Madrid's Arco de la Victoria: Cultural Symbols and Social Negotiations in Contemporary Spain

Junnan Li^{1,a,*}

¹Manchester University, Oxford Road, Manchester, Greater Manchester M13 9PL, United Kingdom a. jn540012879@outlook.com *corresponding author

Abstract: This paper examines Madrid's Arco de la Victoria as a cultural symbol and its role in the social negotiations of contemporary Spain. Anchored in the framework of cultural sociology, the study traces the monument's origins to Franco's regime, where it was intended as a symbol of authoritarian triumph. As Spain transitioned to democracy, the Arco's significance shifted, reflecting the changing narratives and collective memory of Spanish society. Through analysis of academic literature and historical records, the study explores the monument's contested semantics over time and public discourses that surround it. The findings reveal that the Arco de la Victoria, much like other Francoist monuments, has evolved from a representation of unified national identity to a site of contestation and renegotiation in democratic Spain. The paper contributes to the understanding of how historical symbols are re-evaluated as societies progress and how they continue to shape and reflect collective identities and memories.

Keywords: Collective Memory, Monumental Symbolism, Cultural Negotiation, Francoist Legacy

1. Introduction

Spain, with its rich and multifaceted history, has long been a nation marked by its diverse cultural legacies. One of the most significant periods in modern Spanish history was the Franco era, which spanned nearly four decades, from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 to Franco's death in 1975. During this period, Spain was under the authoritarian rule of Francisco Franco, and the nation's political, cultural, and social landscapes underwent profound transformations [1]. Monuments, always emblematic of a nation's history and identity, took on heightened symbolic importance during this era as tools of both political propaganda and resistance.

The Arco de la Victoria in Madrid, a grandiose triumphal arch, stands as one such monument, embodying the Francoist vision of a unified and victorious Spain [2]. Designed to commemorate Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War, the arch was not just an architectural marvel but also a symbolic statement of his regime's durability and the new order it sought to establish.

However, as with many symbols, the Arco's meaning and significance are not static but have evolved over time, undergoing reinterpretation and renegotiation in the face of changing social, political, and cultural contexts [3]. Today, it stands at the nexus of debates about memory, history, and national identity in contemporary Spain.

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This paper endeavors to explore the complex web of cultural symbols and social negotiations surrounding the Arco de la Victoria. By delving deep into the monument's historical backdrop, its changing cultural semantics, and the public discourses surrounding it, this study aims to contribute to a nuanced understanding of how physical symbols, like monuments, play pivotal roles in shaping and reflecting societal perceptions and memories. This study will also attempt to contextualize the Arco within the broader landscape of Spain's contested monuments and engage with larger debates concerning the interplay of power dynamics, architecture, and cultural symbolism, especially in authoritarian contexts such as Francoist Spain.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Living symbols in social narratives: monuments

Monuments, historically and globally, have served as emblematic representations of collective narratives, memories, and national identities. Particularly within the unique Spanish sociocultural context, monuments stand as testimony to the country's multifaceted history and cultural evolution. Their role is not confined to passive historical markers; instead, they actively participate in shaping and reflecting societal discourses.

Tuan suggests that human societies invariably use physical landmarks to anchor their collective experiences and memories. This notion finds strong resonance in Spain, where monuments like the Arco de la Victoria are deeply entwined with the country's socio-political tapestry[4]. As Hobsbawm and Ranger articulate in their exploration of invented traditions, monuments often serve as deliberately constructed symbols, aiming to instill particular values or perceptions in societies[5].

In the heart of Spain, this symbolic representation can be seen in structures that span from the Roman aqueducts in Segovia to the Gothic cathedrals in Toledo. Each not only represents a distinct architectural style but also encapsulates unique periods of Spain's cultural and political evolution[6].

Crucially, during the Franco era, the creation and endorsement of monuments were intensely influenced by the regime's intent to establish a consolidated national identity[7]. Monuments were intricately woven into the fabric of Francoist propaganda, emphasizing Spain's grandeur and the regime's perceived role in its restoration[8].

Moreover, Nora introduced the concept of 'lieux de mémoire' or 'places of memory', highlighting how certain sites become focal points for collective memory, especially in societies where traditional memory practices are eroding[9]. This perspective underscores the importance of sites like the Valley of the Fallen, which encapsulate Spain's collective struggles and triumphs.

In essence, the monuments in Spain, from different eras and with varied intentions behind their construction, offer invaluable insights into the nation's socio-cultural narratives and identity. Their significance transcends their physical presence, symbolizing the intricate web of history, memory, and power dynamics that has shaped Spain over the centuries.

2.2. Concept of "collective memory" and its role in shaping societal perceptions

The concept of "collective memory" is pivotal in understanding how societies frame and transmit their shared histories. Although Maurice Halbwachs pioneered this idea, emphasizing that memories are shaped within societal frameworks, more recent scholarship has deepened our understanding of its implications, particularly in the context of Spain's historical narratives[10].

The significance of collective memory in shaping national identity cannot be understated. As Reading suggests, it's a continuous process where nations revisit and often reshape their past to align with current societal values and aspirations[11]. In the case of Spain, the Franco era and its aftermath have remained a contentious memory, influencing both political discourse and public sentiment [12].

This alignment between collective memory and political landscapes was evident in Rousso's examination of France's Vichy regime. Similarly, Soto-Carmona discusses Spain's post-Franco era, emphasizing the tensions between state-sponsored memory narratives and the counter-narratives emerging from regional and grassroots movements[13][14].

Monuments and public spaces have long been tools for reinforcing specific memory narratives. Hepworth examines Spain's memory politics, spotlighting how monuments like the Valley of the Fallen have become battlegrounds for competing narratives, embodying collective memory's contestation in the country[15].

Furthermore, a deeper understanding of collective memory also acknowledges its malleability. Todorova explores how collective memories, while rooted in historical events, can be influenced by contemporary societal forces, reflecting changing values and priorities[16].

In essence, collective memory, particularly in the context of Spain's historical trajectory, presents a complex interplay of narratives, contestations, and evolving societal perceptions. As Spain continues to grapple with its Francoist past, the role of collective memory in shaping both public discourse and national identity remains at the forefront.

2.3. Power dynamics, architecture, and cultural symbolism in authoritarian contexts

The intersection of power dynamics, architecture, and cultural symbolism within authoritarian frameworks can be profoundly telling, with Francoist Spain serving as a compelling case study. Architecture, particularly under authoritarian regimes, extends beyond the construction of functional edifices—it becomes a conduit for ideology, dominion, and particular narratives[17].

Francoist Spain (1939-1975) leveraged architectural grandeur to both establish its legitimacy and propagate its vision of a united, monumental Spain[18]. One such emblematic structure is the Arco de la Victoria in Madrid, erected to commemorate Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War. As described by Malkowski, it stands as a "stone giant," emblematic of the regime's envisioned continuity and resilience[19].

Yet, the monumental drive was not limited to singular edifices. Entire urban projects, like the reconstruction of war-torn cities, were also seeped in Francoist symbolism. Sterken highlights how these urban reconstructions were aimed at erasing memories of Republican Spain while reinforcing the regime's narratives[20].

Similarly, the regime's push to build churches and other religious structures was not just an expression of devout Catholicism but a bid to intertwine religious authority with political dominion, as noted by Delso[21].

However, the post-Franco era saw these monumental architectures undergo a recontextualization. Structures that once stood as symbols of authoritarian power now find themselves at the crossroads of debate, contestation, and reclamation[22].

In essence, the Francoist era's architectural endeavors were not mere infrastructural developments; they were potent political tools, emblematic of the regime's aspirations and ideologies. Contemporary Spain's engagement with these structures underscores the intricate layers of memory, identity, and resistance intertwined with them.

3. Methodology

The methodology section of this research underscores the approach adopted to delve into the intricate interplay between cultural symbols and social negotiations, with a focus on Madrid's Arco de la Victoria in contemporary Spain. To fully understand the monument's evolving socio-cultural significance, particularly in the context of Spain's history and the Franco era, the study leaned heavily on secondary sources.

Given the historical and cultural scope of the research, primary data collection methods, such as fieldwork or interviews, were deemed less suitable. The temporal distance from the Franco era makes firsthand accounts increasingly scarce, and the monument's long-standing presence suggests that its most immediate cultural implications are now woven into broader societal narratives.

As such, the research primarily relied on academic articles from established journals that discussed Spain's political history, Franco's reign, and architectural symbolism. Articles that spanned from the late 20th century to recent publications were meticulously reviewed to capture the monument's evolving significance over time.

Furthermore, historical records provided valuable insights into the official narratives propagated during the Franco era. By juxtaposing these official accounts with academic critiques, the research could sketch the broader contours of the socio-political climate during which the monument was erected and its subsequent relevance.

Existing analyses, particularly those from sociologists and cultural historians, furnished nuanced interpretations of the monument within Spain's socio-cultural milieu. These analyses were instrumental in understanding public discourses, debates surrounding the monument, and its place in Spain's contested monumental landscape.

It's crucial to note that while this reliance on secondary sources provides a broad and well-informed perspective, the research is inevitably shaped by the interpretations and biases inherent in these sources. However, by critically engaging with a diverse array of academic contributions, this study seeks to present a balanced and comprehensive understanding of Madrid's Arco de la Victoria in the canvas of contemporary Spain.

4. Analysis

4.1. The Franco Era: Architectural Symbols and Sociopolitical Imprints

In the domain of cultural sociology, monuments frequently surpass their physical stature, serving as incarnations of socio-political narratives and hegemonic aspirations. The Arco de la Victoria, situated prominently in Madrid, epitomizes such narratives emanating from the Franco era.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Spain became a canvas for Franco to inscribe his ideological imprints. Emerging from the turbulence of a devastating civil strife (1936-1939), the nation under Franco grappled with a fragmented identity. Franco's ambition transcended mere governance; he aimed to embed a cultural narrative that underscored the supremacy of his nationalist ideals.

The construction of the Arco de la Victoria was a strategic endeavor. Its symbolism stretched beyond the triumph in war. To Franco, this monument represented an ideological victory over Republican resistance. Culturally, it acted as a conduit to consolidate the Francoist narrative within the Spanish collective consciousness, with every brick and stone of the arch asserting the dominance of his ideology.

Madrid, known as a bastion of Republican resistance, was a deliberate choice for situating this monument. Its towering presence in the city acted as a daily reminder of the new cultural order. Through this architectural marvel, Franco celebrated not only a military victory but also underscored the socio-cultural transformation of Spain under his regime[23].

The transformative agenda of Franco resonated with other endeavors of his regime. For instance, Franco's overhaul of the Spanish education system sought to inculcate his nationalistic and religious ideals, emphasizing a unified Spanish identity while downplaying regional diversities[24]. Similarly, the Arco de la Victoria transcended its architectural essence; it emerged as an emblem of Spain's redefined identity, serving as both a symbol of victory and a perpetual reminder of the nation's new trajectory under Francoist tenets.

In summary, viewing the Arco de la Victoria through the prism of cultural sociology unveils a poignant chapter in Spain's socio-cultural evolution. It encapsulates the era's ideological clash and stands as an indelible mark of Franco's vision—a nation reshaped and realigned to his ideals.

4.2. Monumental Evolution: The Arco in a Changing Spain

Monuments are not merely static representations of a particular era or ideology; they are dynamic entities, their meanings and implications evolving as societies and their values transform. The Arco de la Victoria in Madrid exemplifies this dynamism.

Initially erected as a tribute to Franco's ideological triumph, the Arco de la Victoria symbolized the victory of Francoist ideals over Republican resistance. Its dominant position in Madrid, a city once teeming with Republican sentiments, conveyed an unmistakable message – it stood as the victory of a unified, nationalistic vision of Spain over the pluralistic ideologies that the Republicans championed23.

However, with Spain's transition to democracy following Franco's era, the narratives surrounding the monument began to evolve. The sociocultural shifts in the nation initiated a period of introspection, leading to a re-evaluation of the Francoist legacy. As democratic institutions took root and regional identities began to flourish, the once-celebrated symbolism of the monument was increasingly questioned and critically examined[25].

By the late 20th century, the Arco de la Victoria transitioned from an unchallenged symbol of authoritarian triumph to a site of contention. To many, it still evoked memories of a repressive regime and its impositions, while others perceived it as a passive historical artifact, detached from its former ideological fervor[26]. The broader global dialogue concerning contentious monuments and their place in modern societies further complicated the monument's status in Spain's public consciousness.

Furthermore, with the evolution of Spain's multicultural landscape, the Arco's singular narrative appeared increasingly incongruent with a nation striving for inclusivity. For younger generations, detached from the direct memories of the Civil War, the monument transitioned into an object of historical curiosity rather than emotional engagement. This generational shift in perception epitomizes the impermanent nature of cultural symbols and their resonance over time.

In conclusion, the transformation in the cultural semantics of the Arco de la Victoria mirrors Spain's broader journey from an authoritarian past to a diverse and democratic present. It serves as a poignant reminder of the shifting sands of collective memory and the ever-evolving nature of symbols in dynamic societies.

4.3. The Arco in Public Discourse: Societal Perceptions and Debates

The evolving dynamics of societal perceptions surrounding monuments often emanate from broader public discourses and debates. In recent years, the Arco de la Victoria has not been immune to such discussions. Delving into the myriad conversations surrounding this monument illuminates the layers of meaning and significance it holds within Spain's sociocultural milieu.

Recent debates center on the monument's roots in the Franco era and its contemporary implications. For some, it stands as a potent reminder of a turbulent past, echoing Francoist ideals and values. Yet, for others, it symbolizes a landmark of historical significance, detached from its original authoritarian connotations[27]. Such polarized views have been influenced by a variety of factors, including political ideologies, generational shifts, and evolving cultural narratives.

Furthermore, these debates have been amplified by the rise of social media platforms, where nuanced discussions often devolve into polarizing sound bites[28]. These platforms have also given a voice to younger generations, who may not have direct experiences with the Franco era but possess strong opinions shaped by the collective memory passed down by their elders.

Societal perceptions of the monument are also swayed by scholarly discourses and media representations. For instance, academic critiques analyzing the monument's aesthetics and architectural design often intertwine with its political and historical narratives. Concurrently, media portrayals, ranging from news articles to documentaries, further shape public opinion by either reinforcing established views or challenging them[29].

A pivotal point in recent debates emerged in 2023, when a proposal to repurpose the monument into a space promoting peace and reconciliation was put forth[30]. Proponents argued that such a move would transform its meaning and align it more closely with contemporary Spanish values. Detractors, however, saw this as an erasure of history.

In synthesizing these discussions, it becomes evident that the Arco de la Victoria is not merely a static monument of brick and mortar, but a living symbol, constantly evolving with Spain's sociocultural fabric. Its significance is shaped as much by its storied past as by contemporary debates and discourses that reflect the nation's ongoing endeavor to grapple with its complex history.

4.4. The Arco Amidst Spain's Contested Monuments

Situating the Arco de la Victoria within the broader context of Spain's contested monuments invites a profound exploration into the nation's tumultuous past and the sociocultural dynamics at play. The monuments scattered across Spain are not merely artistic or architectural marvels, but are imbued with layers of symbolic meaning, reflective of the power dynamics, political ideologies, and sociocultural shifts of their respective epochs.

The Arco de la Victoria, constructed under Franco's dictatorship, stands not only as an architectural masterpiece but also as a vivid reminder of the authoritarian regime's efforts to immortalize its ideals and victories. Its grandeur and strategic positioning in Madrid's cityscape were intended to embed Francoist narratives deeply into the national consciousness. Yet, as Spain transitioned to democracy, public sentiment towards such imposing symbols began to evolve.

Spain's democratic transition in the late 20th century catalyzed debates around various monuments, including the Valley of the Fallen and statues of Franco himself21. These sites, initially revered or at least accepted during the Francoist era, began to be contested, with voices demanding their removal or recontextualization. Their presence sparked a national conversation about the place of contentious monuments in public spaces and their role in shaping collective memory.

Comparatively, while some monuments like the Valley of the Fallen have been at the epicenter of public debates due to their overtly political nature, the Arco de la Victoria's significance has been somewhat more nuanced. The Arco, unlike other monuments, oscillates between the realms of political symbol and artistic relic. This duality complicates its place within Spain's landscape of contested monuments.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of contested monuments is not unique to Spain. As documented by Hepworth15, similar debates have unraveled globally, with nations grappling with their pasts, trying to reconcile the preservation of history with evolving societal values. However, in the Spanish context, this debate is deeply intertwined with the nation's endeavor to come to terms with its Francoist past.

In conclusion, the Arco de la Victoria, while architecturally significant, is emblematic of Spain's journey through authoritarianism, transition, and the subsequent democratic era. By understanding its place within the broader landscape of contested monuments, one can gain insights into Spain's evolving cultural and sociological fabric.

5. Results and Discussion

The examination of the socio-cultural evolution embodied by the Arco de la Victoria unfolds a vivid narrative of how monumental structures encapsulate, reflect, and at times, propel the dialectics of

national identity and historical memory. Initially conceived as a symbol of Francoist victory and a testament to a distinct nationalist ideology[31], the monument, over decades, has transitioned into a focal point of contention, debate, and renegotiation within contemporary Spain.

Recent sociocultural tides in Spain, influenced partly by a broader globalized outlook and an ongoing re-evaluation of historical narratives, have cast a spotlight on the complex significance enshrined in the monument. The younger generations, who are relatively removed from the immediate traumas of the Civil War, often engage with such monumental symbols from a nuanced, multifaceted perspective, thereby challenging previously dominant narratives[32]. This re-evaluation aligns with wider global trends where monuments tethered to controversial historical periods morph into arenas of public discourse, contestation, and occasionally, transformation.

Further nuanced is the monument's contemporary significance by Spain's ongoing engagement with its "pact of forgetting." A plethora of scholars have underscored that the transition to democracy in Spain entailed a deliberate sidelining of contentious historical memories to foster national unity[33]. However, with Spain garnering confidence in its democratic credentials, there's a burgeoning willingness to confront and reassess these once-taboo subjects, mirroring a larger global trend of reevaluating historical narratives.

Expanding the lens beyond Spain, discussions enveloping monuments and their significance are part of a global dialogue. Public statues and memorials across the globe, be it Confederate statues in the U.S. or colonial-era monuments in the UK and Belgium, have emerged as central nodes in the debates surrounding national identity, historical memory, and societal values in the 21st century. This global discourse accentuates the universality of such debates and the shared human endeavor to reconcile with multifaceted historical legacies.

In drawing a conclusion, the evolving significance of the Arco de la Victoria is emblematic of Spain's broader sociocultural metamorphosis and its continuous efforts to reconcile with a tumultuous past. The discourses enveloping the monument encapsulate a broader tension between historical memory, national identity, and the exigencies of modernity. A deeper exploration of these debates not only unveils the nuanced layers of Spain's national narrative but also positions Spain within a global milieu of nations grappling with the interplay of history, identity, and the fluidity of monumental symbolism. Through such an exploration, one can glean rich insights into Spain's evolving democratic processes, its endeavor to navigate complex historical terrains, and its place within the broader global dialogue of historical re-evaluation.

6. Conclusion

The role of monuments in articulating and reflecting collective memory and national identity is a central concern in cultural sociology. This study has positioned the Arco de la Victoria within Spain's spectrum of contested monuments, analyzing its evolving significance from Franco's regime to contemporary times. Drawing on Berger and Luckmann's notion of the "social construction of reality," it becomes clear that monuments like the Arco are not mere static entities but active agents in the negotiation of collective memory[34].

Initially manifested as a symbol of victory and the enduring legacy of Franco's regime, the meaning of the Arco de la Victoria has transformed in alignment with Spain's socio-political metamorphoses. Contemporary dialogues surrounding the monument unveil a society endeavoring to come to terms with its traumatic past. As Schwartz posited, the mechanisms through which societies remember and forget are instrumental in sculpting national identity. Within the Spanish context, the contested memories tethered to Francoist symbols embody the ongoing dialectic between competing narratives[35].

Furthermore, the contentious status of the Arco resonates with Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz's discourse on the dynamism of monumental meanings. Monuments are subject to reinterpretation, and

their significance can oscillate in response to societal transitions and the viewpoints of diverse stakeholders[36] In recent epochs, Spain's initiatives to address the remnants of the Franco era have materialized in endeavors like the enactment of the Historical Memory Law, epitomizing the nation's dedication to reconciling with its past[37].

In summation, the Arco de la Victoria emerges as a compelling case study elucidating the complex interplay between monuments, collective memory, and national identity within the Spanish milieu. It accentuates the indispensable role of cultural sociological scrutiny in deciphering how societies negotiate, represent, and at times, challenge their historical narratives.

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