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## **SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND COMMUNICATION IN THE NEW SCENARIOS OF THE INFORMATION SOCIETY**

**IS IT POSSIBLE TO CHANGE RISK BEHAVIOUR?**

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## THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL MEMORY AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS <sup>1</sup>

Celso Pereira de Sá  
*State University of Rio de Janeiro*

### **Introduction: a first block of conceptual considerations**

The role of communication, especially that of the media, in the construction of social representations has been emphasized by several authors of this last field of studies, since its inauguration. After S. Moscovici himself, D. Jodelet, W. Doise, A. S. De Rosa, J. Jesuino, M-L. Rouquette and J. Vala, among others, have researched and discussed that intrinsic relationship.

Although complex and diffuse in its operation, such a relationship doesn't seem to be conceptually problematic, if we take communication as a source of information and representation as a specific form of social knowledge. It was while exploring this general conception that Moscovici (1961/1976) attributed a particular cognitive organization to each of the communication systems he had identified in the media: opinion to diffusion; attitude to propagation; stereotype to propaganda. They would be, in any case, expectable influences that are exerted by communicated information upon the practical knowledge mobilized by social groups in their daily life.

I am probably simplifying a bit the consideration of the role of communication in the construction of social representations, in order to get more specifically in charge of the relationship between communication and social memory, which could seem less comprehensible at a first sight. As a matter of fact, my intention is to use that already familiar influence on social representations as an initial conceptual resource to account for a similar role of communication in the construction of social memory.

Such an use was made possible by the definition proposed by the Italian sociologist P. Jedlowski (1997, 2000, 2001, 2003) to collective memory: “a set of social representations concerning the past which each group produces, institutionalizes, guards and transmits through the interaction of its members” (2001, p. 33). This is a modern appropriation – whose primacy is attributed to G. Namer (1987) – of the sociological perspective firstly advanced by M. Halbwachs (1925/1994, 1950/1998). Although Jedlowski doesn't make it explicit that such representations are of the same social nature of those identified by Moscovici, the genesis, preservation and transmission mechanisms he attributes to them don't leave doubt that they refer to that same contemporary phenomenon and not to the one privileged by Durkheim, whose social genesis and authorship would have been lost in the course of humanity's history.

Interestingly, it is to Halbwachs himself that it is due a second argument to conceive memory as a phenomenon intrinsically associated to contemporary social thought. In fact, that author notes that, frequently, the mere knowledge that certain events happened (or the logical conclusion that they have to have happened), even if no remembrances at all are kept from them, is enough for their genuine incorporation to the individual or group memory. About that, I wrote in another part (Sá, 2003):

A strict conceptual distinction between knowledge and memory is not useful in the study of social or collective memory, to which every author, since Halbwachs and Bartlett, attributes a constructive and

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not a merely reproductive character. What lies out of this field are those “psychologicistic” perspectives according to which the registers of lived experiences never get entirely lost, and, therefore, any other contents which are added later on or are believed to modify those first registers (an idea, an image, a value) should be distinguished from memory itself.

According to Halbwachs, so much in the constitution of a group’s collective memory as in that of individual memories, they not just enter the remembrances of events and habitual practices, but also, and in an indistinguishable way, things which are simply known to have happened or that had to have happened. For example, quoting Halbwachs, all of us know that we had a first class, either as a teacher or as a pupil, in our universities, although most of us cannot remember it; and, advancing our illustrative research, we know that there was a first time that Portuguese arrived to Brazilian lands, although we have not witnessed it.

Besides, what the “social frameworks” (*cadres sociaux*) identified by Halbwachs provide to the process of memory construction is always some form of knowledge. It is likewise that we consider the cultural factors of conventionalization in the transmission of remembrances studied by Bartlett (1932/1995). In both perspectives, as well as in those more recent, new information, changes of social insertion and of present interests are largely responsible for the content that memories exhibit in a given time and/or in a given place.

It elapses from all this that not only there is no interest in distinguishing between what is a remembrance and what is knowledge in the ambit of collective memory, but also that this is not even possible. In a complementary sense, it can be observed the occurrence of memories in that form of knowledge we call a social representation, in function of its formation through the anchoring of the new on the old, what has already led Moscovici to declare that in such a form of social thought the past prevails frequently over the present, and memory over thought. And in the structural approach proposed by J-C. Abric (1994), it is explicitly postulated that the central system of a representation has, among other characteristics, that of being linked to the collective memory of the group. Finally, it is such a close relationship between thought elements and remembered contents in the social mental life that must be taken into consideration in order to understand how current communication can influence the construction of the memory of past events.

### **Communication, feelings and social representations in the collective memory of the discovery of Brazil: a first block of empiric results**

In a joint Brazilian-Portuguese research (Sá and Vala, 2000; Sá and Oliveira, 2002, Sá, Oliveira and Prado, 2003; Moller, Sá and Bezerra, 2003; Naiff, Sá and Moller, 2003) developed around the commemoration of the fifth centennial of the discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese (which occurred in April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1500) we based ourselves on the considerations that come from being done. Some of its results have to do, even if sometimes just implicitly, with the relationship between communication and memory, and so they will be presented as illustrations of that theme.

Being obvious that our subjects did not witness that remote historical event – or even heard to speak about it in first hand –, and that it was presented to them for the first time in the school, we named our research object “actualization of collective memory as a function of the fifth centennial commemoration”, what involved as well the information (new or recovered), especially that one provided by written press, that accompanied the commemoration. For the present illustrative purpose of the role played by communication, the following studies were selected: (1) the eventual transformation of social representations of discovery and colonization for Brazilian subjects from 1999 to 2000; (2) a comparison between the representational configurations exhibited by Brazilian and Portuguese samples in 2000; (3) the predominant sources of information about the discovery for Brazilians and Portuguese; (4) some forms and contents privileged by the Brazilian media; (5) a

descriptive analysis of the feelings related to the discovery in association with the privileged sources of information.

For the comparisons between the representations of the discovery that prevailed in Brazil one year before the fifth centennial and those “actualized” during the commemoration, as well as between this last representation and the one held by the Portuguese subjects in the same occasion, we based ourselves on the structural approach of social representations (Abric, 1994; Sá, 1996; Vergès, 1999). In the first case, our results show that the central cores (both of a descriptive nature, what is not entirely in agreement with the theory) did not differ very much from each other. It is concluded that if a process of actualization of the memory of the discovery of Brazil was in course, it was of an evaluative nature and it would be happening in the periphery of the representations that composed that memory, as other results came to confirm.

In fact, in Figure 1, the comparison between the structure and the thematic content of the Brazilian social representation surveyed in 1999 and in 2000 shows that the most probable central elements, which are in the quadrant 1 (left superior), are practically the same ones: “Indians”, “caravels”, “Portuguese”, “sea” and “Cabral”. In the so-called “first periphery”, that is quadrant 2 (right superior), where they are located, according to Abric (2003), the most important peripheral elements, it was found for both representations what we have been calling “consolidated criticism” (currently present in school manuals on history): “exploration” (of “*pau-brasil*” and of sorts of “wealth”), and “slavery”. The only feature in this comparison evidencing the role of communication in the actualization of the collective memory was the shift of the element “colonization” from the second periphery in 1999 to the first one in 2000. Probably, the subjects were exposed during a whole year to various sorts of communication that did not focus only the event of the discovery but also the subsequent colonization process. In the quadrant 3 (left inferior) of both representations it was found what we have called “recent criticism” (which just appeared during the polemics that involved the commemoration of the fifth centennial of the discovery of America, eight years before), whose main elements are “massacre of the Indians”, “invasion” and “non discovery”, followed by “conquest” (only in 2000) and by “acculturation” (in the second peripheries).

See Figure 1

As to the comparison between the structure and thematic content of the representation of the Brazilian subjects and of that of the Portuguese ones – Figure 2 –, a great coincidence is observed between their respective central cores (quadrants 1) and between their first peripheries (quadrants 2). The only important difference found in the central cores is that while Brazilians see the Portuguese arriving from the “sea”, these see themselves arriving at the “beaches”. In the first periphery of the Portuguese representation the consolidated criticism of “exploitation” is not explicit, but implicit in the evocation of “gold”, that was taken from Brazil by Portugal. The real great difference of the Portuguese representation in relation to the Brazilian one is found in quadrant 3 (left inferior), from where the recent criticisms of genocide and of labeling the discovery as an invasion are entirely absent. In their place they were evoked the elements “adventure” and “navigators”, what can be interpreted as the reaffirmation (although by few people) of a national pride for the historical role that Portugal played in the expansion of the “known world”.

See Figure 2

Such a discrepancy between Brazilian and Portuguese actualizations of the collective memory of the discovery of Brazil receives confirmation from other results of our research, among which we selected the following one – Figure 3 –, that demonstrates the contrast between the Portuguese pride, as a feeling that remains associated to their memory, and the Brazilian feelings of revolt and

shame, that start to occupy a greater space in the affective dimension of their own memory. This differential result finds a possible explanation in communicational terms, as it will be shown afterwards.

See Figure 3

There was not in the discovery of Brazil any direct experience whose preservation or reconstruction could be called a memory. So, in defining our research object, we have departed from M. Ferro's observation (1990) that "the history that is counted to us when we are children leaves its mark in us for a lifetime", and took such a school knowledge as the raw material departing from which the studied populations would have built their memories. It is not questionable that the historical knowledge that is socialized through school is itself a basis for social representations that afterwards become quite spread and are continually fed by the arts, the media and the commemorations. Those representations function as the collective counterpart of the public social memory that is fixed in historical registers and in what has been called "places of memory", such as monuments, museums, etc. When those representations are transformed, due to new information disclosed by the media and to socio-cultural events generated by contemporary commemoration, it is said to have occurred an "actualization" of the collective memory that they are supposed to constitute.

We think that the two following Figures, which show other results from our research on the memory of the discovery of Brazil, provide some empiric support to that conceptual interpretation.

In Figure 4, it is verified that the main source of knowledge concerning the discovery and colonization of Brazil was school learning, so much for the Portuguese as for the Brazilians, but in a larger degree for the first ones. In the Brazilian case, that source was followed in good proportions by newspapers and magazines and by recent books on history, which were both more numerous and relevant in Brazil than in Portugal.

See Figure 4

In fact, for three years, from 01 January 1998 to 31 December 2000, four of the main Brazilian daily newspapers published together more than one thousand matters about the discovery, the colonization and the commemoration of the fifth centennial. Those matters included notes, news, articles, reports and reviews of books. It is interesting to observe, as shown in Figure 5, that during the second semester of 1998 and the first of 1999 the reviews of books supplanted all the other journalistic forms, indicating the importance that the appearance of those new books, normally of an analytic and critical nature, had in the actualization of Brazilian collective memory.

See Figure 5

In that sense, Figure 6 shows that, when the collective memory is no longer just assured by school learning and it starts to receive new important contributions (as they were considered by the own subjects), the feelings – which were emphasized so much by Halbwachs as by Bartlett – associated to the memory of the discovery suffer great alterations: (1) pride is larger and revolt is smaller, when the main actualization source are films or the television; (2) pride and indifference are smaller, while revolt is larger, when newspapers and magazines contribute to that actualization; (3) indifference and pride become minimal, at the same time that revolt and shame reach maximum levels, when the main source of current information are the recent books on history, that marked intensively the vespers of the commemoration in Brazil, but not in Portugal.

See Figure 6

### **When social memory doesn't necessarily coincide with social representations: a second block of empiric results**

The first selected group of empiric results that was presented seems to provide a good illustration of how the use of social representations can provide a profitable – or at least convenient – theoretical tool to study the role of communication in the actualization of collective memory. Nevertheless, other results from the same research project serve as well to alert us for the fact that the ensemble of social phenomena of memory can be wider than the field of collective memory, that articulates so well with the field of social representations. As a matter of fact, Jedlowski's sociological definition of memory as a set of representations about the past refers exclusively to collective memory.

Two somewhat interlinked results of our research can illustrate the existence of different instances of social memory. As Figure 7 shows, the historical actors of the discovery of Brazil privileged by the Brazilian press until the end of 1999 were the Portuguese navigators, who were supplanted by the Indians only in 2000, especially in the month of April, in the summit of the commemoration. It should be remembered that, differently from what happened in the commemoration of 1992, the polemic evaluation delayed to be settled among us. Nevertheless, the social representations collected in the end of 1998 and beginning of 1999 (see Figure 1) had already "Indians" as their main central element, in the same proportion that would be revealed in 2000.

See Figure 7

In that same sense, the analysis according to the communication systems proposed by Moscovici, shown in Figure 8, indicates that diffusion prevailed during the three years of press research, and that propagation, conceived as reinforcing official history, was always shy. For its turn, propaganda, conceived as the set of efforts to count the history of the losers, stayed most of the time in an intermediate level, arriving to supplant diffusion in April 2000, when manifestations of more intransigent critical opposition to the commemoration happened in the whole country, but mainly in Porto Seguro (the place of the historical arrival of the Portuguese and of the contemporary official commemoration, with the presence of the presidents of Portugal and Brazil). The representations that were collected on that occasion did not reflect automatically that momentary prevalence of propaganda.

See Figure 8

In its wide meaning, social memory will maintain all this registered – more and more and for more time, given the resources available, continuously growing in sophistication –, unless such resources are to be used in a contrary sense, for the alteration of the registers, as Orwell suggested that could happen in "1984" under the responsibility of a "Ministry of the Truth". On the other side, the actualized collective memory that we could register empirically, and which is nothing else than a form of the contemporary social thought – social representations – about the past, says other things: (1) that, not importing its relevance in the media, the Indians are and they always were – in 1999 and in 2000 – the main reference for the discovery; (2) that the polemic, late installed by the media into social memory, finds a correspondence only with the collective memories maintained by certain minority strata of Brazilian population.

This last question deserved a complementary investigation whose purpose was to compare the social representations exhibited by different subsets of Brazilian population, regarding their left or

right (or absence of) political orientation, their Latin-American valued belongingness, their Catholic religiosity, and their Portuguese, Indian and African valued ascendancy – included the current polemic into the actualization of their respective collective memories. The main focus of such a comparison was the structural location of “recent criticism”, because it was expected – as it came to be evidenced – that “consolidated criticism” would maintain the status of a first periphery, although with small variations, in all partial samples. The “recent criticism”, for its turn, in function of its origin and of the polemic character that covered its incorporation to the memory of the discovery, should have its structural location sometimes maintained and other times modified in relation to the entire group.

In sequence, they will be presented, for each subset of the Brazilian global sample, the quadrant configuration that describes the structure of the partial representation that most privileges the “recent criticism” and its counterpart.

Firstly, as shown in Figure 9, a privilege is granted to “recent criticism”, for which the genocide accusation is located in the central core, in the representation of the sample of left or center-left political orientation. Meanwhile, the little of such criticism manifested by the subjects without political definition and by those of right or center-right orientation is structurally peripheral, being the “massacre of Indians” absent of the representation of the last of them.

See Figure 9

With relationship to Latin-American belongingness, it is verified that the half of the sample that recognizes and values it is the one that exhibits in its representation, as shown in Figure 10, the most incisive of the “recent criticism”. These critics, on the other hand, are entirely absent from the representation of the half of the sample that doesn't recognize the fact of being Latin-American (about 20%) or, if recognizing, doesn't value it (about 30%). Considering the origin of such critics in a vigorous social movement of ransom of Latin-American identity, these results, associated to those referring to the political orientation of the subjects, give coherence to an in-building profile of the Brazilian parcel population responsible for the actualization of national collective memory through the extension of those accusations (earlier addressed to the Spanish) to the character of the Portuguese intervention in America.

See Figure 10

Regarding religious affiliation, it is also coherent that the clearest adhesion to “recent criticism”, as shown in Figure 11, comes from the subjects that declared to profess some other religion than the Catholic one and that did not mention it together with some other (as it is common in the case of Afro-Brazilian religions). In the representation of the Catholic sample, only the “massacre of Indians” is present, in a peripheral level. This can be interpreted as the admission of an aspect of the colonizers’ performance of which their religious partners would not necessarily have been accused. In what it refers to other accusation elements – invasion, conquer, no-discovery and, mainly, acculturation –, the participation of the church would have been so evident that they had to be incorporated to the actualized memory of the Catholic subjects.

See Figure 11

Something similar happens when the division of the sample is made between the subjects that don't recognize or don't value the own Portuguese origin and those that recognize and value it. The representation of the first ones, as Figure 12 shows, includes in its first periphery most of the main

“recent criticism”, while the second ones just register acculturation in the peripheral right inferior quadrant and not necessarily in negative terms.

See Figure 12

As to Indian ascendancy, although a fourth part of the sample that recognizes and values it, as can be seen in Figure 13, exhibits two critical elements in its representation of the discovery, this is not very different from what is done by the subjects that don't recognize it (60%) or, if recognizing, don't value it (12%), who also evoke the “massacre of Indians”, in a frequency just a little smaller.

See Figure 13

Finally, the recognition and the valuation of the African origin don't seem also to play a significant part in the incorporation of “recent criticism” to the actualized memory of the discovery. The representation of this sample (a third part of the global one) is plenty similar, in that aspect, to the one of the subjects that don't recognize (54%) or, if recognizing, don't value (13%) the fact of being black or of descending from African slaves, as it is shown in Figure 14.

See Figure 14

In all studied subsets, “recent criticism” remained for the most part, likewise in the global sample, in the quadrant 3. Abric (2003) calls this quadrant a “zone of contrasted elements” and characterizes it in the following terms:

There they are found themes enunciated by few people (...), who, nevertheless, consider them as very important ones. This configuration may reveal the existence of a subgroup carrying a different representation, that is to say, one whose central core would be constituted by the element (or the elements) that are present in that quadrant (...). But one may also find there, well understood, a complement of the first periphery. (p. 64)

The first possibility was observed only in the sample formed by the subjects with a left or a center-left political orientation, who incorporated the critics of the genocide to the central core of their representation. For all the other subsets, the central core and the first periphery of their representations were quite similar to those of the global sample, and so their own quadrants 3 just complement them their respective first peripheries, more or less incisively.

### **Towards a classification of the phenomena of social memory: a last block of conceptual considerations**

As a social psychologist dedicated to the study of social representations, I was already tempted to rebaptize collective memory as social memory, in the same way Moscovici had done regarding representations. At least, I have been using both terms indistinctively or in association (collective and/or social; social and/or collective). The designation of similar phenomena as social memory by Bartlett, as well as the preference for that term on the part of two authors that explicitly propose a new lecture of Halbwachs' work (Fentress and Wickham, 1994), contributed to the maintenance of that double use. But I must now admit that there are distinctions that, if done, could be quite profitable for the psychosocial study of memory.

In first place, to rebaptize collective memories as social ones would not have the same effect that Moscovici was able to obtain regarding representations, because already for Halbwachs collective



memories were so many as how many they were the groups that had built them. So, they did not included, from the beginning, the wide social groups to which Durkheim's hegemonic representations referred. Besides, the durability that was attributed to such collective memories was inside the own limits of duration of the groups in whose ambit they could be transmitted.

Another important question is, as pointed by Jedlowski (2003), the exteriorization of memory, that has been done along humanity's history through successive resources, as the advent of writing, the press and the computer. Meanwhile, although it has been clearly benefited from the same exteriorization resources, the domain of the cognitive activity that is called "thought" continues to have people's head as a privileged seat. It is worthy while to remember that such an asymmetry has been challenged by Moscovici's assertion that social representations are so much in people's head as in the environment, since this one would not be just constituted by tangible objects and beings, but also by ideas, beliefs, values and affections.

In the numerous academic involvements with the past, a rich and diversified adjectival use of the phenomena of memory in society has been observed, some conceptually older, others generated in the ambit of more recent thematic explorations. Although agreeing with Jodelet's (1992) observation that "in the current state of the field, it is difficult to find consensual definitions for social memory", it seems opportune to essay, basically departing from a previous proposal advanced by Jedlowski, a classification – partially conceptual and partially methodological – of the instances of that phenomenon.

Nevertheless, differently from Jedlowski, we have preferred – in the Doctorate Program on Social Psychology of State University of Rio de Janeiro – to designate as **Social Memory** the whole ensemble of such instances, among which we list the following ones:

**Individual memories**, not conceived in opposition to the notion of collective memory, but in order to recognize the influence that social frameworks (*cadres sociaux*) – among which media is included – on what and how individuals remember. *Autobiographical memories* are a methodologically sophisticated example of that kind of social memory;

**Common memories**, which, according to Jedlowski (1997, 2000), are shared by more or less wide groups of individuals, but without necessarily an elaboration through social interaction among them. This instance of social memory can be frequently observed in studies on *generational memories*;

**Collective memories**, as a traditional term maintained to designate the memories that – in their social-interactive process of construction, reconstruction or actualization – are object of speeches and collective practices, in Jedlowski's own terms. We would include in that instance of social memory all *group memories* (or, more specifically, familiars, religious, etc) that are constituted as sets of social representations about the past;

**Public memories** – which Jedlowski (*op. cit.*) would call "social" – consisting of the varied traces of the past that are current or virtually available to any member of a given society. Besides including the traditional subset of *documental memories*, that instance of social memory should still embrace the phenomenon of construction of "*places of memory*" (see Nora, 1992);

**Historical memories**, referring, against Halbwachs' terminological veto, to the set of historical sources, non documentary *stricto sensu*, provided by the collective memories of more or less wide and historically bounded social groups. We believe that, inasmuch this instance includes *national*, *ethnic* and *community memories*, it should also contemplate the "public memories" (about public

space and public affairs) to which Jedlowski (2001) refers, with all the problems related to the public use (and abuse) of history;

**Practical memories**, to designate the memories that, instead of being based on narrative or discursive supports, as it is most common in social memory, operate through rituals and/or expressive practices, as Connerton (1993) has demonstrated. They are frequently revealed as diffuse **institutional memories**, through which what is done (to kneel down, for example) preserves an attitude (in the case, of respect and submission) much more effectively than it could be done by verbally reaffirming such dispositions.

The categories that come from being sketched are not, obviously, mutually exclusive – for instance, historical memories (about history) are indeed collective memories (about the past) – and, in addition, as also pointed by Jedlowski, some of them can change into other ones – common and public memories into collective memories, for instance – according to cultural and historical factors and circumstances.

Notwithstanding, it is well known that in the ambit of our contemporary societies those factors and circumstances of cultural and historical nature do not operate directly upon the quotidian experiences of the individuals and groups that constitute them. They have never did it, in fact, but the obligatory intermediate role of communication – person to person or in a mass scale – has become more obvious today.

In that sense, it was made obvious for us, through our research about the discovery of Brazil, that a contemporary communication analysis was essential to infer the degrees to which collective memories have been built up from mere generational memories (similar school learning about the discovery, for instance) and from public memories. We think that the circumstance of the commemoration of the fifth centennial has engendered (or enhanced) a series of social communicative practices, most of them benefited by the media – like the revisitation of public memories and the transformation of generational memories into a conversation subject. As a result of such a process, a more or less distributed knowledge about history has been turned into shared social representations of a historical past, that is to say, into historical collective memories.

Our (still provisory) conclusion is that, although the field of social memory is wider than that of “social representations of the past” (that is, collective memories), the role of communication in its ambit is likewise that of the construction of social representations departing from other forms of social thought. In fact, it is due to communication that collective memory – and its historical variant – merge or are actualized from the raw material provided by common and public – and, in a more subtle way, individual and practical – memories.

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Figure 1 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil” – Global Data

Data Brazil 1999				Data Brazil 2000			
<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9
Indians	370	exploitation	139	Indians	456	exploitation	179
caravels	224	brazil-wood	110	caravels	226	brazil-wood	163
Portuguese	173	slavery	96	Portuguese	221	slavery	128
Pedro Álvares Cabral	79	wealth	80	Pedro Álvares Cabral	81	wealth	93
sea	84			sea	77	colonization	80
lands	70						
discovery	66		Frequency >66				Frequency >66
Frequency <66				Frequency <66			
invasion	50	nature	54	massacre of Indians	63	Firs mass	61
massacre of Indians	48	colonization	53	Negroes	42	forests	61
new world	46	First mass	49	invasion	39	Letter from Caminha	53
arrival	41	Jesuits	47	freedom	32	lands	50
fredom	34	Letter from Caminha	45	discovery	31	navigators	45
navigators	28	forests	43	new world	28	acculturation	35
Indians' lands	27	acculturation	39	nature	28	miscigenation	31
non discovery	26	fight	29	non discovery	26	Jesuits	28
independence	20	trade	28	arrival	25	Catholicism	27
		submission	25	Brésil	23	wars	24
		peoples	20	robbery	22	dominance	22
		Porto Seguro	20	conquest	22	destruction	21
		culture	20	lie	17	death	20
		surprise	19			exchanges	18
		Negroes	18			independence	18
		developmen	18			natural beauties	18
		exchanges	17			fight	16

	<b>miscigenation</b>	<b>17</b>		
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**Figura 2 - Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil” - Global Data (N = 760, N = 497)**

**- Data Brazil 2000 -**

< 29 Evocation order >2,9

<b>Indians</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>exploitation</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>caravels</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>brazil-wood</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Portuguese</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>slavery</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Pedro Álvares Cabral</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>wealth</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>sea</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>colonization</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Frequency &gt;9%</b>			

**- Data Portugal 2000 -**

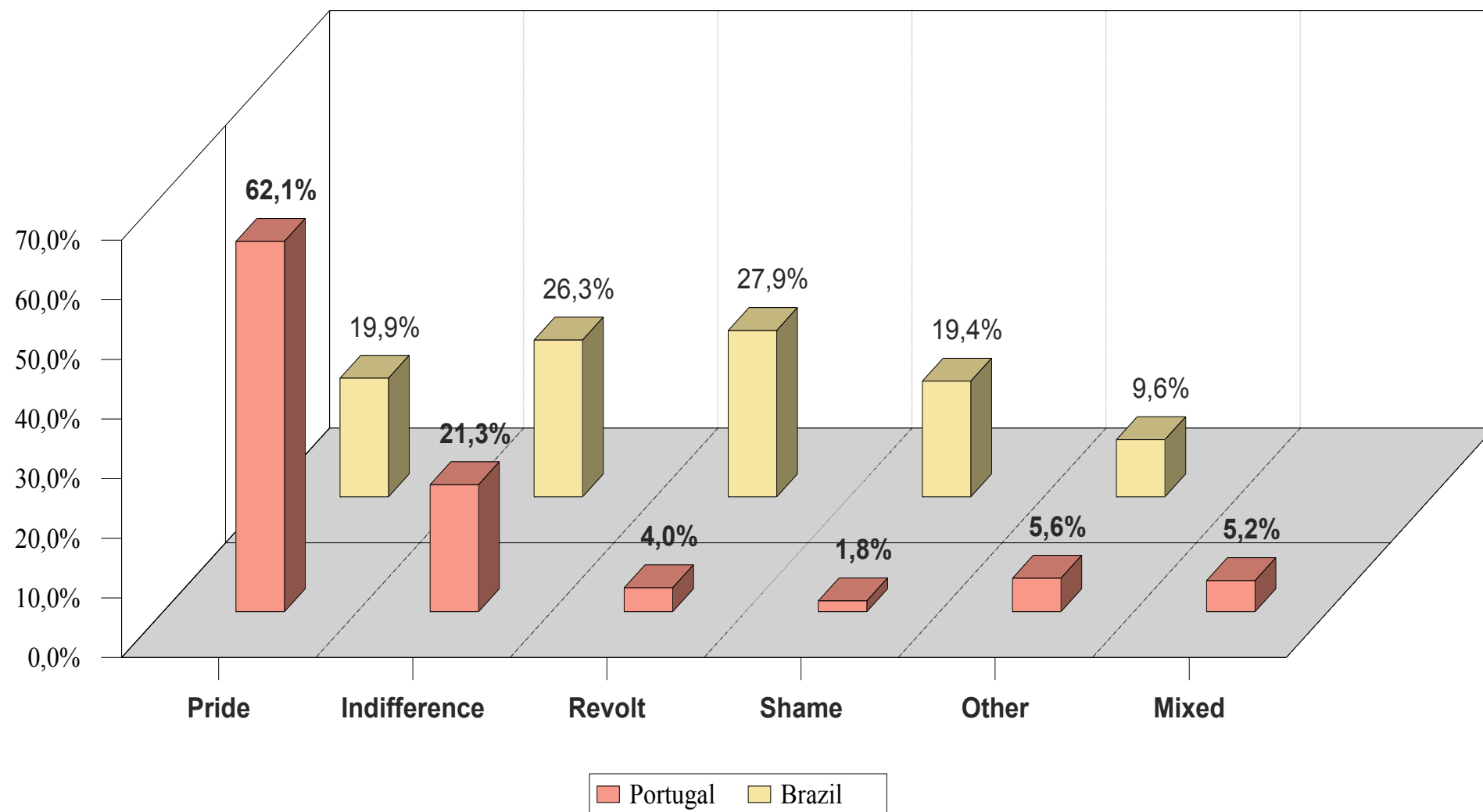
<2,9 Evocation order >2,9

<b>Indians</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>slavery</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>caravels</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>gold</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>beaches</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>colonialism</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Pedro Álvares Cabral</b>	<b>27</b>		
<b>discovery</b>	<b>13</b>		
<b>Frequency &gt;12%</b>			

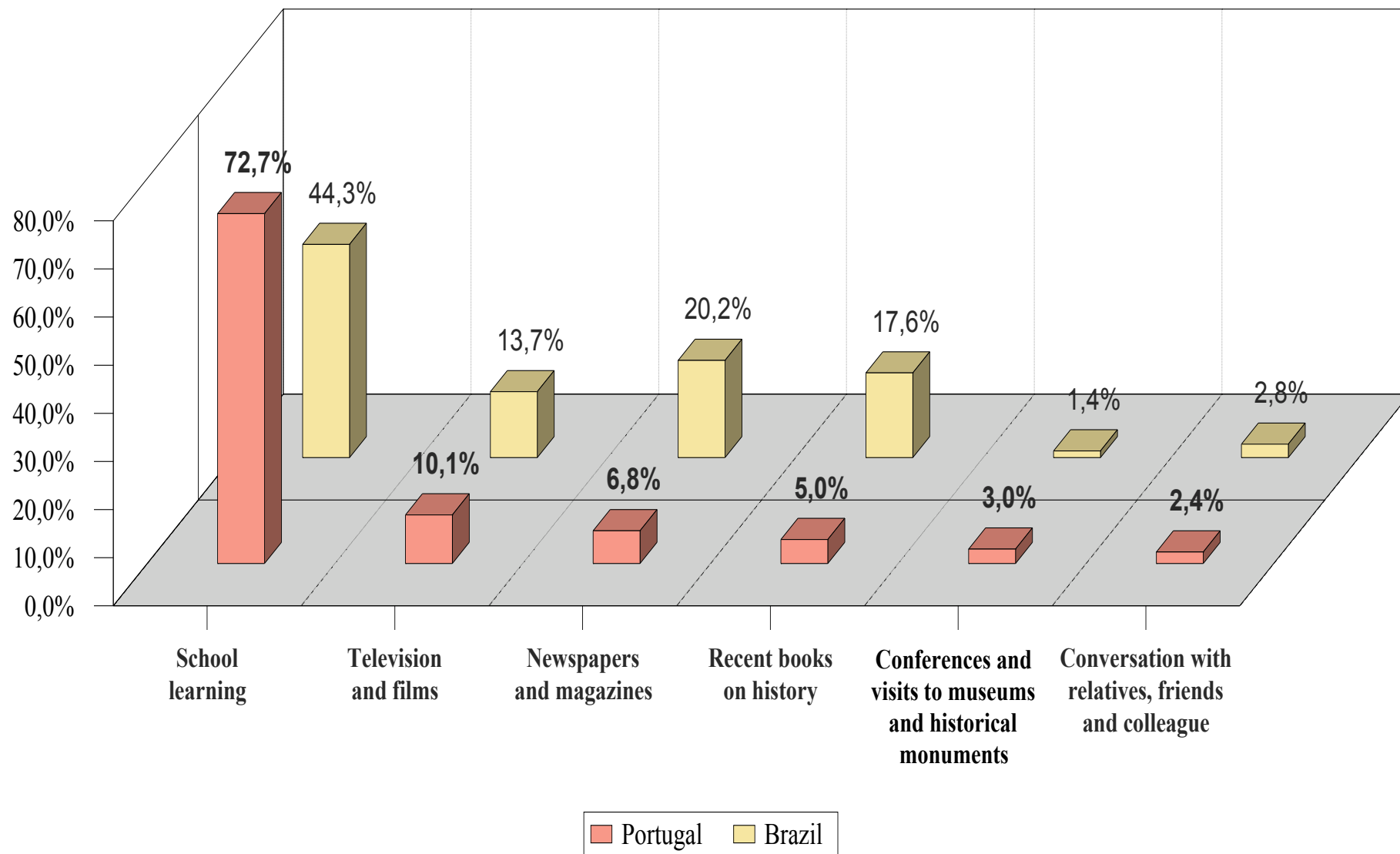
Frequency <9%			
<b>massacre of Indians</b>	8	first mass	8
Negroes	5	forests	8
<b>invasion</b>	5	Letter from Caminha	7
freedom	4	lands	6
discovery	4	navigators	6
new world	4	<b>acculturation</b>	5
nature	4	miscigenation	4
<b>non discovery</b>	3	Jesuits	4
arrival	3	Catholicism	3
Brazil	3	wars	3
robbery	3	dominance	3
<b>conquest</b>	3	destruction	3
lie	2	death	3
		exchanges	2
		independence	2
		natural beauties	2
		fight	2

Frequency <12%			
adventure	7	good climate	10
navigators	6	spices	10
Vera Cruz	4	forests	7
		<b>wealth</b>	6
		Amazony	6
		<b>brazil-wood</b>	5
		coffee	5
		samba	5
		courage	4
		palm trees	4
		sugar	4
		conquest	4
		<b>evangelization</b>	4
		travels	4
		carnival	4
		new world	4
		trade	4
		discoverers	3
		marine expansion	3

**Figure 3 – Feelings associated to the collective memories of the discovery of Brazil**

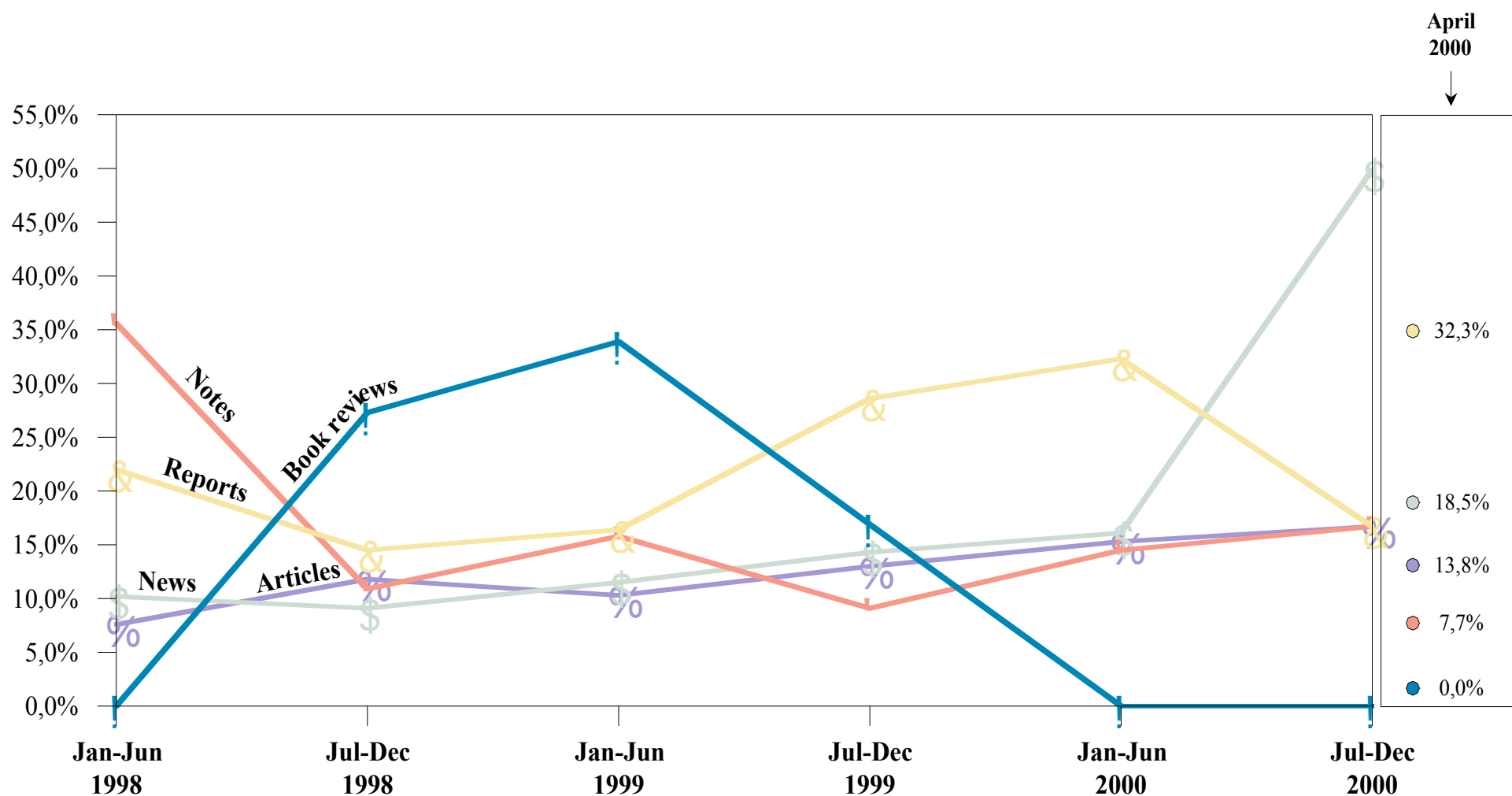


**Figure 4 – Sources of knowledge concerning the discovery and colonization of Brazil**

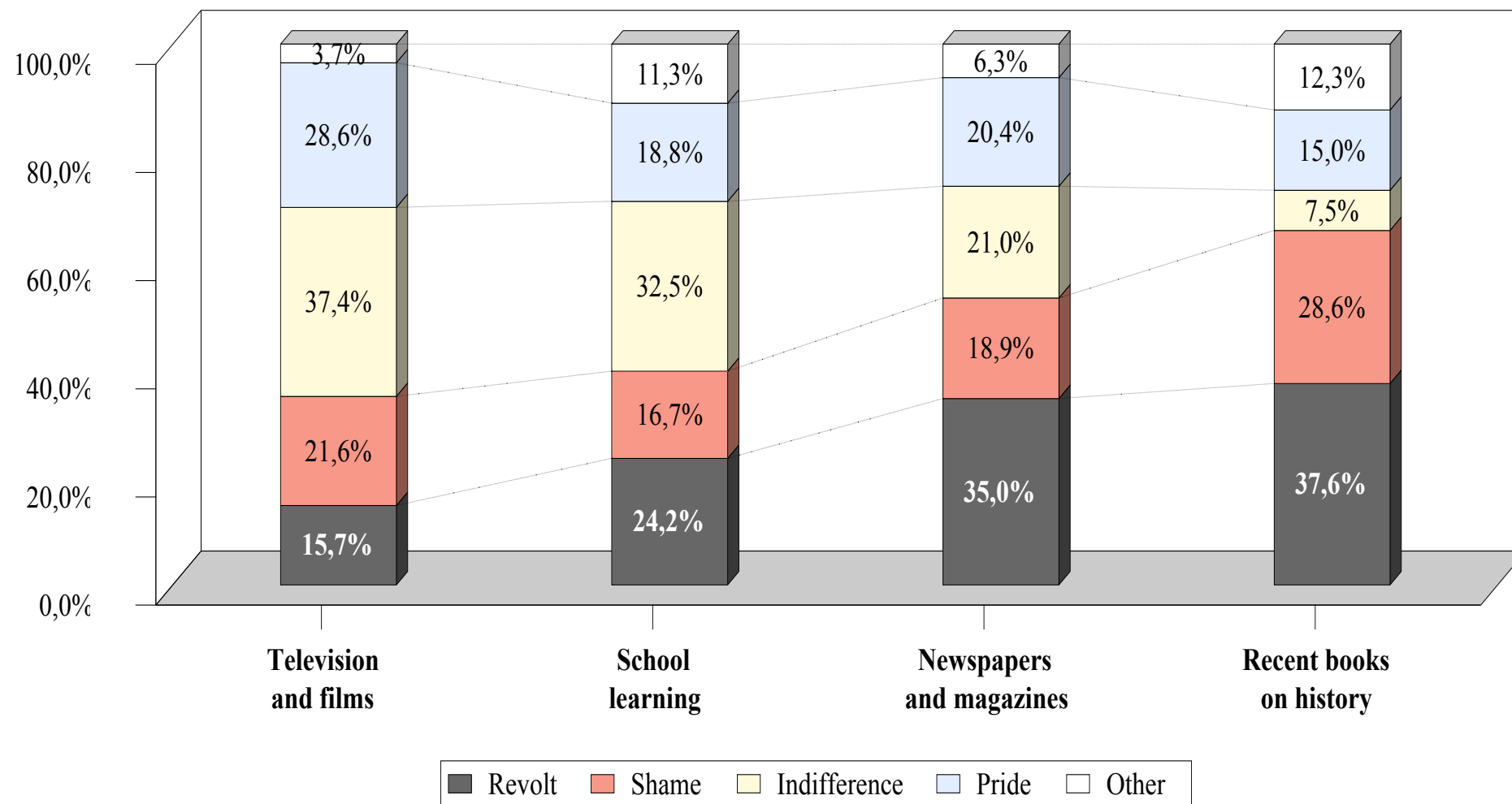




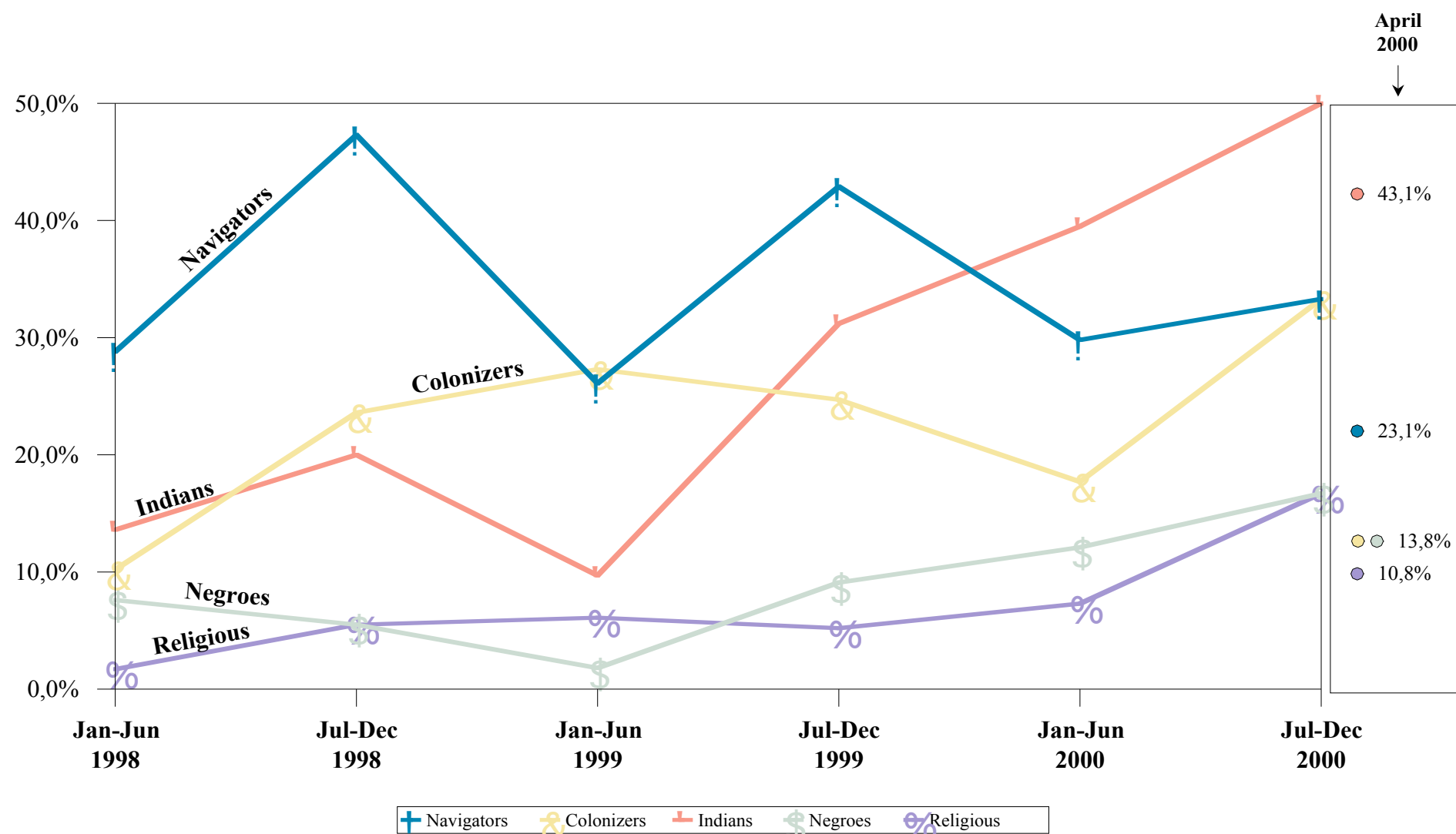
**Figure 5 – The discovery of Brazil and its commemoration in Brazilian written press from 1998 to 2000, according to the discursive forms of the matters**



**Figure 6 – Feelings associated to the collective memories of the discovery of Brazil, according to the main source of knowledge about the historical event**



**Figure 7 – The discovery of Brazil and its commemoration in Brazilian written press from 1998 to 2000, according to the privileged historical actors**



**Figure 8 – The discovery of Brazil and its commemoration in Brazilian written press from 1998 to 2000, according to Moscovici's systems of communication**

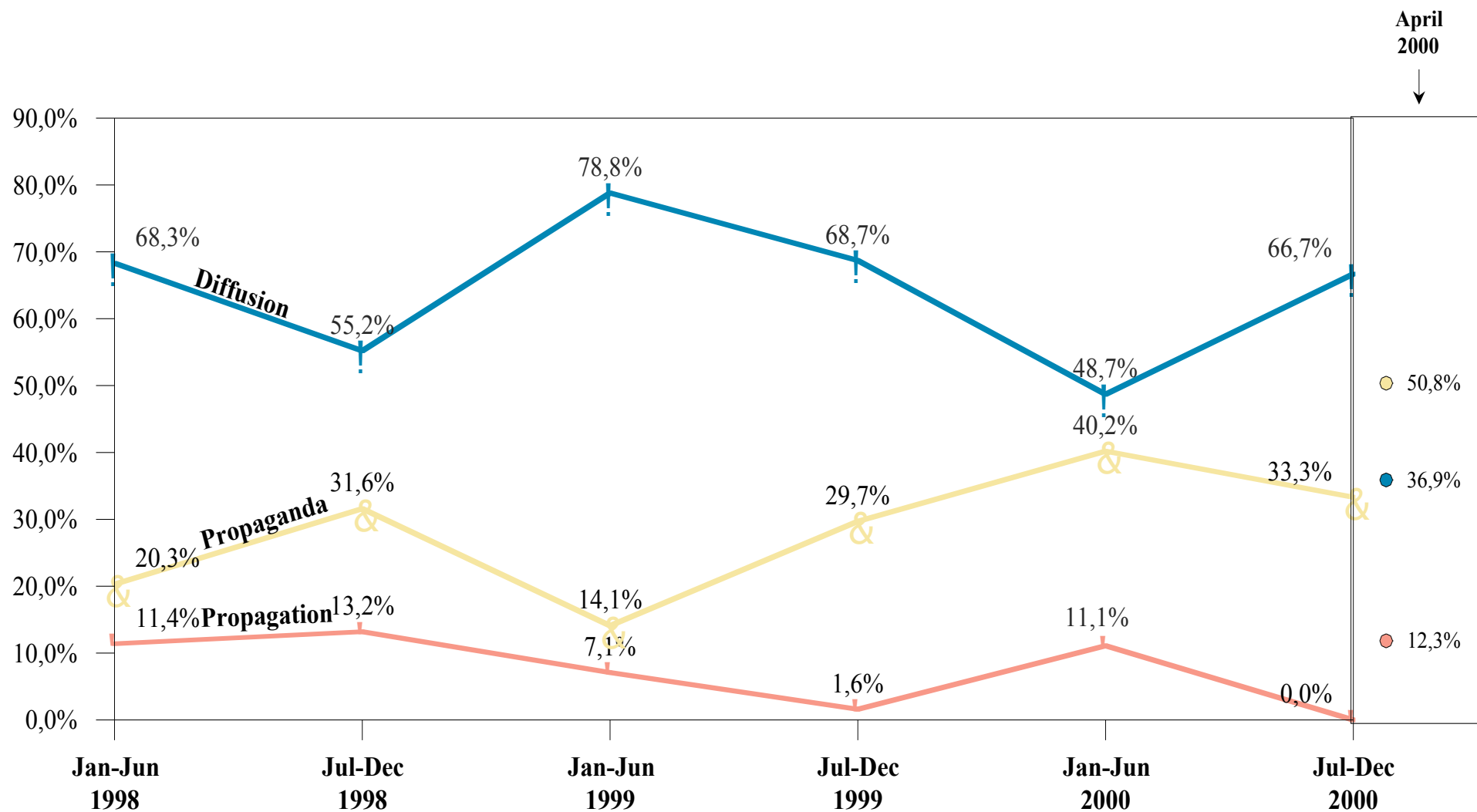


Figure 9 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil”. (N = 259, N = 348)

- Left or Center-Left Political Orientation -

<2,9	Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians	56	Portuguese	26
exploitation	30	brazil-wood	21
caravels	29	slavery	19
massacre of Indians	14		
sea	12		
		Frequency >12%	
Frequency <12%			
Pedro-Álvares-Cabral	8	wealth	10
invasion	8	colonization	8
acculturation	7	forests	7
navigators	7	Letter from Caminha	6
conquest	4	miscigenation	6
First mass	4	Catholicism	5
freedom	3	dominance	5
non discovery	3	injustice	3
		Jesuits	3

- Without Political Definition -

<2,9	Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians	64	brazil-wood	23
Portuguese	33	exploitation	20
caravels	31	slavery	16
Pedro Álvares Cabral	12	wealth	14
		Frequency >11%	
Frequency <11%			
colonization	10	seq	10
Neroes	8	forests	9
discovery	6	First mass	9
freedom	5	lands	6
massacre of Indians	5	Letter from Caminha	5
new world	5	wars	4
nature	5	Jesuits	4
natural beauties	4	death	4
Brazil	4	acculturation	3
navigators	4		
invasion	3		
arrival	3		

Figure 10 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil”. (N = 366; N = 394)

<u>Latin American Belongingness</u> <u>Recognized and Valued</u>				<u>Latin American Belongingness</u> <u>Not Recognized or Not Valued</u>			
<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9
Indians	54	Portuguese	28	Indians	65	exploitation	22
caravels	27	brazil-wood	23	caravels	33	slavery	20
exploitation	25	slavery	14	Portuguese	30	brazil-wood	19
Frequency >13%				Frequency >18%			
Frequency <13%				Frequency <18%			
massacre of Indians	10	wealth	11	Pedro Álvares Cabral	18	wealth	14
Pedro Álvares Cabral	9	colonization	11	sea	13	colonization	10
sea	7	First mass	9	Negroes	8	forests	8
invasion	6	forests	8	First mass	7	Letter from Caminha	7
non discovery	5	Letter from Caminha	7	acculturation	6	lands	7
navigators	5	lands	6	navigators	6		
discovery	4	miscigenation	5	arrival	6		
nature	4			discovery	5		

**Figure 11 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil”. (N = 324; N = 431)**

<u>Catholic Religion Professed</u>				<u>Catholic Religion Not Professed or Without Religion</u>			
<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9
Indians	63	brazil-wood	22	Indians	58	exploitation	26
caravels	31	slavery	19	caravels	29	brazil-wood	21
Portuguese	29			Portuguese	29	slavery	16
exploitation	20						
		Frequency >18%				Frequency >14%	
Frequency <18%				Frequency <14%			
Pedro Álvares Cabral	12	wealth	14	sea	12	wealth	11
forests	7	colonization	12	massacre of Indians	10	colonization	9
massacre of Indians	6	première messe	8	Pedro Álvares Cabral	10	forests	9
		Letter from Caminha	8	Negroes	6	First mass	8
		sea	7	invasion	5	navigators	7
		lands	7	acculturation	5	Letter from Caminha	6
				destruction	4	lands	6
						miscigenation	4

**Figure 12 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil”. (N = 575; N = 185)**

**- Portuguese Ascendancy Not Recognized or Not Valued -**

<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians	59	exploitation	24	
caravels	30	brazil-wood	19	
Portuguese	28	slavery	17	
		Frequency >13%		
Frequency <14%				
Pedro Álvares Cabral	11	wealth	12	
sea	11	colonization	10	
massacre of Indians	9	First mass	8	
Negroes	6	Letter from Caminha	7	
invasion	4	forests	7	
acculturation	4	lands	6	
discovery	4	navigators	6	
freedom	4	Catholicism	4	

**- Portuguese Ascendancy Recognized and Valued -**

<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians	61	Portuguese	30	
caravels	29	brazil-wood	28	
		exploitation	23	
		Frequency >18%		
Frequency <18%				
Pedro Álvares Cabral	9	slavery	16	
		colonization	12	
		wealth	12	
		forests	12	
		sea	8	
		First mass	8	
		lands	8	
		acculturation	7	



**Figure 13 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil”. (N = 569; N = 191)**

**- Indian Ascendancy Not Recognized or Not Valued -**

<2,9		Evocation order		>2,9	
Indians	60	exploitation		23	
caravels	29	brazil-wood		23	
Portuguese	29	slavery		17	
		Frequency >17%			
Frequency <17%					
Pedro Álvares Cabral	11	wealth		13	
sea	9	colonization		11	
First mass	8	Letter from Caminha		8	
massacre of Indians	7	forests		7	
		lands		7	

**- Indian Ascendancy Recognized and Valued -**

<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians	59	brazil-wood	17	
caravels	30			
Portuguese	29			
exploitation	26			
		Frequency >16%		
Frequency <16%				
massacre of Indians	11	slavery	15	
Pedro Álvares Cabral	10	sea	12	
invasion	7	wealth	11	
navigators	7	forests	10	
		colonization	7	
		First mass	7	
		wars	6	
		lands	6	

Figure 14 – Quadrants of distribution of the free evocations to the theme “Discovery of Brazil”. (N = 524; N = 236)

**- African Ascendancy Not Recognized or Not Valued -**

<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians caravels Portuguese	62	exploitation	24	
	30	brazil-wood	24	
	29	slavery	17	
				Frequency >14%
Frequency <14%				
Pedro Álvares Cabral sea massacre of Indians First mass Negroes discovery invasion acculturation	12	wealth	12	
	10	colonization	12	
	8	Letter from Caminha	8	
	8	forests	7	
	5	lands	7	
	5	navigators	6	
	4	Jesuits	4	
	4			

**- African Ascendancy Recognized and Valued -**

<2,9		Evocation order	>2,9	
Indians Portuguese caravels	55	exploitation	22	
	30	brazil-wood	17	
	28			
				Frequency >16%
Frequency <16%				
slavery sea Pedro Álvares Cabral massacre of Indians Negroes colonization invasion	16	wealth	14	
	11	forests	10	
	8	First mass	8	
	8			
	7			
	7			
	7			
	7			