

FROM IRON TO THE INDUSTRIAL CLOUD: MEMORY AND (DE)INDUSTRIALIZATION AT THE LISNAVE AND SETENAVE SHIPYARDS

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In the 1960s, Portugal lived through a period of rapid industrialization in what became known as the golden cycle of Portuguese industry. This late industrialization makes Portugal one of the countries ruled by a peripheral Fordism, which is particularly relevant in the region of Setúbal, since several heavy industry companies settled there, among them Setenave and Lisnave. These shipyards are described by workers as being “a city within the city” mostly given their dimension and labour contingent. However, this industrial “city” was more than a place of economic production; it was also a place for sociability. Informed by semi-structured in-depth interviews with former shipyard workers, and focused on the meaning they attribute to the changes experienced between the 1970s and the deindustrialization period of the 1980s, this article analyses the transition from a working culture based on solidarity to a culture dominated by competition and individualism.

Keywords: deindustrialization, Setúbal, working-class, shipyards, memory

INTRODUCTION

When I started this research in 2015¹ in the region where I was born – Setúbal (Portugal)² – my main objective was to uncover the bottom-up version of events that were presented

¹ This paper is the result of my Master’s research (completed in 2017) as well as work in progress on my PhD thesis, funded by a scholarship from the Foundation for Science and Technology (SFRH/BD/133510/2017).

² The region or the Peninsula of Setúbal covers the northern part of the District of Setúbal. It is bordered to the north by the Tagus Estuary and, through it, Greater Lisbon (capital of Portugal). Of significance for this

through official narratives insisting that the crisis can be solved and development and modernization attained only if it becomes clear to all that the outdated figure of the industrial worker as well as heavy industry in which he earned his living belong to the past.

This narrative is present, for example, in the speeches of the X Constitutional Government's Minister of Labour and Social Security Mira Amaral, where he argues that the region needs a transformation from "a small number of large organizations to a mobile industrial cloud, flexible and innovative" (Amaral 1986: 19). The same is evident in other documents, like the report of the Integrated Development Operation,³ where the need for social pacification is emphasized (here in order to end the labour conflict) with the intention of making the region an attractive space for investment by a new type of industry:

Changing the image of the Peninsula of Setúbal was also one of the major objectives of the IDO. In a socially turbulent, degraded, decaying area, it was the intention to create an attractive region, a territory where you would like to live and work, which you would think of with nostalgia, where true wealth is created. (IDO 1987: 30)

In view of these profound transformations I focus on two main Portuguese shipyards in the region of Setúbal – Lisnave and Setenave – trying to understand how former metalworkers from this region perceive the process of social and economic recomposition: the trajectory, adaptation and/or resistance to a crisis and the restructuring process that culminated in the domination of the service sector and the end of a stable employment relationship such as the one which existed in the context of Fordism. To that end, I use the concept of deindustrialization (which is somewhat overlooked in the Portuguese context) from its more cultural approach, which considers "chronology, memory, spatial relations, culture and politics" (Cowie and Heathcott 2003: 2). Through this framework it was possible to view these processes from what Roberta Garrucio in her study on deindustrialization recognizes as the "unmaking" of the working class (thus warning of a process contrary to that famously described by E. P. Thompson). Namely, while looking at deindustrialization as a mirror of industrialization, she argues that one should not neglect the role of workers in the process of the dissolution of working communities, where they are active agents in the conflict rather than mere victims of the process. This is why, as she warns, it is necessary to bring to light and preserve their memories and worldviews (Garrucio 2016: 49).

Semi-structured in-depth interviews with former shipyard workers, where their professional trajectory was the main focus, allowed me to understand their memories of the environment in which they worked and the changes that took place. Thus, after the introductory part in which I provide a contextualization of the national and regional economy in this period and a brief description of the development of Lisnave and Setenave shipyards, I

paper are also the city of Almada, where the Lisnave shipyard is located, and the city of Setúbal, where the Setenave shipyard is located.

³ The Integrated Development Operation (IDO) was a reconversion and restructuring plan funded by several European funds. The end of this IDO in 1993 had a positive impact on the economic structure of the region, allowing a shy recovery of the peninsula of Setúbal.

explore the different meanings that shipyards occupy in the workers' narratives along with the role they play in the workers' identity formation.

PORTUGUESE ECONOMY: BETWEEN LATE INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CRISIS

At the beginning of the 1960s, Portugal witnessed a change in the structure of the economy, as a result of a wave of industrialization promoted by entry into the EFTA and development plans (Soares 2000: 65), thus living through what some authors refer to as the “golden cycle” (Lopes 1998: 84). This late opening to the industrial process made it possible for Portugal to be included in the circle of countries governed by peripheral Fordism (Braga 2018: 6), characterized by accumulation regimes supported by low productivity industries and oriented towards the export of non-durable consumer goods to other peripheral countries (Braga 2018: 6). However, such a model of development meets its limits in two dimensions:

a) The first limit was the revolution. Quite briefly, the revolution began at dawn on April 25, 1974 – putting an end to forty-eight years of dictatorship – and lasted 19 months, between April 25, 1974 and November 25, 1975 when a coup was staged, initiating the so-called “democratic normalization” or, more commonly, the integration into the Western model of democracy.

However, these 19 months represent a profound change in a country which had until then lived under a repressive regime. As historian Rachel Varela says:

hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike, hundreds of workplaces were sometimes occupied for months and perhaps almost 3 million people took part in demonstrations, occupations and commissions. Many workplaces were taken over and run by the workers, land in much of southern and central Portugal was taken over by the workers themselves. (Varela 2019: 1)

b) The second limit was the attempt made during the 1980s by private capital to re-establish the conditions of accumulation in order to facilitate entry into the EEC (Santos 1993: 3). The economy resulting from the revolutionary process was mainly marked by the nationalization of important sectors (including several large companies such as Setenave, Siderurgia Nacional or CUF). However, this scenario lasted for a short time, because as early as 1977, due to inflationary pressure and rising unemployment, Portugal received first economic aid from the IMF and in 1983 the scenario repeated itself.

Alongside these crises and financial aid processes, during the 1980s Portugal began to adapt to the European economies in order to accede to the EEC (which it did in 1986) and concluded the decade with a constitutional revision process in 1989 that aimed to reverse the nationalization policy and open the economy to the market.

In general terms, the dynamics caused by both the revolutionary process and later the desire to join the then EEC and the market economy can be seen as the main causes (despite important differences) of a reconfiguration that led the economic model followed until then to its definitive crisis.

THE REGION OF SETÚBAL AND THE HEAVY INDUSTRY CYCLE (1960 – 1993)

The region of Setúbal can be seen as a laboratory par excellence of these transformations. Being a region with strong industrial presence since the end of the nineteenth century – mainly due to canning and cork industries – it became a privileged place of this late industrial growth and its consequent dismantling. Between the 1960s and the mid-1990s, Setúbal was the scene of development of the main Portuguese industries of the 20th century – in the chemical industry The Companhia União Fabril (CUF) and later Quimigal that was located in Barreiro, the shipyards of Lisnave and later also the shipyards of Setenave which were located in Almada and Setúbal respectively and Siderurgia Nacional [National Siderurgy] that was located in Seixal.

Between the 1950s and the early 1980s, along with the economic expansion of the Tagus' south region, there was substantial population growth, surpassing the national average. This immigration came mainly from the rural areas of Alentejo, looking for jobs in big companies that emerged in this period and employed thousands of workers. This massive arrival of new workers reinforced an already existing trend in the region of Setúbal of exclusive wage dependence (85.7%) which turned out to be a dramatic problem during the economic crisis (IDO 1995: 111).

The arrival of this new mass of workers had a significant impact on the ongoing process of politicization and social conflict of the social strata that had been controlled by the repression and corporate policy of the regime's unions. Some analysts saw these workers – arguably – as a mass impregnated by the "*ideologia alentejana*". According to José Manuel Félix Ribeiro, this ideological particularity was due to an encounter between the experiences of labour conflict experienced by rural workers in Alentejo against landowners and urban industrial experiences already existing in this region (Ribeiro 1994: 91).

This new migrant wave developed a very particular relationship with the idea of property, which, contrary to what happened with rural workers in the regions further north (where they had small pieces of land), was not associated with the idea of social mobility. In this sense, popular solidarity, social cohesion and the defence of a collective against inequalities found important support and was welcome in the workers' culture (Barreto and Mónica 1999: 333), reinforcing conflict in a region that was experiencing profound economic changes.

Ultimately, we can say that the region of Setúbal represents for the Portuguese working class what the cities of Turin or Detroit represent for the history of the working class in Italy and the USA – whilst taking into consideration the historical and material particularities. It is precisely this peculiarity that makes it such an interesting region to analyse, considering that Portugal has never reached the level of industrial development of other Western countries. The region of Setúbal thus represents a peculiarity in a semi-peripheral country, where deep industrial crisis coexisted with a labour movement with strong traditions of struggle.

THE NAVAL SECTOR: THE SHIPYARDS OF LISNAVE AND SETENAVE

Founded in 1961 and 1971 respectively, these companies grew in a favourable international economic context. The 1967-75 Suez Canal closure along with an unstable political situation in the Middle East prompted trade to rely increasingly on fast supertankers that, instead of the Mediterranean route, took the Atlantic route. This situation led to an exponential increase in the volume of repairs by Lisnave (Varela 2010: 348) and, consequently, to founding the Setenave shipyard.⁴

In these two shipyards a very radicalized working culture – hegemonized by the communist party but also with large fringes organizing around ideas linked to Maoism – were formed. In the case of Lisnave, this was felt in 1969, more specifically on 12 and 13 November, when a strike took place at the shipyard. As historian Raquel Varela notes, the reasons for this strike are still controversial today, as for the communist party the protest fell into the field of economic claims, but it is also possible to discern political claims like calls for the end of the colonial war (Varela 2010: 349). However, it is undeniable that they opened a cycle that preceded the revolution of April 25, 1974, and this radical culture was the main engine of social and political conflict both in the revolutionary process (here already with workers' action at the Setenave shipyard) but also in the following decades. This had a deep impact on the productive system and the relationship of forces in Portuguese society, as it indicated a moment of emergence of the working class as a political subject but also the social base of support for socialist claims that ended up in the Portuguese Constitution of 1976.

However, as has already been mentioned, the changes that began in the 1980s and the accession to the EEC represented the end of the development model. With regard to shipyards, the effects of the global recessions, the fragility of the Portuguese economy and the set of policies of the EEC, which, through the 6th Council Directive for the ship-

⁴ Although Setenave emerged as a complementary shipyard for Lisnave, the revolutionary process of 1974/75 led to the nationalization of the former, thus creating a bifurcation of paths between the two companies that would only be reunited again in the 1990s with the privatisation process.

building industry of 26 January 1987, set out a program capacity reduction for shipyards, seeking a concentration of production, and betting on more technologically advanced ships,⁵ translated into long delays in the payment of wages, redundancies and constant restructuring, which opened doors to the reversal of the situation created by the revolutionary process. Between 1980 and 1994, the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards together lost 10,636 workers.

In 1989, Setenave was privatized, with the shipyard operated by Solisnor (a consortium between Lisnave, Soponata and Norwegians of Barber International, Wilhelmsen and Platou), and nine years later, as early as 1998, the Mello family bought Setenave for 5 million contos.⁶ In the year 2000, the yard in Almada – where Lisnave was located – was deactivated, transferring to Setúbal, where Setenave was located before its privatization.

METHODOLOGY AND BRIEF CHARACTERIZATION OF INTERVIEWEES

When I started the research, my intention was to interview workers who had experienced the restructuring process on the ground, which is why I tried to avoid focusing on professional trade union leaders. In addition, I tried to achieve some age diversity, since we can define two major moments in the life of the shipyards – a period up to the beginning of the 1980s (a period in which workers' organizational capacity is still notorious) and a period from 1984/85, where social confrontations were already part of a process of fragmentation of the working class. Ultimately, I valued the quality of the interviews over collecting a massive number of testimonies.

However, organized workers – whether in trade unions or worker's committees – ended up being not only those who were more willing to talk but were also much more “visible” at the time of gathering possible contacts for a task of this sort. Thus, I rely on four interviews with former workers who, despite not being professional leaders, held various union positions – yet they experienced this social transformation process on the ground. But who are these four former workers?

Cipriano P. was born in Montijo in 1954. He joined Setenave in February 1977 as a welder. Having lived through the entire restructuring period – from Setenave to Solisnor and later to Lisnave – he left in 2008 and spent the following two years working for subcontractors. He is currently retired and lives in Montijo, where the interview took place on 16 March 2016.

⁵ See “Council Directive of 26 January on aid to shipbuilding,” EU laws and publications, <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/dc206582-cd3a-484a-99b1-453fa77725c9/language-en> (accessed 26 December 2019).

⁶ One of the main families of the Portuguese ruling class. José Manuel de Mello was the chairman of Lisnave's Board of Directors.

Francisco T. was born in Beja in 1949. He arrived in Lisnave in April 1973, spent two months in a training school, and then joined Lisnave as a locksmith, a profession he had already held in other workshops. He was one of the many workers dismissed in 1985. He is already retired and lives in Almada, where the interview took place on 10 April 2016.

Vítor R. was born in Setúbal in 1962. He entered Setenave in 1980, undergoing a vocational training course that was normally open during school vacations for workers' children. He worked as a welder between 1980 and 1993, when he was fired following a restructuring process that led to the dismissal of thousands of workers. He still lives in Setubal where the interview took place on 02 April 2016.

Joaquim C. was born in Alcácer do Sal in 1952. He joined Lisnave in 1973 through an associated company, Gaslimpo, doing maintenance and cleaning ships. In 1975 the employees of this company were integrated into Lisnave. Joaquim and several other workers left in 1985. Today he is retired and lives in Almada, where the interview took place on 16 May 2016.

THE SHIPYARDS IN THE WORKERS' MEMORIES

Many of the newly arrived workers employed in industrial plants in the region of Setúbal between 1960 and 1970 were the cause of a profound transformation, not only from the economic and demographic point of view, but also from the political and cultural one. This is especially evident in the way that these workers describe their arrival to the new reality of a large industrial zone. In their narratives there are several references to a "shock" they experienced when faced with work and living space that they were not accustomed to. This is how Francisco put it when referring to Lisnave:

[...] Lisnave... the people out here don't know, but that was a city within a city, therefore a gas network everywhere [...] The sewer network... was a city within a city, so the ships and everything was a bit scary until we settled down, right? Each ship was one hundred meters high, just down and up. (Francisco T.)

From a more political point of view, the issue of size was also underlined by Cipriano P. in relation to Setenave:

Then of course a guy goes there and it's a different world, completely different I mean... working in a company with about 7,000 workers... it was one thing to have a meeting here with the workshop crowd, which gathered 15, 20 people, and it was another thing to have assemblies with 5,000 or 6,000 workers. It is a completely different dimension. (Cipriano P.)

These two statements regarding the size of the shipyards, so well defined by Francisco T. in this image of "a city within a city", allows us to make two brief arguments.

On the one hand, the physical grandeur of the Lisnave shipyard profoundly transformed the landscape of the city of Almada, gaining considerable importance in the urban space. This is especially evident when it comes to the symbolic role played even today by the giant gantry crane that remains in the deactivated grounds of the shipyard, making it one of the symbols of what Nuno Perestrelo defines in his photographic work, as part of the “*Lost Empires*”.⁷ In line with what Sharon Zukin tells us about landscapes, the industrial landscape created by the shipyard “imposes and represents a visual order” (1993: 17) that permanently connects the space of the shipyard and the city to a certain kind of economic and cultural order.

On the other hand, both statements allow us to consider shipyards as spaces that articulate productivity and sociability, and environments where economic exploitation and domination occurred, where the material conditions of labour and the discipline of technical subordination directly affected “all the sense organs” of the workers (Marx [1992]: 484).

Taking into account this multidimensionality of the shipyards, I will explore three dimensions which seem central in the narratives of the workers: the pre- and post-revolutionary work-related processes; the memories of the shipyards as a work community and finally, the memories of fragmentation of work and space developed from the 1980s.

THE SHIPYARDS TRAVERSED BY THE CARNATION REVOLUTION

Also, as I glimpsed one day, crying out of joy, early and uneasy
hope, the blue of the Lisnave workers marching, shouting hate to
the air, troops of love and helmets.

José Mário Branco, FMI

As we have already seen, in the Lisnave shipyard – and from 1974 the Setenave shipyard, there were some confrontations that preceded the fall of the fascist regime (in particular the 1969 strike, where economic demands coexisted with an anti-fascist agenda, which led to an intense conflict between the workers and the shipyard management) which somehow defined the way taken by the Carnation Revolution.⁸ These moments are not always clearly present in the narratives of the older workers; nevertheless, it is possible to discern a distinction they make in their narratives between before and after April 25

⁷ Developed between 2013 and 2014, this project by Nuno Perestrelo “is a documentary photography project intended to follow the tradition of creating a visual document of an era. In some cases, it’s an era that is on the verge of extinction, or even died already, while in others it’s a story of transformation and adaptation to new circumstances”. See <https://nunoperestrelo.com/lost-empires> (accessed 17 March 2020).

⁸ Examples of this are “savage strikes” during the first post-revolutionary months, ending with a walk across the Ponte 25 de Abril towards Lisbon or the various processes of *saneamento* (basically the dismissing of superiors and even colleagues who were linked to the authoritarian regime) of the leading cadres of these companies or the attempt to implement worker control.

1974. They remember the pre-revolution period mainly for the regime's tight control of the workers and for an insecurity they felt concerning their working conditions. As Joaquim C. remembers:

It was hard work without conditions and practically... we just came up here at lunch time and then we go down again, there was a vigil at the entrance of the tank, tight on the workers. (Joaquim C.)

However, as he says, "with April 25 everything changed" (ibid.). Immediately after the coup which paved the way for the revolutionary process, the labour movement reconfigured itself with the creation of free trade unions, of workers' committees that arise autonomously in the companies and which helped shape and represented the demands of the workers. Worker control was experienced in several companies, where workers took an active role in the sequence of events. As Joaquim C. told us:

There in 1974 we gained new claiming power. Until then we didn't have it, they gave us what they wanted to give, "we give 50, we give 60..." [the amounts proposed by the bosses for salary increase], it was very important that workers committees had at the time a decisive role in leading the workers in daily struggles, as well as unions, were two vectors to which workers are very grateful and were also engaged in these great transformations that were made in Lisnave. (Joaquim C.)

The revolutionary process and the first years following it was a period when many workers were politically involved either in political parties or some class organizations, such as the union or worker committees:

[...] I was elected to ... the beginning of the organization and there were meetings in the sections and whoever wanted to apply, and people voted as I sympathized with the staff. That is to say, they sympathized with me perhaps because of the beard I had already at that time [laughs], or because I used to play football with them, for some it would be for sympathy and for others for a political matter but let's say it was a genuine election, democratic... (Francisco T.)

These two revolutionary years radically altered the life of the shipyards – especially with regard to worker power in relation to the higher hierarchies, their ability to push for more rights but also to have guaranteed basic conditions such as job security – and even today they define these former workers' memories. The process known as "democratic normalization" began on November 25, 1975, where the radicals of the revolutionary process were defeated, and Portugal assumed a model of liberal democracy in conformity with the rest of the West. The evident hope in the words of these workers witnesses a rupture quite visible in the words of Francisco T:

Now, all this force, and all this organization and these movements of solidarity with the various struggles since November 25, there was a change in its quality. [...] So the genuine solidarity here with November 25 there was a change and there was a change in the issue of the boss, the boss with November 25 returns and again assumes his share in the company. (Francisco T.)

THE SHIPYARDS AS A “WORK COMMUNITY”

Despite all the political and social transformations of this period, both the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards were based on a business model that sought to “integrate the worker, be it a locksmith or an engineer, in a large and heterogeneous work community” (Conceição et. al. 2016: 140). During the authoritarian regime the corporate version was more latent, but even after the 1974 revolution, integration remained a central concept in the management discourse and this was visible mainly in two areas: in vocational training, aiming at productive improvement of the company and in the field of leisure, encompassing the complexity of social life beyond the working hours.

In the first case, it is important to underline the role of training schools, both in Lisnave and in Setenave, whose goal was to get the workers fit into the company’s productive objectives, thereby developing the so-called “entrepreneurial spirit” (Faria 2001: 189). The programs differed in some specific details but were essentially structured into two strands: an organizational/functional aspect, insisting on the values advocated by the company and a different aspect, that was technical in nature, ranging from technical design to arithmetic or computer training.

This training process is remembered by the workers I interviewed – regardless of their age difference – in a positive way. As Cipriano says:

[...] in the specific case of Setenave, they had to fulfil a series of requirements and rules. And so there must be a certified personnel to do certain jobs. And this certification was made because people normally ... had a training school and the staff went every year, we were going to take some retraining courses, three weeks, four weeks, to do new courses ... and that meant that people were formed to be able to exercise. With a few exceptions, part of the people evolved within the company itself ... It is no coincidence that a large part of the people who came out ... succeeded. They went abroad ... I never happened to think of it ... but there was a lot of people who did not want another life. I know people who have run the whole world to work, I mean ... it has advantages, it has disadvantages, and... But who likes this ... there is no crisis. (Cipriano P.)

This training of workers was an instrument to ensure the progress of the company, but at the same time it guaranteed safety for the workers themselves, allowing them a reasonably secure future, if needed, outside the company using their technical knowledge acquired for their benefit.

However, the term “city within a city” is particularly insightful because it allows us to understand the space of the shipyard not only as a world of economic production, but as an equally productive space of sociability and solidarity. This ranges from founding consumer cooperatives, as was the case with the cooperative created in Lisnave between 1976 and 1977 which enabled the distribution of products from agrarian reform cooperatives in the Alentejo fields, to opening nurseries such as “O Barquinho” [“Little Boat”], which started in 1970 and in 1979, offering workers a multi-valued space to take care of their children

(Museu Naval de Almada, 2019). Moreover, the Lisnave Club was founded in 1971 to add content to the workers' leisure time, organizing cultural and recreational activities. In the case of Setenave, the organization of leisure is noticeably less structured than Lisnave's (probably due to the fact that it was inaugurated during the revolutionary process and the beginning of the new democratic regime) but we can also find sources that record the existence of several activities of this kind.⁹

After the fall of the authoritarian regime there was a change of emphasis in organizing workers' leisure. At that time, groups of workers in the two companies organized cultural and recreational activities more informally, thus guaranteeing a certain autonomy on the part of the workers which until then had not been so simple. As Cipriano recalls:

Alright. Then there were societies of totolotos, euromilhões... [lotteries and other similar games] and there were always groups of people that joined. There were times when there were football championships, each section had its own football team, and we had 14, 15, 16, 17 teams, there were tournaments [...] (Cipriano P.)

In this way we can find in the shipyards something similar to what Bruno Monteiro found in his research on the textile industry in northern Portugal. This coexistence between hard work and forms of sociability – be they framed by the company or not – shows a kind of “a familiar place of familiar faces that one comes to inhabit by virtue of a material and symbolic appropriation that is constant and continuous, a place in which the workers bind affectively” (Monteiro 2014: 148).

THE SHIPYARDS AS A FRAGMENTATION SPACE

Finally, it is important to point out the third dimension visible in the workers' memories, which concerns the fragmentation of the collective worker. As I have already mentioned, since the mid-1980s heavy industry had gone into deep crisis and shipyards were the ultimate example of this.

Between 1980 and 1994 the yards of Lisnave and Mitrena together lost 10,636 workers. This emptying of the yards and the consequent loss of strength are two wounds that, as Alessandro Portelli notes, are “deeper than broken backs and broken lungs. They sink into the soul and erode people's sense of themselves and of their environment” (Portelli 2011: 361-362). As Joaquim notes: “We look at a recent past and look at the present that we are living [and we think] ‘how is this possible?!’” (Joaquim C.). Vitor points out that this new phase lived by the workers in the shipyards was as if “you had a handful of sand and the

⁹ For example, the magazine *Setenave Information – Human Relations Department*. There we can find references to automobile competitions organized for workers (s. n. 1975a) or fishing contests (s. n. 1975b) or even the creation of sports teams (s. n. 1977).

sand grains begin to pass through your fingers and you start to see that you cannot hold it” (Vitor R.).

Forms of resistance were not able to stop the restructuring process. As Cipriano recalls: “It was a complicated period. Because from a certain point you want to organize a strike, you want to organize a fight, you have a situation: you strike, you fight, but the company continues to work” (Cipriano P.).

These difficulties are due in large part to hiring subcontractors and privatization processes by sections. The stability and unity that was experienced by the workers when they entered the shipyard in the seventies – fruits of the achievements of the revolutionary period – were completely reversed. According to the workers’ testimonies, what once used to be the world of work transformed into worlds of work, though within the same productive space. The shipyard that in the 1970s represented a place that gave meaning and substance to these individual existences, a place that had political significance and was an environment of shared values, was being dismantled, giving way to individualization and competition between workers.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In conclusion, as we could see, between the 1970s and 1990s there was a profound transformation of what we can consider – using the concept of Raymond Williams (1978) – the structure of feelings of the working class of this region. Through the memories of these workers, we were able to follow the transformations of their experience, which can be generally synthesized as what Marco Revelli defines the “ethics of solidarity” – a mixture of values, rules of life, memories and certainties that made the soul and identity of the workers’ movement (1982: 100) – as well as the different roles played by the industrial landscape – represented here by the shipyards – in the lives of these workers.

The entire conflict in this region and at the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards ended in the mid-1990s with a transition period marked by the opening of Autoeuropa – a joint venture between Volkswagen Group and Ford – opening doors to the new post-Fordist paradigm. As mentioned by the then Minister of Labour and Social Security Mira Amaral, heavy industry, based on large and relatively rigid units, gave way to the previously mentioned “industrial cloud”, in the sense that Autoeuropa occupied a central place, with several companies around it in a decentralized and flexible model.

What was idealized as a working community – at first by authoritarian corporatism and, after the 1974 revolution, by the worker’s moral economy – became a space of fragmentation, giving rise to an “ethics of survival” that feeds competitive individualism in supposedly rational management of the crisis (Revelli 1982: 100).

This economic modernization, despite being presented as a linear and peaceful process, permanently brought into play the confrontation between backwardness and progress,

taking advantage of opening to the European market and inclusion in the EEC to transform what was politically defined by the left parties as the vanguard of the working class in what Boltanski and Chiapello define as “a mosaic of people to whom as many statutes apply as there are companies represented in the workplace” (2009: 254).

However, as we have also seen, the relation of these workers with the productive space goes far beyond a relation of exploitation or economic production, allowing us to note the existence of a form of resistance to dominant discourse, which Raymond Williams saw as the “resource of hope” for a better tomorrow (Highmore 2016: 160). The shipyards of Lisnave and Setenave thus represented not only what we can define as spaces of worker defeat or disillusionment, but also spaces which, being strongly associated with a combative working culture and the revolution of April 25, are still remembered today as constituents of political subjectivity and professional and technological autonomy.

This is encapsulated in Vítor’s words, who, by way of summary, told me:

What is left of this period since 1980 when I entered Setenave, with an interval of two years due to the navy, until I was there? It is all an education in the field, let’s say a pure and hard class struggle. It was obvious and it was clear to us. (Vítor R.)

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OD ŽELJEZA DO INDUSTRIJSKOG OBLAKA: PAMĆENJE I (DE)INDUSTRIJALIZACIJA U BRODOGRADILIŠTIMA LISNAVE I SETENAVE

Tijekom 1960-ih Portugal je doživio brzu industrijalizaciju, a navedeno je razdoblje postalo poznato kao zlatni ciklus portugalske industrije. Kasna industrijalizacija značila je da je Portugal jedna od država u kojoj je vladao periferni fordizam, što je imalo posebnu važnost za pokrajinu Setúbal, gdje je niknulo nekoliko tvornica teške industrije, između ostalog Setenave i Lisnave. Radnici opisuju ova brodogradilišta kao "grad unutar grada", uglavnom zbog njihove veličine i broja radnika. Međutim, ovaj "grad" bio je više od mjesta proizvodnje, riječ je bila i o mjestu druženja. Na temelju polustrukturiranih dubinskih

intervjua s bivšim zaposlenicima ovih brodogradilišta, a na temelju značenja koje oni pripisuju promjenama koje su iskusili između 1970-ih i razdoblja deindustrijalizacije tijekom 1980-ih, u ovom se radu analizira prijelaz iz radničke kulture utemeljene na solidarnosti prema kulturi u kojoj dominira konkurencija i individualizam.

Ključne riječi: deindustrijalizacija, Setúbal, radnička klasa, brodogradilišta, pamćenje