

The 1-O that recalled Franco:
The Civil War and Dictatorship in Parties'
accounts of the 2017 'Catalan crisis'

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Abstract

The Catalan Independence referendum in 2017 (1-O), and the events following it, launched a political crisis unparalleled to anything in Spain during the last decades. The relationship between the central state and Catalonia is affected by interpretations and recollections of past events: the past motivates action, evaluates them, and outlines the collective the recaller belongs to. Collective memory can significantly complicate conflict resolution.

To understand the complex link between memory and conflict, this study examines how the memory of the Civil War and Franco was present in regional politicians' statements from the time. In total 622 online articles from 2017 were collected from the six regional parties, covering campaigning before the referendum, declaration of independence, and the regional elections.

The interpretations of current issues mimic collective memories, leaning on their assumptions. The recollections of independentists were more detailed, focusing on the Second Republic, the Civil War, Franco, and memory politics. Constitutionalist directed the attention towards Basque nationalism and the coup of 23-F, praising the transition. Both nations were defined using memory, and all accuse the opponents of being Francoist. The main distinction lies in how connected the current Spanish state is to its Francoist past, and what today's independentists and Basque nationalists have in common.

About the author

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Keywords

Collective memory, Catalan crisis, Catalan independence movement, Franco, the Spanish Civil War, memory in conflicts, frame analysis

1. Introduction

The Catalan Independence referendum and the conflict between Catalonia and the central Spanish state over the vote have been dubbed as the “worst political crisis Spain has seen in decades”,¹ drawing comparisons to Spain’s failed military coup of 1981,² known as the 23-F. The question about Catalonia has been central in Spanish and Catalan politics since 1979 when the region’s autonomy was restored after almost 40 years of Francisco Franco’s dictatorship.³

On the 1st of October 2017 the Government of Catalonia, known as the Generalitat de Catalunya, organised a referendum on the independence of Catalonia’s autonomous community. The Spanish Constitutional Court had deemed the referendum illegal, and Spain’s central government sent Civil Guards (Spanish National Police) to prevent the voting. Boxes and paper ballots were captured, polling places smashed and closed, and rubber bullets, forbidden in Catalonia, fired. Nearly 900 people were injured. The referendum day is known as 1-O, named after its date.

Following a general strike and demonstrations, Carles Puigdemont, then President of the Generalitat, declared independence on the 27th of October. The Spanish government activated article 155 of the Constitution for the first time and suspended the autonomous government of Catalonia. After taking on direct rule, the Prime Minister and leader of the right-wing Popular Party (PP) Mariano Rajoy announced new Catalan elections for the 21st of December (21-D).

Parallels were instantly drawn between the events and Spain’s past of civil war and dictatorship. Even before the referendum, the independentists and pro-referendum protesters used anti-fascist slogans and chanted anti-Francoist resistance songs.⁴ Several extreme right associations reacted too, protesting with fascist salutes and flags of Franco’s Falange party, to defend the unity of Spain.⁵ Those against independence, referred to

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- 1 John, T. (2017, 25 September). What to Know About the Catalan Independence Referendum. *Time*. Retrieved from <https://time.com/4951665/catalan-referendum-2017/>.
 - 2 BBC. (2019, 14 October). Catalonia Crisis in 300 words. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41584864>.
 - 3 Caño, A. (2018, 21 May). The crisis of the Spanish system. *El Pais*. Retrieved from https://english.elpais.com/elpais/2018/05/21/inenglish/1526921032_857532.html.
 - 4 Dowling, A. (2018). *The Rise of Catalan Independence: Spain’s Territorial Crisis*. London: Routledge. p. 23
 - 5 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020). Postfascism in Spain: The Struggle for Catalonia. *Critical Sociology* 2020, 46(4–5), 761–776. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920519867132>.
 - 6 Croft, A. (2017, 11 October). From kitchen to soccer pitch, Catalonia crisis opens old Spanish wounds. Reuters. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/spain-politics-catalonia-split-family/from-kitchen-to-soccer-pitch-catalonia-crisis-opens-old-spanish-wounds-idINKBN1CF31X>.
 - 7 Camps-Gaset, M. (2019). Thinking about the Political Situation in Catalonia. *IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies*, 4(1), 27–37. <https://doi.org/10.22492/ijcs.4.1.03>.

here as constitutionalists, accused the independentists of a coup d'état.⁶ Pablo Casado, PP's spokesman, threatened President Puigdemont with the destiny of the Civil War time President of the Generalitat Lluís Companys, who was executed by Franco's firing squad.⁷ An independentist party, Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (CUP), tweeted in response: "Thanks for being so Franco, Pablo Casado".⁸

The question about Catalonia carries past grievances on its shoulders not only due to their direct effects, but also due to how they are remembered and felt collectively. Andrew Dowling suggests that the growth in the support for Catalan Nationalism is fuelled by wounds of historical memory,⁹ and Kathryn Crameri found that Catalonia's past is constantly present in the independence debate.¹⁰ It is not uncommon that during conflicts debates over memories surface. However, the connection between memory and conflict is not straightforward, as varying and contesting collective memories belong in peace too. Therefore, better knowledge of the deployment of collective memory can aid in conflict resolution¹¹.

The strong linkages of the events in 2017 to remembering and the past have been revealed when it comes to activists,¹² the digital press,¹³ and the context of postfascism¹⁴. However, there has not yet been more focused analysis of how – and which – collective memories surfaced and were used as the situation unfolded, concurrently, by different politicians, prompted by the different events and interests of the crisis, as people were encouraged to vote (or not) in the referendum and the elections. Catalan politicians inside the Parliament of Catalonia and the Generalitat were central actors in the development of the crisis, and the referendum and regional elections hold significant importance in the conflict.

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- 6 Wagner, P. (2018). Towards a conceptual history of the present: Democracy, rights, and freedom in the recent Catalan conflict. *Social Science Information*, 57(4), 588–615. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018418818399>.
 - 7 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020).
 - 8 Croft, A. (2017, 11 October).
 - 9 Dowling, A. (2018). p. 5
 - 10 Crameri, K. (2014). *'Goodbye, Spain?': The Question of Independence for Catalonia*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=1712150>. p. 73
 - 11 Liu, J. H. & Hilton, D. J. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(4), 537–556. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605X27162>.
 - 12 Ibáñez Beltrán, M. (2018). Triggering the Paradox of Repression – A reflection on the outcomes of transformative events and framing strategies in Catalonia (Master's thesis, Utrecht University). Retrieved from <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/368786>.
 - 13 Wagner, P. (2018).
 - 14 Heras Pedrosa, C., Jambrino Maldonado, C., Iglesias Sánchez, P. P., & Millán Celis, E. (2020). Populism and Independence Movements in Europe: The Catalan-Spanish Case. *Social Sciences*, 9(4), 35. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9040035>.
 - 14 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020). Postfascism in Spain: The Struggle for Catalonia. *Critical Sociology* 2020, 46(4–5), 761–776. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920519867132>.

Therefore, the overall aim of this article is to explore this complex relationship between memories and the contemporary conflict by describing how the memory of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and Franco’s dictatorship (1939–1975) is present in the online publications of Catalan political parties during the events between September and December of 2017, and how this differs between and within the conflicting groups, defined here as the independentist parties, the constitutionalist party, and the pro-referendum parties.

2. Collective memory

Collective memory is a force to be reckoned with in the field of peace and conflict. It allows a sense of sameness across time and space, unifying and mobilizing a community by developing and sustaining a common collective identity through remembering and forgetting.¹⁵ On the other hand, conflicting memories can start and further strengthen long-term conflicts by connecting grievances, both past and present, as the conflict develops.¹⁶

The concept of collective memory has its origins in the 1920s when Maurice Halbwachs coined the term, describing it as “typically... understood to express some eternal or essential truth about the group – usually tragic.” It is an account covering the shared past, experienced or not by the living collective, which concerns more the current challenges faced.¹⁷ However, collective remembering has been discussed already in the nineteenth century.¹⁸ There are few agreements on what it exactly is, leaving it as “a form of memory that transcends individuals and is shared by a group.”¹⁹ James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger III approach the critique and ambiguity of collective memory by comparing first collective memory and collective remembering, then individual memory and collective memory, and finally history and collective remembering. The resulting sharpened understanding of collective memory is examined in the context of the crisis.

Today’s concerns, needs, beliefs and goals inform which remembrances are selected.²⁰ Memory is a product of active selective remembering and forgetting, which support the present identities and explain the group’s existence, implying a certain future.²¹ The past

15 Naidu, E. (2006). The Ties that Bind: Strengthening the links between memorialisation and transitional justice. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*, Transitional Justice Programme Research Brief, August. Retrieved from <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/104776/tiesthatbind.pdf>.

16 Tint, B. (2010). History, Memory, and Intractable Conflict. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 27(3) 239–256. <https://doi.org/10.1002/crq.258>.

17 MacMillan, M. (2008). The Uses and Abuses of History. Toronto: Penguin Group. *Who Owns the Past?* para. 23

18 Renan, E. (1990). What Is a Nation? In H. K. Bhabha (Ed.) *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge. (Original work published 1882).

19 Wertsch, J. V. & Roediger III, H. L. (2008). Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches. *Memory*, 16(3), 318–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>. p. 318

20 Tint, B. (2010).

21 Boyd, C. (2008). The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617, 133–148. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/25098018.

therefore cumulatively determines one's existence today and functions as signposts for actions tomorrow. Despite being conservative in nature, it is not static, but reconstructed, evolving, and contested.

Instead of one collective memory there are several competing narratives. Through an emotional and mobilizing narrative, visual and verbal aids, institutions of learning, the circulation of mass media, sites, monuments, and periodically reactivated commemoration rites, a fleeting social recollection is turned into a more durable collective memory.²² In addition to speech, representations, and utterances, there are overt and covert silences, which can enhance both memory and amnesia. Silences can commemorate or aim towards forgetting, and be absences of speech or formed by bland or cacophonous talk.²³ Therefore expression does not always equal reminding and recalling.

The 'collective' in collective memory and a group's ability to have a memory have been heavily disputed. Carolyn Boyd argues against the word 'collective' in collective memory, as to her memory outside of the individual realm is "a metaphor for mediated knowledge of past events."²⁴ Aleida Assman presents Susan Sontag's similar critique: all memory is individual, unreproducible.²⁵ However, akin to remembering a collective memory, individual remembering too is a process of continuous reinscription and reconstruction.²⁶ Moreover, Michael Schudson argued that there is no other memory but collective, social memory, since the remembering individuals are evidently socially situated.²⁷

The difference between individual and collective remembering, according to Wertsch and Roediger III, is the generation of the narration: in individual remembering, it is done by the individual, but in collective remembering, the narrative tools are shared with the members.²⁸ Individual memories can be tied together and moulded into a collective memory and a political force in a setting of a social movement, simultaneously connecting individuals.²⁹ Collectively remembered memories enhance collective feelings of fear and anger, and these, with the memories, are passed from one generation to another.³⁰

22 Assman, A. (2008). Transformations between History and Memory. *Social Research*, 75(1), 39–73. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40972052>.

23 Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. & Teeger, C. (2010). Unpacking the Unspoken: Silence in Collective Memory and Forgetting. *Social Forces*, 88(3) 1103–1122. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.0.0290>.

24 Boyd, C. (2008). p. 134

25 Assman, A. (2008).

Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

26 Assman, A. (2008).

27 Schudson, M. (1995). Dynamics of distortion in collective memory. In D. Schacter (Ed.), *Memory distortion: How minds, brains, and societies reconstruct the past* (346–364). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. p. 346

28 Wertsch, J. V. & Roediger III, H. L. (2008).

29 Eyerman, R. (2004). Cultural trauma. Slavery and the formation of the African American identity. In J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, & P. Sztompka (Eds.), *Cultural trauma and collective identity* (54–105). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. p. 69

30 Tint, B. (2010).

Is memory not simply history, an account of the past, shared, expressed, challenged within a group? History's ability to achieve genuine objectivity in its representations of the past has also been thoroughly questioned.³¹ Like collective memory that is frequently evolving under political and cultural pressures, present-day interest and challenges inform the focuses and perspectives of historiography, and history is challenged, as any science should be. At times, the words history and memory are used interchangeably.³²

Assman argues that both history and memory are forms of memory, but memory is an embodied one, owned and emotional, and history is a disembodied and separated one. Memory is linked to the identity of an individual, a group or an institution, stressing differences, but history is disconnected from those, providing a universal frame.³³ History does not necessarily achieve this, but it is at least critical and reflective, aware of ambiguity, whereas collective memory is not self-conscious.³⁴

Moreover, collective memory denies the "pastness" of the matters that occurred, meaning that the past is not understood as gone but present, part of the current, often the eternal or essential truth about the group.³⁵ Memories can have prophecy-like qualities and might even claim a predetermined end: the suffering is followed by the inevitable paradise of, for example, democracy, modernity, and equality.³⁶ History's account of the past might be motivated by the attempt to explain the conditions of today or forecast and solve a future problem, but the separation remains.³⁷

Collective memory can be colourful and rich, but it is always simplified, selective by its nature. The commemorated and used images and events are selected – or left unselected – from history on purpose.³⁸ Because history aims at accuracy, it revises existing narratives with new evidence and recognizes complexity.³⁹ History can be debunked, but memory cannot. For history, forgetting equals historical error, but for memory, active forgetting is vital.⁴⁰

31 e.g. Mink, L. O. (1978). Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument. In R.H. Canary & H. Kozicki (Eds.), *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding* (129–149). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

White, H. (1981). The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality. In W.J.T. Mitchell (Ed.), *On Narrative* (1–23). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

32 Boyd, C. (2008).

33 Assman, A. (2008). p. 61

34 Wertsch, J. V. (2008). Collective Memory and Narrative Templates. *Social Research*, 75(1), 133–156. Retrieved from <https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.tuni.fi/docview/209672305/abstract/F8782449B00E4BA1PQ/1?accountid=14242>.

35 Novick, P. (1988). *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511816345>. p. 3

36 MacMillan, M. (2008). *History and Identity*, para. 11

37 Wertsch, J. V. (2008). p. 150

38 Tint, B. (2010).

39 Wertsch, J. V. & Roediger III, H. L. (2008).

40 Assman, A. (2008). p. 61

3. The Catalan context

The Spanish Civil War is “the past that has not passed away”.⁴¹ Helen Graham argues that the violence of its originating strategy is still “live” inside the polity and society of 21st century Spain.⁴² The constitutional polity accommodates many of the most harmful outcomes of the dictatorship and the Civil War, which continue to take their toll.⁴³ This legacy, the related memory politics, and their links to Catalan independentism are examined in this section.

Collective remembering facilitates the development and contestation of an identity.⁴⁴ The link works both ways: the remembering of a memory happens due to the membership. Identity and memory, therefore, inform each other.⁴⁵ For example, Benedict Anderson famously defined nations as imagined unities: the members cannot be all present and united in one place and time, hence they need to imagine their collective-ness.⁴⁶ A nation is an example of a collective that is brought into being using these both selective and forgetting collective memories.⁴⁷ Such a large group has an existential need to nourish, sustain, and justify the group identity, and this can be done with narrations.⁴⁸ The events, heroes, and symbols from the past are used to support the constitution and integration of the nation.⁴⁹

One of the most important legacies of Franco’s regime is the problematic attitude towards Spanish national identity.⁵⁰ Paloma Aguilar and Carsten Humlebæk found that attempts at a national discourse face many negative connotations, rooted in Franco’s dictatorship. Peripheral nationalists – such as the Catalan, Basque and Galician – argue that Spain is a political structure of various nations.⁵¹ Catalanism sees Spain as a historically imposed

41 Graham, H. (2012). *War and Its Shadow: Spain’s Civil War in Europe’s Long Twentieth Century*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=1340866>. p. 11

42 Graham, H. (2012). p. 23

43 Graham, H. (2012). p. 125

44 Wertsch, J. V. & Roediger III, H. L. (2008).

45 Tint, B. (2010).

46 Anderson, B. (2006/1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.01609>.

47 MacMillan, M. (2008). *History and Nationalism*, para. 2

48 Volkan, V. (2001). Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity. *Group Analysis*, 34(1), 79–97. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/247735625_Transgenerational_Transmissions_and_Chosen_Traumas_An_Aspect_of_Large-Group_Identity.

49 Gershoni, I. (1992). Imagining and Reimagining the Past: The Use of History by Egyptian Nationalist Writers, 1919–1952. *History and Memory*, 4(2), 5–37. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25618633>.

50 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish emocracy: The Legacies of Francoism and the Civil War. *History and Memory*, 14(1–2) Special Issue: Images of a Contested Past (Spring–Winter 2002), 121–164. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/his.2002.14.1-2.121>. p. 122

51 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). p. 133

national unity, imposed by an absolutist monarchy,⁵² and the Catalan independence movement frames itself as an anti-nationalist movement “against the explicitly nationalist-authoritarianism of the Spanish state”.⁵³ The Civil War was to resolve the conflict about different conceptions of Spain and the role of national diversity within it, the outcome being Spanish nationalism and Franco’s victory.⁵⁴ Anti-Catalanism, Catalanophobia, has even been claimed as one of the key causes of the Spanish Civil War.⁵⁵

Today, Spanish nationalism is still strongly associated with authoritarianism and dictatorship.⁵⁶ Dowling explains that this facilitated the legitimization of the Basque and Catalan movements after Franco’s death, as they were associated with democracy and modernity, and suggests that the dictatorships of Miguel Primo de Rivera (before the Second Republic, 1923–1930) and Francisco Franco (following the Civil War, 1939–1975) resulted in the de-legitimation the Spanish project of centralised nation-making.⁵⁷ However, one can also argue that one of their lasting legacies is its strengthening and persistence.

Franco’s regime, owing to its longevity, had a unique opportunity to create and develop its own record of the events before, during and after the war.⁵⁸ The Civil War was officially and publicly remembered as a ‘total victory’ over the erring and guilty defeated *rojos*, reds, whose memory survived in secrecy in the memory regime’s gaps, limited to the clandestine and private domains.⁵⁹ During the latter half of Franco’s regime, a new, contesting discourse of ‘collective error and shared guilt’ grew in volume, putting the blame of the terrors equally and collectively on both sides of the conflict, promoting reconciliation and the rhetoric of ‘never again’.⁶⁰ The ‘never again’ has since achieved the position of the most significant lesson attached to the war.⁶¹

The mobilising effect of memory is often used by politicians, who influence and represent collective memory with their statements.⁶² However, thorough historical enquiry reveals

52 León Solís, F. (2003). *Negotiating Spain and Catalonia competing narratives of national identity*. Portland, OR: Intellect Books. Retrieved from <http://libproxy.tuni.fi/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=cookie,ip,uid&db=e000xww&AN=99917&site=ehost-live&scope=site>. p. 13

53 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020). p. 774

54 Dowling, A. (2012). *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=1188308>. p. 3

55 Crameri, K. (2014). p. 70

56 Dowling, A. (2018). p. 24

57 Dowling, A. (2018). p. 24

58 Graham, H. (2012). p. 127

59 Sánchez León, P. (2012). Overcoming the Violent Past in Spain, 1939–2009. *European Review*, 20(4), 492–504. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798712000063>

60 Sánchez León, P. (2012).

61 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002).

62 Verovšek, P. J. (2016). Collective memory, politics, and the influence of the past: the politics of memory as a research paradigm. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 4(3), 529–543. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2016.1167094>.

violence and brutality, which in turn affects the unity.⁶³ Forgetting, again, is elemental. Renan argues that a nation's essence is not its past of a dynasty resulting from an accepted but forgotten conquest, but its members having a lot in common, and a lot that they have forgotten.⁶⁴ In Spain the silence around certain issues, victims, and wrongs, which started from Franco's regime, continued after his death with the assistance of *pacto del olvido*, the pact of forgetting (established by the Amnesty Law of 1977).⁶⁵ The pact is the Spanish mainstream political class' agreement to not discuss the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship.⁶⁶ Thus, the transition to democracy neither included 'truth commissions', trials to judge the people responsible for deaths, torture, illegal detentions, nor purges of the civilian or military institutions inherited.⁶⁷ Francoism's legacy was ruled off-limits in public discourse to ensure the transition's smooth progression.⁶⁸

During the transition to democracy the state had to choose what should be kept memory-wise, and what myths should be created. This is common when regimes go through fundamental political transformations.⁶⁹ Certain memories are preferred over others: when it comes to the nation's past, triumphs are less valuable in contrast to griefs, because griefs "impose duties".⁷⁰ Demands of "truth and justice" and "reconciliation" and oblivion often face each other at odds.⁷¹

The post-Franco regime does not want to be associated with the Second Republic, its only democratic precedent, as its failure resulted in the traumatic Civil War.⁷² Instead, the legitimacy of the state relies heavily on the continuity across the transition⁷³ – it is its foundational myth.⁷⁴ Transition is the core of the contemporary Spanish national narrative: 'spirit of transition' is an epic journey to democracy, where people abandon their disagreements to work together, and this journey is omnipresent in hegemonic political discourse.⁷⁵

63 Renan, E. (1990). p. 11

64 Renan, E. (1990). pp. 11–13

65 *Ley de Amnistía*, the Amnesty Law, Law 46/1977. (15.10.1977). Retrieved from <https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/1977/10/15/46/dof/spa/pdf>.

66 Graham, H. (2012). p. 129

67 Aguilar, P. (2001). Justice, Politics, and Memory in the Spanish Transition. In A. Barahona De Brito, C. González Enríquez, & P. Aguilar (Ed.), *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (92–118). Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2001. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=3052846>.

68 Graham, H. (2012). p. 129

69 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002).

70 Renan, E. (1990). p. 17

71 Jelin, E. (2003). *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=367974>. p. 94

72 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). pp. 122, 145, 152

73 Graham, H. (2012). p. 129

74 Molina, F. & Quiroga, A. (2019). Mixed feelings: Identities and nationalisations in Catalonia and the Basque country (1980–2015). *National identities*, 21(1), 93–111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2017.1369020>.

75 Ferreira, C. (2019). Challenging Majority Nationalism: the Renaming of Streets in Catalonia. *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, 29, 101–138 <https://doi.org/10.2436/20.8080.01.35>.

The present-focused framing of events starts thus with Franco's death, an opening for a shift to democracy.⁷⁶ Fernando León Solís says that the dominant interpretation is that after Franco Spain made a U-turn: a rebirth, awakening, successful, peaceful, and tolerant shaking of all signs of the 'democratic deficit'.⁷⁷ To constitutionalists, this regime of 1978 equals democracy.⁷⁸ It is however the Franco-instilled myth or memory of 'ungovernable Spaniards' that has caused the mythification of this miraculous transition.⁷⁹ According to the myth, Spaniards are unable to manage political conflict, which inevitably leads to instability, chaos, lack of order and peace.⁸⁰

The current regime has many more continuities with the Francoist period than any other previous period when it comes to its symbolic practices and politics of national commemoration.⁸¹ For example, the current nationalist flag was restored by Franco, whereas the republican tricolour, preceding the Civil War, is not used.⁸² Similarly, the former King, Juan Carlos I, was chosen by Franco as his heir, and depicted as the king of all Spaniards, a myth resisting until today.⁸³

However, competing remembrances challenged the silent interpretation of the past: after Franco's death, the memory movement started its "work of uncovering," growing and gathering pace in the 1990s from its small and symbolic progress of the early 1980s.⁸⁴ The Spanish state apparatus was resistant to the movement's deconstruction of the Francoist frame of meaning inside constitutional Spain.⁸⁵ In particular, the revived nationalist movements of the peripheries ignited the first incentive to emphasise local history, and therefore the local archives and other mementoes. The central state and the peripheries, with their contesting accounts, have since clashed over, for example, memory artefacts, textbooks, and school curriculums.⁸⁶

At the beginning of the 2000s, the circumstances were ripe for an alternative memory regime, that of 'instituted remembrance' to struggle into the surface, urging for the long-ignored victims to be recognized.⁸⁷ The 'memory boom' took off in Spain.⁸⁸ The new

76 Vargas, M. A. (2018). *Constructing Catalan Identity: Memory, Imagination, and the Medieval*. Cham: Springer International Publishing AG. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/helsinki-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5355991>. p. 171

77 León Solís, F. (2003). p. 25

78 Ferreira, C. (2019).

79 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). p. 152

80 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). pp. 31–32, 152

81 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). p. 152

82 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020).

83 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). pp. 145–146

84 Graham, H. (2012). p. 127

85 Graham, H. (2012). p. 127

86 Boyd, C. (2008).

87 Sánchez León, P. (2012).

88 Aguilar, P., & Ferrándiz, F. (2016). Memory, media and spectacle: Interviu's portrayal of Civil War exhumations in the early years of Spanish democracy. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 17(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2015.1135599>.

Boyd, C. (2008).

Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory linked the local and provincial mass grave excavation initiatives together, and this time the media followed and covered the projects.⁸⁹ Literature on the Civil War “flooded the market”.⁹⁰ Demands for memory policies and recognition emerged: many of the younger generations preferred to be considered heirs of those who defended the Republic, instead of the heirs of transition.⁹¹

The year 2006 was officially declared the “Year of Historical Memory” due to parliamentary discussions and voting on legislation for honouring and recovering victims of the Civil War and the dictatorship, the Historical Memory Law,⁹² which was enacted in November 2007.⁹³ Even then, almost 70 years after the war, the public debate over memory happened in a tense climate.⁹⁴

One of the law’s effects was that local units were instructed on the exhumation of the mass graves.⁹⁵ Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, Andalusia, Navarra, and the Basque Country were especially active in the exhumation efforts, in contrast with the inaction of the central government.⁹⁶ In Catalonia and Basque Country, the conflicts of the Second Republic, the Civil War, and the Franco era are not only defined in terms of political differences but of those of national identity.⁹⁷ Historian Queralt Solé, defendant of the Memorial Democràtic, an institution that manages the sites of memory related to the Civil War in Catalonia, proposed in 2010 a Catalanian memory, which remembers all dead alike, in contrast to the politicised memory of the Spanish state, constructing a post-political Catalanian nation of the memory of the war.⁹⁸ The independence claim and the recovery of historical memory go hand in hand in the Catalanist context, showing how the dialogue

89 Boyd, C. (2008).

90 Sánchez León, P. (2012). p. 500

91 Sánchez León, P. (2012).

92 Sánchez León, P. (2012).

93 MacMillan, M. (2008). *History Wars*, para. 24

Ley de Memoria Histórica de España, Historical Memory Law, Law 52/2007. (26.12.2007). Retrieved from <https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2007/12/27/pdfs/A53410-53416.pdf>.

94 Aguilar, P., & Ferrándiz, F. (2016).

Boyd, C. (2008).

95 Boyd, C. (2008).

96 Aguilar, P. & Ramírez-Barat, C. (2016). Past Injustices, Memory Politics and Transitional Justice in Spain. In S. Florensa, *The Arab Transitions in a Changing World. Building Democracies in Light of International Experiences* (56–75). IEMed. Retrieved from <https://www.iemed.org/publicacions/historic-de-publicacions/monografies/sumaris-fotos-monografies/memory-politics-transitional-justice-aguilar-paloma-ramirez-barat-clara.pdf>.

97 Cramer, K. (2012). History Written by the Losers: History, Memory, Myth and Independence in Twenty-First Century Catalonia. In L. Martín-Estudillo, & N. Spadaccini (Eds.), *Memory and Its Discontents: Spanish Culture in the Early Twenty-First Century*. Hispanic Issues On Line 11, 35–51. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/184381>. pp. 35–36

98 González-Ruibal, A. (2017). Excavating Memory, Burying History. Lessons from the Spanish Civil War. Between Memory Sites and Memory Networks. In P., Bernbeck, K. P., Hofmann, and U., Sommer (Eds.), *New Archaeological and Historical Perspectives* (279–302). Berlin: Edition Topoi.

with the central state has been impossible, and that the Catalan living memory, official history, and the national mythscape are compatible with each other.⁹⁹

Pablo Sánchez León reflects how the legislation enforces a vague and traditional spirit of the transition.¹⁰⁰ It omits principles of human rights, deviating from typical practices of transitional justice,¹⁰¹ and it lacks a truth and reconciliation process.¹⁰² Furthermore, Montserrat Camps-Gaset claims that the law never really came into real effect: the Francisco Franco Foundation exists, it is publicly funded, and thousands of corpses remain in unmarked mass graves.¹⁰³ Exhumation initiatives are ineffective, and the central state has actively damaged these efforts.¹⁰⁴ The Dukedom of Franco remains and was passed to his granddaughter in 2018.¹⁰⁵ PP has been continuously unwilling to openly condemn Franco's military coup and dictatorship.¹⁰⁶ Powerful conservative Catholic lay associations have actively rehabilitated the foundational myths of Francoism.¹⁰⁷ There is a reluctance to cover Franco's violence on the television and radio, and the discourse that threatens those "not moving on" with civil conflict and national failure is still upheld.¹⁰⁸ To this day sociological and nostalgic Francoism remains and influences collective memory.¹⁰⁹ Such legacies and the Spanishness of the State make Catalonia feel uncomfortable.¹¹⁰

Ignasi Bernat and David Whyte argue that the constitutional crisis in Catalonia (the Catalan crisis from 2017) has been bolstered by the exploitation of Spanish cultural nationalism by the revived Spanish identity.¹¹¹ The nation-building projects after Franco's death have not fully recovered from the foundational sin of Francoism, that is, the attempted elimination of the distinctive linguistic and cultural heritage.¹¹² The peripheral nations' cultures are assumed to belong within the Spanish whole. One of the most infamous ways the Spanish nationalist culture has practised this hierarchy by marginalising and stigmatising the peninsula's diverse cultures is the suppression of Basque and Catalan languages. Franco did it to weaken popular resistance, and nowadays it is used to ensure Spanish unity.¹¹³

99 Crameri, K. (2012). p. 49

100 Sánchez León, P. (2012).

101 Sánchez León, P. (2012).

102 Boyd, C. (2008).

103 Camps-Gaset, M. (2019).

104 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020).

105 Camps-Gaset, M. (2019).

106 Boyd, C. (2008).

Preston, P. (2017, 3 December). The scars of Catalonia. *New Statesman*. Retrieved from <https://www.newstatesman.com/world/europe/2017/12/scars-catalonia>.

107 Graham, H. (2012). p. 130

108 Graham, H. (2012). pp. 130, 133

109 Graham, H. (2012). p. 127

110 Camps-Gaset, M. (2019).

111 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020).

112 Downing, A. (2018). p. 6

113 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020).

Growing new Catalanophobia has manifested in and been encouraged by racialised jokes, victimisation for using Catalan in official communication, as well as the extreme right inside and outside the governing PP promoting a boycott directed towards Catalan products. In 2017 this culminated in crowds chanting “*A por ellos*” (Go get ‘em) to the Civil Guards who left to prevent the independence referendum.¹¹⁴ The (Catalan) “resistance represents a direct assault upon the postfascist Spanish state,”¹¹⁵ thus, defined by its Francoist past which is present. Michael Vargas finds that the situation in Catalonia is not only strongly influenced by a rich past, but even more by its active and motivated recollection.¹¹⁶

Often previously described struggles over the selection, ownership and cultivation of memory form a part of the conflict itself.¹¹⁷ Additionally, the denial of identity and the neglect of a collective memory are roots for the often most difficult and protracted conflicts. The group strengthens its identity when it is threatened as a strategy against the forces working in its opposition. In this process the conflict’s importance to the group identities is strengthened through conflict-driven memories, complicating conflict resolution.¹¹⁸ Conflict members internalise the lived and learned past, with values, emotion and beliefs associated. The chain of memories, connecting past and present injustices and identities can result in intractable, deep, cyclical, complex, continuing, even irreconcilable considered conflicts.¹¹⁹ Memories have significant potential as instruments in different campaigns, therefore it is not irrelevant which memories are selected, explored, developed, represented, and accepted, or who claims, owns, and uses this past.

4. Methodology

Media provides sites for memory struggles: the collective requires public expression, and collective memory is an inherently mediated phenomenon.¹²⁰ Wulf Kansteiner promotes using the methods of communication and media studies to examine the negotiations of collective memories.¹²¹ Collective memory and media studies both examine products

114 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020).

115 Bernat, I. & Whyte, D. (2020), p. 774

116 Vargas, M. A. (2018), p. 2

117 Lehti, M. (2016). Multiple Histories and Peace Mediation. In A. Blåfield (Ed.), *The Use and Abuse of History* (234–263). Siltala Publishing: Helsinki. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303497551_Multiple_Histories_and_Peace_Mediation.

118 Tint, B. (2010).

119 Tint, B. (2010).

120 Neiger, M., Meyers, O. & Zandberg, E. (2011). On Media Memory: Editors’ Introduction. In M., Neiger, O., Meyers, & E., Zandberg (Eds.), *On media memory: Collective memory in a new media age* (1–26). <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230307070>. p. 3

121 Kansteiner, W. (2002). Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies. *History and Theory*, 41(2), 179–197. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/3590762.

that are results of processes of selection, salience, and construction, resulting in an interpretation, a storyline of events, which is dismissing factors and infused with social morals and lessons.¹²²

Robert Entman developed Erving Goffman's framing theory and applied it to the study of mass media.¹²³ Frames promote a specific "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation".¹²⁴ Frame analysis studies the selection and salience of specific parts of an event by examining the communicating text or image.¹²⁵ Frames are used and reused to interpret events and determine appropriate action, which is why frame analysis is useful for analysing conflicts.¹²⁶ Moreover, memory itself is a framing of the past. It is an outcome and a process of selection and salience, interpretation and meaning-making.

When analysing the texts, what emerges might be influenced by frames that have either resulted of or cause the collective memories of the reader. As an attempt to counter and decrease their effect, the outlining of frames is approached systematically, through frame elements. Jörg Matthes and Matthias Kohring present the identification of frame elements as a solution to the frame's abstract notion and the resulting variation in researchers' identifying and coding.¹²⁷ Frame elements used in the analysis are the ones listed by Entman; "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."¹²⁸ It can be assumed that some categories of these elements systematically group together, and these patterns are frames. Therefore, the frames are not predetermined when doing the analysis, nor directly coded with a single variable.¹²⁹

The key events of interest are the last weeks leading up to the referendum (1st of October 2017; 1-O), the day the Spanish government applied Article 155 and enforced direct rule in Catalonia (21st of October 2017), the declaration of independence (27th of October 2017), and the Catalan regional elections (21st of December 2017, 21-D), called by the Spanish

122 Neiger, M., Meyers, O. & Zandberg, E. (2011). pp. 5–6

123 Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Linström, M. & Marais, W. (2012). Qualitative News Frame Analysis: A Methodology. *Communitas*, 17, 21–38. Retrieved from <https://journals.ufs.ac.za/index.php/com/article/view/991/980>.

124 Entman, R. M. (1993). p. 52

125 Entman, R. M. (1993).

126 Neiger, M. (2020). Theorizing Media Memory: Six Elements Defining the Role of the Media in Shaping Collective Memory in the Digital Age. *Sociology Compass*, 15(5), e12782 <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12782>.

127 Matthes, J. & Kohring, M. (2008) The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 258–279. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x>.

128 Entman, R. M. (1993). p. 52

129 Matthes, J. & Kohring, M. (2008).

Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy. The timeframe of the sample begins roughly three weeks before the referendum, on the 11th of September, the Diada (National Day of Catalonia), and ends the day of the regional elections.

To obtain and examine the parties' statements, campaigning, accounts of the events and the related argumentation, the study material consists of the online publications of six different regional political parties. The online publications are reports from meetings and events, speeches, statements, press releases, shared news articles, interviews, and opinion pieces, available at the party's website at the time of the study. They are, therefore, if not all originally published there, at least endorsed by the party and distributed to those interested in their politics. Thus, they are assumed to be in line with the party's position. The analysis focuses on the text elements of these publications.

Heras Pedrosa et al. divide the current conflicting parties into three groups. The pro-independence, referred here as independentists, view the Catalan Republic as the solution to the contemporary issues in the region. The second group is the constitutionalists, who claim that the Spanish Constitution and its laws should be respected, meaning that the referendum is illegal and against the priority of Spanish unity. The third, smaller emergent group supports a significant modification of the Spanish Constitution in a way that it would allow Catalans to vote in an effective independence referendum. Those are here labelled as pro-referendum.¹³⁰

The regional (Catalan) political parties were chosen for the sample according to 1) their seats in the Catalan parliament of 2015 and 2017 (135 seats), 2) the availability of articles on their websites, and 3) the balance between the independentist and constitutionalist views in the sample. The outcome was a sample of articles from the independentist Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català (Catalan European Democratic Party, PDeCAT), Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia, Esquerra), Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (Popular Unity Candidacy, CUP), the constitutionalist Ciudadanos-Partido de la Ciudadanía (Citizens-Party of the Citizenry, Ciudadanos), and the pro-referendum Catalunya en Comú (Catalonia in Common, CatEnComú) and Esquerra Unida i Alternativa (United and Alternative Left, EUiA).

PDeCAT (30 seats) and Esquerra (24 seats) were the two biggest parties of the Junts pel Sí electoral alliance (62 seats) in the 2015 Catalan regional elections. Ciudadanos (25 seats) was the biggest opposition party both in the 2015 and the 2017 Catalan regional elections. CUP (10 seats) had increased its number of seats in the 2015 elections and after PDeCAT and Esquerra it was the third largest independentist party. There was only one article available on the website of the constitutionalist Socialists' Party of Catalonia (16 seats) and

130 Heras Pedrosa, C., Jambrino Maldonado, C., Iglesias Sánchez, P. P., & Millán Celis, E. (2020). Populism and Independence Movements in Europe: The Catalan-Spanish Case. *Social Sciences*, 9(4), 35. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9040035>.

none from the constitutionalist People’s Party of Catalonia (11 seats) or pro-referendum Podemos, which is why they could not be included in the study. Five of the pro-referendum coalition Catalunya en Comú-Podem’s seats were of the party CatEnComú.¹³¹ Pro-referendum Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds (3 seats) was dissolved in 2019, and thus their website was no longer available. EUiA had 2 seats and participated in the establishment of CatEnComú.

The availability of articles seemed to be strongly connected not only to the number of seats in the Catalan parliament but also the party’s roots: for example, Podemos is a Spanish party, and both the People’s Party of Catalonia and the Socialists’ Party of Catalonia are Catalan branches of their national counterparts. Therefore, all the parties chosen for the sample are not only Catalonia-based regional parties but also happened to be Catalonia-originated. As articles do not seem to be missing at random, this lack in availability might cause the parties included in the sample to be exceptional members of their conflict group.

Table 1. Sample: All the articles published between 11.9.2017–21.12.2017

	September	October	November	December	Total
CUP	27	41	6	26	100
Esquerra	33	29	22	25	109
PDeCAT	28	17	25	12	82
Independents, total	88	87	53	63	291
Ciudadanos	52	79	78	45	254
Constitutionalists, total	52	79	78	45	254
CatEnComú	11	8	13	10	42
EUiA	16	11	4	4	35
Pro-referendum, total	27	19	17	14	77
Total	167	185	148	122	622

5. Memories in 2017 campaigning

The parties actively recalled specific events and actors from the past to support their argument. The frequency of these mentions of the Second Republic, Franco-era, and the period after is shown by party and month in Table 2.

131 Argos. (n.d.). Dades electorals detallades de les Eleccions Parlament Catalunya 2015. Generalitat Valenciana. Retrieved from http://www.argos.gva.es/ahe/pls/argos_elec/DMEDB_ElecComunidades.info_rmeElecDetallado?aNComuId=9&aNNumElec=1&aVTipoElec=A9&aVFechaElec=2015&aVLengua=v.
Argos. (n.d.). Dades electorals detallades de les Eleccions Parlament Catalunya 2017. Generalitat Valenciana. Retrieved from http://www.argos.gva.es/ahe/pls/argos_elec/DMEDB_ElecComunidades.info_rmeElecDetallado?aNComuId=9&aNNumElec=1&aVTipoElec=A9&aVFechaElec=2017&aVLengua=v.

Table 2. Months and number of articles where the past is mentioned, by party.

	Independentists			Constitutionalists	Pro-referendum	
	CUP	Esquerra	PDeCAT	Ciudadanos	CatEnComú	EUiA
President Francesc Macià			October 1	September 1 October 1		
President Lluís Companys	October 1	October 1 December 1	October 2	September 2 October 2		October 1
The Civil War * the civil war within the Civil War	September* 1 October(*) 6	September 2 December 5	September 1 November 1	October* 1		October 2
Franco's regime	September 4 October 7 November 1 December 3	September 4 October 3 December 5	September 5 October 2 November 2 December 1	October 5 November 1	November 1	October 1 November 1
Transition to democracy	September 2 October 3 November 1	September 1 December 1		October 4 November 1 December 1		
the Basque conflict, ETA * GAL and the 'dirty war'	October* 1			September 3 October 3 November 2		September 1
Coup of 23-F	October 1			September 1 October 4		

October, the first month following the referendum, in addition to the most articles published, also has the highest number of definite references to the elements of the past chosen for Table 2 (52), and like September, has mentions of all these topics. In November and December, leading up to the elections, the target of remembering was more focused, covering only four different eras or actors a month. However, especially in the case of the independentists, the mentions were longer, and more pieces were dedicated to memory. The quietest month recalling-wise was November (11).

There are clear differences between the parties in how the past is directly and explicitly mentioned. The independentist Esquerra and PDeCAT's references to the past are quite

focused, concentrating on four different topics of the table. The clearest example of a drastically different silence is the pro-referendum CatEnComú, which does not cover the past at all, except for presenting one of their candidates as an anti-Francoist activist (María Salvo Iborra, 27.5.1920–16.11.2020).¹³² After the pro-referendum, PDeCAT made the fewest direct mentions to the past, and the constitutionalist Ciudadanos made the most, though theirs are briefer. Furthermore, the constitutionalist party focused more on the post-Franco eras. The independentists and EUiA remembered mostly Franco and the Civil War, CUP also writing frequently about the transition.

5.1. Past presidents and the Civil War

All parties of the sample besides CatEnComú recalled the past presidents to some degree. For Esquerra and PDeCAT this was prompted by the anniversary of President Lluís Companys' execution, and for CUP and PDeCAT by the threat directed to President Puigdemont from PP's Pablo Casado. EUiA recalled that the President was shot by Franco's regime and the party paid homage to Companys during the 10th Lluís Companys Race and Walk, which was held in honour of the anti-fascist *Olimpiada Popular* (People's Olympiad) in Barcelona, 1936, a counter-games to the Olympics held in Nazi Germany.¹³³ CUP described how Companys proclaimed the Catalan state on the 6th of October 1934 within the Spanish Federal Republic and was the victim of the 1940's Francoist regime,¹³⁴ akin to what Esquerra recalls in its history piece in December.¹³⁵ On the anniversary of his execution, Companys is presented as an example, a role model, who was faithful to Esquerra's commitments and fought to change an unjust world, which motivates Esquerra's representatives to fulfil their mandates given by the citizens.¹³⁶

PDeCAT commemorated Companys in more length on the 15th of October, calling 2017's anniversary that of exceptional transcendence and drawing parallels between Franco's regime and the current situation. The representatives of the party gathered to pay tribute to the first democratically elected president assassinated by fascists, but also to the dignity,

132 CatEnComú. (2017, 18 November). La llista de Catalunya en Comú . Podem recull la pluralitat del país. Press release. Retrieved from <https://catalunyaencomu.cat/ca/premsa/llista-de-catalunya-en-comu-podem-recull-pluralitat-del-pais>.

133 EUiA. (2017, 25 October). La 10a Cursa i Caminada Lluís Companys homenatja l'Olimpiada Popular del 936. Retrieved from <https://www.semprealesquerra.cat/la-cursa-i-caminada-lluis-companys-arriba-a-la-desena-edicio/>.

134 CUP. (2017, 30 October). Crida a la solidaritat internacionalista des del poble català. News. Retrieved from <http://cup.cat/noticia/crida-la-solidaritat-internacionalista-des-del-poble-catala>.

135 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December). Monographic: The strength of the resistance. La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://en.esquerra.cat/en/la-forca-de-la-resistencia>.

136 Esquerra. (2017, 15 October). Esquerra Republicana, amb Companys. La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/esquerra-republicana-amb-companys-14597>.

freedom, and continuity of the institution of the Generalitat. PDeCAT highlighted “we are still here”, claiming a presence in the past and the inheritance of past struggles, while the contemporary opponents were described as the heirs of Francoism. President Francesc Macià is mentioned as a link in the long chain between all of the 130 Presidents – in other words, representing the continuity and responsibility for the Catalan institutions.¹³⁷ PDeCAT’s focus on this continuity ties the legacy of the institution’s dignity to the party through the president of the time, Puigdemont.

In its longer history piece in December, Esquerra frames President Companys as a part of both the party’s history and the history of Catalonia’s oppression. It recalls how Companys declared the Catalan State within the Federal Republic of Spain, which was followed by the suspension of Catalan autonomy and imprisonment of the Generalitat for 30 years, naming it the beginning of a period of repression. Following a victorious election, the Generalitat returned, President Companys famously saying “We will fight again, we will suffer again, we will win again,” which emphasises the struggles’ continuity and the collective’s persistence. Companys’ execution by Franco’s regime after the Civil War was described as “the most symbolic episode of this repression.” He had been detained in France and handed over by the German military police to Franco’s regime for a trial described as questionable. Like PDeCAT, Esquerra too highlights that Companys became the first and only president of a democratically elected government to have been executed by fascists.¹³⁸ However, the text ties Companys not only as a part of Catalonia’s history and its institutions, and the predecessor of current grievances, but also as a fundamental part of Esquerra and the international efforts against fascism. It is noteworthy that this is the only piece by Esquerra also published in English: the targeted collective that collectively remembers is thus different, more international.

The constitutionalist Ciudadanos referred to President Companys almost as many times as the independentists did in total, but did not commemorate him on the 15th of October. Altogether, Presidents Companys and Macià were portrayed by Ciudadanos in a negative light or to denounce the current independentist movement. Both have declared the Catalan Republic from the Generalitat’s balcony, Macià after the declaration of the Second Republic in 1931, and his successor Companys in 1934.¹³⁹ Neither of the declarations resulted in the Catalan Republic: Macià was talked out of it with a promise of a wider Statute of Autonomy.¹⁴⁰ Companys was imprisoned for 30 years and Catalonia’s autonomy

137 PDeCAT. (2017, 15 October). Marta Pascal: “Rendim homenatge a Companys sent conscients del moment que estem vivint i de l’encàrrec que ens van fer els ciutadans l’1-O”. News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/marta-pascal-rendim-homenatge-a-companys-sent-con/>.

138 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

139 Preston, P. (2017, 3 December).

Cramer, K. (2014). p. 14

140 Preston, P. (2017, 3 December).

was suspended.¹⁴¹ Before President Puigdemont declared independence on the 27th of October, Ciudadanos shared an opinion piece ridiculing the independence movement, one of its absurdities being “presidents of republics that barely last seconds” referring to Macià and Companys.¹⁴² While discussing how the obsessed Puigdemont looks more like a CUP spokesman than the president of all Catalans, the Ciudadanos deputy would not put it past Puigdemont to think about going out on the balcony and declaring independence.¹⁴³ Therefore, Puigdemont is described as following in their footsteps of failure. Earlier in September, President Puigdemont and Vice President Junqueras were stated to be competing to embody President Companys, in an egocentric fixation, aiming to mimic his coup against the Second Republic.¹⁴⁴ This interpretation differs from how the independentists tell the historical events.

The pro-referendum EUiA remembers the breakout of the war in its article on the 10th Lluís Companys Race and Walk. The *Olimpiada Popular* of 1936 was cancelled at the last minute due to the start of the Civil War. One of the participants of the event’s awards ceremony was Antoni Cánovas, who in 1936 had to change the pool for a rifle when preparing for the games to go and defend the Republic.¹⁴⁵ The event paid tribute to President Companys and the *Olimpiada* organized by civic and workers’ organizations, recalled the start of the Civil War, demanded the release of political prisoners, and objected to the measures of Prime Minister Rajoy’s government against the referendum, but also reflected on other current issues like the refugee crisis, racism, and xenophobia.¹⁴⁶

In September PDeCAT declared that on the day of the referendum Catalonia will be able to build a country from the bottom up, and this time without a Francoist military in the next room.¹⁴⁷ This is a probable reference to the social movements and the degree of Catalan independence gained before Franco’s victory over Catalonia. The Civil War had a significant impact on the political, social, and economic life of Catalonia, which experienced a profound revolution and achieved self-government in 1936–1937.¹⁴⁸

141 Cramer, K. (2014). p. 14

142 Ciudadanos. (2017, 13 October). Los camareros del Majestic. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/los-camareros-del-majestic/10049?lg=ca>.

143 Ciudadanos. (2017, 25 September). Roldán: “Puigdemont ha mostrat la veritat del seu frau, sembla més un portaveu de la CUP que el president de tots els catalans”. News. Retrieved from <http://parlament-catalunya.ciudadanos-cs.org/2017/09/25/roldan-puigdemont-ha-mostrat-la-veritat-del-seu-frau-sembla-mes-un-portaveu-de-la-cup-que-el-president-de-tots-els-catalans/>.

144 Ciudadanos (2017, 18 September). Los héroes de Cataluña. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/los-heroes-de-cataluna/9948?lg=va>.

145 EUiA. (2017, 30 October). Centenars de persones participen a la X Cursa i Caminada Lluís Companys. Retrieved from <https://www.semprealesquerra.cat/mes-de-300-persones-participen-a-la-x-cursa-i-caminada-lluis-companys/>.

146 EUiA. (2017, 30 October). EUiA. (2017, 25 October).

147 PDeCAT. (2017, 23 September). President Puigdemont: “La Constitució espanyola trepitja els drets més bàsics dels catalans”. News. Retrieved from <https://www.partidemocrata.cat/news/president-puigdemont-la-constitucio-espanyola-tre/>.

148 Blanch, P., & Gallagher, P. (2013). *War and Revolution in Catalonia, 1936–1939*. Leiden: BRILL. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=1481149>. p. 169

In October, Ciudadanos equated the anti-system's – probably referring to CUP amongst others – admiration towards Puigdemont to that towards Companys from the anarchists behind the Catholic genocide.¹⁴⁹ The anarchists' Catholic genocide is the only explicit mention of the Civil War from Ciudadanos, recalling the chaotic end of the Second Republic, and by highlighting the anarchists, the civil war within the Civil War. Indeed, tensions rose within the anti-Francoist and anti-fascist bloc between Catalonia's militant anarchists, Generalitat, ruled by Esquerra and President Companys, and the Spanish Republic.¹⁵⁰ Neither the infighting in May 1937 nor the aggravating transfer of the Spanish Republic's Government to Barcelona, aiming to backpedal decentralisation, are recalled, and their memories do not seem to incite dispute or clashes in the independentist camp.

However, like Ciudadanos, CUP also mainly focused on the uprisings happening within the Civil War, but with different framing. CUP equated the dreams and uprisings of the current popular movement with the dreams and uprisings of the popular movement of 1936.¹⁵¹ In October these revolutionary dreams are repeated, this time as the seeds of the current population's memory, seeds on which Franco's fascist cemetery has been built. This cemetery is the basis of the 1939 regime, as well as the regime of 1978. The piece further describes transcendence and heirship.

In November PDeCAT justified the memory politics of nullifying Francoist courts' sentences with the fact that they resulted from Franco's coup d'état.¹⁵² CUP tied the application of Article 155 to Franco's armed uprising by describing it as a coup, executed through the Constitution, "never seen since Franco."¹⁵³ Parallels were drawn by CUP between the Republicans in exile and the clandestine ballot boxes, as it happened in the same place, Elna, "cradle of the memory of *our* Republican exile," again claiming ownership of the past. This, according to CUP, is a political metaphor and poetic justice; "evidence that a parallel and silent network, solid and tenacious, knew how to get around the siege, using wise discretion, by those who wanted to seize everything."¹⁵⁴ The party also honoured some women who fought in the Civil War. They are presented as examples of important, often forgotten women who fought against fascism.¹⁵⁵

149 Ciudadanos. (2017, 17 October).

150 Blanch, P., & Gallagher, P. (2013).

Bolloten, B. (2015). *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. https://doi.org/10.5149/9781469624471_bolloten.

151 CUP. (2017, 25 September).

152 PDeCAT. (2017, 14 November). Xuclà defensa al Congrés declarar la nul·litat de les sentències dictades pels tribunals franquistes. News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/ca-xuclu00e0-defensa-al-congru00e9s-declarar-la-n/>.

153 CUP. (2017, 31 October). Comunicat de la CUP Molins davant l'expulsió del PSC-PSOE del govern de Molins de Rei. News. Retrieved from <http://molins.cup.cat/noticia/comunicat-de-la-cup-molins-davant-lexpulsió-del-psc-psoe-del-govern-de-molins-de-rei>.

154 CUP. (2017, 10 October). "And wanting to be a republic, we have learned to be a people", by David Fernández. News. Retrieved from <http://cup.cat/noticia/and-wanting-be-republic-we-have-learned-be-people-david-fernandez-0>.

155 CUP. (2017, 12 October). No pasaran! News. Retrieved from <http://cup.cat/noticia/no-pasaran>.

In addition to heroes, CUP also brought alive the enemies of the past: as the current movement is the heir of that of 1936, sharing their dreams, PP and Ciudadanos are the heirs of the Francoist military, the nationalists of 1936, as for them the Spanish state always comes before democracy.¹⁵⁶ The same is declared directly in an article that is a call for international solidarity from the Catalan people. CUP recalls that the Spanish state during Franco's dictatorship persecuted and destroyed with blood and fire the highest degree of national and social freedom achieved during the Republic and the Social Revolution of 1936,¹⁵⁷ which continuously seems to be for CUP a golden age the following history and the present are contrasted to.

The referendum in Catalonia was recalled by Esquerra as an opportunity for the Spanish democracy to be reborn, suggesting that the transition to democracy was not sufficient or rebirth at all. An Esquerra representative stated that calling the current dreams impossible shows a lack of respect towards the grandparents and their struggle.¹⁵⁸ Esquerra referenced less the social revolution and more the Second Republic lost in the war. Esquerra's campaign slogan for 1-O was 'Build a new Republic'.¹⁵⁹ The party presents the referendum as an opportunity for the Republicans in Spain – *Madrid de No Pasaran*, (The Madrid of 'They will not pass') that is, the Madrid against Franco's siege – to achieve their freedom against the status quo, Prime Minister Rajoy and Francoism, the regime of 1978.

October 1 transformed from the *Día del Caudillo* (the day of Caudillo) into the day of Catalonia's independence referendum. Indeed, exactly 81 years before the referendum, on the 1st of October 1936, Francisco Franco was named the Head of Government of the Spanish State by his military colleagues.¹⁶⁰ The title was intended to be temporary,¹⁶¹ but Franco adopted the title of *Caudillo* until his death¹⁶² and the day was commemorated yearly during his regime. After Franco's death, in 1988, a hospital named after the day and inaugurated by Franco, *Ciudad Sanitaria 1º de Octubre*, was renamed after the National Day of Spain, *12 de Octubre*.¹⁶³ But, in 2017, the date was yet again presented as

156 CUP. (2017, 26 October).

157 CUP. (2017, 30 October).

158 Esquerra. (2017, 17 September). Rufián: "Nosaltres li diem al món que Franco no va morir un 20 de novembre de 1975, sinó l'1 d'octubre de 2017 davant una urna a Catalunya" La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/rufian-nosaltres-li-diem-al-mon-que-franco-no-va-morir-un-20-de-novembre-de-1975-sino-11-d-14548>.

159 Esquerra. (2017, 12 September). Sabrià: "El proper dia 15 engegarem la nostra campanya més transversal amb més de 500 actes al territori per explicar els motius del Sí al referèndum". La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/sabria-el-proper-dia-15-engegarem-la-nostra-campanya-mes-transversal-amb-mes-de-500-actes--14540>.

160 Casanova, J. (2010). *The Spanish Republic and Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <http://libproxy.tuni.fi/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=cookie,ip,uid&db=e000xww&AN=329389&site=ehost-live&scope=site>. p. 275

161 Casanova, J. (2010). p. 275

162 Casanova, J. (2010). p. 280

163 Pieltáin Álvarez-Arenas, A. (2003). Los hospitales de Franco: la versión autóctona de una arquitectura moderna. Madrid: Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. http://oa.upm.es/4331/1/ALBERTO_PIELTAIN_ALVAREZ_ARENAS_b.pdf. p. 112

a representation of honour: this time the independentist CUP advocated for renaming a street after 1-O, the 1st of October.¹⁶⁴ This transformation or occupation of a date has been recognized both before and after the referendum, but neither challenged nor raised in any articles of the sample. Again, after years, the 1-O recalled and recalls Franco, but this time quite differently, in the form of an independence referendum and reactions to the state's response.

The independent Catalan Republic is framed as the Third Republic or an opportunity for the Spanish to achieve their Third Republic, as the referendum is about democracy, not independence. The causes of the Republic's Tricolour flag and the independentists' Estelada flag are linked and shared with the audience in Madrid.¹⁶⁵ This not only further frames the current and past conflict as one against fascism and Francoism, but also literally *recalls* pre-Civil War dynamics. The republican-socialist coalition in power before the Civil War released imprisoned President Companys and were prepared to transfer some political powers to the Catalan, Basque and Galician nationalities.¹⁶⁶

Esquerra more thoroughly drew parallels with the Civil War again in December, with its monographic piece on the party's history and a shorter one on Aurora Bertrana, who committed herself to the Republic.¹⁶⁷ The longer monograph recalls the 70,000 imprisoned, shot, exiled, or killed members of Esquerra, from President Companys to mayors, members of the Catalan Parliament, and the president of FC Barcelona.¹⁶⁸ The past is also referred to when covering a location: while describing the history of the town of Solsona, the article highlights how different regimes transformed it. The Second Republic is stated to be present in the town's wellbeing and pleasing architecture, bringing tourism, compared to the urban nonsense inherited from Francoism.¹⁶⁹

164 CUP. (2017, 18b October). Sant Cebrià condemna la violència policial de l'1-0 i insta el Govern municipal a assumir responsabilitats. News. Retrieved from <http://santcebria.cup.cat/noticia/sant-cebria-condemna-la-violencia-policial-de-1-0-i-insta-el-govern-municipal-assumir>.

165 Esquerra. (2017, 17 September).

166 Graham, H. (2005). *The Spanish Civil War: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 5–6, 10

Vargas, M. A. (2018). pp. 26–27

167 Esquerra. (2017, 1 December). Qui era Aurora Bertrana? La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/qui-era-aurora-bertrana>.

168 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

169 Esquerra. (2017, 2 December). Solsona: un nucli històric motor d'una transformació. La humanista. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/solsona--un-nucli-historic-motor-duna-transformacio>.

5.2. Franco's regime

When it comes to the direct mentions of Franco's regime, the most prominent ones are those prompted by Spain's reactions, arguing that the Spanish state's methods of responding to current issues are the same as those of Franco's regime, used since 1939, Franco's victory in the Civil War.¹⁷⁰ This link is deliberate and emphasised: for example, PDeCAT wrote that current democratic setbacks are shamefully reminiscent of late Francoism.¹⁷¹ The previously mentioned longer history piece on Esquerra also draws parallels between the current situation and the years under Franco.¹⁷² The party shows that Prime Minister Rajoy is taking away autonomy, just like King Felip V and Franco did.¹⁷³ When discussing how Casado threatened President Puigdemont with President Companys' faith, PDeCAT's spokesman asked of the governing PP whether they are planning to act like Franco, connecting the shouts of 'Go get'em' of September and the 893 injured of 1-O to PP, "the heirs of '*todo atado y bien atado*'" – "all tied up and well tied up", a quote from Franco, which refers to controlling the unity of the ungovernable Spain.¹⁷⁴ This description as Franco's heirs was repeated later in relation to PP.¹⁷⁵ The pro-referendum EUiA similarly links PP to Francoism by stating that PP's mentality is based on Franco's heritage, and this Francoist mentality results in the inability to do anything else but "crush, humiliate or exterminate" their political rivals.¹⁷⁶

During Franco's era, there was a significant exodus of an entire political class to France.¹⁷⁷ Esquerra recalled its continuation as the leading party of the Catalan progressive left and its anti-Francoist activities both inside the country and in exile during Franco's regime and episodes of repression, promoting a tradition of leading the Catalan left through the dark.¹⁷⁸ The Presidents in exile are described to have maintained the legitimacy of the Generalitat.¹⁷⁹ PDeCAT argued that as the President and councillors are in exile and taken

170 CUP. (2017, 14 September).

CUP. (2017, 27 September). Article del nostre regidor "Per amor a Espanya". News. Retrieved from <http://lacaonja.cup.cat/noticia/article-del-nostre-regidor-amor-espanya>.

171 PDeCAT. (2017, 23 September).

172 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

173 Esquerra. (2017, 25 October). Tarda a Rajoy, sobre el 155: "No és la primera vegada que es liquida l'autogovern. Ja ho van fer Felip Vè i Franco". La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/joan-tarda-a-rajoy-sobre-el-155-no-es-la-primer-vegada-que-es-liquida-lautogovern-ja-ho-v-14625>.

174 PDeCAT. (2017, 10 October). Cleries a Santamaría: "L'1-O van venir a destrossar-nos, però van sortir-ne perdadors". News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/cleries-a-santamaria-11-o-van-venir-a-destrossar-/>.

175 PDeCAT. (2017, 15 October).

176 EUiA. (2017, 5 November). Solución política, no repression. Retrieved from https://www.semprealesquerra.cat/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/entrevista_joan_mena.pdf.

177 Blanch, P., & Gallagher, P. (2013). p. 170

178 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

179 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

as political prisoners, the events remind of the past era.¹⁸⁰ While the independentists talk about the representatives in exile, Ciudadanos protests against President Puigdemont being described in the media as President in exile.¹⁸¹ However, the party honours the day President Tarradellas returned from exile, thus also acknowledging the legacy of the past Presidents in exile. To counter the moral evaluation of ‘exile’ the party’s articles state that President Puigdemont fled, ran from justice. The outflow of business is however referred to as an exodus.¹⁸²

In addition to the former Presidents, other members of previous generations are similarly considered heroes. Past generations, who would have wanted to vote on 1-O, are commemorated. One of the past champions is Antoni Comín’s father, Alfonso Carlos Comín, who was imprisoned by Franco’s regime but taught that the risks are worth taking. Comín reflected this to the responsibility he has towards his child. PDeCAT referred to Pau Casals’ speech about Catalonia when describing the typical peacefulness, coexistence, and civility of Catalonia.¹⁸³ The exiled musician Casals never could return to Spain.

The past is present through the music and musicians of the *Nova Canço* (New Song) movement. They are participating in the discussion and referenced in the parties’ publications, which marks their importance. The movement or genre emerged during Franco’s regime, promoting the use of Catalan language in music and protesting against Francoist repression.¹⁸⁴

The singer-songwriter Lluís Llach, a candidate of Esquerra, spoke for the referendum and performed his famous *L’estaca* from 1968 – a song about a common effort against Francoist repression – for the first time in a long time in Esquerra’s event just before 1-O. The song’s old age was mentioned too.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, in an opinion piece, which lists aspects that make the independence movement look ridiculous, Ciudadanos described Lluís Llach as “expired”, wearing a woolen beanie, now “singing to supremacism,”¹⁸⁶ contrasting to his legacy in *Nova Canço*. The party also criticised how Joan Manuel Serrat

180 PDeCAT. (2017, 4 December). Cleries: “Amb el 155, la democràcia a Catalunya ha quedat en suspens i recorda a èpoques passades”. News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/cleries-amb-el-155-la-democracia-a-catalunya-ha-q/>.

181 Ciudadanos. (2017, 14 November). Ciudadanos. (2017, 24 November)

182 Ciudadanos. (2017, 13b October). Independencia sin blanca. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/independencia-sin-blanca/10048>.

183 PDeCAT. (2017, 26 October). Cleries: “S’està perpetrant un cop d’Estat del nacionalisme espanyol contra les institucions democràtiques de Catalunya”. News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/cleries-sesta-perpetrant-un-cop-destat-del-nacion/>.

184 Dowling, A. (2012). *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=1188308> . p. 77

185 Esquerra. (2017, 29 September). Junqueras: “Amb la superació de la por comença el camí de la llibertat. Persistiu, Catalans. Persistiu!” La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/junqueras-amb-la-superacio-de-la-por-comenca-el-cami-de-la-llibertat-persistiu-catalans-pe-14570>.

186 Ciudadanos. (2017, 13 October).

– also one of the most prominent members of Nova Canço – is now called fascist by the independentists, as he has spoken against the independence movement.¹⁸⁷ This undermines the independentists’ accusations of fascism and Francoism. One piece from Ciudadanos mentions that in the demonstration against the referendum and independence on the 8th of October, Serrat’s famous *Mediterraneo* from 1971 was sung. CUP quoted the song of Ovidi Montllor when discussing the ‘*A por ellos*’ response the voting citizens received from the state.¹⁸⁸ On the day the majority of Catalan Parliament signed a document establishing Catalonia as an independent republic, the same quote “*Un dia que durarà anys*” (a day that will last for years) was published with the title “Welcome Republica!”¹⁸⁹

In Spain, governed by PP, supported by PSOE and Ciudadanos, political prisoners have returned.¹⁹⁰ This message from Esquerra and PDeCAT, with the aim of exceptionality, forgets other political prisoners after the transition, relating to, for example, the Basque conflict. In an interview for the Greek Avgi, EUiA’s representative advocates for the pro-referendum and independentists’ use of the term amnesty in demands for the release of the detainees. He connects the word’s symbolic strength in Catalonia to the demands for liberation of imprisoned communists, democrats, and socialists, dating to the last years of Franco’s regime. The representative considered it regrettable that it is still necessary to fight for the freedom of political prisoners.¹⁹¹

Esquerra published that when one of the independentist political prisoners was freed in October, he went straight away to the first event of the morning, which was held at the old Modelo Prison (meaning ‘exemplar prison’). He would not miss it, as he had closed the prison as the Minister of Justice of the Generalitat that year.¹⁹² The article highlights current grievances and Francoist politics, powerfully showing the power in the hands of the ex-political prisoner. It is also repeated that the prison is a notorious symbol of Francoist repression.¹⁹³ When Franco’s regime started to fill the state’s prisons and concentration

187 Ciudadanos. (2017, 2 October). Devuelvanme Barcelona. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/devuelvanme-barcelona/10058>.

188 CUP. (2017, 10 October).

189 CUP. (2017, 10b October). Bienvinguda República!! News. Retrieved from <http://calella.cup.cat/noticia/benvinguda-republica>

190 Esquerra. (2017, 18 October). Tardà, a Sáenz de Santamaría: “A més repressió, més convenciment del valor de la llibertat i de la independència”. La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/tarda-a-saenz-de-santamaria-a-mes-repressio-mes-convenciment-del-valor-de-la-llibertat-i-d-14616>.

PDeCAT. (2017, 15 November). Campuzano: “El 21D serà un plebiscit al 155 i a l’empresonament dels consellers i de Jordi Sánchez i Jordi Cuixart”. News. Retrieved from <https://www.partidemocrata.cat/news/campuzano-el-21d-sera-un-plebiscit-al-155-i-a-lem/>.

191 EUiA. (2017, 5 November).

192 Esquerra. (2017, 4b December). “L’Oriol m’ha demanat que no descanseu per guanyar la llibertat. La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/mundo-apareix-campanya-erc>.

193 Esquerra. (2017, 4b December).

Esquerra. (2017, 16 December). Esquerra Republicana, garantia de bon govern. La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/esquerra-republicana-erc--garantia-de-bon-govern>.

camps with an estimated 700,000 prisoners, the Modelo Prison in Barcelona had the most lockups compared to the others.¹⁹⁴ Now its symbolic value is particular to Esquerra and the independentists, as its closing and their article brought another layer of meaning to the story: a layer of continued struggle, but also an ex-prisoner's victory over the ex-prison.

The Modelo Prison holds symbolic significance also to EUiA, which reported of an “emotional” posthumous act of homage to Enric Pubill (28.12.1930–29.3.2017), the former president of l'Associació Catalana d'Expresos Polítics (the Catalan Association of Former Political Prisoners) and member of both Joventuts Socialistes Unificades de Catalunya (Unified Socialist Youth of Catalonia) and Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia). The event took place in the former prison, where the anti-Francoist fighter Pubill had been imprisoned by Franco's regime (1949–1958). The Association works to guarantee the social and economic rights of prisoners and to transmit the memory of the resistance. The article does not tie the occasion to the current conflict, but political prisoners were a very topical issue at the time.¹⁹⁵

Esquerra wrote that the commemoration event of President Companys ended with the song *Els segadors*.¹⁹⁶ After the Diada, a representative of PDeCAT, Josep Lluís Cleries, referenced the song's lyrics, stating that the referendum would “cut the chains”.¹⁹⁷ In an article describing the Regime of 1978, CUP opens with a quote about chains that can only be heard if one moves.¹⁹⁸ *Els segadors*, Catalonia's official national anthem since 1993, has its origins in a hymn on the revolt of 1640–1659, and like many other symbols of Catalanness, it was prohibited during Franco.¹⁹⁹ The chains as a symbol gather a cumulative meaning of past repression, including that of Franco.

The state's actions are explicitly described by the independentists as reminders of the dark past, where it aims to keep Catalonia. The repression characteristic of this dark past is cited, and that past is framed as that of the dictatorship 40 years ago. Esquerra recalled how, like Catalonia, the party has suffered repression and defeats throughout the years.²⁰⁰ The rights under threat today were also under threat during Franco's final years.²⁰¹ CUP described today's responses of the state as the greatest aggressions against the Catalan

194 Blanch, P., & Gallagher, P. (2013). p. 171

195 EUiA. (2017, 25b October). Barcelona homenatja a Enric Pubill, referent de la lluita antifranquista. Retrieved from <https://www.semprealesquerra.cat/barcelona-homenatja-a-enric-pubill-referent-de-la-lluita-antifranquista/>.

196 Esquerra. (2017, 15 October).

197 PDeCAT. (2017, 12 September).

198 CUP. (2017, 21 September).

199 Vargas, M. A. (2018). p. 62

200 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

201 Esquerra. (2017, 19 September).

people's rights that have occurred since the dictatorship,²⁰² taking Spain backwards more than 40 years.²⁰³ These actions are stated to be foreign to some of the population, suggesting that others still remember them. The *procés*, meaning the process towards independence, is presented as the only prevention against returning to this specific past of over 40 years ago.²⁰⁴

At the same time, all independentists parties suggested that Franco's dictatorship is still present and that this is nothing new: Antoni Comín from Esquerra described that the ones who recently gave him a request prohibiting the organization of the referendum, that is, the representatives of the state, are the same collective or force as those who imprisoned his father during Franco's regime.²⁰⁵ CUP shared how Franco's regime has continued past the transition, through judges, continued activity of the Falange, the only party allowed by Franco's dictatorship, the repeated impunity towards fascism, the succeeding political, economic and media powers and the links of the old regime to the current political elite, especially PP.²⁰⁶ The regime of 1978, that is, of the transition, is the heir, or practically the same as the regime of 1939,²⁰⁷ meaning the dictatorship. PDeCAT claimed the government is run by a hundred pre-democratic families,²⁰⁸ and the Spanish institutions are kidnapped by families inheriting Franco's regime.²⁰⁹ PDeCAT showed that while the Generalitat's websites are closed by the state, the Francisco Franco National Foundation is perfectly visible and visitable,²¹⁰ demonstrating the state's standing towards these two camps.

202 CUP. (2017, 23 October). Contra l'agressió del 155 de la Constitució espanyola; autoorganització, autotutela i respostes en defensa dels drets civils i polítics des del municipalisme i l'internacionalisme. News. Retrieved from <http://cup.cat/noticia/contra-lagressio-del-155-de-la-constitucio-espanyola-autoorganitzacio-autotutela-i-respostes>.

203 CUP. (2018, 18 December).

204 CUP. (2017, 13 December). [OPINIÓ] "Cal escollir: entre el 155 i la retallada de drets o la República i una nova societat". News. Retrieved from <http://valls.cup.cat/noticia/opinio-cal-escollir-entre-el-155-i-la-retallada-de-drets-o-la-republica-i-una-nova-societat>.

205 Esquerra. (2017, 17 September).

206 CUP. (2017, 22 September). "Sí", la clau que obre tots els panys. News. Retrieved from <http://cervera.cup.cat/noticia/si-la-clau-que-obre-tots-els-panyes>.

CUP. (2017, 30 October).

CUP. (2017, 2 November). Interpel·lació al govern sobre justícia democràtica i estat autoritari de dret. News. Retrieved from <http://cup.cat/noticia/interpellacio-al-govern-sobre-justicia-democratica-i-estat-autoritari-de-dret>.

207 CUP. (2017, 26 October).

208 PDeCAT. (2017, 26b September). Santi Vila: "Espanya té un projecte d'uniformitat, d'eliminar tot allò que ens distingeix, però els hi hem posat les banyes. Tenim dret a ser distints". News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/santi-vila-espanya-te-un-projecte-duniformitat-de/>.

209 PDeCAT. (2017, 23b September). Santi Vila: "Estic disposat a anar a la presó perquè ens hi juguem la dignitat personal i col·lectiva". News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/news/santi-vila-estic-disposat-a-anar-a-la-presos-perqu/>.

210 PDeCAT. (2017, 27b September). Bagué: "El govern espanyol ha reaccionat amb extrema agressivitat, vulnerant els drets fonamentals de la ciutadania". News. Retrieved from <https://www.partitdemocrata.cat/noticies/bague-el-govern-espanyol-ha-reaccionat-amb-extrem/>.

The efforts for the referendum are efforts for democracy, not independence, and the struggle is equated to that of the previous Franco-era generation trying to achieve democracy, teaching that the risks are worth taking.²¹¹ The neo-Francoist state's paralysis is countered using Catalonia's "unprecedented democratic creativity".²¹² CUP highlights that the conflict and movement are about Catalonia and the state, which has Francoist tendencies, and not against Spain.²¹³ Esquerra too presents the referendum as a common solution against the still alive Francoism and lack of democracy, for both Catalonia and for people living in Spain.²¹⁴

In September PDeCAT remembers those who lived during the Franco regime, again bringing up transcendence and creating a sense of collective.²¹⁵ CUP claims the heritage of disobedience,²¹⁶ and the dictatorship era's independentists – as well as presence by saying "we lived in a dictatorship" – who supported the cause even though it was prohibited to think independentist.²¹⁷ The Catalan national movement and the organised labour did not have the most trusting relations before the Civil War, but Francoism, as a common enemy, worked in uniting the two.²¹⁸ The left-wing opposition parties and Catalan and Basque political forces cooperated in exile, which aided to motivate the left to support devolution and decentralisation.²¹⁹

Esquerra explains how calling the referendum illegal is questionable, as once speaking Catalan was illegal, democratic rights have been illegal before, and the current laws are post-Francoist.²²⁰ Franco's regime hunted down its anti-Spanish opponents, 'reds', who were not only the left but also those fostering and expressing their regional, historical nationalities, resulting in the persecution of all manifestations of Catalanness.²²¹ "They call us coup plotters" the representative states,²²² as Franco's regime, the root of current post-Francoist laws, was exactly that, a result of a coup.

211 Esquerra. (2017, 17 September).

212 Esquerra. (2017, 27 September). Junqueras: "El país està a les vostres mans i us necessita, segur que no fallareu aquest 1-0". La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/junqueras-el-pais-esta-a-les-vostres-mans-i-us-necessita-segur-que-no-fallareu-aquest-1-0-14567>.

213 CUP. (2017, 27 September).

214 Esquerra. (2017, 17 September).

215 PDeCAT. (2017, 25 September).

216 CUP. (2017, 18 October).

217 CUP. (2017, 26b October). Intervenció de la CUP en contra de l'aplicació de l'article 155. News. Retrieved from <http://molins.cup.cat/noticia/intervencio-de-la-cup-en-contra-de-laplicacio-de-larticle-155>.

218 Dowling, A. (2012). p. 5

219 Aguilar, P., & Humlebæk, C. (2002). p. 133

220 Esquerra. (2017, 21 September). Rufián en reconeixement als detinguts ahir: "Sou la dignitat d'aquest país". La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/rufian-en-reconeixement-als-detinguts-ahir-sou-la-dignitat-daquest-pais-un-pais-que-es-mol-14555>.

221 Blanch, P., & Gallagher, P. (2013). p. 172

222 Esquerra. (2017, 21 September).

The past is naturally touched on with memory politics, which Esquerra and PDeCAT covered actively before the elections. The memory politics discussed focus, for example, on nullifying the sentences of Franco's courts, and as mentioned, are justified with the fact that Franco's regime was a result of a coup.²²³ The parties argued for the further implementation and development of the Historical Memory Law, in the forms of legal reparation for victims and annulment of the dictatorship's sentences.²²⁴ Esquerra frequently described how the elections are crucial for sufficient memory politics, as the application of Article 155 is stopping, amongst other things, the mass grave exhumation initiatives, and their continuation will depend on the elected Generalitat's will. The long silence after the wrong, even post-1975, is blamed on the Spanish dictatorship. Parallels between the current events and the past harms are actively drawn, but the current claim for independence is supported by the Spanish state's inadequacy and active building of obstacles in the field of memory politics. The choice on the election day is framed as one of learning or taking steps back.²²⁵

Despite publishing more articles, Ciudadanos recalls Franco's era less than the independentist parties (Table 2). The party's mentions are briefer and vaguer too, and some acknowledge the independentists' account. Ciudadanos for example delegitimized and ridiculed the independentists' accusations by claiming that in today's Catalonia crying out for equality is called Falangist.²²⁶ At the beginning of October, Ciudadanos wrote that the separatists are lying to the international community, claiming that present day Spain has something to do with Francoism.²²⁷ Ciudadanos often pointed out how the nationalists call politicians and musicians who disagree with them *fachas*, fascists.

Francoism and Franco's regime were linked to the fate of the autonomy and institutions, the denial of disagreeing positions and the divisions in society, and through this to the independentists. Ciudadanos' next mention of the Francoist past states that the independentists have closed the precious Catalan institution, the Parliament, one that cost so much to reopen after the 40 years of dictatorship.²²⁸ Later in October, the human and

223 PDeCAT. (2017, 14 November).

224 Esquerra. (2017, 16 December).

225 Esquerra. (2017, 15 December). Les polítiques de memòria i el 155. La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/les-politiques-de-memoria-i-el-155-14655>.

Esquerra. (2017, 16 December).

226 Ciudadanos. (2017, 13 October).

227 Ciudadanos. (2017, 11 October). Girauta a Dastis: 'Le reprocho la ausencia de una estrategia de comunicación internacional que haya explicado el golpe en Cataluña'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/girauta-a-dastis-le-reprocho-la-ausencia-de-una-estrategia-de-comunicacion-internacional-que-haya-explicado-el-golpe-en-cataluna/10033>.

228 Ciudadanos. (2017, 18b October). Rivera a la vicepresidenta: 'Ante la liquidación de la autonomía en Cataluña aplicar la Constitución es una obligación y no una opción'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-a-la-vicepresidenta-ante-la-liquidacion-de-la-autonomia-en-cataluna-aplicar-la-constitucion-es-una-obligacion-y-no-una-opcion/10051>.

emotional fracture caused by the independentists was described to only correspond to the fractures of the times before the transition, suggesting the times of Franco's regime and beyond.²²⁹ Finally, the Generalitat's "full-blown coup" and nationalists' disapproval of constitutionalists are presented as comparable to a dictatorship, to Francoism.²³⁰

In its final reference, *Ciudadanos* recalls that while the dictatorship opposed any attempt at self-government, the Constitution luckily allows autonomous governments, continuing with the reminder that the Constitution received large support from Catalonia.²³¹ This emphasises that the problem presented by the independentists was solved in 1978.

5.3. Post-Franco's regime

The transition was lies and rotten foundations for CUP and Esquerra, and a tale of success, unity, and democracy for *Ciudadanos*. For CUP and EUIA, the regime of 1978 is a commonly used title for the current, post-transition regime of the Spanish state. When referencing the powers of the central state the name used itself remembers and evaluates transition. Naturally, the constitutionalists highlight the value and achievements of the Constitution, which is the key product of the transition. This already promotes a certain interpretation of the transition to democracy, though the period of time would not be mentioned or explicitly recalled.

On the day of the Constitution, in its commemoration gathering, President Puigdemont and Vice President Junqueras were described as the scarecrows of convivence by *Ciudadanos*.²³² Transition signifies to *Ciudadanos* an end to fractures of this degree, which are now reawakened by nationalism. The transition and process behind the Constitution are remembered as a time of cooperation, handshakes between past opponents, *darse la mano*, (also offering a hand, joining hands) something that should be done again.²³³ *Ciudadanos*

229 *Ciudadanos*. (2017, 25 October). Lecciones de la crisis catalana. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/lecciones-de-la-crisis-catalana/10076>.

230 *Ciudadanos*. (2017, 30 October). Entrevista a Carlos Carrizosa: relata cómo plantó cara el viernes a los 'indepes' vociferantes. News. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/noticia/entrevista-a-carlos-carrizosa-relata-como-planto-cara-el-viernes-a-los-indepes-vociferantes/10092?lg=va>.

231 *Ciudadanos*. (2017, 15 November).

232 *Ciudadanos*. (2017, 6 December). Arrimadas: 'El 21D hay que salir a votar con la misma ilusión con la que se fue a votar a favor de la Constitución'. Press release. Retrieved from https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/Arrimadas_El_21D_hay_que_salir_a_votar_con_la_misma_ilusion_con_la_que_se_fue_a_votar_a_favor_de_la_Constitucion/10195?lg=va.

233 *Ciudadanos*. (2017, 28 September). Rivera: 'A partir del 1-O los partidos que creemos en España debemos darnos la mano y configurar otros treinta años de libertad y democracia'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-a-partir-del-1-o-los-partidos-que-creemos-en-espana-debemos-darnos-la-mano-y-configurar-otros-treinta-anos-de-libertad-y-democracia/9989>.

Ciudadanos. (2017, 29 September).

Ciudadanos. (2017, 28 October). Hay que ganarles. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/hay-que-ganarles/10088>.

recall how the Constitution gained large support in Catalonia.²³⁴ The party urged people to vote on 21-D with the same will and passion as they did for the Constitution of 1978. They are told they will not regret it, as no one regrets voting for the Constitution.²³⁵

The Constitution did receive large support in Catalonia, also when compared to the rest of Spain.²³⁶ The constitution needed to redefine Spanishness.²³⁷ The question of Catalonia was a significant challenge, as the aspirations of the historical nationalities had grown but the armed forces' hostility towards regional autonomy had not disappeared.²³⁸ Finally, this resulted in a compromise in which the whole of Spain was divided into 19 autonomous communities and cities. However, in contrast to the Constitution, the Statute of Autonomy regarding Catalonia and the Constitutional Court decisions on the communities were considered a disappointment and a betrayal.²³⁹ Due to the changes, Catalonia was neither recognized as a nation nor were its financial demands met.²⁴⁰ CUP interprets that the autonomy began with the Statute of Autonomy in 2006, but was reduced by the court decision in 2010.²⁴¹ EUiA in a similar vein accounts that the ruling of the Constitutional Court in 2010 cut the Statute endorsed by the majority of Catalonia, initiating the Statute's death.²⁴² Esquerra shares the interpretation of betrayal. The agreement was described as mockery, where no commitments and promises have been fulfilled. Instead, Catalonia has found itself in a political blockade of all decisions since 1978.²⁴³

To CUP the current Regime of 1978 is a system that should be ended,²⁴⁴ ruled by the nationalist-Catholic and Francoist right of always, PP.²⁴⁵ The current antidemocratic state is the result of the fascism of the transition, embodied by the Regime of 1978. The issues at hand were described as inherent to the current state, not a result of a democratic involution.²⁴⁶ People in the Spanish state have long suffered from it, and this has provoked a popular movement, which is most visible in Catalonia.²⁴⁷ The Regime of 1978 was equated

234 Ciudadanos. (2017, 15 November). Ciudadanos. (2017, 6 December).

235 Ciudadanos. (2017, 6 December).

236 Dowling, A. (2018). p. 41

237 Ferreira, C. (2019).

238 Preston, P. (2017, 3 December).

239 Crameri, K. (2014) p. 62

240 Preston, P. (2017, 3 December).

241 CUP. (2017, 26 October).

242 EUiA. (2017, 29 September). Cataluña, más allá del 1 de Octubre. Retrieved from https://www.semprealesquerra.cat/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/article_elsiglodeeuropa.pdf.

243 Esquerda. (2017, 24 September). Marta Rovira: "El debat que tenim entre mans és clar, entre avançar i construir un nou país o bé quedar-nos en l'immobilisme". La humanitat. Retrieved from <https://www.esquerra.cat/ca/marta-rovira-el-debat-que-tenim-entre-mans-es-clar-entre-avancar-i-construir-un-nou-pais-o-14560>.

244 CUP. (2017, 21 September).

245 CUP. (2017, 26 October).

246 CUP. (2017, 21 September).

247 CUP. (2017, 25 September).

or at least linked with the regime of 1936.²⁴⁸ Like the previous section demonstrated, the shared aspects and actors between the two were put forth, which questions the existence and realisation of a transition to democracy.²⁴⁹ There was no *tabula rasa*, CUP claimed, as Franco's judges and the justice system were sustained²⁵⁰ and most of today's Catalans have not voted for the Constitution.²⁵¹

The self-proclaimed transition to democracy was imposed by a head of state no one voted for, that is, the King.²⁵² He is described as the head of unity of Spain²⁵³ and the one who "received as a heritage the duty of maintaining all tied and well tied up".²⁵⁴ The King is considered as the way Franco stays in power.²⁵⁵ To Ciudadanos he represents the unity of Spain and is, therefore, the independentists' target.²⁵⁶ The contrast between the two descriptions is palpable: the current Spanish King Felipe VI is both the son of Franco's direct heir, chosen by Franco, and the successor of the hero of 23-F, who firmly defended democracy against the coup.

However, the transition-time President of Generalitat, Josep Tarradellas, is a character celebrated by both the constitutionalist Ciudadanos and the independentist Esquerra. When telling the party's history, Esquerra pointed out that the Generalitat is the only institution of the republican period that was recovered in transition, and its legitimacy was protected by the Presidents in exile, one of whom was Tarradellas.²⁵⁷ Tarradellas is considered the key to a peaceful solution after Franco's death, and the negotiations he participated in resulted in the re-establishment of the Generalitat.²⁵⁸

On the 40th anniversary of President Tarradellas' return from exile, the regional leader of Ciudadanos, Inés Arrimadas, who aimed for the position of the President of Generalitat in the 2017 elections, paid tribute to him. She described how Tarradellas is the opposite of President Puigdemont: where Tarradellas defended institutional loyalty and fought to build bridges, Puigdemont is breaking them and "raising borders."²⁵⁹ With the first democratically

248 CUP. (2017, 25 September). CUP. (2017, 18 October).

249 CUP. (2017, 30 October).

250 CUP. (2017, 2 November).

251 CUP. (2017, 21 September).

252 CUP. (2017, 21 September).

253 CUP. (2017, 21 September).

254 CUP. (2017, 18 October).

255 CUP. (2017, 26 October).

256 Ciudadanos. (2017, 7 October). Entrevista a Albert Rivera: 'Hay que activar el 155 antes del lunes, se acaba el tiempo'. Cs in the media. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/noticia/entrevista-a-albert-rivera-hay-que-activar-el-155-antes-del-lunes-se-acaba-el-tiempo/10024?lg=es>.

257 Esquerra. (2017, 4 December).

258 Preston, P. (2017, 3 December).

259 Ciudadanos. (2017, 23 October). Inés Arrimadas: 'Unas elecciones permitirán devolver la autonomía y sus instituciones a todos los catalanes'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/ines-arrimadas-unas-elecciones-permitiran-devolver-la-autonomia-y-sus-instituciones-a-todos-los-catalanes/10068>.

elected Spanish Prime Minister after Franco's death, Adolfo Suárez, Tarradellas is said to have recuperated the autonomy that the separatists have now liquidated.²⁶⁰

Ciudadanos repeatedly linked the Catalan independence movement with the violence, social confrontation and harm caused by Basque nationalism and ETA. It narrated that today the far-right and ETA lawyers support the independentists.²⁶¹ The linkages to ETA hints at criminalising the independentist movement. To illustrate the danger of the independentists' efforts, an opinion piece used the famous novel of Fernando Aramburu, *Patria*.²⁶² The novel covers how the Basque conflict divided families and villages, narrating the death of Txato, a victim of ETA. The opinion piece "Patria... again Patria" explains how this destructive collective delirium poisoned relationships, frightened the disagreeing into silence, and covered the country in shame. The development can still be stopped in Catalonia, the piece claims, and urges the readers to not leave Txato alone. Divisions in the Basque country, told by Fernando Aramburu in *Patria*, are used as a warning in Catalonia.

On the anniversary of Franco's death, a day during which radical right-wing groups' demonstrations keep the police forces busy with public security issues,²⁶³ Ciudadanos did not mention the anniversary but recollected, for example, the police victims of ETA when arguing for the equalisation of security forces' salaries.²⁶⁴ The indifference of the independence movement towards the 54 Catalan victims of ETA is deduced by Ciudadanos from Arnaldo Otegi's participation in the Diada, which was applauded, cheered and broadcast on Catalonia's public television channel TV3.²⁶⁵ Arnaldo Otegi is a Basque politician who has been convicted of being an ETA member. After entering politics, he has been convicted and imprisoned for glorifying terrorism, participation in discussion on ETA's ceasefire, and trying to rebuild a forbidden party. The imprisonments have also received international attention. Ciudadanos related how "terrorist Otegi" was

260 Ciudadanos. (2017, 24 October). Rivera: 'Confiamos en ganar las elecciones porque los catalanes están perdiendo el miedo a salir a la calle y a utilizar los símbolos del país'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-confiamos-en-ganar-las-elecciones-porque-los-catalanes-estan-perdiendo-el-miedo-a-salir-a-la-calle-y-a-utilizar-los-simbolos-del-pais/10069>.

261 Ciudadanos. (2017, 5 November). Entrevista a Xavier Pericay: 'Hay docentes que adoctrinan por pura inercia'. Cs in the media. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/noticia/entrevista-a-xavier-pericay-hay-docentes-que-adoctrinan-por-pura-inercia/10098?lg=eu>.

262 Ciudadanos. (2017, 24 September). Patria... otra vez Patria. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/patria-otra-vez-patria/9977>.

263 Aguilar, P. & Humlebæk, C. (2002). p. 129

264 Ciudadanos. (2017, 20 November). Nuestra policía. Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/opinion/nuestra-policia/10152>.

265 Ciudadanos. (2017, 15 September). De Páramo al director de TV3: 'Basta ya de lavar la imagen de Otegi con el dinero de todos los catalanes'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/de-paramo-al-director-de-tv3-basta-ya-de-lavar-la-imagen-de-otegi-con-el-dinero-de-todos-los-catalanes/9944?lg=es>.

Ciudadanos. (2017, 18 September). Ciudadanos. (2017, 28 October).

received like a rock star, the independentists trying to turn him into a superhero.²⁶⁶ TV3 was accused of using the Catalans' money to clean the image of its "new recruit", Otegi.²⁶⁷

CUP's standpoint is extremely different from Ciudadanos'. The party covers the concessions following the 23-F and the state's dirty war against ETA through the death squads, Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (Antiterrorist Liberation Groups, GAL).²⁶⁸ EUiA discusses the inadequacy of applying the solutions to Basque nationalism to the current situation in Catalonia, pointing to the lack of violence when compared to ETA.²⁶⁹

Ciudadanos claimed that the citizens do not accept blackmail anymore, like with ETA and the coup of 23-F:²⁷⁰ the conflict today will be won similarly with democratic firmness and the leadership of the King.²⁷¹ Ciudadanos recalled the coup as the last challenge of this degree and supports similar solutions: arrests and restoration of constitutional order.²⁷² After the King spoke against the independentists on the 4th of October, Ciudadanos wrote how the King again marked the way for them to defend democracy and freedom.²⁷³ Juan Carlos I's son, the current King, having to speak up to defend democracy was considered unbelievable, as these threats should be part of the past.²⁷⁴ CUP however recalled that the laws on autonomy, dividing Spain into 19 autonomous communities, were a concession to those behind the coup of 23-F.²⁷⁵

266 Ciudadanos. (2017, 18 September).

267 Ciudadanos. (2017, 15 September). Ciudadanos. (2017, 28 October).

268 CUP. (2017, 26 October). Aprobada la moció contra la suspensió de l'autonomia de Catalunya. News. Retrieved from <http://santceloni.cup.cat/noticia/aprovada-la-mocio-contra-la-suspensio-de-lautonomia-de-catalunya>.

269 EUiA. (2017, 18 September). "L'Estat de les autonomies s'ha acabat". Retrieved from https://www.semprealesquerra.cat/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/joan_josep_nuet_eltemps.pdf.

270 Ciudadanos. (2017, 9 October). Rivera: 'El espíritu de Barcelona salió a la calle sin complejos para marcar un antes y un después en este país'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-el-espiritu-de-barcelona-salio-a-la-calle-sin-complejos-para-macar-un-antes-y-un-despues-en-este-pais/10025?lg=es>.

271 Ciudadanos. (2017, 7 October).

Ciudadanos. (2017, 21 October). Rivera sobre el 155: 'Hay que aplicar la Constitución para cambiar al gobierno en Cataluña, restituir la democracia y devolver la voz a los catalanes'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-sobre-el-155-hay-que-aplicar-la-constitucion-para-cambiar-al-gobierno-en-cataluna-restituir-la-democracia-y-devolver-la-voz-a-los-catalanes/10066>.

272 Ciudadanos. (2017, 11b October). Rivera: 'Si no se aplica la Constitución en Cataluña la inmensa mayoría del pueblo español se enfadará'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-si-no-se-aplica-la-constitucion-en-cataluna-la-inmensa-mayoria-del-pueblo-espanol-se-enfadara/10036>.

Ciudadanos. (2017, 18 September).

273 Ciudadanos. (2017, 4 October). Albert Rivera: 'El Gobierno tiene que salir del inmovilismo porque lo irresponsable empieza a ser no actuar'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/albert-rivera-el-gobierno-tiene-que-salir-del-inmovilismo-porque-lo-irresponsable-empieza-a-ser-no-actuar/10007>.

274 Ciudadanos. (2017, 4b October). Rivera: 'Es el momento de actuar porque, o nos ponemos en marcha, o podemos perder este país'. Press release. Retrieved from <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/prensa/rivera-es-el-momento-de-actuar-porque-o-nos-ponemos-en-marcha-o-podemos-perder-este-pais/10010>.

275 CUP. (2017, 26b October).

6. Concluding discussion

The dynamics and framings of the Catalan crisis are inseparable from the Francoist past and how it is interpreted and felt. It works as a pretext: today's positions, justifications and opponents are borrowed from, supported by, and experienced like the interpretations and framings of the past. The past is used to highlight the magnitude and exceptionality of the current crisis but also, contrarily, to imply continuation, tradition, and expected patterns. Sometimes memory is used as a threat, accusation, or reminder of past harms, but at times it brings optimism regarding the future, a sense of collective, shared joy, responsibility, pride, gratitude, and hope. Memory guides at grasping the imagined 'us', 'them' and the nation altogether, whether Spain or Catalonia. It is a versatile and actively used resource.

All conflicting parties alike are using, influencing, reacting to, and countering memory in their arguments, though the manner and the contents differ, even within the conflicting groups. Framings of the past are echoed in the framings of the current situation. Moreover, all framings state a lack of democracy – and therefore the actions and positions of the opponents – to be something that belongs in the past, not the future or in the 21st century. León Solís predicted correctly that the “ghost of the Francoist past” would be “dusted down again as a de-legitimizing tool.”²⁷⁶ However, both the constitutionalists and the independentists in Catalonia used the memory of Franco to delegitimize the opponents, who represent the past that ought to end. Moreover, political conflict is considered dividing and inherently harmful, as the myth of ungovernable Spaniards threatens with a violent escalation.

The independentists recall that President Companys declared the Catalan republic within the Second Republic, and was Franco's victim. Franco's military coup destroyed the Second Republic (Esquerra, CUP), the gained degree of independence (CUP, PDeCAT), and the social revolution of 1936 (CUP). Despite differences in the focal point, the independentists presented the current conflict as the heir of the Civil War. To impose Spanish unity, Franco restricted the use of Catalan, removed the Catalan autonomy, as well as imprisoned and executed masses of those fighting for democracy. The transition to democracy is framed as broken promises, betrayal, and not a transition at all, as the same powers continue to rule through the same families and the King. The different interpretations within the independentists do not seem to create clashes or issues, but they all fit within the campaign. The recalling collective also varies between texts: Esquerra and CUP's articles in English connect the struggles across time with the international efforts against fascism.

Contrary to Wagner's findings,²⁷⁷ Ciudadanos' campaigning actively references even a past before transition: Ciudadanos remember the chaos of the Second Republic, specifically

276 León Solís, F. (2003). p. 146

277 Wagner, P. (2018).

the anarchists' genocide against Catholics, and the rebellious declarations of President Macià and President Companys. These belong in the recollection of chaotic illegality and disorder of the time, which Franco sought to conquer. The party recalls that Franco took the Catalan institutions and autonomy, caused emotional and human fractures, and did not accept disagreeing voices. The transition brought legality, democracy, and most of all unity and coexistence, as instead of confrontation there were handshakes. The Constitution – strongly supported by Catalonia – democracy, and Spanish unity, with the leadership of the King, are framed to have defeated other challenges to the Spanish democracy, namely the coup of 23-F, divisive Basque nationalism, and terrorism. Furthermore, the party discussed the widest range of events and topics, even mentioning the 500-year-old relationship between Spain and Catalonia. Like the other groups, constitutionalists do not fully comply with the 'pact of forgetting', but do not articulate and narrate these references as explicitly and in such detail as the rest. This might be rooted in the narrative's more established status within Spain, or purposeful avoidance, preventing crossing the line when it comes to the possibly contesting private memories of the public.

The interpretations and framings differ significantly between the conflicting groups, as one's success and possible solution is another one's loss or failure, and somebody's hero is someone else's villain. The Second Republic is claimed as their past by at least one pro-referendum and two independentist leftist parties, which further complicates the dynamic. Franco's moral evaluation is shared by all. Yet, the reasons narrated are not explicitly the same, and for all groups the opponents represent Franco at least to some degree. The parties focus on separate aspects of the past, which do not always contradict each other: these spaces for similarities are partly a result of vagueness or silences, forgetting which is done more or less intentionally.

The relationship between the campaigning and the rhetorical and technical devices used to present the past is complex: the flags are not only waved, slogans repeated, and different activists referenced, but their employment and rejection are also debated and questioned. The correct combination of representations can add powerful volume to the message, whereas other utterances and associations are carefully avoided. Moreover, something that was Franco's, like the 1st of October, Elna, or the Modelo prison, is now seized and transformed into an important representation for the anti-Francoist, anti-fascist, and independentist. Memory's importance is visible from how the conflict spreads to the realm of representations and symbols.

The events of 2017 have joined the network of collective memories as one of the most recent layers, with something familiar from the past, this familiar varying amongst the recallers. The familiarity ensures that the past issues continue to be present, strengthening certain interpretations of them. Current experiences of harm, loss, and victimhood cannot

be dealt with separately from and without acknowledging the legacy through which they are interpreted. However, not all divisions and conflicts of the past are considered significant today, despite others resurfacing and being relived, further framing, fuelling, and complicating present-day clashes.

The aim is not to determine the issues, reasonings, and chains of actions that have caused or motivated the crisis itself. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that collective memories of the Civil War and Franco's regime play a prominent part in the conflict in Catalonia. All conflicting parties are using, influencing, reacting to, and countering memory in their arguments, citing, avoiding, and moulding different representations. The approach, regularity, thoroughness, and clarity differ, as do the elements selected. Results speak for plurality in recollections within the pro-referendum and independentists. The same cannot be concluded from the constitutionalists, as the sample included only one constitutionalist party. The main distinctions in the memory frames between the conflicting groups are situated in the relationship with the Second Republic, how much the current Spanish state has to do with its Francoist past, and how much – and what – the Catalan independentists and Basque nationalists have in common.

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