



Grupo onde se encontram 11 elementos da UNITA que foram treinados na República Popular da China

PATTERNS OF ENGAGEMENT IN UNITA'S FIRST GENERATION

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Introduction

- What explains different patterns of political engagement in high-risk/cost activism (why, when and who engage in high-risk activism)?
- Structural and individual factors that facilitate or precipitate engagement and explain the decision to participate
- Analytical focus on the intersection between micro (individual/motivational), meso (organization/movement) and macro (political context/repression) levels

UNITA and political context

- Angolan War of Independence: 1961-1974
 - Three anticolonial movements in dispute against Portuguese colonialism: UNITA, FNLA and MPLA
- Angolan Civil War: 1975-2002
 - Two main opponents: UNITA x MPLA
- UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola/ *National Union for the Total Independence of Angola*).

UNITA

- Analysis and comparison of trajectories of engagement of two generations inside UNITA
 - First generation: generation of UNITA's founders; engagement motivated by the anticolonial struggle in the 1960s
 - Second generation: generation recruited by the end of the Angolan War of Independence (1970s); engagement motivated by the radicalization of the dispute between the three anticolonial movements

Hypothesis

- 1. The two generations had a different pattern of biographical trajectories (history of previous activism and experience in colonial society) and their engagement was motivated by different factors.
- 2. There is a relationship between loyalty and the pattern of engagement in UNITA, which explains the maintenance of commitment in times of radicalization and of organizational change.

Why does it matter?

- Intersection of three levels: biography (micro), radical organization/armed movement (meso), and political context (macro) >> dimensions generally studies separately
- Contribution to the literature on Angolan decolonization and Civil War and to the literature on generations in social movements

Theoretical framework

- Contentious Politics Theory: political opportunities, repertoires, relational and processual analysis
- 1. High-cost and high-risk activism
 - McADAM, Doug. (1986), "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer", *American Journal of Sociology*, 92, pp. 67.
- 2. Life histories in armed organizations
 - DELLA PORTA, Donatella. (1995), *Social movements, political violence and the state. A comparative analysis of Italy and Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 137.
- 3. Exit, Voice and Loyalty
 - HIRSCHMAN, Albert (1970), *Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- 4. Generations in radical movements
 - MANNHEIM, Karl. The problem of generations. In: MANNHEIM, Karl. **Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge**. Abingdon: Routledge, 1952.
 - WHITTIER, Nancy. Political Generations, Micro-Cohorts, and the Transformation of Social Movements. **American Sociological Review**, v. 62, n. 5, 1997, p. 760-778.

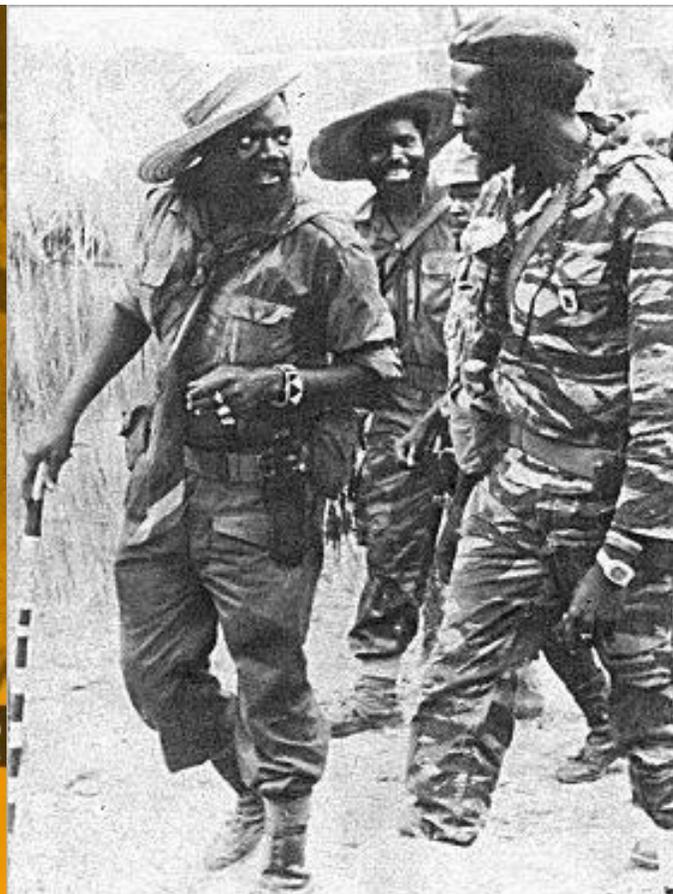
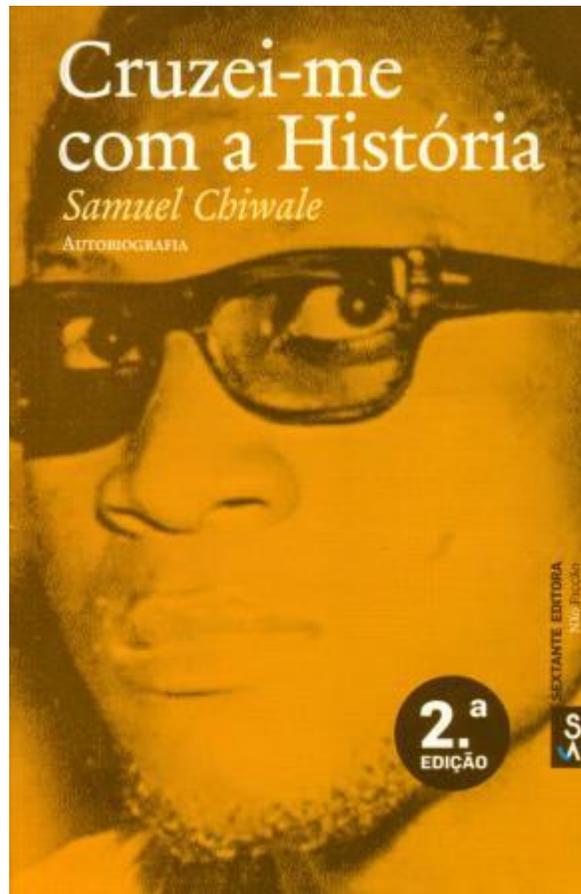
Methods and empirical data

- Analysis of trajectory focused on two moments of the activists' lives: before recruitment and during the participation
- Data: external sources (archival documents) and internal sources of UNITA (interviews and biographies and autobiographies).
 - Portuguese National Archive (Tombo's Tower National Archive): documents from colonial institutions of PIDE (International Police for the State's Defense) and SCCIA (Angola's Services of Coordination and Centralization of Information)

Engagement of UNITA's first generation

- Experience of a double marginalization: in relation to the colonial society and the massive immigration of Portuguese citizens to Angola in the 20th century; in relation to the traditional Angolan elites, expressed in the FNLA and MPLA.
- Recruitment happened through three main social networks:
 - A group of dissidents from the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA)
 - Angolan students living abroad (mainly Portugal, Switzerland and the USA)
 - Nationalists leaders from center and southern Angolan living in Zambia

José Samuel Chiwale



Concluding remarks

- Engagement in high-risk activism may produce a progressive reduction of the individual sphere and an identity transformation
- Role played by rituals, ceremonies of commitment, probations, social and affective ties in maintaining engagement
- Fieldwork in Angola planned for 2022: interviews with former guerrillas and archival data collection with the activists



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