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‘Listening Against the Grain’: Methodologies in Uncovering Emotions in Oral History Interviews

Portia Dilena

Abstract

Protest is an inherently emotional act, yet for student protestors in 1960s Australia this was a damaging accusation. In an attempt to legitimise their actions, students depicted their protests as a rational pursuit. This denial of emotion proves problematic for oral history researchers attempting to reveal the role of emotions in student protest. This paper demonstrates the different techniques that can be employed to uncover emotions in oral history interviews when the interviewee was reluctant to have them exposed. By listening against the grain, emotions can be written back into a history where they were intentionally written out.

Introduction

Embarking on research for my PhD in September 2017, I tentatively reached out to one of the participants of the 1960s Australian student movement, in the hope of obtaining an interview. I had been put in contact with this individual through a colleague of mine, who had known them from their time at university, and I was hopeful that this connection would facilitate an easy relationship. In the opening email, I introduced myself, gave a brief description of my project – that I wanted to uncover the motivators and transnational aspects of the Australian student movement between 1960 and 1970 – and explained that crucial to my research were the voices and stories of those who were there. Two hours after sending my very welcoming and flattering email, I received a curt reply. The response stated that while the former protestor was open to an interview, they were also very cautious. They had heard about my interest in the role of emotions from our mutual acquaintance, and they were wary and guarded. They stated that ‘conservative theorists and publicists’ had attempted to explain the activism of the 1960s in the same ‘psychological’ manner, and that I would ‘not find much sympathy for this approach from any of us who were involved at the time.’[1] While this frank response stung a little, and dampened my enthusiasm for conducting my first oral history project, it did not take me by surprise, not even a little.

Protest badges from Museums Victoria’s collections. Photographer: Patricia Nistor. Source: Museums Victoria https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/articles/15181]

I knew the history of 1960s Australian student activism and its tense relationship with emotion and psychologically-based theory. To suggest to these ex-protestors that they were motivated by emotions, or that emotions played any role in their past actions, was seen as akin to calling them narcissistic and overindulgent. Yet with the advancement of the emotional turn in academia, the negative tropes surrounding emotion have been largely broken down. Emotion has once again entered the discussion and analysis of social movements, and with much success.[2] If I was to explore the motivators and workings of student protest, then I needed to address the role of emotions. How then, was I to work emotions back into a history in which the participants still completely rejected them? How do you uncover emotions that do not want to be uncovered?

Using the concept of listening against the grain,[3] this paper will demonstrate my approach to uncovering the role of emotions in 1960s Australian student protest, an area in which emotions were essentially written out and yet, I argue, deserve to be written back in.

Emotions in 1960s Australia

In the 1960s there was an upsurge in dramatic, student-led protest across the world; civil rights in the United States, free speech at the University of California, student and worker revolts in Paris in 1968, and the all-dominating Vietnam War. The world was changing rapidly and youth, in particular university students, had something to say. In Australia change was occurring fast. Between 1945 and 1975 the Australian university student population had increased tenfold, while the Australian population had not even doubled.[4] In 1950, government-funded teaching studentships were re-introduced, and in Victoria two new universities, Monash and La Trobe, opened in 1961 and 1967 respectively.[5] This opened tertiary education to the working and middle class who had originally been excluded through caps on admissions and financial restraints. With more students accessing tertiary education, alongside advancements in communications and media technologies, radical New Left ideas poured in from Europe, the UK, Asia and the US. Mirroring this influx of ideas, student political groups and student publications flourished, with many student groups producing two or more papers per week.[6] For Monash activist Michael Hyde, this was an exciting time to be studying. Aware of international student movements, Hyde actively sought out student political action, and found it in the Maoist Monash Labor Club:

> Then I went and saw the Labor Club. And they just… [smacks lips] They were ALIVE man, they were ALIVVVEEE!! They had Marx and Engels, Che Guevara, and Chairman Mao all over the fucking place. And they were active, they were *talking* to people! They had lots of different things, they had *great* badges… and they were out there doing it![7]

Protest and revolution had taken the world by storm with academics, authorities and social commentators desperately trying to find out why. Quite ironically, emotion as a causation featured prominently in analyses by contemporaneous social movement theorists. Yet this emotion-centred approach was used to undermine the movement's credibility, leveraging the commonly held belief that emotions existed in opposition to rationality.[8] This reason versus irrationality binary was often employed by governing bodies to deride and discredit the student movement and their actions.[9] Many tried to explain away the student movement through a Freudian psychological approach, believing that students were acting on their irrational, primitive emotions, rather than their rational, reason-driven sensibilities. In her article 'Oedipal Politics', published in the *Current Affairs Bulletin* in 1969, Dr Coral Bell listed seven reasons as to why the students were protesting.[10] According to her, they were middle-class, large-city-located, first generation children of immigrants, who were transferring their internal 'father-son' Oedipal tensions onto the university authorities. She claimed that protestors were fulfilling the pre-assigned societal role of the 'student radical', taking part in 'ritual drama'.[11] The paternalistic approach of conservative theorists dismissed and discredited the students and their campaigns. Students reacted strongly to this condescending attitude, with the Monash Labor Club stating, 'we are not a collection of ratbags but a serious organisation.'[12]

Yet this emotion centred approach was not to last, as in the 1970s a new wave of academics in the social sciences emerged who had been part of or were sympathetic to the student movement, resulting in a shift in social movement theory.[13] No longer did they seek to condemn or dismiss student activists, rather they chose to address protest in a more factual and empirical fashion. In a bid to remove the irrationality and seemingly unmeasurable elements from protest, emotion was written out of their analysis. This shift in social movement theory saw the development of Resource Mobilisation Theory, which sought to explain *how* protest occurs over the *why*.[14]

Occurring concurrently, radical student groups also removed emotion from their actions in an effort to legitimise their campaigns. Their adherence to ideology strengthened, behaviour expectations of participants became stricter, and their publications became more factual and impersonal. In a July 1967 edition of *Print*, the newspaper for the Monash Labor Club, the author scathingly lists the true enemies of the Vietnam War. The author states that their enemies are those who 'take part in the rape and slaughter of the Vietnamese nation', those who 'sacrifice the lives of the young', and those who 'censor our reading and cripple our minds.'[15] By contrast, a 1971 article from the same paper simply lists the facts and costs of the Vietnam War, removing all emotive language.[16]

While the publications printed by students at the time have provided me with a wealth of sources, they are often lacking in the personal detail necessary for my research focus. Oral history allows me to access the personal side of history that is often left out of written sources. Through the medium of oral history, participants are able to narrate their own lives, including their own analyses and nuanced understandings of it. In fact, psychologists Bernard Rime, Susanna Corsini and Gwenola Herbette found that individuals are more likely to share their emotional experience through an autobiographical account than any other medium.[17] Yet, as demonstrated above, many of my participants were still scarred by their treatment in the 1960s and were wary of any mention of emotion as motivator. I needed to construct a methodology in which emotions were not a focal point, yet were still being addressed.

While this paper is situated in the field of history, it has drawn on a number of different disciplines to compliment and strengthen it. The study of emotions across the humanities and social sciences experienced a resurgence in the last half of the twentieth century.[18] Due to its infancy there has been a dialogue between disciplines seeking to 'obtain a more holistic theory of emotion' through the sharing of methodology and theory.[19] Originally presented at an Oral History Victoria symposium, this paper is my own methodological approach to researching emotions in oral history interviews.

Methodology

In order to uncover emotions in my interviews I attempted to apply the subaltern studies concept of reading against the grain, except with a slight twist. Listening against the grain follows a similar concept to its post-colonial studies parent, in that by listening to the silences and absences, we can access that which might be buried or ignored.[20] By utilising four different techniques – question structure, emotion talk, metaphors, and non-verbal and prosodic features – I was able to uncover emotions without alienating or putting undue stress upon my interviewees.

Firstly, there is question structure. In his seminal work on emotions, William Reddy claims that strong emotions are connected to an individual's deepest and most base desires.[21] Thus, it follows that important life moments and decisions are paired with strong emotion and memories. In order to access these memories, and consequently the associated emotions, the interview needed to be structured in a way that allowed the interviewee to identify these important life moments and convey them without the feeling of being coerced. In a 2014 study on the development of a computer software that tracks emotions in recorded oral history interviews by Khiet Truong, Gerben Westerhof, Sanne Lamers and Franciska de Jong, the importance of question structure in eliciting emotional responses was demonstrated.[22] Truong et al found that emotional displays increased towards the end of the interview, but also after open-ended and meaning questions as opposed to factual and close-ended questions. The authors believed that open-ended and meaning questions left room for a more personal and thus emotional response.[23] Mirroring this sentiment, Kathryn Anderson and Dana Jack encourage oral history researchers who interview women to use open-ended questions as it enables room for reflection on the part of the interviewee.[24]

Applying this to my own work, I structured my interview questions by life stages and key events, avoiding factual and close-ended questions. This meant that the interviewee was able to reflect on what that life stage or event meant to them, demonstrating what they believed to be important. For example, I would ask them in what ways were their family politically active? Why had they identified with international freedom movements? And to conclude the interview, what was their most memorable moment? This final question, building upon the memories resurfaced from the previous questions, asked the interviewee to identify what they found to be not only the most significant moment, but also that to which they had the strongest connection. When posed this question, Ken Mansell, an ex-Monash Labor Club member, fondly recalled getting up and singing 'The Ballad of Ho Chi Minh', 'guerrilla' style, at the May 1970 Melbourne Moratorium:

> My most memorable moment was up at Treasury Gardens, when everyone had assembled, and there was at least 80,000 people there. Sam Goldbloom is with Jim Cairns up on the podium, and they're speaking to the assembled throng, and it's as far as your eye can see – people everywhere [laughs]. And, Albert Langer came up to me, I'm standing behind the podium – I don't know why… Albert Langer came up to me and he said, 'Ask them if you can get up and sing the Ballad of Ho Chi Minh' [big laugh]. I looked at Albert and I said, 'Oh, no chance! No way!' And somehow I plucked up the guts and the courage to say to Goldbloom, who was the MC, 'Can I get up and sing a peace song?' [giggles]. *Well!* I got up and sang about four verses of the Ballad of Ho Chi Minh, and it caused great traumas! [25]

Just moments before, Mansell had spoken solemnly and even held back tears, remembering the power of the anti-war movement when the marchers sat down on Bourke Street, bringing the city to a stand-still. Yet it was this cheeky, youthful act of singing a song that 'wasn't the [accepted] line' by the wider anti-Vietnam War Movement, which in hindsight Mansell identified as most significant.[26] Mansell's response, contrasted with the solemn account of the sit-in at the Moratorium, demonstrates the importance Mansell places on those happy, irreverent moments experienced between friends.

A second key finding of Truong's et al study was that emotional displays increase during the course of the interview.[27] While they were not able to give a definite reason as to why this occurs, there are several possibilities including: the incremental accumulation of emotions; the act of going deep into one's memories and unearthing long-forgotten emotions; or, as Katie Holmes argues, the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. Drawing on the work of oral historian Michael Roper and psychoanalytic insights, Holmes calls attention to the importance of the relationship between the interviewer and the

interviewee and its possible impact on the course of the conversation. Holmes argues that the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, and both individuals' own history, react with each other to elicit or trigger an emotional reaction unique to that point in time.[28] While Holmes calls for the historian to be aware of this relationship in their analysis of the material, linguist Kathleen Ferrara believes that dialogue should be co-constructed to enable a more productive conversation.[29] Building upon these recommendations, I practice a methodology where I try to form some sort of relationship between the interviewee and myself before each interview. Not only does this make the interview less stressful, but it also allows it to progress more smoothly and naturally.

Secondly, it is important to listen to occurrences of 'emotion talk'. Emotion talk, defined by Jenny Harding, are the emotive words used in conversation to describe the speaker's current or past affective state; such as angry, sad, happy, etc.[30] While the words themselves may seem quite shallow, Harding believes that their deeper historical and social meaning provides a more in-depth analysis of the interviewee's understanding of their own subjectivities. French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan argued that there is both affect and emotion: the former being the bodily, personal experience, and the latter, the culturally-created label that is then assigned to the affect.[31] Emotive words derive their meaning from their use in society and throughout history, generating a multiplicity of definitions outside of the base bodily sensations they are meant to articulate. If a person states they are depressed, not only does this mean that they are feeling sad, but the term also carries their society's understandings and preconceptions around mental illness and depression. Similarly, an individual can apply several emotive words, such as 'depressed', 'down' and 'sad', to the affect they are experiencing, each label providing a slight variation on meaning.[32] Emotive words are used by the interviewee to reflect on, but also give critical analysis to, their life narrative and thus should be tracked throughout the interview.

In this short extract from my interview with Michael Hyde, Hyde constantly refers to the way fury fuels his desire for action today, as it did when he was 15:

> Hyde: But I have been getting so pissed off about war, so pissed off about the First World War in particular, if I hear one more poor, deluded child, or person, say 'well they fought for our freedoms and we wouldn't have what we have now…' [sighs]. Jesus Fuckkkk. If I have to hear that piece of shit again, I think I'll blow up!
> Dilena: Is this one of the reasons why you would like to write this book?
> Hyde: Precisely. As a matter of fact, I realised the other day that I am beginning to feel like I did when I was 15. *Furious* at property. *Furious* at racism. *Furious* at war. *Furious* at injustice.[33]

In this extract, Hyde uses several emotive words that refer to anger; 'pissed off,' 'Jesus Fuck' and the repeated 'furious.' Yet, furious is more than mere anger, it is the deep betrayal and frustration experienced when one understands the injustice and unfairness of a repeated or deliberate action. Hyde was, and is not just, furious that war and racism exist, rather he is furious that war and racism continue to exist and are supported through the actions of governments, despite their known harmful effects. In this example, tracking the emotive words in an interview provided me with a deeper analysis of the interviewee's own understanding of their subjective experience.

Thirdly, and in the same vein as emotion talk, is the need to pay attention to metaphors used in interviews. The wide variety of available metaphors allow an interviewee to convey slight variations of their affective state and memory that emotive words may not be able to provide. Raymond W Gibbs Jr., John S Leggitt and Elizabeth A Turner in their study of metaphors around anger, found that interviewees used 'figurative language strategically to express the subtle nuances of emotional states.'[34] Jane Moodie explores in greater detail the importance of metaphors and figurative language in recovering emotions in her article, 'Surprised by Joy: A Case History exploring the Expression of Spiritual Joy in Oral History'. Moodie believes that the metaphors and figurative language used reflect the intensity of emotion assigned to that memory.[35] By utilising certain creative language, the interviewee hopes to evoke the analogous emotion in the re-telling.[36] Metaphors and figurative language demonstrate what is important to the interviewee, and how they understand, remember and assign meaning to that memory. By using terms like 'cut it open' and 'demolition' when describing the Vietnam War, Jim Prentice, a Brisbane radical, demonstrated how much of an impact the Vietnam War had on Australian youths' perception of the world, and subsequently it's influence in mobilising the student movement.

> It was a simple binary. The trouble is, it was a terribly, terribly simple binary that was put on. You know, we were good, they were bad. And so, that was like a really fragile ideology, and the Vietnam War just cut it open… like it was a kind of demolition of that whole world view.

For Jim Prentice, the Vietnam War and the atrocities committed during it violently destroyed Australian youths' understanding of communism as defined by the Australian government and media. This realisation was so dramatic and personally upsetting that Jim compares it to a violent act.

The final technique is one that has been traditionally accepted as the main carrier of emotion in oral history interviews.[37] Non-verbal and prosodic features relate to instances in an interview where emotion is expressed without words. This can refer to changes in the tone of voice, a sigh, the pace, voice inflection, or even a pause. In Leslie Anne Hadfield's article on the South African Black Conscience movement, she argues that slight changes in the pace of the story or the tone of voice demonstrate the intensity of the political danger at the time, and the emotional effect it had on the interviewees.[38] Yet academics have argued that while non-verbal cues and prosodic features are useful for identifying the type of emotion prevalent at the time of interview, they are shallow and not truly effective in revealing past emotions.[39] Fussell states that non-verbal mechanisms do not provide the detail necessary to understand the 'the full range of human emotional experiences'. Firstly, non-verbal mechanisms do not provide the fine detail, such as the exact type of emotion or its origins, that verbal communication facilitates. Secondly, and especially pertinent to oral history interviews, is that often people are talking about emotional experiences of the past. That means that while reflecting upon the past, the individual may not be experiencing the event or emotions in the same way as the initial event, having had time to process the event and associated emotions, possibly altering their perceptions and experiences of it in the present.[40]

Non-verbal cues featured prominently throughout my interviews, ranging from the countless pauses as interviewees slowly searched for the correct words, to laughter at remembering amusing student antics. Laughter can signify a range of emotions or thoughts, whether that is the recollection of a fond memory, or astonishment at the perceived corruption and opposition the students had faced. Furthermore, it also demonstrates the impact of nostalgia and time in altering memories and emotions.[41] In my interview with Fran Newell, her recollection of the lengths to which she went to meet up with her draft resister husband, Michael Hamel-Green, demonstrate the impact of time on memory.[42]

> Newell: It was sort of the way we lived, it was just an *enormous* amount of pressure now I think about it.
> Dilena: Yeah, I can't even imagine being constantly followed, and watched, and listened to as well.
> Newell: Yeah, yeah! So, we had wigs and disguises. And, a friend, somebody who was involved at the time who I am still friends with, says he will never forget the day that he came to a house to see me, because I was going to take him to see Michael. And I answered the door, in my wig, in my outfit, and he had *no idea* it was me, none at all! And I didn't say anything, I just pointed down the hall, and it wasn't until we got to the end and closed the door and I spoke did he realise who I was [big laugh]. It was bizarre.
> Dilena: It must have been a very good costume then?
> Newell: Yes, the wig is now in the State Library.
> Dilena: Oh really? [laughs] What colour was the wig?
> Newell: It was called '*La Rocka!*' Red… bizarre.[43]

In this short extract, Newell explains the pressure on their lives when her husband Hamel-Green was on the run from the Federal Police, but also the joy in remembering her 'La Rocka' wig. While Newell remembers the stress that Hamel-Green and herself were under in those years, she is also expressing joy, looking back now at the lengths to which they went to maintain their marriage.

Conclusion

The year 2020 will mark the 50-year anniversary of the first Melbourne Moratorium, signalling an opportunity for reflection. Why did so many students break from such a traditional and conservative older generation and take to the streets in the hundreds of thousands? What was it about the Vietnam War that connected so many disparate groups in society? And in a world experiencing such rapid change today – climate change, refugees and mass migration – will this sort of mass, united action ever occur again? By applying new methodological and theoretical approaches, I believe some of these questions can be addressed.

The application of emotions theory to the Australian student movement of the 1960s and 1970s has produced a fresh analysis. Firstly, a new methodological approach had to be constructed. Made up of different interviewing techniques drawn from a range of disciplines, the methodology outlined above was developed for this study. Secondly, applying this original methodological approach has resulted in new insights. While the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s have been extensively covered through a range of methodologies and theoretical approaches, no significant study to date has done so through the lens of emotions theory. Through this novel approach, the questions above may be addressed.

Did students break from the conservative past due to a sense of injustice or fury (as put by Michael Hyde), compelling students to speak up? Were the horrors of the Vietnam War, broadcast into people's lounge rooms, so distressing that individuals felt the need to unite and take to the streets to make their voices heard? By making the political personal, as second wave feminists argued, are people more likely to take an active, more personal role in pushing for change?

I may not have definitive answers to all the questions listed above, but in this study I have demonstrated that it is possible to access emotions in oral history interviews without directly asking for or about them. While this assisted me in my research in accessing emotions in the oral histories of student protestors, this technique is also useful for accessing emotions in pre-recorded interviews. This allows researchers to apply new techniques and approaches, such as emotions theory, to histories when the individuals may no longer be accessible.

Through the application of listening against the grain, I am able to uncover emotions from my interviews, without putting undue stress upon my interviewees. This has broadened our collective understanding of the 1960s and 1970s Australian student movement, particularly the historically rejected role of emotions.

This article has been peer reviewed.

Endnotes

1 Portia Dilena, 'Participant Request Email,' 6 September, 2017.

2 Key works include; Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta (eds), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements,* University of Chicago Press, 2001; James M Jasper, 'Emotions, Sociology, and Protest,' in Christian Scheve and Mikko Salmela (eds), *Collective Emotions*, Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014; Helena Flam and Debra King (eds), *Emotions and Social Movements,* Routledge, Great Britain, 2005; Sara Ahmed, 'The Politics of Bad Feeling', *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal*, no. 1, 2005, pp. 72–85.

3 I use this term lightly, in the sense that I am listening for that which is not obvious or clear, and that I use different methods to obtain information. This draws on the original idea of Ranajit Guha, who employed an alternate reading of colonial sources so as to access the voices of the subaltern subjects traditionally excluded from those sources. Nancy Partner and Sarah R I Foot, *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory: SAGE Publications,* SAGE Publications, London, United Kingdom, 2012, p. 32.

4 Marilyn Bowler, '"How Lucky My Generation Was": Teaching Studentships in Victoria 1950-78', Master of Arts thesis, La Trobe University, 2012, pp. 50–51.

5 Bowler, How Lucky My Generation Was, p. 51.

6 Monash Labor Club's newspaper *Print* became daily in 1969, and even planned to sell their paper in other universities across Australia: 'Print Goes Daily', 4 March, 1969, first edition. See also, Sally Percival Wood, *Dissent: The Student Press in 1960s Australia,* Scribe Publications, Brunswick, Victoria, 2017.

7 Michael Hyde, interviewed by author, 11 April, 2018, tape and transcript held by author.

8 Much has been written on the rejection of emotions by the humanities and social sciences. For excellent overviews, see: Jeannette M. Haviland and Michael Lewis (eds), *Handbook of Emotions,* Guilford Press, New York, 1993; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, *Passionate Politics*.

9 Altman discusses the many different responses to the student movement at the time: Dennis Altman, 'Students in the Electric Age', in *The Australian New Left: Critical Essays and Strategy*, William Heinemann, Melbourne, 1970, pp. 126–47.

10 Coral Bell, 'Oedipal Politics? An Interpretation of Student Insurgency and Its Repercussions', *Current Affairs Bulletin,* vol. 43, no. 12, 1969, pp. 178–191.

11 Bell, Oedipal Politics?, p. 179.

12 'Get With the Strength', *Print*, 4 March 1969.

13 Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, *Passionate Politics*, p. 4.

14 Verity Burgmann, *Power, Profit and Protest: Australian Social Movements and Globilisation,* Allen & Unwin, Singapore, 2003, pp. 10–11.

15 'Who Is My Enemy?', *Print*, 27 July 1967, p. 2.

16 'Re-Print', *Print*, 13 July 1971, p. 1.

17 Susan R. Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion: Introduction and Overview', Psychology Press, 2002, p. 11.

18 For international relations: Ty Solomon, '"I Wasn't Angry, Because I Couldn't Believe It Was Happening": Affect and Discourse in Responses to 9/11', *Review of International Studies; London,* vol. 38, no. 4, October 2012, pp. 907–28. For history: Peter N. Stearns, 'History of Emotions: The Issue of Change', in Jeannette M Haviland & Michael Lewis (eds), Handbook of Emotions, Guilford Press, New York, 1993; Jeannette M. Haviland and Michael Lewis, *Handbook of Emotions,* Guilford Press, New York, 1993. For psychology: Susan Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion: Introduction and Overview', in SusanFussell (ed.), The Verbal Communication of Emotions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Psychology Press, New York, 2002; Daniel Reisberg & Paula Hertel (eds), Memory and Emotion, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008.

19 Robert C Solomon, 'The Philosophy of Emotions,' in Jeannette M. Haviland and Michael Lewis (eds), *Handbook of Emotions*, Guilford Press, New York, 1993, p. 9.

20 For further information on the 'reading against the grain' concept see, Ranajit Guha, *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997; Partner and Foot, *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*; Tracey Banivanua-Mar, *Violence and Colonial Dialogue: The Australian-Pacific Indentured Labor Trade,* University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, United States, 2006.

21 William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2001, p. 114.

22 Khiet P. Truong et al., 'Towards Modeling Expressed Emotions in Oral History Interviews: Using Verbal and Nonverbal Signals to Track Personal Narratives',

Literary and Linguistic Computing, vol. 29, no. 4, December 1, 2014, pp. 621–36.

23 Truong et al., Towards Modeling Expressed Emotions, p. 627.

24 Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, 'Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd ed., Routledge, London , 2016, pp. 179–92.

25 Ken Mansell, interviewed by the author, May 2018, tape and transcript held by author. The Monash Labour Club made headlines when they began raising undisclosed funds for the National Liberation Front (NLF). Their actions have been credited with pushing the Defence Force Protection Act 1967 through Parliament, which prosecuted individuals who assisted, through money or goods, the NLF: Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s,* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016, p. 37.

26 Mansell, interviewed by the author, May 2018, tape and transcript held by author.

27 Truong et al., 'Towards Modeling Expressed Emotions p. 621.

28 Katie Holmes, 'Does It Matter If She Cried? Recording Emotion and the Australian Generations Oral History Project', *The Oral History Review,* vol. 44, no. 1, April 1, 2017, pp. 56–76, 71–72.

29 Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion', p. 13.

30 Jenny Harding, 'Talk About Care: Emotions, Culture and Oral History', *Oral History,* vol. 38, no. 2, 2010, p. 35.

31 Solomon, '"I Wasn't Angry, Because I Couldn't Believe It Was Happening"', p. 907.

32 Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion:', p. 8.

33 Hyde, interviewed by the author, tape and transcript held by author.

34 Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion:', p. 9.

35 Jane Moodie, '"Surprised by Joy": A Case History Exploring the Expression of Spiritual Joy in Oral History', *Oral History,* vol. 38, no. 2, 2010, pp. 75–84, 79.

36 Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion:', p. 8.

37 Truong et al., 'Towards Modeling Expressed Emotions in Oral History Interviews', p. 624; Jeffery Pittman and Klaus R Scherer, 'Vocal Expression and Communication of Emotion', in *Handbook of Emotions,* Guilford Press, New York, 1993, p. 185; Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion: Introduction and Overview', p. 2.

38 Leslie Anne Hadfield, 'Can We Believe the Stories about Biko? Oral Sources, Meaning, and Emotion in South African Struggle History', *History in Africa,* vol. 42, June 2015, p. 258.

39 Truong et al., 'Towards Modeling Expressed Emotions in Oral History Interviews', p. 624; Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion: Introduction and Overview', p. 2.

40 Fussell, 'The Verbal Communication of Emotion:', pp. 2–3.

41 Due to the relative infancy of the field, there are differing views surrounding memory and emotion. Mark Cave states that 'passion fades' with time: Mark Cave, 'What Remains: Reflections on Crisis Oral History', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd ed., New York and London, Routledge, 2016, p. 96. Paul Thompson argues that strong emotion solidifies memory and carries it through time: Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, United States, 2000. For a psychological perspective see Reisberg and Hertel, *Memory and Emotion*.

42 As is clear from this paper, my research has been dominated by the male voice. This is reflective of literature of the movement as a whole, with the majority of the voices and memories recorded that of the men who dominated the movement. This has silenced the many women who often worked in the background of the movement, undertaking the supporting roles (such as typing, administration, etc) necessary for the movement to succeed. I am actively trying to even out the gender imbalance in my work. For research that does address the role of women see; Ann Curthoys, '"Shut Up, You Bourgeois Bitch": Sexual Identity and Political Action in the Anti-Vietnam War Movement', in Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (eds), *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Jean Taylor, *Brazen Hussies: A Herstory of Radical Activism in the Women's Liberation Movement in Victoria 1970 - 1979*, 1st ed., Dyke Books, Melbourne, Victoria, 2009; Ann Curthoys, *Freedom Ride: A Freedom Rider Remembers,* Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2002.

43 Fran Newell, interviewed by the author, 4 May, 2018, tape and transcript held by author. Fran Newell and Michael Hamel-Green met through the Peace Movement and married before Michael went underground to evade conscription. Michael went underground from 1971 - 1972, while Fran continued to evade police to meet up with him.