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TRANSMISSION OF MEMORY AMONGST THE POST-FRANCO GENERATION: HOW THE
POST-FRANCO GENERATION LEARNED ABOUT THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of a Master of Arts by Research in History

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Abstract

This dissertation was prompted by two disparate factors. The first was the national polemic in Spain regarding the proposed exhumation of the dictator Francisco Franco and the second, the national debate in the United Kingdom around the Brexit referendum. Debates around the former provoked questions regarding how the post-Franco generation in Spain, born after the demise of the dictator, formed their opinions on him. The latter highlighted how perceptions of the past are interpreted in a way that suits politicised understandings of the present. Hence the topic of this dissertation is how different vectors of memory have combined to influence historical perceptions in the context of Spain, Franco, and the Spanish Civil War.

This investigation concluded that the driving factor behind participants' historical perceptions was the national discourse surrounding the exhumation of Franco and other aspects of the ideological conflict between the political left and right. Taken alone, neither education, popular culture, nor personal relations provided enough influence to permanently alter the participants' views in a meaningful way. However, as the participants' present-day political views developed they were reflected in the ways they perceived the past. Generational aspects of the transmission of memory, such as changing popular and human-rights culture also played a significant role.

To facilitate this examination 18 oral history interviews were conducted with members of the post-Franco generation. The age range of the participants was 19 to 45 and the snowball sample methodology employed meant that they were drawn from predominantly left-wing and either working-class or middle-class communities. All of the interviewees were Spanish nationals and currently reside in Spain. They were questioned on how they believed they learned about the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship. They were asked questions regarding their perceptions of the conflict and how they thought that they formed those perceptions.

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TRANSMISSION OF MEMORY AMONGST THE POST-FRANCO GENERATION: HOW THE POST-FRANCO GENERATION LEARNED ABOUT THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

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Introduction

"Un gran día para la democracia. Sale adelante la moción de censura al gobierno de Rajoy.

Vamos a trabajar con responsabilidad para recuperar la dignidad que merece nuestro país." -

Tweet from PSOE, 1 June 2018

The toppling of the right-wing government of Mariano Rajoy in a vote of no confidence on the 1st of June 2018 was the latest battle in the context of Spain's lasting ideological conflict between left and right. It was the first time that a vote of no-confidence had succeeded against a Spanish prime minister in modern history and the voting process conducted in the Spanish parliament was shown live on most domestic TV channels. A few days later, the new left-wing prime minister, Pedro Sanchez of PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol) (Spanish Socialist Workers Party), made the announcement that the government would go ahead with plans to exhume the remains of Francisco Franco. This plan was first proposed in a non-binding motion a year previously and is an initiative that emanates almost exclusively from the Spanish political left. The planned exhumation was resisted by the political right.

Over the last decade, Western democracies have been riven by debate and ideological conflict between left and right. The Brexit vote in the United Kingdom and rising populism under President Trump in the United States were other politically-charged current affairs that served as the inspiration for this thesis. In the Brexit debate in particular, both sides invoked contested memories of the past and it was clear that British society's view of its past had shifted

considerably since the vote to join the European Economic Community in 1975.¹ This thesis therefore sets out to understand the ways in which people learn about the past and how this knowledge in turn contributes to changing a society's historical perceptions. It is written in the context of the Spanish experience relating to the Spanish Civil War and Franco era, but it is hoped that the methodology employed and the groups of vectors of memory that are identified can be applied in other contexts.

The concept of vectors of memory has been drawn from memory studies. Academics and historians in particular have been concerned with the role of memory and how it is transmitted. This dissertation examines the role of vectors of memory in four different areas of Spanish life. It draws strongly on the work of Paloma Aguilar to understand the role of these vectors of memory in the lives of the third generation and their understanding of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco era. The “third generation” is a term used by Aguilar to denote the generation born after the transition to democracy. The first generation lived through the civil war and the second generation grew up under the Franco regime. Aguilar’s work has argued that memory of the civil war and dictatorship shaped the transition to democracy. Most recently academic attention has turned to the impact of memory on the third generation. The present work seeks to develop academic understandings of this generation’s knowledge of history by interrogating the areas of education, personal relations, popular culture and lieux de memoire. It does so by adopting an oral history methodology and asks members of the third generation about their experiences.

¹ Saunders, R. (2020). Brexit and Empire: 'Global Britain' and the Myth of Imperial Nostalgia. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 48(6), 1140-1174. pg.1141

Countries often use the school curriculum to impose a sense of unity and identity on their citizens and this can create a national narrative that contributes to shifting historical perceptions. The natural start point for this research into how people learnt about the past was therefore education. The first chapter groups education, academia and what has been termed here as “own research” to better understand how the interviewees learnt about the Spanish Civil War and Franco era as they grew up. However, it appeared from the testimonies gathered by this research that education had a relatively limited impact on the historical perceptions of the interviewees. The majority of respondents rated their educational experiences as unimportant in shaping their conceptions of Franco-era Spain. Where the minority of interviewees rated education more highly, this was limited to context-specific situations such as university education or the impact of certain teachers.

If education was not key in informing contemporary understandings of the Franco regime amongst the third generation, perhaps popular culture outside of the school gates was? Paul Julian Smith argues that media studies are crucial to understanding Spanish cultural studies, with other academics pointing to documentaries as crucial in revealing the truths of the civil war. The role of feature films in influencing historical memory is also considered in this dissertation. However, in contradistinction to academic notions the respondents privileged the role of news-entertainment satire over documentaries in their responses and did not appear to have considered the deeper meaning of films such as *Pan's Labyrinth*. Conversely, the overt biases in newspapers were off-putting to the respondents and we can see their lack of interest in print media as part of wider trends reflected in declining circulation figures. Academic research on the topic of news-entertainment satire suggests that younger people value this genre as it prompts them to consider and share differing perspectives.

The role of personal relationships in the transmission of memory appears to be decisive. Aguilar has looked at the role of generational change in the context of memory studies and Spain. She argues that the different Spanish generations have different approaches to sharing their experiences and opinions of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. Whereas the second generation was reluctant to examine the past, the third generation have reduced feelings of shame or guilt associated with the conflict. This allows them to discuss the politically-charged themes of the past in a more jocular nature. However, familial stories passed down from grandparents were formative in the initial historical perceptions held by the interviewees when they were young children. These initial perceptions were later reformed as the respondents matured. The human rights culture that had developed in Spain since the transition to democracy appears to be key.

As noted at the start of this chapter, the exhumation of Francisco Franco from the Valley of the Fallen has been the focus of angry public debate. Under the influence of Pierre Nora's concept of lieux de memoire, the importance of the role of national monuments, street names, and mass graves, has been identified by academics. It would thus seem from an academic perspective that lieux de memoire would be centrally important vectors of memory. The position of lieux de memoire at the intersection of heritage and identity and the aforementioned debates made them recognisable to the third generation. This enabled the interviewees to express opinions on the retention of Franco-era monuments and street names and a variety of viewpoints were offered. In the case of mass graves the effect of the historical distance appears to have removed some of the emotional resonance of these sites.

The oldest members of the post-Franco generation are now in their late forties. Pedro Sanchez himself was born at the end of the dictatorship and thus on the cusp of a new political era. Over the next twenty years, the role of the third generation will become increasingly important in the Spanish political sphere. Within the next four decades the majority of those with a direct recollection of the dictatorship will no longer be with us. Understanding the vectors of memory which have informed their conceptions of Spain's recent past will be important to make sense of the political decisions made by future Spanish governments. An academic focus on memory studies has already helped us to understand memory's role in the transition to democracy. The section that follows will outline both the historiography of the Spanish Civil War and the transition. It will then be followed by a methodological section which will outline the oral history methodology that has been used to inform this thesis. Whilst this thesis will not be the last word on the subject of the third generation, it is hoped that it will be illustrative of some of the themes relevant to understanding their points of view and the role of memory transmission in Spanish culture.

Historiography

The academic field of memory studies is the focus of this thesis. Memory studies allows us to understand how the historical narrative constructed by the Franco regime has been challenged. This section will therefore set out how the Francoist narrative was created and then outline the work that has been undertaken to democratise it since the transition. The historiography of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) that followed is one that can be divided into two major time periods. The first part is the period between 1936 and 1977. It is characterised by a repression of Spanish historians and the creation of a singular narrative that was utilised by the Franco dictatorship to reinforce the regime. It did not allow for the recounting of the Republican version of events and instead underlined the portrayal of the Nationalists as saviours of Spain. The second period of the historiography begins in the 1970s around the transition to democracy. The transition opened up the possibility for historians to write more freely about Spanish history without fear of their work being prohibited by an authoritarian regime eager to promote its narrative as the unique version of history. This period also coincides with the “memory phenomenon” within the field of history research. Memory was seized upon by historians to “democratise” the narrative of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. Looking at different vectors of memory allows us to better understand this process of democratisation. Here there is also a large body of research that investigates the role that memory had on Spain’s peaceful transition to democracy.

The period 1936 to 1977 was one in which the Franco regime expended considerable effort to actively manipulate the production of history.² Miguel A. Marin Gelabert, in his book

² Ruiz, J. (2009). Seventy Years On: Historians and Repression During and After the Spanish Civil War. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(3), 449-472. pg.453

Spanish Historians during Francoism, writes about both the strategic placement of historians and the promotion of certain subjects over others according to the needs or wills of the state.³ The use of history to promote a narrative was most acute in the realm of education and academia, where the system was moulded into one that fully promoted the Nationalist narrative. Stanley G. Payne explains how the SEU (Sindicato Espanol Universitario) (Spanish University Union) was “revived” as “an instrument for indoctrinating the most impressionable, and potentially most rebellious, minds in the nation.”⁴ Historians prior to the transition were therefore not writing to impartially inform, but to inculcate loyalty to the regime. In addition to co-opting the SEU, the Franco regime sought to fuse religious teaching with higher education. Jose Maravall explains how the 1943 *Ley de Ordenación Universitaria* decreed a religious element to all university level teaching, incorporated nationalistic Catholicism in a systematic way, and made all Spanish universities of the time Catholic universities.⁵ This was done due to the symbiotic relationship between Francoism and the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church would support Franco’s version of history, in return for Franco restoring the privileges of the Church in the political arena.⁶ Shubert provides insight into the Church’s impact on Spanish society explaining how it “baptised Franco’s rebellion a crusade and supported it unequivocally.”⁷ He tells us how the bishops made further interventions favouring the Nationalist historical narrative by differentiating between the two sides in the Civil War.⁸ The pre-transition historiography presented a state-sanctioned narrative that portrayed the regime in the most favourable ways possible.

³ Marin Gelabert, M. A. (2004). *Los historiadores españoles en el franquismo, 1948-1975; La historia local al servicio de la patria*. Zaragoza.

⁴ Payne, S. G. (1961). *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

⁵ Maravall, J. (1978). *Dictatorship and Political Dissent: Workers and Students in Franco's Spain*. London: Tavistock Publications.

⁶ Relaño Pastor, E. (2007). Spanish Catholic Church in Franco Regime: A Marriage of Convenience. *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 20 (2), 275-287.

⁷ Shubert, A. (2003). *A Social History of Modern Spain*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Another significant aspect to the pre-transition historiography was the use of censorship to silence dissenting Republican interpretations of the civil war and the dictatorship that followed. In order to ensure that the regime-backed Nationalist narrative was the only interpretation of history available to its citizens every book that was published in Spain had to be authorised by the Spanish state.⁹ From 1936 onwards, a national board of censors was responsible for deciding whether or not a work was published and academics and intellectuals promoting a divergent point of view were punished.¹⁰ After 1966 this process was relaxed, but the regime retained the right to ban any publications that it deemed inappropriate.¹¹ It was not until Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez passed a decree in 1977 that censorship completely ended.¹² Publication from outside of Spain offered a way for historians to challenge the Francoist interpretation of the Spanish Civil War. This was the method that key traditional historians of the Spanish Civil War such as Payne and Hugh Thomas chose when publishing their works. Payne's first work, *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*, published in 1961 was not translated into Spanish until 1965.¹³ Payne himself has articulated the split in the historiography. He describes how scholarly study of the Spanish Civil War was initiated on a significant scale in 1961 following the publication of Hugh Thomas's *The Spanish Civil War*.¹⁴ However, he states that several other monographs which followed it were all by foreign authors.¹⁵ Payne describes the changes that occurred to the historiography after revision of the censorship laws in the late

⁹ Cornellà-Detrell, J. (2011). *Literature as a Response to Cultural and Political Repression in Franco's Catalonia* (Vol. 295). Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Intxausti, A. (2013, December 30). Forty Years of Censorship. *El País*.

¹³ Rodríguez Jiménez, F. (2015). "Stanley G. Payne: ¿Una trayectoria académica ejemplar?", *Hispania Nova*, no 1 Extraordinario, págs. 24-54,

¹⁴ Payne, S. G. (1988). Recent Historiography on the Spanish Republic and Civil War. *The Journal of Modern History*, 60(3), 540-556.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

1960s and early 1970s as “Hispanization” and states that “the explosion of Spanish research has enormously broadened and enriched understanding of the conflict and, while it may not have drastically altered established perspectives, it has completed the process of placing the historiography of contemporary Spain firmly in the hands of Spanish scholars.”¹⁶

The period following the transition afforded both foreign and Spanish historians an opportunity to ‘democratise’ the narrative of the Spanish Civil War. The historiography that had been written outside of Spain was now accessible to Spanish historians and they “began to take into account the main debates that had been developing in the international arena and thus began to study essential periods of Spanish history in the light of and according to the terms of these debates.”¹⁷ Additionally, the combination of the removal of censorship laws and Spanish historians’ involvement in international debates allowed them to “make an original contribution to these debates for the first time.”¹⁸ One of the major debates that had developed in the international arena was that of memory studies or “the memory phenomenon.” Sharon Macdonald traces this “memory phenomenon” back to the 1970s and details how public interest in the past gathered pace towards the end of last century and into the beginning of the twenty-first.¹⁹ The memory phenomenon and the post-transition historiography occurred at roughly the same time and thus incorporate concepts such as heritage and identity.²⁰ This can be seen in the argument of Layla Renshaw, who tells us that during the dictatorship “the prewar Republican identity was successfully dismantled by Francoist violence, transforming any attempt to revive it into an ambivalent, complex, and emotionally charged experience for those who

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Cabrera, M. A. (2005). Developments in Contemporary Spanish Historiography: From Social History to the New Cultural History. *The Journal of Modern History*, 77(4), 988-1023.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Macdonald, S. (2013). *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. London;New York: Routledge.

²⁰ Benton, T. (2010). *Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

have lived under Franco.”²¹ These links are further highlighted by Aguilar and Humblebæk when they tell us that “the problematic attitude to Spanish national identity is most immediately explained by the Francoist dictatorship and its abusive and repressive use of the concepts of nation and patriotism.”²² It is therefore clear that post-transition historians sought to utilise memory to deconstruct the singular narrative built up during the Franco period.

The use of memory to challenge existing narratives has been lauded by historians. Hutton argues that “the rise of memory studies contributed to the dissolution of the grand narrative [of the rise of Western civilisation as one of progress].”²³ It is therefore understandable that historians looking to deconstruct the narrative created by the Franco regime would turn to memory as the methodology through which to achieve this. In reviewing the work of Jeffrey Olick, Hutton provides us with an exhaustive examination of how our understanding of history is shaped by our interest in memory.²⁴ Further, Hutton states that there is an “interplay between memory and history” with the former being described as a “constituent glue” of culture.²⁵ Lastly, Hutton cites Olick who argues “the concept of collective memory is a particularly useful one because it is more capacious than the older alternatives of myth, heritage, and tradition for comprehending the dynamics of culture as these have played out over time.”²⁶ The use of memory to analyse the history of the Spanish Civil War thus also provided Spanish historians with the means of challenging Franco era myths, restoring Republican heritage, and understanding the evolution of Spanish identity over time. It is perhaps for these reasons that

²¹ Renshaw, L. (2011). *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality, and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War*. Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press.

²² Aguilar, P., & Humblebæk, C. (2002). Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish Democracy: The Legacies of Francoism and the Civil War. *History and Memory*, 14 (1-2), 121-164.

²³ Hutton, P. H. (2008). *The Memory Phenomenon as a Never-Ending Story*. Malden, USA: Blackwell

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

memory has come to feature so heavily in the context of historical analysis and has become an almost staple feature of contemporary historical writing.²⁷

The use of the term “collective memory” must be separated from that of “personal memory.” Benton and Cecil outline the details of these concepts in ‘Understanding heritage and memory,’ explaining how “we remember things that happened, although sometimes our [personal] memories may be contested by the memories of others or by physical evidence.”²⁸ In contrast, they state that “collective memory [...] consist[s] of the similarities between a number of people, produced either by shared experience or by the common rehearsal of stories representing events of which people may have a more or less direct experience.”²⁹ The relationship between personal and collective memory is complex, with Halbwachs’ explanation acknowledging that “each memory is a viewpoint on the collective memory, that this viewpoint changes as my position changes, that this position itself changes as my relationship to other milestones change.”³⁰ Hutton adds to our understanding of Halbwach’s interpretation of collective memory by informing us how it operates in many social contexts, including “family, religion, and social communities.”³¹ Writing in the context of Spain, Jo Labanyi highlights that there are both similarities between collective and personal memory.³² She tells us that “collective memory is very different from private memory in that no actual remembering - in the sense of the recall of a lived experience registered in the brain - takes place in it.”³³ However, both

²⁷ Eley, G. ‘The Past Under Erasure? History, Memory, and the Contemporary, *The Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.46. No 3. PP 555-573, (July 2011)

²⁸ Benton, T. (2010). *Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
pg10

²⁹ *Ibid.* pg10

³⁰ *Ibid.* pg15

³¹ Hutton, P. H. (1988). Collective Memory and Collective Mentalities: The Halbwachs-Ariés Connection. *Historical Reflections*, 15(2), 311-322.

³² Labany, J.i (2008) The Politics of Memory in Contemporary Spain, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 9:2, 119-125,

³³ *Ibid.*

“shared (and contested) understandings of the past that comprise [collective memory] do connect individuals with the past, and are transmitted across generations in the same way that [personal] memories are.”³⁴

Let us now then consider the transmission of memory across generations in the context of Spain. As mentioned earlier, the historiography of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era can be split into two distinct parts, with the transition to democracy acting as the divide. Crucial to this then is the way in which memory was transmitted between the generations of Spaniards that lived either side of the transition. This is a topic that Aguilar has studied extensively. She has identified three generations of Spaniards and explains how they have different attitudes to the recovery of memory in Spain.³⁵ According to Aguilar and Ramírez-Barat, the first generation lived through the Spanish Civil War whereas the second generation was born after the Spanish Civil War and grew up under the Franco dictatorship. This second generation “opposes digging into the past.”³⁶ Finally, they identify “the third (and increasingly fourth) generation, in other words, the grandchildren (and great-grandchildren) of those who lived through the Civil War” which they claim “is in favor of the provision of truth, justice, and reparation to the victims of Francoism.”³⁷ Their overarching argument in *Generational Dynamics in Spain: Memory Transmission* is that “this [third] generation is internally more heterogeneous than some authors have suggested and probably not strong enough to radically change, at least in the short term, the politics of memory in Spain.”³⁸ This is a conclusion they reach despite recognising that the third generation is not acting in isolation. They cite the example of cooperation between three or

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Aguilar, P., & Ramírez-Barat, C. (2019). Generational Dynamics in Spain: Memory Transmission of a Turbulent Past. *Memory Studies*, 12(2), 213-229.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

even four generations of Spaniards being critical in explaining the exhumations of civil war victims and remind us that “generational cohorts are not as internally homogeneous as it has often been portrayed.” It thus makes sense that a combination of individuals and factors can work together to change the politics of memory regardless of generational delineations.

There are other factors that impact the ability of the third generation to change the public understanding of history. One of the most studied factors is that of the Pact of Silence.³⁹ This Pact of Silence included legislation such as the 1977 Amnesty Law, which was “the first law passed by the recently inaugurated democratic parliament.”⁴⁰ This law was fundamental and groundbreaking, led to the release of the few remaining political prisoners, and ensured that their criminal records would be expunged, amongst other things.⁴¹ Additionally the Moncloa Pacts, which were “short-term legislative measures to adapt the law to the demands of the new democratic reality,” contributed to the understanding of the Pact of Silence as a tacit agreement for high-ranking politicians to maintain a public silence in relation to the Spanish Civil War and Franco era.⁴² The Pact of Silence in relation to the transmission of memory is thus one that implies a transition characterised by “forgetting.” Labanyi has argued against this notion and states that “silence itself can represent a form of witnessing and commitment.”⁴³ This therefore suggests that despite the pre-transition censorship era, the destruction of Republican identity, and a public silence maintained by politicians, memory of the civil war and Franco era was still being transmitted from one generation to the next. The expansion of the historiography

³⁹ Labanyi, J. (2009). The Languages of Silence: Historical Memory, Generational Transmission and Witnessing in Contemporary Spain. *Journal of Romance Studies*, 9 (3), 23-25.

⁴⁰ Aguilar, P. (2012). The Spanish Amnesty Law of 1977 in Comparative Perspective: From a Law for Democracy to a Law for Impunity. (pp. 315-335) Cambridge University Press.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Desfor Edles, L. (1998). *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain; The Transition to Democracy after Franco*. Cambridge University Press.

⁴³ Labanyi, J. (2009). The Languages of Silence: Historical Memory, Generational Transmission and Witnessing in Contemporary Spain. *Journal of Romance Studies*, 9 (3), 23-25.

post-transition is certainly evidence of this and the methodologies employed by historians shed light on how this transmission of memory occurs.

Memory studies has incorporated writing on the various ways in which memory might be transmitted. This is of particular relevance given that the Franco dictatorship attempted to prevent the transmission of memory of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era by manipulating society in order to create their own unchallenged narrative, censoring Republican voices, and destroying much of their heritage. Nancy Wood utilises the terminology “vectors of memory” to analyse how memory was transmitted in postwar Europe and she uses a number of case studies in support of her argument.⁴⁴ Her work incorporates lieux de memoire, public memory, historical writing, war crimes trials, novels and films as some conduits of memorial activity.⁴⁵ Wood also dedicates an entire chapter to the concepts espoused by Pierre Nora and the role of lieux de memoire in the transmission of memory.⁴⁶ This latter vector of memory is particularly pertinent given the divisive nature of the Valley of the Fallen in relation to the memory of the civil war and Franco era in Spain. Aguilar, in her book *Memory and Amnesia*, does not use the terminology “vector of memory” but she does follow a similar methodology.⁴⁷ She explains how her work is not “a book about the Spanish Civil War, but an analysis of the political discourse relating to that war, of the transmission of this memory through multiple sources and of the significant effect which this memory had on incipient democratic political process, a memory which still exists today.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Wood, N. (1999). *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Post-War Europe*. Berg.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pg.15-38

⁴⁷ Aguilar, P. (2008). *Memory and Amnesia; The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Understanding public perceptions of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era is therefore reliant on understanding the “multiple sources” through which memory is transmitted. As discussed above, the pre-transition historiography was characterised by the Franco regime employing the Spanish education system as a means of solidifying its interpretation of history as a singular undisputed narrative.⁴⁹ As we will see in the next paragraph, education and academia as a vector of memory is thus given precedence here as the transition afforded the newly democratic Spanish state the opportunity to redress the imbalance in historical narratives through the use of the national curriculum. This is even more pertinent as there is a general academic consensus that teaching history after conflict is an important opportunity for states to create a new national narrative in order to shape a collective national identity.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the interplay between education and memory and identity must be taken into account given the nature of the civil war. The ideological conflict of the Spanish Civil War was predominantly characterised by competing Nationalist and Republican identities. However, individual identities also allowed alternative accounts of Francoism to be created. This can be seen in the admiration that former political prisoner Tomasa Cuevas received for her “strength to keep her identity apart from her well-known husband who ... served as a member of the [Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia] executive committee and the central committee of the [Communist Party of Spain].”⁵¹ Fully examining education as a vector of memory thus affords us the ability to understand the nuanced manner in which the identity and identities of the post-Franco generation are formed and how that in turn enables them to interpret the past.

⁴⁹ Marin Gelabert, M. A. (2004). *Los historiadores españoles en el franquismo, 1948-1975; La historia local al servicio de la patria*. Zaragoza.

⁵⁰ Freedman, S., Weinstein, H., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2008). Teaching history after Identity-Based conflicts: The Rwanda Experience. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 663-690. doi:10.1086/591302

⁵¹ Cuevas, T. (1998). *Prison of Women: Testimonies of War and Resistance in Spain, 1939-1975*. (M . E. Giles, Trans.) State University of New York Press. (Original work published 1986).

Despite this, education as a potential vector of memory is often approached from a top down analysis that does not always consider the perspectives of those who were being educated. When considering education, textbooks appear to be one focus of academics. Aguilar examines the role of textbooks in the Franco era and Boyd examines their role in the post-transition period.⁵² Boyd perfectly encapsulates the reason why education is such an important vector of memory when she tells us

textbooks written for the secondary school market reflect the political and historiographical trends [of Spain]. In modern societies, history as a school subject is an important vector of social memory, the function of which is to provide future citizens with a frame for civic behaviour. Through symbols and stories, or governing myths, history teaching and textbooks legitimate existing political arrangements and provide clues to national identity and destiny.⁵³

Such examinations of the school curriculum must therefore include the testimonies of those that were ‘consuming’ the referenced textbooks. That would allow historians to better judge the effectiveness of what were often top down policies in terms of utilising education as a vector of memory.

Secondly, it is necessary to consider how personal relations have the potential to act as vectors of memory. This terminology “personal relations” allows us to consider both intergenerational and intragenerational transmission of memory. Historians have generally

⁵² Aguilar, P. (2008). *Memory and Amnesia; The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Boyd, C.P. "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617.1 (2008): 133-148.

⁵³ Boyd, C.P. "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617.1 (2008): 133-148.

focused on the former of these due to the generational nature of the transition to democracy. Encarnación sheds light on why this is the case, telling us that post-transition “an official narrative [of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era], some feel, is needed.”⁵⁴ This is because “an entirely new generation of Spaniards has been raised generally unaware of the sacrifices and suffering of an earlier generation, mainly due to the silence over the past imposed by the transition.”⁵⁵ Encarnación’s view is therefore that memory was key in shaping the transition to democracy. This is a position that is robustly supported by Aguilar, who explains “generational change has proved a crucial variable in the recent emergence of memory issues in Spain” and argues that “the grandchildren of the Civil War … grew up under a stable democracy, are devoid of the feelings of guilt or fear of their predecessors, and are much more comfortable with the international human rights law framework.”⁵⁶ This allowed them to challenge the Pact of Silence and the way in which the Spanish state implemented the transition because they felt it “failed to provide truth and justice to the victims of Francoism.”⁵⁷ The third generation was emboldened to speak about the past and felt able to use memory as a way to challenge the narratives that went before.

Let us now consider the fact that the Aguilar’s third generation did not have direct experience of the civil war or Franco era. In regards to personal relations, the transmission of memory often occurred through familial stories. Aguilar provides us with Hirsch’s term “generation of postmemory” which describes “the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before,

⁵⁴ Encarnación, O. G. (2014). Democracy Without Justice in Spain: The Politics of Forgetting. University of Pennsylvania Press.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Aguilar, P., & Ramírez-Barat, C. (2019). Generational Dynamics in Spain: Memory Transmission of a Turbulent Past. *Memory Studies*, 12(2), 213-229.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

experiences that they ‘remember’ only as a result of the stories, images and behaviour among which they grew up.”⁵⁸ In this way, the third generation were able to ‘remember’ the Spanish Civil War and Franco era despite not having a direct experience of it. Aguilar and Hirsch agree that the terminology of “postmemory” “can be applied to the descendants of the Republican victims of the Spanish Civil War and that “the traumas do not die “with the generation that directly suffered the experience, but are transmitted to their descendants, affecting second, third and fourth generations”⁵⁹ Following this line of reasoning, it is likely that the post-Franco generation will share the views of those that were narrating stories of the past.

Thirdly, memory can be transmitted through pop culture. In the context of Spain and the transition to democracy, the evolution of pop culture is provocative due to its relation to the generational change. Paul Julian Smith has argued that “active engagement with general media studies seems to me essential to the development of Spanish cultural studies.” In addition, Dan Sipe states that “film and video, especially as broadcast on television, have spawned a staggering array of historical works which arguably are the major influence on the public’s historical consciousness.”⁶⁰ It is therefore clear that there is a significant intersection between popular culture and media studies, Spanish culture in general, and historical perceptions. However, the key component of popular culture in regards to the transition is often considered to be documentaries. Eric Castelló argues that Catalan TV documentaries contributed to the democratisation of Spanish Civil War narratives, framing his work in relation to the memory

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Smith, P. J. (2010). When Spanish Cultural Studies Met TV Studies: Travelling Narratives and Life Strategies. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 11(3-4), 305-314. pg.305

Dan Sipe, ‘The Future of Oral History and Moving Images,’ (Cited in), Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, (London, 1998). p.397.

phenomenon.⁶¹ He states that television is a sort of ‘machine’ that converts ‘memory discourse’ into ‘historical discourse’ by applying a particular ‘will to truth’ that orders the collective memory as discourse.⁶² Castelló also states that the impact of such programmes “should not be underestimated, as audiences were considerable.”⁶³ It is undoubtedly true that documentaries contributed to shifting historical perceptions. However, what is less certain is the impact that this type of programming had on the third (and potentially fourth) generations.

In addition to Castelló’s assertions that audiences were considerable, Anne Hardcastle suggests that “such documentary films shown on television may be the first exposure many people have to [the] controversial subject [of the Francoist past].”⁶⁴ This is a dubious assertion given the ubiquity of other vectors of memory, such as familial stories, the school curriculum, or even other genres of television such as those identified by Smith.⁶⁵ It would be beneficial to employ a more comparative methodology whereby the perceived audience are questioned as to whether this is indeed their experience of television as it relates to the Spanish Civil War. This is not to detract from either the work of the documentary makers or the historians who have analysed their role in the transition. As Gina Hermann tells us, “documentary film played an early and crucial role in [the] effort” to disseminate “the workings of the Francoist repressive apparatus.”⁶⁶ However, given the literature relating to generational change and the transition

⁶¹ Enric Castelló, ‘Disrupting “Wills to Truth”: How Catalan TV Documentary Contributed to the Democratization of Spanish Civil War Narratives’, *Memory Studies*, 7, 2, (2014), pp. 223-38.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Hardcastle, A.E. “El documental es un arma cargada de pasado”: Representation in Documentary and Testimony’, in Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago, eds, *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 148-55.

⁶⁵ Smith, P. J. (2010). When Spanish Cultural Studies met TV Studies: Travelling Narratives and Life Strategies. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 11(3-4), 305-314.

⁶⁶ Gina Herrmann, ‘Mass Graves on Spanish TV: A Tale of Two Documentaries’, in Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago, eds, *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 168-91.

combined with the knowledge that pop culture trends shift rapidly, in order to definitively know whether documentaries are still as relevant today the viewership must be questioned in a bottom-up manner. It would also be beneficial to compare television as a vector of memory with other facets of popular culture to understand the nuances of memory transmission in this realm of society.

Finally, lieux de memoire must be considered as a notable vector of memory. The concept of lieux de memoire, or sites of memory, was popularised by Pierre Nora.⁶⁷ A lieux de memoire consists of “any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.”⁶⁸ Put more poetically, “lieux de memoire [are] where memory crystallises and secretes itself.”⁶⁹ Nora’s argument does not end at the physicality of an object, but also describes the inherent need for a lieux de memoire to be imbued with other qualities.⁷⁰ For example, Nora explains how the category of lieux de memoire only applies to sites that are “the object of a ritual.”⁷¹ This ritual in turn allows memory to become history and, through this revitalisation of history, permits a social group to redefine its identity.⁷² Lieux de memoire in the post-transition period thus allowed the left-wing to revitalise their history and redefine their identity. It must be noted that this would only be possible as a process on the condition that there were other vectors of memory acting in tandem with lieux de memoire. This “pluralistic approach to cultural history” is one that Jay Winter agrees “has many advantages.”⁷³ Winter also

⁶⁷ Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire. *représentations*, 26, 7-24.

⁶⁸ Wood, N. (1999). *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Post-War Europe*. Berg.

⁶⁹ Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire. *représentations*, 26, 7-24.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Winter, J. M. (2006;2008;). *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

reminds us that “sites of memory are created not just by nations but primarily by small groups of men and women who do the work of remembrance.”⁷⁴

There are two lieux de memoire that are of particular relevance to the memory of the civil war and transition. The first of these is the Valley of the Fallen. Gareth Stockey argues that,

more than any other site of memory in Spain, and arguably more than any of the myriad issues involved in the recent memory wars, El Valle de los Caídos remains the most powerful symbol of un-reconciled visions of Spain’s history, and indeed, of the country’s credentials in the twenty-first century.⁷⁵

The Valley of the Fallen as a symbol of un-reconciled visions of Spain’s history is likely heightened by the monument’s place at the centre of the debates surrounding the exhumation of Franco. Its prominence is also amplified due to how it sits at the intersection of multiple vectors of memory. The story of the Valley of the Fallen and the discussion surrounding the position it should hold in the national consciousness has certainly increased its visibility in the public eye.⁷⁶ José María Calleja reminds us that the Valley of the Fallen sits at the centre of an ideological battle between the left and the right. His book *El Valle de los Caídos* suggests that the ‘sides’ in this debate are justice and memory on the one hand versus the “resistance of the right” who are “irritated with memory” on the other.⁷⁷ Calleja looks at a variety of aspects related to only a single lieu de memoire and by doing so reminds us of the inextricably linked nature of vectors of memory.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Stockey, G. (2013). *Valley of the Fallen: The (N)ever Changing Face of General Franco’s Monument*. Critical, Cultural and Communications Press.

⁷⁶ Calleja, J. M. (2009). *El Valle de los Caídos*. Barcelona: Espasa Libros. pg.193

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pg.197

Mass graves are the second lieux de memoire that have featured at the forefront of memory studies in the context of Spain's recent history. Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago are citing Francisco Ferrández when they tell us that

memory-work taking place around mass graves, whether they are exhumed or not, has been progressively making visible a formerly neglected cartography of terror and repression that encompasses many landscapes and localities throughout the country.⁷⁸

This suggests that they believe mass graves to be a relatively 'new' vector of memory that was previously 'invisible.' Their analysis also once again highlights the vital role that memory studies has in injecting new points of view into the once state-controlled historiography. However, Robben suggests that mass graves did exist in the Spanish collective memory through the dead that were buried in them, although he calls the graves themselves "invisible monuments."⁷⁹ He posits that the perpetrators of the killings "would be reminded frequently of the dark past as they drove by the secret burial sites on their way to work or on vacation."⁸⁰ Robben's cogent argument reminds us of the human element to monuments and, in turn, the interconnectedness of vectors of memory. It is Renshaw, however, who abridges the impression mass graves have on the present. She explains that the campaigns involved in the exhumation of graves approach their efforts differently. These approaches can be "emphasising affective

⁷⁸ Jerez-Farrán, C., & Amago, S. (2010). *Unearthing Franco's Legacy : Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. University of Notre Dame Press. pg.22

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* pg.271

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pg.271

familial bonds with the dead” or “in order to achieve a hegemonic shift to the left in Spanish society.”⁸¹ Both of these approaches reaffirm the link between past and present.

This link between past and present is one that has recurred throughout the historiography. The historiographical discourse that arose outside of Spain during the Franco era, and inside of Spain after the demise of the Franco regime, has contested the version of history developed during Franco’s rule. Memory studies sheds light on the process of the reception of these divergent versions of Spanish history. The reception of these ideas has taken place in the political context of the transition to democracy which was characterised by a Pact of Silence. As has been seen, academics have analysed various vectors of memory from an intergenerational angle. These vectors of memory, or sources of memory transmission as Aguilar terms them, can be educational, interpersonal, cultural, or tangible in the sense that they relate to lieux de memoire. Academics have rightly drawn attention to vectors of memory such as textbooks, documentaries, and monuments and mass graves. However, this writing has often been in the abstract, engaging on a level one removed from those exposed to the vectors of memory themselves. There remains scope for further qualitative research on these themes and how individuals receive these vectors of memory on a personal level. This thesis seeks to employ an approach that will contribute to this understanding using the methodology described below.

⁸¹ Renshaw, L. (2016). *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War*. Routledge.

METHODOLOGY

This thesis utilises an oral history methodology. In terms of this research, oral history best elucidates the links between the past and the present, especially considering how it looks to understand the differences between the pre and post-Franco generations. As Penny Summerfield puts it, “the dialogue that oral history facilitates between the past and present can illuminate the practices and values prevalent in a previous era, even when there are major discursive ruptures between them.”⁸² In the context of this thesis, the transition from dictatorship to democracy can be viewed as the “discursive rupture” that marks the boundary between generations of Spaniards that grew up in very different circumstances. Although the third generation are contemporaries, their understanding of the past has been shaped by this rupture. Oral history not only has the potential to capture the kaleidoscopic and nuanced nature of how the post-Franco generation formed their perspectives of the past, but can also highlight narratival continuities between different generations.

Despite its suitability for this study, using oral history as a methodology can present challenges. Memory is capricious and can be influenced by external factors on the day of the interview.⁸³ Issues include occasions when it is not possible to guide the interview, when the material gathered is not of use, and when there are divergent interests between the interviewer and narrator.⁸⁴ Despite these frustrations, Lindsey Dodd argues that an oral history methodology

⁸² Summerfield, P. *Histories of the Self: Personal Narratives and Historical Practice*, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central,

⁸³ Kirby, R. K. (2008). Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History. *The Oral History Review*, 35(1), 22-38.

⁸⁴ Tumblety, J. (Ed.). (2013). *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*. pg.36

can bring profound insights to the understanding of the past.⁸⁵ This is a position that Michael Bosworth agrees with when he tells us that, “despite its difficulties, oral history adds to rather than detracts from the historical record, and ... collecting memories is a worthwhile activity.”⁸⁶ The oral history interviews conducted with the post-Franco generation as part of this research therefore adds to the historiography and provides valuable insight into the formation of their historical perspectives.

The external factors that can influence memory on the day of the interview are important to consider. Micheal Bosworth states that “as a source, the oral record can tell the historian how individuals, at a specific moment, felt about things that mattered to them.”⁸⁷ When conducting oral history interviews it is therefore important to ensure that the “specific moment” is as conducive as possible to facilitating the testimony of the interviewees. If the interviewee did not feel comfortable within the environment where they were recounting their story then that could cause them to alter their narrative in order to elicit approval or engagement from the interviewer. Penny Summerfield explains this phenomenon as follows, “a selection is made by the [interviewee], who constructs a narrative about him- or herself, in pursuit of psychic comfort and satisfaction, and in the hope of eliciting recognition and affirmation from his or her audience.”⁸⁸ Taking into consideration the politically-charged nature of this research, ensuring that the participants felt their perspectives were valid regardless of their political ideology was of utmost importance to ensuring the best outcome.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Tumblety, J. (Ed.). (2013). *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*.

⁸⁸ Summerfield, P. (2004) Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews, *Cultural and Social History*, 1:1, 65-93 pg.69

The question of the interviewees' political ideology, or political identity, is also relevant. It was important to reassure the interviewees of the validity of their political identity due to the relationship between historical memory and identity in the present. Caroline Boyd explains this link as follows, "Historical memory may legitimate or challenge the status quo, teach a lesson, validate a claim, consolidate an identity, or inspire action - that is, it typically has a social or political purpose."⁸⁹ This means that in the context of an oral history methodology, the interviewees were not only seeking to tell the story of their pasts, but also validate their own identities in the present. Accordingly, understanding and empathising with the interviewees' political identity in the present gives a greater insight into their perspectives of the past. It is of even greater importance when the political nature of the Spanish Civil War and how the ideological right versus left political discourse still plays out in the present is taken into account.

In order to offer a comprehensive analysis it was important to consider anything that could potentially act as a vector of memory. As seen earlier, this is a term employed by Wood and used to refer to anything that has the potential to transfer knowledge of the past to the present. This definition therefore encapsulates a great deal of elements that were sometimes necessary to group in order that analysis was more practical. It has already been mentioned in the historiography that Paloma Aguilar's work provided inspiration for this thesis. She examines a wide breadth of sources in her work *Memory and Amnesia* and it includes both a section entitled 'Learning' and a section entitled 'Ceremonies and Monuments'.⁹⁰ These sections inspired the chapters 'Education, Academia and 'Own Research'' and 'Lieux de Memoire' respectively. Two further groups were created for this thesis, including 'Popular Culture' which

⁸⁹ Boyd, C.P. "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617.1 (2008): 133-148. pg.134

⁹⁰ Aguilar, P. (2002). *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (4th ed.). Berghahn Books.

groups vectors of memory such as newspapers, fiction books, songs and radio, and television, and 'Personal Relations' which examines how the interviewees' friends and family passed on knowledge of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. By considering all of these potential vectors of memory, it was possible to compare and contrast them and thus better understand what weight the interviewees gave them and why.

In consideration of the above, it was therefore important to recruit interviewees who would be comfortable and willing to speak about all vectors of memory. Chaim Noy explains that "sampling amounts to a crucial link in the research chain, which can undoubtedly 'make or break' research."⁹¹ This meant that the research was dependent on being able to find participants who were willing to have their perspectives of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era heard. As indicated previously, there remains an ideological conflict between the right and left in Spain that parallels the armed conflict of the past. Nissim Cohen and Tamar Arieli argue that within the context of conflict all voices are marginalised and that a snowball sampling methodology allows these voices to be heard.⁹² Additionally, the snowball sampling methodology "increases the likelihood of [the interviewees] trusting the researcher by introduction through a trusted social network."⁹³ It was therefore clear that there were many advantages to electing a snowball sampling methodology for this research.

On the other hand the snowball sampling methodology does have potential drawbacks, including limiting the diversity of the interviewees.⁹⁴ In order to overcome this pitfall, a range of

⁹¹ Noy, C. (2008)'Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research',*International Journal of Social Research Methodology*,11:4, 327-344

⁹² Cohen, N., & Arieli, T. (2011). Field Research in Conflict Environments: Methodological Challenges and Snowball Sampling. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(4), 423-435.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods : A Guidebook and Resource*. pg.107

different approaches to identifying people should be employed.⁹⁵ In an attempt to achieve this the researcher spoke to friends, ex-colleagues, former employees, and involved themselves with local gaming groups in order to diversify the sample. However, the qualitative nature of this research meant the sample could not be completely representative of the wider post-Franco generation in which it was interested.⁹⁶ In the early stages of the research it became evident that a majority of the interviewees were left-leaning. In order to develop the potential for new insights the researcher therefore asked those interviewees if they knew of any right-wing individuals that may have been open to the possibility of being interviewed. This process of consciously selecting additional cases can be phrased as “theoretical sampling.”⁹⁷ In the case of this thesis, this method had limited success and only resulted in one right-wing individual being selected.

As has been mentioned, the resulting sample could not be completely representative of the wider post-transition generation. Eighteen individuals between the ages of 19 and 46 agreed to be interviewed. The median age was 27 years and the mean age was 28 years and 4 months. In terms of political views and economic background, a majority of the interviewees identified as left-wing and either working class or middle class. None of the interviewees identified as upper class. Additionally, 11 of the interviewees were male and 7 of the interviewees were female. However, during the course of Nestor’s interview his wife Laura awoke from a siesta and joined the interview. She agreed to sign a consent form and contributed occasionally.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* pg.107

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pg.39

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pg.39

As we have seen from the historiography, academics have identified and researched numerous vectors of memory. However, this research is often conducted from a top-down perspective and sometimes fails to consider how the transmission of memory actually occurred at the ground level. In addition, historians often consider only one vector of memory at a time, such as Valleja's focus on the Valley of the Fallen or Castelló's focus on documentaries. Whilst this is useful, the methodology employed by this research allows us to better understand the impact these vectors of memory had on the post-transition generation. Additionally, the impact of each vector of memory can be weighed against others in order to better judge its importance on historical perceptions. This was achieved by considering as many vectors of memory as possible in order that they can be compared and contrasted. The oral history methodology provided the interviewees with the opportunity to put this in their own words, from their individual perspectives, rather than being considered as a purely homogenous grouping who all responded to textbooks or familial stories in the same way.

The composition of the final sample was predominantly left-wing and either working class or middle class. The responses contained in this thesis will therefore be filtered through this political and class identity and thus be illustrative of what this sub-group thinks and feels about the past. Research suggests that younger generations, both in Spain and elsewhere, tend to be more left-wing than previous generations and it is possible that this is the reason why the sample leant so heavily to the left.⁹⁸ However, as the sample size also somewhat mirrors my own class and political ideology, it is probable that this also influenced the initial selections made as part of the snowball sample. I have already explained in the introduction how the separate

⁹⁸ Serpe, N. (2019). Beyond Generational Politics: Do Millennials Constitute a Political Category? *New Labor Forum*, 28(2), 8-15.

Europa Press. (2019, October 29). El porcentaje de jóvenes españoles que se ubica ideológicamente a la izquierda se duplica en 10 años, según un estudio. *epsocial.es*,

issues of the exhumation of Franco from the Valley of the Fallen, and the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union, served as the inspiration for this thesis. The overarching themes being the shifting of a society's views over a period of time and how the public form their perceptions of the past. However, I did not have any deep-seated preference regarding the exhumation of Franco (whereas I would have preferred for the United Kingdom to have remained in the European Union). Some of the interviewees may have been aware of my left-wing leanings. It has been argued that qualitative researchers should avoid studying issues in which they have a political or ideological interest.⁹⁹ More recent thinking is that "research is never value free" and "current thinking among qualitative researchers acknowledges that it is not only impossible but also sometimes undesirable to adopt a neutral stance in research."¹⁰⁰ The advice from academics is that a researcher should "stay away from issues in which one merely has an ax to grind."¹⁰¹ In the case of the exhumation of Franco, I certainly do not have an ax to grind and am relatively indifferent to his fate. I believe it should be up to the Spanish to decide.

The interviews were split into two parts. The first part was structured and involved the interviewees being asked a number of questions that served as an interview guide to make sure key topics were covered.¹⁰² The first question was how the interviewees rated themselves politically, with one being "as far left as you can imagine" and ten being "as far right as you can imagine." The remaining questions asked the interviewees to rate, from one to ten, how important they judged each vector of memory that was covered by the research. The full list of

⁹⁹ Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods : A Guidebook and Resource*. pg.41

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* pg.41

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* pg.41

¹⁰² *Ibid.* pg.120

quantitative questions and the interviewees' response is included below in the form of a table. The second part was a more dynamic and flexible qualitative interview which allowed the interviewees to talk in a more in-depth manner about the things that mattered to them. The second part of the interview was therefore "modeled after a conversation between equals rather than a formal question-and-answer exchange."¹⁰³ In the second part of the interview, I was able to refer to the interviewee's initial answers to the quantitative questions to draw out more information. For example, if an interviewee had rated their school experience as "eight or nine" out of ten, then I was able to refer back to this later in the interview with questions such as "you rated your school experience as important in teaching you about the past. Could you expand on that?" I found that this methodology also worked well in helping me to build a rapport with those interviewees I was less familiar with.

I had a much more familiar relationship with some of the interviewees than with others. I had known Guille the longest having first met him in September 2015 on Erasmus in Paris where we shared a flat for six months. I then shared a flat in Madrid with him and Dani during the 2016-2017 academic year. However, on the other end of the scale there were interviewees whom I only met due to the snowball sampling method. These included Pedro, Rafa, and Carmen. My relationship with the remainder of the interviewees ranged from friends, to acquaintances that I knew by face but had never had a protracted conversation with. All but one of the interviews were conducted with a single individual. In order that the interviews were as convenient as possible for the participants, the researcher allowed those being interviewed to select a location which they were able to access and where they also felt comfortable talking about the topics of the interview. This also served to facilitate composure and avoid

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* pg.102

discomposure as discussed above. As a result, the interviews took place in a variety of locations including, but not limited to, participant's houses, cafes, a participant's car, and a local park. All of the interviews were conducted in Spanish and recorded using University of Huddersfield equipment. The quotes included here were translated by myself. The recordings are stored securely for future reference. More detailed information pertaining to the interviewees and their responses to the quantitative questions can be found in appendices A, B, and C, located at the end of this thesis.

EDUCATION, ACADEMIA, AND ‘OWN RESEARCH’

Education and academia are vital to assessing the understanding and reaction of the interviewees to the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. This chapter will look to understand a lack of uniformity in how important the interviewees saw their education in shaping their historical perceptions. It will examine the responses of the three interviewees who scored their education highest. It will find that there were contextual reasons for their responses that included the teacher’s approach to teaching history, the authority of textbooks, and the interviewee’s attitude to history as a subject more generally. The focus will then turn to how university-level education shaped the interviewee’s perceptions. Despite a societal perception that universities were bastions of left-wing ideology indoctrinating the youth against Franco, those interviewees who went to university contested these claims. Furthermore, university had minimal impact on how the interviewees later conducted their own research into the past. Thus the main conclusion of this chapter is that education was a vector of memory that had limited impact upon the interviewees’ historical perceptions, except in certain context-specific situations.

Schooling and school systems are key devices for the development and transmission of a sense of nationhood.¹⁰⁴ There is a link between education and national identity that can influence how the past is perceived. The establishment of a new History curriculum after conflict has been seen by academics as an important opportunity for states to create a new national narrative in order to shape a collective national identity.¹⁰⁵ The importance of Spain’s

¹⁰⁴ Lowe, R. (1999) Education and National Identity, *History of Education*, 28:3, 231-233,

¹⁰⁵ Freedman, S., Weinstein, H., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2008). Teaching History After Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 663-690. doi:10.1086/591302

historical-educational heritage has also been recognised and preserved with popular initiatives such as the Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (Centre of Studies on Educational Memory) and Museo Virtual de Historia de la Education (Virtual Museum of the History of Education).¹⁰⁶ The aim of these museums is to preserve a memory of the ways in which education was conducted before the transition to democracy. It would therefore be expected that Spanish governments after the transition to democracy would attempt to use education to create a new national identity that minimised Franco-era divisions. However, despite academic consensus regarding the importance of creating a new national identity after conflict and publicly available records of how education was used prior to the transition, post-transition governments have largely failed to create a singular Spanish identity through the History curriculum. Education, academia and formal learning were not uniform across Spain after the transition to democracy and, although there are many factors that influenced this lack of uniformity, this thesis will explore the contextual explanations offered by the interviewees.

The first indication that there was a lack of uniformity in the interviewees' school and educational experience came in the quantitative section conducted at the beginning of each interview. Each participant was asked the relevance and importance of their school and university experiences in shaping their understanding of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. The majority of the interviewees scored their school and university experience as less than five (12 interviewees out of 18 that were asked). Indeed, five out of the eighteen interviewees rated school and university as scoring only one out of ten. This suggests that in general, the post-Franco generation found the History curriculum uninformative to practically useless when it came to the topics explored by this thesis. However, three notable exceptions were Alba,

¹⁰⁶ Universidad de Murcia. (2018). *Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa*. Museo Virtual de Historia de la Educacion. (2005). *Museo Virtual de Historia de la Educacion*.

Carmen, and Luis who rated their experience at school and university as “8”, “8/9” and “9” respectively. In order to understand which factors were at work it was determined that these responses required further examination to determine the reasoning for these interviewees giving their education such high scores when compared to their compatriots.

The first of the interviewees to score their education highly was Carmen. Her testimony suggests that the approach teachers took to teaching the Spanish Civil War and Franco era was important. When teachers took a more open approach to debating these topics with their students there was the potential for this to impact upon how important students saw their education in shaping their historical perceptions. Carmen explained that she had both teachers who avoided the topic of the Spanish Civil War and those who were not averse to describing Francoism to their students. “I’ve had teachers that didn’t want to talk about the subject and later teachers who spoke a lot about the subject, but only a few.”¹⁰⁷ Carmen went on to explain that debates between the latter grouping of teachers and Francoist students were key to shaping her perceptions of the Franco-era. She said that “in class we had classmates who were in reality a bit Francoist” and that the teachers would describe the things that Franco did “so that [we the students] understood what happened.”¹⁰⁸ It was clear that the novelty of having a teacher willing to discuss their own perspectives of the Spanish Civil War and Franco period rather than the content of the curriculum was more memorable to Carmen.

The idea that the approaches taken by History teachers when teaching about the Spanish Civil War and Franco era is influential has been studied by academics. Research undertaken by Clare Magill looks at the issue from the perspective of the teachers and

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Carmen Urbano Cambronero, recorded in Madrid, 08 February 2019

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

highlights the divergent methods they have taken in teaching the Spanish Civil War and Franco era following the transition.¹⁰⁹ Her work uses an oral history methodology and forms part of a wider field of research that studies the teaching of history in post-conflict areas; the study of which has important connotations for understanding identity in the present.¹¹⁰ Carmen's words help us to understand how this process played out in reality. She told me that when debates between student and teacher occurred, the teacher would always come out on top. Carmen claimed that this was because the teacher had studied history whereas the students were just repeating things that they had heard from their parents or grandparents. "...my teacher knew what she was talking about because she'd studied it and was older and [the students] only knew what they'd been told by their parents and grandparents and didn't have any data or arguments."¹¹¹ The authority of the teacher therefore contributed to how reliable and thus important Carmen viewed her educational experience in shaping her historical perceptions. It is also notable that Carmen considered herself as left-wing which, according to her testimony regarding the teacher opposing the "Francoist" students, seems to suggest that the two women's political views aligned somewhat. Carmen's testimony can also be seen as identity in the present affecting historical perceptions.

Magill's research and Carmen's testimony also highlight the differences in education pre and post-transition. During Franco's rule it was not really possible for teachers to demonstrate dissent from the regime's official narrative. Education and the history curriculum were actively used to reinforce the legitimacy of the regime. Franco attempted to create a national identity

¹⁰⁹ Magill, C. (2016). *Approaches to Teaching the Civil War and Franco Dictatorship in Contemporary Spain*.

¹¹⁰ McCully, A. (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7(2), 145–159.

Freedman, S., Weinstein, H., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2008). Teaching History After Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 663-690. doi:10.1086/591302

¹¹¹ Interview with Carmen Urbano Cambronero, recorded in Madrid, 08 February 2019

through the use of compulsory education.¹¹² Pre-transition Spain was therefore a period where compulsory education was actively used to shape its national historical narrative, which stands in sharp contrast to how compulsory education was utilised after the transition. Caroline Boyd articulates the differences regarding the History curriculum pre- and post-transition.¹¹³ “[U]nder the Franco regime state control of the history curriculum and textbooks reached its highest levels since the creation of the public school system in the 1850s” whereas post-transition “history textbooks presented a greater variety of ideological perspectives on the Spanish past.”

¹¹⁴ One possible implication of this is that the greater variety of ideological perspectives presented in the textbooks gave post-transition teachers the confidence to inject their own interpretations of the past into their teaching. In contrast to previous generations, it was possible for members of the post-Franco generation to be exposed to more than one narrative regarding Spain’s recent past.

Another way that the post-Franco generation were exposed to different viewpoints was through the History curriculum itself. Although the Spanish Civil War ended in 1939 the ideological conflict on which the Civil War was based still manifests itself in a variety of ways. In the context of the school system and history curriculum, Boyd has dubbed this conflict as the “History Wars of the 1990s.”¹¹⁵ The “History Wars” stemmed from different political parties implementing changes to the history curriculum in schools once they were elected to power. right-wing politicians, despite the Pact of Silence, openly criticised the policies of the previous socialist government. In October 1996, the new minister of education, Esperanza Aguirre,

¹¹² Aguilar, P. (2008). *Memory and Amnesia; The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Magill, C. (2016). Approaches to Teaching the Civil War and Franco Dictatorship in Contemporary Spain.

¹¹³ Boyd, C.P. ‘The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

claimed that history education was in a “calamitous state” and that history’s formative value had been diluted.¹¹⁶ Whereas the left saw the introduction of new perspectives into the history curriculum as a positive, the political right argued that this was “one of the most subtle forms of the political utilisation of history.”¹¹⁷ In some ways, the debates between teachers and students can also be seen as being traversed by the ideological conflict that still exists within Spanish society. These debates also suggest that for some Spaniards, political identity was more influential on their perceptions of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era than any ‘new’ national identity that post-transition governments were trying to create.

The significance of political influence on the school curriculum and textbooks is evident in the testimony of Luis. His testimony shows us that the ‘authority’ of textbooks, rather than the accuracy of them, played a part in how important interviewees felt they were in shaping their historical perceptions. Luis scored education a 9 and stated that “for example when they teach you history at school, in the end, I consider it more credible” and that “the history that they put in a book … is real and … because if not … I don’t think they would put it.”¹¹⁸ Luis was therefore basing his score on the false premise that school textbooks would not be used to push a political agenda. His testimony stands in contrast to that of Carmen in that, because his teacher presumably didn’t actively debate the topics being taught, Luis had faith in the History curriculum to teach him the ‘truth.’ This premise does not stand up to academic scrutiny given our knowledge of the ‘History Wars of the 1990s.’ However, it is of note that unquestioned trust in academic textbooks seems to have been a similarity shared by both the post and pre-transition generations. Richards, cited by Renshaw, argues that “the simple totalitarian

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Interview with Luis Montaño Muñoz, recorded in Madrid by Brad Parker, 08 March 2019

duality portrayed in many school texts of the postwar era” meant that “it is not surprising that many Spanish children grew up believing that la guerra de España had been fought by Spaniards against foreigners.”¹¹⁹ It may not be the case post-transition that students were leaving school with quite a warped view of history, but Luis’ testimony proves that there were individuals that graduated high school with full belief in the state sanctioned narratives being presented in their textbooks.

Another significant aspect regarding the authority of textbooks is that, depending on where in the country they went to school, Spanish students would have used different books. Caroline Boyd writes that “publishers [of History textbooks] whose market was primarily regional ... offered identity-driven narratives in which the history of ‘the Spanish state’ was subordinated to the history of the regional or national community.”¹²⁰ Regional authorities gained exemptions regarding what could and could not be taught and, as an example, Aguilar argues that the Basque region is sufficiently different in its collective memory of the Spanish Civil War that it requires a specific case study.¹²¹ As mentioned earlier, the teaching of history in post-conflict areas has important connotations for understanding identity in the present.¹²² It is therefore possible that a lack of uniform teaching, identity and collective memory in some ways aided the transition to democracy by diluting the duality of the Nationalist versus Republican ideological rivalry. This cannot be confirmed here given the sample size as none of the interviewees came

¹¹⁹ Layla Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War* (Left Coast Books, 2011). pg.61

¹²⁰ Boyd, C.P. ‘The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008.

¹²¹ Aguilar, P. ‘The Memory of the Civil War in the Transition to Democracy: The Peculiarity of the Basque Case’, *West European Politics*, 21, 4, (1998), pp. 5-25

¹²² McCully, A. (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7(2), 145–159.

Freedman, S., Weinstein, H., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2008). Teaching History After Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 663-690. doi:10.1086/591302

from separatist regions. However, given that there were significant variations even within the testimonies seen here, it is expected this is the case.

The third interviewee who rated her education as an important vector of memory was Alba. Much like Carmen, Alba had a memorable History teacher at school.

I had a teacher at bachillerato - the course you do before your degree - that was very, very red, ha, and, I don't know, ha, I really enjoyed classes with her. Also, because ... the emotion with which she conveyed history, no, it affects you, as a student.¹²³

However, it seems to have been Alba's own passion for history that was more influential in the high score she gave her education. She studied History at university and explained how she has a natural interest in the topic of history more generally. Alba was able to recount numerous facts about the civil war and Francoism, with her passion for history becoming apparent when she was asked if she had read any historical fiction. She responded, "I, normally, don't feel like reading historical novels. When I read history, I read *history*. You know? It's not historical novels."¹²⁴ Later she told me that

me, in my degree, I didn't study contemporary history. They didn't force me to, to study it, so what I know [about the Spanish Civil War and Franco era] is because I researched it, because it interested me.¹²⁵

Asked why she liked it, she became even more enthusiastic, explaining,

¹²³ Interview with Alba de la Rica, recorded in Madrid, 21 February 2019

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

why do I love history? Fuck, why wouldn't I like history? What I want to say is that, history, in reality, it's everything. To know what's happened, why it's happened, what were the consequences, this, this explains to you why we have the situation we have.¹²⁶

The approach that Alba's History teacher at school had taken combined with Alba's own passion for the subject had instigated her to do her own research. This combination of factors was the reason for the high score she gave school and university.

These three responses reveal that the school experience was only considered important in shaping historical perceptions of the Franco era when interviewees considered it in relation to context and not to content. Carmen, Luis, and Alba, all had contextual reasons that explain why they scored education and academia as such important vectors of memory. Carmen's responses stemmed from unscripted debates that her teacher's had with other students; Luis' responses stemmed from how he considered the textbooks he used during his education as authoritative compared to the other vectors of memory that contributed to his historical perceptions; and Alba's responses stemmed not from compulsory education but from the passion both her and her bachillerato teacher had for History as a subject. All three of these interviewees gave compulsory education a high score as a result of contextual reasons and not because the Spanish Civil War was comprehensively explored by the Spanish history curriculum.

It is also necessary to consider the responses of the majority of the interviewees who did not rate their education as important in informing their historical perceptions. This suggests that

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

despite politicians ‘warring’ over the History curriculum behind the scenes, its impact on students was negligible in any case. However, this lack of an impact that the History curriculum had as a vector of memory may have been positive. Helen Graham, writing in *The War and its Shadow* describes how, during the early stages of the Spanish Civil War, progressive teachers and intellectuals were amongst those “cleansed” by rebels for symbolising the cultural change brought about by the Republic.¹²⁷ The apparent infrequency of teacher-student debates as described by Carmen was therefore useful in shielding teachers from accusations of political bias in the classroom. This is significant as it was an issue that had the potential to generate ideological conflict even post-transition. For example, if right-wing-leaning parents of students thought that teachers were contradicting the established narrative then it is clear that this could have generated social tension related to the Spanish Civil War within the community.

There are both similarities and differences between school and university-level education that are relevant when it comes to this thesis. On the one hand, university-level education has the potential to be used as a tool of indoctrination much like a school curriculum can be used. This was attempted during the Franco era with the regime aiming to use the official student union, the SEU, to indoctrinate young minds to Francoist ideals.¹²⁸ This organisation was dissolved in 1965 after experiencing limited success during the years it was in operation.¹²⁹ The lack of success that the SEU had might be suggestive of universities being inherently left-wing. This perception of universities being left-wing is widespread when it comes to the realm of

¹²⁷ Graham, H. (2012). *The War and Its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*. Brighton;Portland;: Sussex Academic Press.p 34

¹²⁸ Payne, S. G. (1961). *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

¹²⁹ Maravall, J. (1978). *Dictatorship and Political Dissent: Workers and Students in Franco's Spain*. London: Tavistock Publications.

public opinion, both in Spain and abroad.¹³⁰ However, the question of whether universities are inherently left-wing has not only been asked by journalists, but has also been considered by academics.¹³¹ Smith, Mayer, and Fritschler studied this same question in the context of American universities and found that “the idea that elite universities are rife with leftist politics, or any politics for that matter, is at odds with the evidence.”¹³² Furthermore, their study concluded that “students, for the most part, do not feel that their professors have engaged in efforts to proselytise them or to use the classroom for partisan purposes.”¹³³ The interviewees, including Guille, Eva, Ángela and Dani, confirmed the findings of Smith, Mayer, and Fritschler, stating that their exposure to politics was minimal during their time at university, especially in terms of in any official capacity relating to their course material or from their professors.

The perception of universities as bastions of left-wing indoctrination can also be seen as a reflection of the ongoing ideological conflict between left and right-wing politics in Spain. It was the most right-wing interviewee, Pedro, who was the most vocal and opinionated on the topic of post-compulsory education. This was despite him having no personal experience of university. Pedro expressed the same views regarding universities being bastions of “left-wing indoctrination” that has been argued is a common assumption held by the public. Asked how indoctrination took place, he stated “in education, in school, in high school, uff, and when you

¹³⁰ Silverman, R. (2019, October 2). What Does it Feel like to be Right-Wing on a Left-Wing campus?. *The Telegraph*.

Glover, S. (2018, April 12). The Well-meant Expansion of Universities has Created a Left-wing Fifth Column that Hates the Values of Those Who Pay their Wages. *Mail Online*.

Trillo, M. (2013, November 12). La Universidad pública, bajo el control de la izquierda. *ABC Sociedad*.

¹³¹ Are universities hotbeds of left-wing bias? (2019). *Times Higher Education*, (2396)

Smith, B., Mayer, J., & Fritschler, A. (2008). Conclusions. In *Closed Minds?: Politics and Ideology in American Universities* (pp. 198-212). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

¹³² Smith, B., Mayer, J., & Fritschler, A. (2008). Conclusions. In *Closed Minds?: Politics and Ideology in American Universities* (pp. 198-212). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

arrive at university, the Complutense is shocking.”¹³⁴ He evidenced these claims with the story of his brother,

my brother studied law at the Complutense and it's a shame, a big shame. My brother studied law so he lived in Madrid and it's a shame... because they indoctrinate people at the university ... Pablo Iglesias is there as a professor. Do you think Pablo Iglesias is impartial?¹³⁵

Pablo Iglesias was a political lecturer at Complutense University at the time of the interview and would later become Second Deputy Prime Minister of Spain in January 2020. Pedro’s rhetorical question regarding Pablo Iglesias was followed up by him admitting that his brother had not returned to El Provencio left wing. “No, my brother is like me, well, less radical than me. He’s to the right, but, but I’m more serious with this subject.”¹³⁶ Pedro’s home environment seems to have influenced how he conducted his own research into Francoism.

My dad is right-wing. My dad was against all the left-wingers and when he was young he used to talk about the right and they the left, OK? My dad knows a lot about Franco. My dad reads a lot more about Franco than me. He reads a lot of articles. He really likes to follow history, right? And a lot of this he found for me. I think that, the largest part, is his fault. But nowadays I keep reading the same things and I also like the same things.¹³⁷

Pedro’s research techniques were influenced by those adopted by his father. However, his response also highlighted the link between identity and narrative as he immediately followed this with,

¹³⁴ Interview with Pedro José Bouilla Osma, recorded in El Provencio by Brad Parker, 19 January 2019

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

although a dictatorship is never good, a house needs someone in charge. If your dad isn't in charge of the house, you're going to be a delinquent, right? From my point of view. If someone doesn't manage a country with a heavy hand after a war, the country will be in anarchy.¹³⁸

Pedro's testimony reminds us of the links between Spanish national identity, Francoism and the concepts of nation and patriotism that Aguilar and Humblebæk have highlighted.¹³⁹ It is likely that Pedro would view an attack on his historical perceptions as an attack on his political identity and vice versa.

On the other hand, the interviewees who did go on to complete university level education outlined an experience that was mostly devoid of the topics of Francoism and the Spanish Civil War. Guille studied to be a primary school teacher and explained "no, in the university the civil war isn't spoken about."¹⁴⁰ This is expected as his course did not require knowledge of the Spanish Civil War or Franco era. The only time that Guille spoke about these topics was

outside the uni, with Dani, and the people I hung out with, my friends. For the most part, but indirectly, pah, because the civil war... No, we had a bit of information, and the information we had was established. So there wasn't much debate as a current issue.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Aguilar, P., & Humblebæk, C. (2002). Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish Democracy: The Legacies of Francoism and the Civil War. *History and Memory*, 14 (1-2), 121-164.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Guillermo Lopez-Quintana Muñoz, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 26 March 2019

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Guille's university experience therefore had negligible impact on his perceptions of the subjects. Additionally, it is notable that Guille chose to spend time with Dani, another left-wing individual. This suggests that university often acted as a conduit for the solidification of an individual's political affiliation and, in turn, their perception of the past. By surrounding themselves with like-minded individuals, the interviewees became more entrenched in their political ideology and thus their historical perceptions.

An individual's politics and their historical perceptions are intrinsically linked. This was a common theme that manifested itself in each of the four groupings of memory transmission that this thesis looked at. Bernecker has examined this relationship between past and present and how the two affect each other and states that "each image of the past is related to the present."¹⁴² This research strongly supports this analysis and argues that the opposite is also true. Current political views shape interpretations of images of the past. In fact, this research suggests that a person's present politics is the major factor that influences their historical perspectives. There was certainly a correlation between the interviewees being left-wing and denouncing the actions of Franco. In addition to this, it also became clear that there was a correlation between being apolitical and being disinterested in the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. Alberto was extremely apathetic towards politics. Whereas Pedro was happy to debate those of an opposing political ideology or those with contrasting historical perceptions, Alberto maintained an almost strict neutrality. Alberto both described himself as politically neutral and expressed a lack of interest in the topics of the Civil War and Franco. "[I'm] in the middle. I'm not very right or very left. I'm in the centre."¹⁴³ This reinforces the conclusion that current politics is the prism through which individuals colour their perceptions of the past.

¹⁴² Bernecker, W. (2011). *El debate sobre las memorias históricas en la vida política española*.

¹⁴³ Interview with Alberto Candeira Corón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 04 March 2019

There are factors that can cause individuals to show an interest in the topics of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era and make judgement on the events when they would otherwise not. Ana shared both the same apolitical approach and lack of interest in the topics at hand as Alberto. However, when Ana met me for the interview she arrived with a number of sheets of paper printed from the internet. Prior to the interview beginning, she explained that she had been researching the civil war and Franco “in case you ask me something I don’t know.”¹⁴⁴ Despite being otherwise disinterested in the topics, Ana felt impelled to do some research before she felt comfortable enough to discuss them. This was similar to the behaviour of a number of interviewees who stated that they’d only research the Spanish Civil War and Franco era when needed (such as during their studies at bachillerato level in order to pass the exams). Ana’s methodology in conducting her own research was also shared other interviewees. There was a general consensus that the best way to research information related to the Spanish Civil War or Franco era was to conduct a quick Google search and this remained true whether or not the interviewee had attended university.

The expectation was that the research methodology employed by graduates would be more robust. Although Alba, who had studied history and politics at university, preferred to use history books when doing her own research, she also admitted that she had “definitely” used the internet to research.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Ana Antón Duarte, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 18 March 2019

Nothing that I remember, but yes.... Ha, it's that I forget things straight away, but man, I've definitely seen things on YouTube. I'm thinking... hmmmm... You'll go and then I'll surely remember a heap.¹⁴⁵

It is likely that ease of access to the internet meant that even educated members of the post-Franco generation found it easier to check YouTube rather than draw on the research skills that they had learnt during further study. The work of Renshaw showed us that the authority of textbooks meant pre-transition generations often held warped views of the Spanish Civil War, yet post-transition it was the ubiquity of the internet as a vector of memory that held the potential to propagate incorrect information regarding the conflict.¹⁴⁶ However, in some ways the internet is no more misleading than the books it has replaced. Furthermore, the interviewees had little need to research the topics of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era and if they did a simple Google search would suffice. This has tangible effects on the way in which both current political positions and historical perceptions are formed. It also takes away from the weight of the influence that other, traditional, means of mass-communication had in the past regardless of their comparative credibility.

What has emerged is that compulsory education provided the interviewees with little information pertaining to the Spanish Civil War or the Franco era during their studies. Aspects of the ideological conflict between left and right-wing ideologies was surreptitiously present within the spheres of education and academia due to politicians trying to insert their party's perceptions into the curriculum. Though these attempts to manipulate the curriculum were deemed as 'History Wars' by historians, any political bias in textbooks was not evident to the

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Alba de la Rica, recorded in Madrid, 21 February 2019

¹⁴⁶ Layla Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War* (Left Coast Books, 2011). pg.61

interviewees. The approach that teachers took to addressing the topics of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism when they arose in the curriculum left more enduring influences on the respondents' historical perceptions. Right-wing Pedro claimed that the ideological conflict was more overt in further education, but these claims were contested by the graduates who were interviewed. Overall there was a general consensus amongst the interviewees that education as a vector of memory was not all that informative or useful in shaping their historical perceptions. The detractors from this point of view had contextual reasons for disagreeing. Education's reported lack of impact on historical perceptions potentially left the process to develop in a more passive way by other forms. The other possible influencers, including popular culture, personal relations, and lieux de memoire, will be discussed in the following chapters.

POPULAR CULTURE

This chapter will examine different aspects of popular culture, specifically television, radio, and print, in order to understand the contribution that these vectors of memory transmission had in informing the interviewees' historical perceptions. The impact of popular culture was diluted due to a number of inextricably linked reasons. Combined, issues such as censorship by other means, the overshadowing of the Spanish Civil War by other topics, a general lack of interest, and not overt enough messaging included in films and songs, meant that any attempts by the people producing such cultural output went relatively unnoticed by the intended target audience. It will also argue that there should be more academic focus on satirical news programming as a number of the interviewees referenced La Sexta, a Spanish television channel with a focus on humour and entertainment. This channel has regularly aired satirical programmes aimed at Franco and its left-wing perspective was appealing to a younger generation of left-leaning interviewees.

It is likely that generational differences are starker within the sphere of popular culture. This is because the decline of print media and the rise of other communication forms represents the closure of one epoch in the practice of history and the rise of another.¹⁴⁷ Dan Sipe describes how "oral history can play a pivotal role in accelerating the historical profession's comprehension of this radical shift in the nature of communication."¹⁴⁸ Agreeing with Sipe, Simon Schama urges historians to embrace the difference between print and television, explaining how

¹⁴⁷ Dan Sipe, 'The Future of Oral History and Moving Images,' (Cited in), Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, (London, 1998). pg.397

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pg.397

Imagery, still or moving, does not just tell stories. It argues; but it argues in a different way in print, and it ought to be the first rule for television historians to embrace that difference. Non-fiction writing need not be absolutely linear. Because of the permanent, simultaneous way in which highly diverse details can be carried within the same book, it is possible to jump back and forth between sections.¹⁴⁹

Popular culture, including television as one of the most prevalent forms of information transmission that exists today, has the potential to shape people's perceptions of a great number of topics. Furthermore, the post-Franco generation's consumption of popular culture likely took a different form to that of previous generations, with television featuring much more prevalently than printed media.

The choice of television channel that an interviewee watched was significant. Guille, whose mother is a primary school teacher, was an avid watcher of educational television channels in his youth. He particularly liked television channels such as the History Channel and, although rating television highly in shaping his perceptions of the Spanish Civil War, admitted that he had one issue with learning about this particular conflict through television. Guille claimed that he would have liked to have watched programmes pertaining to the Spanish Civil War on the History Channel, but that this particular channel focused on conflicts that occurred in close chronological proximity to the Spanish Civil War. He explained, "I would've liked to have watched documentaries about the Spanish Civil War, but, eh, on the History Channel, but they only showed ones about the Second World War... or the First World War..."¹⁵⁰ Although it is not

¹⁴⁹ Simon Schama, 'Television and the Trouble with History', (Cited in) David Cannadine (ed) *History and the Media*, (New York, 2007). pg.24.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Guillermo Lopez-Quintana Muñoz, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 26 March 2019

possible to retrospectively access the channel listings for the time that Guille was talking about, the current listing of the Spanish language version of the History Channel show just two out of over 140 programmes are dedicated to Spain's civil war and the legacy of Franco.¹⁵¹ In the case of Guille, it may be possible that he was just selecting the 'wrong' channels and if he had tuned into a different channel he would have found much more material on the civil war and Francoism.

Certainly, the transition to democracy allowed both television producers and documentary makers to begin expending more effort in promoting the Spanish Civil War to television audiences. Enric Castelló offers a description of the development of Spanish television in terms of its narration of the Spanish Civil War and explains how the emergence of regional television channels, such as the Catalan public television channel (TVC), contributed to a "democratisation of Spanish Civil War narratives."¹⁵² Castelló's examination of Spanish television in relation to its portrayal of the Spanish Civil War gives context to the testimony spoken by the interviewees, by framing their viewing habits in relation to the wider machinations of programme production. In addition to articulating the later evolution of Spanish television's portrayal of the Civil War, Castelló notes that the Spanish state broadcaster (TVE) did not totally avoid the topic of the civil war or Franco-era either during the Franco regime or later.¹⁵³ This means that although the pre-transition generations may have had some exposure to programming related to the Spanish Civil War, the post-transition generations should have had far more exposure to similar documentaries as these democratisation processes occurred.

¹⁵¹ The History Channel. (2019). *Todos Los Shows*

¹⁵² Castelló, E. (2014). Disrupting 'Wills to truth'. How Catalan TV Documentary Contributed to the Democratization of Spanish Civil War Narratives. *Memory Studies*, 7(2), 223-238.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

However, post-transition documentaries on the Spanish Civil War had to compete with historical documentaries on other subjects which seems to have diluted their influence.

Attempts to redress the imbalance of documentaries on the Spanish Civil War and Franco-era in relation to other armed conflicts of the twentieth century sometimes met with resistance from those opposed to what Castelló termed “democratisation of the narrative.”¹⁵⁴ Helen Graham alternatively labels this resistance as “censorship by other routes.”¹⁵⁵ Graham offers a more in depth explanation of how this censorship plays out in the realm of Spanish television. She states that whenever Spanish television and radio, whether public or private, is confronted with themes pertaining to Francoist violence and civil rights abuses, there have been for many years, and still are, strange elisions and reluctance to broadcast them.¹⁵⁶ Two key examples that Graham cites as demonstrating this are the 2002 Catalan documentary, *Els nens perduts del franquisme* and a later award-winning documentary on a woman’s attempt to exhume her extrajudicially executed grandfather, *Mari-Carmen España: the End of Silence* (2008), both of which struggled to attain a broadcasting.¹⁵⁷ The effect being that even when quality programmes examining the Spanish Civil War were produced, they often languished for extended periods of time before reaching their intended audiences, often dulling the impact that they would otherwise have had.

The focus of academic research on documentaries may also be misplaced when considered in the context of the third generation. Anne E Hardcastle asserts that

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Graham, H. (2012). *The War and Its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*. Brighton;Portland;: Sussex Academic Press.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

"documentaries move the phenomenon into the cultural sphere and, more than any other field, make it available to a large community of potential viewers. Such documentary films shown on television may be the first exposure many people have to [the] controversial subject [of the Spanish Civil War]."¹⁵⁸ This reminds us of both Smith's arguments that media studies are essential to developing Spanish cultural studies and Sipe's argument that such documentary works "are the major influence on the public's historical consciousness."¹⁵⁹ This consensus that an increase in the number of documentaries related to the Spanish Civil War meant a larger audience and thus more influence on the public's perceptions did not hold up amongst this sample of interviewees.

In contrast to the academic focus on documentaries, the interviewees' testimonies suggested that satirical news was a more important influence on the post-Franco generation's historical consciousness. When the interviewees were asked about television as a vector of memory, a number of them mentioned the political leanings of the different channels. Alba told me,

Telemadrid is a channel that's always been right wing, so I suppose... well, it's a channel that's known to be right wing so everything they tell you, in my head, passes through a filter... well, it's right wing. You know? You have to look for the truth underneath.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Hardcastle, A.E. "El documental es un arma cargada de pasado": Representation in Documentary and Testimony', in Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago, eds, *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 148-55.

¹⁵⁹ Smith, P. J. (2010). When Spanish Cultural Studies Met TV Studies: Travelling Narratives and Life Strategies. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 11(3-4), 305-314. pg.305

Sipe, D. 'The Future of Oral History and Moving Images,' (Cited in), Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, (London, 1998). p.397.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Alba de la Rica, recorded in Madrid, 21 February 2019

The most commonly cited television channel was left-wing channel La Sexta. Jesus told me that, "La Sexta, you could write a thesis just on what they say on this channel..."¹⁶¹ The post-transition generation were acutely aware of the political biases of the media they were consuming. Ángela provided me with a specific example of a programme that she had watched on La Sexta.

For example, on La Sexta, they make, haha, they make videos laughing at Franco. For example, I don't know if this is worth something to you... when they wanted, now that they want to take Franco out of the Valley of the Fallen... La Sexta programme took, took, uh, dressed someone up as Franco. They put him like this, in a car, and drove it around *aaalll* of Gran Via, with Franco... like this, with someone dressed as Franco like he'd been taken out with spiderwebs.. I don't know, haha [...] they make fun of the right.¹⁶²

Ángela's testimony appears to support the conclusions of research into hybrid news-entertainment genres and news-oriented comedy programs undertaken by Coronel, O'Donnell, et al.¹⁶³ They found that humour increased the likelihood that people would share political information with other people and that their research "advances a theoretical framework that humour may facilitate considerations of others' views."¹⁶⁴ Given that the interviewees did find this type of programming much more relevant to their historical perceptions than documentaries, it would suggest that further academic research on this genre of programming as a vector of memory is warranted.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Jesús Herrero Fernández, recorded in Villalba by Brad Parker, 12 March 2019

¹⁶² Interview with Ángela Jurado Acarcón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 26 March 2019

¹⁶³ Coronel, J.C. O'Donnell, M.B. Pandey, P. Delli Carpini, M.X. Falk, E.B. Political Humor, Sharing, and Remembering: Insights from Neuroimaging, *Journal of Communication*,

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

The watching of documentaries and satirical news programmes by the interviewees can be considered an ‘active’ method by which they could shape their historical perceptions of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. This is because the biases involved are often clear. The interviewees were able to identify the left-wing bias of La Sexta, for example, and Isabel Estrada reminds us that “all of the directing teams of post-dictatorship public television have repeatedly had to defend themselves against accusations of political bias.”¹⁶⁵ However, it is not always true that a bias in television programming is obvious. Patrick Wright examines how a myriad of forces within the routine of everyday life of ordinary people can contribute to the shaping of what is understood as “history” and, in turn, identity.¹⁶⁶ The crux of his argument is that history exists outside the specialisms of historians, archaeologists and curators, permeating everyday life in often unconsidered ways.¹⁶⁷ Films would certainly fall within this remit. Particularly films of a historical nature that touched upon the Spanish Civil War or Franco era and which were ostensibly created to entertain and not to inform.

The example of *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* was offered to some interviewees as an example of a fictional story set within the context of a real-life conflict and they were asked if they knew of any Spanish examples of this type of storytelling. The reality is that there are a number of such films that have been made over the decades, with examples including such classics as *Bienvenido Mr Marshall* (1953) and *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973) produced before the death of General Franco, and *La Colmena* (1982), *!Ay, Carmela!* (1990) and *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999) produced after the death of General Franco. Two more key

¹⁶⁵ Estrada, I. ‘Catalan Television Documentaries and the Works of Dolors Genovés: The Negotiation of Memory in Democratic Spain’, *Catalan Review*, 20 (2006), pp. 117-30.

¹⁶⁶ Wright, P., & Krauze, A. (2009). *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Updated.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

examples of films that contain fictional elements and are set in the context of the Spanish Civil War and Franco-era are *The Devil's Backbone* (2001) and *Pan's Labyrinth* (2006). Outside of the film genre, Paul Julian Smith has analysed the Spanish series *El internado*, explaining how it “appear[s] to coincide with topoi of the horror corpus in Spanish cinema that is simultaneous with it (especially Guillermo del Toro's *El laberinto del fauno* [2006] and J. A. Bayona's *El orfanato* [2007]).”¹⁶⁸ There has been an almost continual stream of blockbuster films produced that do touch upon the Spanish Civil War within the context of a fictionalised narrative which the interviewees did not pick up on.

The effect of films set within the context of the Spanish Civil War or Franco era on shaping the historical perceptions of the interviewees seems to have been negligible. Fewer than half of the interviewees were able to name a film that met the specified criteria and those that could were dismissive of the relevance to said films in shaping their historical perceptions. Three of the interviewees (Guille, Eva, and Ángela) told me they had watched at least one such film in the weeks immediately preceding their interviews, yet none of them agreed that these films were useful in helping them understand the reality of the era being portrayed. In fact, both Eva and Ángela were not only dismissive of these films' utility in portraying elements of Francoism, but expressed the opinion that the films they had seen were not even enjoyable. Eva explained that “films about Francoism... it's that there aren't many where Franco is represented. Yes there are films about the transition era, the Franco era, but they're comedies. They're films that don't teach me anything about Franco.”¹⁶⁹ Ángela went further stating “well, I think, I don't know. They're black and white and... old films... I prefer modern films. Older films

¹⁶⁸ Smith, P. J. (2010). When Spanish Cultural Studies met TV Studies: Travelling Narratives and Life Strategies. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 11(3-4), 305-314. pg.309

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

are... boring, you know? Aha! The truth is I don't like them."¹⁷⁰ In the case of Eva and Ángela these films failed to impact their historical perceptions because they were dated and did not appeal to these members of the post-Franco generation.

Films such as *Pan's Labyrinth* and *The Devil's Backbone* were possibly better placed to influence the historical perceptions of the post-Franco generation. They were released when the majority of the interviewees were adolescents or young adults and so it was likely that the interviewees were aware of them. These films were created with the intent to convey certain messages to their audiences. The director of these two films, Guillermo Del Toro, expressly stated in a 2007 interview that he was a liberal and hated "any institutionalised social, religious or economic thing."¹⁷¹ Del Toro said in the same interview that the villains in all of his films - "the Nazis, the Fascists in *Pan's Labyrinth*, or the industrialists in *Cronos*" - all have the same authoritative trait. It is clear that the producers of blockbuster movies attempt to shape the perspectives of their audiences. In the case of both *Pan's Labyrinth* and *The Devil's Backbone*, the message is that the Francoists are the villains. However, this message did not seem to resonate wholly with the interviewees. Victor took the question regarding knowing any films with a fictitious storyline set in the Franco era as a challenge. "Hmmmm, well, no, I'd say no, hmm, I don't have any knowledge, hmmmm, I know what you want me to say... like Inglourious Bastards... it's a film because Hitler dies... but here... no."¹⁷² At the conclusion of the interview, he asked me what "the answer" was. When I mentioned *Pan's Labyrinth* and *The Devil's Backbone*, he expressed dismay that he had not been able to remember them, but admitted that he had seen both. In the example of Victor he had seen the films and enjoyed them, but had

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Ángela Jurado Acarcón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 26 March 2019

¹⁷¹ nuveinTV, .(Director), & nuveinTV, . (Producer). *Guillermo del Toro: "I hate structure."* [Video]. USA: nuveinTV.

¹⁷² Interview with Victor Márquez Castaño, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 28 March 2019

forgotten that they had touched upon the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. Victor's testimony therefore alludes to "all the subtle and disguised ways in which history becomes evoked and addressed."¹⁷³ Victor forgetting that he had watched both *Pan's Labyrinth* and *The Devil's Backbone* can be considered an example of history being addressed in such a subtle way that its impact became minimised.

The second aspect of popular culture that this thesis investigated related to songs and radio. It was appropriate to consider the influence of what interviewees were listening to for two reasons. The first of these reasons is related to the relationship between music and politics. The second reason relates to the popularity of music within Spanish culture and the potential for politicised bands or songs to influence the general perceptions of post-Franco generations. Statistics related to the amount of time an ordinary Spaniard spends listening to the radio per day show that it amounts to 45 minutes per day and this amounts to more than five hours per week.¹⁷⁴ These figures do not take into account the additional amount of time that Spaniards may have listened to music in other settings. Analysis by Mark Pedelty and Linda Keefe has demonstrated the importance of political messaging within popular music and how it has the potential to generate discussion amongst fans.¹⁷⁵ Much like Guillermo Del Toro's attempts to actively influence his audience's perceptions with film, there are music artists who use their trade to push political messages. In Spain, songs that touch on certain elements of Spanish politics are subject to legal restrictions. A 2012 case involving the rapper Valtonyc saw the artist sentenced to three and a half years in jail "for exalting terrorism, slander and serious insults to

¹⁷³ Eley, G. 'The Past Under Erasure? History, Memory, and the Contemporary, *The Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.46. No 3. PP 555-573, (July 2011),

¹⁷⁴ Radio PR. (2018, March 9). ¿Cuántos minutos escuchan los españoles la radio según la hora del día?. *prnoticias*,

¹⁷⁵ Pedelty, M., & Keefe, L. (2010). Political Pop, Political Fans? A Content Analysis of Music Fan Blogs . *music & politics*, 4(1),

the Crown.¹⁷⁶ These charges pertained to a total of ten of his songs, including one which featured the Republican flag in the music video. The case provoked a lot of controversy with news agencies commenting on the proceedings and questioning whether the state should be permitted to take action against individuals for such reasons.

The example of Valtonyc shows that the Spanish state retains an aspect of control regarding what they believe constitutes acceptability in terms of what music artists can publish and how critical of state figures their lyrics can be. John Street offers more extensive insight into the relationship between music and politics.¹⁷⁷ He not only offers an explanation of how music can be used as propaganda, but also a comparative analysis of how the relationship between politics and music plays out in authoritarian regimes compared with liberal capitalist regimes.¹⁷⁸ Under Franco, the Spanish state understood that music could be utilised as a form of state propaganda and this was pursued in much the same way as the Nazis and Soviet governments attempted to use it.¹⁷⁹ The transition to democracy should have therefore represented a break between how music was controlled by the government. However, the example of Valtonyc shows that this was not a clean break and the government still retains some control over what music is deemed permissible.

Although music fan blogs, the courts and journalists are certainly engaged with examining the relationship between music and politics, this level of analysis did not seem to extend to the average person looking to enjoy music. Street succinctly summarises this when he

¹⁷⁶ Mundo, . (2018, February 21). Un rapero español fue condenado a tres años de prisión por "calumnias a la Corona". *El País*.

¹⁷⁷ Street, J. (2012;2013;). *Music and Politics* (1. Aufl. ed.). Cambridge: Polity.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* pg.24-30

¹⁷⁹ Muñiz Valázquez, J. A. (1998). La Música en el Sistema Propagandístico Franquista. *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 3, 343-363.

Street, J. (2012;2013;). *Music and Politics* (1. Aufl. ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pg 27

states that “there is a danger of exaggerating the degree of political involvement” when it comes to the involvement of musicians with political songs.¹⁸⁰ Rafa was the only interviewee who engaged heavily with the topic of politicised music. He stated that “all the music I listen to is political music” and was able to name a few bands ('Gatallizo' and 'Boikot') that he knew had a politically left-wing stance.¹⁸¹ In the quantitative portion of the interview, Rafa stated that songs and the radio were the most important vector of memory to him. Yet despite being interested in both politics and music and recognising the connection between them, the free-flow portion of the interview did not seem to support the importance that Rafa initially gave music. There was also little evidence that Rafa's interest in politics permeated his hobby. Despite being in a band and contributing to writing the music they performed, when he passed me a sample CD of his group as “un poco de publicidad” (“a bit of publicity”) he said “but we're not a political band.”¹⁸² That his band had not produced any music that was overtly political or touched on the Franco-era, he later put down to “capitalism” and that “we have to work.”¹⁸³ Rafa believed that his group would have more success by avoiding politics. Given that Rafa, the most musically involved of the interviewees, did not offer much evidence of music shaping his historical perceptions we can extrapolate that the effect was even less pronounced amongst the general Spanish populace. Modern music was something that was recognisably political at times, but which was often unable to have any tangible effect on either the interviewees' current politics or perceptions of the past.

One form of political music that did come up during the interview process were Franco-era ‘ditties’ such as the '*Himno España de Franco*' and 'Cara al Sol.' Upon being asked

¹⁸⁰ Street, J. (2012;2013). *Music and Politics* (1. Aufl. ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pg 46

¹⁸¹ Interview with Rafa Parra Casanova , recorded in El Provencio by Brad Parker, 19 January 2019

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

about songs and the radio in teaching him about Franco, Alberto expressed genuine excitement at being able to name “Cara al Sol” as a Franco-era song. He exclaimed,

Cara al sol. I've listened to it... the one that goes *di di di di di di di di*... that was the franquist song. The franquist song. The franquist song ‘Cara al Sol’... mate, for me it wasn't important but yeah, in his era it was important because everyone had to sing it.¹⁸⁴

Here we see a generational difference identified by the interviewee themselves. Alberto recognised that previous generations were forced to listen to Francoist songs. Another interviewee who mentioned non-contemporary music when asked about songs and the radio as a vector of memory was Guille.

This yeah, for example, my parents put songs on in the car about liberty. Er, for liberty er, against repression, famous songs by composers, so... above all songwriters, they're called, because they sang, they played the guitar and spoke about liberty. Although not directly, indirectly, yeah, this I remember.¹⁸⁵

He went on to mention the songs “Un beso y una flor” and “Internationale” as songs he had searched and listened to on YouTube.¹⁸⁶ Both of these songs are pre-transition era songs. Alberto and Guille's responses indicate that despite contemporary music touching upon Francoism, authentic Franco-era songs remained much more vivid in the minds of the interviewees.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Alberto Candeira Corón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 04 March 2019

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Guillermo Lopez-Quintana Muñoz, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 26 March 2019

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

The testimonies provided by the interviewees suggest that Franco-era music was more influential than contemporary music in shaping the historical perceptions of the post-transition generation. Although Rafa's testimony suggests a prevalence of political music that references Francoism and cases such as that of Valtonyc show that this music makes the national press, it appears that contemporary music's impact on historical perceptions was as ephemeral as the messages included in films. Therefore, even within spheres of popular culture that may have been expected to be relatively free from Francoist influence 40 years after the demise of the Caudillo, there exist elements that provoke memories of his rule. This raises the question as to whether or not censorship legislation in Spain is extending Franco's legacy in unconsidered covert ways. In instances where they move to censor politically-charged content that 'targets' certain individuals, the Spanish state continues to express a stance on what is legitimate or illegitimate criticism of the state apparatus and, by extension, the challenging of established views and norms which includes the Spanish Civil War narrative.

Politicalized music does have the potential to help shape both perceptions of the present and the past, however its attempts to do so have been somewhat limited in the context of Spain. The Spanish judiciary retains the ability to dictate what is deemed acceptable for publication, which has potentially meant that music was unable to reach its full potential in helping democratize the Spanish Civil War narrative. 'Censorship' has never been "the exclusive preserve of a particular system of government, regime, or ideology."¹⁸⁷ Spanish legislation that limits the free speech of artists can appear as a prolongation of Franco-era censorship laws and policy. This is especially true when a generation after the demise of Franco people still recall

¹⁸⁷ Street, J. (2012;2013;). *Music and Politics* (1. Aufl. ed.). Cambridge: Polity. pg.46

politicised ditties related to the dictator, rather than current affairs involving music stars with political messages, when asked to think of the relationship between music and politics.

An examination of the literature that was consumed by the interviewees was also included within the scope of this research. The major groupings of potential literature that the interviewees may have been exposed to throughout their lives can be labelled as academic literature, printed media such as news, and fictional works such as stories set within the Spanish Civil War and Franco-era. The latter two groupings are most relevant to this chapter. There was also the potential for interviewees to raise other forms of written material such as biographies of Franco-era figures, poetry, or memoirs of ordinary people whose stories of the Spanish Civil War or Franco-era were nationally recognised. Despite this, the majority of interviewees offered little evidence that reading in any capacity, either factual or fictional literature, contributed significantly to shaping their historical perceptions.

Newspapers would appear to have had the most potential to inform the historical perceptions of the interviewees. This is because newspapers attempt to influence the current political leanings of their readership and this in turn indirectly shapes the historical perceptions of their readership. In the context of Spain, this is particularly relevant to the national contro regarding what to do with the Valley of the Fallen and the ideological conflict between left and right. The topic of Francoism is raised in Spanish newspapers and this was highlighted by the actions of Guille's mother. Guille had discussed the fact he was going to be interviewed as part of this thesis with her and she gave him two cuttings of articles she had taken from newspapers to pass on to me. The articles highlighted the link between the present and the past. One of the articles described how 181 retired military figures were disseminating a manifesto justifying the

1936 coup d'etat and the other described how 27,500 documents related to the political activities of the caudillo were about to be revised.¹⁸⁸ The articles were from August 2018 and Guille professed to be unaware as to the reason his mother still had them in March 2019. It may be that he had informed her of my research topic and she saved them as a gift for me. Guille's mum's interest in newspapers compared to Guille's lack of interest in those same newspapers highlights the differences in how the pre and post-Franco generations informed themselves.

Falling newspaper readership amongst younger people is a phenomenon not confined to Spain. Research conducted by Zerba in three US cities shows that it is a trend that has been extant since the 1940s.¹⁸⁹ Her research highlighted a myriad number of reasons for why younger people tended to avoid picking up newspapers, including lack of time, use of other media, and notably an understanding that news organisations aim to push their own political bias. In general, the post-transition generation preferred to source their news from sources other than newspapers. Alba said that, "our generation... a newspaper isn't any... it's not a source of reference for us" and "we're moved by other means of communication, no?"¹⁹⁰ This means that despite their potential to shape perspectives, newspapers were rated as one of the least important vectors of memory by the interviewees. The attempts of newspapers to push their own political agenda was explicitly noted by Alba who, despite having claimed her generation didn't read them, took the time to read an online article to me to prove her point.

The other day I found this article, look, it was something political too... the mayoress of Madrid, Manuela Carmena [...] she's part of a left wing party [...] they're saying that if it was up to

¹⁸⁸ Sevillano, E. G. (2018, August 26). El Ejército aún se sacude su pasado franquista. *El País*, p.18. Riaño, P. H. (2018, August 19). La revisión. *El País*, pp.2-3.

¹⁸⁹ Zerba, A. (2011). Young Adults' Reasons behind Avoidances of Daily Print Newspapers and Their Ideas for Change. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88(3), 597-614.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Alba de la Rica, recorded in Madrid, 21 February 2019

Carmena that parties wouldn't exist! [...] they're saying that for bullfighting she's bad but for [Gay] Pride she's good [...] this poor 70 year old woman, they're saying she wants to close all the bars and she's against all of Spain! [...] just by reading this I know it's a right-wing paper.¹⁹¹

Alba's awareness of the biases that are inherent in newspapers put her off from reading them. Newspapers were thus largely neutered in their attempts to influence the post-transition generation's political and historical perceptions.

The lack of reading amongst the interviewees extended to fiction books. Cumulatively, fiction books as a vector of memory was rated the least important by the interviewees. In the quantitative part of the interview Eva scored fiction books low but newspapers and academic books high. This is relevant because, as we will see in the next chapter, it was Eva's reading of 'Nanas de la cebolla' at bachillerato that contributed to changing her perceptions of the civil war.¹⁹² Eva's penchant for reading continued into adulthood. At the conclusion of her interview she gave me an autobiography by Carlota O'Neill entitled *Una Mujer en la guerra de España* [*A Woman in Spain's War*]. She had just finished the book and recommended I read it too. This was the only instance during the interviews that I was offered tangible proof of an interviewee's claims. Eva's propensity to read seems to have been an anomaly within the group of interviewees spoken to as part of this research. The book that Eva recommended was significant for another reason.¹⁹³ *Una Mujer en la guerra de España* was written by Carlota O'Neill in 1964 in Mexico and was not published in Spain until 1979 due to Francoist Spain's censorship laws.¹⁹⁴ It has attracted the attention of academics with Catherine O'Leary describing

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

¹⁹³ Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

O'Neill, C. (2003). *Una mujer en la guerra de España*. [A Women in Spain's War]. Madrid: Oberon.

¹⁹⁴ O'Neill, C. (2003). *Una mujer en la guerra de España*. [A Women in Spain's War]. Madrid: Oberon.

the work as “constitut[ing] a denunciation [of the Nationalists], an appeal to conscience, and a refusal to be silenced.”¹⁹⁵ There is an irony here in that O’Neill was indeed effectively silenced within Spain, with the fifteen-year delay between her writing her eye-witness account and it finally being given the green light to be published in her native place of birth the evidence of this. Additionally, it is another reminder of the generational divide in Spain in terms of what literature could and could not be consumed under Franco’s rule. Franco-era generations of Spaniards were not afforded the opportunity to read what O’Neill had to say about the dictator.

Another significant aspect of Franco-era censorship laws is that they still have a tangible effect on the literature that is available for consumption in Spain today. An April 2019 article in the British *Independent* newspaper explored the lasting effect that Franco’s regime has on books that are circulating today.¹⁹⁶ The article posits that works that were censored during the Franco-era are still reproduced due to the additional work that would be involved in either rewriting them, reading originally censored material, or finally putting into print works that were written decades ago and are now outdated.¹⁹⁷ It is therefore possible for members of the post-Franco generation to still be influenced by censorship laws that have in theory long since been abolished. Another comparison between Guille and his mother can be made here. Guille’s interview took place in his childhood home. The living room was well stocked with academic books pertaining to a variety of subjects, including a number on the Spanish Civil War and Franco.. The books in question belonged to his mother and Guille told me he was able to read any of them at any time. Despite having easy access to academic books, Guille admitted that he

¹⁹⁵ O’Leary, C. (2012). Bearing Witness: Carlota O’Neill’s Una mujer en la guerra de España. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies Hispanic Studies and Researches on Spain, Portugal and Latin America*, 89(7-8), 155-168.

¹⁹⁶ Cornellà-Detrell, J. (2019, April 23). It’s the 21st century, yet Spanish books are still suffering from censorship. *Independent*.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

had not read them. He did, however, state that “[he] probably should read them.”¹⁹⁸ Whereas it is likely his mother had read the books that she had bought, Guille had not. The significance of this is that even if members of the post-Franco generation did make an effort to engage with written media such as academic books or popular histories, then they may have unwittingly consumed work that was produced only with the agreement of the Franco regime.

On the other hand, Alba offers an example of an interviewee who did read academic books and rated them highly important in shaping her historical perceptions. Alba’s living room also contained a large shelf full of history books. These she had retained from when she was studying History at university. Alba admitted that they were no longer of much use to her “those, well, I’ve read them but a long time ago, hmmmm, well truthfully... ha... some I’ve read. When I was at university I read a lot, but nowadays I have less time.” However, she remembered some of the information from reading them when she first bought them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Alba did not cover the topics of the Spanish Civil War and Franco at university and these books were bought as a result of her own interest in history because “when [she] read history, [she] read *history*.¹⁹⁹ This suggests that Alba is a rare example amongst the post-Franco generation and her specific situation had led to her having an unusually large collection of academic books. It is also evidence of the overlapping nature of vectors of memory, with this being an example of academia and popular culture combining to increase the potency of their effect. It must be remembered that it is likely those books were also influenced by Franco-era censorship laws in the ways that we have seen above.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Guillermo Lopez-Quintana Muñoz, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 26 March 2019

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Alba de la Rica, recorded in Madrid, 21 February 2019

This chapter agrees with the argument that popular culture has the potential to influence historical perceptions.²⁰⁰ However, in the case of Spain the active attempts by film and television producers, musicians and writers often met with obstacles that limited their effectiveness. Interviewees recognised the importance of mediums of communication such as television and music as vectors of memory, but sometimes struggled to articulate how that actually occurred or cite concrete examples. The testimony of Guille suggests that Spanish national history was sometimes overshadowed by other world events that filled programming schedules and limited Spaniards' exposure to their own recent history. Even when visual media did touch on Francoism, it was too subtle to be remembered or considered of importance. The main conclusion of this chapter is therefore that understanding the popular culture consumed by this sample of the post-Franco generation is key to understanding how their historical perceptions are formed. In order to do this, academics must ensure that they engage with members of this generation to understand the processes that are occurring. Whereas older generations may have been more inclined to watch historical documentaries, the post-Franco generation found channels such as La Sexta more important in shaping their historical perceptions. Furthermore, the interviewees were alive to the issue of traditional print newspapers being biased and this put them off reading them. Newspapers also had to compete with the internet as a source of information as has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Concurrently, the effects of censorship, both current and legacy, had a diluting effect on popular culture which offers an intergenerational link in the shaping of historical perceptions.

²⁰⁰ Wright, P., & Krauze, A. (2009). *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Updat ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ferro, M. (1984). *The Use and Abuse of History, or, How the Past is Taught*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

PERSONAL RELATIONS

Personal relations helped shape historical perceptions through interactions such as the telling of family stories. Interactions such as these shaped the respondents' primary understandings of Franco. As the interviewees grew older they reflected on these stories which were then tempered by influences such as popular culture, contemporary politics, and the national debate surrounding the future of Franco-era lieux de memoire. This section will examine the ways in which personal relations were shaped by outside factors and the ways in which they in turn had the potential to affect personal historical perceptions. The stereotype of Spaniards being unable or unwilling to talk about Spain's recent past, the Spanish Civil War, and Franco era, is also interrogated. Understanding these factors will allow for a more accurate examination of personal relations in the wider context within which they were set. Although these interactions between friends and family, and the telling of familial stories, did initially affect young Spaniards' historical perceptions, this chapter will argue that they could later be dismissed as the interviewees developed their own political views that overrode their initial reactions to the stories they were told by those close to them.

As has emerged in earlier chapters, there is a strong relationship between contemporary political outlooks and history. This principle can hold true even centuries after the end of a conflict. For example, in the context of British history, Isaac Foot, Liberal MP, argued "I judge a man by one thing, which side would he have liked his ancestors to fight on at Marston Moor?"²⁰¹ In the context of Spain, the Spanish Civil War is arguably the country's most important historical event when it comes to influencing present-day outlooks. Given the transition to democracy it

²⁰¹ Hunt, T. (2010, March 7). Michael Foot: The Last in a Long Line of Radical Polemicists. *The Guardian*.

may be expected that the impact of the civil war would be lessened. José Ramón Montero has argued that the basic fact of democracy represents a break from the past. As he puts it, "electoral processes have sealed the definitive break with a past of fraud and polarisation and guaranteed Spain's admission into the select club of countries with stable and efficient democratic systems."²⁰² However, Aguilar has a different interpretation of how the transition played out in Spain. She agrees that "when a profound political transformation takes place, successor regimes have to decide what to do with the institutions and individuals linked to the previous regime" but explains that Francoist institutions were not removed after the death of the dictator.²⁰³ The testimony of the interviewees in this chapter will show that the continuity of Francoist institutions strengthened the link between past and present.

There were practical considerations that played a part in the decision to retain aspects of the Franco-era political structures in the post-Franco era. Jose M Magone has contributed an in-depth study of contemporary Spanish politics. In the course of this work he outlines how Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez led politicians to implement a political system that would ensure a high degree of political stability in order to prevent a repeat of the political instability that was a cause of the civil war.²⁰⁴ In doing so, Magone argued that the influence of the electoral system prior to the civil war influenced the adoption of proportional representation. As he put it "the decision for a proportional representation system moderated by small constituencies was certainly influenced by the negative experiences of former electoral systems up until the Civil War, but in particular the Second Republic between 1931 and 1936."²⁰⁵ Magone's interpretation

²⁰² Montero, J. R. (1999). Stabilising the Democratic Order: Electoral Behaviour in Spain. In P. Heywood (Ed.) *Policy and Politics in Democratic Spain*. (pp. 53-79) . London: Frank Cass Publishers. pg.54

²⁰³ Aguilar Fernández, P., Brito, A. B. d., & González Enríquez, C. (2001). *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pg.92

²⁰⁴ Magone, J.M. *Contemporary Spanish Politics* (London, 2004). pg.79

²⁰⁵ Magone, J.M. *Contemporary Spanish Politics* (London, 2004). pg.79

is therefore that the entire political architecture of contemporary Spain is built upon the memory of its past inceptions and created in order to represent a break from the past.

Politics was often a key factor in how discussions about the past played out and was therefore also an influence on the interviewees' historical perceptions. In fact, by being able to gauge their friends' current political leanings, the interviewees were able to presuppose their historical perspectives. Eva knew enough about the political leanings of her right-wing childhood friend Pedro and her left-wing boyfriend Guille to be able to presuppose both of their historical perceptions. Eva recommended Pedro as a right-wing individual as part of the snowball methodology. She facilitated the meeting and warned that he would espouse pro-Franco views. When Eva introduced Pedro before his interview, the two of them engaged in repartee centred on the political leanings of one another. Specifically, Pedro referred to his politically left-wing friends as "Communists" (later during the interview, which took place in a small café in El Provencio, Eva brought Pedro a drink to which he reacted with "gracias, comunista" ("thanks, Communist").²⁰⁶ The interactions between Pedro and Eva were jocular in nature. This suggests that although the historical perceptions of their friends did feature in the everyday discourse of the interviewees, it was not in a serious way. This interpretation is supported by Pedro's response to being asked to expand on the impact his friends had on his historical perceptions. He laughed at the notion stating, "My friends don't have any idea at all.. Haha.. about history... hahaha.. It's true! It's... it doesn't interest them."²⁰⁷ The historical perceptions of their friends were dismissed as a joke, subordinate to the interviewee's own political outlooks.

²⁰⁶ Interview with Pedro José Bouilla Osma, recorded in El Provencio by Brad Parker, 19 January 2019

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, familial relationships did have the potential to inform the interviewees' politics and historical perceptions in more serious ways. At the start of the interview, Pedro stated that "my father made me a bit right wing" going on to explain that "in my house we're all right wing, OK?"²⁰⁸ Pedro was much more serious when he explained this than he was when speaking about his friends. It was clear that he valued his father's contribution to his understanding of Franco. It is impossible to know the exact sources that his father was reading, but Pedro's testimony suggests that much like Luis, Pedro also valued the authority of books. This appears true even though Pedro was not the one reading them. Of course, in the case of Pedro, the authority of books is combined with the authority of his father, his father's testimony, and any stories that his father recounted regarding his experiences of the Franco era. The experience of his father is judged subordinate to the authority of books as Pedro admitted that he had also spoken to his "red grandparents" ("abuelos rojos") about the topics at hand, but was more dismissive of their perspectives, only saying that they told him Franco "did bad and good things."²⁰⁹ It was clear then that intergenerational familial relationships had a much greater potential to influence an interviewee's historical perceptions than their relationships with friends did.

The intergenerational aspect to personal relations as a vector of memory is important in the context of Spain. This is especially true given the link between politics and historical perceptions. The continuity in Spanish politics includes not only the political structures and personnel but also the party machines. The People's Party (PP) - "this most Spanish of all political parties"²¹⁰ - has a legacy "which goes back to the origins of the formation of the Spanish

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ Magone, J.M. *Contemporary Spanish Politics* (London, 2004). pg.90

national state” meaning that it has been a constant feature of Spanish political life throughout the Franco-era and transition until now.²¹¹ There are two reasons that this is significant. The first is the involvement of figures such as Manuel Fraga - a significant political figure who featured prominently throughout the Franco-era.²¹² The second is the fact that PP is a ‘rebranding’ of the Alianza Popular (AP), which was founded during the transition era and was involved in coalitions with ideologically opposed parties solely in an effort to guarantee “their proximity to the fount of power.”²¹³ These political continuations mean that a member of the post-transition generation with an interest in current politics is immediately exposed to Franco-era politics. Nestor summarised the similarities between pre and post-transition politics as follows, “... the person that governed us immediately after [the transition] was the King. He was picked and instructed by Franco. So here... I don’t... I don’t see any transition. I don’t see any transition. Here I only see make-up and a change of name.”²¹⁴ Therefore, when they show an interest in current politics, a member of the post-Franco generation is in some ways asked to make a judgement on Franco and the Spanish Civil War.

Political continuities helped transfer the ideological conflict of the Franco era to the present day.²¹⁵ Montero’s analysis of Spanish voting patterns helps us understand the ways in which political polarisation continues to play out in the present era. Montero identifies “stable voters” voting for “unstable parties” who, although happy to switch parties within the same ideological left or right space, are unlikely to move from voting for left-wing parties to voting for

²¹¹ *Ibid.* pg.90

²¹² Muere Manuel Fraga, Dirigente Conservador Clave en la Historia de España: España Fraga Fallecimiento. (2012,). *EFE News Service*

²¹³ Preston, P. (1990). *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain*. London: Routledge. pg.123

²¹⁴ Interview with Nestor Camacho Fernandez and Laura Plata Casares, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 14 March 2019

²¹⁵ Montero, J. R. (1999). Stabilising the Democratic Order: Electoral Behaviour in Spain. In P. Heywood (Ed.) *Policy and Politics in Democratic Spain*. (pp. 53-79) . London: Frank Cass Publishers. pg.54

right-wing parties and vice versa.²¹⁶ This suggests that Spanish voters have clearly defined perceptions when it comes to what each party represents and who belongs in each ideological space. There is the suggestion here that such hard-set ideological allegiances amongst the electorate stems from the bitter animosity felt between the Republican and Nationalist sides of the civil war. This is supported by the testimony of Raquel. Upon being asked if she had an interest in current politics, Raquel articulated how she sees the link between historical perceptions and current politics.

What I perceive is that the civil war continues to be spoken about in a way... they keep talking about the civil war from the perspective of victor and vanquished. For me it's a wound that Spain hasn't healed. And these days being Spanish is still like being Francoist. This doesn't happen in other countries. The right is always Nazi and to avoid Franco you have to vote left-wing. These days they talk about it a lot... from my point of view.²¹⁷

Current Spanish politics remains indelibly marked by its past politics and the post-Franco generation does identify a continuity between present and past based on the same ideological spaces as previous generations.

One of the most obvious ways the link between current politics and historical perceptions manifested itself was in the form of stereotypes expressed by the interviewees regarding wealth. The most common stereotype expressed by left-wing interviewees was that the more money someone had, the more likely they were to view Franco in a more favourable light. In short, their thought process seemed to be that wealth indicated a right-wing voting preference and a

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* pg.55-75

²¹⁷ Interview with Raquel Valdivia Mesa, recorded in Carabanchel by Brad Parker, 26 February 2019

right-wing voting preference meant that an individual would have more favourable perceptions of the Franco era. When Eva was asked why she had rated her friends and family an eight in the quantitative part of the interview, she responded that it was because they had taught her "a different perspective."²¹⁸ She repeated how her great grandfather was fascist before going on to describe the political leanings of each of her family members.

My father was neutral, although he told me stories. He told me adventures. He told me [his] grandad's stories. But he never had political intentions until I was... 20 years old. My uncle... is a right-wing voter. My aunty is a right-wing voter. My other aunty is a right-wing voter. My mum is a left wing voter. My grandparents, maternal, are left wing voters. But this is also because they're very conditioned. My dad was from a rich family in the village. Now, no, obviously, now my dad's a normal person. But my dad's family... pah.. were monied. But pah.. They were monied because they worked in the fields a lot. They had pigs, they had a lot of land, they had garlic, they had fields. And my mum's family... they were poor and they were left-wing voters.²¹⁹

The rapid evolution of the conversation from Eva describing how having a fascist grandfather taught her different perspectives, to the voting patterns of her family members, to stereotypes regarding wealth, highlights this strong link between the past and the present.

Nestor's comments shed light on why the link between stereotypes regarding wealth and political ideology seem so entrenched. Asked who he thought were Franco's most important supporters, Nestor responded with the following:

²¹⁸ Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Ecclesiastical institutions, the army, yeah. But also all the upper classes, all the upper classes, no? Ay, ay, like I told you before, during, during the war, during the coup d'etat, er, a lot of things were stolen, a lot of land and lots of goods, these people changed their social status, and they were people who at best were on a rung and went up to the next one, no? So, obviously, these people, to be able to maintain all this, they had to support Franco. So, firstly, support was from, ecclesiastical institutions, the army, and all the upper classes. That's why, I think, it seems to me, - I think at some point an argument I've mentioned to you before - that not only, not only, ideologically it was a... class war.²²⁰

Nestor's views mirror the opening line of the introduction of Frances Lannon's book, *The Spanish Civil War: 1936-1939* that states simply, "The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 was a class war, and a culture war."²²¹ Further, in the eyes of many young Spaniards, this ideological class war is not over. Ángela explained the reasons she thinks people vote for far-right party Vox.

They want their own money to grow, grow, grow. And that's all. That's why businesses, the majority of businesses, people that have a lot of money, are right-wing. And then, the workers, look, in Spain, the right-wing workers, what makes me saddest, because they're poor and they vote right wing. But the right wing doesn't govern for you! They govern for the rich.²²²

Although the Spanish Civil War happened 80 years ago much of the ideological conflict upon which it was based continues to play a role in stereotypes and political thinking in the present day.

²²⁰ Interview with Nestor Camacho Fernandez and Laura Plata Casares, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 14 March 2019

²²¹ Lannon, F. (2014). *The Spanish Civil War: 1936–1939*. Osprey Publishing. pg.1

²²² Interview with Ángela Jurado Acarcón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 26 March 2019

In addition to the interviewees' stereotypes regarding wealth, it was also necessary for this thesis to consider overarching stereotypes regarding Spanish society. Specifically, it was necessary to address the fallacy that Spaniards are unwilling to talk about Spain's recent past. This claim featured on the blurb of Giles Tremlett's social commentary *Ghosts of Spain*, a popular book that was translated into five languages and sold 150,000 copies worldwide.²²³ It rhetorically asks the question "Spaniards are reputed to be amongst Europe's most forthright people. So why have they kept silent about the terrors of their Civil War and the rule of General Franco?"²²⁴ This narrative is problematic and adds to the disconnect between public understanding of the Spanish Civil War and academic understanding of it. As a historian, it is likely that Tremlett is aware of the debate surrounding to what degree Spaniards spoke about the civil war. Sabastiaan Faber tells us how "prominent historian Santos Juliá has been arguing for years that the whole notion that Spain has somehow failed to come to terms with its past is a myth."²²⁵ Faber goes on to articulate the two sides of the debate as "a wall of silence" and "a mountain of paper" with his own analysis being that "the debate about the pact of silence has been marred by conceptual vagueness, vested institutional interests, and an unwillingness to see Spain's situation in a comparative perspective."²²⁶ This thesis adds to the weight of evidence that Spaniards discussed the civil war in a number of contexts.

In instances where transmission of memory took place through familial stories, it must be remembered that there was both a narrator and a listener. In the context of this thesis, the

²²³ Tremlett, G. (2007). *Ghosts of Spain*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.
Cocker, M. (2006, March 25). Of dance and death. *The Guardian*.

Webster, J. (2006, March 19). Haunted by Franco. *The Guardian*.

²²⁴ Tremlett, G. (2007). *Ghosts of Spain*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

²²⁵ Faber, S. (2005). The Price of Peace: Historical Memory in Post-Franco Spain, a Review-Article.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

relative who was telling the story was the narrator and the relative who was being told the story was the listener. Mark Salber Phillips' theorises that emotions are not just important but play a "central role in social communication and moral judgement."²²⁷ It is therefore likely that when the interviewees heard stories from their grandparents when they were young, the emotion involved made those stories more memorable. The role of the interviewee shifted from that of the listener to that of the narrator during their interviews, but there was likely less emotion involved in the recounting of these stories. Michel-Rolph Trouillot articulates the process of storytelling as a form of memory transmission as follows,

[h]uman beings participate in history both as actors and narrators. The inherent ambivalence of the word 'history' in many modern languages, including English, suggests this dual participation. In vernacular use, history means both the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, both 'what happened' and 'that which is said to have happened.' The first meaning places the emphasis on the sociopolitical process, the second on our knowledge of that process or on a story about that process.²²⁸

The familial stories that the interviewees were told when they were young were highly influential in shaping their early historical perceptions. Raquel described her grandmother's role in this process,

²²⁷ Salber Phillips, M. (2008). On the Advantage and Disadvantage of Sentimental History for Life. *History Workshop Journal*, 65, 49-64.

²²⁸ Knight, F. W., & Trouillot, M. (1997). Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 77(3), 483.

hmmm, yes, yes, yes, [my grandmother] told me everything that she lived. More than Franco, she told me how she lived during the war. My mother nagged ... but my grandmother was always telling me stories about the war.²²⁹

In the case of Raquel, these stories tended to relate to Republican atrocities,

my grandma told me like it was the same day. She told me how she saw pregnant women - this is at the hands of the Republicans, no? - pregnant women torn open like they were swine... aaannd... pulling out the child. Barbarity. Not on a human level.²³⁰

Raquel also described a the use of a water torture technique which she claimed was also employed by the Republicans. Finally, she recounted the stories of Republicans burning churches and that "yes, yes, this is true. It's a fact. Lots of people know it."²³¹ Raquel went on to become a nun and still leans right politically, which alludes to the link between historical perceptions, current politics and the ideological split within Spanish society. The narrative that Raquel heard when she was young was one where the left-wing Republicans were the anti-religious villains and thus in some ways Raquel's future career and political leanings can be seen as a moral judgment of her historical perceptions. This also supports Faber's theory regarding the central role of emotions in storytelling as it is likely that there was a lot of emotion involved when Raquel's grandmother told her stories; love between grandmother and grandchild, disgust at what she was told the Republicans did, and possibly fear that something similar could happen to someone she loved. It therefore makes sense that these stories of the past would oblige her to reject the Republican and left-wing cause.

²²⁹ Interview with Raquel Valdivia Mesa, recorded in Carabanchel by Brad Parker, 26 February 2019

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

Eva provides us with another example of how the emotion involved in the telling of familial stories amplified the effect they had. Eva recounted the story of her great grandfather,

In my house I listened [to stories] a lot. But... because... my great grandad lived until I was nine, so, obviously, I listened to a lot of stories. And he was a very beloved member of the family and I spent a lot of time with him. The relationship between my dad and great grandad was very close, so we always used to go and he'd tell us stories. And my great grandad was fascist. He was very fascist. My grandad, the grandad of my dad. He was very fascist. But my village fell to the Republican side, so my grandad, my great grandad, had to fight against the fascists. Because he was on the Republican side, but he was fascist. So, obviously, I was little, and my grandad, my great grandad, he told me like something heroic.²³²

In this example, left-wing Eva prefacing the revelation that her great grandfather was a fascist and that she found his stories “heroic” by articulating the importance of his role within the family.

²³³ Eva then seemed to disavow her great grandfather’s actions, saying, “I think that my great grandad was very brave to keep defending the fascists although they wanted to kill him. I think he was very brave to keep defending *that*.²³⁴ Eva’s emphasis on the last word made it clear that, as an adult, she no longer saw any heroism in her great grandfather’s fascistic tendencies.

The evolution of Eva’s views hints at the relationship between private (or personal) and public (or collective) memory. It is also confirmation of Halbwachs argument that as viewpoints change, positions change and that this can be a process instigated by an individual’s

²³² Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

relationship to other milestones.²³⁵ Reflecting on her great grandfather's defence of fascism, she told me,

And I... I realised that he was mistaken. No. Well, I can't say that because I didn't live his life. And maybe he was right thinking that. But I think it's an absurdity to have these ideas. And more nowadays. I started thinking this when I told myself 'something doesn't fit.' And I started to go out and something went 'ping.' Something went 'ping' in my head. When I went to study at bachillerato and I had a language teacher that spoke about Miguel Hernández. She told me the story of Miguel Hernández and the poet... and I read 'Nanas de la cebolla' and and.. and I didn't understand how the same [people] my grandad defended were doing that to this poet.²³⁶

In this case, the milestone can be considered Eva reaching bachillerato and being exposed to the collective memory of Miguel Hernández and this contributed to changing her perceptions of the past.

Shifts in perspectives can be influenced by a myriad of factors. Raquel's testimony is another example of how views can evolve over time. After spending her early life as a nun, she became a primary school teacher. She explained how her new career meant having to read a bit about Spanish history and she was thus exposed to more left-wing points of view. She had also gained experience teaching Spanish in Italy and was able to compare the two countries' histories and how they viewed their recent pasts. Notably, it seems to have been far-right views that shifted Raquel leftwards. She explained how the views of Vox were off-putting to her,

²³⁵ Benton, T. (2010). *Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Manchester University Press. pg15

²³⁶ Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

they're wanting to get rid of things that Spain has achieved. That Spain has achieved... women moving forward, now, the recognition of women in society, so Vox, goes backwards, no? [...] the topic of immigration, homosexuality, all these issues that Spain has achieved by force of, by change of mentality, these people return to an idea, that you have to remember everything that was repressed during the Franco era.²³⁷

Whereas Eva's testimony suggested a rapid evolution of her views as she reached adulthood, Raquel's testimony shows that this process can also progress slowly depending on the experiences of the individual involved.

It is also notable that the two women's views were shifted left by opposing sides of the political spectrum. This aspect of the two women's testimonies that can be compared in the context of the generational differences between them. Raquel was the oldest of the interviewees and, born in 1973, was "muy chica" (very young) when Franco died.²³⁸ Eva, on the other hand, was only 24 at the time of the interview. The over 20 years difference between the two women's ages means that although they both grew up in the post-Franco era, they can be considered part of different generations. This generational difference means that the collective memory experienced by them was distinct. In her monumental work *Memory and Amnesia*, Aguilar states that "the study of generation is intimately linked to that of historical memory" because "it helps us to understand how the collective memory of a country develops as new generations progressively take charge of it. Aguilar goes on to call generational change "inevitable" and "essential" explaining how it "serves the necessary social purpose of allowing us to forget" and

²³⁷ Interview with Raquel Valdivia Mesa, recorded in Carabanchel by Brad Parker, 26 February 2019

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

that “if society is to continue, social remembering is just as important as forgetting.”²³⁹ It should therefore be expected that the women’s experiences differ due to these generational differences and this offers one explanation as to why their perceptions changed at different paces.

One possible generational change that could have aided Eva’s shift leftwards relates to the human-rights culture that developed in Spain following the transition. Aguilar explains how “adopt[ing] a broader temporal perspective” means “one can accommodate fundamental factors such as the generational changeover. This, combined with other, more conjunctural factors (correlation of political forces, pressure from international organisations, etc.), can generate synergies that create favourable conditions for offering more appropriate compensation to victims of human rights violations.”²⁴⁰ The testimony of the interviewees certainly suggests that human rights factored heavily in the post-Franco generation’s thinking when asked about the Franco era and Spanish Civil War. Dani summarised this thinking best when asked whether or not he thought Franco was good for Spain. He explained,

I don’t think so. Let’s see... he was governing for nearly forty years so, he did good things, obviously, but, hmmmm, I think that everything would be better if he never existed. Because there wasn’t freedom, there weren’t rights, respect, for, for humans, for the people.²⁴¹

In addition to Dani’s succinct articulation of how earlier generations viewed human rights compared to the present generation, a majority of the interviewees’ testimonies suggested that

²³⁹ Aguilar, P. (2002). *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (4th ed.). Berghahn Books.

²⁴⁰ Aguilar, P. (2008). Transitional or Post-Transitional Justice? Recent Developments in the Spanish Case. *South European Society & Politics*, 13(4), 417-433. pg.430

²⁴¹ Interview with Daniel Serrano, recorded in Villalba by Brad Parker, 12 March 2019

Franco's disregard for human rights factored into why they viewed him in a negative light. Of particular concern seemed to be women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and the rights of immigrants.

Discussions about human rights often elicited the longest responses from the interviewees. Ángela touched on all of the aforementioned issues and more when the conversation turned to current affairs. Her response is too long to quote in full, but the following snippets give an idea of the myriad rights she considered important;

I like that people have freedom of expression and can demonstrate in the street [...] I can dress how I like, also, I have the opportunity to, to kiss, if I liked boys and girls, for me this is important, to be able to choose my sexuality [...] all of the retired went out to demonstrate [changes to their pension] ... and this I like. That they can voice their opinions freely [...] and above all the topic of women ... fighting against the glass ceiling [...] the right say 'immigrants come to take our jobs' [...] and [the right] don't fight for animal rights, well, look, this has nothing to do with it, but it fucks me off a lot!²⁴²

Ángela's lengthy reply here was full of passion. It also contained insults about ignorant right-wing voters that she jokingly laughed at and told me "don't write that, it's an insult."²⁴³ However, responses like Ángela's support Aguilar and Ramírez-Barat's argument that "the grandchildren of the Civil War . . . are devoid of the feelings of guilt or fear of their predecessors, and are much more comfortable with the international human rights law framework."²⁴⁴ They also demonstrate the strength of feeling regarding the human-rights culture amongst the post-Franco generation.

²⁴² Interview with Ángela Jurado Acarcón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 26 March 2019

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Aguilar, P., & Ramírez-Barat, C. (2019). Generational Dynamics in Spain: Memory Transmission of a Turbulent Past. *Memory Studies*, 12(2), 213-229.

This chapter has explored the personal relations of the interviewees. The interviewees saw similarities in Spanish politics that traversed the transition to democracy. These similarities were not only related to the Spanish political system and voting patterns, but also extended to stereotypes regarding wealth and class. This meant that when members of the post-Franco generation discussed the past with their friends or family, these discussions were coloured by present-day politics. Counter to the claims of some historians, this chapter has also shown that Spaniards did speak about the past and these discussions were often intergenerational in nature. Indeed, whereas discussions of the past with their friends were less serious, familial stories passed down from grandparents played a formative role in the interviewees' historical perceptions. However, in some instances the effect of familial stories was later diminished via interactions with other vectors of memory. These interactions could be varied but often related to the human rights culture that has developed in Spain since the transition to democracy.

LIEUX DE MEMOIRE

The final chapter of this thesis will examine lieux de memoire. As has been mentioned previously, the importance of lieux de memoire to the topic of national memory is one that is now well recognised by historians.²⁴⁵ This chapter will consider the significance of the Valley of the Fallen in regards to the memory wars in Spain to highlight its importance as a vector of memory. It will then briefly consider the overarching aims of the political left and right for the monument, before examining the views of the interviewees in more depth. These interviews show that there are innumerable points of view regarding the monument, with different considerations given different weightings for different reasons. Despite the nationwide discussion regarding the Valley of the Fallen and a majority of the interviewees wanting to see the monument destroyed, there were also interviewees who were apathetic to what its future should be. The reasons for this apathy differed between individuals. The thesis will then turn to other lieux de memoire and consider the differences between academic and public areas of interest. Lastly, it will consider the issue of mass graves. Here we will see that despite them being mentioned often, there was a lack of colloquy among the interviewees. However, this is assessed to be not from a lack of interest in the topic, but more a tacit understanding that there is no debate to be had; both interviewer and interviewee recognised the unjustness of the existence of mass graves.

The national debate regarding what should be done with the Valley of the Fallen is one that has also generated much interest at all levels of Spanish society. It is one of the main battlegrounds in the ideological conflict between left and right. Gareth Stockey describes its role as follows,

²⁴⁵ Wood, N. (1999). *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Post-War Europe*. Berg. pg.15

more than any other site in Spain, and arguably more than any of the other myriad issues involved in the recent memory wars, El Valle de los Caídos remains the most powerful symbol of un-reconciled visions of Spain's history, and indeed, of the country's democratic credentials in the twenty-first century.²⁴⁶

The Valley of the Fallen is therefore magnified as a vector of memory due to polemic on both sides of the national debate and, as Peter Anderson has argued, "removing Francoist monuments, and particularly those that commemorate the fallen from the victor's side, runs the danger of obscuring from view one of the most important ways in which many at the grass roots came to identify with the regime."²⁴⁷ The presence of such monuments, especially controversial ones, keeps the past relevant. It also means that the Valley of the Fallen exists in the intersection of memory, identity and heritage identified earlier. For these reasons, the Valley of the Fallen meant different things to individual interviewees.

Religion was one factor that coloured the interviewees' opinion of the Valley of the Fallen. The religious aspect of the ideological conflict has been touched upon earlier in this thesis, with Raquel recounting the burning of churches by Republicans and Nestor viewing ecclesiastical organisations as some of the main supporters of the Nationalists. At the Valley of the Fallen, the link between religion and Francoism is represented in much more physical form. Rodrigo Delso's description of the monument gives us an insight into how religion permeates the site. He clarifies that the Valley of the Fallen is "the largest fascist monument constructed

²⁴⁶ Stockey, G. (2013). *Valley of the Fallen: The (N)ever Changing Face of General Franco's Monument*. Critical, Cultural and Communications Press. pg.12

²⁴⁷ Anderson, P. (2011). In the Name of the Martyrs: Memory and Retribution in Francoist Southern Spain, 1936-45. *Cultural and Social History*, 8(3), 355-370. pg.356

during Franco's regime" and that "its most prominent feature is a 150m tall cross which is the tallest Christian cross in the world."²⁴⁸ Delso's description of the Valley of the Fallen continues, explaining how other religious features include "a basilica carved out in the mountain" and "a Benedictine monastery."²⁴⁹ Gareth Stockey articulates how these physical features reveal the link between Catholocism and Francoism. He tells us that "the Stations of the Cross" are "an early reminder of the religious nature of the site, and the first implicit conjuncture of Catholicism to the regime which erected the monument."²⁵⁰ These religious aspects of the Valley of the Fallen were not lost on the interviewees. Eva evidenced her assertion that the Catholic Church supported Franco by referencing the Valley of the Fallen, telling me, "you only need to look at the Valley of the Fallen with its giant cross!" The Valley of the Fallen therefore acts as a reminder of which segments of society supported Franco and his dictatorship.

The way in which the Valley of the Fallen acted as a reminder of the past was problematic for some of the interviewees. Nestor made comparisons with other European countries before saying it should be gotten rid of.

For my part, I think, I think, you have to eliminate anything that represents a glorification of Spain's dark past. This doesn't occur in countries like Germany, or like Italy. In Italy... I've never been to Germany, but in Italy I saw lots of monuments to the partisans, the people who fought against the government of Mussolini. Here in Spain, no, there are things that glorify the figure of,

²⁴⁸ Delso, R., Amann, A., & Soriano, F. (2018). Time, Architecture and Domination: The Valley of the Fallen. *Heritage & Society*, 11(2), 126-150.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Stockey, G. (2013). *Valley of the Fallen: The (N)ever Changing Face of General Franco's Monument*. Critical, Cultural and Communications Press. pg.44

of, of Franco. The Valley of the Fallen and, and... to, to, really [...] a place where there's the mummy of an old dictator... I think it's something you have to get rid of.²⁵¹

Even fewer political interviewees expressed a desire to see the Valley of the Fallen destroyed.

When asked about monumentos, Alberto stated that

there's a monument, I don't know if you know it, surely they've spoken about it, the Valley of the Fallen. It's where Franco is interred. This is the only monument to Franco I know. And to me it's not important.... They can knock it down. And if they knock it down with a fascist inside, better. Haha!²⁵²

These responses show that there was clearly a will amongst the post-transition generation to see the monument destroyed. This will extended to Alberto who had described himself as centre or politically neutral a number of times throughout the interview.

Emotion surrounding the Valley of the Fallen was not always strong. Dani grew up living in Villalba, a town located across the valley from the Valley of the Fallen. The monument is visible from his street and thus he sees it on a regular basis. When questioned if living in such close proximity to the Valley of the Fallen had prompted him to research the Spanish Civil War and Franco era, he laughed at the notion. In English, he jokingly told me, "I'm used to see[ing] it, it's like, every morning I open the window and, ha, I look to the, ha, huge monument, ha."²⁵³ Dani didn't give a direct answer to what should be done regarding the Valley of the Fallen, but

²⁵¹ Interview with Nestor Camacho Fernandez and Laura Plata Casares, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 14 March 2019

²⁵² Interview with Alberto Candeira Corón, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 04 March 2019

²⁵³ Interview with Daniel Serrano, recorded in Villalba by Brad Parker, 12 March 2019

considered this question more pensively before telling me that, “so, statues, it seems fine to me that they get rid of them. Statues to a person that... has killed millions of people, it seems good to me that they get rid of them.”²⁵⁴ He didn’t make it clear if this extended to the giant cross of the Valley of the Fallen, because he then turned to street names saying their removal was “more complicated.”²⁵⁵ The “complications” regarding the renaming of streets perhaps has more legitimacy as a complaint as it would indeed require the updating of addresses and mapping which would have tangible effects on society.

Dani’s friend Jesús also comes from Villalba and offered a similarly pensive response. He offered his interpretation of the two sides of the debate regarding the Valley of the Fallen before telling me what he thinks should happen to it.

The topic of the Valley of the Fallen, so, in a certain way, I see it’s normal that it’s defended taking his body out of there but you shouldn’t desecrate a place dedicated to a dictator [...] I see it as a place to remember the civil war and what it was... that’s it, it should be a museum or something like that and not an apology to Franco like it is now.²⁵⁶

It is clear from Jesús’ testimony that he was fully aware of the polemic surrounding the Valley of the Fallen and understood both sides of the debate. However, rather than aligning himself firmly with a position that may be considered extreme, he suggested a ‘compromise.’ This would match with Jesús’ political position; he rated himself a five, neither left or right, at the beginning of the interview.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Interview with Jesús Herrero Fernández, recorded in Villalba by Brad Parker, 12 March 2019

Some of the more politically neutral interviewees did express an opinion on how they would approach the Valley of the Fallen and the exhumation of Franco. Ana offered the clearest example of this train of thought. She was against the removal of Franco from the Valley of the Fallen, citing the effort that went into the construction of the monument and the time that had elapsed as her reasoning.

I, I, I wouldn't move him. It's, it's, the Valley of the Fallen, it, it was built by him. It's a mausoleum that in the end, cost a lot of money, cost a lot of effort, so, that's it. After 50 years, move him... if they're going to put him in another place it will equally be a point of interest.²⁵⁷

Later she added, "he's not going to be put in a mass grave, like he did [to his victims]. He's going to be put in another site ... so to spend money.. .time... and the polemic now, is, erm, something that..."²⁵⁸ Although Ana stated that she was politically neutral and did not vote, her arguments seemed to match arguments that might be found in right-wing media. It is therefore likely that Ana had probably been exposed to these views through viewing right-wing television channels. This is supported by Ana stating at one point in the interview that "in my house... in my house... it's more right-wing. Yes. Not me! My.. my.. Well... my dad."²⁵⁹ Ana's historical perceptions were being influenced by a combination of both lieux de memoire and popular culture, with the debate surrounding the former acting as a catalyst to enable the Spanish Civil War to feature in everyday life.

This debate surrounding the Valley of the Fallen is paralleled in lesser-known lieux de memoire. This has created a modest disconnect between what academics study as lieux de

²⁵⁷ Interview with Ana Antón Duarte, recorded in Leganés by Brad Parker, 18 March 2019

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

memoire and what the interviewees seemed to consider important. Alfredo González-Ruibal, drawing on earlier works, states that

modern wars transform entire landscapes: from the trenches in the frontline to the internment camps and weapon factories in the rearguard, no place is spared. The material effects outlast the conflicts themselves and shape daily experiences and memories for decades.²⁶⁰

Fernando Gonzalo Mendiola writes about the extensive amount of public works created by political prisoners during the Franco dictatorship. His work reveals that forced labour battalions built a vast complex of public works, including railways, roads, airports and bridges.²⁶¹ However, these structures were not included within the examples of what they would consider lieux de memoire by the interviewees. It became clear that a site's relation to the Spanish Civil War or Francoism did not necessarily translate to that site being a lieux de memoire.

Lieux de memoire that the interviewees considered deserving of attention were ones that they encountered in more every day situations. Particularly of note were street names and the names of buildings. Throughout Spain, there are thousands of streets that bear the names of individuals who were loyal to Franco, including Nationalist military officers, political ministers, and other persons whose celebrity was a result of their allegiance to the Caudillo. In 2016 the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* published an article entitled 'Map of the 'Francoist' streets of Madrid' in which it stated that "there are a total of 148 streets, 11 avenues, 20 squares, 3 monuments, 2 institutions, 2 colleges, 2 parks and a garden (situated in the emblematic Retiro

²⁶⁰ González-Ruibal, A. (2012). From the battlefield to the labour camp: archaeology of civil war and dictatorship in Spain. *Antiquity*, 86(332), 456-473.

²⁶¹ Mendiola Gonzalo, F. (2013). Forced Labour, Public Policies, and Business Strategies During Franco's Dictatorship: An Interim Report. *Enterprise and Society*, 13(1).

Park)"²⁶² Similar observations have been made regarding other areas of Spain with locals expressing their views for and against changing offending names.²⁶³ Efforts are being made by organisations to rename such streets with more neutral monikers that do not contain political connotations and these efforts have attracted a similar controversy to the debate surrounding the possible exhumation of Franco and what the status of the Valley of the Fallen should be. It was therefore understandable that these lieux de memoire, rather than the roads, railways and bridges built by political prisoners, drew the attention of the interviewees.

In general, the interviewees thoughts on what should be done with lieux de memoire such as street names matched their thinking on the Valley of the Fallen. The interviewees who were indifferent about the Valley of the Fallen were also indifferent about changing street names. Dani expressed the opinion that the street names that fall into the category of being related to the Nationalists are often those of obscure military figures and therefore people do not immediately realise there is an issue. He told me,

well, yes, in theory [having streets named after Francoist military figures] isn't good. But, to me, so I think that the majority of people don't know who these people are, no? Are you going to read a street name and think 'ah yes' haha 'I should research who this is?' Ha. No, I'm joking. It's just that there are bigger problems in Spain than this... The monarchy, for example.²⁶⁴

Jesús was also apathetic to the subject and claimed, "street names? I know there are [some] but these don't bother me. Leave them, change them. I don't have an opinion."²⁶⁵ However,

²⁶² Pérez Amengua, E. C. (2016, February 10). Mapa de las calles 'franquistas' de Madrid. *El Mundo*.

²⁶³ El Español, .(Director), & El Español . (Producer). *¡Franco, presente! Ruta por Toledo, la provincia con más calles dedicadas al Caudillo* [Video]. Spain: El Español.

²⁶⁴ Interview with Daniel Serrano, recorded in Villalba by Brad Parker, 12 March 2019

²⁶⁵ Interview with Jesús Herrero Fernández, recorded in Villalba by Brad Parker, 12 March 2019

other interviewees expressed stronger opinions in favour of removing street names dedicated to Francoist military figures. Eva insisted the names needed changing and, when I asked her what they should be changed to, she said “I don’t know. Something pretty.” Due to the large amount of plants in Eva’s flat I suggested flowers and she replied, “yes. Yes. Flowers. Brad! What a good idea! I would like that.”²⁶⁶ Bea was perhaps more serious. Bea told me that, “there’s a street down there named for some general, some colonel.. You know? But... schools!? Did you know that in Spain there are schools with Francoist names? This to me is absurd. This should change.”²⁶⁷ These responses show that there is a wide variety of opinion on what should be done with lieux de memoire such as street and school names that act as reminders, and in some ways glorify, Francoist individuals.

Another significant aspect of lieux de memoire in the context of Spain and the memory of the Spanish Civil War is that of mass graves. The topic of mass graves is one that has been well studied by academics. Gina Hermann compares the exhumations of mass graves to documentaries stating that “they have the same goal: to uncover truths not meant to be revealed.”²⁶⁸ Hermann’s statement that these truths are “not meant to be revealed” would be supported by Partido Popular who considered the exhumations a “reopening [of] old wounds [that] would jeopardize the consensus upon which Spain’s democratic constitution depended.”²⁶⁹ Despite this, following the transition to democracy “a number of local governments controlled by the left began to exhume Republican graves” which was considered “an egregious violation of

²⁶⁶ Interview with Eva Bonilla Flares, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 27 March 2019

²⁶⁷ Interview with Beatriz Muñoz Fernández, recorded in Carabanchel by Brad Parker, 11 March 2019

²⁶⁸ Gina Herrmann, ‘Mass Graves on Spanish TV: A Tale of Two Documentaries’, in Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago, eds, *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 168-91.

²⁶⁹ Boyd, C.P. ‘The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008.

the Pact of Forgetting.”²⁷⁰ These exhumations were halted after the 1981 military rebellion and “no exhumation of Republican graves [took] place between 1981 and 2000.”²⁷¹ Furthermore, the Law of Historical Memory which was passed in 2007 “allocated limited state funds for civil society organisations to conduct exhumations. However, in 2011, a conservative government was elected and then promptly ended all funding for exhumations.”²⁷² Mass graves are therefore one facet of the ideological battle between the left and the right that exists in Spanish society. However, although the topic of exhumations remains controversial it appears that this controversy has reduced over time.

In some instances, the interviewees expressed opinions that revealed their awareness of the significance of mass graves but suggested that they did not see the issue of exhumations as controversial. When asked what he considered the most shocking fact he had learnt about the civil war or Franco era, Guille immediately replied “the most shocking? Mass graves.”²⁷³ He did not follow up this train of thought and neither Guille nor any of the other interviewees stated an opinion on whether they thought that exhumations in general should take place or not. Initially Guille’s response appears to mirror that of Renshaw’s experience speaking to the surviving children of murdered Republicans. Their meetings “were often extremely brief, publicly visible, and full of social niceties and little talk about the exhumation.”²⁷⁴ Renshaw goes on to explain that the reason for the initial lack of conversation regarding exhumations by members of the second generation was due to “a fear of being discovered.”²⁷⁵ However, fear of discussing the

²⁷⁰ Encarnación, O. ‘Reconciliation after Democratization: Coping with the Past in Spain’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 123, 3, (2008), pp. 435-459

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² Iturriaga, N. (2019). At the Foot of the Grave: Challenging Collective Memories of Violence in Post-Franco Spain. *Socius*. pg.2

²⁷³ Interview with Guillermo Lopez-Quintana Muñoz, recorded by Brad Parker in Leganés, 26 March 2019

²⁷⁴ Renshaw, L. (2011). *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality, and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War*. Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press. pg.77

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pg.77

matter does not seem to be the case with the third generation. It is more likely that weakened familial links, in that the third generation would know less of their lost relatives than the second generation, meant that the interviewees had less of an emotional attachment to the victims.

The generational divide and lack of emotional attachment factored into the interviewees' approach to discussing mass graves. This was highlighted by Ángela when she mentioned her great uncle being in an unknown mass grave whilst recounting her grandmother's stories about bombs falling in their village. She explained how

my grandma told me that bombs fell in the village and that they were very young when the civil war started. Her brother, my grandma's brother, went at 16 years... 18 years old, to Barcelona because there was a... siege or something... And.. after a bit of time they sent his belongings, her brother's things. His watch and his identity, to the family... not much time had passed... because they'd killed him and they never found his body. He's in a mass grave there. But they never found his body.

I asked Ángela if it bothered her to talk about this topic and she continued,

No... and obviously... he was like the oldest of the brothers. The second oldest because she had a lot of brothers. And she was a girl so it was him that had to go to war with the Republican side. And they killed him. I think... and what's worse is they never found the body, you know? Because the family believed... hoped, that's to say, he's not dead, he's escaped... but nothing. He's dead. But what surprised me is that bombs fell in the village... that is interesting...

Ángela finding the topic of falling bombs more interesting than mass graves suggests that the latter had a reduced significance in the minds of the third generation compared to previous generations. This is understandable given that the third generation would not have direct memory of family members who were buried in them. This is evidenced by Ángela's lack of knowledge regarding details such as her great uncle's age or whether he was the oldest of the siblings. It is possible that the finding and exhumation of Ángela's uncle's mass grave would have offered comfort to Ángela's grandmother, but to Ángela it was nothing more than a curiosity less interesting than falling bombs. This testimony also supports the findings of Jay Winter, who has noted that the significance of lieux de memoire fades away.²⁷⁶ Any grave created for Ángela's great uncle would be a war memorial and as Winter puts it "all war memorials have a 'shelf-life,' a bounded period of time in which their meaning relates to the concerns of a particular group of people who created them or who use or appropriate them as ceremonial or reflective sites of memory."²⁷⁷ In the case of Ángela's great-uncle, enough time had passed that he was a much more abstract individual than he would have been to her grandma and thus his grave had a shelf-life that was already expiring.

Despite this, there are members of the third generation who are actively involved in campaigns to conduct exhumations. Anderson tells us that "large voluntary movements such as the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory, with strong support bases among the grandchildren of the victims, continue to evolve and take the initiative in exhuming graves."²⁷⁸ This reminds us of Aguilar and Ramírez-Barat's argument that the third generation is not

²⁷⁶ Winter, J. (2006). *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. ProQuest Ebook Central pg.140

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pg.140

²⁷⁸ Anderson, P. (2011). In the Name of the Martyrs: Memory and Retribution in Francoist Southern Spain, 1936-45. *Cultural and Social History*, 8(3), 355-370. pg.356

heterogenous.²⁷⁹ Although there are members of the post-transition generation that are passionate enough about the topic of mass graves to actively engage with exhumations, this was not represented within the group of interviewees spoken to as part of this research. However, given the left-wing leanings of a majority of the interviewees and their appreciation for human rights, it is assessed as probable that they would be inclined to join in with local exhumation initiatives should they be introduced to them. This would fit with the conclusion that the national debate regarding certain lieux de memoire is a primary driver in elevating some places over others.

The overarching theme of this chapter has been that the national debate surrounding the exhumation of Franco has driven the importance of lieux de memoire as a vector of memory. This was especially evident in the case of the Valley of the Fallen itself. The debates regarding what should be done with the monument seem to have stimulated a number of different opinions amongst the interviewees, with the most common one being that it should be removed. However, on the other hand a notable minority of interviewees believed that the Valley of the Fallen should be left as it is. The debates regarding Franco-era lieux de memoire and what to do with them extended to lesser-known places such as street names. The testimonies of interviewees such as Dani and Jesús suggested renaming initiatives were misplaced and inconsequential. Offering counterviews were Eva and Bea who thought that Francoist names were “absurd” and should be removed from lieux de memoire. Here it is assessed that the tangible effects that renaming them would have on the interviewees’ lives made them more relevant than some lieux de memoire that have been studied by academics. Finally this chapter considered the topic of mass graves. As lieux de memoire and vectors of memory, mass graves

²⁷⁹ Aguilar, P., & Ramírez-Barat, C. (2019). Generational Dynamics in Spain: Memory Transmission of a Turbulent Past. *Memory Studies*, 12(2), 213-229.

featured heavily in the transition to democracy. However, despite interviewees still finding the existence of mass graves shocking, some members of the third generation find other elements of the civil war more interesting.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to map out the myriad ways in which the post-Franco generation formed their historical perceptions of the Spanish Civil War and Franco-era. Its scope was extensive, but by sorting vectors of memory into groups and examining each group in turn it was possible to come to some conclusions regarding how the formation of historical perceptions tends to play out amongst segments of the post-Franco generation. Education as a vector of memory had a limited impact on the interviewees' historical perceptions. This was despite the ideological conflict between left and right-wing ideologies manifesting itself in a number of ways within the spheres of education and academia. Attempts by politicians to insert their party's perceptions into the curriculum manifested as 'History Wars.' However, these political biases in textbooks were not as evident to the interviewees as may have been expected. Far more important was the approach that teachers took to addressing the topics of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism when they arose in the curriculum. Teachers that challenged the Franco-era narrative were memorable to the interviewees and provoked the consideration of different perspectives. The ideological conflict over the Spanish Civil War extended to perceptions of universities, which right-wing Pedro considered to be hotbeds of left-wing indoctrination. Pedro had not been to university and his assertions were contested by other interviewees who had completed higher education. These interviewees told me that politics and history were not commonly discussed during their further education. This led to a general consensus amongst the interviewees that education as a vector of memory was not all that informative or useful in shaping their historical perceptions. The interviewees who did rate education as useful had context-specific reasons for doing so.

Popular culture as a vector of memory was the most dependent on generation. In terms of television, an academic consensus that documentaries are a highly influential source of information about the Spanish Civil War and Franco era was contested by the interviewees. Although earlier generations may have appreciated and learned from documentaries, the third generation found satirical news-entertainment programmes of much more interest. The political nature of television channels such as La Sexta was mentioned by a number of interviewees and Ángela offered an anecdote about a specific programme she had watched. In contrast, not a single interviewee was able to name a documentary relating to the civil war or Francoism. These generational differences were evident in other realms of popular culture too. The interviewees were dismissive of older films that depicted Francoism, but showed an interest in modern films. However, these modern films failed to significantly impact historical perceptions due to the subtlety of the messaging they contained. On the other hand, music had intergenerational continuities in the form of censorship and the interviewees found the Franco-era ditties of their parents' era more pertinent to their historical perceptions. Finally, print media was dismissed by the third generation due to issues such as bias in newspapers or their lack of interest in academic books.

Personal relations as a vector of memory was both the most influential and politically charged. Young Spaniards were often able to presuppose the historical perceptions of their friends from knowing their current political leanings. They were able to do this due to the many political continuities that transversed the transition. Interviewees recognised these continuities and Nestor deemed the transition "make-up and a change of name." Therefore, when conversations about the past occurred the discussions were unavoidably political in nature. The exception to this rule was when the interviewees were children and listened to familial stories

about the civil war. These stories were formative in the shaping of the interviewees' historical perceptions. As the interviewees got older the conversations about the past inevitably became tempered by their own politics. The human rights culture that has emerged in Spain since the transition meant that the tempering often precipitated a leftward shift in the interviewees' perceptions. A comparison between the speed of Raquel and Eva's leftward shifts suggested that there is also a generational aspect to this process.

Lieux de memoire as vectors of memory exist at the intersection between heritage and identity. The arguments regarding the exhumation of Franco from the Valley of the Fallen and Republican victims from mass graves keeps lieux de memoire relevant. This war of words, centred around the left versus right ideological conflict, meant that the interviewees gave a variety of responses regarding what should be done. Some interviewees agreed with the exhumation of Franco and expressed a desire to see the Valley of the Fallen demolished. Conversely, other interviewees believed that the status quo should be maintained. The variety of opinions regarding the fate of the Valley of the Fallen extended to other lieux de memoire such as street names. Additionally, aspects of lieux de memoire such as the religious element to the Valley of the Fallen, further reinforced the link between past and present in the minds of the interviewees and reminded them who Franco's supporters were during his rule. Lastly, despite mass graves being shocking to the interviewees, their controversial nature has diminished somewhat since the transition. Although exhumations remain a worthwhile endeavour that some members of the third generation partake in, the individuals in this sample failed to express an interest in such initiatives.

This study has analysed a large selection of vectors of memory and their role in shaping the interviewees' perceptions of the Spanish Civil War and Franco era. It argues that in much the same way that memory of the civil war played a role in shaping the transition to democracy, memory of the conflict still plays a significant role in Spanish life today. Although not all forms of memory transmission were recognised or valued by every interviewee, each vector of memory was valued by at least one of the respondents. However, cumulatively the interviewees' responses suggested that the most significant influence on the third generation's historical perceptions were intergenerational familial stories. These familial stories were told when the interviewees were young and as they matured their views were moderated by the influence of popular culture. Specifically, elements of popular culture such as satirical news-entertainment were recollected by the interviewees who were able to explain the significance of such programming. This stands in contrast to the focus of academics, who have focused on documentaries and other forms of popular culture of more relevance to the second generation rather than the third generation. Education largely failed to instigate discussion of the past, whereas debates surrounding lieux de memoire meant that issues such as the renaming of streets or the fate of the Valley of the Fallen increased their prominence as vectors of memory. As the shelf-life of lieux de memoire expires, future historians may have to ensure their focus remains on elements of popular culture that matter to the third generation.

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APPENDIX A: THE INTERVIEWEES

The following is a list of the interviewees and their relevant personal information.

Alba de la Rica: Alba was 26 years old at the time of her interview. She is from Madrid and still resides and works in Madrid as a French and English teacher. Alba describes herself as left-wing. Alba considers herself working-class and “comfortable.”

Alberto Candeira Corón: Alberto was 28 at the time of his interview. He is from Leganés and says he's spent all his life in Leganés. Alberto was unemployed at the time of interview and considers himself working class. Alberto describes himself as politically neutral.

Ana Antón Duarte: Ana was 34 years old at the time of her interview. She is from Madrid and lives in Leganés. Ana works in a financial administration role offering financial support to clients. Ana expressed little interest in politics and stated she is neither left nor right-wing.

Ángela Jurado Acarcón: Ángela was 25 years old at the time of her interview. She works in retail at a shopping centre on the outskirts of Móstoles, but she commutes from Leganés where she currently lives. Ángela comes from El Provencio, Cuenca, and describes her politics as left-wing.

Beatriz Muñoz Fernández: Bea was 34 years old at the time of her interview. She works as a sales assistant in a shopping centre next to the river in Madrid. She has spent most of her life living in the Aluche area of the capital, but also told me that she spent a bit of time living in

Andalusia. Bea's politics lean to the left. Bea describes her and her partner Sergio as "middle class."

Carmen Urbano Cambronero: Carmen was 19 at the time of her interview. She is a university student and lives with her mother and step-father on the edge of Casa de Campo, near Bataan metro station, in Madrid. She positions herself as left wing and describes attending political marches.

César García Muñoz: César was 27 at the time of interview. He was born in Madrid but has spent his whole life living in Collado Villalba where he lives with his family. César is employed as a machine technician in a factory. Politically César leans slightly right-wing.

Daniel Serrano: Daniel was 26 at the time of his interview. He was unemployed at the time of his interview, but previously worked in Atletico Madrid's museum at the Vicente Calderon. He is from Collado Villalba where he is currently living with his father, but has previously lived in the Extremadura neighbourhood of Madrid. He describes himself as left wing.

Eva Bonilla Flares: Eva was 24 at the time of her interview. She works as a carer for adults with learning disabilities at a care home in Leganés and lives nearby. Eva grew up in the town of El Provencio, Cuenca, and has also spent time living in Valencia. Eva is left wing.

Guillermo Lopez-Quintana Muñoz: Guille was 25 at the time of his interview. He is from Leganés and works for a company called Planesqui organising skiing trips. Guille is from Leganés and,

although he's spent time studying abroad in Paris, currently lives in his childhood home. Guille is very left-wing and describes himself as middle class.

Jesús Herrero Fernández: Jesús was 27 at the time of the interview. He currently lives in Collado Villalba, a town on the outskirts of Madrid. Jesús' is the owner of an orchard and plans to sell fruit in the future. Jesús stated that he was politically neutral, rating his political ideology as five in the quantitative part of the interview.

Laura Plata Casares: Laura was not a scheduled interviewee and, having joined her husband Nestor's interview late, did not have details regarding her age and employment collected at the beginning of the interview. Laura lives with Nestor in Madrid. The qualitative part of the interview revealed her to be left-wing.

Luis Montaño Muñoz: Luis was 25 at the time of his interview. He was born in Cáceres, Extremadura, but currently lives near Alto de Extremadura Metro in Madrid. Luis works as the social media representative for his cousin's phone accessory shop. Luis considers himself as very slightly left-wing. Luis describes himself as middle class.

Nestor Camacho Fernandez: Nestor was 32 at the time of the interview. He lives in Leganés with his pregnant wife Laura who joined us later in the interview. Nestor was born in Madrid and works as a carer in a residence for adults with mental health issues. Nestor rated himself as left-wing as was possible and rated himself working class.

Pedro José Bouilla Osma: Pedro was 28 at the time of interview. He lives and works in El Provencio, where he has spent all of his life. Pedro works as a builder but also helps out on his family's land in his hometown. He rated himself as far-right in terms of political ideology. This is the most right-wing possible, making Pedro the most right-wing of the interviewees.

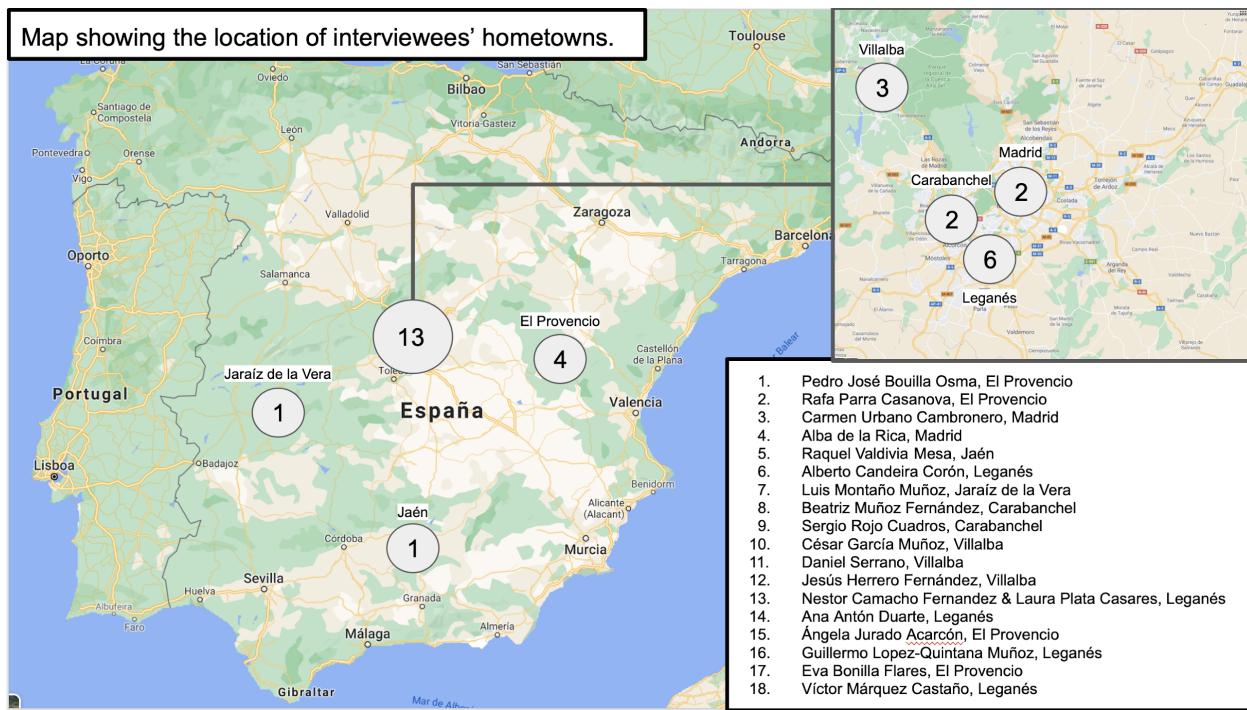
Rafa Parra Casanova: Rafa was 28 at the time of his interview. He comes from El Provencio and lives in the town of Las Pedroñeras nearby. His current job is as a warehouse operative. Rafa rated himself as very left-wing in terms of his political ideology.

Raquel Valdivia Mesa: Raquel was 45 at the time of her interview. She was the oldest interviewee. Raquel comes from Jaén and was previously a nun. She is now working as a primary school teacher in Carabanchel and living nearby. Raquel describes herself as right-leaning politically, but says her views have shifted left over the years.

Sergio Rojo Cuadros: Sergio was 31 years old at the time of his interview. Sergio lives in the Aluche area of Madrid with his partner Bea who was also interviewed as part of this research. He comes from Madrid and has always lived in Madrid and its "alrededores" ("surroundings"). Sergio was working as an Analyst Developer at the time of interview. He describes his politics as left wing stating "rojo como mi nombre" ("red like my name"). His partner Bea describes them as "middle class."

Víctor Márquez Castaño: Victor was 26 at the time of his interview. Victor is both studying and working as a mobility consultant/engineer. He is from Leganés and still lives there with his parents. Victor rated himself as very left-wing politically.

APPENDIX B: THE INTERVIEWEES' HOMETOWNS



Carabanchel: Sergio and Bea lived in Carabanchel. Carabanchel is a neighbourhood of Madrid with a population of around 250,000. It is a diverse area home to many immigrants.²⁸⁰

El Provençio: Eva, Ángela, Pedro, and Rafa came from El Provençio. El Provençio is a small town in the west of Spain. It is home to a largely homogenous population of roughly 2,500.

Jaén: Raquel came from Jaén in the south of Spain. Its population is slightly over 100,000.²⁸¹

Jaraíz de la Vera: Luis came Jaraíz de la Vera in the west of Spain. The population of Jaraíz is approximately 6,500.²⁸² In 2019 over 60% of the electorate voted for PP.²⁸³

Leganés: Alberto, Nestor and Laura, Ana, Guille, and Víctor came from Leganés. Leganés has seen rapid growth since the transition and now has a population of nearly 200,000.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Ayuntamiento de Madrid. (2014). *Carabanchel*. Portal web del Ayuntamiento de Madrid.

²⁸¹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística (España). (2020). *Demografía y población*. INE - Instituto Nacional de Estadística (España).

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ Ministerio del Interior de España. (2011). *Resultados electorales*. Ministerio del Interior de España

²⁸⁴ Ayuntamiento de Leganés. (2015). *Áreas Municipales*. Leganés Ayuntamiento.

Madrid: Carmen and Alba came from Madrid. Madrid is the capital of Spain and has a population of 3,312,958. The current mayor, elected in 2019, is a member of PP.²⁸⁵

Villalba: Dani, Jesús and César came from Villalba. Villalba is a town on the outskirts of Madrid located near to the Valley of the Fallen. It has a population of around 63,000.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Ayuntamiento de Madrid. (2019). *Alcaldía*. Portal web del Ayuntamiento de Madrid.

²⁸⁶ Ayuntamiento ColladoVillalba. (2011). *Ayuntamiento: Datos estadísticos*. ColladoVillalba Ayuntamiento.

APPENDIX C: QUANTITATIVE ANSWERS

Name	Left/Right	Friends & family	Newspapers	Fiction books	Songs/radio	Television	School/university	Monuments	Own research	Male/Female
Alba	3 (Left)	7	1	2	4	6	8	3	9	F
Alberto	5/6 (Centre, NP)	3.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5.5	M
Ana	5 (Centre, NP)	7	5	0.5	4	6.5	4	6	3	F
Angela	2/3 (Very left)	8	2	1	7	8	3	7	8.5	F
Bea	3/4 (Left leaning)	3.5	1	1	1	1	3	1	4.5	F
Carmen	3 (Left)	10	1	6	5	9	8.5	5	8	F
Cesar	4 (Left leaning)	6	7	1	3	4	3	5	5	M
Dani	2 (Very left)	7	6	3	2	7	5	4	9	M
Eva	3 (Left)	8	8	1	8	7	6.5	4	8	F
Guille	2 (Very Left)	8	3	2	7	9	7	4	7	M
Jesus	5 (Centre)	6	2	2	2	4	5	2	2	M
Luis	5/4 (Centre/left)	3.5	2	1	2	6	9	2	2	M
Nestor/Laura	1 (Far left)	6.5	3	3	9	9.5	3	4.5	8.5	M/F
Pedro	10 (Far right)	5	1	1	1	3	1	3	6	M
Rafa	1 (Far left)	8	5	2	9	7	0.5	1	6.5	M
Raquel	6 (Right leaning)	7.5	4	1	3	5	3.5	5.5	6	F
Sergio	3 (Left)	8	3	0.5	5	7	6	7	5	M
Victor	2 (Very left)	1	4	1	3	4	1	10	8	M
Cumulative Score		113.5	59	30	76	104	78	75	111.5	

The above table shows the quantitative values that the interviewees assigned to different vectors of memory. These numbers were used to inform the qualitative section of the conversation and provide structure to the interview.