Brazilian Military Dictatorship and New Cartographic Forms: Collective Memory and Collaborative Digital Maps

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Abstract

The current quest, on and offline, for the resignification of sites of memory referring to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship (1964-1985) motivates this investigation. Two collaborative digital maps, that illustrate collective memorial practices, have been selected as case studies. The description and analysis of these projects based on concepts such as space, time, silencing and participation indicate that: a) there is a movement drawing attention to silenced memories that are left aside within the urban space; b) the cartographies carry on meanings related to the intentionalities of their producers and participants; c) the data legitimacy is fostered by the usage of links to news and other important websites, as well as testimonies; and d) predominate the presentation of certain brazilian regions' memories. The cultural phenomena indicate, therefore, ways of elaborating collective memories supported by digital media.

Keywords: collaborative digital maps; collective memories; military dictatorship; internet; cartography.

Introduction

CITIES are full of memories and are even considered files which we interact with on a daily basis (Hetherington, 2013). As we move from one point to another, we expose ourselves to several memories that refer to different historical periods and can sometimes be contradictory. In Brazil, streets, squares, monuments, schools,

and neighborhoods honor, among diverse personalities, those involved in the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985), with emphasis on the space for State agents. This legacy of an authoritarian historical period in the country, however, is starting to be questioned. In recent years, there has been a growing social commitment towards the resignification of these places of memories (Nora, 1993) by changing their names, for example.

The greater democratization of access to the means of production provided by the internet, especially its possibilities for collaboration (Jenkins, 2008; Levy, 2007), allows the memories of those who were not "listened to" and whose narratives were omitted from official history (Pollak, 1989) to become public, accessible, and even manipulable (Hoskins, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Reading, 2011). But what memorial processes can emerge from the relationship between urban physical space and the potential of digital communication?

In this context, we selected two collaborative digital maps that deal with the memory of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship. They are distinct from the point of view of authorship, content they show, and contexts in which they appear. However, they depend on the user contribution and are similar regarding the articulation between time and space, indispensable for the understanding of memorial processes. While the map of the *Memórias da Ditadura* (Dictatorship Memories) website, promoted by the Federal Government, has three distinct layers of content related to the military regime, the one by project *Roteiros da Consciência do Brasil* (Brazilian Consciousness Road Map), created from autonomous social initiatives, puts in the foreground streets named after dead and disappeared people. These maps, defined as places of memories, articulate individual and collective memories, aiming to reconcile or, more specifically, repair the recent history of the country.

In the cases analyzed, from the uses and appropriations of digital communication platforms, the points marked in the collaborative maps explore different perspectives from those of the official maps. The value contradictions of the historical references present in the urban space are highlighted, such as the naming of the main spaces (great avenues, central streets, etc.) in honor of representatives of military governments, while the more marginal ones are dedicated to those who resisted the regime. Collaborative maps act to problematize this reality, seeking to promote the revision of official memories and of the story narrated by those who held the power. Actions aimed at changing the name of places that honor those responsible for human rights violations during the regime, for example, can be found in several regions of the country. Those oppressed and human rights defenders, in general, create these collaborative digital maps seeking the reparation of the official collective memories and the story narrated by those in power.

This article analyzes the preparation and use of collaborative digital maps, showing how their characteristics are articulated with concepts that permeate the elabo-

ration of collective memories about the Brazilian Military Dictatorship. It also verifies how the contradictions and disputes of memorial meanings are manifested in the urban space and how the collaboration through the internet gives visibility to this situation.

Memory and cartography

The elaboration of any map is conditioned to the intentions of its creator(s). In the West, some world maps present the European continent in the foreground, a legacy of the "Old World" colonization process. The imaginary and the identity of the different countries are linked to the cultural memories (Assman, 1995) raised by this cartographic representation. This case illustrates the problematization and reflections discussed in this article, since any cartography organizes a space from a specific conception, representation, and interpretation of the world (Silva et al., 2008).

The cartographic representation reflects, therefore, a certain point of view about the structure and organization of territories and places, also revealing something about the one that produces it. For authors such as Alderman (2002) and Halbwachs (2006), the division of streets, the institution of monuments, and the preservation of places of memory reflect the political and historical-cultural practices of a society. Defining street names is possibly the most explicit way to think about this issue, since they "indicate what is historically significant and what deserves to be publicly remembered" (Alderman, 2002, p. 99). Therefore, the places where each name is found also show the importance given to a particular character. Those oppressed by the Military Dictatorship are usually honored in places of restricted visibility, without much identification or information as to who that individual would be.

In Brazil, the military dictators are honored in public spaces, even if they have committed, or been conniving, with crimes against human rights. This triggered an exponential growth of movements that fight for the redefinition of these places of memory (Dias, 2012; Kieling, 2016). They seek to highlight the contradictions of a country that struggles to bring justice to those who suffered from the military and, at the same time, is full of places with the remains of the dictatorship. One of the main ways to pay homage to a public figure or an event, so that it remains in the memory of society, is exactly through public spaces. These places are in contact with several individuals, who relate to them daily. In this way, the naming of these spaces is configured as an important mechanism for the construction of historical memory. The arbitrariness of the choices of these symbols reveals cultural, political and social motivations (Dias, 2012). These honors choose not only who will be remembered, but also, indirectly, who will be forgotten.

But who defines what should be remembered and, consequently, what is silenced or even forgotten? In the Brazilian system, the naming of streets is the responsibility of councilors in each municipality, although the proposal may be linked to demands

and requests from civil society. This occurs when minorities use this strategy to "receive public recognition for their historical achievements" (Alderman, 2002, p. 102). Not only physical geography, but also historical and political aspects are closely related to memorial practices and disputes. From the collaborative digital maps about the spaces associated with the Dictatorship, we verify how the memorial meanings can emerge when we articulate the cartographic practice with the concepts of time, space, silencing, and participation.

Representation of time and space

The concepts of time and space help to think about the elaboration of collective memories (Halbwachs, 2006; Nora, 1993), since it is precisely in the articulation of these two aspects that memories, as well as the reference to past events and experiences, are processed. "Collective memories refer to the names of people and institutions that played an important role in the different moments of the city's development" (Nas, 1998, p. 546). This importance, however, does not necessarily reveal a consensus, as it may actually show the strategy of a hegemonic group to silence the memories of its contestants, as occurred in Brazil. Although we still find the main public places honoring agents of repression, part of society acts to change these names.

As time goes by and people are exposed to different places, institutions, and social groups, their perceptions, memories, and relationships between past and present are being established. When we remember something, we share socially established frames and references, positioning the memory in a given space and time: "time because memory remains alive as the relationship with the group persists; and space because the memory is related to certain spatial images" (Aguilar, 2002, p. 11). In this sense, it is impossible to condense in a text of these dimensions the infinite possibilities of analyzing memory from time and space. Our proposal mainly will focus on aspects that allow the identification of memorial processes in collaborative digital cartographic representations.

The creation of a cartographic representation – always intentional and allusive to certain interpretations – requires the choice of a space and time period. This decision already carries several meanings. As Halbwachs (2006) argues, life is governed by formalizations regarding time and space, as a way of defining and standardizing socially shared references. In this sense, we may mention the organization of our time in years, months, weeks, days, hours, among others; of our space in continents, countries, states, cities, neighborhoods, avenues, streets, alleys, etc. The presentation of a map from these official conventions and discourses, focusing on a particular territory, with demographic or natural characteristics corresponding to a specific period, offers some possible readings. From the point of view of memory, this representation would

be a source of memories, since it "retains the features of the period to which it refers" (Halbwachs, 2006, p. 101).

The conservation of certain spatial logics reflects the occurrence of events and their historical landmarks, and it may hide others. It is important to emphasize this aspect since, contradictorily, "there are as many ways to represent space as there are groups inhabiting it" (Halbwachs, 2006, p. 187). Thus, we highlight that the experience of different groups (ethnic, ideological, political, religious, professional, family, etc.) can be equally projected in space and time. They therefore require different representations. About street names in a city, a figure honored, because governed by power relations at a specific time, reveals only part of the history of that territory and its inhabitants and from a particular point of view.

It is possible to find plural forms of representation of space and its reading over time, which are not always incorporated into official cartography, but that are part of the duration present in the memory of the various palimpsest pieces, according to Hetherington's (2013) perspective. This process is identified in the meaning disputes about urban space that question the tributes to dictators in the names of streets, schools, neighborhoods, and squares around the world. This feature introduces the next point, which deals with memorial policies and their relationship to the silencing and concealment of aspects and traumas of the past in the present.

Maps of silencing

On a map, graphic symbols, as well as captions and scales, emphasize points that stand out in the intended representation. This arrangement often follows the organization of urban space, in which avenues concentrate a greater flow of traffic, the downtown houses the main monuments and public institutions, and the streets and alleys have a secondary relevance. This distribution, as well as tributes in more relevant places, retains a reading of space that is historically constructed by marking the dominant view and the intentional representation of a given space. However, other readings and interpretations coexist and persist, which are preserved in alternative ways through the writing of memoirs, documentaries, oral history, etc.

According to Alderman (2002), the act of naming public spaces arises after prominent historical events and figures play an important active role in the history of some social group, being an inherent part of modern cultural public policies. This process would allow, at first, easier orientation in cities, even though it also has the function of naturalizing and legitimizing a selective view of the past, that is, of daily proposing who must be remembered and in what way. These namings would inscribe a commemorative message in the collective subconscious through the daily life of urban life.

In historical moments when silenced versions of the past find space, during revisions of these events led by truth commissions or transitions of political regimes, dis-

putes and negotiations may arise. This happens when symbols and places of memory are questioned and even destroyed3. "Once the taboo is broken, since underground memories can invade public space, multiple and hardly predictable claims are coupled with this memory dispute" (Pollak, 1989, p. 3). This stage is reached, however, because many moments of historical reconciliation presuppose the silencing of traumatic and irreparable facts experienced by victims and the defeated. No wonder, as Aguilar (2002) points out, the words amnesty and amnesia share the same root. By proposing a general and unrestricted amnesty, as occurred in Latin American countries – albeit more strongly in Brazil – with dictatorial regimes during the Cold War, a silencing pact is agreed, leading to social amnesia on several aspects. Certain historical circumstances, however, can reopen wounds and bring out versions that defy what was once considered official.

The places of memory are usually the main targets of these disputes. While allowing memories to be materialized and represented, they also generally legitimize dominant viewpoints. They are therefore artificially constructed, not products of spontaneous memory. The present obsession with the past (Huyssen, 2000) with a memorial boom and outbreak (Nora, 1993) is reflected in a society fearful about forgetting. This contemporary phenomenon gives rise to more conflicts and possibilities of rescuing possible readings about the past in the present. According to Aguilar (2002, p. 18), "collective memory clearly plays an inflammatory role here, legitimizing conflicts precisely as a result of the existence of plural memories and the lack of a single shared memory of past events."

Pollak (1989) points out that silencings would also be forms of resistance of a powerless society before state oppression. In fact, by observing that the busy and important places of Brazilian cities bear the name of presidents of the dictatorship and that only secondary and local access streets serve as a tribute to some militants of resistance to the regime, this logic of silencing is reproduced. People have never forgotten what the militants and citizens who resisted the military suffered, they only have less space in social and collective memory due to the control of legitimate and dominant discourses. The collaborative digital maps analyzed, however, will precisely make such memorial logics explicit. This action is made, above all, from the collaboration of social actors who defend and claim participation in the narrative of recent Brazilian history.

Participation and collaboration: new possible mappings

There is a movement in the field of history that points to the importance of giving voice to its agents (Pollak, 1989), not only to the interpretations and systematizations proposed by historians. According to authors such as Themen (1998, n/p.), "the past should be treated as a shared human experience," in which micro-histories (Burke,

2006), statements, and accounts are preserved and interpreted as much as the archives about which historians do their research.

Connected digital media enhance these processes of democratization of the narrative of history, according to the theory of Collective Intelligence proposed by Lévy (2007), even though there is no full equality. The possibility of bottom-up movements, which characterize various social practices present in digital communication environments, give rise to the claim of readings about the past that were hitherto silenced or hidden from the dominant discourse. This is what Hoskins (2009) would define as "emergent digital network memory." With the articulation of such intelligences and the establishment of ties between social actors who hold underground memories, through digital technical devices, some memorial processes take shape.

The culture of convergence (Jenkins, 2008), which goes beyond purely technological aspects and is developed in the interlocution of cultural practices, gives rise to the exploration of products such as collaborative digital maps. They are the result of the representational power of cartography allied with the expression of marginalized memories and collective intelligence. The geolocation of statements and the graphic highlight given to the points that are references to the memories of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship thus find space in present time and technology.

The digital technologies are used strategically to fight for power through the places of memory, although the technology requires constant revisions, to prevent failures. They serve to build alternative historical narratives, acting as "a type of cartographic subversion, an attempt to overlap multiple discursive virtualities on a terrain whose representation is dominated by a hegemonic narrative, even though almost three decades after the redemocratization of Brazil" (Kieling, 2016, p. 4). These digital cartographies are even used as an assistant in the teaching of history, by emphasizing the places of torture and resistance of the Brazilian military dictatorship (Carneiro, 2018). Even so, questions about traditional cartographic spaces are also carried out outside the internet. In Argentina, for example, after the end of his last dictatorship, an alternative way to seek historical justice, or at least to criticize the hegemonic aspect of traditional urban cartography, occurred when groups exposed where some "genocides" lived (Piñeyro, 2019).

The intention of claiming memories and versions about time and urban space, marked by recent history, finds on the Internet a platform that both enhances and gives meaning to memories. Intentionality, therefore, is not only tied to individuals, but also to programming and limitations of the environment itself (Silva et al., 2008). Digital communication, in addition to enhancing the connection of these social actors, also leaves its marks on the memories it supports. In the following points, we will explain how the analyzed maps articulate the concepts described above from the memorial practices inscribed in them.

Dictatorship Cartographies

The collaborative map created by the project *Roteiro da Consciência do Brasil* (Brazilian Consciousness Road Map), made without the sponsorship of the state or a large private company, aims to identify Brazilian public spaces that are related to the Military Dictatorship using Google Maps technology. When we open the map of the Brazilian territory, we observe different graphic symbols, but with similar contents: photos, standard system markers (pins), and question marks. These tags may refer to a street, square, school, etc. Selecting one of the symbols or photos on the map loads boxes with details about the person honored at the location. This information comes from the *Desaparecidos Políticos* (Forcibly Disappeared) website, a reference and source of most tags. In an interview with the administrators of the Forcibly Disappeared website (Teles, 2015), we were able to confirm that there is no direct relationship with the Consciousness Roadmap. According to these administrators, several autonomous groups use the content of the Forcibly Disappeared website to create memorial projects about the Military Dictatorship in Brazil.
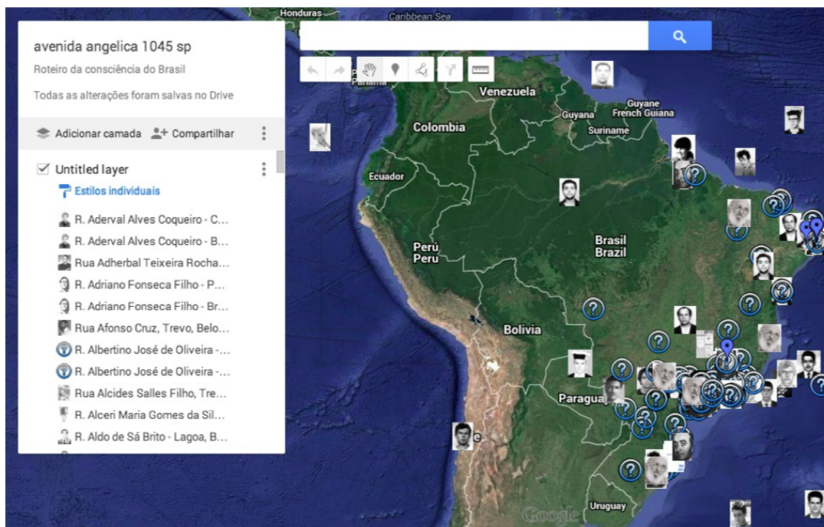

Figure 1. Brazilian Consciousness Road Map

Although the tags of characters already recognized as important during the Military Dictatorship usually appear with photos, there is a predominance of "unknowns," some even with standard questions marks and tags, without images. The reference to characters of resistance to the military regime, in this map, has the role of drawing

attention to stories silenced because of their underprivileged visibility in the urban space.

We broadly noticed a predominance of tags in the Southeast, especially Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, followed by the South, with emphasis on Rio Grande do Sul and the capital of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, and the Northeast, on the capitals of Pernambuco and Ceará, that is, Recife and Fortaleza. The other points on the map have virtually no tags. Carlos Marighella, Frei Tito, and Vladimir Herzog are more prominent, with photos, information, and links to the Forcibly Disappeared website, and each has an average of nine Brazilian street tags in their honor. Educator Paulo Freire also appears, but the information do not show his relationship with the dictatorship, although it is common knowledge that he was exiled for a few years. Among the many not so nationally recognized, we highlight the face of doctor João Carlos Haas Sobrinho. Disappeared since 1972, the militant has six tags on the map, with photo, information, and link to the Forcibly Disappeared website.

The disposition and emphasis given to certain characters, whose stories received more attention in the resistance movement, show a hegemonic discourse in the account of underground memory. However, the participation and collaboration that shapes the map brings to the narrative the micro-histories of militants and other resistance figures.

The single tag of militant Eduardo Antônio da Fonseca is an exception to the website rules. The street in his honor does not have much information and source indicated, only with date and place of his birth and participation of the National Liberation Action (ALN. Another deviant point is the 2nd Army Sergeant Manuel Alves de Oliveira. The military agent died just over a month after the coup and has more than five tags in different cities, all without photos, but with information and links to the Forcibly Disappeared website. Militant Adherbal Teixeira Rocha did not die at the hands of military agents. Although arrested and persecuted, he died of cancer in 1993. With a unique mark in the city of Belo Horizonte, the photo and information come from the book *Rua Viva*, by Betinho Duarte. Even if it is only tagged on one street, his photo gives more prominence to this militant than to others tagged in the city by a question mark or pin.

Although street tags are predominant, some other spaces are also highlighted. Influential cleric during the Military Dictatorship, Dom Helder Câmara has his old parsonage marked on the map, with a photo, but no source of information. Despite not being killed or missing because of the regime, the archbishop was openly persecuted thanks to the numerous "affronts" to the regime. Among other exceptions, we have the House of Culture in Recife, which served as a space for torture and murder by military agents. Currently, the place has a memorial in honor of Frei Caneca and houses artistic and gastronomic expressions of Pernambuco culture. Next to the House, without a photo, we have the monument in honor of Frei Caneca and a photo

tag of the *Tortura Nunca Mais* (Torture Never Again) monument. A detailed navigation will also show auditoriums, police stations, signs, theaters, overpasses, and other places that have some relationship with the Military Dictatorship, especially in Recife.

We can identify the intentionality of this map in the graphic forms and tags, such as the use of the militants' face, which gives visibility to streets and places of memory little valued in urban space. The silenced stories and characters thus come to the forefront of the map, vying for memory narration with avenues, squares, and streets – many named after presidents of the Dictatorship – already highlighted by the official cartography applied to the Google Maps map. These inversions in the logic of the narrative about the event, although not physically altering the tributes present in the urban space, draw attention to other ways of reading the Brazilian history from the city. Several states have projects submitted to the City Council seeking the effective change of names of streets, squares, and other places.

Overall, the map articulates time and space by highlighting the history of resistance participants in the city's present time. An excerpt from the book *K. – Relato de uma busca* (Kucinski, 2014) narrates precisely the perplexity of the father of a forcibly disappeared woman, whose name was given to a street in a subdivision near the Rio-Niterói Bridge, also known as Castelo Branco. The fact that the bridge, which gives access to the suburban subdivision that honored his daughter, praises one of the dictatorship's generals perfectly illustrates the contradictions with which we deal here. In the Consciousness Roadmap, we can see that the tags are predominantly in peripheral locations of only a few states. This aspect contributes to a critical reading of history and the way in which the narration of the past event remains present, in an unequal and undisputed manner.

Dictatorship Memories

Unlike the cartography by the Brazilian Consciousness Roadmap, the Map of Dictatorship is produced by the Vladimir Herzog Institute, with support from the Special Secretariat of Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic, and is part of the Memory of Dictatorship website, released in December 2014. The project brings several aspects not always addressed regarding the period: the relationship between soccer and the regime, corruption in the Dictatorship, military agents who did not support the coup and civilians who did it, among other topics. There is also a section about the international context in which the coup took place, especially focusing on the fear of communism and how it occurred in Latin America. On the homepage, we see headlines for a timeline; a memorial with images, information, and links to the Forcibly Disappeared website; a space for interaction – where one can send a comment on the period; and three mini-documentaries. We can also find the link to the Dictatorship Maps, which we address here.

Figure 2. Map of Dictatorship

The map explains that it deals with the remnants of the Dictatorship through the marks in the memories of people and places, calling readers to the contribution. The cartography consists of three maps: "Remains of dictatorship," "Milestones of history," and "Memories of us". The first map seeks to understand the continuity of the regime's presence in urban spaces, currently questioned. The second is for the memory spaces that were the scene of some historical situation. Finally, we have the tags intended for the memories of people affected or who have more directly and personally experienced the military regime. Below the maps, we see several video and written statements that refer to the third map.

The first fact observed when opening the three maps is that there are virtually no tags in the North region, as in the Consciousness Roadmap. Most are in the Southeast, followed by the South and Northeast. The one intended for historical spaces has few tags, concentrated in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná, and Pernambuco. In Pernambuco, the tag is in the Recife Metropolitan Region and highlights the shooting death of two students during a demonstration against the deposition and imprisonment of former governor Miguel Arraes. The photo of one of the victims appears below the documentary *O dia que durou 21 anos*, without explaining the relationship between them. Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo have one mark each, but of remarkable places for the regime. At first, we see the place where the Swiss ambassador was abducted in 1970 for the release of political prisoners. The four links that appear in the tag detail guide the reader to the information contained in Wikipedia, in addition to three photos from the Globo Organizations collection. In São Paulo, we have the Department of Political and Social Order (Dops), which served to suppress demonstrations in the

Estado Novo and the Military Dictatorship. Today, the space receives the Resistance Memorial, whose website is referenced. The other two links lead to information about the space in the São Paulo State Public Archive and a short video that tells its story.

The city of Curitiba has four tags, more than the other states gathered. Two are for buildings, the President Costa e Silva telecommunications palace, from which we get no information other than location, and the city's old Dops headquarters, which features a recent photo. The place became a fast food restaurant, a parking lot, and a body shop, outraging the person who marked the space9. The other tags are for the bust of Flávio Suplicy de Lacerda, former Minister of Education in the first two years of the regime, and Castelo Branco Avenue. Here, there are more tags for the supporters of the regime, remnants of the Dictatorship. There is a healthy articulation between time and space, in which the latter even transforms itself and does not preserve its historical content, provoking reflections on the contradictions that permeate the memory of the event from the urban space. This fact gains visibility in collaborative digital maps.

The map dedicated to the remnants of the regime has several tags. The two in the Northeast, two in the Midwest, and one in the South are all for streets, avenues, and schools bearing the names of military presidents. They usually have basic information about the president, with links that guide mainly to news websites, but also to photos, YouTube videos, and institutional addresses – the case of the Mato Grosso school in honor of former president Médici. The single tag in Rio de Janeiro is for the Costa e Silva Bridge. The page provides information about the former military president and links to journalistic news. The state of São Paulo has a greater diversity. In addition to the streets and avenues honoring the presidents, we find tags on two overpasses: Minhocão – a tribute to former military president Costa e Silva – and March 31 – in reference to the coup day. Both bring basic information, links to news stories, and the second tag links the documentary *30 Anos de Anistia* on YouTube. We can also observe tags in two squares dedicated to generals who supported the regime. In the interior of São Paulo, in Bauru, we still have a tag in the residential nucleus of former president Geisel, followed by a small block of text, a link to an article on a journalistic website, and a story on YouTube about the inauguration of Geisel.

The last map, "Memories of us," also under the nickname "statements," is the one with most tags and seems to have, in fact, a collaborative bias, with the new contributions evaluated by the website administrators before being published. The tag on the map is linked to where the person lived the reported fact. Therefore, some names have tags in more than one place, such as the professor at the UFBA School of Education, Nelson Pretto. In his video statement, he talks about situations when he was a militant and a physics student at UFBA. In Joaçaba, interior of Santa Catarina, there is another statement by the professor, who reports the sensation, as a child, of

the exact day of the 1964 Coup and when he left his home state. On the page, no information is provided about Pretto and the places are not connected.

In Ceará, Elias Rodrigues Moura tells what it was like to have a militant father still in the Vargas government, when he held meetings in his own home with Luís Carlos Prestes. The textual statement does not provide much information about Moura, but explains that his father died only in 1991, despite being persecuted throughout his life. What matters in this case is not necessarily the narrator, but the fact told from his memory.

Between Tocantins and Pará we have Creuza and Dona Dilva, but with virtually no information about these women or the specific period to which they refer, although possibly the Araguaia Guerrilla. From the Brazilian capital, Laís Abramo gives a long text report about her childhood and situations soon after the 1964 Coup, going through the history of her parents, professors at UnB. The statement also includes a text written by her mother in 1978, made fully available.

Collaborations do not have a standardized form. In Mato Grosso do Sul, we have the three-line statement by Sérgio Souza under the title: "My relative is a fool." Ingrid Cabral Soares, from Governador Valadares, in Minas Gerais, tells in a memorial – almost literary – text, how it was to discover the story of her great-grandfather at school and not at home. Claret Ximenes, from the city of Três Corações, Minas Gerais, shouts in his text: "they took the teacher." In five lines, his statement tells how a friend's father was took by repressive forces. The story was not witnessed by him, his colleagues told him.

The diversity of ways of representation of the event through the three maps corroborates the general objective of the website: to discuss contrasts and versions about the history of the military regime in Brazil. The names of the maps already indicate the intentionality present in this cartography: presenting disputes of meaning and pointing out, in the urban space, different possible readings about the events. The use of statements, tagged in the place occupied by the individual during the dictatorship, contributes to the presentification of past experiences, and thus the elaboration of memories.

Although it is possible to take part in the cartography, with the inclusion of new tags, there is no agility in their publication. The presence of few cases marked in the three maps – if we compare to the amount of human rights violations that actually occurred at the time in all national territory – also does not live up to the size of the events. These aspects may be detrimental to the collaborative character, which lies only in the power of the platform. Nevertheless, the intention of giving visibility to voices deviating from the official discourse and the emphasis, through the statements, on the experiences of ordinary people open space to a critical reading about the events.

Conclusion

This article about the elaboration of collective memories on the internet, through collaborative digital maps, allows us to identify similar and disparate aspects in the analyzed practices. The Roteiro da Consciência do Brasil map emphasizes dead and missing people whose names were linked to public spaces, especially in secondary streets and less circulation. The Mapas da Ditadura, on the other hand, present the conflicts, testimonies and tensions that marked that period and that continue to reverberate in the present. From these intentions and cartographic representations, the disputes of memories acquire visibility and space for reflection.

In this sense, the Roteiros da Consciência map plays the role of an index of silencing cases, as it highlights and detailed informations, with links, especially to the website Desaparecidos Políticos. It provides the visualization of this information in a contextual way, relating it to the urban space. In a complementary way, the maps of the Memórias da Ditadura website cover varied aspects, with more diversified media formats, associated with the memorial marks related to the period. Its pedagogical character, however, seems to overlap with the collaborative one, since contributions are not always added to the map. A more top-down structure, contrary to the logic of the culture of convergence and the potential of Collective Intelligence.

The contributions in both maps are anonymous, except for the testimonials on the Memórias da Ditadura website. The links used to confirm the information were for YouTube videos and, mainly, for articles and other media formats from journalistic websites, such as EBC, O Globo, G1, Estadão and Folha, UOL and Terra portals and Veja and Carta Capital magazines. There is a search for legitimizing the versions and perspectives defended, with the tendency – often implicit – to contrast the point of view of the resistance movements with that of the regime's supporters, that are often silenced or representatives of the memory that needs to be questioned and revised. In all maps, the predominance of markings occurs in the Southeast, followed by the South and Northeast, where there are a historical basis for discussing memory and actions in the Military Dictatorship, therefore, the dissemination and collaboration in these regions are more intense. However, we do not disregard that the representations follow the hegemony of the most geopolitically influential regions in the country.

The collaborative cartographies have their own relationship between time and space, giving them new meaning through the markings, informations and testimonies. The map financed by the government brings markings at different times and places of the same character, as is the case of Nelson Pretto. Other markings exalt how the space has changed over the years, such as the Casa de Cultura in Recife, which served as a space for the oppression of the military and today brings aspects of Pernambuco culture and a memorial in honor of Frei Caneca. And a more remarkable case like that of the Dops in Curitiba, wich was transformed into a restaurant, a parking lot and a car body shop, causing revolt among those who marked the map. The event is also made

known through the visibility of street names dedicated to the dead and disappeared of the Brazilian military regime. This movement finds its place in the present mainly due to the actions developed through the truth commissions. The official memory, in which the president-dictators were honored, comes to be questioned through these collaborative digital maps, although these problematizations are not exclusive to these spaces, since civil society is organized and opposed to the official versions of our history.

The markings do not prioritize what is in the "main part of the city", that is, where tourists and residents of different neighborhoods circulate; on the contrary, the markers prioritize the memories of peripheral neighborhoods. The analyzed collaborative maps value what only "aimless" passers-by would find. In this way, they seek to give voice and face, mainly, to those who suffered and did not obtain much recognition in official history. Many who pass through Rua Marighella know its importance, but those who pass through Rua Adherbal Teixeira Rocha possibly have no idea of what it represents. These maps prevent this "counter-memory" from appearing only in a casual way, despite being hidden by the official cartography of cities. Thus, the objective of developing a memorial awareness in relation to the space and time of history is fulfilled.

These maps fulfill the function of "magnifying glasses" that increase the visibility of those who have less prominence in the official narrative of history, as their names are often not linked to the Military Dictatorship and few of the passers-by know, in fact, who is the honored. The remnants of the event are also marked, but the main focus is to give voice to the marginalized. We thus define the representatives of the resistance to the Military Dictatorship, since they are not necessarily forgotten, but silenced and separated from the predominant memorial narratives. The new studies focused on the problem presented may explore ways of integrating between the shared memories and narratives in collaborative maps and the concrete urban space. The historical consciousness and the search for redress through the redefinition of places of memory, claimed by contemporary social movements, can be favored by the potential for dissemination and communication of digital media. It is necessary, however, to understand its representational logics of time and space stimulated by the debate that the digital public sphere potentiates.

Finally, the analysis of these projects based on concepts such as space, time, silencing and participation indicate that: a) there is a movement drawing attention to silenced memories that are left aside within the urban space; b) the cartographies carry on meanings related to the intentionalities of their producers and participants; c) the data legitimacy is fostered by the usage of links to news and other important websites, as well as testimonies; and d) predominate the presentation of certain brazilian regions' memories. The cultural phenomena indicate, therefore, ways of elaborating collective memories supported by digital media.

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