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Abstract

In 2015 Madrid's former mayor Manuela Carmena announced that during her legislature the city hall of Madrid would rename the remaining streets that held Francoist homages. This announcement raised divided reactions by the different sectors of Madrilenian society, from the fiercest opposition to the most hopeful encouragements. The resistances and celebrations shed light on the contested nature of Madrid's urban space and its influence in the public discourse. Indeed, public space and therefore, street names craft the way in which social interactions happen and serves as a material support for the identity expression of the different social groups. This paper examines the relationship of public discourse on memory with street renaming to understand whether urban space can become a space of reparations. To understand these dynamics, I contrast current discourses on memory at various levels through quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Corpus analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis) to unpack discursive practices that can shed light on Madrid's conflicts of memory. I argue that urban space is important to the reparation of past crimes, if combined with wider processes of transitional justice, identity-building, and memory-making.

Abstrakt

2015 kündigte die ehemalige Bürgermeisterin von Madrid, Manuela Carmena, an, dass das Rathaus von Madrid während ihrer Legislaturperiode die noch verbliebenen Straßen mit Franco-Huldigungen umbenennen würde. Diese Ankündigung löste in den verschiedenen Bereichen der madrilenischen Gesellschaft geteilte Reaktionen aus, von heftigem Widerstand bis hin zu hoffnungsvollen Ermutigungen. Die Widerstände und Feiern werfen ein Licht auf den umstrittenen Charakter des Madrider Stadtraums und seinen Einfluss auf den öffentlichen Diskurs. Der öffentliche Raum und damit auch die Straßennamen prägen die Art und Weise, in der soziale Interaktionen stattfinden, und dienen als materieller Träger für den Ausdruck der Identität der verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen. In diesem Beitrag wird die Beziehung zwischen dem öffentlichen Diskurs über Erinnerung und der Umbenennung von Straßen untersucht, um zu verstehen, ob der städtische Raum zu einem Raum der Wiedergutmachung werden kann. Um diese Dynamik zu verstehen, vergleiche ich die aktuellen Erinnerungsdiskurse auf verschiedenen Ebenen mit Hilfe quantitativer und qualitativer Methoden (Korpusanalyse und kritische Diskursanalyse), um diskursive Praktiken zu entschlüsseln, die Licht auf die Erinnerungskonflikte in Madrid werfen können. Ich argumentiere, dass der urbane Raum für die Wiedergutmachung vergangener Verbrechen wichtig ist, wenn er mit umfassenderen Prozessen der Übergangsgerechtigkeit, Identitätsbildung und Erinnerungsarbeit kombiniert wird.

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1. Introduction

Throughout the Francoist dictatorship, Madrid was projected to be the symbol of power of the regime. The city grew, monuments and statues were erected, and street names were changed to commemorate the victory of the fascist army in the Spanish Civil War. The project of making Madrid “the capital of the empire” was one of the strategies to spread the new reified narratives on the national identity and on historical events. Throughout the transition to democracy, the fear of more violence built a *pacto de silencio* (silence agreement) that was spread as a form of consensus. However, different democratic governments at different stages have gradually eliminated the fascist remnants of the city. However, the institutional declarations avoided the disapproval of the regime to not upset the new socio-political status quo. However, in 2015 Madrid’s former mayor Manuela Carmena announced that during her legislature the city hall of Madrid would rename the remaining streets that held Francoist homages. This announcement raised divided reactions by the different sectors of Madrilenian society, from the fiercest opposition to the most hopeful encouragements. The resistances and celebrations shed light on the contested nature of Madrid’s urban space and its influence in the public discourse.

The urban space is defined in base of the “webs of cultural, social, and political” relationships that craft the identities of people (Staeheli, 2008, p. 159-60). Therefore, space sets the framework of action in which the interactions among social groups happen. The past is at the same time central to the construction of the identity of these social groups, which is situated spatially. The discourses on the past therefore, shape urban space in relation with the groups that dwell them. Street names are part of this discursive universe, in which social groups are placed simultaneously in urban space and in local discourses. *A priori*, street names reflect the figures or events of the past that are instrumental for the identity of local groups. However, transitional contexts often involve tensions and disagreements following different interpretations of the past. Indeed, urban space is also the siege of the struggle for representation of social group’s narratives.

As an official narrative, history has a selective dimension that expresses a particular interpretation of the past that is instrumental for the cohesion and stability of a society. History, indeed, can only account for the part of the past that is considered relevant. Thus, it is a single-plot narrative that is built on what it decides to remember as much as in what it decides to forget. The construction of history and the places of memory that spatialise it can therefore leave the experiences and narratives of certain groups outside of it. As a practice of commemoration, street names become then an arena of clash over representation in which

everyday exclusions are also expressed. In transitional contexts, this can entail that the symbolic space created by street names represents a space for the instrumentalization of power. However, in transitional contexts, street names can become a space to challenge current narratives about the past. Indeed, in transitional contexts, street renaming can become a space of reparation through place re-making enhancing new understandings of the past and serving justice, truth, and reparation.

This paper examines the relationship of public discourses on memory with street renaming to understand whether urban space can become a space of reparations. To understand these dynamics, I contrast current discourses on memory at various levels through quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Corpus analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis) to unpack discursive practices that can shed light on Madrid's conflicts of memory. Concretely, I analyse the reactions to the street renaming project in media to contrast it with the discourse of the average citizen, with hints of academic discourses, and with an institutional report explaining the intentions of the policy. By doing so, I unpack the discourses to determine whether the city can become a space for reparations that inscribes new meanings, fostering new understandings of the past.

In the first section, there is a summary of the most relevant literature in relation with the main thematic lines of the paper: memory and identity; history and official narratives; traumatic pasts, counter-memories and transitional justice; place and memory; politics of space and memory; and street names, politics and memory. This paper draws from interdisciplinary academic literature namely from sociology, political science, cultural studies, or psychology. In the second chapter, the research is unpacked, with a section for the problematisation, the research questions and hypothesis, and another one for the methodologies. In the third chapter, there is an explanation of the case. The case study is the discourses and politics of memory policies of Madrid. In this section one can find a quick overview of the main features of the city, of the history related to the civil war and to the Francoist dictatorship, ending with an overview of memory policies and street renaming in the city of Madrid. In the findings section, there is an in-depth analysis some of the main discourses revolving memory and memory policies in Madrid. Finally, in the discussion, there is a reformulation of the main themes of the literature review in relation with the case, to end with a quick conclusion, the limitations of the study, and recommendations for further research.

2. Literature review

Memory and identity

The study and conception of memory has evolved in line with historical events of the 20th century, such as the Holocaust, the fall of the Eastern Block, the transition to democracy of countries, namely in Latin America, or the end of the Apartheid in South Africa. This has fostered the interest in memory of different disciplines mainly in the social sciences and humanities. They have developed and used accordingly different ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies. There has been therefore an inconsistent and multidisciplinary use of the concepts that involve the study of memory, with a special mention of the concept of collective memory (González García, 2018; Olick & Robbins, 1998). This paper aims at furthering the understanding of changes in urban spaces that signify collective memory discourses of the past. To approach the subject theoretically, first, a revision of the main concepts and understandings revolving around memory and history is offered. . Second, the concept of transitional justice is outlined , laying particular focus on reparations and memory. Third, various conceptualizations of space are brought forth, necessary for a fruitful discussion on, streets and street names as a part of spaces symbolic dimension. Finally, street names will be interrogated in relation to memory and reparation to understand how urban space can become a space of reparations.

This thesis's underlying intent is to extend the theoretical lineage of collective memory. Traditionally there have been two main understandings of the phenomenon. On the one hand, the collectivists who, like Maurice Halbwachs, understand memory as social, highly embedded in social interactions, cultural norms, and group identity. On the other, the individualist school of thought, in which Howard Schuman is the biggest exponent. These academics focus on the individual recording of information, and they understand culture as its consequence. The collectivist theories have received criticism in relation with its determinism and the individualist of underseeing power relations and the embeddedness of memory in social interactions (Olick, 1999; Barahona de Brito, 2010). The pioneer in the study of the social dimension of memory is Maurice Halbwachs, who through the study of the social frameworks of memory establishes a link between the individual storage of events that psychologist such as Sigmund Freud had studied, and the collective consciousness that sociologists such as his mentor Durkheim had studied. However, it is important to note that even if collectivist academics highlight the inherently collective nature of memory, Halbwachs, for instance, defines an individual counterpart (1925, in Olick & Robbins, 1998). The individual is ultimately the subject of storing and accessing events and images. Further, as each individual holds

membership to different groups, the melting pot of social frameworks is somewhat unique (Lowenthal, 2015).

Halbwachs linked memory to “socialisation” (Assman, 2011, p. 1). For him, the different social groups from which the individual holds membership, provide “contextual elements and socio-temporal boundaries” (González García, 2018, p. 86) to the “different cognitive and neurological processes of storage” (Olick, 1999, p. 10). Memory, therefore, depends on a “social space”, as it is “established in a temporal and spatial framework that is shared with a social group” (Boyer, 1996, p. 26). In other words, socialization in the present provides the language in which the past will be stored and accessed (Olick, 1999; González García, 2018). When examining the collective dimension of memory, he explains it as a conglomerate of social representations and group formations. Since humans always remember collectively, our memories are always produced in the context of interactions and updates of past events (Lifschitz & Arenas, 2012). As Svetlana Boym puts it, the “voluntary and involuntary recollections of an individual intertwine with” senses of belonging and collective memories. Thus, memories become “the common landmarks of everyday life” (Boym, 2008, p. 44-46).

Consequently, the collective nature of memory makes identity and membership key dimensions to analyse. Halbwachs highlights the multiple memories (and therefore multiple social frameworks) existing in a society at a certain point in time. This sets these frameworks in the present but relating to the past of each group (Lifschitz & Arenas, 2012). These groups are called mnemonic communities by Metzel, who have a specific “cognitive bias” originated from their collective identity (Metzel, 2003 in Barahona de Brito, 2010, p. 6). Lowenthal classifies the way in which these groups relate to their past. The past brings familiarity, guidance, or a collective identity, since it is “integral to” their “sense of self”, as “the past renders” their “present recognisable” (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 82-94). Groups, their sense of self and their mental shortcuts can be linked to culture. In this vein, cultural identity depends of what Michael Herzfeld defined as “cultural intimacy”. Thus, identity relies on “unwritten rules of behaviour”, on “a sense of complicity”, and therefore on the texture and colour of everyday interactions (Herzfeld, 1997 in Boym, 2008, p. 39). Following Svetlana Boym’s claims, this behavioural and cognitive order can also be read in relation with the concept of cultural myth from Roland Barthes. The cultural myth is a “recurrent narrative perceived as natural and commonsensical in a given culture”, regardless of its “historical and political context” (Boym, 2008, p. 46; Barthes, 2015).

Svetlana Boym (2008) also reflects about identity and memory through the concept on nostalgia. The etymology relates to the Greek’s nostos, which means return to the home. The home

appears in her work as an imagined and projected one, which links to the sense of belonging. Events and pasts are reified in the mental images of groups, expressed in “single plot national identities” or in the “social memory”, which are those “collective frameworks” that influence “individual memories” (Boym, 2011, p. 11). Geoffrey Cubbit also understands social memory as inherent to the group or community. He defines it as a myriad of “processes” that tend “to generate a diversity of understandings ... of what pasts ought to be evoked or described or celebrated”, and which ideas and connotations they should be associated with (Cubbit, 2007 in McGrattan & Hopkins, 2017, p. 7). Having understood briefly the relation of memory with culture and identity, it is important to note that there have been other theoretical formulations that put their focus on this aspect. They vary in their understanding of the phenomenon, on the means of communication, on the scale of the phenomenon, or in the narratives or experiences that they leave outside.

There is another key dimension in memory which is not neglectable: its selective dimension. It is the case in the concepts of cultural (Assman, 1992 in Olick & Robbins, 1998), social (Assman, 2011 in McGrattan & Hopkins, 2017; Boym, 2008), historical (Halbwachs, 1995), or autobiographical memory (Halbwachs, 1950 in Lowenthal, 2015; Halbwachs, 1950 in Olick & Robbins, 1998). Memory is crafted by what it remembers as much as by what it decides, more or less consciously, to forget. Marc Augé highlights the importance of “oblivion” in shaping memory, “as the outlines of the shore are created by the sea” (Augé, 2004 in McGrattan and Hopkins, 2017, p. 8-9). For Lowenthal, this is the human quality that allows to “curb chaos and classify” (2015, p. 318). This becomes very well expressed in Nietzsche’s “memory must be curtailed or obliterated, lest the past becomes the gravedigger of the present (Nietzsche, 1874 in Lowenthal, 2015). The process of selection is more or less conscious or active, but what becomes clear is that memory is an active and dynamic process rather than a passive coding of events. Indeed, the recording and transmission of the past, inevitably alters what is finally stored (Lowenthal, 2015). Selection, transmission, evolution and change become patent in national identities, which are very connected to the notion of history.

History and official narratives

Memory and history are two sides of the same coin. For Halbwachs, it depends on the means of transmission (Halbwachs, 1995). Collective memory is mainly connected to the oral tradition, whereas history is written. Furthermore, collective memory has an organic relationship with the communities to whom it belongs, whereas history is the written past with which we no longer

have a living connection (Olick & Robbins, 1998). However, they are interrelated processes. In the words of Lowenthal: “memory includes second-hand accounts of the past – that is, memory. And history relies on eyewitness recollections – that is, memory” (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 396). Indeed, the past marks the present through “residues in our minds, muscles, genes and *genres de vie*” (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 18). Nora understands history and memory as capital processes for the symbolic life and identity of countries. He distinguishes *milieux de la mémoire*, which are current collective memory frameworks, and *lieux de la mémoire*, which are material, functional or symbolic supports for the memory of the nation, that serve cohesion and consensus (Lifschitz & Arenas, 2012; Nora, 2008). These *lieux de la mémoire* are the places in which memory is cristalised and contained. This consensus builds the single plot national identities presented above.

Indeed, bringing back the reflections on nostalgia from Svetlana Boym, there is a “tale of recovered identity” which reconstructs the “discrepancy and tension” between “cultural intimacy” and “state propaganda and official national memory” (Boym, 2008, p. 39). Indeed, Lowenthal says that “history is merely one among many versions of the past”, which is instrumental to the identity and cohesion of a society (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 18). Furthermore, he highlights that the immensity of the past cannot be expressed in history, and albeit history’s efforts to reach the biggest objectivity it can, there is always an unavoidable bias. This is well expressed in Pierre Nora’s *l’histoire rassemble, la mémoire divise* (history assembles, memory divides) (Nora, 2008). History is instrumental and is erected among national symbols and images, whereas memory has a more organic link to the subjects of the process and influences popular culture. In what has been defined as public memory, for instance, the projects of nation-identity building is led by the elites with a certain agenda. An example is the political transformation of the Eastern European post-communist States. The authorities carried out an elimination of communist symbols and narratives in order to influence the public memory (Light & Young, 2015).

The field of memory has evolved exponentially since the development of postmodernism. Postmodernism is an interdisciplinary movement that is characterised by the rupture with the logics of modernism. Postmodernism depends on rather fluid understandings of reality, taking a rather ironic position against grand narratives. It is based among other principles in relativism (Nuyen, 1992). Particularly, memory studies, history, and historiography have developed countless new approaches. Since postmodernism, the single plot identities and histories have been rejected, opening the door for the history of the oppressed individuals, the importance of the unimportant. Some academics have criticised Nora for leaving out the power relations of

history and national narratives, and Halbwachs for forgetting about the official national narratives (Boym, 2008). The critics of past views on memory and history have burgeoned since then. Anderson, for example, focuses on the hegemony that underlies the defeat of social and ethnic groups in order to create reified the imagined communities that Nation States are. Others like Hobsbawm talk about the inventions of tradition, which have been carried out in colonial states, to impose a certain narrative and cultural status quo (Lifschitz & Arenas, 2012). As it has been showed, multiple academics have discussed that the line between fiction and reality, and from events to narratives, is blurry, unclear, yet follows particular agendas. These aim to depoliticise and frame the past as incontestable (McGrattan & Hopkins, 2017). However, new generations are indeed contesting those rigid narratives.

These topics have become increasingly important throughout the socio-political transitions around the globe, and through the post-colonial and post-modern approaches. Post-colonial approaches is a school of thought that explains current power relations through the history of domination of one social group over another, based on colonisation mainly by European nations (Laurie et al., 2019). Academics such as Huyssens (2003) or Molden (2016) have shed light on the power relations and goals that underlie the selective dimension of History. Huyssens, for instance has highlighted that the boom in the culture of memory following globalization and the industry of heritage may foster paradoxically a boom of amnesia on its flipside. The elections on what is to be remembered and what is to be forgotten is intrinsic to the power relations of each society. Berthold Molden uses the theories of hegemony to make sense of these. For him, there are “master hegemonic narratives” pushed by the powerful groups of society, while there are marginal “counter-memories” that challenge them, and a silent majority whose memories are “rarely articulated in public” (Molden, 2016, p. 1). Academics such as Molden or McGrattan & Hopkins, remind that memory and representation struggles are always biased, as much as any other socio-political process, by gender, class, and the power relations in which our social interactions are embedded (McGrattan & Hopkins, 2017).

Traumatic pasts, counter-memories and transitional justice

When dealing with traumatic or violent pasts, the importance of counter-memories increases a great deal. The previous consensus and the silences established in previous official narratives are challenged by counter-memories. Hence, counter-memories challenge the cohesion and stability of the socio-political status quo. McGrattan and Hopkins highlight how the “memories about oppression and repression emerge” to dispute the society consensus “with the double

intent ... of asserting the true version of history based on their memories and of demanding justice". The process of construction of narratives about the past, then become not merely "a battle between remembering and forgetting", but a battle for representation, a "conflict of meaning", and a clash for "inscription and articulation" of certain experiences in the annals of history (McGrattan & Hopkins, 2017, p. 4). Based on these principles, the research and policy field of transitional justice has emerged to address how to manage conflicts of memory and representation struggles around the idea of rebuilding a society after a violent past.

This field and concept refer to the multidimensional intertwined processes that newborn post-conflict democracies carry out following the overthrow of authoritarian regimes. The United Nations define it as the set of processes "after a legacy of large-scale past abuses. The aim of these processes is restoring "the dysfunctional judicial infrastructure" (what is considered restoring the Rule of Law), managing the "crimes" for which "the former regime" can be held accountable, and dealing with "the structural and systemic injustices that led to conflict through reparation and compensation" (Kasapas, 2008, p. 2). The UN defines its goals in terms of "accountability, justice and reconciliation" (UN, 2010, p. 1). Other sources highlight reparation, truth, and justice (Aguilar, 2009). The main tools to reach those goals range from mass trials to truth commissions. However, some important tools for these papers are the ones that are geared to including the counter-memories in history and to reach reconciliation through symbolic statements and acts in solidarity with the victims. Furthermore, it is also important to highlight the ones that aim at changing national and local narratives to change the relation of the post-conflict society with its past to reach stability and cohesion (Kasapas, 2008; Barahona de Brito, 2010).

These policies are usually framed within distributive justice. Its approach is geared towards stable peace, and it understands the restitution of the victims as the most important factor to reach it. Therefore, the main actions of retributive justice are reparations, be they symbolic or material. The term reparation has a close relationship in the first place with the psychic notion of guilt. In that sense, reparations fix the harm that has been afflicted on someone (Hamber, 2006). These measures can include material compensations, that take form in economic remuneration or other tangible forms, and symbolic actions, as for instance institutional statements or memorialization processes. they can foster processes of collective memory and can encourage social solidarity. Both are important for the cohesion and the creation of harmonious and non-conflictive collective identities. However, as the past is often an arena of clash in these situations, they can create dissensus among the population (De Greiff, 2006). In close relation with reparations, there is what some academics and institutions call policies of

memory (Aguilar, 2009; Blair Trujillo, 2005). The policies of memory are deliberate actions by the social and political agents that are geared towards the conservation, transmission, and valorisation of some parts of the past that are retained as relevant (Groppo, 2002, p. 3). Through the specific conservation of the past that these actions promote, they seek to establish the public memory in order to build feelings of belonging and collective identity.

Place and memory

Light & Young stress that urban space is essential to foster processes of public memory, as they provide the material support for the expression of identities and collective memories. For them, the introduction of changes into it after traumatic pasts can catalyse the processes of mourning, due the conflictual nature of urban spaces (Light & Young, 2015). Since material supports are a vehicle for identity, populations can identify with changes in the built environment, such as the remodeling of a square or the removal of a statue. Hence, for the development of the study of spatial changes in relation with the memory of a due society, there is a need to understand the nature and concept of place and space. Space has traditionally be seen as a container of interactions, as the physical entity in which events are undertaken. In this sense, it is understood as a location, in which places are set. Therefore, places are situated in space. Space is physical, whereas place is symbolic (Staeheli, 2008). Staeheli stresses the difficulty of proposing a closed and precise definition. Indeed, there are different perspectives that can be taken to understand it. The concept can be referred to “as a context or setting, in relational terms, and as something active and dynamic”. Places are intrinsically social, therefore the “webs of cultural, social and political relationships” that craft the identities of people, influence the way in which the physical space interacts with people or influence the interactions between them (Staeheli, 2008, p. 159-160). Furthermore, as Massey and Allen stress, “context provides the settings or *milieu* for social action” (Massey and Allen, 1984 in Staeheli, 2008, p. 161). And this *milieu* is a product of the “layering of activities” i.e., physical, social, and economic processes, “that constantly make them and remake” a place (Massey, 1979 in Staeheli, 2008). In this sense, place is connected to the different layers of history and memory, being produced and reproduced in the social relations happening in the present.

Catherine Boyer, however, discussed how the public space of the city has changed from a representation and instrumentalization of power to a rather fragmented entity, in which planners fail to relate plots to each other and to the layers of memory that compose them (Boyer, 1996). In her formulations, it is interesting to see an individual relationship with urban

space, which can be related to the way in which Benjamin sees the city. Benjamin shows in his texts how cityscapes are able to invoke the past of the citizen. Memory then reacts to urban space, which acts as a palimpsest in a way in which people rewrite and relearn to interpret the signs. There is therefore a continuous dialectic relationship between the past and the present that is reread and rewritten over and over (Saldívar, 2009). Benjamin's understanding can be connected to Proust's concept of "remembrance", which "is an unpredictable adventure in syncretic perception where words and tactile sensations overlap" (Boym, 2008, p. 44). Sensations and the textual imaginaries through which we read urban space are also shown in the work of the German writer, which puts the focus on how images and language interact within the coding and interpretation of urban space. For Benjamin, the city is the space of daydreaming where the layers of history, perception and memory come together. Indeed, the citizen through dreamlike practices reconstructs signs, traces, and images creates the city as he or she walks and gets lost through it. The city becomes the arena of the creation of images, of living them and re-narrating them. Therefore, for him, commemoration is a possibility of reliving, re-reading and re-narrating space, which becomes a set of dialectic images from the past (Benjamin, 2006).

To continue with the tradition of the study of space in memory studies, a lot of attention has been paid to its tangible and intangible supports that hold symbolic value. Space has been widely studied, since the work of Halbwachs (1950), in which he emphasizes the power of the images in the world that surround us, which cannot be separated from our identities and memories. He calls this the double focus (surroundings, which are linked to perception and inner self, which is linked to the cognitive reactions to perception). Nevertheless, the concept of places of memory or firstly the realms of memory (*les lieux de la mémoire*) were introduced by Pierre Nora, attributing this label to any tangible or intangible support that is given symbolic value that connects to the past or identity of a group or society. In this concept, he develops three dimensions (material, symbolic and functional) that connect groups, their identities, and their memories to these tangible or intangible entities (Nora, 2008). To Karen Till, there are topographies of memory, as the imaginaries and practices of groups are "situated spatially" (Till, 2003). She understands places of memory as ever-changing dynamic spaces in which the production of meaning becomes the arena of the clash over representations, power relations and instrumentalization. Traditionally, they have been used to foster common identities as in reified Nation-State imaginaries and as a symbol of stability in relation with narratives about the past. To give a concrete example, Lowenthal explains how the Market Square of Warsaw was rebuilt, on the one hand to recuperate a space which was instrumental to Polish identity, and to

remind the population the reminiscing character of the square due to the traumatic recent past (Lowenthal, 2015).

Politics of space and memory

Places of memory are spaces in which the clash for the representation of collective memories is given a material form. The conceptualization of the concept has often put its focus on the urban built environment (Blair, 2005; Huyssen, 2011; Macho, 2019; Schindel, 2009). Indeed, Till argues that places of memory are spaces that show who has the power in the present to give material form to their narratives about the past (Till, 2003). This is a dynamic process that changes over time with shifts in socio-political regimes and has a historical progression. It is indeed not only important what is kept or what is incorporated into the urban space, but how the public narratives are constructed around these spaces. In the already mentioned literature, there are numerous references to the conflictual and controversial nature of the spatialisation of collective memories (or official memories). This is especially the case when it comes to remembering traumatic and violent pasts that have involved conflicts within different collectives. In these cases, there is a negotiation between different groups that claim urban space as an opportunity to materialize their narratives about the past (Schindel, 2009). Groups produce imaginaries geared towards the achievement of their “present and future” objectives and the establishment of certain political agendas (Charlesworth, 1994 in Till, 2003). Following this logic, there are some cases in which urban space does not appropriately show its recent violent pasts, and there are given new meanings or they are demolished to avoid the emergence of conflictive narratives about the past. This is what Macho calls places of denial (Macho, 2019).

Indeed, Catherine Boyer highlights how, despite the common social agreement that the urban space should represent all of the members of a due society, “we allow dominant voices to impose their meaning and to control the politics of representation” (Boyer, 1996, p. 4). For her, the “interpretative systems” through which we read urban space have become obsolete. She further highlights that this crisis of memory relies on “our need to “establish counter-memories” to challenge “the dominant coding of images and representations” (Boyer, 1996, p. 28). Within this logic urban space can indeed be read as a siege for the instrumentalization of power. The urban built environment has been often appropriated by the elites, setting agendas for official representations in line with what happens in the construction of historical narratives. Despite the negotiation about the representations of the past in the built environment, often the

expressed narratives are not representative, as it implies the exclusion of narratives. This entails indeed the lack of material support to the memory of certain groups. In terms of culture, this relates to the concept of hegemony, set by Antonio Gramsci (Ekers et al., 2012; Xiaobo, 2013). Gramsci's theories are embedded in historical materialism, so its understanding of culture and domination are linked to relations of production. This study will discard the relations of production but take the strategies and the mechanisms that the bourgeoisie deploys for reaching cultural hegemony in the work of Gramsci. At the cultural level, the dominant groups spread their imaginaries and representations, in a way that a different understanding of reality becomes marginal and seen as misfit (Molden, 2016). This fosters a certain "configuration of the built environment" that is associated with the narratives and representation emanating from the dominant groups, through which hegemonic narratives are introduced using power to "influence mass consciousness, popular culture and daily life" (Xiaobo, 2013:1). Svetlana Boym (2008) addresses how history, the cultural narratives about the past, and popular culture have an intertwined relation of influence with the built environment. Thus, something is built because the dominant groups of a due society wants to express a particular narrative about the past, and the hegemonic narratives determine at the same time what is going to be built.

Street names, politics, memory

The cultural politics can indeed be expressed in myriad ways, from the plan of the city to place toponymics. Street naming can become, then, a special mechanism of place-making, since they are symbols that construct the cultural landscape of a place (Alderman, 1996; Rose-Redwood, 2008). Place-name studies or toponymy have determined how the denomination of a space represents its "symbolic transformation" (Azaryahu, 2011, p, 2). As Palonen puts it street names set a particular "discursive universe" in which the urban wanderer is located "simultaneously in urban space and in local discourses". Within this discursive approach the city can be understood as a text, which grant "meaning" to the "urban" space, while offering a support for "identification and contestation". The identification and contestation are locally rooted, as this sort of commemorative practices rely on the cultural identity of a place. Street names in the present, links places with their past, while projecting a certain idea of the own future connected to history and ideology (Palonen, 2017, p. 1-2).

Indeed, place-making through street names speak to societal practices of commemoration, in which current politics play a major role. Street names indeed bring history into everyday life

practices and spaces, being an accurate picture of what is historically relevant (Aldermann in Rose-Redwood, 2008). However, the historically relevant items are related to the selective dimension of history. Street names therefore express in what they remember as much as in what they seek to forget. In this line of thought, Rose-Redwood (2008) underline that street names are a tool to legitimise and reify hegemonic discourses, introducing the selected narratives about the past into the everyday city-scapes. Therefore, they become an arena of clash over representation in which everyday exclusions in terms of gender, ethnicity, class, and other forms of political exclusion become spatialised, as it is the case with other places of memory. Street names therefore build a certain symbology, through which urban space becomes an arena of instrumentalization of power. In some cases this seeks the spatialisation of particular political agendas, as it is the case in authoritarian political regimes. Ulrike Capodeón studied this particular instrumentalization of power through the study of street names in Madrid during fascist times (Capodeón, 2020).

The reification of history and political narratives build a cultural hegemony, which in some cases hinder the changes of urban space, as in the case of street names. However, street names, as a tool for remembrance, also become a way to symbolically repair past damages. Street renaming has the possibility of challenging the hegemonic narratives, representing the suffering and struggle of determined social groups (Rose-Redwood, 2008). Indeed, through the inscription of counter-memories in the everyday city-scapes, street renaming enhance the evolution of political and identity narratives. In context of political regime transitions, the application of transitional justice has street renaming as one of the tools for symbolic reparation. Indeed, through street renaming, a process of place re-making can assist in repairing “damaged social fabrics, collective identity, sense of place, and collective self-esteem” (Piquard, 2016). The street renaming is indeed a way to inscribe counter-memories into official narratives through spatial and symbolic changes. In this sense, street renaming contributes to the principles of transitional justice of justice and reparation (Aguilar, 2009, Carballés, 2017).

The cultural hegemony and the consequent narratives and interpretations of the past can cause resistance to change in cases with conflictual social memories. Duminy (2014) studies the post-apartheid street renaming in Durban, South Africa. The process of transitional justice enhanced certain political and identity narratives of a new-born reconciliated collective identity after apartheid. However, in some, cases street renaming processes became an arena of clash, for representing an excessively resource-demanding process and a potential tool to “obliterate the past” (Duminy, 2014, p. 3). Indeed, Duminy highlights that particularly in post-colonial contexts, tension and opposition tend to arise when street renaming challenges the official memory status

quo. Indeed, the conflicts of memory and the conflictual arena of past representations challenge identities and narratives, which enhance opposition by the elites and social groups with rather conservative political agendas. For the sake of this study, symbolic representation in the urban toponyms are crucial to understand the discourses that arise from changes in the city-scape. And resistance represents another dimension cultural struggle over the hegemony that is represented in street renaming.

3. Case study

Madrid and its cultural and geographic construction

Madrid is the capital city of Spain and from the Comunidad de Madrid, its region. It has 3,334,730 inhabitants, making it the biggest city in the Iberian Peninsula and the second biggest city in the European Union after Paris (INE, 2020, Shivaji, 2015). Its metropolitan area is the third biggest, after Paris and London, with 6,6 million inhabitants (Eurostat, 2019). Its strategic position in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula has made it a big communication node over the course of time. Among other things, it made it become the capital city of the kingdom in the XVI century, through the transfer of the Court and the main institutions to the town. However, this would not be legally established until 1931, with the Constitution of the Second Republic. Madrid has become a node of communication and power, within the Spanish borders and beyond. The city has been instrumental in the construction of the State after the union of the kingdoms of Castilla and Aragon (Fernández-Güell, 2014). The turn of Madrid into the capital city of the country has had two main consequences. On the one hand, it has enhanced its importance as the centre for transport, trade, economic activities, and economic fluxes. This has consequently led to the growth in terms of extension, population, and symbolic capital. On the other hand, and following the growth of Madrid as the economic, political, and social node, the city has been granted a special position in terms of symbolic power. The capital city is an instrumentalization of the political power of the State, and it also has been used to project images about the cultural identity of the nation.

The Spanish territorial model can be read in terms of core-periphery. The growth of Madrid has been erected through the centralisation of power. The institutions and mechanisms of the Spanish State have had in Madrid their executive arm since the transfer of the institutions to the town in the XVI Century. In the XIX Century, this process intensifies following the construction of what Oscar Pazos have called a radial State, that have Madrid as the centre, depending on its periphery to function. This was fostered by the construction of the railway network, that had Madrid as its centre (Fernández-Güell, 2014). From the beginning of the XX Century to the Spanish Civil War Madrid started a process of modernisation, to match other European capitals, trying to mirror Paris or London (Martín, 2000). In this era, the projects of the *Gran Madrid* try to turn Madrid into a metropolis, through the financial centralisation, the project of increasing its industrial tissue, and enhancing its conception as the Capital city of the country. Later, from the end of the Civil War in 1939, the city becomes a project of *Capital Imperial*, in line with the fascist ideas of the instrumentalization of power of the capital city. In the 50's and especially in

the 60's, Madrid develops its economic activities becoming one of the industrial nodes of the country and growing exponentially and chaotically, erasing the fingerprints of the traditional Madrid. The policies from the last three decades have fostered its inscription in the global economic fluxes, which have enhanced the transformation of Madrid into a Global City. Madrid has been completely transformed during the XX Century into a siege of power and an industrial and financial node, which have heavily transformed the city in productive, spatial, social, and cultural terms.

Culturally and historically, it is important to understand the position that Madrid displays symbolically around the idea of Spanish culture and of the national identity. In the first place, Madrid through its conversion into a capital city gave it an aura of high social status related to politics, to the arts, or to other cultural practices such as bullfighting, in the turn of the XVII century, the so-called *Siglo de Oro* (Gold century). This started building the idea of the nation around the existence of its capital city. This was further enhanced when Madrid became the example of urbanisation and modernisation of the Spanish society in the XIX Century and in the start of the XX Century, together with Barcelona¹. This grew as an opposition between the ideas of progress and high culture associated to the city in contraposition to the ones of ignorance and handwork related to the countryside. These ideas were capital for the development of the liberal institutions as well as for the new capitalist relations of property and commerce, as much as they enhanced the new status of the country and of the city (Fernández Güell, 2014).

With the *coup d'état* and the subsequent Civil War, Madrid was left devastated. With the fascist victory, Madrid was chosen as the administrative and symbolic node of power from the dictatorship. The goal was to create a grandiose spatial and symbolic environment that matched the fascist delusions of grandeur for the country, or Empire: *La Nueva España*. They turned Madrid into the religious and political heart of the country, its centre in terms of transport and communication, in economic and industrial terms, and finally through the cultural and educational institutions (Pérez Mínguez, 1939 in Box, 2012). With the Constitution from 1978 after the death of the dictator Madrid keeps its status of capital of the democratic State. Some academics such as Pazos have argued how the centralisation of power has continued since the transition to democracy (Pazos, 2013). Despite the federalisation that came with the Constitution, the institutions have been kept in Madrid and the national institutions in the rest

¹ Barcelona, however, was developed through a different logic. It became an important centre for the Catalan nationalist movements, growing of an important industrial tissue, that followed the lead of other European cities. This growth aimed to establish an economic centre in the Catalan capital. This was always done in contraposition to the centralisation of power that came along with the development of Madrid (Fernández-Güell, 2014).

of the regions depend on the centralised power that is in Madrid. Furthermore, there has been active decisions to keep the financial institutions in the capital city. For example, with the crisis in the 90s, the government supported some financial institutions with public funding with the condition of moving their head office to the capital city.

In terms of identity, since the Francoist dictatorship, the image of Madrid has been used as a reification of the national identity, at least in the political discourse. In the last few years, and especially since the nationalist movement in Catalunya took off around the referendum of 2017, the concept of Madrid has been used in politics to represent the idea of the union or centralisation of the State. This has been used in the recent developments in regional politics but also by the Catalan, Galician, or Basque nationalist movements to reify the identity, culture and power of the Spanish State (Pazos, 2013; Box, 2012).

The Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship

Madrid, throughout the democratic times has had some conflicts on how to remember its past, as much as in the rest of the country. The burden of the Civil War is still a heavy discussion that have different perspectives on how to deal with it. The idea of the transition has been defended by a big share of the Spanish population, not without controversy and different opinions. The political spectrum in the country has been polarised at different points in time, and within the last two decades, new perspectives have emerged, especially in line with the actions of Civil Society Organisations such as ARHM (*Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* / Association for the Recuperation of the Historical Memory) or the *Foros por la Memoria* (Forums for memory). The actions of these groups have fostered a discussion at the political level, that has been taken by the Socialist Party (PSOE from now on) and the rather conservative Peoples Party (PP from now on). Before presenting the development of events in the last two decades, it is key for this study to have a hint o what the Civil War was, and how the conflict happened in the city of Madrid, which had one of the key fronts of the Civil War (Boyd, 2008; Capodeón, 2020).

The Civil War started in July 1936, following a failed *coup d'état* by the Nationalist fascist side. The uprising side was formed mainly by a big share of the Army. Most of the officials supported the uprising, since a big number of them were conservative. Inside the country, they were supported by the Falange (the fascist party of Spain in the 30s) and other conservatives and monarchist parties, by many aristocratic and bourgeois families, and eventually by the Catholic

Church. Outside of Spanish borders, they were supported by Hitler and Mussolini, which sent troops and equipment. The Republican side, which defended the established legal order of the country was made by a share of the army that remained loyal to the Republic. Inside the country, they were supported by the liberal or leftist parties, by the unions (CNT and UGT mainly), and by communist and anarchist militias. Outside of the country, only the USSR supported the Republic, following the London committee in which, the rest of European nations (including Italy and Nazi Germany) agreed to not intervene in the War. However, there were also the International Brigades, which was formed by a few tens of thousands international soldiers that came to fight for the Republic, in a wider crusade against fascism (Preston, 2007).

The War was a bloody conflict from which the number of casualties is still a controversy. The institutions of the dictatorship counted one million casualties, whereas in some more recent academic sources the numbers rise to around 580,000 people. The Civil War lasted 3 years up to April 1939 and became the testing ground of equipment and military strategies for the II World War. The fascist side (which eventually was named by the regime the Nationals) won the war through a more cohesive and organised warfare, due especially to the already set military hierarchy and to the help given by the aid given by the rest of European fascist States. The Republican side had to rearrange its army after the *coup d'état* and had very different factions in its army. They were helped by different militias and political groups that followed very different agendas during the war. This created distrust and disorganisation which help the fascist side in different battles. During the war, the repression in the rear-guard was harsh on both sides and saw a lot of soldiers and civilians die. However, it is important to note that extra-legal executions in the territory controlled by the Republic were undertaken mainly by communist and anarchist militias, while the fascist control of its territories was mainly based on repression of soldiers, political opposition, and intellectuals since the start of the war (Preston, 2007)

Madrid was one of the most important sites during the Spanish Civil War, since there was a first battle between the Autumn of 1936 until the spring of 1937, and the city was sieged until the unopposed entry of the fascist troops the 28th of March 1939, which marked as well one of the last events of the war. Madrid is also the first city in which civilians were bombed by armies, practice that would be well established during the II World War. The years after the end of the war were full of misery, resentment, and repression. Many soldiers and civilians that were sympathisers of the Republic or of leftist ideas had to leave the country. The numbers count up to half a million, from which a big share went back after the propaganda from the regime spread the false announcement that they would be received without consequences. During the dictatorship, around 130,000 lost their lives in executions from the regime. There were also

hundreds of thousands of political prisoners and the censorship and ideas, political views, and forms of expression were violently condemned and repressed. From the *coup d'état* to the authoritarian rule of the fascists, they developed a philosophy that had as main goals to fight communism, to keep the unity of Spain, and recuperate the values that had been lost during the times of the Republic. Furthermore, they developed an investigative process called Causa General that had as main goals to investigate the crimes that had been committed during the so-called red domination. This procedure, called philosophy by some academics was one of the main tools for the Francoist repression and propaganda (Maestre, 2006).

The main discursive methods from the regime were to picture the *coup d'état* as something necessary to end with the outrageous direction that the country was taking with the communist and socialist ideas, and the distance from traditional Christian values. Indeed, the institutional discourse framed the tumultuous 30s as a consequence of the class war fostered by communists in Spain, with the clear influence of Russia. The war is then pictured as a fratricide conflict that was fostered by the class struggles introduced by the leftist politicians. As an example, the phrase that was used to commemorate the dead soldiers from the fascist side was *Caídos por Dios y por España* (fallen for God and for Spain). Furthermore, through the censorship and the Francoist media, they spread the biased numbers of casualties and repression from the Republican side during the war. Furthermore, the control of the Church, the press, and the education spread the narratives about the nature and development of the war which created hegemonic voices among the population (Idarreta, 2004).

La Transición

Franco died in 1975 and Spain starts a transition to turning into a democratic State, closer to the rest of the States of the Western block. Franco had granted this task to Juan Carlos I, the son of Alfonso XIII, the king that had been overthrown by the instauration of the Second Republic in 1931. Throughout the next years, Spain starts the process of what has been called *Pacto del olvido* (pact of oblivion), carried out by the passing of the Amnesty Law of 1977 and the Constitution of 1978. There was a parliamentary consensus for both, since it was a moment of tension, and there was a lot to lose. The political prisoners are released, and a lot of exiled citizens return to the country. In those years, a lot of young historians start accessing the archives and documents from the regime and start a process of declassifying information in order to get a clearer picture from the Civil War and the dictatorship. However, there is also a big number of works that keep the narratives from the regime alive. In the 80s, there are some

policies that recompensate the political prisoners and their families, but no public declarations are made, and the subject remains a sort of taboo. In the political realm, the *pacto del olvido* makes effect, and the Civil War and the dictatorship are only marginally brought up in the parliamentary discussions (Boyd, 2008). It is not until 1996, when the PSOE starts appropriating the discourse of memorialist civil society organisations that had been pushing for policies of memory and transitional justice. It is important to note that at this point, the policies and measures were still not sufficient, since there were still big numbers of citizens buried in common graves, perpetrators in positions of power, and many public commemorations to the regime and its role in the war.

Indeed, during the *Transición* the political elites agreed to not make value judgements and to avoid bringing out the events related to the civil war and the dictatorship, in order to protect the social order. What is more, the *Transición* was built around a narrative of consensus, in which “enemies became adversaries” (Macé, 2012, p. 3). This consensus was built the political elites, that included indeed very diverse voices, from the closest to the Regime to the parties that had been relegalised such as the Communist Party of Spain. Nevertheless, the *Tansición* was built on a common narrative that the civil war was a collective failure. Moreover, it pointed out that the responsibility was shares by both of the parties and included the dictatorship in that time frame, although the dictatorship lasted 36 years after the war ended (Boyd, 2008). Indeed, some events during the first years of the democratisation prove wrong the narrative of consensus: the terrorist attacks by several organisations such as the Basque nationalist terrorist group ETA, the communist GRAPO, or the extreme right terrorist groups such as Acción Nacional, Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey, or Triple A, that carried out attacks like the murders of labour lawyers in Atocha in 1977, or the failed 23-F military *coup d’état* carried out by Antonio Tejero, lieutenant of Guardia Civil, in 1981.

This set of events were a clear picture of a divided society, rather than the united and cohesive nation that the narratives of the *Transición* were trying to build. Indeed, the disagreements on the nature and developments of the civil war and the dictatorship have been defined by academics such as Macé or Boyd as conflicts of memory (Macé, 2012; Boyd, 2008). They highlight the conflictual nature of the narratives on the civil war, defining opposite positions as revisionist or vindictive. During the next decades following the *Transición*, surveys showed that most of the population agreed on avoiding “official reckoning on the past” (Boyd, 2008, p. 4). This was due to a fear of another military uprising and to avoid violence and confrontation. However, the interest on the conflict grew in the academia which helped proving wrong some of the tales spread by the Francoits regime about the shared responsibility, the chaotic character

of the Republican democracy, or the equivalent crimes. However, the institutional recognition of the work of the historians and other social scientists, has not been materialised in institutional declaration. Therefore, there are still big shares of the Spanish population that still spread the narratives of the regime. These different historical understandings and of the nature of the *Transición* have grown into a very polarised political spectrum in which the past is often an arena of conflict (Boyd, 2008; Carballés, 2009).

The Historical Memory Law

As highlighted before, the reopening of the debate around memory is mainly due to the work of civil society organisations. Some of the most important ones are ARMH (Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory) or others related to political parties such as *Foros por la Memoria* from the Communist Party. They were claiming the right to memory from victims and for different forms of reparation and organising the exhumation and reburial of corpses from common graves. Among other factors, the work from the organisations and some other forms of civil engagement after the turn of the century, the government from the socialdemocrat party PSOE, created in 2004 an inter-ministerial commission for the reparation of the symbolic and legal status of the victims of the civil war and the Francoist dictatorship. This commission and the political will fostered the passing of the Law 52/2007 by which the rights of those who suffered persecution or violence during the civil war and the dictatorship are recognised and expanded. As it was expected, this Law was extremely controversial. The right wing, especially captained by PP, accused the former president José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero of being vindictive, of trying to reopen past wounds, and of trying to rewrite history. The left wing and the memorialist organisations accused the government of not being ambitious enough (Boyd, 2008).

The Law 52/2007 was defined to enhance and protect the individual and family memories, ensure the rights of victims, and erasing the elements that can cause elements of division, with the intention of fostering social cohesion and solidarity among citizens. The Law's *raison d'être* is to address the collective trauma of the civil war and the dictatorship and is built on a narrative based on the values of consensus and unity praised during the *Transición*. A few of its articles invalidate the sentences and tribunals that were built on the violation of basic human rights, providing legal instruments for some material and symbolic reparations of the victims. Nevertheless, some critics, namely the memorialist associations, point out that the Law does not condemn perpetrators and does not condemn openly the dictatorship and the military *coup*. In any case, the Law introduces legal instruments for erasing the commemorations that exalt

the civil war, the dictatorship, or the military *coup*. The rationale behind this section (articles 15) is that the public symbols should become spaces of encounter and collective identity, rather than enhancing division or becoming an offence for certain social groups. This article has been used by local administrations to rename streets based on the already mentioned logics. The already mentioned critics define this article as ambiguous and point out that many local administrations have not followed its principles (BOE, 27th December 2007; Boyd, 2008, Macé, 2012).

Madrid and the symbols of fascism

Madrid is an especially symbolic city both for its role in the civil war and for being the project through which the regime wanted to showcase its power. Madrid therefore had a lot of these spaces of exaltation of the regime and the military *coup*. During the civil war the revolutionary climate enhanced the change in names in line with the desacralisation and the homage to revolutionary and Marxist concepts and figures. During the post-war period, Madrid grew at a very fast pace which makes that a 39% of Madrid's names were decided during the dictatorship. Moreover, the mayor from that time Alberto Alcocer pushed for the cleansing of all the symbols and names of what he called a corrupted and detrimental regime for the nation (Duch Plana, 2004). A lot of streets during these times remembered figures of the uprising, important battles for the memory of the fascist side, and important thinkers for the *Causa Nacional*. During the *Transición*, in 1980 the government of Enrique Tierno Galván changed 27 names that had very explicit connections to the Francoist regime. The motion was attacked by conservative sectors in the media and the parliament accusing Tierno Galván of causing conflicts and giving practical concerns to citizens (Capodeón, 2020; Sánchez Costa, 2009).

Still when the Historical Memory Law was passed in 2007, Madrid had a lot of remnants that praised fascism and the military uprising of 1936. This included fascist monuments such as the *Arco de la Victoria* (*Arc du Triomphe* that remembered the fascist victory of the war), a lot of inscriptions in the memory of the *Caídos por Dios y por España* (the fallen for God and for Spain, the name given to the people that died fighting for the fascist party of the war), and toponyms that praised fascist figures and concepts (de Andrés-Sánchez, 2006). In 2015, with the arrival of Manuela Carmena to the presidency of the Madrid's city hall, the government of the city projected the change of many of the street names that were in relation with the fascist past. The legal support for these changes was the article 15 of the Law 52/2007. The announcement of these changes provoked a very big reaction by the population of the city, in line with the

conflicts of memory already exposed above. Firstly, the city hall got advice from the Chair of XX Century Historical Memory of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, that presented a first draft with 30 streets to the city hall. However, some unofficial documents that the Chair was using in the task were leaked and provoked fierce opposition by the conservative parties, by the media, and finally even by the city hall. Finally, the Chair decided to step away and the government decided to create a Historical Memory Commission whose members were chosen by the parties in the city hall parliament. The commission prepared a proposal to change 47 street names with Francoist connections, that eventually got enlarged to 52 and was approved in the parliament in April 2017, with the abstention of PP. The proposed measures were to name streets after their old names. In the cases in which this was not possible, the commission proposed to give streets women names due to the gender gap present in street names (Capodeón, 2020).

After the policy was approved there were fierce legal opposition from fascist or far-right associations such as the *Plataforma Millán Astray* or the *Fundación Francisco Franco*. Furthermore, the conservative media, namely ABC, also exerted opposition in their editorials, accusing the city hall of stirring past events and reopening old wounds. The progressive media and political parties applauded the motion with an uncritical eye, with some exceptions. However, memorialist civil society organisations criticised the policy for not being ambitious enough. Some of them underlined that the policy was built on the same consensus narrative of the *Transición*, and that it did not enhance victim reparation (Capodeón, 2020).

This study analyses the opposition to this policy in conservative media to approach the discourse on memory and on the past. Analysing the conservative media discourses following the announcement of the political will to rename streets can shed light on the discourses that are unleashed when places of memory are changed or threatened. Furthermore, the analysis of the content and discursive strategies that are used when discussing the past in Madrid can shed light on the cultural identities that are attached to these spaces. In the next section, there will be a deep analysis of the framing of ABC on this issue to approach wider levels of discourse on the past of Madrilenian society.

4. Research design

Problem statement

The urban space is defined in base of the “webs of cultural, social, and political” relationships that craft the identities of people (Staeheli, 2008, p. 159-60). Therefore, space sets the framework of action in which the interactions among social groups happen. The past is at the same time central to the construction of the identity of these social groups, which is situated spatially. The discourses on the past therefore, shape urban space in relation with the groups that dwell them. Street names are part of this discursive universe, in which social groups are placed simultaneously in urban space and in local discourses. *A priori*, street names reflect the figures or events of the past that are instrumental for the identity of local groups. When dealing with grievous or violent pasts, street names become a form of symbolic reparation: a space for reconciliation through the recognition of the experiences and struggles of the rest of social groups. In processes of transitional justice, street renaming engages with the reparation of the victims’ dignity and serving truth, justice, and reparation.

However, transitional contexts often involve tensions and disagreements following different interpretations of the past. Indeed, urban space is also the siege of the struggle for representation of social group’s narratives. As an official narrative, history has a selective dimension that expresses a particular interpretation of the past that is instrumental for the cohesion and stability of a society. History, indeed, can only account for the part of the past that is considered relevant. Thus, it is a single-plot narrative that is built on what it decides to remember as much as in what it decides to forget. The construction of history and the places of memory that spatialise it can therefore leave the experiences and narratives of certain groups outside of it. As a practice of commemoration, street names become then an arena of clash over representation in which everyday exclusions are also expressed. In transitional contexts, this can entail that the symbolic space created by street names represents a space for the instrumentalization of power.

Places of memory express indeed the hegemonic narratives, but also represent a space for their contestation. The changes in street names can therefore become a space for challenging hegemonic narratives. However, the instrumentalization of power presents resistances to these changes and new narratives. Thus, urban space is a space of expression of conflicts of memory and its changes influence the discourse on identity, on the past, and on the group identity.

Objectives, research questions and hypothesis

Through this research I aim to understand how spatial changes affect discourses on memory and the past, and what reactions are unleashed through street renaming. Furthermore, since this research builds on the analysis of the discourse, I aim to understand the content and structure of discourses about memory, and whether the different groups incur in the use of the same themes and discursive strategies. The contents and structures of discourse can also shed light on the spatialisation of conflicts of memory. Finally, the main objective is to determine whether the city can be a space of reparations through the introduction of new narratives in urban space.

The hypothesis guiding this research is that urban space, as a container of social processes, unleashes conflict and dissensus when places of memory are about to change. Furthermore, I expect to find that the Madrilenian society, despite its polarisation, has some intersections and therefore this can be seen also in the way in which the discourses are built. Lastly, I expect to find that urban space can be a space of reparations, but when introducing effectively new narratives institutionally, spatially, and discursively. Therefore, street renaming seems insufficient without wider frameworks of memory-making.

Methodology

To understand the discourses and their underlying dynamics, and therefore to answer the research question and check the validity of the hypothesis, a combination two *a priori* opposite methodologies will be used: the quantitative approach to texts of Corpus Linguistics, and the ideological qualitative inspection of Critical Discourse Analysis. These methodologies will be combined with inductive qualitative coding of the results of the corpus analysis. As Baker et al. (2011) point out, this combination can be interesting to analyse discourse, since the ideological readings of Critical Discourse Analysis can be well complemented by the quantitative approach to the text, which allows the obtention of a more objective sample.

Corpus analysis is a quantitative approach to discourse based on the fact that the most recurrent words and the words that are associated with them can determine the content and main lines of a discourse. Based on this logic, a corpus has been built with a set of articles from the conservative newspaper ABC that discuss street renaming in Madrid between 2015 and 2021. The texts were collected through the use of ABC search engine with the tags “memoria”, “histórica”, “calle”, and “Madrid”. A corpus is a body of “linguistic data formed by written texts” that commonly serve “as a starting point for linguistic description” (Barrado-Timón, 2019, p. 9).

In this case, the analysis of the corpus will be used to approach discourse from a quantitative point of view.

The analysis of the corpus “ABC 2015-21” seeks to establish which are the dominant discourses in the conservative sector of media when discussing street renaming and memory policies. To analyse the corpus, the open-source concordancer tool Lancsbox will be used. This software provides different tools and research engines that analyse text quantitatively in terms of absolute frequency, in terms of dispersion, and in terms of position. Through the use of these tools, the research aims to determine which is the content of the discourse (what) and how is this content framed (how). To answer these questions, the corpus will be analysed with the tools Words, KWIC (keyword in context), and Graphcoll. The tool Words determines absolute frequency and dispersion of the most recurrent words, KWIC searches for a keyword and provides the context N positions to the left and to the right (7 in this case), and Graphcoll searches the collocates (words) that appear in a distance of 5 positions to both sides of the searched keyword. The Words tool is used to determine *what* is being discussed, and the tools Graphcoll and KWIC are used to understand the how, or the associations of certain words that have been retained as relevant (see findings section).

To determine which are those relevant keywords (collocates), inductive qualitative coding is used based on the results of the Words tool. The qualitative coding of the words help to determine groups of words or themes. The categories that have been defined through the use of inductive qualitative coding can also be seen at the end of this section. This process is key for determining the how of the discourse. The results are analysed qualitatively with Critical Discourse Analysis, which assists in the understanding of the underlying dynamics of discourse. CDA understand the use of language as something intrinsically social, therefore discourse simultaneously reflects and constructs the social world (Anitasari, 2018; Fairclough, 2001). Therefore, the analysis of the text, the discursive practices and the social practices will help understanding not only the nature of the discourses but also the intrinsic power relations, ideologies and hegemonic structures that dictate them and that are present in the city of Madrid. In this case, the use of press is a good source to determine wider social dynamics.

To analyse wider levels of the discourse, there are three other sources of data: two semi-structured interviews with two researchers, a small survey with local population, and the report presented by the *Comisionado de Memoria Histórica del Ayuntamiento de Madrid* (Historical Memory Commission of the Madrid’s City Hall, the public entity who studied the city’s street names to define the changes). The two academics are Miguel Vázquez Liñán, from the University

of Seville, and Sergio Gálvez Biesca from the Iberoamerican Institute from The Hague). Miguel Vázquez Liñán works in the communication faculty and studies propaganda, discourses, and uses of the past, whereas Sergio Gálvez Biesca is a historian and studies matters in relation with memory and transitional justice. The survey interrogates the perception and perceived reasons, as well as a value judgement of the street name changes in Madrid. The survey was done with local population through google forms, which registered the responses anonymously. Inductive qualitative coding has also been used on the survey to determine the themes that have been discussed and how. Finally, there is a use of Critical Discourse Analysis throughout the findings section, making sense ideologically of the quantitative and qualitative results of the discourse. In the last part the results of the corpus analysis and of the inductive qualitative coding are analysed more extensively using CDA to understand the reactions to spatial changes in the city and whether the city can be a space of reparations. On a last note, this research was performed in Spanish, therefore there are certain linguistic or discursive features that do not have an English counterpart.

Table 1: Most recurrent words in ABC 2015-21 corpus

Language: Spanish | 226 files | 144975 tokens | 16821 types | 14417 lemmas |

Categories	Number	Percentage	Frequency
Political actors	16	15%	2,077,000,000
Policies / Actions / Resources	12	11%	1,620,000,000
Institutional politics	20	19%	2,674,000,000
References to the past / History	22	21%	2,872,000,000
Disagreement / Time / Identity	12	11%	1,636,000,000
Spatial concepts / toponimics	8	8%	1,281,000,000

Type	Frequency: 01 - Freq	Dispersion: 01_CV
madrid	814,000,000	0.752612
memoria	670,000,000	0.697440
calle	632,000,000	1,948,749
histórica	498,000,000	0.791444
ayuntamiento	383,000,000	1,048,158
gobierno	363,000,000	1,046,135
guerra	325,000,000	1,244,950
ahora	311,000,000	1,198,601
carmena	303,000,000	1,249,971
ley	297,000,000	1,462,985
nombre	291,000,000	1,607,255
comisionado	277,000,000	1,619,567
general	272,000,000	2,276,850
callejero	262,000,000	1,353,531
propuesta	261,000,000	3,190,690
civil	241,000,000	1,337,507
cambio	235,000,000	1,612,989
pp	220,000,000	1,669,202
pleno	214,000,000	1,605,358
años	198,000,000	1,729,569
contra	191,000,000	1,750,581
plaza	187,000,000	2,561,909
psoe	179,000,000	1,743,003
españa	174,000,000	1,856,010
nombres	172,000,000	1,853,264
pasado	158,000,000	1,530,644
municipal	153,000,000	1,648,427
después	148,000,000	1,401,402
ciudad	146,000,000	1,946,801
largo	135,000,000	2,731,928
capital	133,000,000	1,457,928

Type	Frequency: 01 - Freq	Dispersion: 01_CV
garcía	128,000,000	2,140,296
historia	127,000,000	1,859,301
distrito	122,000,000	1,963,005
franquista	121,000,000	1,721,941
según	118,000,000	1,587,684
todos	117,000,000	1,870,908
placas	116,000,000	1,942,037
millán	116,000,000	2,835,896
militar	115,000,000	2,427,899
astray	112,000,000	2,777,219
franquistas	112,000,000	1,959,025
caballero	111,000,000	3,242,560
vox	111,000,000	3,558,916
grupo	110,000,000	1,852,884
ciudadanos	110,000,000	1,923,768
dictadura	109,000,000	1,800,753
partido	108,000,000	2,194,757
política	107,000,000	1,931,294
retirada	104,000,000	2,035,976
franco	102,000,000	2,239,573
placa	102,000,000	2,520,510
1936	101,000,000	2,301,152
alcaldesa	101,000,000	2,275,613
sauquillo	99,000,000	2,441,252
junta	94,000,000	2,252,682
decisión	94,000,000	2,267,306
josé	94,000,000	2,045,440
manuela	93,000,000	1,771,191
portavoz	92,000,000	2,234,152
mayer	91,000,000	3,081,468
caso	91,000,000	1,977,873
nueva	90,000,000	7,825,080
hoy	89,000,000	2,026,269
república	89,000,000	2,484,558
consistorio	88,000,000	1,962,045
cultura	87,000,000	2,316,552
sánchez	85,000,000	3,072,001
francisco	84,000,000	2,405,308
forma	83,000,000	2,186,000
concejal	83,000,000	2,559,439
grupos	82,000,000	2,220,552
acuerdo	81,000,000	2,932,160
municipales	81,000,000	2,065,185
división	80,000,000	2,629,225
plan	79,000,000	2,792,580
popular	79,000,000	2,313,229
personas	78,000,000	2,253,424

Type	Frequency: 01 - Freq	Dispersion: 01_CV
presidente	77,000,000	2,650,830
trabajo	77,000,000	2,738,207
ayer	75,000,000	2,557,880
edil	75,000,000	2,220,798
socialista	74,000,000	2,261,959
española	74,000,000	2,832,119
denominación	73,000,000	2,913,762
cátedra	72,000,000	4,126,468
plataforma	72,000,000	3,516,678
políticos	72,000,000	2,359,565
equipo	72,000,000	2,239,184
prieto	72,000,000	3,501,616
año	71,000,000	2,167,077
juez	71,000,000	3,079,869
vecinos	70,000,000	2,684,788
días	70,000,000	2,207,163
euros	69,000,000	4,763,752
vida	69,000,000	2,497,334
víctimas	68,000,000	3,175,191
político	68,000,000	2,531,382
frente	68,000,000	2,608,645
momento	68,000,000	2,239,732
avenida	67,000,000	3,668,236
izquierda	66,000,000	2,883,124

Table 2. Articles per period

ARTICLES PER PERIOD	
2015-2017	2018-2021
134	91

Table 3. Articles per period

ARTICLES PER PERIOD		
PROJECTION 2015-16	IMPLEMENTATION 2017-18	AFTER-PERIOD 2019-21
73	104	48

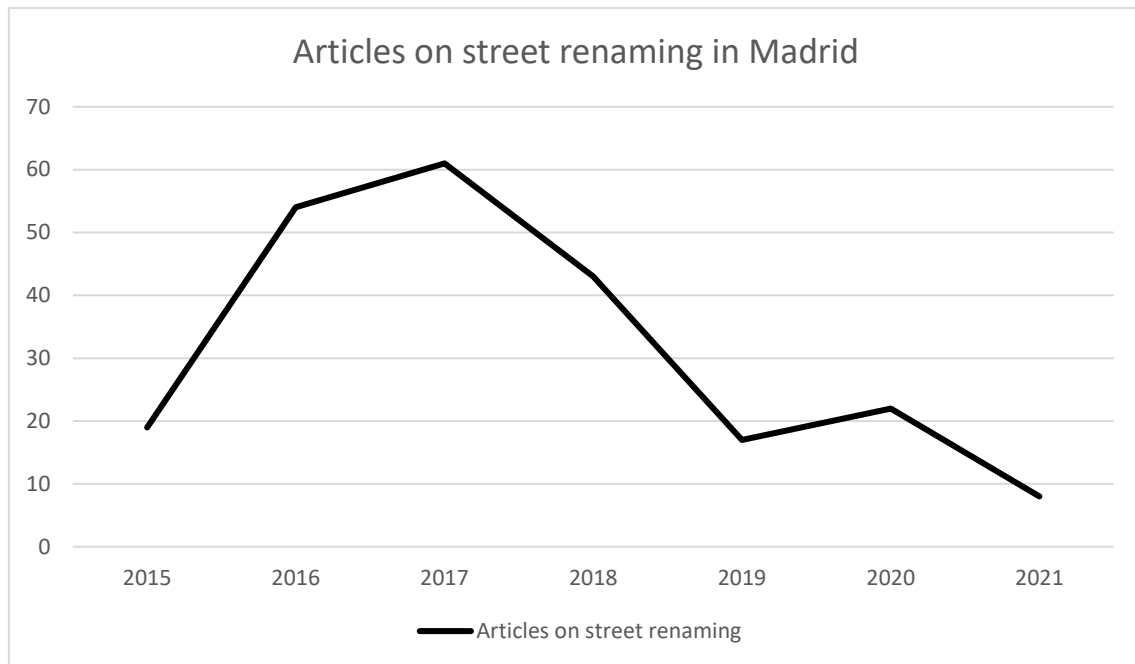
Table 4. Articles per year

ARTICLES PER YEAR						
2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
19	54	61	43	17	22	9

5. Findings

Preliminary analysis

Table 5. Evolution of publications in ABC



Between 2015 and 2021 the ABC published 225 articles in relation with street renaming in the city of Madrid following the so-called Historical Memory Law (the Law 52/2007). The distribution among the years has been quite different, finding a greater number in the years in which the policy was being designed (2016) and in the year in which the policy was implemented (2017), with 54 and 61 articles. Furthermore, there is a big difference in the number of articles depending on who was in the government of the city hall. During the years when Manuela Carmena was the mayor (2015-2018), there is an exponentially bigger number of references to street renaming policies (177) than since José Luis Martínez Almeida got the position (48). Further research into the previous years have not showed relevant results regarding street renaming in Madrid, not even without a direct link to the umbrella term *memoria histórica*. This shows the little relevance that street names had in the ABC agenda. However, since the announcement of the plan to introduce changes in 2015, ABC has been publishing *in crescendo*, openly criticising the policy in some of them (see tables 2, 3, 4 & 5).

One cannot draw final conclusions only by analysing the number of articles that were being published. However, it is interesting to appreciate how the numbers have changed over the

years depending on the situation in the city. The intention to change street names was announced in 2015, and it had an immediate reaction. The next years, there were very significant increase in the articles published on the matter (around three times more both in 2016 and 2017). Indeed, the first consultations and discussions with expert committees (like the *Cátedra de memoria histórica del siglo XX*) happened in 2016 and were widely covered in the pages of ABC. In 2015 and 2016 a lot of the articles openly criticised the motion, especially in the opinion section of the paper. Hereafter, some of those statements can be seen:

Desde fuera de España deben estar mirándonos con pena al desgranar con todo este asunto de revanchismo guerracivilista.

From outside of Spain, they are probably sadly looking at us unpacking all this civil war vindictive matter.

Font, J. (July 27th, 2016). *Callejeros*. ABC. Extracted from
https://www.abc.es/espana/comunidad-valenciana/abci-callejeros-201607231346_noticia.html

Esa excrecencia legislativa que fue dada en llamar «Ley de la Memoria Histórica» ... es el nuevo juguete con el que cuentan algunos Consistorios para remover intestinalmente la concordia ciudadana.

This legislative excrecence that was called the "Law of Historical Memory" ... is the new toy that some City Councils have at their disposal to stir up citizen concord.

Herrera, C. (July 11th, 2015). *Callejero Justiciero*. ABC. Extracted from
<https://www.abc.es/lasfirmasdeabc/20150711/abci-callejero-justiciero-201507101445.html>

The line of the opinion section kept on being critical with the motions during 2017, and the local section followed the progress of the changes. They also put a lot of attention in the opposition from certain social collectives, the mistakes that were involved in the process or the costs or inconveniences that the citizens could suffer. They further covered the legal processes in which the municipality was involved, following the legal actions undertaken by citizens or associations (namely the *Fundación Francisco Franco*), and highlighted details such as the dissensus between

the street names in Google Maps and the ones that were reflected in the plates. In 2018, they especially followed the legal journey of some streets such as calle Millán Astray or calle Hmnos. García Noblejas, the end of the *Comisionado de Memoria Histórica*, and followed the critical views in their opinion section while highlighting conflicts and mistakes in the local and national sections. In 2019 the number of articles significantly decrease, highlighting views on the policies, on the past, and on political stances. The percentage of articles of opinion increase this year (7 out of 17 articles), while introducing the views of the new extreme right party VOX, following the legal journey of some streets, and informing from the new actions of the new government of the City Hall. On the last two years, the main themes are the change of the names of the streets Indalecio Prieto and Largo Caballero, proposed by VOX aiming at two figures from the Republican side of the Civil War, and the legal sentences from some streets that have had to be renamed after their former name. After this summary of the main themes of the articles per year, it is important to analyse quantitatively the most recurrent words to avoid biased analysis. There will be two main quantitative analysis. One will look at which are the most common words. This will help understanding *what* is that the newspaper is privileging in its discourse, which are the main themes that are believed to be relevant when discussing spatial or symbolic changes in the city. The second dimension will analyse which are the words that are associated with the most recurrent words or themes. This will help unpacking how are the main themes framed. Which are the roles of what actors. What are the concepts that are in close relation with the main themes? Table 1 showcases the 104 most recurrent words with their frequency and dispersion.

Results of the Words tool

The first results of the corpus analysis have determined which are the 104 most recurrent terms (types). These 104 terms include the tags used on the research engine. Therefore, there are 100 terms that will be analysed. These 106 words have an absolute frequency of at least 67 times in the corpus, being 383 the most recurrent one (for the word *ayuntamiento*, city hall). To make sense of the most recurrent words in the corpus ABC 2015-21, six categories of words have been retained.

Firstly, there is a very recurrent use of names and events of the past, along with a lot of words of the semantic field of the war and the army. In this category, also the names of historic figures or names reflected in the streets. There is 22 words of this category which make around a 21%

of the 106 words (probability of 0,1981). Adding up the frequencies, these words appeared 2,872 times in the corpus. Some of these words are *Guerra* (war), *general* (general), *pasado* (past), *largo* (in reference to Republican figure Largo Caballero), *García* (in relation with the street Hermanos García Noblejas, soldiers associated with the fascist army), or *franquista* (Francoist). Second, there is a very important number of allusions to institutional politics. There are nineteen words related to institutions such as *ayuntamiento* (city hall), *gobierno* (government), municipal, *pleno* (parliament). The number of words is 20, which make it an 19% of the retained words. This adds up to an absolute frequency of 2,674. Third, there is a big number of allusions to politicians, political parties, or positions in institutional politics. Some of these words are *ahora* (in relation with Ahora Madrid, the party of the previous mayor), *Carmena* (the surname of the previous mayor), *PP* (acronym of Partido Popular, the name of the conservative party), *PSOE* (acronym of Partido Socialista Obrero Español, the socialist party), or *edil* (councillor). The number of these words is 16, which makes it a 15% of the total 100 words. This category of words appeared 2,077 times. The next most frequent category of words are the references to political actions, to policy instruments, or to political decisions. Some of these words are *Ley* (Law), *propuesta* (proposition), *cambio* (change linked to street renaming), or *placas* (plates, in relation again with commemoration and street names). The absolute number is 12, which makes it a 11%, with an absolute frequency of 1,620. The next category of words is slightly more heterogeneous, since it includes words that are linked to disagreement, to time, or to identity. In this category, different kinds of words have been retained. For example: *contra* (against), *España* (Spain), *según* (according to), *nueva* (new), or *trabajo* (work). This category represents a 10% of the words, with an absolute number of 12. These words appeared 1,636 times. Finally, the last groups is formed by allusions to space, to administrative regions, or to toponymics. Words such as *nombre* (name), *callejero* (street directory), *plaza* (square), *ciudad* (city), *capital* (capital city), or *distrito* (district) are part of this group. They represent an 8% of the retained words (8 words in total) and they have an absolute frequency of 1,281.

This first quantitative analysis helps unpacking the discourse at a first level. The list of 100 words (table 1) can help understanding *what* is being discussed when talking about street renaming in Madrid in relation with memory of the Spanish Civil War. The first important takeaway from the quantitative analysis of the discourse is that a 46% of the most recurrent words are linked to politics to some extent. This result comes from adding up the percentages of words in close relation to institutions, to political figures, or to policy actions. Indeed, some of the most widely used words are city hall, Carmena (name of the mayor that started the street renaming), or law (making reference to the law that gave a legal support to carry out street name changes). What

is more, the added frequency of the already mentioned categories of words show that institutional politics and political figures occupy a wide part of the discourse. Indeed, they appear 6,371 times in the corpus.

Another non-neglectable issue that is showed in the analysis of the most recurrent words of the corpus is the presence of numerous allusions to the past related to the Spanish Civil War. These words make reference to the historical figures that the policies are trying to withdraw from the public space. The discussion of a policy that is spatial (or symbolically spatial) in terms of the past reveals the inherently conflictual or omnipresent character of the past. Indeed some of the words are in relation to the sides of the war (*franquista* or *República*), to important years (1936), but especially to the historical or infamous figures of the street names. This last case is the most prominent one, and it is important to note how ABC has offered their particular historical interpretations for some of these key figures. Some examples are the discussion of the figures of Francisco Largo Caballero or the General Moscardó².

One last note to analyse in the content of the discourse is its spatial component. Indeed, ABC also uses several words that are in relation with urban geographical features such as district, city, denomination, among other terms. These words added to the names present in the street names give the discourse a spatial component. Nevertheless, this feature is marginal statistically, which gives a hint of how the symbolic and spatial changes of the city unravel a rather historical and political discourse that have little to do with its spatial component. Finally, the words in relation with disagreement, opinion, or identity are also marginal, and are rather linked to the rest of the themes, mainly politics or history. It is interesting to note how words such as *víctimas* (victims) are relegated to a marginal place within the 100 most used words, despite being one of the key *raisons d'être* from the street renaming policies.

Results of the KWIC and Graphcoll tools

After having discussed which themes are privileged in the discourse (*what*), it is important to understand *how* these themes are framed. Some concepts have been retained as more important to unpack the discourse in relation to which actors are believed to be responsible for

² *Así era el antidemocrático 'Lenin español' que Pedro Sánchez reivindica como figura histórica* (The story of the antidemocratic Spanish Lenin that Pedro Sánchez recognises as a historical figure) (ABC, 2021). This article discusses the links of the Republican politician with the USSR and Stalin. Or *Moscardó, Neville, Reagan* (ABC, 2018), which discusses the role of General Moscardó on defending the Toledo Alcázar in one of the most important victories of the fascist side in the civil war.

what, and how the intertwined relationships around concepts and meaning are set. One word per category has been chosen to understand which collocates (words) are in proximity to the nodes or keywords, as those words are the ones that are able to influence the meanings around a word. Furthermore, an analysis of KWIC (key word in context) has been done to have further information on which context this associations appear. The analysed words have been: *política* (politics from the institutional politics category), *Carmena* (from the political figures category), *ciudad* (city, from the spatial category), *cambio* (from the policies or actions category), *pasado* (past, from the allusions to the past or to history), and *contra* (against, from the disagreement or identity group). Furthermore, other words have also been retained as being key for this study: *historia* (history), *calle* (street), and *memoria* (memory). *A priori*, only nouns and adjectives have been retained, but there are a few prepositions and pronouns (such as against or from) which in the context of a word have been considered important. The full collocate and KWIC analysis can be found in Annex 1.

Regarding the word *política* (leaving it open to have different terminations), it is interesting to note that the word is both a noun and an adjective in Spanish, which associated it with very different collocates. As an adjective, it got associated with *debate* (debate) or *limpieza* (cleansing). As a noun, it got associated with words such as *memoria* (memory), mainly in the lemma *políticas de la memoria* (memory policies), or *reforma* (reformation referring to the *Transición*). Its use was mainly associated with collocates that could be linked to institutional politics (*pp*, *Sánchez*, *populares*, *partidos*), and therefore its representation is rather in close link to the institutional world.

The word *historia* (history) is an interesting case. There are two main takeaways from the analysis of its associated collocates and KWIC. History is used either in relation to academia³, as it can be appreciated by the association of the word with collocates such as *catedrático* (professor) or *academia* (academia), either in relation to identity, as it can be noted with the association of words such as *España* (Spain) or *nuestra* (our). To make sense of this data, ABC brings like-minded historians that have similar views as them, which helps somewhat legitimising their discourse. Regarding the words *nuestra* or *España*, they undertake a reification of the past and of Spanish identity, as if there was only one history that has to be understood equally by every individual of society.

³ For example, the word *de* (of/from) appears mainly at the left of the word *historia*, which after contrasting with wider context, is mainly related to the lemma *catedrático de historia* (history professor).

the institution as the cause of the policy. Indeed, one can notice the presence of several verbs in the collocates associated with the word *ayuntamiento*, such as *retirar* (to withdraw), *cambiar* (to change), and several nouns related to actions, such as *decisión* (decision), *moción* (motion), or *cambio* (change). This implicitly gives ownership and responsibility as in the case of Carmena, without linking it to other stakeholders such as the rest of the population, the rest of political groups or the memory associations.

The next word is the verb *cambiar* (to change) and all its different forms, whose most commonly associated terms are as one could expect related to streets (*calle*, *callejero*, *calles*), to naming (*nombre*, *denominación*, *nomenclatura*), or to institutional politics with similar collocates as the already presented above (*comisionado*, *Carmena*, *PSOE*, *PP*). However, there are a few interesting collocates that associate the verb *cambiar* with references to legal processes (*juez* or *sentencia*), or with the effects of the policy, as the words *euros* (euros) or *afectados* (affected). This seems to connect the policy with the trials that have revoked some of the changes, and with the potential economic damage that it could entail for citizens.

The collocates of the keyword *contra* (against) relate to an action wherein the objective is defined in opposition to something or someone. Moreover, they can also relate to the subject that receives this opposition. On the left of the keyword, we find the actions. In this case, they make reference to the already mentioned legal processes embodied in the collocates *recurso* (appeal) or *sentencia* (sentence), the institutional processes embodied in *voto* (vote), or the social or political struggle embodied in *lucha* (fight/struggle). The collocates on the right side of the keyword, thus, the subjects receiving the opposition, are in this case, political institutions (government, city hall, *República*), political or historical figures (mayor, Carmena, Franco), policies or spatial changes (law, resolution, street, change). Analysing the keyword in context, opposition and conflict appear to be an important part of the discourse around between politicians, political parties, citizens, and even courts. However, there is an important presence of different forms of opposition to the change in names, be it through legal frameworks, in the parliament of the city hall, or from other kinds of organisations.

Finally, the last keyword that was analysed through collocates and KWIC was memory. As the cornerstone of this study, it is important to understand how it unravels in the discourse. Two of the most frequent collocates are *ley* (law) or *de* (of), and *histórica* (historical), at left and right respectively. This makes direct reference to the law or policies of historical memory and therefore it has an institutional approach. Moreover, most of the frequent collocates are words such as *plan*, *cátedra*, *aplicación*, *propuesta*, or *democrática* (plan, chair, application, proposal,

or democratic), which enhances the framing of memory in relation to the institutions and legal structures of the city rather than with the population. More importantly, the collocates in relation with memory are somewhat the combination of all the previous results: there are allusions to political parties, to the most recurrent political figures of the corpus, to conflict, to changes, to streets.

Takeaways and qualitative analysis

After having unpacked the statistically relevant facts after the analysis of keywords and associated collocates, there are a few other issues to highlight before contrasting the media discourse with other sources which represent the public opinion and some perspectives in academia. These observations are qualitative analysis of the results from the corpus analysis but also from analysing some articles individually. Firstly, there is a significant use of words with a negative connotation, particularly in the editorial section, that frame street renaming as an unwelcome process. Indeed, words such as *purga* (purge) (ABC, 2015), *revanchista* (revenge-driven) (ABC, 2016), *justiciero* (avenger) (ABC, 2015), used in a ironic way), or even *memez* (stupid thing) (ABC, 2015), have an open objective of disqualifying and discrediting the policy, its rationale, and the arguments that motivate it. During the interview with Miguel Vázquez Liñán (Annex 3), he pointed out several strategies that media use to influence the discourse. Two of them are the dichotomisation and the extreme simplification of the discourse. These words comply with both these strategies, as these discursive methods create narratives in terms of us and them, or in terms of good and bad, or even in terms of correct or not. This dichotomic framing, not only simplifies the discourse, but also prevents any rational discussion based on argumentation.

This simplification of the discourse connects to another discursive strategy and a particular framing of memory in connection with identity: the reification. As already pointed out before, when analysing the collocates linked to *historia*, in the discourse of ABC we see a reification of history and of Spanish identity. Different understandings of the past are not accepted since history becomes a petrified image of a certain framing of past events. Therefore, any voice that exposes a different version that is not reflected in the hegemonic narrative is perceived as an attack to the national unity and to the substance of the common identity. This is also one of the reasons why changes are framed in a negative way. The reification of history also has a similar effect to the negative framing: it prevents argumentation from happening, as any change will be

perceived as revenge-driven and as an attempt to “rewrite the truth” with “sectarian views” (ABC, 2019).

A third important point, which has been already showed above, is the politicisation of the issue. This goes in line with the dichotomic framing, in which the idea of right and left, and winners and losers are very present. Furthermore, both the interviewees pointed out how media has particular agendas in line with their political views. This is not done only in terms of ideology, but also linked to the main political parties of the country. Indeed, in the corpus analysis, there were infinite references to institutions but also to political parties. For example, some articles put the focus on how the city hall has committed an error or on how the party in the opposition has criticised the proposed measures⁵. Indeed, this highlights the policymaking process rather than its effects and causes, linking it to institutional politics instead of to the history-making or memory-making processes.

In line with the politicisation of the changes and the conflicts, there is an acute personalisation of the issue. This was showed by analysing the collocates associated with words such as Carmena or *ayuntamiento*. This, as it was stated before, this process puts the full responsibility on people rather than seeing street renaming as a collective process. This creates an image of the conflict that people can use to hold accountable. Of course, the persons usually framed with this strategy, do have power over the changes and have a clear responsibility. However, the personalisation of the conflict is a reductionist approach that does not account for the myriad of perspectives that the population of the city (or of the country) can have over this issue. Moreover, it is framed as part of the politics or policies of the specific persona, which associates it with them rather than permitting an argumentation on the issue. This discursive approach is related to the discursive methods discussed above: dichotomic framing, partisan approach and simplification of the issue.

Perceived reasons and assessment

To avoid biases and to have a clearer picture of the wider discourse on memory, the results from the analysis of the corpus ABC 2015-21 will be compared with the results of a small survey on

⁵ As an example of this, here are the titles of two articles from 2016: “*El PP vuelve a sacar los colores a Carmena y a su Comisionado de Memoria Histórica*” (ABC, 2016) (The popular party makes Carmena and its Historical Memory commissioner ashamed), or “*Carmena quitará la calle al abuelo de uno de los abogados laboristas asesinados en Atocha*” (ABC, 2016) (Carmena will withdraw the Street name that remembers the grandfather of one of the labour lawyers murdered in Atocha).

street changes and on two semi-structured interviews with Miguel Vázquez Liñán and with Sergio Gálvez Biesca. The presentation of the data extracted from the survey and the interviews does not intend to be statistically relevant, but rather a mean of comparing the discursive and thematic results extracted from the corpus analysis.

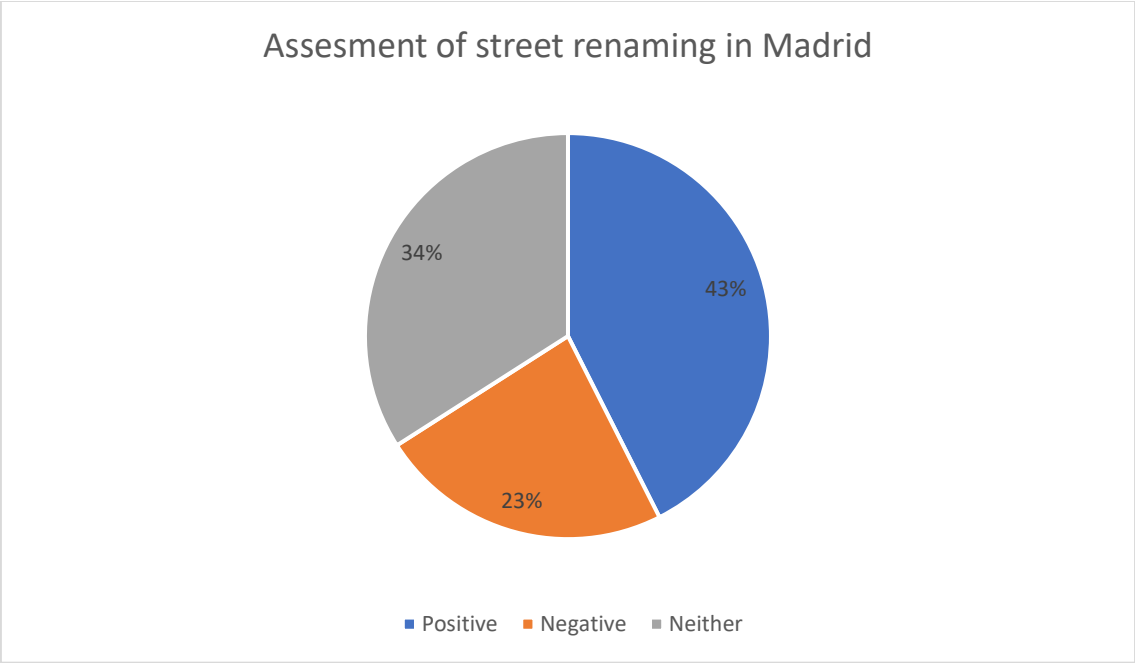


Figure 2. Survey results. Own elaboration.

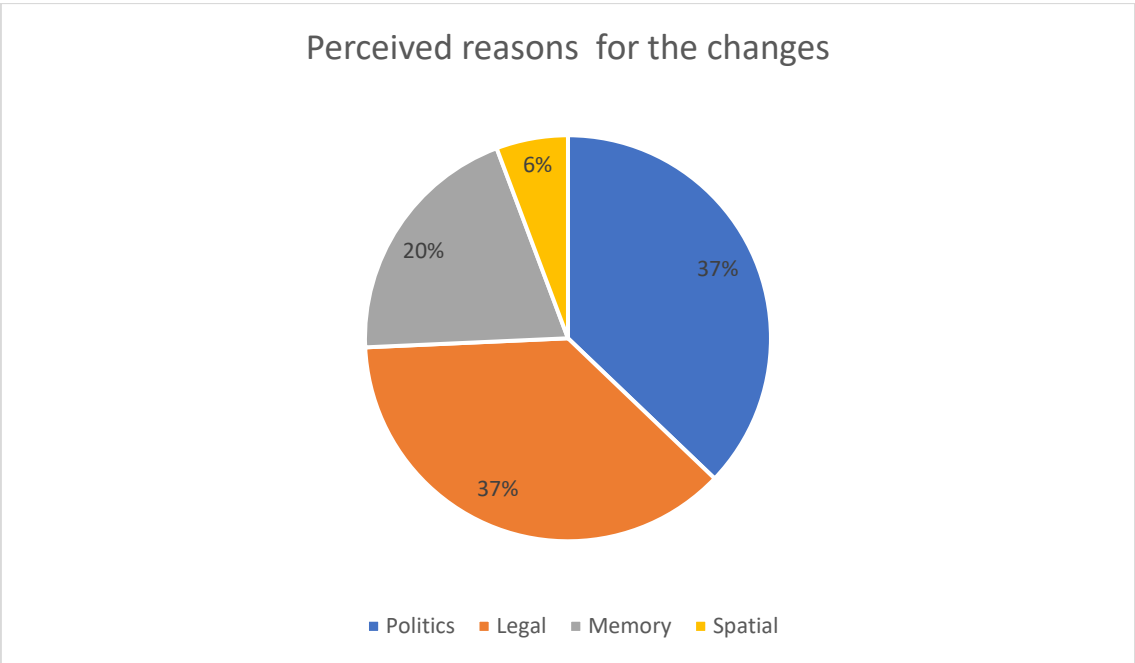


Figure 3. Survey results. Own elaboration.

In the first place, it is interesting to see the results of the survey (see Figure 2 & 3). The survey shows divided opinions on whether the change of street names is positive or not. Nearly half of the interviewees had a positive view on the motion (43%), a 23% assessed it in a negative way, whereas a 34% had mixed feelings. The perceived rationale behind the changes can be related to the content of the discourse: which are the elements that are believed to be important for the matter of analysis. As highlighted in the corpus analysis, these elements represent the *what* of the discourse. It is interesting to note that some of the themes that are highlighted match the main subjects of the mediatic discourse present in ABC, despite the different perceptions on the issue. Indeed, the 37% of the interviewees linked politics to street renaming, whether institutional (like the interviewee number 13 that used the adjective electoral), conflictual (as the interviewee 1 who used the expression vindictive politics), or in relation with transitional justice (as the interviewee number 42, who used the concept of political change). Politics is therefore perceived as key for the issue, as it was already noted in the results of the corpus analysis.

Legal reasons appear as much as politics in the survey, especially linked to the Law 52/2007, commonly known as *Ley de Memoria Histórica*. This law is the legal support for changing the street names that exalt figures of the civil war, especially Francoist. We see here another parallelism with the mediatic discourse⁶ which is the allusions to policy instruments or actions that emanate from the institutions. The presence of the Law in the mediatic discourse was also very recurrent, as it has become as the term of reference when discussing policies or events in relation with the civil war. Nonetheless, some of the comments that name the Law also highlight the rationale behind it, linking it especially with the fascist past of the city. Indeed, the next retained category has been memory since it has appeared in the 20% of the comments. The memory of the civil war and of the transition to democracy bring out concepts such as democracy (Interviewee 31), the removal of the institutional heritage of the dictatorship (interviewee 29), or the memory of names that are not worth remembering (interviewee 31). This framing of memory relates again to transitional justice, and the management of grievous or violent pasts. A few of the comments of this category also make spatial references, as streets or street directory, but in a marginal way.

Space stays marginal in the discourse, but there are two answers that point at other of the rationales behind the motion i.e., trying to make urban space more inclusive. This relates back

⁶ To avoid redundancy, the already unpacked analysis of the corpus ABC 2015-21 will be also referred as mediatic discourse. It is acknowledged nevertheless that through the analysis of only one newspaper cannot account for the whole mediatic discourse of the country.

to the removal of symbols pointed out by previous comments. However, the spatial component or pragmatic explanations of the changes seem to be out of the discussion (with a few exceptions). In contrast with the mediatic discourse, there are very few allusions to people, with a few exceptions. The allusions to people do not use proper nouns and refer to fascist figures: people in relation with the Francoist regime (interviewee 19), controversial historical figure (interviewee 34), or murderers (interviewee 24).

The results from the first level of analysis of the survey deliver similar results to the ones from the corpus analysis. The average citizen uses terms that have contested and multidimensional meanings as much as the media. Deeply meaningful concepts, whose social construction goes far beyond their definition, unravelling deeply politicised and contested subjects. The content of the discourse follows the same lines, with the omnipresence of politics in its different forms, with terms that are highly associated with past events and conflicts, and with a marginal position for pragmatic or spatial subjects. The main difference, however, is that the survey includes fewer references to people. Indeed, no interviewee made a specific personal reference to a politician or a historical figure, with no use of proper nouns. This can be related to the definition of the survey, which aimed at assessing spatial or toponymic changes, rather than opening a political discussion. The full results of the survey can be found in annex 2 and in the figures 2 and 3.

Survey opinions and arguments

Within the survey, the interviewees responded why they thought whether the street renaming was positive or not. This will allow a further analysis of which are the main associations and how they are associated with a positive or negative framing. The framing of the motion in the mediatic discourse was rather negative, namely because it represents mainly a rather conservative share of the population. Despite the small size of the sample related to the survey, the percentages of appreciation of the policy shows a more diverse sample, which will allow to have insights of a wider perspective of the discourse.

The interviewees who answered *maybe* to whether the policy was positive exposed different reasons and rationales. We can identify some trends that have been divided in three groups: the narratives of consensus, the ones that see the policy as insufficient, and the ones that do not mind which names are remembered with streets. It is important to note that some of the arguments from the maybe group appear also in the groups that frame the policy as positive or negative. Firstly, the group that follows the common narratives of the *Transición*. These

narratives express a search for consensus, and the goal of not upsetting social groups (interviewee 35). Another interviewee (44) highlighted that it is important that the streets that commemorate violent pasts from both parties of the war are withdrawn for the policy to be inclusive. Secondly, there is a group that sees the policy as insufficient or as inefficient. Some answers of this group highlights that the street renaming is not enough if it allows revisionism and fascist narratives to be legitimised and if it does not commemorate the antifascist struggle (interviewee 38). Others take distance by highlighting the importance of revising each case. Finally, the last group stated that it is not necessary and there are other priorities, or that they do not mind which names are given to the streets. Therefore, they highlight the irrelevance of the policy in the current days.

The group that saw the policy as negative highlighted issues that were already present in the mediatic discourse. Here, there are also three main arguments: the ones that focus on practicalities and resources, the ones that see it as a political game, and the ones whose arguments go in line with history. Firstly, there is a group that sees the policy as irrelevant. This is by far the biggest group. On the one hand, because it consumes resources that could go somewhere else (interviewee 6 and 10). This discursive framing was already highlighted in the corpus analysis, where there were words that linked the policy to resources. On the other hand, some interviewees highlight the damages or inconveniences that it can cause, for example by not helping orientation, or by causing inconveniences to businesses. This framing was also portrayed by ABC in the analysed articles. The second group consider the policy negative due to politics. Some by framing it as politicised and some claiming the depoliticization of the issue. Some consider the policy a populist motion (interviewee 5). Some others consider the tributes as already past, being just names today (interviewee 11). Lastly, there is a few comments that highlight the impossibility of changing history, or the irrelevance of some historical figures for needing a change. The reasons for dislike of the two last groups were already seen in ABC, and are related to each other. On the one hand it is framed as irrelevant, whereas the intent to change the urban space is seen as an attack to history. There is an underlying narrative that expresses that is one history and cannot be changed, which is what this policy is supposed to do within this logic.

Within the positive framing, there are four main arguments. The first can be seen as an opposition to the reified vision on history presented above and as part of a process of memory making. Indeed, this logic highlights that there is a need to remember certain events in spite of the already present tributes, as a way to introduce a new interpretation of history according to

the present days (interviewee 17). The second group follows this logic but puts fascism or the dictatorship in the centre of their discourse. Indeed, this group highlights that there should be no space for Francoism and fascism (interviewee 19), due to the human right violations and the repression. The third group puts reparation and the victims at the centre of the discourse. Some of the answers contained in this group include the principles of transitional justice underlined in the literature review and in the interview with Sergio Gálvez: reparation, truth, justice, and guarantee of non-repetition. Finally, the last group highlights the possibilities of the policy, rather than its rationale and objectives. This group advocates for a more inclusive public space, which has street names that represent the population as a whole (interviewee 23). Moreover, it goes further and underlines the need for a shift in values in order to establish new learning frameworks.

Other levels of discourse

Other perspectives raised in the survey matches the institutional approach towards street renaming i.e. the one present in the first report on street renaming of the Historical Memory Commission. Their views and values match some of the concepts and values expressed in the discourse: freedom and democracy. The document highlights the preservation of historical memory is an expression of the city's freedom and its commitment with democratic values. They further highlight the importance of the knowledge of history and the respect of the victim's memory (Comisionado de Memoria Histórica del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2017). It is interesting that in the discourse of the pro-change group of the survey, the role of the victims was also a quite important part of the discourse. Contrarily, in the mediatic discourse, the role of the victims was very marginal. In the interview with Sergio González Biesca, he highlighted how the victims must be at the centre of the process. Moreover, he also criticised the role of the media in hiding narratives and the way in which memory is treated institutionally. His discourse is closer to the ones pushed for by the memorialist associations since it highlights the little recognition for the victims. Their discourse not only underlines the importance of the memory of the victims but pushes for the institutional support in judging perpetrators and recognising events also in the public sphere.

All the different sources give some insights on which are the dominant discourses that are unleashed by introducing spatial changes motivated by memory in the city of Madrid. After

having presented the main results of the analysis of each source, it is important to summarise the most important takeaways.

First, there is an acute politicisation of the issue. The discussion on street names and symbology in the city inherently evokes politics, due mainly to the conflictual recent past of Spain. On the one hand, the references to fascism or democracy, relate to the legitimisation or not of the current institutional status quo of the country. Some voices defend the *Transición*, while some others express the urgency to eliminate fascist remnants. Moreover, and especially in the mediatic discourse there are constant allusions to political parties, which account for the politicisation of street renaming. The parliamentary discussion alienates from the discussion of the substantive issue, which is memory in urban space. Indeed, politics was also seen as central for motivating the policy in the survey.

The second main theme are the uses and references of the past. Indeed, there are numerous references both the mediatic and at the popular level. Indeed, as Miguel Vázquez Liñán pointed out the past is not only merely the recording of past events, but rather the discourse of the past. The evoked moments range from the times of the *República*, from the fascist dictatorship, and from the more recent past of the democratic period. It is interesting to note that usually, the people that advocate for the changes of street names point at the times of the dictatorship, whereas the people that are rather sceptical about the changes reference the civil war and the *Transición*. This evidences the different uses of the past. The groups that support the spatial changes point out the repression and the violent pasts, as the motivation for the street renaming, based on the non-inclusion of certain experiences. Contrarily, the detractors of the changes point at the periods of consensus (the *Transición*), or to the periods of conflict (the civil war), as the motivation for the non-intervention, defending either that a consensus on toponymics have already been reached and that there are events to regret on both parties of the civil war.

A third conclusion is that the idea of history and of Spanish society or identity is reified by most of the voices. On the one hand, there is the reification of history. The interpretation from each voice, is seen as the only possible one, and is used as a tool to back disagreements. Indeed, the idea of identity relies highly on which interpretation of history each social group is making. Furthermore, the reification of society puts the focus on the priorities and needs of the Madrilenian society as a whole. In this line, the defenders of changing street names back it with a duty with the other Spain. Therefore, in order to build consent, or to build a new society there is a need to change the urban space of Madrid in the name of justice, democracy, and memory.

On the other side of the spectrum, the changes are framed as dispensable, as the society has other needs at the moment and toponymic changes are not worth the use of resources.

Finally, it is interesting to see that space is mainly out of the discourse, despite the spatial dimension of the policy. The concept of city is also not evoked when discussing the policy despite the importance of the urban space in being the material support for memory. However, a few answers of the survey did mention the importance of building an inclusive public space. All of them belonged to the people that saw the policy as positive. This perspective accounts for different views and therefore different memories. Moreover, despite the politicisation of the issue, this perspective is open for new ways to build the city through the search of a new consensus in the name of inclusion.

To sum up, there are different main lines in the discourse: politics, history and memory of past events, and the perception of needs of society. All of them come intertwined with concepts charged with symbolic meaning such as democracy, justice, and consensus. These concepts and narratives help building different ideological blocks that use mainly the same strategies in their discourse, which were pointed out by Miguel Vázquez Liñán: polarisation and dichotomic discourses, simplification, and partisan approaches. The media tends to highlight politics, linking it especially with institutional political figures, the average citizen highlights wider political processes, legal aspects and memory, whereas some sectors of the academia and the civil society organisations, highlight the criminal past and the central role that victims should hold in the design and application of these policies. In general, there is a conflictual nature on the ideas that the Madrilenian society and the different stakeholders have on the construction of an ideal public space and on the narratives about the past that it should contain.

6. Discussion

The analysis of discourses around the street renaming process of Madrid in 2017 have showed that discourses are cultural tailor's drawers in which different concerns and narratives become intertwined. In the case of Madrid, the symbolic changes of urban space have unravelled myriad cultural narratives based on what is considered to be important and what is not. Urban space is in a constant process of remaking through the meanings attached to it and influences the way in which people interact with each other. This within the society of Madrid means that the reproduction of space through the renaming of the streets set the way in which the social relations happened. Language, being charged with cultural and relational meanings, is therefore influenced by the changes that happen in space. Discourses, their content and structure, are therefore influenced by the changes that happen in urban space. In this sense, spatial policies have a certain set of discourses that are attached to it. In the case of Madrid, spatial policies unleash the expression of its conflicts of memory, of the images of local identity and history, and discussions of political nature. This is related to the dialectic connection through which the city establishes links with its past in the present. In the case of the capital of Spain, the image of the city evokes different times through which Madrilenians read their identity, in terms of the great democracy of the *Transición* or in terms of the former fascist State and its inherent repression.

Street names are an important part in this dialectic relationship. The toponymy of a place speak to the contested nature of urban space. Indeed, street naming become another level of clash over representation, in the terms of the topographies of memory coined by Karen Till. In this logic, street names are the spatialisation of the identities, imaginaries, and narratives of the different social groups. In the case of Madrid, the acute contestation of the production of meaning become the arena of clash between street names that praise the power of the previous regime are opposed by the projection of victim counter-memories in the urban space. Street names indeed become the discursive universe defined by Palonen, in which local discourses and urban space become one. In the struggle of what is believed to be historically relevant, place toponymics can therefore become the vehicle for the reification of identity of historical hegemonic narratives or a space to challenge them. In the case of Madrid, the resistance to change in the symbology of urban space are a good example of those hegemonic narratives, whereas the local engagement for the recognition of victims experiences are a good picture of challenging the hegemonic status quo. The hegemonic narratives present in street names and the local discourses that are interrelated with them are expressed in the utopian narratives of challenged consensus expressed by conservative sectors of the Madrilenian society. As it was

showed through the corpus analysis, the discourse of ABC is a good example of these hegemonic narratives.

Regarding hegemony, there is room for a wider analysis. Cultural hegemony, being the cultural structures of society through which powerful groups are able to impose their values, imaginaries, and understandings, sets the mould in which the discourse is built. The rest of society accepts and adopts this mould despite the existence of counter-hegemonic voices. In the realms of language and discourse, this means the imposition of meanings, themes, and judgements on what is considered to be important. In the case of Madrid, the discourse is clearly driven by a hegemonic logic. Indeed, despite opposite views on how events and political and historical understandings are framed, the discourse revolves around the same structures and themes. Thus, in spite of the dichotomic views on past issues and the different understandings on how to solve them (or whether they need to be solved), different social groups use similar expressions when referring to this topic. People tend to highlight the same dimensions and elements, recurring in the same topics and even using the same words. As an example of this, the omnipresence of politics in the discourse around memory is inherent to a hegemonic structuring of the discourse. Furthermore, even when the opinion of many citizens is in favour of the reparation of the victims, they reproduce hegemonic discourses regarding the use of resources for memory policies or the importance of not upsetting certain social groups. However, sometimes there are windows of opportunity for counter-hegemonic groups to establish new equilibriums in the cultural structures of society. The work of civil society organisations regarding memory in Spain have been an example of this, since despite the resistances of the socio-political system, they have been able to introduce memory in the agenda on several occasions.

The cultural structures of society mark indeed what is judged as relevant and the discourses and uses of the past play a major role on this process. Indeed, the cultural structures of society are the ones that establish the social frameworks of memory through the definition of contextual elements and socio-temporal boundaries. Indeed, the past, or the discourses of the past in the words of Miguel Vázquez Liñán, provides guidance, familiarity, or a collective identity, as Lowenthal would say. In this sense, memory becomes the glue that bring social groups together. However, the existence of different mnemonic communities coexisting in a society establish different collective memories. In the case of Madrid, the different experiences of the dictatorship and of the civil war have built different mnemonic communities. With the progressive loss of the generation that lived those times, cultural identity relies increasingly on history to access the past. And as it was already stated, history is but a version of the past events,

a narrative built serving as a common point for dictating identity. Indeed, this selective dimension of history build narratives based on the reification of history and of identity. The current single-plot national identities of Spain are based on an idea of consensus that the political narratives from the *Transición* spread. However, the existence of different social groups with consequently different understandings of history as a vehicle for their identity, have enhanced discrepancy and tension, as it has been showed through the analysis of the different levels of the discourse.

These discrepancies have emerged from the expression of counter-memories, which until the action from the memorialist organisations, had been rarely articulated in public. As highlighted above, their articulation has kicked off a process of evolution of the public construction of narratives. The memory policies have become a first step towards spatialising these memories to build new consensus and enhance the construction of new national identities. The places of memory, and therefore, the street names can be a vehicle for new national identities, far from the “not stirring the past” narratives pushed for by conservative sectors of Madrilenian society. The change in the urban space becomes a way of inscribing counter-memories in history. Space is therefore a way to influence new discourses. However, resistances such as the ones encountered by the street renaming policies in Durban, South Africa have emerged and will continue emerging. And with this resistance, can urban space become a space of reparations?

Following the principles of transitional justice (justice, truth, reparation, and warranty of non-recidivism), the new society has a collective duty to repair for past damages. In Madrid, the changes of urban space, and especially through the conservative opposition, the victims of the dictatorship are relegated to a secondary level. The changes in street names not only receive opposition for removing fascist remnants of the urban space, but they do not recognise actively their suffering. For the processes of transitional justice, it is recommended by the academia and by the international organisations to take rather holistic approaches, in order to repair victims, catalyse grieving, and fostering new narratives and identities. Urban space can become a space of reparation, but the mere removal of fascist places of memory does not give help the progress towards the non-existing consensus. Further actions of memorialisation should be undertaken, while doing institutional declarations, abandoning the simplistic, dichotomic, and equidistant approaches and narratives. The creation of new identities requires to follow all the principles of transitional justice, pointing at perpetrators, repairing victims, expanding the knowledge and promotion of the multidimensional truth. To inscribe victims into history.

7. Conclusion

Social processes influence and are influenced by urban space, in a dialectic relationship between the past, the present, and the future of its dwellers. Places have memory attached to the identity of groups. When the symbolic and spatial configuration of urban space changes, the discourses of these social groups are unleashed with the content and meanings that are attached. States and powerful groups use space as a vehicle of their narratives, reifying history, identity, and even the needs of society. However, societies are not homogeneous entities, thus the experiences of space are equally diverse. Madrid, its conservative discourses, and the work of civil society organisations illustrate this diversity of understandings and experiences.

Through the analysis of dominant discourses, we have seen how opinions and discourses are unravelled when places of memory are touched. The case of Madrid illustrates well the conflicts and struggles over representation that happen in the city. Nevertheless, there are some common frameworks that set the lines of the discourse, despite opposite positions. The findings suggest that there are certain themes that are being kept out of the discourse, such as the victims, that are central in building new common identities. The voices that are against the changes spread hegemonic narratives that prevent the urban space to become more representative.

The urban space can become a space of reparations. Yet the inscription of new narratives into urban space needs wider processes of memory making to be able to influence the discourse at a wider level. Civil society engagement can open windows of opportunity to be able to influence the agenda. However, as transitional justice literature suggests, the authorities must take responsibility for past crimes and serve the interests of the victims to be able to make the city a space for truth, and for justice.

Limitations and recommendations for further research

This study has analysed the role of urban space and its changes in the social construction of the discourse. However, the analysis of the discourse of a whole urban society on one issue is something difficult to attain. This study was planned to be a comparative analysis between two newspapers of different ideology but due to unforeseen technical issues, it was not possible to perform this comparative analysis. Instead, complimentary sources have been brought to the discussion to be able to approach wider levels of discourse. Moreover, this research is situated

temporally and spatially. To draw conclusions that speak to wider contexts, it would have been interesting to compare other geographical contexts or time frames.

This research has showed interesting readings in terms of cultural hegemony, whose theoretical lines could be developed into specific theoretical frameworks. Furthermore, the importance of victims when changing street names is central, therefore, other approaches regarding how street renaming repair or how street renaming hide victims' narratives could be interesting to develop. Another important theme for the research was the mediatic discourse. Analysing how media shape the way in which we structure our discourses on memory could also be an interesting approach for further research.

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Annex 1. Tables Graphcoll

TABLE 6. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICS.

Created by author.

27	o	R	memoria	10.0	0.0	10	670
32	o	M	madrid	8.0	0.0	8	814
33	o	L	debate	7.0	0.0	7	39
34	o	L	partido	7.0	0.0	7	108
35	o	R	pp	7.0	0.0	7	220
36	o	R	sobre	7.0	0.0	7	257
37	o	R	sánchez	7.0	0.0	7	85
39	o	M	años	6.0	0.0	6	198
40	o	R	barrios	6.0	0.0	6	12
41	o	M	democrática	6.0	0.0	6	34
43	o	L	limpieza	6.0	0.0	6	14
44	o	L	partidos	6.0	0.0	6	25
46	o	R	populares	6.0	0.0	6	30
47	o	L	sangrienta	6.0	0.0	6	10
49	o	R	desde	5.0	0.0	5	204
51	o	R	ley	5.0	0.0	5	297
54	o	L	política	5.0	0.0	5	107
55	o	L	reforma	5.0	0.0	5	15
56	o	L	resto	5.0	0.0	5	28

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TABLE 7. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH HISTORY.

Created by author.

1	o	L	de	135.0	0.0	135	11247
17	o	L	catedrático	9.0	0.0	9	14
18	o	R	españa	9.0	0.0	9	174
19	o	L	nuestra	9.0	0.0	9	46
21	o	R	contemporánea	8.0	0.0	8	8
26	o	L	parte	7.0	0.0	7	136
27	o	R	reciente	7.0	0.0	7	14
28	o	L	academia	6.0	0.0	6	9
31	●	R	ciudad	5.0	0.0	5	146

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TABLE 8. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CARMENA.

Created by author

1	o	L	de	258.0	0.0	258	11247	303 times	131/226
5	o	L	manuela	87.0	0.0	87	93		
8	o	L	gobierno	46.0	0.0	46	363		
13	o	L	alcaldesa	34.0	0.0	34	101		
14	o	R	para	34.0	0.0	34	931		
21	o	L	madrid	23.0	0.0	23	814		
25	o	L	equipo	15.0	0.0	15	72		
27	o	R	callejero	12.0	0.0	12	262		
28	o	R	comisionado	12.0	0.0	12	277		
29	o	L	ayuntamiento	11.0	0.0	11	383		
30	o	L	decisión	10.0	0.0	10	94		
32	o	R	ahora	9.0	0.0	9	311		
33	o	L	memoria	9.0	0.0	9	670		
35	o	R	calle	8.0	0.0	8	632		
36	o	L	contra	8.0	0.0	8	191		
37	o	L	calles	7.0	0.0	7	347		
38	o	L	cambio	7.0	0.0	7	235		
39	o	R	edil	7.0	0.0	7	75		
41	o	L	propia	7.0	0.0	7	31		
43	o	R	quiere	6.0	0.0	6	47		
47	o	R	franquista	5.0	0.0	5	121		
48	o	L	histórica	5.0	0.0	5	498		
49	o	R	mayer	5.0	0.0	5	91		
51	o	R	nombre	5.0	0.0	5	291		
52	o	R	presidenta	5.0	0.0	5	31		

TABLE 9. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH AYUNTAMIENTO.

Created by author.

6	o	R	madrid	130.0	0.0	130	814
22	o	R	capital	18.0	0.0	18	133
23	o	L	pleno	16.0	0.0	16	214
24	o	R	retirar	16.0	0.0	16	79
25	o	L	memoria	15.0	0.0	15	670
26	o	L	portavoz	15.0	0.0	15	92
31	o	L	callejero	12.0	0.0	12	262
32	o	L	desde	12.0	0.0	12	204
33	●	R	carmena	11.0	0.0	11	303
34	o	L	decisión	11.0	0.0	11	94
36	o	L	gobierno	11.0	0.0	11	363
37	o	L	histórica	11.0	0.0	11	498
39	o	L	pp	11.0	0.0	11	220
40	o	R	ahora	10.0	0.0	10	311
41	o	L	contra	10.0	0.0	10	191
42	o	L	cultura	10.0	0.0	10	87
43	o	R	pasado	9.0	0.0	9	158
44	o	L	plan	9.0	0.0	9	79
45	o	M	maestre	8.0	0.0	8	44
46	o	L	según	8.0	0.0	8	118
47	o	R	aprobado	7.0	0.0	7	33
48	o	R	cambiar	7.0	0.0	7	89
49	o	L	comisionado	7.0	0.0	7	277
50	o	L	judicial	7.0	0.0	7	48
52	o	R	manuela	7.0	0.0	7	93
55	o	L	calle	6.0	0.0	6	632
56	o	R	cambio	6.0	0.0	6	235
58	o	L	forma	6.0	0.0	6	83
59	o	L	franquistas	6.0	0.0	6	112
61	o	R	nombre	6.0	0.0	6	291
62	o	R	retirada	6.0	0.0	6	104
66	o	L	comunidad	5.0	0.0	5	42
69	o	R	hoy	5.0	0.0	5	89
70	o	L	mayer	5.0	0.0	5	91
71	o	L	moción	5.0	0.0	5	38
73	o	R	placas	5.0	0.0	5	116
74	o	L	plataforma	5.0	0.0	5	72
75	o	L	proceso	5.0	0.0	5	54
76	o	R	recurrirá	5.0	0.0	5	7
77	o	L	recurso	5.0	0.0	5	53
78	o	L	socialista	5.0	0.0	5	74

TABLE 10. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CAMBIO.

Created by author.

8	o	R	nombre	90.0	0.0	90	291
10	o	R	calles	86.0	0.0	86	347
13	o	R	callejero	60.0	0.0	60	262
17	o	R	calle	46.0	0.0	46	632
19	o	L	madrid	40.0	0.0	40	814
23	o	R	denominación	26.0	0.0	26	73
24	o	R	nombres	24.0	0.0	24	172
28	•	L	ayuntamiento	19.0	0.0	19	383
29	o	L	memoria	19.0	0.0	19	670
31	o	R	52	17.0	0.0	17	46
32	o	L	ahora	16.0	0.0	16	311
33	o	L	comisionado	15.0	0.0	15	277
34	o	R	franquistas	14.0	0.0	14	112
35	o	R	nomenclatura	13.0	0.0	13	31
36	o	R	placas	13.0	0.0	13	116
38	•	L	carmena	11.0	0.0	11	303
39	o	L	euros	11.0	0.0	11	69
40	o	R	franquista	11.0	0.0	11	121
41	o	R	plaza	11.0	0.0	11	187
42	o	L	propuesta	11.0	0.0	11	261
43	o	L	contra	10.0	0.0	10	191
45	o	L	juez	10.0	0.0	10	71
47	o	L	gobierno	9.0	0.0	9	363
48	o	L	histórica	9.0	0.0	9	498
49	o	L	psoe	9.0	0.0	9	179
50	o	L	sobre	9.0	0.0	9	257
51	o	R	también	9.0	0.0	9	253
52	o	R	vías	9.0	0.0	9	60
59	o	L	pleno	8.0	0.0	8	214
60	o	L	municipal	7.0	0.0	7	153
62	o	R	27	6.0	0.0	6	32
66	o	R	vía	6.0	0.0	6	65
68	o	L	afectados	5.0	0.0	5	27
70	o	L	aprobado	5.0	0.0	5	33
71	o	L	aprobó	5.0	0.0	5	36
72	o	L	decisión	5.0	0.0	5	94
78	o	L	evitar	5.0	0.0	5	27
80	o	L	muñoz	5.0	0.0	5	35
81	o	R	nomenclátor	5.0	0.0	5	15
82	o	R	otra	5.0	0.0	5	65
83	o	L	pasado	5.0	0.0	5	158
84	o	L	propuestas	5.0	0.0	5	48
86	o	R	referencias	5.0	0.0	5	35
87	o	R	según	5.0	0.0	5	118

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88	o	L	sentencia	5.0	0.0	5	44
90	o	L	van	5.0	0.0	5	29

TABLE 11. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CONTRA

Created by author

21	o	L	recurso	10.0	0.0	10	53
29	o	L	recursos	7.0	0.0	7	42
30	o	L	también	7.0	0.0	7	253
36	o	L	partido	6.0	0.0	6	108
38	o	L	voto	6.0	0.0	6	13
42	o	L	como	5.0	0.0	5	656
45	o	L	luchar	5.0	0.0	5	8
46	o	L	sentencia	5.0	0.0	5	44
19	o	M	madrid	10.0	0.0	10	814
20	o	M	pp	10.0	0.0	10	220
17	o	R	gobierno	11.0	0.0	11	363
18	•	R	ayuntamiento	10.0	0.0	10	383
22	o	R	república	10.0	0.0	10	89
26	•	R	carmena	8.0	0.0	8	303
27	o	R	memoria	8.0	0.0	8	670
28	o	R	calles	7.0	0.0	7	347
31	o	R	cambio	6.0	0.0	6	235
34	o	R	franco	6.0	0.0	6	102
37	o	R	resolución	6.0	0.0	6	35
39	o	R	ahora	5.0	0.0	5	311
41	o	R	alcaldesa	5.0	0.0	5	101
43	o	R	durante	5.0	0.0	5	158
44	o	R	ley	5.0	0.0	5	297

TABLE 12. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH MEMORIA

Created by author.

1	o	L	de	914.0	0.0	914	11247
2	o	L	la	749.0	0.0	749	7465
3	o	R	histórica	455.0	0.0	455	498
5	o	L	ley	185.0	0.0	185	297
12	o	L	comisionado	93.0	0.0	93	277
13	o	R	madrid	57.0	0.0	57	814
23	o	L	la ley	36.0	0.0	36	38
27	o	L	aplicación	32.0	0.0	32	56
29	o	L	cátedra	31.0	0.0	31	72
31	o	L	plan	29.0	0.0	29	79
32	o	L	15	20.0	0.0	20	56
33	o	R	callejero	19.0	0.0	19	262
34	o	L	propuesta	19.0	0.0	19	261
35	o	R	democrática	18.0	0.0	18	34
36	•	R	ayuntamiento	16.0	0.0	16	383
37	o	L	integral	15.0	0.0	15	19
38	o	R	ahora	14.0	0.0	14	311
39	o	R	calles	14.0	0.0	14	347
40	o	L	el comisionado	14.0	0.0	14	16
42	o	L	aplicar	13.0	0.0	13	23
43	o	R	complutense	13.0	0.0	13	39
44	o	L	cumplimiento	13.0	0.0	13	23
45	o	L	cumplir	13.0	0.0	13	30
46	o	L	del comisionado	13.0	0.0	13	13
47	o	R	gobierno	13.0	0.0	13	363
48	o	L	memoria	13.0	0.0	13	670
49	o	R	11	12.0	0.0	12	23
50	o	R	sauquillo	12.0	0.0	12	99
52	•	L	calle	11.0	0.0	11	632
54	o	L	informe	11.0	0.0	11	58
56	o	R	marzo	11.0	0.0	11	48
57	o	R	ser	11.0	0.0	11	197
59	o	R	2004	10.0	0.0	10	15
60	o	R	almudena	10.0	0.0	10	29
61	o	L	avenida	10.0	0.0	10	67
62	•	R	carmena	10.0	0.0	10	303
63	o	R	siglo	10.0	0.0	10	43
64	o	L	derechos	9.0	0.0	9	47
65	o	L	la cátedra	9.0	0.0	9	10
66	o	L	mayer	9.0	0.0	9	91
67	o	L	oficina	9.0	0.0	9	15
69	o	R	zapatero	9.0	0.0	9	27
70	o	L	azul	8.0	0.0	8	64
71	o	R	cambiar	8.0	0.0	8	89

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72	o	R	cambio	8.0	0.0	8	235
73	•	L	contra	8.0	0.0	8	191
74	o	L	división	8.0	0.0	8	80
80	o	L	victoria	8.0	0.0	8	34
82	o	R	histórica para	7.0	0.0	7	7
83	o	R	histórica que	7.0	0.0	7	8
84	o	R	listado	7.0	0.0	7	52
85	o	L	nombres	7.0	0.0	7	172
86	o	R	placa	7.0	0.0	7	102
87	o	L	pleno	7.0	0.0	7	214
89	o	R	aprobada	6.0	0.0	6	16
92	o	M	capital	6.0	0.0	6	133
96	o	L	foro	6.0	0.0	6	8
98	o	R	general	6.0	0.0	6	272
101	o	L	humanos	6.0	0.0	6	30
102	o	L	lista	6.0	0.0	6	43
103	o	L	nueva	6.0	0.0	6	90
104	o	M	placas	6.0	0.0	6	116
105	o	L	política	6.0	0.0	6	107
106	o	R	rodríguez	6.0	0.0	6	34
107	o	R	xx	6.0	0.0	6	23
108	o	R	2007	5.0	0.0	5	9
109	o	R	alcaldesa	5.0	0.0	5	101
111	o	R	aprobó	5.0	0.0	5	36
112	o	L	artículo	5.0	0.0	5	46
113	o	L	asociaciones	5.0	0.0	5	19
114	o	L	borrar	5.0	0.0	5	22
115	o	R	celia	5.0	0.0	5	41
116	o	L	competencias	5.0	0.0	5	27
117	o	L	ejercicio	5.0	0.0	5	17
121	o	L	llamada	5.0	0.0	5	10
122	o	L	materia	5.0	0.0	5	22
127	o	R	psoe	5.0	0.0	5	179
129	o	L	retirada	5.0	0.0	5	104
132	o	R	tiene	5.0	0.0	5	158
134	o	R	universidad	5.0	0.0	5	47
135	o	R	valiente	5.0	0.0	5	56

TABLE 13. SHARED WORDS

Created by author.

4	ahora	311	5	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, carmena, contra
6	alcaldesa	101	3	/memori.*/i, carmena, contra
9	aprobado	33	2	/cambi.*/i, ayuntamiento
10	aprobó	36	2	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i
12	avenida	67	2	/memori.*/i, calle
13	azul	64	2	/memori.*/i, calle
14	callejero	262	5	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle, carmena
15	calles	347	4	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, carmena, contra
16	cambiar	89	3	/memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle
17	cambio	235	5	/memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle, carmena, contra
18	capital	133	3	/memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle
19	comisionado	277	4	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, carmena
24	decisión	94	3	/cambi.*/i, ayuntamiento, carmena
26	democrática	34	2	/memori.*/i, /polític.*/i
27	denominación	73	2	/cambi.*/i, calle
30	distrito	122	2	calle, ciudad
31	división	80	2	/memori.*/i, calle
33	durante	158	2	contra, pasado
41	franco	102	2	calle, contra
42	franquista	121	3	/cambi.*/i, calle, carmena
43	franquistas	112	2	/cambi.*/i, ayuntamiento
45	garcía	128	2	calle, ciudad
46	general	272	2	/memori.*/i, calle
47	gobierno	363	6	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, carmena, contra, pasado
50	histórica	498	4	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, carmena
54	ley	297	3	/memori.*/i, /polític.*/i, contra
57	madrid	814	9	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, /polític.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle, carmena, ciudad, contra, pasado
58	manuela	93	2	ayuntamiento, carmena

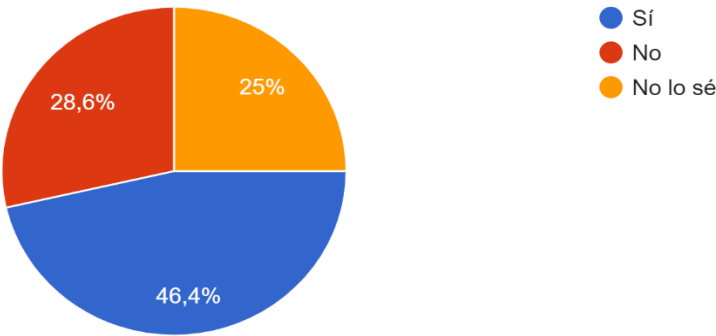
59	marzo	48	2	/memori.*/i, calle
60	mayer	91	3	/memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, carmena
61	memoria	670	7	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, /polític.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle, carmena, contra
65	nombre	291	4	/cambi.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle, carmena
66	nombres	172	3	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, calle
67	nueva	90	2	/memori.*/i, calle
69	octubre	27	2	calle, pasado
71	partido	108	2	/polític.*/i, contra
73	placa	102	2	/memori.*/i, calle
74	placas	116	3	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento
75	plan	79	2	/memori.*/i, ayuntamiento
76	plaza	187	2	/cambi.*/i, calle
77	pleno	214	4	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, pasado
78	política	107	2	/memori.*/i, /polític.*/i
80	pp	220	3	/polític.*/i, ayuntamiento, contra
81	propuesta	261	3	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i, calle
82	psoe	179	2	/cambi.*/i, /memori.*/i
85	recurso	53	2	ayuntamiento, contra
86	retirada	104	3	/memori.*/i, ayuntamiento, calle
87	retirar	79	2	ayuntamiento, calle
88	rodríguez	34	2	/memori.*/i, calle
90	según	118	2	/cambi.*/i, ayuntamiento
91	sentencia	44	2	/cambi.*/i, contra

Annex 2. Results of the Survey.

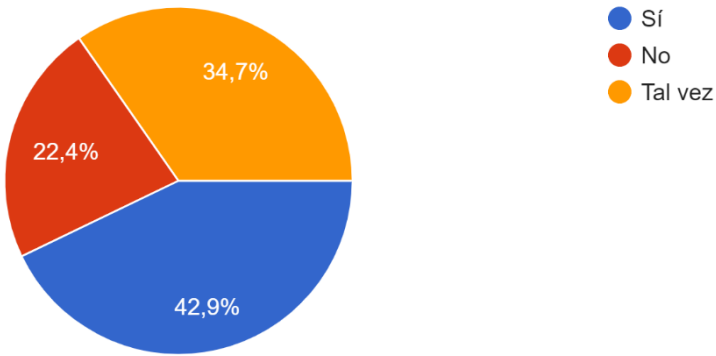
Created by author.

SURVEY ON THE EVALUATION OF CHANGES IN THE STREET DIRECTORY

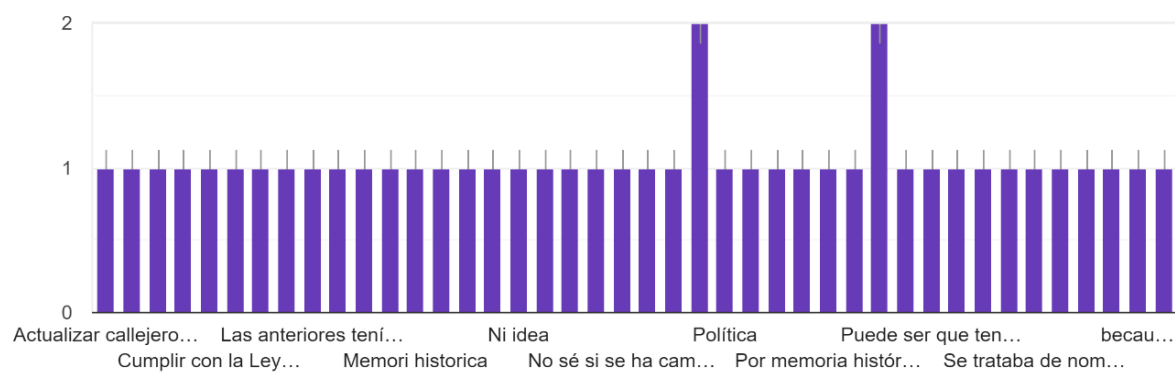
1. Has the name of any street in your neighbourhood been changed?
56 answers



2. Do you think it is positive?
49 answers



3. What do you think is the reason?
44 answers



ANSWERS TO THE SURVEY

CODING REASON	CODING +/-
POLÍTICA	RESOURCES / PRACTICALITIES (-)
LEY MH	POLITICS (-)
MEMORIA / CRIMINAL	HISTORY (-)
INCLUSIVE URBAN SPACE	MEMORIA / APRENDIZAJE (+)
	LUCHAR CONTRA EL FASCISMO (+)
	VICTIMS / REPARATION (+)
	ESPACIO / NUEVOS HOMENAJES (+)
	GOOD IF AVOIDS CONFLICT
	GOOD IF HOMENAJE A LA LUCHA ANTIFASCISTA
	GOOD INTENTION BUT INEFFICIENT
	DEPENDS ON THE CASE (BOTH SIDES OF THE WAR / IMPORTANT FIGURES / ANALYSING EACH CASE)
	I DONT CARE

Respuestas	¿Se ha cambiado el nombre de alguna calle en tu barrio?	¿Cuál crees que es la razón?	¿Crees que es positivo?	¿Por qué crees que es positivo o no?
1	Sí	Revanchismo político	No	La historia refleja lo pasado en una época y así hay que tomarlo y aceptarlo, responde a los valores que tenía una sociedad en unos años determinados. Intentar borrarlos es una tarea imposible.
2	Sí	Política	No	Las calles que se cambian no tiene sentido
3	No	Se quería cambiar el nombre a la avenida Juan Carlos I, pero al final no lo hicieron.	No	Me habría gustado que se cambiara el nombre como hicieron con el parque de Pinto.
4	Sí	Política.	No	Se cambió por primera vez en la dictadura y al volverla a cambiar por la Ley de memoria histórica, creo que deberían haber puesto el nombre original de la calle.
5	No lo sé		No	Demagogia política
6	No	No tienen connotación política	No	Porque cambiar los nombres de las calles cuesta mucho dinero y mucho esfuerzo innecesario cuando podríamos gastar ese tiempo y ese dinero en cosas más importantes. El pasado no daña el presente sino que, enseña a vivirlo
7	No		No	Salvo excepciones vuelve loco a todo el mundo y quita puntos de referencia
8	No lo sé	Política y populismo	No	
9	Sí	Razón política	No	Porque hay muchas necesidades y no estamos como para gastar dinero en esas cosas. No es el momento
10	No		No	Un cambio constante de ubicaciones puede ser negativo a la hora de la colocación o distribución de negocios.
11	No	No lo sé	No	En su momento fueron homenajes pero hoy son solo nombres
12	Sí	Política	Sí	Memoria histórica

Respuestas	¿Se ha cambiado el nombre de alguna calle en tu barrio?	¿Cuál crees que es la razón?	¿Crees que es positivo?	¿Por qué crees que es positivo o no?
13	Sí	Electoral	Sí	Porque mejora el entorno del barrio. Como dicen en Brasil, "Rouba, mas faz"
14	Sí	Por la ley que incorporó el Ayuntamiento de Madrid en base a la Ley de Memoria Histórica.	Sí	En una democracia no debería de haber espacio para nombres de calles que enaltecen una dictadura.
15	Sí	La ley de Memoria Histórica.	Sí	Porque nos ayuda a tener una ciudad libre de calles/plazas que hagan un enaltecimiento de una dictadura o con hechos realizados de ella. Y por supuesto, por el respeto a las víctimas.
16	No	Porque las calles no tienen nombres cuya memoria merezca no seguir recordando de esta manera	Sí	Porque en este caso no tienen nombres de persona. Si los tuvieran, y estos personajes no hubieran hecho un cambio favorable a la sociedad, sí deberían ser cambiadas (como en otros casos de calles de Madrid)
17	No lo sé	No lo sé, pero podría ser por alguna ley de memoria histórica?	Sí	Porque la interpretación de la historia cambia con el curso del tiempo
18	Sí	Ley de memoria histórica	Sí	Los nombres anteriores me resultaban ofensivos
19	Sí	Las anteriores tenían nombres de personas pertenecientes al régimen Franquista	Sí	Porque es positivo no darle absolutamente nada de espacio al franquismo y al fascismo
20	Sí	Memoria histórica	Sí	Para no vanagloriar asesinos
21	Sí	Memoria histórica	Sí	Dar ejemplo en el callejero
22	Sí	Ley de Memoria Histórica	Sí	Por la reparación a las víctimas y por la búsqueda de la verdad y la justicia sobre las violaciones a los derechos humanos cometidas durante la Guerra Civil
23	Sí	Motivos políticos	Sí	Porque la calle es todos y debe llevar un nombre que no tenga connotaciones políticas, o partidistas. El nombre de un general de la guerra civil no es el más adecuado.

Respuestas	¿Se ha cambiado el nombre de alguna calle en tu barrio?	¿Cuál crees que es la razón?	¿Crees que es positivo?	¿Por qué crees que es positivo o no?
24	Sí	Por motivos políticos. Eran nombres de militares golpistas y asesinos.	Sí	Porque los generales que ayudaron a Franco a levantarse contra el poder legítimo y mandaron asesinar a tanta gente están en el infierno.
25	No	Por tratar de hacer el espacio público más inclusivo	Sí	
26	No lo sé	Puede ser que tenga un antiguo nombre franquista por ejemplo y se decide cambiar.	Sí	Pues por ejemplo si es una persona que ha aportado mucho en la sociedad, me parece bien que se le valore y se ponga una calle a su nombre
27	No	No lo sé	Sí	Porque así no hay que cambiar dirección en todo tipo de documentos
28	No	Tiene un nombre que no molesta a nadie (los pajaritos)	No	Cambiar el nombre de las calles causa muchos problemas y cuesta mucho dinero
29	No	because (some) institutions are trying to erase the institutional heritage of the franco dictatorship	Sí	We need to do these changes in order to reconcile ourselves with the past, but I think it is definitely not enough. Further educational changes needs to happen to enable societal changes
30	Sí	por fascismo	Sí	por memoria histórica y democrática
31	Sí	Actualizar callejero a la democracia	Sí	Los cambios que conozco rinden homenaje a la cultura y la historia del siglo veinte
32	No	Todas son nombres de Mares y ello no crea polémica	Sí	Es positivo mantener nombres de calles que no creen conflicto. Me parece bien eliminar el nombre de calles de personas del régimen franquista, por ejemplo. No podemos normalizar el tener, en una ciudad, nombres de personas que fueron asesinas.
33	No lo sé	No sé si se ha cambiado alguna calle	Tal vez	No sé si se ha cambiado alguna calle
34	No lo sé	Personaje histórico polémico	Tal vez	En el caso de ser una calle dedicada a un personaje histórico que haya tenido un impacto negativo sobre la sociedad y en concreto ciertas familias, puede ser algo positivo cambiar el nombre de la calle para no crear conflictos.

Respuestas	¿Se ha cambiado el nombre de alguna calle en tu barrio?	¿Cuál crees que es la razón?	¿Crees que es positivo?	¿Por qué crees que es positivo o no?
35	No lo sé		Tal vez	
36	Sí	Cambios de gobierno	Tal vez	En funcion de la antigüedad y la localización
37	No lo sé	En caso de que se haya cambiado supongo que habrá sido por motivos de memoria histórica.	Tal vez	Tendría que saber el nombre de la calle y el motivo por el cuál se ha producido el cambio.
38	No lo sé	Memori historica	Tal vez	Depende si lo cambian para homenajear la lucha antifascista o para seguir visibilizando y blanqueado el fascismo
39	No lo sé		Tal vez	
40	Sí	Por memoria histórica	Tal vez	La intención es buena, pero en general es ineficaz.
41	No lo sé	Por tratar de hacer el espacio público más inclusivo	Tal vez	
42	Sí	Cambio político	Tal vez	Evolución cultural
43	Sí	Se trataba de nombres relativos a personas significadas de la guerra civil y el franquismo. Tener calles con esos nombres atentaria contrs la ley de memoria histórica.	Tal vez	Una calle con un determinado nombre implica un cierto homenaje a la figura correspondiente. En los casos en que se trate de personas que participaron en represion, masacres, delitos de sangre, etc. me parece oportuno el cambio. Pero debería afectar a personas de ambos bandos. Y si no se trata de personas con este tipo de delitos o acciones, no me parece necesario/oportuno el cambio (por ejemplo, creo recordar que se había propuesto cambiar la calle de Jardirl Poncela) . En esos casos no veo justificado el cambio, es parte de nuestra historia
44	No	Ni idea	Tal vez	Memoria histórica
45	Sí	Ley de memoria historica	Tal vez	A mí me da igual la verdad

Respuestas	¿Se ha cambiado el nombre de alguna calle en tu barrio?	¿Cuál crees que es la razón?	¿Crees que es positivo?	¿Por qué crees que es positivo o no?
46	No lo sé		Tal vez	
47	No lo sé		Tal vez	En alguna ocasión puede serlo, aunque no debiera realizarse de manera sistemática
48	Sí	Cumplir con la Ley de	Tal vez	Las personalidades sustituidas eran en algunos casos segundones y a algunas de las nuevas denominaciones las conocían en su casa a la hora de comer
49	Sí	Aggiornamiento	Tal vez	En unos casos había razones de peso. En otros (comandante Zorita por aviador Zorita, no)
50	Sí	Política		Porque no saben dónde gastarse el dinero en vez de dárselo a las familias necesitadas el mejor cambiar una calle
51	No			
52	No			
53	No			
54	Sí	Antiguamente era una judería pero cambiaron los nombres a referencias cristianas, esperanza, paz, ave María, la razón fue eliminar lo judío por lo cristiano		No creo q sea ni positivo ni negativo, me es indiferente el nombre de las calles
55	No lo sé			
56	No			

Annex 3. Interview with Miguel Vázquez Liñán

Lecturer in the Department of Journalism 1, University of Seville. PhD in Information Sciences from the Complutense University of Madrid, he has specialised in studies of the theory and history of propaganda and, in recent years, he has been working on the political uses of the past. He coordinates the research group "Memory and Communication: the political uses of the past".

Javier: Estoy estudiando la ciudad como espacio de reparación, analizando la Ley de Memoria Histórica en los cambios de nombre de calles. Analizo el discurso público mediante encuestas y análisis de prensa, intentando llegar a conocer, a través del discurso mediático y público, qué opina la gente sobre si la ciudad es un espacio de reparación.

Mis preguntas irán en la línea de entender cómo se relacionan e influyen la memoria y los discursos políticos y sociales.

Miguel Vázquez Liñán: Hay una relación entre la memoria y el discurso público o el discurso social. La memoria en realidad es el discurso de la memoria; nosotros conocemos parte de nuestro pasado porque alguien nos lo ha contado: nuestro familiar, amigos, el cine, los medios de comunicación... y siempre nos llega a través de un discurso. Entre otros, puede ser un discurso arquitectónico, el de la ciudad. Por ello, hay una relación directa, no hay forma de conocer nuestra memoria si no es a través de un discurso.

J: ¿Cómo se reflejan estos discursos a nivel periodístico, en qué medida está influenciado por el discurso que hay a nivel social?

MVL: Los medios de comunicación son instituciones de poder, como otras de nuestra sociedad. Están en la sociedad en la que desarrollan su trabajo y están influenciados por todo lo que ocurre alrededor. Hay intereses económicos, políticos, periodísticos, empresariales... que marcan las agendas de los medios de comunicación y afectan al discurso que luego difunden esos medios. Uno de ellos es el interés social, la relevancia social de lo que publican. Por tanto, todo lo que ocurre, como pueden ser las polémicas en torno a un discurso como el de la memoria, quedan reflejadas en los medios de comunicación.

En España el discurso de la memoria sigue siendo muy polémico, y esa polémica la reflejan los medios de comunicación que, por desgracia, están planteando los problemas de este país en términos de dicotomía (el bien y el mal, blanco o negro, rojos o azules, izquierdas o derechas...), y el discurso de la memoria entra en esa forma de representar las cuestiones, es un discurso más de los que hay en los medios.

J: ¿Cómo podría hacerse un planteamiento a nivel mediático para eliminar esos conflictos? ¿Es posible?

MVL: ¿Estamos hablando de España, hoy?

J: En mi estudio hay dos momentos: los 80, cuando se cambia el nombre de las grandes avenidas en Madrid, y el Gobierno de Manuela Carmena, con la segunda ola de cambios. Pero mi pregunta es tanto general como referida al momento actual.

MVL: Es difícil, pero los medios de comunicación deben ser parte de la solución, y no del problema, como suele ocurrir. Entiendo como solución el llegar a tener un país que sea capaz de darse cuenta que la parte que nosotros seleccionamos de nuestro pasado puede tener diferentes interpretaciones, y que esas interpretaciones deben ser atendidas en los medios de comunicación, para que sepamos en qué país vivimos, con qué gente vivimos y que tipo de discursos hay sobre el pasado. Ahora mismo solo vemos dos polos enfrentados, pero hay una riqueza de posiciones y de discursos mucho mayor de la que tenemos presente en los medios. Ni la gente de derechas piensa toda igual, ni la de izquierdas tampoco. Incluso dentro del movimiento memorialista hay puntos en común y puntos de desacuerdo. Los medios de comunicación deberían conseguir normalizar el hablar de estos temas en sus diferentes perspectivas sin que derive siempre en la radicalización del mensaje partidista (España se rompe...).

J: Cuando se habla de derechos humanos y de movimientos de justicia transicional se suele hablar de verdad y justicia. ¿Qué acciones se podrían llevar a cabo para y convertir los medios de comunicación en una herramienta de reparación, caminando hacia la verdad y la justicia?

MVL: Llevamos 40 años de democracia y no hemos solucionado los problemas de la memoria; uno de los problemas es precisamente el sistema de medios de comunicación en España. No se le pueden pedir milagros. Hay un problema con el uso político de los medios de comunicación por los partidos y las empresas. Para caminar hacia una situación menos partidista y a la verdad y reparación en temas de memoria, hay que cambiar el sistema de medios de comunicación, el primer paso sería modificar el sistema de medios de comunicación de forma que acogiese las diferentes formas de ver la memoria, al mismo nivel. Tendríamos que ver cómo nos llegan los contenidos que no tenemos que hacer esfuerzo para encontrar. Hablo de los contenidos con pretensiones de convertirse en hegemónicos. Hay que hacer mucho esfuerzo para encontrar determinadas opiniones sobre la memoria histórica; cuando yo no tenga que hacer ese esfuerzo estaremos hablando de un sistema que prioriza la memoria. Los medios tienen claro cómo priorizar, lo que pasa es que siempre priorizan lo mismo. Hay que cambiar el sistema en esa dirección.

No hablamos de homogeneizar el discurso sobre el pasado; una sola historia sería una mala memoria. Hay que intentar hacer ver que estamos en un país en el que conviven diferentes formas de ver lo mismo y, además, educarnos mediáticamente. No hay que poner todas las opiniones al mismo nivel, no debe ser lo mismo la ignorancia que el conocimiento. Hay que introducir el discurso de los datos y de los historiadores.

J: En ese sentido, ¿cómo puede ser la ciudad un contenedor de memoria?

MVL: Creo que esa pregunta la podrías responder tú mejor que yo. Creo que la ciudad debe explicar su pasado, no imponerlo. Me interesa la idea de utilizarla también como un medio de comunicación de la memoria, pero no soy un experto y, más allá de las formas habituales de conmemoración que hay en las ciudades, me pierdo.

J: Los nombres de las calles son una herramienta para decidir lo que se recuerda y lo que no. Cuando hablamos de memoria, es de qué se habla, y cuando hablamos de las relaciones de poder es qué discursos se recuerdan y cuáles no. En ese sentido, y formulando esta pregunta no a nivel académico sino más personal, ¿cuál crees que podría ser el poder de los nombres de las calles en esta reparación?

MVL: Es uno más. Me gustaría una mínima explicación para que la gente sepa en qué calle vive y por qué se llama como se llama. Es complicado, no estamos hablando de una placa con un nombre... Quizá un subtítulo, una pequeña explicación, que no existe... Es también una cuestión emocional; mi calle se llama Pepito Pérez y quiero que se siga llamado así, pero quizá si alguien me explica lo que hizo Pepito Pérez cuando era joven, cambio de opinión. Antes de prohibir o cambiar, hay que explicar. Yo no estoy por dinamitar el Valle de los Caídos, sino por explicar bien qué fue aquello. Algo parecido me pasa con las calles; es importante la explicación. Puedo comprender a quien tiene un vínculo emocional con un nombre de una calle, y también que la gente se pregunte dónde poner la línea al hablar de la represión franquista en nuestro país, hasta qué punto una persona estuvo involucrada. No es fácil; hay casos claros (por ejemplo, si una calle se llama Francisco Franco o José Antonio...), pero no siempre es así, no siempre está claro el nivel de compromiso con el régimen que se está exigiendo para poner o quitar una calle. Por eso quizá explicar tiene más sentido.

J: en efecto, memorializar ciertos espacios, añadir información que sea accesible, que pueda llegar a la gente para comunicar, como bien decías. En este sentido, la manera en que se han contado las cosas en los medios, ¿cómo crees que influye en la voluntad de la gente para querer cambiar o no el nombre de su calle, en el sentido de ese vínculo emocional del que hablabas?

MVL: Creo que la forma en que los medios lo han contado influye mucho. Entramos aquí en los temas que yo he trabajado. Hay una influencia muy grande de los medios, entendiendo como medios de comunicación no sólo la televisión o las redes sociales, sino tal y como se nos ha

contado la historia en este país siempre, en la escuela también. Ese miedo a hablar de determinadas cosas, que lo convertían casi en tabú. Cuando alguien hablaba de la represión franquista es casi como si estuviese hablando de pedofilia, es un tema que no se toca, son cosas que deben quedar lo más escondidas posibles. Eso es básicamente lo que han hecho los estudios de memoria en los últimos 20 años, hablar de esto en términos casi psicoanalíticos, de un trauma reprimido, que no puede salir. Hasta que no consigamos que los medios de comunicación hablen con cierta naturalidad, no como algo prohibido, malo, sucio... simplemente, de una vez por todas alguien nos tiene que contar, seas de izquierdas o de derechas, que aquí se cometieron una serie de barbaridades terminada la guerra, es decir, no justificadas por una situación de guerra, que si no hubiese esta situación de histeria colectiva todo el mundo diría "qué barbaridad". En el momento en que todos podamos decir eso y que a partir de ahí cada uno piense lo que quiera, estaremos hablando de un discurso mínimo de derechos humanos. Que una persona quiera recuperar los restos de sus familiares, que los llevan buscando tres generaciones, y que todavía alguien se lleve las manos a la cabeza por eso, significa que el tema está no politizado, sino extraordinariamente "partidizado". Porque si eso lo decimos sobre las víctimas de ETA, las mismas personas dirían que lo ven normal.

Hemos incorporado en nuestras opiniones sobre la memoria el discurso dicotómico de los medios de comunicación, que siempre nos colocan en un bando (algunos medios, no todos están haciendo lo mismo).

J: En ese sentido, antes hablabas de hegemonía; ¿cómo se relacionan los discursos hegemónicos con estos tabúes o esta histeria colectiva que has mencionado y qué estructuras de poder crees que lo dictaminan?

MVL: El tema de la memoria tiene muchas particularidades, pero en otras cosas es un tema más. Por ejemplo, en el tema de Cataluña ocurre algo similar. Ese tipo de discursos de blancos y negros se traslada al tema de la memoria. En España, las grandes empresas que tienen los medios de comunicación, las instituciones en general (con excepciones maravillosas) y los partidos políticos han ralentizado el proceso de recuperación de la memoria hasta el año 2000; aquí hablo tanto del PP o Vox, como del partido que gobernó España la mitad del tiempo que llevamos en democracia, y que sigue gobernando hoy, el PSOE, que no hizo nada cuando pudo hacerlo, y ahora está haciendo muy poco. No obstante, en los últimos años se ha dado un empujón muy importante hacia adelante (de ahí la Ley de Memoria Histórica), y afortunadamente hay muchos trabajos en la academia en esta línea, pero todavía seguimos intentando que el movimiento memorialista no haga demasiado ruido.

Si en España hay un proceso de recuperación de la memoria histórica es gracias exclusivamente, hasta el año 2000, a los movimientos de memoria histórica y a los familiares. Todo lo demás eran piedras en el camino. No hablo por supuesto de la Iglesia, otro de esos poderes, absolutamente contraria a esto. Cito como ejemplo el asunto de Queipo de Llano en Sevilla (equivalente a las calles y el Valle de los Caídos en Madrid), el general que hizo toda la represión y gobernó Andalucía como si fuera su cortijo, y está enterrado en la Iglesia de la Macarena en el

centro de Sevilla. Pero duele mucho más que no hagan nada quienes has sido elegidos por los ciudadanos, que no es el caso de la Iglesia.

En el 2000 se vio que el movimiento memorialista era tozudo e iba a seguir, y empezó a tener una presencia mediática. El movimiento de memoria histórica más o menos masivo empieza por un momento mediático, que es la aparición, en el año 2000, en la prensa y los medios de comunicación de este país, de la primera exhumación “científica”, con participación de forenses, etc., que fue la de Priaranza del Bierzo. Emilio Silva, hasta hoy Presidente de la Asociación para la recuperación de la Memoria Histórica en España, periodista, lleva las cámaras a esa exhumación, aparece en los medios y a la mañana siguiente empieza a recibir llamadas, correos... para preguntarle cómo ha conseguido exhumar a su abuelo, y a raíz de esto empieza un movimiento. El papel de los medios es esencial para esto, es un momento mediático el que lanza el movimiento. La gente se empieza a dar cuenta de que puede hablar de esto, y solo nos puede llegar masivamente a través de los medios de comunicación.

J: Es un buen ejemplo el momento en que Emilio Silva lleva a cabo la exhumación, cómo las asociaciones y el impulso de ciertos discursos desde abajo toma forma y acaba transformándose en la ley de Memoria Histórica. ¿Cómo crees que los discursos *bottom-up*, cómo estas asociaciones pueden influenciar el discurso en los medios, cómo impulsar que los discursos a nivel social pueden llegar a ser hegemónicos?

MVL: Es mucho más fácil cuando tienes más poder. Si yo soy el dueño de El País no tengo que hacer muchos esfuerzos para marcar la agenda; tengo mucho más poder para hacerlo, aunque también tengo muchas más censuras. Si yo estoy en un movimiento social que empieza desde abajo puedo tener más problema para hacerlo, pero también soy mucho más libre para contar lo que quiero contar. El movimiento de memoria histórica ha conseguido poco a poco poner muchos temas en la agenda, hasta el punto de que Zapatero casi se vio obligado, para conseguir votos, a hacer una ley de memoria histórica. No se hizo antes porque no tenía presencia mediática.

Un movimiento que lleva desde el año 39, en algunos sitios desde el 36 empezando a formarse, nunca se ha rendido, ni siquiera cuando en la transición volvió a verse ninguneado. Con este sistema de medios que tenemos ha llevado 40 años conseguirlo, pero han conseguido ponerlo en la agenda, con mucho esfuerzo. Es muy poco a poco, sin rendirse, y debe haber un nivel de compromiso como el que han tenido los militantes de la memoria para que esto acabe funcionando. Esos militantes están metidos en todos y cada uno de los proyectos de leyes de Memoria.

Pero incluso dentro del movimiento memorialista hay quien no ve sentido a las leyes de memoria porque creen que precisamente es un instrumento de control el reconducir el movimiento memorialista. Antes no eran mayoritarios, pero eran más libres que ahora. Hacer una exhumación antes de que esto estuviese regulado era coger una pala, y si sabías que tu

abuelo estaba en esa cuneta, ir a sacarlo. Ahora tienes que pedir un permiso porque lo dice la ley, y el permiso te lo da la Administración que haya en ese momento.

J: Se están radicalizando ciertos discursos, esto ha sido muy claro en los últimos años respecto a la memoria.

¿Cómo crees que se resuelven, o cómo pueden gestionarse, los conflictos de memoria? ¿La aparición o irrupción del movimiento memorialista en los medios de comunicación, puede influenciar un conflicto de memorias aún mayor?

MVL: Los conflictos de memoria no se resuelven. No hay un punto de llegada final. Lo que sí podemos hacer es intentar gestionarlos. El problema en España es que ni siquiera se ha intentado gestionar... o, mejor dicho, la gestión ha evitado por lo menos a la mitad de la población española. Lo que no podemos es mantenerlos en una situación de tabú. No se trata de resolver, se trata de intentar aprender a dialogar, y con esto tenemos un problema muy grave en España, no solo con la memoria. Lo que pasa es que la memoria es emocional porque en este país hubo una guerra que enfrentó a los españoles y no hay prácticamente ninguna familia a la que no tocara esto.

El planteamiento no debe ser resolver el problema, sino gestionarlo, aprender a vivir mejor con nuestro pasado y hablar de ello con naturalidad, y que nuestro pasado sea posible sin tener que bajar la voz cuando quieres decir algo. Hay que llevar los temas a un punto en que podamos convertirlos en temas polémicos pero no tratarlos con una dicotomía de enfrentamiento casi bélico otra vez. Eso sería "resolverlo", aunque no me gusta la palabra porque significa ponerle un punto final.

J: Es aprender a dialogar e integrar distintas experiencias de gente diferente, pero basadas en datos. En todo caso, incluso a nivel de la academia, hay visiones enfrentadas ¿Cómo empezamos a llamar a las cosas por su nombre y cómo se negocia la memoria colectiva?

MVL: Creo que dentro de la academia hay un poco más de respeto a las cosas que se han investigado previamente. Cuando los historiadores se ponen a trabajar, y se ponen a trabajar bien, ponen encima de la mesa algunos datos de lo que ocurrió, con interpretaciones basadas en ciertas evidencias. El pasado es un cajón de sastre: tú eliges las partes que quieres de ese cajón, y luego las colocas como si tuviesen un orden lógico, y eso lo dice luego cualquier político en la televisión. Esto es un mecanismo básico de la propaganda y la retórica. La única forma que tenemos de construir ahí es contrastando y hablando de estos temas con los datos que tenemos sobre la mesa. Y que esos datos se discutan en la academia, en la que hay opiniones de todo tipo, pero esto no debería ser un problema, lo hay en todos los órdenes de la ciencia. Yo puedo entender a una persona que me diga que el peligro comunista de la República era mucho mayor que el que yo pienso, porque, aunque fuera una barbaridad había una cierta motivación; no lo comparto, pero si me lo explicas con tus argumentos, puedo entender e intentar rebatir. Otra cosa es decir que a los rojos había que cargárselos a todos y gracias a Dios llegó Franco y acabó

con la mitad de los españoles. En ese tono no se puede discutir. Creo que tenemos que ir mostrando los discursos que tienen pruebas detrás, que los antropólogos cuenten lo que ocurrió, que descifren lo que cuentan los huesos. Todo el mundo pide pruebas y estamos dando pruebas antropológicas, pruebas históricas, contestables por supuesto, pero es que ahí es donde tenemos que llevar el debate.

J: Hablabas antes de elementos discursivos o de retórica. ¿Cuáles crees que son las estrategias, ya a un nivel un poco más concreto, que han conseguido que no se esté hablando en esos términos?

MVL: Convertir otra vez la memoria en un discurso electoralista. Un discurso electoral, igual que la propaganda de guerra, tiene unas características propias. Y una de ellas es la simplificación, brutal, intentar concentrar los esfuerzos en un solo enemigo. Y aquí sigue funcionando el tema de las dos Españas; dependiendo de dónde estés, apuntas al otro lado. Y lo sigues construyendo, no acabas con ello, sino que mantienes el mito porque te es rentable políticamente, te es rentable electoralmente. Si yo convierto el discurso de la memoria en discurso electoral, no hay nada que hacer. Solo sacando la memoria de ahí podemos intentar llegar a resolver o mejor, a gestionar algo.

El problema es que, en España, en los últimos años, hemos tenido tantos procesos electorales que estamos en una campaña electoral y un discurso electoral permanente. Nuestros políticos hablan como si estuviesen todo el tiempo en campaña y no salimos de los discursos dicotómicos, y así es imposible resolver cualquier tema. Toda la información que estamos recibiendo de nuestros representantes políticos es una información para separarnos, no para unirnos. Si no paramos eso primero, no solo el tema de la memoria, sino cualquier otro será motivo para que empecemos a tirarnos los trastos a la cabeza: las pensiones, el paro, etc.

Nos estamos peleando por si hay que comer más carne o no, llevándolo a unos extremos de surrealismo absoluto. Podemos convertir la carne, el pescado o las verduras en un arma de guerra. Si lo metes en la coctelera electoralista, puedo llegar a odiar a aquellos que lleven una camisa verde. Funciona igual: simplificación absoluta de los mensajes, desprecio radical por los argumentos, y una especie de emoción permanente, en el sentido de emocionar al público como objetivo fundamental de los mensajes.

J: Esto a todos los niveles: partidista, de los medios de comunicación, de la gente, las redes sociales...

MVL: Yo incidiría en los medios de comunicación. Tenemos que poner en la base y en el centro de nuestras exigencias políticas de los movimientos sociales, de la academia... la necesidad de cambiar y democratizar el sistema de medios de comunicación en España. Recibimos casi todo lo que sabemos a través de los medios de comunicación, que crean, en parte, nuestra forma de

ver el mundo. Si no cambiamos nuestra forma de comunicación política, es imposible. Nada de lo que estamos hablando aquí funcionaría.

J: Estoy de acuerdo en lo que comentas de las dos Españas. Tiene muy poco detalle, pero explica muchos de los conflictos que hay en el nivel social.

Por último, ¿hay alguna pregunta que no te haya hecho y debería hacerte, o hay algo que querrías añadir?

MVL: El sistema de los medios de comunicación incluye a la ciudad. Las formas de comunicar van mucho más allá de los medios tradicionales; estos tienen detrás una serie de poderes que influyen en cómo son. Imagínate las ciudades. El concejal de urbanismo es un personaje mítico, “mitológico”, en este país.

El problema es que los medios de comunicación son un intangible que no entendemos como un problema nuestro, y así nos va. Reivindicar que tenemos que cambiar el sistema es un punto esencial. E incluir en eso las posibilidades de la ciudad para comunicar, que son infinitas.

Annex 4. Interview with Sergio Gálvez Biesca

PhD in Contemporary History, he belongs to the Corps of State Archivists. He is currently a researcher at the Ibero-American Institute of the Hague for Peace, Human Rights and International Justice, and the Carlos III University of Madrid, in the R&D Project "History and Historical Memory online. Challenges and opportunities for knowledge of the past on the Internet". He has taught at the Complutense University, the UNED and the University of Buenos Aires. He has directed several R&D projects related to the process of recovery of democratic memory and history and transitional justice in Spain. Finally, it is worth mentioning his work as a founding member and programme coordinator of the Extraordinary Complutense Chair "Historical Memory of the 20th Century".

Javier: Tengo entendido que eras el coordinador de programas de la Cátedra de Memoria Histórica ¿Podrías hablarme un poco de esa experiencia?

Sergio Gálvez Biesca: La Catédra de Memoria Histórica es un proyecto que empezó en 2004. En 2015, cuando Carmena ganó las elecciones en Madrid, se firmó un convenio por el que se encargó a la Cátedra el cambio del callejero y el plan de Memoria del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. Mi posición era defender un plan integral de memoria basado en principios de derecho internacional.

Pero hubo oposición frontal de los medios (no solo ABC, también El País-de hecho, los más duros fueron el País y la SER) y una campaña mediática muy agresiva. Finalmente, tras una serie de discrepancias con el Ayuntamiento, la Cátedra redactó una nota de prensa para desligarse del acuerdo, y el convenio se canceló.

La Universidad Complutense quería mantener buena relación con el Ayuntamiento y puso unas condiciones leoninas para la renovación del convenio de la Cátedra (los convenios de las cátedras extraordinarias deben renovarse cada tres años). Se exigió a las entidades que apoyaban la Cátedra un importe, creo recordar, entre 6000 y 12000 euros al año. Se iniciaron negociaciones, pero finalmente no se continuó con el proyecto.

Se entendió que la Memoria es un negocio y se aprovechó la coyuntura del momento, de movimientos sociales por la memoria, apoyados por la Fundación Primero de Mayo, la Fundación Largo Caballero, etc. Era inviable un presupuesto de 18000 euros (la Complutense no tuvo más de 6.000 euros en los 3 años de la Cátedra, y eso porque fue financiada por el Banco de Santander). La Cátedra resultó muy barata, y se menciona en todas las publicaciones internacionales como modelo a seguir. Pero entre barato y gratis hay una diferencia y se llegó a una situación de asfixia económica. No se puede sacar adelante un proyecto así a coste cero.

J: ¿Tenías una función de investigador dentro del equipo?

SGB: Se hacía un poco de todo (investigación, envío de correos, cartas - en 2004 se enviaba correo postal para invitaciones formales a determinadas personas). Dependía de las épocas, en tiempos de Julio Aróstegui era menos horizontal o "transversal" que en tiempos de Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart.

J: ¿Trabajabais entonces con el Ayuntamiento?

SGB: No, nos pusimos en contacto con el nuevo equipo por si les interesaban los dos proyectos que teníamos (Libro Blanco sobre el Censo y Concurso para alumnos de secundaria sobre proyectos de memoria). Había sintonía con el Ayuntamiento de Carmena en términos políticos, pero el Ayuntamiento no solo fue "blando" en términos de Memoria, sino que rayó en el revisionismo y la defensa a ultranza del régimen del 78.

El Ayuntamiento nos convocó para hacer lo que consideraban más perentorio, el cambio del callejero (unos 30-40 nombres de calles). Empezamos a preparar un equipo, pero lo que inicialmente se previó para tres meses pasó a un plazo de una semana para presentar el primer listado de 30 nombres de calles, y después se pasó a 72 horas. El Ayuntamiento quería llevarlo al último pleno del año y el Archivo de la Villa estaba cerrado, con lo cual no podíamos acceder a los expedientes de las calles para ver la motivación del cambio de nombre. Tiramos de voluntarismo más que de práctica profesional, y no pudimos hacer un trabajo más profundo.

El cambio de nombres podía haberse hecho con un Bando municipal, pero el Ayuntamiento quiso hacerlo de otra forma.

Trabajamos 72 horas seguidas, quisimos ser transparentes y presentamos un borrador que no gustó a la prensa. No deberíamos haberlo facilitado hasta completarlo, sobre todo en una ciudad tan conservadora como Madrid. Sufrimos ataques, noticias falsas, manipulación... Se acusó a la Cátedra de estar dirigida por los castristas, por la relación familiar de su Directora, Mirta Núñez, con Fidel Castro. Trabajamos con la presión de los medios, y con la oposición del Ayuntamiento.

Empezamos con un listado de 30 calles, pero calculamos que en más de 240 sería viable el cambio de nomenclatura. Hicimos una propuesta de reforma, de redacción de las Ordenanzas Municipales, que no fue aceptada por el Ayuntamiento. Presentamos la documentación que iba a llevarse al pleno, con un único error en un nombre, que se subsanó inmediatamente.

Pero el equipo de una Concejala preparó una presentación con múltiples errores (por ejemplo, confundiendo campos de concentración alemanes y españoles). Surgieron muchos problemas con los medios de comunicación; el País dedicó dos portadas al asunto. Se mencionó que no se había contrastado el callejero con los expedientes, que se querían cambiar los nombres de calles

como Salvador Dalí, Santiago Bernabeu, etc. porque correspondían a fascistas. Se nos acusó (incluso el rector de la Complutense) de trabajar mal.

El 17 de febrero de 2016, en conversación con la Jefa de Prensa de Carmena, se dieron explicaciones, pero no tuvimos apoyo del Ayuntamiento. Tras un debate, el Consejo Ejecutivo decidió no seguir por la situación insostenible y el daño reputacional.

En ese momento, Carmena creó el Comisionado de la Memoria Histórica, compuesto por miembros sin especialización ni conocimiento de estos temas. Cada partido nombró a sus miembros, incluyendo, por ejemplo, revisionistas. Hicieron una propuesta en la que no se pudieron justificar los cambios, terminaron en el Juzgado demandados por la Asociación Millán Astray, Carmena retrasó el Memorial que se iba a hacer en el Cementerio del Este... Cuando llegó Almeida canceló el proyecto, quitó la placa de Largo Caballero, intentó quitar la calle de Indalecio Prieto. Y reconoció que el franquismo era una dictadura, pero que “había cierto ordenamiento jurídico”.

Muchas asociaciones nos apoyaron, pero otras mantuvieron silencio al respecto (por ejemplo, la Asociación por la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica-ARMH).

En definitiva, es la historia de una derrota. Aunque se ha seguido moviendo esto por los miembros de la Cátedra, hemos seguido publicando cosas.

J: ¿Podrías hablar un poco de la relación de los conceptos de verdad y justicia con la memoria y la reparación, y qué relación tienen con el cambio de odónimos?

SGB: En todo esto ha habido muchas fake news, mucha manipulación. La línea de algunos periodistas es la de la “memoria blanda”, sentimental, del exilio, de los niños de la guerra... Esa memoria que agrupa los valores de la transición y del consenso, y que ha hecho mucho daño a varias generaciones de españoles. Pero no se entra a hablar de derechos humanos y de los cuatro principios.

Debería haber consenso sobre el cambio del callejero. Pero, por el contrario, hay un proceso de retroceso e inversión, tras el período positivo de 2013 a 2018. La Ley 52/2007, de Memoria Histórica, tenía un artículo 15 muy flojo. Los Ayuntamientos pueden hacer el cambio del callejero mediante un Bando (esto está confirmado por los juristas), pero no se hizo en Madrid, ni en Extremadura, ni en las dos Castillas...

En los 80, el cambio del callejero se hizo sin debate alguno. El que mayor número de calles cambió fue Enrique Tierno Galván, con un buen recibimiento por parte de la prensa y la ciudadanía.

Nosotros quisimos dar a esto una perspectiva de justicia internacional. El callejero es la primera fase de la lucha contra el modelo español de impunidad. El cambio del callejero es una cuestión que tiene que ver con:

- Compromiso ético, de limpieza democrática.
- Forma de no humillación a las víctimas de crímenes del franquismo (derecho a la verdad, justicia, reparación, y garantía de no repetición).
 - o Hay que garantizar la verdad, que haya un consenso democrático al respecto. Hay que explicar que hubo un golpe de estado fascista y una dictadura criminal de 40 años.
 - o También hay que garantizar la justicia; no la justicia individual, sino vinculada a la memoria colectiva. La ciudadanía, el estado social y democrático de derecho, no pueden permitir un callejero franquista.
 - o La reparación, entendida en su sentido más integral: reparación colectiva por las instituciones que lo han permitido. Reparar “en conjunto”, a nivel político, a las personas que han tenido que convivir y han luchado contra un callejero fascista.
 - o La garantía de no repetición tiene un componente importante de enseñanza de lo que fue el pasado, pero mirando al futuro; no se puede permitir mantener un callejero franquista.

La falta de cultura democrática se vio reflejada en un drama sin sentido, promocionado por los medios de comunicación. La prensa intentó poner a la ciudadanía en contra, mostrando a los vecinos cuyas calles cambiaron de nombre como víctimas (por ejemplo, se dijo que habría que cambiar las tarjetas de visita... ¿Quién tiene ahora tarjetas de visita?). Se consiguió destinar una partida a sufragar los gastos ocasionados por los cambios de calle.

Pablo de Greiff habla de que las políticas simbólicas de reparación no se entienden si no se implica además otro tipo de justicia. Si no, no sirve de mucho. Hay que cambiar el callejero, pero al mismo tiempo hay que desarrollar un plan global de actuación respecto a la memoria. Por eso, nosotros propusimos un cambio de callejero y un Plan de Memoria. Ese Plan incluía congresos, itinerarios de memoria (Casa de Campo, Parque del Oeste, Retiro, cárceles de Carabanchel y de Ventas), resimbolización del Arco de la Victoria con unos carteles explicativos (esto lo iba a hacer sin coste uno de los artistas con mayor proyección internacional). Se trataba, en fin, de hacer de Madrid una ciudad del Siglo XXI, compatible con una memoria democrática social antifascista de la ciudadanía. Esto debería ser un ejercicio pedagógico.

J: Aparte del cambio de nombres, ¿qué debería hacerse?

SGB: Debería empezarse por actos simbólicos con una potencia reformadora brutal. Por ejemplo, poner de una vez por todas una placa en la Puerta del Sol, que indique que ahí estuvo la Dirección General de Seguridad, la cuestión de la cárcel de Carabanchel y la de Ventas, hacer

itinerarios formativos con participación de institutos para hacer proyectos, hacer un museo, resignificar espacios, etc. Las posibilidades son enormes. En el Ayuntamiento se encargó un Plan de derechos humanos, con muchos puntos de conexión con el Plan de la memoria, pero no llegó a ponerse en marcha.

Es necesario vincular la memoria a la justicia internacional. Cualquier proyecto debe estar basado en los pilares de la justicia internacional.

J: ¿Cuáles son los efectos de este tipo de políticas complementarias? ¿Cómo pueden afectar a los procesos de memoria colectiva o pública en general?

SGB: El concepto de memoria pública arrancó con fuerza en 2008 y luego se ha ido diluyendo. La memoria sirve para luchar contra la impunidad -que es una lucha diaria-, contra el revisionismo histórico -que es uno de los mayores peligros- y para evitar que determinados discursos tengan cabida en este país.

Hay una falta de voluntad política notable, que han puesto de manifiesto figuras internacionales. No se entiende el retraso que ha habido en la aprobación del Proyecto de Ley de Memoria Democrática.

La ley de Memoria en 2007 tuvo dos etapas, una inicial con un gran impulso por el PSOE, y otra en la que se hizo una ley insuficiente, se buscó frenar el auge de los movimientos sociales por la Memoria. El equipo directivo de la cátedra debatió si era mejor tener Ley o no. Si la ley se queda a medio camino, no sirve.

J: La Ley debe ser ambiciosa; si no, da pie al revisionismo. Hay que llamar a las cosas por su nombre.

SGB: El proyecto de ley ha mejorado sustancialmente entre la primera y la última versión que se va a aprobar (*el Proyecto de Ley de Memoria Democrática ha sido aprobado por el Gobierno el 20 de julio de 2021, con posterioridad a esta entrevista*). No obstante, 45 años después no se debate si se deroga la Ley de Amnistía. No es posible avanzar en los cuatro principios sin derogarla. Los responsables de crímenes de lesa humanidad del franquismo deberían ser juzgados. Si no, no hay justicia. Es la clave de cualquier política de memoria.

J: siempre se quiere llegar al consenso y en realidad hay que trabajar con los historiadores, con los datos. Debe ser una cuestión científica, no política. Aunque es necesario un proceso más amplio, me he centrado en mi estudio en los odónimos en Madrid. Los cambios se hicieron en

dos momentos: 1980 y 2017 ¿Podrías decirme cuáles han sido las particularidades de cada época? ¿qué se ha hecho bien, qué ha faltado?

SGB: En la última modificación, se puede hablar de falta de voluntad política, de miedo, incluso de mala fe. Se cambió el nombre solo de 15 calles de las 30 propuestas. El cambio se hizo tan mal que 13 de las 15 han vuelto al nombre anterior. Hubo fallos por la rapidez del proceso. En 2015-2019 había una mayoría amplia con el PSOE y no se aprovechó. Incluso se tenía el acuerdo de Ciudadanos, que no se oponía a los cambios (solo puso como condición que hubiera una calle destinada a las víctimas del terrorismo). Es la historia de un fracaso, no se aprovechó la ventana de oportunidad que había. La Comisión de la Memoria Histórica, posteriormente, no hizo nada.

Creo que los movimientos sociales por la memoria han sido traicionados.

J: ¿Cómo puede llegarse a un consenso en Madrid?

SGB: No solo es una lucha simbólica; debe generarse una construcción narrativa que muestre como nos relacionamos como país, que modifique como nos entendemos como sociedad, como país.

Se luchó contra la dictadura y es necesario luchar contra el revisionismo. Las víctimas deben tener un lugar público; las víctimas del franquismo se invisibilizan, no tienen representación. Esto no se ha modificado en el nuevo Proyecto de Ley. No hay reparación; la víctima debe recopilar documentación para solicitar al Ministerio de Justicia un diploma en el que diga que fue víctima. Pero ese documento no tiene valor jurídico.

Para eso sirve la memoria. Para decir que no son víctimas del franquismo sino de crímenes de lesa humanidad, ejecutados a través de un plan de exterminio para hacer una política de limpieza.

Creo que no es posible el consenso en la situación actual.

J: Volviendo a la Cátedra, en el momento en el que empezó (a mediados de los 2000) tuvo mucha importancia hablar sobre memoria. Auge de las Asociaciones, de los Foros por la memoria... Era un proceso, esencialmente, de memoria *bottom-up* ¿De quién depende la memoria? ¿Del pueblo, o de los historiadores?

SGB: En la revista España Nova lanzamos un dossier, que coordiné yo: "Generaciones y memoria de la represión franquista". Iba a ser un proyecto de 6 meses, pero duró 3 años; iban a participar

12 historiadores, y al final fueron 50. Se propició el ir contra algo muy del régimen del 78: que no existe una memoria colectiva, sino que es individual e intransferible. Esto contradice a muchos historiadores que consideran que existe un proceso de transmisión generacional, y que es colectivo. Hubo un gran debate al respecto.

Los historiadores deben tener un código deontológico, hacer trabajo sobre fuentes, y, con su metodología deben construir un discurso histórico lo más fiel posible (no creo en la objetividad) de lo que pasó.

Como decía Josep Fontana, no entiendo la historia si no es como un proyecto social, politizado, comprometido, ético, con el pasado que siempre se ha interpretado de forma que ha invisibilizado a las víctimas del franquismo, a las mujeres, al movimiento obrero... Siempre se ha preocupado de las élites. Es necesario reivindicar una Historia desde abajo y con los de abajo. Eso es lo que debe aportar el historiador.

Luego están las víctimas y los movimientos por la Memoria que tienen sus propios mecanismos. En muchas asociaciones participan historiadores, archiveros, juristas, etc. Las asociaciones lanzan sus propios objetos de memoria y conforman dentro de la memoria pública, un discurso, una narrativa; la de los historiadores tiene fundamentos académicos, científicos.

Los discursos por la memoria tienen un hilo personal, y los hilos personales confluyen en un denominador común, la memoria histórica, la memoria democrática social antifascista.

Hay que diferenciar la posición de las Asociaciones y de los historiadores. Son dos marcos diferenciados donde hay canales de comunicación y donde cada uno tiene claro cuál es su ámbito de trabajo.

Los historiadores pueden contribuir a recuperar las voces del pasado que no han sido escuchadas, interpretar los discursos de la memoria histórica, pero no hacen productos de memoria entendidos como recuperación personal, por ejemplo, de la cárcel de Burgos. Hay hilos comunes de la experiencia carcelaria en el franquismo.

El gremio de los historiadores es conservador. No sale a cuenta meterse en temas conflictivos. Pero si se entra en esto hay que cuestionar todo frontalmente.

El modelo canónico, el mito de la transición, se ha venido abajo: no es ejemplar, ni extrapolable. Hubo un relato mágico (Gregorio Morán), se nos contó una película que los medios compraron. Vázquez Montalbán y Haro Tecglen hicieron una labor de recuperación de la memoria.

Se han debatido muchos temas. Por ejemplo, si se podía llevar banderas republicanas a las exhumaciones. El Foro por la memoria no tenía dudas de que había un componente político en la exhumación, mientras que para la ARMH era una cuestión técnica. La ARMH sigue sin judicializar las exhumaciones, el Foro lo ha hecho.

J: Se repiten los mismos procesos. Has hablado mucho sobre el rol de los medios de comunicación ¿Qué estrategias concretas usa la prensa, y los medios de comunicación, para sacar la memoria de la agenda?

SGB: A El País no le interesó la memoria hasta el punto de arranque que supone la exhumación de Priaranza del Bierzo. El País no dijo nada sobre todas las exhumaciones que hubo en la transición. Esto empieza a entrar en la agenda pública y El País considera que es un fenómeno mediático.

Es un enfoque sentimental, sin vinculación política, nos cuentan historias personales no conectadas con el discurso hegemónico de la transición.

Llega el pacto de silencio, la Ley de Amnistía, el 23F que supuso un borrón y cuenta nueva para todo el proceso de exhumaciones.

La ARMH ha apostado por una memoria no politizada y eso le ha permitido crecer. El Foro por la Memoria sí va al núcleo de lo que son los problemas: Ley de amnistía, pacto de silencio, poderes hegemónicos que no quieren que se entre en todo esto, impunidad.

Los medios controlan la agenda. El tratamiento que se hizo a Garzón cuando instruyó el sumario es muy parecido a lo que pasó con la Cátedra. Todo lo que vaya en contra de la memoria “blanda”, amable, no es bienvenido por el Grupo Prisa. La estrategia mediática de El País es que no se toquen los grandes consensos.

Pero aquí hay que explicar quiénes fueron los ejecutores. Hay una memoria parcial. Solo se habla de víctimas, no de victimarios.

También ha habido manipulación por parte de la Comisión de Memoria Histórica.

Ahora mismo se están cuestionando todos los avances en materia de memoria y estamos retrocediendo. En vez de ir a la ofensiva vamos a no perder derechos. Pero el Secretario de Estado de Memoria Democrática tiene voluntad política de avanzar, por ejemplo, en la cuestión de los archivos. Nos gustaría ir mucho más allá, pero al menos escucha y tiene voluntad.

Espero que no se retroceda con la Ley. Estamos en el Gobierno, pero la sensación en términos políticos es que estamos en la oposición: revisionismo, falta de voluntad política... Vienen tiempos difíciles, las posiciones revisionistas pueden parar todo lo que hemos avanzado.

J: Es cierto. Si cuesta tanto el cambio de nombre de calles, que es una reparación simbólica, imagino el resto.

SGB: Es la epidermis, oculta una “infección” mucho mayor. Quien tiene que tomar las decisiones debe escuchar a los técnicos, a los expertos.

J: Me gustaría preguntarte, dado que mi Máster es sobre Estudios Urbanos y mi TFM trabaja mucho cómo se espacializa todo esto, ¿cómo pueden la ciudad y el espacio urbano contribuir a la reparación, a la memoria?

SGB: En el proyecto consultamos a compañeros del colegio de arquitectos, que han trabajado en el lado social del urbanismo, marxistas, con perspectiva de clase, cómo se entiende una ciudad desde abajo, con los ciudadanos, no con las élites que siempre lo ven como negocio. Cómo revertir invisibilidad de las víctimas del franquismo, hacer espacios abiertos, con marcos explicativos, pedagógicos... para que no sea una ciudad invisible a las víctimas

El proyecto empezaba con el callejero, pero continuaba con espacios muy simbólicos como la Cárcel de Carabanchel, Ventas o Yeserías, el Arco de la Victoria, el Parque del Oeste...

Por ejemplo, los bombardeos en Tetuán de las Victorias están invisibilizados. Ninguna ciudad en la Historia ha sido bombardeada durante 3 años. En los años de Carmena se sacó un plano de los bombardeos, pero se quedó ahí. Son necesarios marcos explicativos, fotos de cómo quedaban las casas, etc.

Hay que hacer mucho trabajo en ese espacio mercantilizado que es el centro de Madrid. La DG de Seguridad, la Puerta de Toledo, Cibeles (donde estaban las brigadas internacionales). Debe ponerse un letrero para explicar que en los edificios que hoy ocupan algunos colegios se encerró y fusiló a miles de personas, explicar a los padres que el colegio de sus hijos fue un campo de concentración o una cárcel. Hay que explicarlo también a los niños. Eso es trabajar con los espacios públicos, son políticas muy simbólicas, pero con impacto.

En la generación de mis padres, uno de los efectos más traumáticos es el silencio. Esa generación de ciudadanos españoles, que puedan tener esa conversación que no pudieron tener con sus abuelos o sus padres, que la tengan en unos marcos pedagógicos y democráticos basados en

valores de derechos humanos. Trabajar el espacio urbano y desde lo que se ve en el espacio urbano, convertir en una conversación y en una red de conocimiento. Pasar del espacio urbano o social al espacio íntimo de una casa, tendrá efectos terapéuticos y democratizadores.

J: Hay una memorialización descentralizada en pequeñas cosas que funciona muy bien.

SGB: en Buenos aires cada edificio de tortura está señalizado. En Argentina se hacían escraches a los criminales.

J: Por último, ¿me podrías dar alguna indicación sobre personas que trabajen la odonimia en Madrid o en España?

SGB: Todos los historiadores que hemos estado en esto hemos escrito.

Se pueden citar muchas personas:

- Habla mucho de los espacios a nivel general Jordi Guixé (espacios transfronterizos de memoria)
- Antonio Ortiz Mateos, Memoria de Madrid.
- Marco comparativo: caso de Queipo de Llano y Pemán, que sigue enterrado entre víctimas del franquismo.
- Pepe Hinojosa.
- Rubén Vega y Francisco Erice de la Universidad de Oviedo, estuvieron con los cambios de callejero de Oviedo, Gijón...
- Sergio Cañas Díez, se le ha encargado informe pericial (histórico) sobre un espacio que es un cementerio a las afueras de la Rioja, espacio que los familiares de las víctimas, en la transición (o incluso antes) empezaron a ponerlo en orden.
- Elizabeth Jelin y Ricard Vinyes - Cómo será el pasado.

Por último, puedes analizar el caso del callejero de Valencia, donde ha habido problemas.

Por favor, sé valiente.