and in opposition. From the mid-1960s, groups variously influenced by strands of Maoism, Trotskyism and other forms of Marxism formed or split from existing (underground) party organisations[14]. Sometimes, as in the case of the Portuguese LUAR, the Basque ETA, as well as other Spanish groups, they advocated a more confrontational stance, including violent action. Most often they shared with counterparts in other parts of Europe (with whom links were kept, and reinforced during the Transitions, as we shall see below) a belief in the imminence of revolution, a voluntarist attitude to change, and willingness to proselytise directly amongst the 'people'[15]. Thinking transnationally, these could be seen as part of a 'Mediterranean New Left' emerging from the mid-1960s which gained ground hand in hand with growing social mobilisation in the region through, but also beyond, the watershed year of 1968[16]. This wider range of political actors has attracted increasing attention from historians, a development not unrelated to the re-emergence of an alternative left in both countries in the last twenty years[17]. In general, this literature has shied away from linking directly the actions of new left groups to the radicality and autonomy of labour and other grassroots mobilisations, wary of stoking readings that saw them as manipulated by militant revolutionaries. Yet, a more nuanced picture is emerging that shows how militancy and engagement often led to encounters between activists (many young and middle-class) and workers, as will be discussed below.

9 In contrast, working-class mass mobilisation in Greece was minimal during the dictatorship years. Labour activism gained momentum within Greece after 1974 and has

been the subject of relevant research. Complementing earlier work by Voulgaris and Ioannou, recent research has illuminated further aspects of workers' protests[18]. Serntedakis argues that factory occupations in 1975-77 were the seedbed of radical subjects who challenged the prevalence of political parties in the workers' movement[19]. This work is also helping reframe earlier readings of the labour movements during the *Metapolitefsi*, which argued that the political parties with experienced cadres were able to frame and guide an inexperienced rank-and-file[20]. This recent research offers a more nuanced approach to protest patterns: in parallel to the cases of Portugal and Spain, it shows that parties competed with new forms of mass mobilisation beyond their control.

University Students

10 As was the case elsewhere across the long 1960s, students were a significant actor in the three Southern European transitions[21]. Across the three countries the number of students enrolled in higher education grew roughly five-fold between the 1940s and 1970s[22]. In Spain and Portugal, university students began agitating for university autonomy and student representation in their institutions in the early 1960s. Facing strong repression, student organisations became increasingly critical of the regime, and many students joined opposition groups[23]. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, university students would be the basis of many opposition organisations, and the vector of dissemination of radical left ideas and militancy[24]. University students were also central to other forms of action which, while not outwardly oppositional, arguably contributed to the dissemination of democratic ideals and practices. These ranged from reading and discussion groups to film clubs, via social work or volunteering–as was the case with the young people who took part in rescue efforts following the catastrophic floods of 1967 in the outskirts of Lisbon, a key moment of political awakening for this generation[25]. Across Southern Europe, historians have been paying greater attention to youth cultural practices as loci of intellectual exploration, personal freedom and the development of an 'anti-authoritarian culture'[26].

11 In Greece, student militancy experienced a pause after the 1967 *coup d'état* but re-emerged in the final years of the dictatorship culminating in the Polytechnic Uprising in 1973 and perpetuating after the collapse of the militaristic regime in 1974. Student protests on the eve of and during the *Metapolitefsi* have received growing attention in works on social movements published in the 2010s. Kostis Kornetis has shown how the student movement developed in ways not envisioned by the left-wing organisations that sought to steer it[27]. Student protest also remained high after 1974 (a contrast with the Iberian countries where it abated significantly). Papadogiannis' work on a variety of social movements, including student protest, in Greece in 1974-1981 challenges the argument that the later 1970s witnessed in Western Europe in general a 'retreat into the private'[28]. Meanwhile, historical research, especially that of Dimitris Sklavenitis, has also explored the various manifestations of high school student protest since 1974[29].

Gender, Feminisms and the Transitions

12 At the turn of the millennium, several historians of Spain pointed to the absence of consideration of women and women's movements from histories of opposition to Franco's regime and the transition, and similar points could be made about the historiography of the transitions in Greece and Portugal[30]. Arguing for the need to better account for and understand the role of women through, but also beyond feminist groups, these authors called for greater attention to be paid to how Spanish women became increasingly active in local associations, labour movements or even the regime's own conservative women's organisations[31]. Women's movements, Threlfall argues, placed the politics of gender on the agenda of parties and government (including divorce and reproductive rights), and helped politicise a female electorate who engaged

fully with the process of democratization. Whilst agreeing in general, Radcliff's work is more circumspect regarding their ability to cement a post-authoritarian ideal of equal citizenship, pointing to the many resistances and contradictions that characterize the politics of gender in Spain after the Transition[32].

13 Between these two positions, Spanish historians have over the past twenty years produced a wealth of research on women's activism in Spain in various contexts and locations, and particularly establishing a strong tradition in the use of oral history. Radcliff's study of housewives and family associations through the late Franco period, the transition and democratic era shows women making significant political claims articulated through frames and identities built around the Dictatorships' paternalistic and pro-family discourse. This both brought women into the public sphere and helped de-legitimise the regime by highlighting its failings in the areas it claimed to protect the most: the home and the family[33]. Moreover, as Díaz Silva shows, the construction of 'housewife' identities also emerged in relation to imported US American representations of the ideal female 'consumer citizen', as a modern, autonomous and active actor in a modern society[34]. In a recent article, Kornetis explores attitudes to gender and sexuality across wider society and student and activist milieus in the final years of the dictatorship, noting both a broadening of the debate and changing attitudes, but also the limits imposed by both formal censorship and the values and attitudes of male-dominated opposition movements[35]. Nevertheless, Kornetis also suggests that Spanish women could access a more advanced debate on feminist politics than their counterparts in Greece or Portugal[36].

14 Compared with Spain, the contribution of women to the opposition and the Transition in Portugal remains a much less well-studied area. However, several works have explored the development of feminism in opposition to the dictatorship and through the Revolution, including the introduction of new debates and terminology through women's magazines in the late 1960s and early 1970s[37]. With the exception of the communist-linked *Movimento Democrático de Mulheres*, there was little in the way of organised feminist movements in Portugal before the Revolution. In 1972, however, the issue gained international notoriety when the regime banned the book *New Portuguese Letters*, a collection of reflections by three Portuguese female authors on, among other things, gender, patriarchy and sexuality. Once the regime fell other organisations were formed, with the most significant being the more autonomous and heterogenous, but largely Marxist in inspiration, *Movimento de Libertação da Mulher* (MLM), which emerged out of the campaign in support of the book's authors[38]. The literature highlights some paradoxes in the trajectory of Portuguese feminism during the Transition. First, while the Revolution swept away the power of the dictatorship's moral conservatism, the tumultuous politics of the period did not afford feminism the space to articulate autonomous demands. With the struggle to build a socialist society (or rather, the struggle between contending visions of a socialist society) prominent, feminist agendas were subsumed into or solely framed through class-based arguments, reinforced by the prevalence of double-militancy in feminist and radical political parties[39]. However, despite these serious obstacles, and possessing a less well-established feminist movement than in Spain, Melo argues that Portugal's revolutionary trajectory created the conditions for feminists to make some early legislative gains, particularly in areas where gender and class intersected (such as equal pay legislation), but also the liberalisation of divorce and publicly funded family planning[40].

15 In Greece, as in Portugal, feminist movements only became visible after the Transition. While women had been active in the Polytechnic Uprising in 1973, they had not developed feminist initiatives until the late 1970s[41]. The latter embraced the demand for autonomy from political parties. The feminist movement of the 1970s and 1980s was also the seedbed of historical research on gender within the framework of modern Greek historiography. Despite institutional bias against women's and gender history, the latter gained momentum since the 1980s and, particularly, since the late 1990s. One of its key contributions has been to shed light on under-researched forms of activism in the 19th and 20th century, such as the above-mentioned women's networks

that were not controlled by the established political parties[42]. In this vein, feminist historians such as Maria Repousi have also studied facets of the women's movement in the 1970s[43].

Beyond worker, student and feminist movements

16 Historical and interdisciplinary research on protest and transition has also recently began expanding to new protest subjects in Greece, Portugal and Spain. In the cases of Spain and Portugal, a growing body of work has charted how a number of other areas became increasingly politicised and the focus of mobilisations of consequence. These include struggles over necessities such as water, housing, or healthcare, which were at the heart of widespread movements that emerged in Portugal and Spain through the late authoritarian period and would play an important role in the politics of the Transition. The growing number of industrial workers, shop attendants and domestic servants that populated the mushrooming peripheries of cities, in recently built developments or hastily put together shantytowns created new community identities, often through organising to demand attention and intervention from local authorities[44]. In Spain, once the regime eased conditions on the formation of local associations, a movement of formal neighbourhood associations emerged which proved both a route into oppositionist activism for many, as the work of Radcliff and others has argued[45]. Following on this path, historians such as Webster or Ofer have looked at sites as different as the mining towns of Asturias, the outskirts of Madrid, or the poor neighbourhoods of Seville, to show how communities were built around the necessities of sharing childcare across working mothers, accessing water, electricity and other essential services, and how from the early 1960s onwards these were mobilised into protest[46]. In Portugal, although not absent, such local mobilisations remained less visible until shortly after the April 1974 coup. At that point thousands of municipal homes empty or under construction were seized by people from poor neighbourhoods, and hundreds of residents' associations were formed in the country's largest cities. Soon these would become a vehicle for direct political participation for many and a key player in the politics of the Revolution, courted by the army and all political forces[47].

17 Such micro-histories of mobilisation also highlight the presence of Catholic organisations and activists in close contact with grassroots organisations. Whilst most often identified as a pillar of the Iberian authoritarian regimes, the Catholic Church, or currents within it, are increasingly seen as important allies and routes into political opposition for many. Amongst the lower clergy and lay organisations, many Catholics (although clearly not all) began taking positions critical of the regimes[48]. Attracted by the social reform agenda set out by the II Vatican Council, many middle-class young people, particularly university students, joined Catholic youth organisations which developed an increasingly progressive outlook, such as the *Juventude Universitária Católica* (JUC) in Portugal. By the early 1970s, this Catholic opposition focused on denouncing Portugal's colonial wars, gaining national and international visibility by holding an open vigil against the war at a Lisbon church in 1971, leading to dozens of arrests[49]. While such visible acts of opposition have been better studied, new perspectives are being opened on the role of clerics and Catholic activists in supporting the mobilisation of workers and poor neighbourhoods. Recent work on Spanish Catholic workers' organisations has argued these were spaces that, although framed within a conservative outlook, led many young men and women from the working and lower middle classes to develop habits of participation and organisation, as well as contact with others and the realities of poverty and inequality that led many to militancy in opposition groups[50]. On account of their pastoral work in poor communities 'worker priests', nuns or social workers trained and sponsored through Catholic organisations were often seen supporting the creation of neighbourhood groups, offering spaces for community meetings and helping to draft petitions in their areas[51].

18 Rural movements are another subject that has gained increasing attention in Portugal and Spain. Aside from a landmark work by Bermeo on Portuguese rural movements during the revolutionary period, accounts of the Transitions focused almost exclusively on the politics that played itself out on the capitals or cities of Southern Europe[52]. Rural areas were often portrayed as in stasis and decline, places people left in search of work in the city or abroad. However, a growing number of studies paint a different picture, uncovering continued traditions of (at times violent) protest with new forms of organization and collective action that would become visible and significant during the Transitions, as shown in the contributions to an important volume on rural movements in Portugal and Spain[53]. Inspired by post-colonial historiographies, several scholars have rejected the image of a passive rural population and uncovered forms of passive resistance and other 'weapons of the weak'[54]. Amongst these was the decision to emigrate, even illegally, as hundreds of thousands of Portuguese did in the 1960s and 1970s. Those individuals challenged the grip of traditional hierarchies in the villages they left behind, and served as a conduit to different forms of living and thinking[55]. Leaving, not necessarily to escape poverty, but also to avoid conscription into the Portuguese army fighting liberation movements in Africa, is also seen as a form of resistance by Cardina and Martins[56]. During and beyond the transitions, the importance of all kinds of rural mobilization–ranging from pro-democracy to more conservative forms–has also been highlighted in a number of works. Some of the most visible rural protests took place in Portugal, which witnessed perhaps the widest episode of popular land seizures in twentieth-century Western Europe[57]. These were echoed by anti-communist popular mobilization in central and northern Portugal, an important factor in the pivotal days of the 'Hot Summer' of 1975[58]. In Spain, Herrera and Markoff have charted the ongoing struggle for voice in the institutions regulating the agricultural sector through the late Francoist period through to the 1990s, creating the spaces and channels for democratic interaction at a local level[59]. Although protests in rural Greece were not so prominent, they existed: a case in point are the understudied 1973 protests against a new refinery in Megara, a provincial town near Athens[60].

19 One aspect influencing the politics of the Transition that is almost exclusively specific to Spain is the issue of regional nationalism. Aside from the obvious case of Basque nationalism, historical research has focused on the links between culture and regional nationalist movements in Spain in the late Francoist era or in the initial post-Francoist years. Musical movements, such as *nova cançó*, have been shown to be key ingredients of Basque and Catalan regional nationalist activism[61]. Another dimension of such research is the study of the intersection between Catalan nationalism and Feminism from the 1970s on (case in point is the interdisciplinary work of María Rodó-Zárate)[62]. Despite the short-lived appearance of small separatist organisations in Portugal's Atlantic islands, there is nothing comparable in the other two countries. However, as Cerezales' work on the anti-revolutionary mobilisations in the north of Portugal shows, regional differences are likely to be an important, if neglected, aspect of the grassroots history of the Transitions[63].

20 Research on protest and transitions in Spain, Portugal and Greece has also been extending to non-heteronormative subjects. In the 1990s, pioneering anthropological or interdisciplinary works began studying social movements involving cisgender gay and lesbian as well as transgender protest subjects that first emerged in Greece in the late 1970s. Yannakopoulos, Riedel and Dendrinos studied the main characteristics of the rhetoric and practice of the gay liberation movement in the late 1970s[64]. Concerning (cis) lesbian women, Kantsa investigated the link between holidays in Eressos, Lesvos, to lesbian protest subjects in Greece and elsewhere in the 'West'[65]. More recently, Papanikolaou has further examined transgender women who were activists from the late 1970s, revealing the parrhesiastic elements in their narratives, namely the political effort to challenge the hegemonic norms dictating gender and sexual relations[66].

21 In Portugal, as with feminism, revolutionary politics (and arguably the male and heteronormative image of the revolutionary militant) left little space for the affirmation of alternative sexualities and the creation of non-heteronormative movements. A short-

lived ‘Homosexual Movement of Revolutionary Action’ created in 1974 was attacked by more conservative members of the provisional government, and quickly disbanded. Homosexuality was only decriminalised in 1982, but despite occasional conferences and attempts to create gay rights organisations, it was not until the 1990s that, in the context of the AIDS pandemic and in close connection with the reinvention of the Portuguese far-left, that an organised movement emerged[67]. In Spain the late Franco regime greatly increased the repression of homosexuality, especially through the 1970 *Ley de Peligrosidad y Rehabilitacíon Social*, which led to the imprisonment over a thousand persons, and the creation of dedicated establishments for incarceration and ‘rehabilitation’[68]. This repressive turn attracted international condemnation, particularly from the French collective *Arcadie*, and prompted the creation of a clandestine organisation, the *Movimiento Español de Liberación Homosexual*, which between 1970 and 1974 managed to create several cells across Spain and publish an illegal journal[69]. In contrast with the marginalisation of issues of sexual rights by the left in the Portuguese revolution, Calvo argues that the more ‘moderate’ and ‘pacted’ nature of the Spanish Transition encouraged the revolutionary left to turn its attention to questions of sexual freedom as part of an attempt to expand and secure the democratisation of society, and the campaign against the 1970 law animated the movement until key parts concerning the criminalisation of homosexuality were revoked in 1979[70]. As the political homosexual movement waned in the 1980s, a broader movement or sub-culture (the *Movida*) appeared in the country’s leading cities that, as part of what Kornetis has called a ‘libidinal turn’, pre-figured important shifts in social attitudes to sex and homosexuality, even if outwardly expressing a *desencanto* (disenchantment) with the politics of the young democracy[71].

22 As definitions of politics and democratisation expand, further movements appear that are drawing the attention of scholars in all three nations, including research on the disabled and the mental patient movements. Concerning the former, historians Chalaza and Tsakas, and political scientist and sociologist Kavoulakos, have explored the movement of blind people in Greece[72]. On the mental patient movement, Kritsotaki studied the history of the Motion for the Rights of the “Mentally Ill”, the first formal association of people living with mental illness, founded in Athens in 1980[73]. In Portugal, the politics of disability and mental illness was tightly bound with the scars (physical and psychological) of the colonial wars, which left an estimated 25,000 Portuguese men impaired (and countless others in the former colonies). One of the first, and the most visible, disabled rights organisation to appear was created by armed forces veterans during the revolutionary period, and it was as a result of their intense mobilisation that the first post-transition legislation on disability rights was passed in 1976, setting the standard that would later be extended to non-veterans, and the rights of the disabled were written into the constitution[74]. If the centrality of the war, and the visible presence of veterans in the public sphere shaped disabled rights activism and the state’s response in Portugal, in Spain the movement that emerged during the transition period had difficulty getting the attention of political parties and trade unions, despite seeing a peak of activity during 1976-77, including occupations and other forms of direct action. For Martos, this helps explain the absence of issues of disability from the Moncloa Pacts, and it was only in 1982 that the issue was begun to be addressed through legislation[75].

23 While historical and interdisciplinary research has been highlighting diverse mobilisation patterns, within and beyond political parties, further manifestations of activism merit further research. The links between subjects in the armed forces and protest have also attracted very recently the attention of historical research in Greece, synchronising with similar work on Portugal[76]. Giorgos Tsiridis shows that Greece witnessed no radicalisation of officers and soldiers akin to Portugal, where it led to a revolution. Still, a widespread lack of discipline within the Greek armed forces towards the dictatorship in the aftermath of the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in 1974 facilitated the collapse of the Greek militaristic regime[77]. Another neglected area is the fate of the far-right after the collapse of the dictatorships. In general, neo-fascist violent direct

action has received relatively limited attention in comparison to its left-wing counterpart[78]. The existence of far-right mobilisations against transitions reminds us in the complex politics of such moments, not only did many actors not push for democratisation but opposed it entirely, with some on the Right and on the Left willing to use violence to reach their goals. For instance, recent research has shown that Southern European far-right movements were part of broader transnational networks linking neofascist movements across the three countries and beyond, a topic which certainly warrants further analysis[79].

Towards an expanded understandings of politics

24 One aspect that unites this diverse body of work on all three countries is a change of focus: the question of establishing a role for collective actors in the Transitions is, to a large extent, a battle long won. Instead, attention has increasingly shifted to the historical processes through which actors themselves were constituted, that is, the creation of new political subjectivities under the dictatorships and through the process of transition. Gender and class are no longer taken as given and the question becomes how and where collective actors were formed through processes of migration, encounters with new challenges and other actors, life issues, emerging cultures and political struggles themselves[80]. The Historiography of social movements and transition has highlighted the diversity of the ways in which protestors have organised themselves, both within and outside political parties. In this vein, histories of protest and transition have been in line (and some of them based on) Radcliff's call for historians to explore the political, cultural and economic dimensions of transitions in Southern Europe during the 1970s[81]. In the case of Greece, several works since the 2010s, such as by Kornetis and Mais, have studied the links between spaces and political action until 1981[82]. Besides space, the historiography of protest and transitions in Southern Europe has built on interdisciplinary approaches to the notions of identity and subjectivity. Relevant works include the analyses of Papanikolaou and Papadogiannis on the incomplete, inconsistent collective self that marked the identities of various Greek left-wing subjects in the 1970s[83].

25 The reflection on "identity" has also influenced the study of protest and transition in Spain. An example of this shift of perspective comes from debates in Spanish labour history. Writing in 2008, Cabrera, Divásson and de Felipe argued that while embracing the idea that culture mediated the formation of a diverse field of working-class identities in the 1980s and 1990s, labour history still needed to go further, considering how the categories and discourses that frame identities were themselves historically constituted (a 'post-social' perspective) by the interaction between institutions, forms of knowledge, ideas, and conflict. As a result, the political identities that emerge may, or in many cases may not, be framed around the concept of class, and, instead, others such as 'people', 'citizens', 'housewives' or 'neighbours' appear that have distinct political valences and effects[84].

26 The historiography of protest and transition has not only helped enrich the study of the *manner* of transitions, namely from above and below, but also its *time*. Political science perspectives have stressed landmarks pertaining to institutional change: pacts, elections or constitutions. By contrast, most recent historical research on protest and transition in Southern Europe works on a different conceptualisation of democratisation, one that implicitly evokes a multidimensional process and, as a consequence, stretches the temporality of the transitions. At one end, this body of work links the process of 'transition' to the cultural, social and political developments of the 'long 1960s', and have placed the histories of these three countries not in the periphery, but as an integral part of a European (and global) story[85]. Kornetis, Kotsovili and Papadogiannis argue that the social movements after the collapse of dictatorial regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece bore the imprint of both political and cultural developments that had transpired in the Sixties in the 'West'[86]. At the other end, once

we look at the legacies, transformations and continuities of the social movements active during the Transition, the vision of a 'short' Transition is increasingly challenged, and[87] the usual periodisation of the transitions should not blind us to the links and continuities between these mobilisations and the politics of the post-transition era. Some of the actors and the issues that animated them ebbed away once politics was 'normalised'; others evolved and even grew–as is the case with feminist movements–or were transformed into new forms action, such as the green, anti-racism or global justice movements[88].

27 Histories of protest and transition in Spain, Portugal and Greece have also questioned the *place* of politics. In all three countries, a number of works on social movements explore synergies of politics and culture while also considering one or more types of the following cross-border transfers. Such flows include the transnational impact of decolonisation and the cold war context; the flow of ideas and cultural patterns from Europe and elsewhere to Greece, Portugal, and Spain, but also how developments in these countries shaped ideas and actions elsewhere in Europe and the world, not least through the circulation of activists, migrants and refugees. Increasingly, we are coming to see the Southern European transitions not just as domestic processes, but as an integral part of the global politics of the 'long 1960s', shaped as much by local issues as by wider forces, from decolonisation to Cold War[89]. The global (and colonial) dimension appears most clearly in the Portuguese case, where the question of the conflict against liberation movements in the country's African colonies is central to understanding not only the delegitimisation of the dictatorship, but also the mobilisation of different internal oppositions (including the military itself, students or Catholics), as well as a flow of ideas about Marxism, Portugal's place in the international order, or revolutionary agency. The Portuguese military, central to the revolutionary process, embraced much of the perspective of the African Marxist liberation movements it had fought since 1961, embracing the idea of 'decolonising' Portugal, including through 'cultural dynamisation' campaigns in rural areas[90]. In the case of Spain, for instance, Amaia Lamikiz Jauregiondo has shown that young people, who figured prominently in the Basque revival movement in the long 1960s and the subsequent decades, received selectively cultural patterns from other Western European countries and the USA[91]. Protest cultures in Greece, as we have already seen, were also influenced by examples and ideas from across the world: Kornetis and Papadogiannis show the 'glocal'[92] character of protest shortly before and after the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Greece, highlighting influences from diverse regions, such as North America, the USSR and China on Greek protestors[93]. And while decolonisation did not affect Greece, histories of protest and transition have studied the encounters between left-wing Greek subjects and Turkish political refugees in the 1980s. Karakatsanis demonstrates the intensifying face-to-face interaction between Greek and Turkish left-wingers during the Evren dictatorship in Turkey[94]. Moreover, a volume co-edited by Karakatsanis and Papadogiannis on the cultural politics of the Left in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus analyses how transfers among them, including the influx of Turkish political refugees to Greece, contributed to the entanglement of transitions in those countries: the transition from democracy to dictatorship in Turkey and the era of post-authoritarian transformations in Greece. Joint cultural activities, such as Festivals in Greece ran by left-wing groups, were a testament to such entanglements[95].

28 Finally, some authors have also begun to show how migrants and refugees from Southern Europe were involved in the politics and social movements of the period in other parts of Europe. Pereira has shown the role played by undocumented Portuguese migrants in the struggle for the rights of foreign workers in early 1970s France[96]. Also in this vein, Gordon has studied the French connection for Portuguese migrants that helped shape their action after the collapse of the Estado Novo[97]. Greek migrant workers were active in strikes that occurred in West Germany in the early 1970s, and Papadogiannis has shown the growing, albeit complex interaction between Greek migrant and local activists in West Germany in their common struggle against the 1967-1974 dictatorship ruling Greece[98]. The end of dictatorships also would eventually make

Portugal, Greece and Spain destinations for migration. The shift was most dramatic in Portugal: when its colonies gained independence in 1975, new waves of migration transformed the social and political dynamics of the Transition with the arrival of over 500,000 former Portuguese settlers, as well as thousands of Africans, some of whom had fought alongside the Portuguese army, many others in search of work. How these migrations shaped identities and politics at the local and national level is only beginning to be explored[99].

Conclusions

29 Across all three countries, and echoing the much wider range of issues and identities currently active in the political arena, historical research has paid increasing attention to collective actors beyond political parties, workers and militant activists, while those 'traditional' actors are being revisited, raising questions of gender, culture, sexuality, disability and mental health. In doing so, this wave of historical research has also been influenced by the evolution of the disciplines that guide it–ranging from the rise of cultural and transnational history to developments in social movement theory that focus increasingly on language and culture, but also on interactions and relations between actors. The concomitant attention to the symbols and practices of protest subjects has facilitated a profound understanding of their diverse aims and protest patterns, internal structures and social make-ups. Simultaneously, such research has had ramifications for the study of political change in Southern Europe in the 1970s in general: it has contributed to a study of politics from above and below, has helped nuance the periodisation of political developments during transition, and has helped refine the focus of transitological research on developments within the confines of distinct nation-states.

30 Despite its significance, this body of work is not bereft of gaps and imbalances. We have highlighted two of these: a chronological and a thematic one. Works on protest and transition in Portugal and Spain most often focus on the era between the late 1950s and the mid-1970s, whereas such studies in the case of Greece concentrate on the period between the early and the late 1970s (and even later). Moreover, key subjects that feature in works on protests in Iberia, especially rural movements in Portugal and Spain and regional nationalist protest in Spain, are missing from research on Greece. In turn, we have suggested that in some cases, the focus on intense revolutionary politics of Portugal in 1974-1975 has led to a relative neglect of other issues, particularly in terms of exploring with greater depth issues of identity, cultures of protest and the relationship between politics and broader cultural change, although exciting new work is emerging even there. Some of these imbalances are linked to the different social and political conditions in those countries, such as the flourishing regional nationalism in Spain, which had no counterpart in Greece and Portugal. However, we also stress that this thematic imbalance is also the product of differing conceptual frameworks and research priorities. Thus, through our conjoined study of protest and transition in Greece, Portugal and Spain we aim to encourage a conceptual cross-pollination. The rural movement in Greece and the protests staged by non-heteronormative subjects in Portugal are two cases in point. Research on Spain, in contrast, has perhaps been less interested in exploring the transnational dimensions of political and social change in the period. Whilst earlier transitological work used comparative methods to discern an ideal-type transition, we argue no single case should be used as a yardstick against which others are compared, and their mutual influences and connections need to be considered. A sustained dialogue among historians of protest and transition in those countries will be mutually beneficial in helping spot underexamined themes and develop new lines of inquiry.

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Notes

1 E.g. Huntington, 1991.

2 Bermeo, 1997; Collier and Mahoney, 1997.

3 Kornetis, 2013; Papadogiannis, 2015; Kornetis, Kotsovili, and Papadogiannis, 2016; Glystras, 2020.

4 In the Greek case, an interesting debate has emerged around the benefits and perils of extending the chronology of the Transition. The contributions in a recent edited collection argue that when the transition is designated as a long era, the danger emerges of a teleological approach that sidelines the significance of caesuras: Karamanolakis, *et al.*, 2016.

5 Papadogiannis, 2015, pp. 284-292.

6 Labanyi *et al.*, 1996, p. 396.

7 Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2022.

8 For recent insightful overviews see: Radcliff, 2017; Fishman, 2018; Kornetis and Cavallaro, 2019a. Granadino *et al.*, 2021. On a rare example of joint examination of protest in Greece, Portugal and Spain, see: Kornetis, forthcoming.

9 Bermeo, 1997; Pérez Díaz, 1993.

10 The range and depth of the scholarship on labour conflicts is much greater in Spain than in Portugal, encompassing local histories and a greater wealth of accounts of individual company or sector struggles: Balfour, 1989; Ruiz, 1994; Molinero and Ysàs, 1998. For Portugal: Santos and Ferreira, 1976; Patriarca, 1999; Valente, 2001. For an important comparative perspective see Durán Muñoz, 2000.

11 Domènech Sampere, 2013.

12 Noronha, 2014 and 2019.

13 Noronha, 2019, p.116.

14 For Spain, see for instance the essays collated in a special issue in the journal *Ayer*, edited and with an introduction by Treglia, 2013; and also Wilhelmi Casanova, 2016. On Portugal see Cardina, 2011. A recent volume brings together perspectives from both Iberian nations: Ferreira and Madeira, 2020.

15 Cardina, 2010; Casanellas, 2013.

16 The term 'Mediterranean New Left' was coined by Gerd-Rainer Horn, 2007, pp. 228-231.

17 Tsakatika and Lisi, 2013.

18 Ioannou, 1989.

19 Ioannou, p. 112.

20 Voulgaris, 2002, pp. 31-33, 44-46, 126-127.

21 On student protests in long 1960s, see, for instance: Horn, 2007, especially pp. 65-92.

22 Peixoto, 1989. Núñez, 2005, p. 223. Kornetis, 2013, p.13.

23 González Calleja, 2018; Accornero, 2016; Valdevira González, 2006.

24 Cardina, 2008; Kornetis, 2015.

25 Accornero, 2016, pp.75-80. See also Oliveira, 2019.

26 See, amongst others the essays covering different arenas in Spain, Greece and Portugal in Kornetis, Kotsovili, and Papadogiannis, 2016. See also Valencia-García, 2018; and Bebiano, 2003.

27 Kornetis, 2013, pp. 246-281. On the Polytechnic Uprising, see also: Dafermos, 2009.

28 On the argument that the late 1970s witnessed a "depoliticised individualisation", see, for example, Leggewie, 1998. On the critique of this argument by Papadogiannis, see: Papadogiannis, 2015 and 2011.

29 Sklavenitis, 2016.

30 See also Ortega and Yannakopoulos, this volume.

31 Besides the works on the labor movement and neighbourhood associations mentioned above, on Catholic women's organisations and their ambiguous role see: Valiente, 2015; and Moreno Seco, 2012.

32 Valiente, 1998; Radcliff, 2012; Threlfall, 2004.

33 Radcliff, 2011.

34 Díaz Silva, 2016; Radcliff, 2002.

35 Kornetis, 2015. Note however, the increase in repression of homosexuality by the late Franco regime, discussed further below.

36 Kornetis, 2015, p. 177.

37 E.g. Gorjão, 2002; Tavares, 2011. Freire, 2020.

38 Melo, 2016, pp. 403-404.

39 Prata, 2010; Gorjão, 2002, p. 261.

40 Melo, 2017, pp. 251-252.

41 Kornetis, 2013, p. 212.

42 On the trajectory that gender history has followed in Greece, see, for instance: Papadogiannis, 2017.

43 Repousi, 1996.

44 On the issue of domestic service see Dios Fernández, 2018.

45 Molinero and Ysàs, 2010; Radcliff, 2011.

46 Ofer, 2017; Webster, forthcoming.

47 Ramos Pinto, 2013.

48 For a recent survey of the literature on the evolution of Church hierarchies and grassroots Catholic activists in both countries, see Thomas, 2017.

49 Almeida, 2016.

50 Martín Gutiérrez, 2020; Moreno Seco, 2012. Groves *et al.*, 2011.

51 Ramos Pinto, 2013; Webster, forthcoming.

52 Bermeo, 1986.

53 Freire, Fonseca and Godinho, 2004.

54 Cabana Iglesia, 2010. On the notion of the "weapons of the weak", see Scott, 1985.

55 Pereira, 2007.

56 Cardina and Martins, 2019.

57 Piçarra, 2020.

58 Palacios Cerezales, 2017.

59 Herrera and Markoff, 2011.

60 For a relevant brief reference, see: Zestanakis, 2020, p. 44.

61 Lamikiz Jauregiondo, 2019; Moreno Seco, 2017.

62 For instance, Rodó-Zárate, 2020.

63 Palacios Cerezales, 2017.

64 Yannakopoulos, 2010, pp. 392-394; Riedel, 2005; Dendrinos, 2008.

65 Kantsa, 2010.

66 Papanikolaou, 2018, pp. 337-412.

67 Cascais, 2020, pp. 164-165; Afonso, 2019.

68 Calvo, 2017, p. 81; Afonso, 2021, p. 243.

69 Calvo, 2017, p. 83. See also Arnalte, 2003.

70 Calvo, 2017, pp. 84-85.

71 Kornetis, 2015a, pp. 191-192. For a recent survey see Algaba Pérez, 2020.

72 Chalaza, Tsakas and Kavoulakos, 2020.

73 See Kritsotaki, 2021.

74 Fontes, 2014, p. 1406.

75 Contreras, 2018, p. 762.

76 See Rezola, 2006.

77 Tsiridis, 2021, especially pp. 199-215.

78 On left-wing terrorism in Greece see: Kassimeris, 2001.

79 On the far right in each of these countries see Mammone, Godin and Jenkins, 2012. On transnational flows among neo-fascists, see: del Hierro, 2022; Kornetis, 2022.

80 For an important discussion along these lines focused on Spain see Groves *et al.*, 2017, pp. 125-139.

81 Radcliff, 2010, p. 158.

82 Kornetis, 2021; Mais, 2020.

83 Papanikolaou, 2006; Papanikolaou, 2007; Papadogiannis, 2015.

84 Cabrera, Divásson, and de Felipe, 2008; Babiano, 2012. For a related point on Portugal see Ramos Pinto, 2016.

85 Marwick, 1998; Horn, 2007.

86 Papadogiannis, 2015; Kornetis, Kotsovili, Papadogiannis, 2016.

87 On the debate on the legacies of the Transitions, see the important debate started by Robert Fishman: 2011 and 2019.

88 For overviews of protest in the 1980s in Greece and Portugal: Vamvakas and Panagiotopoulos, 2014; Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2022.

89 Strippoli, 2014; McGrogan, 2017; Pereira, 2016.

90 Cardina, 2020; Almeida, 2008.

91 Lamikiz Jauregiondo, 2016.

92 On the concept of "glocalisation", see: Robertson, 1995.

93 Kornetis, 2013; Papadogiannis, 2015.

94 Karakatsanis, 2014.

95 Karakatsanis and Papadogiannis, 2017.

96 Pereira, 2014.

97 Gordon, 2012, pp. 150-158.

98 Papadogiannis, 2014.

99 Kalter, 2022; Peralta, 2021; Pires, Delaunay and Peixoto, 2020.

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