

Media frames of collective memory: Remembering – a democratic right or a waste of time?

A qualitative framing analysis on the Spanish 2022 *Ley de memoria democrática*

Student Name: Marta Closas Casasampera

Student Number: 696659mc

Supervisor: Maria Avraamidou

Master Media Studies - Media, Culture & Society
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master's Thesis
June 2023

Word Count: 19.070 words

Table of Contents

Abstract and keywords

1. Introduction	4
1.1. <i>Historical background and the passing of the LMD</i>	5
1.2. <i>Scientific relevance</i>	7
1.3. <i>Societal relevance</i>	8
1.4. <i>Outline of the thesis</i>	10
2. Theoretical Framework	11
2.1. <i>Collective memory and the media</i>	11
2.2. <i>Framing theory</i>	13
2.3. <i>The Spanish press: A comprehensive overview of its development and characteristics</i>	15
2.3. <i>Memory laws: A conceptualisation</i>	17
2.4. <i>The memory “war” in Spain</i>	19
2.4.1. <i>The Spanish Civil war, Franco’s dictatorship and the transition to democracy</i>	19
2.4.3. <i>The memory “war” in Spain in post-millennial times</i>	20
2.4.4. <i>From the Ley de memoria histórica, 2007 to the Ley de memoria democrática, 2022</i>	22
3. Methodology	26
3.1. <i>Qualitative framing analysis</i>	26
3.2. <i>Sampling & size of data set</i>	27
3.3. <i>Method of analysis</i>	30
3.4. <i>Operationalisation</i>	31
3.5. <i>Quality in qualitative research and positionality</i>	32
4. Results	34
4.1. <i>Main frames of La Vanguardia</i>	34
4.2 <i>Main frames from elDiario.es</i>	37
4.3 <i>Main frames from El País</i>	41
4.4 <i>Main frames from El Español</i>	43
4.5 <i>Main frames from El Mundo</i>	45
5. Conclusion	49
5.1. <i>Major findings</i>	49
5.2. <i>Theoretical implications</i>	52
5.3. <i>Societal relevance</i>	53
5.4. <i>Limitations and future research possibilities</i>	54

References.....	56
Appendix A.....	65

1. Introduction

On October 5, 2022, the Spanish Senate enacted the emblematic *Ley de memoria democrática* (LMD). Even before its passing, the law generated significant controversy among Spanish politicians but also society in general. Brought forward by the leftist coalition in government at the time, the law promoted the critical revision of Spain's authoritarian past, including the Civil war (1936-1939) and subsequent dictatorship (1939-1975). The law's main goal was to bring social justice and reconciliation. The question is why this law provoked such controversy in Spain. While Spain has been living in a peaceful democracy since the end of the dictatorship, there are still elements from Francoism times lingering in the country's societal tissue. The previously oppositional political groups- the right, which favoured the dictatorship, and the left, which supported a republic – are still present in society and politics today. These groups, often referred to as the “two Spains”, continue to influence contemporary political dynamics. It is safe to say that this law touched upon deeply rooted wounds that Spanish society has not found a way to heal.

The 2022 LMD was born from the understanding that knowledge helps prevent the repetition of conflict and not remembering is not an option anymore (Golob, 2022, p. 69). This approach represents the left's approach to memory politics since the beginning of the century. On the contrary, it challenges the right's approach to memory politics who believe that remembering past disputes further divides society and threatens the current peaceful social coexistence (Golob, 2022, p. 69). Therefore, studying this law helps untangle the differences that exist among the Spanish political right and left when it comes to their approach on collective memory.

The national press systematically reported on the law. Spanish media played an important role in the general dissemination of the law as well as in people's perception of it. Media in Spain is very politicised and polarised between the left and the right. A polarisation that mimics the current state of Spanish politics, particularly when it comes to memory politics. The authority to construct and narrate the past is no longer exclusively held by academic and political elites (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 10). Today, the public meaning of significant historical events is also shaped through media (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 10). Media possesses the power to influence collective memories by advancing a dominant narrative associated with popular culture (Sreepada & Aksoy, 2023, p. 128).

This thesis aims to add on the brief literature which covers the intersection between memory, law and media (Tirosh and Gutman's, 2014; Paricio, 2017). More specifically, this study is interested in understanding newspapers' framing of the debates around the national regulation of collective memory. To do so, it uses the adoption of the LMD in 2022 as a case study. Therefore, the research question is: *How did Spanish newspapers frame the passing of the 2022 Ley de memoria democrática?* The method chosen to answer the research question is a qualitative framing analysis following Van Gorp's (2007) approach which highlights that frames are deeply connected to the cultural tissue (p. 61).

1.1 Historical background and the passing of the LMD

The LMD manages the memory of the majority of the 20th century in Spain, particularly of the Spanish Civil war (1936-1939) and Franco's subsequent dictatorship (1939-1975). It also aims to provide social justice for the victims of the Civil war and Francoism times. Therefore, it is crucial to offer a comprehensive historical overview on this era.

The Spanish Civil war started when a highly ranked military officer named Francisco Franco overthrew the Second Republic government in a military coup in July 1936 (Corbin, 1995, p. 610). This sparked revolts all around the country and confrontations between those who defended the Second Republic against those who supported Franco (Corbin, 1995, p. 610). Franco ended the war victoriously in 1939 and he immediately imposed a dictatorship that would last for 36 years (Hristova, 2016, p. 62). The dictatorship was characterised by a harsh repression with thousands of people being incarcerated, exiled, or murdered (Hristova, 2016, p. 62). After Franco's death in 1975 until 1977 Spain went from an authoritarian dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy, a period known as Transition (Hiru, n.d, para. 1).

While an opportunity for remembrance opened with the Transition, the immediate necessity to build a democracy sent the potential recognition of Francoism victims into the background (González, 2009, p.178). The Transition proved to be a hopeful yet challenging time as consensus had to be reached among the previously oppositional groups (González, 2009, p.178). The ruling political parties agreed on a "pact of silence", known as the Pact of oblivion (1977), to avoid discussing the past and facilitate agreement between right- and

left-wing representatives (González, 2009, p. 178). This led to two significant legislative measures: the 1977 Amnesty Law and the 1978 Constitution. These laws legally reinforced this pact of reconciliation, becoming foundational pillars of the Spanish democratic order for decades (Golob, 2022, p. 48).

At the beginning of the 2000's, a counter-narrative addressing the justice deficit in Spain's legal system appeared. This new narrative was mainly brought to public debate by *memoria histórica* (historical memory), the civil society movement in defence of the recovery of collective memory (Golob, 2022, p.54). Their efforts were legally materialised for the first time in 2007, when the LMD was passed (Golob, 2022, p.58). Mainly promoted by the Socialist party (PSOE) at the forefront of the government at the time, this law, was the first political effort to bring the memory of the Civil war back to the present and provide victims and their families with some recognition (Golob, 2022, p.58).

The 2022 LMD was the successor of previously passed European laws aiming to create a united national identity after having experienced an authoritarian regime, especially after the Second World War (Golob, 2022, p. 69). Although Spain did not experience the Holocaust, the law connects the *memoria histórica* movement to a universal process of democratisation (Golob, 2022, p. 69). The law challenges the Pact of oblivion's narrative which kept Spain from not revisiting its authoritarian past (Golob, 2022, p. 69).

The LMD's main accomplishment was the official transfer of responsibility for exhuming mass graves to the State, a task that had been privatized under the previous memory law (Golob, 2022, p. 68). This also included creation of a national DNA bank to help identify the remains of victims and the establishment of a special prosecutor's office to research on crimes committed during Franco times (Golob, 2022, p. 68). Other important measures include the illegalisation of Franco's regime and the professional instruction to teachers and further curricula changes in schools (Golob, 2022, p. 68). Its main pointed flaw was the inaction to revoke the 1977 Amnesty law, a request that had already been rejected by the previous memory law in 2007 (Golob, 2022, p. 61).

The main political actors involved in the passing of the law were the following. The LMD was first introduced by socialist PSOE, the same party who lead the passing of the LMH in 2007 (*La Vanguardia*, 2022, p. 2). PSOE is in the leftist side of politics (Dyntra, 2019). PSOE had the support of Unidas Podemos with which PSOE governed in coalition (*La Vanguardia*, 2022, p. 2). Unidas Podemos is also a leftist force with an even more

progressive approach to politics (Dyntra, 2019). Finally, the law was passed thanks to the support of Bildu, a Basque nationalist party (*La Vanguardia*, 2022, p. 7). Their support for the law sparked large amounts of criticism from multiple political forces. The reason behind it is that Bildu is strongly connected to former Basque terrorist group ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna), as some of the party's representatives used to be enlisted in the armed groups' militant list (Rico, 2022, para. 1). All Spanish right-wing parties were opposed to the law, including *Partido popular* (PP), the biggest conservative force in Spain, Vox, the most far-right force and, finally Ciudadanos, with a smaller governmental representation (*La Vanguardia*, 2022, p. 3; Dyntra, 2019).

1.2 Scientific relevance

As previously described, this research is interested in understanding the role of media in shaping debates about the regulation of collective memory. Following Halbwachs's definition, collective memory is socially constructed (Halbwachs, 1925, as cited in Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p.1). Collective memory arises from a group's social context and influences how it forms a shared identity (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p.1). Furthermore, Neiger (2020) suggests that groups become communities when its members assume a common understanding of the past (p. 2). Therefore, the study of collective memory is essential in understanding how social communities are created and hold together.

While multiple cultural products could be studied to understand how collective memory is constructed, from museums to rituals, mass media and social media emerge as the most popular means of cementing collective memory in a society (Neiger, 2020, p. 4). The main reason is because most people consume either mass media or social media in their daily life (Neiger, 2020, p. 4). Consequently, media serve as the main stage for negotiating and discussing collective memory while also playing an active role in its construction (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 2). The frames used by the media to describe past events have an impact in the way society remembers. Collective memory can serve as a political tool when past events are used as lenses to evaluate current events (Neiger, 2020, p. 5). Managing "memory frames" gives power over political outcomes, that is why elites compete for the establishment of the frame that serves their interests (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1.185). Similarly, politicians and other social actors can make use of

collective memory to justify their actions or claims by mobilising certain past and future narratives (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 3).

Hristova (2016, p. 87) analysed how Spain is handling the memory of its Civil war, suggesting that the right and the left are using competitive frames. The right treats the Civil war as a taboo, as something that should be left in the past, and regards the exercise of remembering as something unproductive that should not be brought up (Hristova, 2016, p. 87). On the other hand, the left considers collective memory as a national duty, a public right, and is working towards the creation of established outlines on how to remember the past (Hristova, 2016, p. 87). This is expected given that the right is mostly associated both ideologically and socially with Francoism while the left is linked to the Republicans, the original defenders of the Second Republic (Golob, 2022, p.56). Therefore, evidently the political right has always benefited from the narrative promoted by the Pact of oblivion which supported not revisiting the crimes committed during the Civil war (Golob, 2022, p.56). In its turn, the left seeks social justice for the victims of Francoism (Golob, 2022, p.56) which can also translate into political gains in the present day.

This study's academic relevance lies at how the passing of the LMD serves as case study to advance the literature on media's construction of the debates on collective memory. This is an understudied field. One existing study is Tirosh and Gutman's (2014) which focuses on the connection between media, memory and law fields using the passing of the Israeli law that commemorates the exile of Jews from Arab countries and Iran as a case study. In their analysis they found that while laws determine what society should remember, it is media that makes certain historic narratives legitimate and makes them an essential part of a society's collective memory (Tirosh & Gutman, 2019, p. 50). Their results offer a basis for further understanding of media's importance in the construction of collective memory in other contexts like the Spanish on which this study is focusing.

1.3 Societal relevance

In recent years, legislative practices have increasingly sought to regulate historical discourse and collective memory through legal means in Europe and beyond (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2017, p. 3). The legal regulation of memory remains a significant and active practice in the 21st century (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2017, p.3). Historical

legal governance is usually referred to as memory laws (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2017, p. 3). These laws reproduce state-approved interpretations of past events and individuals (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2017, p. 3). In a country's political transition phase after a conflict, memory laws are introduced to manage the remembrance of the pain, the cruelty, and the loss (Humphrey, 2014, p. 27). Memory laws handle questions of justice and thus, define who takes the blame for the suffering and who is rendered as the victim (Humphrey, 2014, p. 27). Therefore, memory laws constitute an important way of constructing collective memory through the legal system. Following Tirosh and Gutman (2019), this thesis considers the legislative process as a discursive one in which contested readings of the past compete to shape the public's shared understanding of its past (p. 53).

While most of the countries who have passed memory laws are European, other countries outside the continent are legally engaging with their national past like Rwanda, Canada, or United States (Lucksted, 2022, p. 1451). In Spain, the memory laws of 2007 and 2022, reflect the intentionality of inviting to remember (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 16). Both legal documents discuss the remembrance of the Spanish Civil war (1936-1939) and its subsequent dictatorship (1939-1975). The Spanish case is unique in Europe because, unlike most Central European countries, it could not start an immediate process of reparation and justice for the victims after the war ended. As previously discussed, general Franco who sparked the Spanish Civil war won and imposed a dictatorship that lasted 36 years. On top of that, the Spanish transition to democracy was heavily impacted by the Pact of oblivion and the Amnesty law. The 2007 and 2022 laws were motivated by this resurgence of the topic of memory and aim to acknowledge and confront the past and promote a democratic culture based on pluralism (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 16).

This study aims at providing an in-depth analysis of the passing of the LMD which can provide clarity and possible explanations as to why Spanish society remains divided on the issue of memory. Its purpose is to untangle and expose in an empirically grounded manner the positionality that the two historically contested groups hold in the present era through examining media across the political spectrum. Understanding can lead to overcoming divisions which allow for a stronger and healthier democracy.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

This thesis starts with a theoretical revision of the main concepts that will be used throughout the thesis as well as an in-depth historical context on Spain's most recent history. Starting with an in-depth conceptualization of collective memory and the media's role and influence in framing the way we remember the past. Continuing with a brief explanation of what are memory laws and a revision of Spanish's Civil war, dictatorship and Transition history. The chapter ends with a revision of the LMH and LMD and an overview of the particularities of Spanish press. The third chapter describes the chosen method of analysis followed by a detailed description of the sampling process and the operationalisation of the main theoretical concepts. The chapter also includes a reflection on the author's positionality towards the conducted analysis. Chapter four discusses the results of the framing analysis organised by newspaper. The results are already put into conversation with the theoretical concepts described in the theoretical framework. The last chapter concludes the thesis by answering the research question, and an in-depth description of the main results. The final chapter ends with a contextualisation of the academic and social relevance of the reconstructed frames results and the limitations and future opportunities of the thesis design.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter starts with a conceptualisation of collective memory and media framing theory to understand how media framing of past events influences the ways societies remember their history. Next, the chapter offers an overview on the current state of Spanish's media system and more specifically on newspaper outlets which are the focus of this study. This is followed by an in-depth account on the legalisation process of memory through the adoption of memory laws. Finally, the chapter continues with a historical overview on how Spain dealt with the memory of its Civil war (1936-1939) and the subsequent dictatorship (1939-1975) which is instrumental for this thesis.

2.1 Collective memory and the media

This section begins with a conceptualisation of collective memory followed by a discussion on the role of media in framing the past.

Collective memory can be defined as the “shared recollections of the past, constructed to serve present needs and purposes” (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p.1). It was first coined by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s (Halbwachs, 1925, as cited in Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p.1) who argued that collective memory is a socially constructed notion. While it is individuals who remember, and not groups or institutions, it is when located in a specific group context, that people utilise that context to recollect or reconstruct the past (Coser, 1992, p. 22). Building on that, Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Baden (2016) state that “(C)ollective memory emerges from the social context of a group and informs how it constructs a shared identity” (p. 1). Therefore, collective memory is crucial in collective identities such as national identity.

Although the term collective memory has received multiple definitions by different disciplines and contexts, some common elements prevail (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008, p. 318). A fundamental element of any social community is its common version of the past (Neiger, 2020, p. 2). A group becomes a community when its constituents adopt and internalise a common understanding of the past (Neiger, 2020, p. 2). While many narratives about the past are disseminated, only those which are appropriated by the members of a community become collective memories (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 2). Through the repeated use of particular narratives publicly, members recognise them as

shared and include them into the groups' common identity (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 2). Furthermore, collective memory must be understood as an ongoing process of construction of the past in which multiple actors intervene, from politicians to the media (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 1).

The abstract nature of the concept of collective memory indicates a need to concretise it so it can become collective, and its cultural meaning can be shared (Neiger, 2020, p. 2). As discussed, while the meanings of collective memory can be explored through museums, monuments, and rituals, among some, mass media and more lately social media play the most significant role of enabling a particular interpretation of the past and establishing it as shared memory (Neiger, 2020, p. 3; Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Baden, 2016, p. 2). This is because, unlike visits to museums or memorials which are rare, most people in their daily life consume a multitude of media products, from documentaries to journalistic pieces, to commemorative social media posts, that address the shared interpretation of the past (Neiger, 2020, p. 4). Thus, media products constitute the most popular means of cementing collective memory in a population (Neiger, 2020, p. 4).

As discussed, memory moves from being individual to collective when it is shared, and this is achieved through mediation (Rigney, 2018, p. 243). Mediation here refers to the channels used to transmit the past as well as the cultural forms used (Rigney, 2018, p. 243). This brings forward the question of how specific media, from print to television to the internet, and specific cultural forms, from testimony to documentaries, are shaping how we remember the past. The media serve as the main stage for negotiating and discussing collective memory while also participating as active agents in the construction of such memories (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 2). Socio-political actors use media as a stage to promote their preferred visions of the past (Neiger, 2020, p. 5). Meanwhile, media professionals also engage as actors who investigate, develop, and publish news about the past and ultimately decide who gets to occupy the stage, for how long and in what framing (Neiger, 2020, p. 5).

Overall, the right to construct and narrate the past does not solely fall under the academic and political elites anymore (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 10). Presently, significant historical events acquire their public meaning not only through interpretations from the academic and political class but through media (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 10). Media has the capacity to shape collective memories by promoting a prevailing narrative related to popular

culture (Sreepada & Aksoy, 2023, p. 128). This is particularly relevant because when a distant event happens or has happened in the past, then people depend on the media to know about it (Sreepada & Aksoy, 2023, p. 128). Therefore, the frames used by the media are powerful because they can affect the way we remember events which we have or have not experienced personally. The next section discusses framing theory and how media frames the past.

2.2 Framing theory

Frames influence the way we interpret the world around us, therefore the study of how they function has been a field of interest for many media scholars (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62). According to Matthes (2012), frames are “socially shared organizing principles that meaningfully structure the social world” (p. 248). They help build the cultural tissue, influence how elites develop information and how journalists select information for media texts which affect audience’s perceptions and attitudes of the world around them (Matthes, 2012, p. 248-249). Entman (1993) stresses that the process of framing comprises selection and salience, he continues by arguing that:

(T)o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (p. 52)

Within media studies, framing is defined as “the typical manner in which journalists shape news content within a familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 61). Thus, frames help understand a news story in a specific way. According to D’Angelo (2017, p. 2), the concept of media frame is usually linked to journalism. The idea behind it is that news articles are main texts in which framing occurs and where most audiences are confronted with it (D’Angelo, 2017, p. 2). Because journalists are writing the news, framing researchers observe newspaper outlets as the ultimate decision-makers of the frames that will reach audiences (D’Angelo, 2017, p. 2).

Communicators, including politicians, lobbyists, and social movements, fight to

establish the frames that mostly benefit them or their cause in public discourse and in the media (Matthes, 2012, p. 249). Journalists then select and modify these frames and add their own (Matthes, 2012, p. 249). Framing is done very naturally by media professionals and frames tend to be rather unseen and commonsensical, hiding a process of social construction (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63). Through this perspective, we can understand that media and journalists choose a frame from more available or possible frames to present a news story. Each frame generates different definitions and interpretations of a particular event (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63). Therefore, the same event can be viewed differently based on which frame is employed to describe it by media professionals (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63). Consequently, each news outlet ends up framing political events differently (Matthes, 2012, p. 250). This thesis concurs with this approach, and argues that the media framing of the 2022 LMD results from a journalistic decision-making-process. This process significantly influences how this law is perceived and interpreted in society and, at large, how certain ideas of collective memory are reproduced in the Spanish context.

Apart from untangling how reality is constructed in the media, framing theory also studies the effects that media frames have on society's perception of the world around them. Matthes (2012, p. 250) describes that the main idea behind framing is that by highlighting certain information, and excluding other, media frames influence audiences' views on different issues and events. That does not mean, though, that audiences blindly follow what media frames suggest (Matthes, 2012, p. 250). There are several factors that determine framing's influence on audiences (Matthes, 2012, p. 250). For instance, it has been studied that only the frames which are consistently repeated in the news have an impact on audiences' perceptions (Matthes, 2012, p. 250). Similarly, when competing frames are used, that increases the impact of personal views and decreases the effects of framing (De Vreese, 2012, p. 370). Using competing framing is an extremely common practice in journalism today (De Vreese, 2012, p. 369). First, conflict helps "sell" and it follows the journalistic practice of presenting both sides of a conflict (De Vreese, 2012, p. 369; Matthes, 2012, p. 250). Second, there is often a struggle for frame definition and establishment among political and social elites (Matthes, 2012, p. 250). Finally, conflict is seen as a fundamental element in democratic decision-making (De Vreese, 2012, p. 369). In this study, it is already known that competing understandings were shared on the issue of concern.

Framing studies have shown that for a new frame to make progress on political agendas, it needs to acknowledge 'meta-cultural frames', as particular ideas will only stick if

they are linked to wider values (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1186). This perspective helps untangle the role of “memory cultures” which constitute meta-narratives built on common myths and terminological assumptions (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, 1.186). In their turn, memory cultures are based on ‘memory frames’ which Littoz-Monnet (2012) defines as “shared interpretative lenses through which certain actors make sense of the past” (p. 1.186). Managing ‘memory frames’ gives power over political outcomes, that is why elites compete for the establishment of the frame that serves their interests (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1.185). A particular memory frame becomes the dominant one when the actors defending it succeed in de-legitimizing the competing memories (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1.185).

As discussed, media functions as one of the primary societal actors in the discussion and construction of collective memory (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p.2). Therefore, it is important to discuss how the media, specifically the press, functions in Spain and what are its main characteristics.

2.3 The Spanish press: A comprehensive overview of its development and characteristics

Spanish history marked the development of its media system. Until the 1970s the Spanish mass media system was controlled or very closely tied to the state. It was only at the end of Franco’s dictatorship in 1975 that commercial media channels emerged (Martínez et al., 2014, p. 46). Because of the repression that came with the dictatorship, it also took a few years to reintroduce and establish freedom of press and the consequent professionalisation of journalism (Martínez et al., 2014, p. 46). Since the 1990s, the Spanish media market began to rapidly change influenced by American and European media systems which were increasingly based on the privatisation and commodification of media structure (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 310). This process was facilitated by the Spanish legal system which held no restrictions against media conglomerates (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 310).

Spain, like its neighbouring Mediterranean countries, has a polarised media system in which the press is very politicised and holds strong ties to political parties (Fernández-Viso & Fernández-Alonso, 2024, p. 4; Prats, 2004, p.161). Even if they do not openly associate with a particular political party, newspapers do openly support specific party initiatives when they align with their editorial line and corporate interests (Casero, 2012, p. 32). The

politicisation of Spanish journalism dates back to the Transition, when a close relationship between the political class and media outlets developed (Casero, 2012, p. 32). It was in those times when journalists became strong allies to politicians, united for the common goal of solidifying the newly established democracy (Casero, 2012, p. 32). From that moment on, Spanish journalists took the role of endorsing and facilitating political change (Casero, 2012, p. 32). Since then, the close relationship between the political class and journalism has become a distinguishing factor in the Spanish media and political system (Casero, 2012, p. 32). Currently, this politicisation does not come from the individual journalists but from the owners of big media companies (Casero, 2012, p. 34). In this context, media conglomerates use their power to reach out and negotiate with other elites, specially the political one, with the goal of becoming an influential actor in the political culture of the country (Casero, 2012, p. 35).

Mirroring the two-party political system in Spain, with PP and PSOE as the two biggest political forces, the media outlets are increasingly becoming polarised (Casero, 2012, p. 35). Therefore, the Spanish media system is divided in two big groups: those who support PP and those who support PSOE. Consequently, this dynamic is reducing diversity and pluralism of opinions and types of news (Casero, 2012, p. 35). It also helps create the bases for consumers to be selectively exposed to news (Casero, 2012, p. 36). That is, audiences and the readership are more likely to choose those media outlets that have the same ideologies that they do, creating an environment in which political ideas are only reinforced and rarely challenged (Casero, 2012, p. 36). This helps create a political and media climate based on opposition and critiquing the other side (Casero, 2012, p. 36).

The daily newspapers analysed in this thesis also fall under the discussed bipolarisation. On the centre-left side of the spectrum, closely tied to PSOE, we find *elDiario.es* and *El País* (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 317). Particularly *El País* has been related many times siding with said party (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 317). On the other hand, *El Mundo* and *El Español* are linked to the right-wing ideology, represented by PP (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 318). Finally, *La Vanguardia* falls more closely to the conservative side of the political spectrum but with the particularity of being a Catalan newspaper, consequently creating closer ties with Catalan parties instead (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 319).

This thesis addresses how newspapers framed the passing of a particular memory

law. Therefore, the next section will discuss what are memory laws, what they regulate and how they connect to different political contexts.

2.4 Memory laws: A conceptualisation

In the 1980s and 1990s Europe saw an emergence of memory laws, mostly connected to the memory of the Holocaust and the resurgence of Holocaust deniers (Belavusau & Gliszczyńska-Grabias, 2020, p.326). The French Gayssot Law (1990) which punishes Holocaust denial with a prison sentence or a fine, is internationally considered the first of such laws (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 3). These laws were originally “inspired by the desire to offer historical clarification and even justice to victims” (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 1). Additionally, memory laws were potentially envisioned to reconcile society with its past by aiming to make peace among groups who had been involved in extreme violence against each other (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 1). At the same time, memory laws started to be adopted to recognize the legal protection of historically discriminated communities and minorities (Koposov, 2020, p. 111). This emergence of memory laws is also an indicator of a shift in paradigm in the field of human rights (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). On the one hand, it started to focus on the “right to history” and the “right to the truth”; on the other hand, it adopted a “victim-centred approach” (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). An example of such shift are two French laws passed in 2001. The first one recognized the Armenian genocide committed in 1915 by the Ottoman Empire and the second one recognized that the slave trade and slavery perpetrated in the 15th Century by the French State was a crime against humanity (Koposov, 2020, p. 111).

The concept of memory laws is used to refer to two kinds of regulation (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). On the one hand, memory laws can establish “a public or official act of memory with regard to a certain set of historical facts” (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). Especially those passed in continental Europe with the aim to ban Holocaust denialism, were generally seen as militant democracy (Belavusau & Gliszczyńska-Grabias, 2020, p. 327). That is, by limiting certain freedoms, like freedom of speech, and reminding new generations of the atrocities of the past, governments were creating a system that would help prevent past events from happening again (Belavusau & Gliszczyńska-Grabias, 2020, p. 327). Some of the measures included in this first type of memory laws are the commemoration of a specific date, officially recognizing a particular event as a genocide,

street (re) naming or the regulation of school's history curriculum (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2020, p. 326).

On the other hand, memory laws can also illegalise denying the occurrence of a particular traumatic event, impose a particular narrative about the past or ban the use of past totalitarian symbols (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2; Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2020, p. 326). Consequently, some have regarded memory laws as a threat to democracy and freedom of thought as they promote a particular narrative of the past while censoring alternative readings (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2020, p. 327). There have been cases where these forms of regulation which impose rather than invite a form of remembrance, have been used by governments with a nationalistic and authoritarian approach to abolish pluralist ideas (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). Recently, a trial in Poland showcased a pertinent example, where two scholars faced defamation charges. They were criticised for publishing an interview with a Holocaust survivor who accused a former Polish mayor of having been implicated in a Nazi slaughter of his town's Jewish residents (Barkan & Land, 2022, p. 8). Under Polish law, accusations against the Polish state or government/military officials as complicit with Nazism crimes are deemed as illegal (Barkan & Land, 2022, p. 8). Whilst the first type of memory laws invites people to remember, the second kind imposes a duty to remember in a particular way (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2017, p. 12).

Beyond their initial intent, memory laws serve as powerful tools for constructing collective memory (Tirosh & Gutman, 2019, p. 53). The passing of these laws determines which narratives and social groups are recognised as important and which are overlooked (Tirosh & Gutman, 2019, p. 53). Similar to media dynamics, legal processes are influenced by power dynamics among various elites and social groups (Tirosh & Gutman, 2019, p. 53). While laws serve are vital in shaping how society remembers, it is the media that dictate how a certain event will be disseminated, perceived, and discussed (Tirosh & Gutman, 2019, p. 54).

The next section will discuss Spain's history from the Civil war (1936-1939) to the dictatorship (1939-1975) to the Transition period which lead to the Pact of oblivion and the Amnesty law of 1977. The birth of the memoria histórica civil movement in the 2000s is presented followed by an in-depth revision of the *Ley de memoria histórica* (LMH) (2007) and the *Ley de memoria democrática* (2022).

2.5 The memory “war” in Spain

2.5.1 The Spanish Civil war, Franco’s dictatorship and the transition to democracy

Franco’s military coup took place on July 18, 1936 inciting a right-wing military uprising against the government of the Second Republic which instigated a leftist social revolution as a response (Hristova, 2016, p. 59; Corbin, 1995, p. 610). This insurrection caused revolts on multiple cities and towns across Spain by both the military and leftist groups (Corbin, 1995, p. 610). These confrontations marked the beginning of a deathly civil war which ended in 1939 with Franco’s victory (Corbin, 1995, p. 612).

These two confronted groups were given a name for the first time before the Civil war in a poem by the Spanish poet Antonio Machado, he called them “the two Spains” (Pichel, 2019, para. 9). A metaphor that finds its roots in the 18th century when Spain’s modernisation process sparked animosity from the big agrarian conservative areas supported by the Church (Pichel, 2019, para. 11). “The two Spains” conflict, which came at a high during the Civil war, represents the fight between the right and the left, the conservative and the progressive, the monarchic and the republican, the war winners and the losers (Pichel, 2019, para. 1). The conservative Spain, protective over the imperialist past, was traditionally supported by the Church, the military and the monarchy (Navarro, 2014, p. 1). The second Spain, mainly established during the Second Republic, promoted a democratic, anticlerical, and progressive vision of the country (Navarro, 2014, p. 2).

Franco as the winner of the war, determined how the Civil war should be collectively remembered with his victory becoming one of the pillars that helped him legitimise the dictatorship (Hristova, 2016, p. 62). The dictatorship, commonly known as *Franquismo* (Francoism), was marked by a harsh repression which resulted in thousands of people being incarcerated, exiled, or murdered (Hristova, 2016, p. 62). Those who had fought on the Republican side were completely banished from public life (Hristova, 2016, p. 62). Also, street and school names were changed together with any public site which referenced the Second Republic (Hristova, 2016, p. 63).

After Franco’s death in November of 1975 until 1977 when the first democratic elections since the Second Republic were celebrated, Spain lived through what is known as the Transition (Hiru, n.d, para. 1). During this time, Spain went from a strict dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy (Hiru, n.d, para. 1).

While an opportunity for remembrance opened with Franco's passing in 1975, the immediate necessity to build a strong democratic system brought the potential recognition of Civil war and post-war victims into the background (González, 2009, p.178). The transition from dictatorship to democracy proved to be a hopeful yet challenging time as consensus had to be reached among the previously confronted groups; on the one hand, the dictatorship heirs and on the other hand, the republican rooted left-wing parties (González, 2009, p.178). In their negotiations, the left had two main objectives. Firstly, the amnesty to all left-wing political prisoners, and secondly, the relegalisation of the Communist Party (Golob, 2022, p.50). As for the right and pro-regime elites, impunity of all crimes committed by civilians and military officials of Franco's regime had to be secured (Golob, 2022, p.50). The ruling political parties decided upon a "pact of silence", popularly called Pact of oblivion (1977), by which discussing the past was going to be avoided to facilitate an agreement of the right and left-wing representatives (González, 2009, p.178). This agreement gave way to two important legislative procedures the 1977 Amnesty law and the Constitution of 1978 which legally bound this pact of reconciliation that served as one of the main pillars of the Spanish democratic order for the following decades (Golob, 2022, p.48).

The Pact of oblivion's regime only started to be challenged around the 1990s when a 'time of memory' seemed to emerge (González, 2009, p.178). Developments in the human rights movement, helped transform the concept of victim from traditionally being recognised by their political identity, under political judgement, to being seen as victims who suffered human rights abuse (Humphrey, 2014, p.26).

The next section discusses the context and factors that led to the adoption of the 2007 and 2022 memory laws in Spain and their particularities with an emphasis on the 2022 LMD as it is the focus of the thesis.

2.5.2 The memory "war" in Spain in post-millennial times

In the new millennial, a counter-narrative emerged addressing the justice deficit in Spain's legal system, criticising the equal distribution of guilt for Civil war crimes. Golob (2022, p.55), identifies four main ideological pillars for this legal narrative. First, it sought to restore the democratic legitimacy of the Second Republic and recognise Franco's coup as a military insurgence with fascist and religio-nationalistic ideology. With the Second

Republic, Spain had already gone through a progressive democracy, and therefore, the Transition started to lose its unique and heroic narrative. Second, it acknowledged that Franco, a formal ally of Mussolini and Hitler, the Fascists leaders of the time, shared their political ideology based on their opponents' dehumanisation. Thus, Spain had to follow its European neighbours and fight against its fascist past with prosecutions. Third, it recognised as crimes against humanity the prosecution and often the execution of Franco's political opponents during the war and the dictatorship, which international human rights laws do not permit exceptions or redemption for. Finally, it argued that the post-Transition legal and democratic system had failed to meet international human rights laws obligations. The Spanish judicial and political class needed to stop upholding impunity as a safeguard for democratic order, as it was undermining Spain's domestic and international democratic credibility.

This new narrative was mainly brought to the forefront of the public debate by the civil society movement in defence of the recovery of *memoria histórica* (historical memory) mainly led by the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (ARMH) and *Foro por la Memoria* (FpM) (Golob, 2022, p.54). The ARMH was born in October of 2000 when the exhumation of a Civil war mass grave took place and multiple people attended and used it as an opportunity to ask for assistance in the search of their missing relatives (ARMH, n.d). A group of people decided to come together to help them and the ARMH was born (ARMH, n.d). The FpM was born in 2004 with the union of multiple smaller historical remembrance societal groups (FpM, 2016).

As expected, the new anti-Transition narrative sparked a counter-narrative from those who benefitted from the status quo: the regime heirs mostly found in right-wing parties (Golob, 2022, p.56). Their democratic discourse was based on the maintenance of the "pact of silence" which actively excluded the past from present politics (Golob, 2022, p.56). PP, the biggest right-wing Spanish party, which was in government from 1996 until 2004, avoided all requests coming from the ARMH or FpM and deemed them of irresponsible and provocative (Golob, 2022, p.56). They were particularly against the new rhetoric aimed at bringing back the past into public life as, according to them, it could put the social peace and democratic system at risk (Hristova, 2016, p. 87). PP was never alone in their fight to maintain the legacy of the Pact of oblivion, they had the support of other state institutions like the military, or the Catholic Church as well as Franco sympathisers (Golob, 2022, p.57). All previously mentioned groups benefitted from the preservation of the "pact of silence" as

they had all had an active role in the maintenance of the dictatorship.

But the memoria histórica movement benefited from an unexpected turn of events. In 2004, PSOE won the elections lead by a charismatic leader, José Luis Zapatero, whose grandfather had been a victim of Franco (Golob, 2022, p.58). The newly elected party incorporated memory politics into its agenda among other policies (e.g., same-sex marriage, tougher measures to combat gender-based violence, etc) (Golob, 2022, p.58). Therefore, memory politics were back in public debate and a new memory law was passed in 2007 (Golob, 2022, p.58). The next section will discuss the 2007 LMH and the 2022 LMD in depth.

2.5.3 From the Ley de memoria histórica, 2007 to the Ley de memoria democrática, 2022

This section starts by discussing the affordances and limitations of the 2007 Spanish LMH, considered a legal milestone for multiple reasons (Golob, 2022, p.59-60). First, the law redefined the concept of “victim” by challenging the Transition narrative of equal blame. The LMH defines victim as “those who suffered persecution or violence” during the Civil war and the subsequent dictatorship. The law recognizes the pro-Franco victims during the war but emphasises the prolonged suffering of Republican victims in both periods, thereby expanding the victim definition and acknowledging the greater or extended suffering of one side. It also acknowledges the extreme repression and legal punishment faced by Republicans and those persecuted for their sexual orientation or linguistic and cultural identities, particularly Catalans, Basques, and Galicians. Additionally, the law mandates for a revision of street names and monuments that “exalt the uprising and the consequent Dictatorship” and remove, store, or change them if necessary (Golob, 2022, p. 61).

The main legal-cultural contribution of the LMH is the recognition of universal rights throughout the law like the “individual right to personal and family memory” (Golob, 2022, p.59). This right provides the rationale for the government to professionalise the process of mass grave exhumations, invest in the maintenance and improvement of Civil war documentation and facilitate its access to citizens (Golob, 2022, p.60). The LMH also includes the “right to the truth” or the “right to know” and how such recognitions push the government to deal with the crimes against humanity that were committed under the compromise of the non-repetition (Golob, 2022, p.60).

Despite its multiple affordances, the law was criticised for not being progressive enough by multiple groups within the memoria histórica movement (Golob, 2022, p.61). This is because the law did not reform the 1977 Amnesty Law to allow the investigation of human rights violations committed during the war and the dictatorship such as the mass graves (Golob, 2022, p.61). Furthermore, it does not invalidate the sentences of those who were condemned for being appointed leaders during the Republic (Golob, 2022, p.62). Although the “right to family memory” is recognised it does not mobilise any public systems or policies to partake in that remembrance (Golob, 2022, p.63). No official act, ceremony or apology was included. What the LMH does is privatise remembrance by allowing individuals and civil society groups to receive subsidies to locate, identify and exhume individuals from mass graves but with no official role from the state (Golob, 2022, p.63).

In 2011, the right-wing PP won the national elections with an absolute majority (Golob, 2022, p. 64). Rajoy’s government was unwilling to discuss any policy around national collective memory (Golob, 2022, p. 64). In front of this inactivity from the government, the push for new legal frameworks around remembrance came from the local authorities (Golob, 2022, p. 65). Multiple autonomous community, including Catalonia (2007, 2009), Navarra (2013), Andalusia (2017), and Valencia (2017) passed their memory laws (De la Cuesta & Odriozola, 2018, p. 17, 19).

The latent Spanish memory “war” returned to the political debate with the return of PSOE to power in 2018. One of the first initiatives of the newly elected Socialist government was the exhumation of the remains of Franco from the Valley of the Fallen, a Civil war monument the dictator ordered to build outside of the Spanish capital (Golob, 2022, p. 47). The plan was received with immediate praise from the other left parties, civil society groups and human rights NGOs (Golob, 2022, p. 47). At the same time, it awoke a wave of resistance of those in defence of “heritage” as well as pro-Franco groups (Golob, 2022, p. 47). PP resorted to its recurrent pro-establishment narrative saying that this historical remembrance policy was going to “break Spain” as it would distort the social order established during the Transition (Golob, 2022, p.47). Finally, in October 2019, Spain did not break when PSOE succeeded in exhuming Franco’s remains from the Valley of the fallen (Golob, 2022, p.47).

Since the beginning of PSOE’s new mandate, steps were taken to institutionalise the memoria histórica movement (Golob, 2022, p. 66). The first measure was to name a General

Manager for Historical Remembrance within the Ministry of Justice in 2018, this person would be responsible for the correct implementation of the memory policies across ministries (Golob, 2022, p. 66). A further step was taken with the creation of the “Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with Congress and Democratic Memory” in 2020 (Golob, 2022, p. 67). It is important to highlight the change of name from ‘historical memory’ to ‘democratic memory’. This was done with the effort to underline the connection between public memory and democracy (Golob, 2022, p. 67).

However, the most important initiative of the new Socialist government was the preparation of the draft for the new memory law, the LMD approved by the Council of Ministers in 2020 (Golob, 2022, p. 68), adopted by the Spanish Congress on July 14, 2022 (Borraz, 2022, para. 1) and the Senate on October 5, 2022 (La Moncloa, 2022).

Taking a close look at the text, the introduction positions the LMD within the context of other European laws aiming to create a united national identity after having experienced an authoritarian regime (Golob, 2022, p. 69). Although Spain did not experience the Holocaust, the law connects the memoria histórica movement to a universal process of democratisation (Golob, 2022, p. 69). It also discusses importance of knowledge to prevent the repetition of catastrophes by stating: “knowledge about our recent past contributes towards setting our common life on firmer and more stable bases, protecting us from repeating the errors of the past” (Anteproyecto de Ley de Memoria Democrática, November 11, 2020, as cited in Golob, 2022, p. 69). The introduction concludes stating that not remembering is not an option anymore as “the consolidation of our Constitutional order makes it possible for us to face the need for truth and justice with regard to our past...Forgetting is not an option for a [quality] democracy.” (Anteproyecto de Ley de Memoria Democrática, November 11, 2020, as cited in Golob, 2022, p. 69).

As with the LMH, this law had strong elements and limitations. Amnesty International (Golob, 2022, p. 68) highlighted the main strengths of said law: the state was assigned an official role in the exhumation of mass graves, including the creation of a national DNA bank to help identify the remains of victims; the establishment of a special prosecutor’s office to research on crimes committed during Franco times (1936-1983); and the professional instruction to teachers and further curricula changes in schools (Golob, 2022, p. 68). Amnesty International also pointed out the weaknesses of the new law, the most important one being that no attention was paid to the usage of the 1977 Amnesty law as

blockage to investigate Civil war crimes (Golob, 2022, p. 68). As discussed, the 1977 Amnesty law gave impunity to all crimes committed during the Civil war and the subsequent dictatorship from the pro-dictatorship side, and the Republican side. Therefore, the Amnesty law was used to deny any legal consequences for the crimes committed during these times. The next chapter discusses in more detail the methodological choices of the thesis.

3. Methodology

This research aims to understand the role that media play in the construction of debates on collective memory. To do so, the analysis focused on detecting and untangling the frames used by Spanish newspapers on the passing of the LMD. This research analysed the ratification of the LMD as an important political moment within the memory war that Spain has been submerged in since the start of the Civil war in 1936. The qualitative framing analysis conducted helped provide insights from the sampled data and allowed to connect the findings with relevant literature (Kostopolous & Mylonas, 2022, p. 160). The research question this thesis addresses is: how did Spanish newspapers frame the passing of the 2022 Ley de memoria democrática?

This section, justifies the choice of a qualitative framing analysis, and includes a detailed description of the sampling methods, and the analysis process. The chapter ends with a reflection on the researcher's positionality.

3.1 Qualitative framing analysis

This study used a qualitative method as its aim is exploratory and is interested in understanding a process of meaning-making in the media (Flick, 2018, p. 2). The research method chosen to successfully address the research question was a qualitative framing analysis. The analysis was grounded on Van Gorp's (2007) approach to this method. Van Gorp (2007, p. 61) specifically highlights that frames are deeply connected to the cultural tissue. Neuman, Just and Crigler's (1992, as cited in Van Gorp, 2007) define frames as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information" (p. 62). Frames constitute a fundamental element of culture and are institutionalised in multiple ways (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 62). In its turn, Van Gorp (2007) defines culture as a "set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames, and so forth that are shared in the collective memory of a group or society" (p. 62).

Media frames can be understood as 'frame packages', which Van Gorp (2007) defines as "a cluster of logical organized devices that function as an identity kit for a frame" (p. 64). An essential step in frame analysis is the reconstruction of such frame packages which are composed by three elements: framing devices, reasoning devices and implicit cultural phenomenon (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). This means that frames appear in media

through framing devices such as “word choices, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). All framing devices which allude to the same idea are the manifestations of the frame package. The framing devices are bound by a central theme which refers to a particular cultural phenomenon which can be an archetype, a mythical figure, a value or a narrative (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). Additionally, according to Entman (1993, p. 52) frames provide a particular interpretation, highlight a problem, a moral analysis, or a treatment suggestion. Thus, the final essential element of a frame package are the reasoning devices, which concerns “explicit and implicit statements which deal with justifications, causes and consequences in a temporal order, and which complete the framing package” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). Consequently, the frame package provides a “definition, an explanation, a problematization, and an evaluation of an event” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 65) and ultimately provides readers with some logical conclusions about it. The media, then, not only provide the necessary information to understand an event but also how to interpret it.

In the framing analysis conducted, the ‘framing devices’ located were the textual practices. The reasoning devices consisted of ‘definition of the problem’, to understand the central problem or theme of the frame, ‘causal explanation’, to uncover the cause of the problem, ‘recommendation’, which proposed possible solutions, and ‘moral devices’ that addressed the moral assessment of the frame. Finally, cultural devices were also included (see Table 1).

3.2 Sampling and size of data set

The analysis studied 56 newspaper articles over 300 words published online between July 7 and October 12, 2022 by five different Spanish newspaper outlets across the political spectrum.

This research has chosen to focus on newspaper’s framing to respond to the proposed research question due to their influence on how we understand the world around us. Compared to other mass media formats, such as social media channels, newspapers are less restricted by time and space constraints. This enables them to publish more detailed information that fixes the content in a more permanent way (Arday et al., 2021, p. 537). Therefore, newspapers continue to play a key role in expanding and solidifying our knowledge of what surrounds us (Bocio & Chávez, 2014, p. 313). According to Bocio and

Chávez (2013, p. 131) Spanish newspapers remain the most important source of information on current events for both the audience and the rest of media outlets (specially radio and television stations), which, in their turn, use newspaper information as secondary journalistic sources.

Legislative processes can be long-lasting, and the process that led to the passing of the LMD was no exception. The draft of the law proposed by the Socialist party was first approved by the Council of Ministers in 2020 and it was officially passed by the Senate at the end of 2022. For reasons of feasibility, this study will analyse the two main legal events related to the law's legal journey: first, the passing of the law by the Spanish Congress on July 14, 2022 and second, when the law was officially enacted by the Senate on October, 5 2022. Apart from its legal relevance, these were also the periods in which more news articles were published about the LMD. A week before and after these crucial events is included to examine the newspaper content around the passing of the law. Therefore, the first period of focus spans from July 7, until July 21, 2022 and the second period from September 28, until October 12, 2022. In the final sample, 43 articles from the first period and 13 articles from the second period were analysed.

The criteria used to select the five newspapers examined was the following. Firstly, all of the newspapers chosen cover general information, rather than being specialised on a specific topic such as sports, lifestyle, or fashion. Secondly, they are all among the most-read press in Spain during the period of focus, so the years 2021 and 2022. An initial sample list was created using GfK as a source. GfK (Growth from Knowledge) is a leading global provider of data and analysis and in 2022 became the official digital consumption meter in Spain (20minutos, 2022, para. 1). According to GfK (Zamorano et al., 2023, p. 22), *El Español*, *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC*, and *La Vanguardia* are the top five most-read online newspapers in 2022 in this order.

Secondly, the study aimed to include a rich variety of political perspectives. Based on Guerrero-Solé (2022) which classifies the most-read Spanish newspapers' political inclination, the selected newspapers were divided into the political spectrum as left, centre, and right-wing. In the final selection, *ABC*, associated with the right, was swapped for *elDiario.es*, linked to the left, so there would be a richer spectrum of ideologies (Guerrero-Solé, 2022, p. 34). To select *elDiario.es*, AIMC was used as a source for media rankings. AIMC (Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación) is an association of communication and media companies whose main activity is to measure and understand

media audiences in Spain (AIMC, n.d, para. 1, 3). According to AIMC, *elDiario.es* was within the top 10 most-read newspapers of 2021 (Zamorano et al., 2023, p. 23) and fourth in online subscriptions (Reuters Institute, 2023). Despite aiming at equal representation of each political perspective, working with the online archive of *El Periódico* was impossible as the search engine in their online archive was malfunctioning. Therefore, only one newspaper represented the centre ideology which is satisfactory for a qualitative study. Consequently, the final newspapers studied were: the right-wing *El Mundo* and *El Español*, *La Vanguardia* linked to the centre ideology, and, finally, the left-wing *El País* and *elDiario.es*. I gained access to their online archives through a paid subscription as access is not free¹. All articles were found in the online archive or on the official website of each newspaper. I did a first selection of articles using the full name of the law, “Ley de memoria democrática”, as I only wanted to include articles that specifically discussed this law and not its predecessor the Ley de memoria histórica passed in 2007. These keywords search also allowed to find most, if not all, articles passed during the period of focus that discussed the law in question. Then the articles were filtered by date (to have articles published during the period of focus) and length (minimum of 300 words). The sampling criterion of minimum 300 words is a formal requirement from the Erasmus University Rotterdam but it also allowed to have data with enough information to conduct an in-depth analysis. Finally, I discarded articles in interview format. Therefore, news articles and opinion pieces were included in the final sample from each newspaper. After applying these criteria for each newspaper, between 8 and 14 articles per newspaper were selected.

To ensure a rich dataset, the sample fosters news articles that discuss the passing of the law, legal procedures, and more technical aspects as well as opinion pieces. It was important to include opinion pieces as they constitute the only space in a newspaper where journalists are free to express their opinions, otherwise disguised under the newspaper’s political position and objectivity guidelines (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008, p. 67). Through opinion pieces, newspaper outlets “establish the dominant interpretative frameworks within which ongoing political events are made sense of” (Mcnaair, 2000, as seen in Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008, p. 67). We can deduce then, that through opinion pieces newspapers have a chance to better conceal their preferred frames depending on the political ideology they follow. Combining news and opinion articles was important to have a full understanding of each

¹ La Vanguardia costs 1,99€/month, El Mundo costs 8,99€/month, El País costs 11€/month, El Español costs 3€/year, and elDiario.es costs 1€/month.

newspaper's approach on framing the passing of the LMD. In the end, 18 opinion pieces and 38 news articles were analysed.

The images featured in the articles were not included in the analysis. This decision was based on two main motives. Firstly, while some forms of social change such as protests have been considered by multiple scholars as a visual phenomenon (Neumayer & Rossi, 2018; Mattoni, Teune, 2014), the depiction of legal procedures has kept its focus on the text rather than its visual aspect (Porter, 2014, p. 1687). Secondly, newspapers, in contrast to TV, which is purely visual as well as auditory based, primarily present text content "intended for in-depth reading" (Gibbs & Bernas, 2009, p. 148). Consequently, the conducted analysis solely focuses on the text of the articles.

3.3 Method of analysis

The study adhered to all the steps of a qualitative framing analysis by reconstructing frame packages based on the understanding that "a series of manifest variables can represent a latent concept" (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 71). Following Van Gorp (2007, p. 71), and as previously noted, the causal explanations (reasoning devices), the discourse mechanisms (framing devices) and cultural devices were identified in the analysed media texts. At times, the reasoning devices were not explicitly defined in the text. As Van Gorp (2007, p. 71) suggests, a fact and a consequence might appear together without an explicit causal relationship between them being mentioned.

Following Van Gorp (2007, p. 72), the dataset was analysed inductively. A coding matrix was used in which each row represented a different frame. In the columns, the constitutive elements of the frame were included, which are the previously defined framing devices, reasoning devices and cultural devices. The analysis process was conducted through the following steps. Firstly, each article was analysed individually to detect the salient frames and framing devices. Later, it was possible to observe whether the frames were the same or similar across the dataset from each newspaper, following the principle of constant comparison (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 72). At the end of this analysis process, each newspaper's dataset was represented in framing matrix, with each matrix containing between two or three main frames each (see Chapter 4). Then, each matrix was analysed to understand what the cultural and political positionality of each newspaper was. Finally, the reconstructed frames from all newspapers were compared to understand the discussion around the passing LMD at

large. The framing analysis conducted resulted in the reconstruction of five main frames across all five newspapers. This analysis process answers the proposed research question as it uncovers how newspapers framed the ratification of the LMD, the debate that was created around it, and, at large, adds onto the discussion of how media construct the debates around collective memory.

3.4 Operationalisation

The theoretical framework described what collective memory is and what role media actors play in its construction. Important for this study was the concept of memory frames which is used to describe the frames that media use to establish a certain perspective of the past (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1183). This is significant because as political elites understand the power memory frames have for mobilising favourable views on their current policies, they are increasingly interested in promoting their preferred version of the past using media (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1185). Media can assist or contribute to this processes which is particularly relevant in this study because, as previously noted, the relationship between media actors and political elites is particularly strong in the Spanish context (Casero, 2012, p. 32).

In the discussion and definition of the LMD, the theoretical framework has gone over the main historical events that led to the Spanish Senate ultimately passing the law in 2022. Therefore, for the frame reconstruction, particular attention was paid to the media's strategic usage of important historical moments and their national narratives such as the memory of the Civil war, the Transition period, the Amnesty law, and the Pact of oblivion. The analysis also highlights the main actors that played a role in the discussions of the law, from political groups and leaders to civil society organisations. An important element was the historical and/or ideological connections that the different political parties in Congress at the time had with either one of the former confronted sides of the Civil war and how that affected their relationship to the passing of the LMD.

A particular insight that Rigney (2018, p. 246) brings forward is the relationship between remembering and forgetting; when we remember we are simultaneously engaging in a process of forgetting or neglecting. This amnesia can range from 'active forms of forgetting', through the elimination of archival material or "pacts of silence", such as the Spanish Pact of oblivion (1977), to more passive forms of forgetting including disregarding

or failing to understand the significance of certain perspectives or facts (Rigney, 2018, p. 246). The dynamic between remembrance and forgetting is never straightforward and can be understood as a powerful political tool. According to Rigney (2018), national ‘memory wars’ can be seen as an extension of “political conflict through other means” (p. 246). She uses the discussions in Spain around the Civil war heritage as an example. There is an effort from the Republican’s heirs to undo the ‘active forgetting’, through mass graves exhumation and identification of victims, that fights against the established narrative imposed by the Pact of oblivion based on the idea that remembering opens wounds and divides society (Rigney, 2018, p. 246). For the analysis conducted, newspapers representing different political ideologies were included to uncover how they engaged in this dynamic of remembering and forgetting and which elements, voices and historical facts did they draw on to construct their memory frames.

3.5 Quality in qualitative research and positionality

To conclude, it is important to discuss my positionality as a researcher. As Holmes (2020, p. 2,3) suggests, everyone’s positionality is unique, and it affects every aspect of the research. My positionality is informed through a reflexive approach which presumes that, as a researcher, I am part of the social world this research exists in (Holmes, 2020, p. 3). Rather than trying to remove my positionality’s effect on this research study, I acknowledge and highlight its influence on every stage of it (Holmes, 2020, p. 3).

Firstly, it is worth noting that I come from Barcelona, Spain. My first language was Catalan. My four grandparents grew up during the Civil war and lived through the almost 40 years of Franco’s dictatorship. My parents were born amidst the dictatorship and lived through the Transition during their 20s. Therefore, I was brought up hearing about the hardships of growing up in a post-war, impoverished country marked by a repressive dictatorship. Leaving the economic struggles aside, the biggest difficulty my grandparents and parents endured was the prohibition of Catalan in public settings. Neither of them learned how to read or write in Catalan, even though they spoke it at home. My parents also grew up listening to artists like Joan Manuel Serrat or Raimon, emblematic for their open fight against the dictatorship. Therefore, I became personally interested on Spain’s past and concerned about its present and future, specifically in terms of how it was able to become a more open and diverse country while maintaining some elements of its conservative past.

Following Holmes (2020, p. 3), my close cultural proximity to the issue that this thesis revolves around could be understood as a benefit as it allowed me to identify implicit meanings in the frames and easily allocate their nuances within a broader social and political context.

Before this thesis, I had no academic background in either law or history, although I have always had a big passion for the latter. I have a communications background as I hold a bachelor's degree in advertising and public relations, so my knowledge of media studies was much more substantial. My passion for history, together with my Spanish origin and my knowledge in communication brought me to this thesis' research question.

This research has been done following the established academics standards. Specifically, regarding the framing analysis conducted, every step of the sampling and analysis has been accordingly justified and explained. Having said that, I am aware that my background as a Catalan growing up in the previously explained environment, can influence my views or perspective towards the passing of a law that, for the first time, recognises Catalans and their language as victims of Franco's dictatorship.

4. Results

This chapter delves into the results of the framing analysis conducted on five Spanish newspapers on the passing of the 2022 LMD. It presents the reconstructed frames of each newspaper separately, but dwells on their inter-connections when relevant. Extracts from the data are offered as examples for each frame.

4.1 Main frames of *La Vanguardia*

The newspaper *La Vanguardia*, linked to the centre political ideology, features three frames (Table 1). The first frame, “LMD as necessary”, understands that knowing about the past is a public right for which the state must take responsibility. This is a characteristic extract: “...but the democratic state has a duty of memory towards us, the citizens. A duty that embraces the complexity of the recent past and avoids presentism while explaining the facts without disfiguring them” (Álvaro, 2022, para. 4). The moral devices used add onto this expected responsibility by concretising that memory politics help bring social reparation and justice by recognising the victims and assigning responsibility and penalties to the prosecutors. So, the LMD is legally and morally necessary for all but for victims and their families in particular. The conceptualisation and the moral devices help position the LMD within the legal framework of memory laws which emphasise people’s “right to history”, “right to the truth” and have a “victim-centred approach” (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2).

The problem this frame identifies is the current political tendency to focus on the present to the detriment of the past. The rationale is that dealing with the past helps democracies bring social justice and cohesion to the present while avoiding it can cause for old animosities to keep coming back. So, the past and the present are interlinked. As the LMD introduction states: “Forgetting is not an option for a [quality] democracy.” (Anteproyecto de Ley de Memoria Democrática, November 11, 2020, as cited in Golob, 2022, p. 69). The cultural devices highlight that the 1977 Amnesty law, by which all Civil war crimes committed by both sides were granted amnesty, still has some lingering effects on current politics (Golob, 2022, p.48). Together with that, the Pact of oblivion, by which political representatives decided to leave the past behind and never revisit the obscure past, has not allowed for society to fully reconcile (Golob, 2022, p.48). While this pact allowed for society to move forward and have a relatively peaceful transition to democracy, it is also used to support arguments that suggest memory politics are not needed or important. Those

favouring the unimportance of remembering also point that focusing on the past is a waste of time and resources, especially when there are so many current pressing issues: “What's the point of spending public money on opening Civil war graves when inflation is punishing citizens?’ is a common refrain” (Álvaro, 2022, para. 2). In this context, the passing of the LMD signifies the legal commitment of the State, represented by PSOE and other leftist parties who ratified the law, assuming its responsibility to ensure citizens’ right to collectively remember.

The second frame present in *La Vanguardia* is “LMD exposing the right's unwillingness to deal with the past”. This frame emphasises the right’s opposition to the passing of the LMD and to memory politics in general, as evident in this extract: “Unfortunately, the Popular Party froze and side lined all policies in this area. The new law has broad parliamentary support, from which the three right-wing parties have dissociated themselves, something that was foreseeable” (Juan, 2022, para. 2). Reference to “foreseeable” relates to the right’s long-standing refusal to enact any memory law since the Transition and therefore it is unsurprising that they are doing it again. This is in line with Golob (2022, p. 56) who suggested that the Spanish right’s political discourse was based on the maintenance of the Pact of oblivion that actively removed the memory politics from contemporary politics.

The cultural devices underscore that the Spanish right still has cultural and ideological links to Francoism and therefore, has benefitted from the legal protection brought by the Amnesty Law of all crimes committed during the war. Therefore, they have traditionally rejected memory politics that awaken the memory of the civil war and assign accountability to those who committed human rights violations during the Civil war and the dictatorship. It is a privilege that they don’t want to lose. Evidently, the right’s objection to LMD and the left’s support to it, awakes the narrative of the “two Spains”, a concept that reflects the division that exists between the Spanish left and right which had its high during the Civil war (Pichel, 2019, para. 1). The recommendation that emerges from this frame, mainly directed to the Spanish right, is that memory politics should not be reduced to a black and white polarising perspective. It should revolve around discussing the complexities and nuances of the shared contested past instead of blindly aligning with what the parties from the left or the right preach:

It's either black or white. No more nuances. And this complex issue of justice and

reparation for the crimes committed during Franco's regime cannot be dealt with lightly, by aligning oneself with the party that is more or less sympathetic to it (Juan, 2022, para. 1)

Finally, the third frame featured in *La Vanguardia* was the “LMD as not progressive enough”. The frame underscores that the biggest memory civil society groups (NGO) and the most left-wing political groups deem the law as insufficient. One article noted, “...the law does not heal the wounds insofar as it does not fully satisfy the reparation of those who suffered the violence and repression of the National-Catholic regime.” (Vallín, 2022, para. 7). The causal explanation reveals that the LMD does not abolish the Amnesty law which provided impunity for all Civil war crimes, but also does not provide economic compensation for those considered victims under the LMD. Both were necessary measures to include according to the memory associations and leftist groups, who hoped for a more ambitious law. The frame’s moral devices underscore that the legal text did not bring the social justice it promised.

Table 1. Frames in *La Vanguardia*.

Frame	Framing devices	Problem definition	Causal explanation	Cultural devices	Recommendation	Moral devices
LMD as necessary	“...but the state has a duty of memory towards us, the citizens”	There is currently a tendency in politics to focus too much on the present and neglect the past	Memory politics understood as a public right	The Pact of oblivion, established a narrative suggesting memory politics are not important	The state should ensure the needs of its citizens, memory politics should be included	Memory politics brings social reparation and recognition to victims
LMD exposing the right's unwillingness to deal	“The new law has broad parliamentary support, from which the	Memory politics as a right vs left	The right supports the Pact of oblivion as it allowed for	The narrative of "the two Spains"	Memory politics as very politicised, does not allow a discussion about	Memory politics as a socially conflictive

with the past	three right-wing parties have dissociated themselves, something that was foreseeable”	battle	the memory of the Civil war to be forgotten.		the nuances of past events.	g issue
LMD as not progressive enough	LMD does not put an end to the “impunity of Francoism”	LMD missed an opportunity to do more	LMD does not abolish Amnesty Law or provide compensation for victims	The Amnesty Law provides impunity for Francoism crimes	LMD should have been more ambitious	LMD did not bring the promised social justice

4.2 Main frames of *elDiario.es*

The analysis conducted of *elDiario.es*, associated with a leftist political ideology, generated three frames (Table 2). The reconstructed frames share the same names and many similarities with the three frames found in *La Vanguardia*. In the first frame “LM as necessary”, highlights that Franco’s dictatorship is still hurting democracy today. Francoism ideals persisted through multiple channels and are still present in modern day politics. This argument paired with the amnesia promoted by the Pact of Oblivion created a political climate which hindered the passing of memory laws. This frame challenges the Pact and its rationale by stating that forgetting should not be an option and highlights the passing of the LMD as a positive way to bring social justice and reconciliation:

The new law is, in short, the culmination of the democratic and reconciliation process that began with the Transition, based on the conviction that reconciliation was not and cannot be rooted in forgetting. There can be no concord without memory (Rubí, 2022, para. 10).

The passing of the LMD is framed as an attempt from PSOE and other leftist parties to break from the state of amnesia and Francoism values. A highlighted LMD measure which exemplify the lingering effects Francoism is the elimination of the nobility titles given to Franco supporters who had an important role during the Civil war or the dictatorship:

Of course, actions will continue to be implemented to remove vestiges and honours to people and institutions that defended the authoritarian regime, and foundations and/or associations whose objectives are to defend Franco's regime, which have done and continue to do so much damage to our democracy and which persist today, will be extinguished (Caballero, 2022, para. 6).

The second reconstructed frame “LMD as not progressive enough” brings forward the idea that the legal text has left certain leftist parties and memory civil organisations unsatisfied. From this perspective, the law receives two main critiques. The first one challenges the lack of concretion and actionability of the text:

Then you go down to the detail, the small print, and you find a lot of “technical commission” that will study the matter, postponements of issues to be specified, undefined formulas, and absences that explain the resistance of some government partners, and the disappointment of the associations of memory and relatives of the repressed (Rosa, 2022, para. 3).

This first criticism is reinforced by the fact that the former 2007 LMH was already seen, on the time of its passing, as not progressive enough (Golob, 2022, p.61). On top of it, it did not achieve all its aims. Therefore, this frame mirrors how the more sceptical groups fear the LMD will have a similar trajectory and not fulfil the initial expectations. The second critique focuses on the fact that the LMD does not revoke the 1977 Amnesty law:

In this sense, it generates not only doubts, but genuine incredulity, that this law intends to guarantee the full right to justice, given that the validity of the 1977 Amnesty Law prevents progress in this area, as is well known and has already been experienced, as it has become an enormous obstacle to the judicial investigation of

many of those crimes, with the consequent impunity (Mancisidor, 2022, para. 13).

Despite the disappointment the LMD brings, this frame suggests that democratic memory does not depend on the passing of laws. Memory laws can be of help, but the construction and advancement of democratic memory is, first and foremost, the result of the efforts of civic society. It is worth mentioning here that the *memoria histórica* movement, which helped bring the memory of the Civil war back to public debate was initiated by civil society organisations ARMH and FpM (Golob, 2022, p.54). As this fragment suggests:

They are all those women and men, victims, children, granddaughters, great-grandchildren, colleagues, members of associations, teachers, researchers, anti-fascists and democrats, who have spent decades repairing, dignifying, building memory, with their own means, against all kinds of obstacles, with little or no help from the administrations and sometimes hindered by them (Rosa, 2022, para. 7).

Finally, the third frame “LMD exposing the right's unwillingness to deal with the past” focuses on the right's ideological connections to Francoism. The cultural devices discuss that, because of this link, the Spanish right has always challenged memory politics, and it was no different with the passing of the LMD:

For the right-wingers, it is not just another episode in the war against the government, but their opposition stems from the historical ballast that prevents them from condemning Francoism to whose ideological and cultural matrix many of them remain linked (Rubí, 2022, para. 2).

Differently from the frame in *La Vanguardia*, which focuses on the memory fight between the left and the right, *elDiario.es* stresses the right's manipulation of society through the spread of false information about the LMD:

I am amazed at the gentlemen who take to the podium to falsify what the legal text says. It is terrible that manipulation takes place in the seat of popular sovereignty so that it can reach the cameras and microphones. What does it matter what is written in a dry and boring legal text if we can make a mess of it with a fictitious story (Beni,

2022, para. 1).

The right accuses the LMD, and by extension PSOE, of questioning the Transition and the 1978 Constitution when the text elevates them as one of the brightest moments in Spain’s history, even with its flaws. This frame also discusses that the right’s reservations about the LMD also stem from Bildu’s² involvement with the passing of the text: “...not even because they do not agree with its content, they fall into demagogy by attacking a legislative text simply because of who supports it” (Caballero, 2022, para. 4). As this extract suggests, the right is accused of using Bildu’s involvement as an excuse to oppose the LMD. This frame brings forward a similar recommendation to the one generated from *La Vanguardia* and considers democratic memory as essential to democracy. Its importance should be enough for parties to not fall into ideological arguments that might prevent such an important legal text to be passed.

Table 2. Frames found in *elDiario.es*.

Frame	Framing devices	Problem definition	Causal explanation	Cultural devices	Recommendation	Moral devices
LMD as necessary	“I don’t understand how a Spanish democrat can object to the LMD”	Memory politics cannot be rooted in oblivion,	Francoism persisted through multiple channels, Pact of oblivion	Since, the LMH, PSOE has tried to bring memory back into politics	Forgetting is not an option, LMD is needed to bring justice and reconciliation	If memory politics are not applied, democracy might be hurt as certain violations will persist
LMD as not progressive enough	“... fortunately the democratic memory of this	LMH as unsatisfactory	LMD lacks concreteness, not action-oriented, does not revoke the	The Amnesty Law provides impunity Francoism	Democratic memory will persist because it has been built by civil society	Progressive sectors feel frustrated and unsatisfied with LMD

² Bildu is a Basque nationalist party represented in the Spanish Congress whose representatives were enlisted in ETA, a former Basque terrorist group. Bildu’s support was crucial in the passing of the LMD.

	country does not depend on the passing of a law”	Amnesty Law	crimes			
LMD exposing the right's unwillingn ess to deal with the past	“...so they decided to invent a content of the law that is false by making a scandal out of a supposed 'criminalis ation of the transition””	The right as the "heirs" of Francoism	The right spread lies of LMD and used ETA victims to position society against the law.	The right is still linked to Francoism , has traditional ly opposed to memory politics	Memory politics is important to democracy, parties should be able to see that and not fall for political games	Memory politics as a divisive and sensitive social issue

4.3 Main frames of *El País*

El País's, initially linked to a leftist ideology, framed the LMD's passing using two main frames (Table 3). The "LMD as a 'terrorist' law" focuses on the political right's reservations about Bildu's involvement with the writing and ratification of the LMD. The culture devices reference Bildu's strong connection with former nationalistic Basque terrorist group ETA: "Without forgetting what Bildu is and where it comes from: it has never pronounced any self-criticism of its parent ETA, which confirms its status as its heir and, logically, its link to terror" (Elorza, 2022, para. 8). While Bildu is considered as "the political arm of a terrorist organisation" (Hermida, 2022, p. 4), the LMD has been named "Bildu law or totalitarian memory law" (Hermida, 2022, p. 4). According to right-wing parties, it seems contradictory for PSOE to have made a pact with a party which has strong ties with a terrorist group which was, at one point in history, Spanish democracy's biggest threat. The frame's causal explanation suggests that even if the LMD is intended to bring positive social justice, Bildu's involvement is enough to justify not supporting it: "...many citizens reject that a law like this should be agreed with Bildu, and those who do not understand that expect others to forget too much in the name of memory" (Gascón, 2022, p.

2).

The frame “LMD as factually and morally wrong” suggests that the LMD was born from ideological and political conveniences instead of historians' requests, and therefore includes factually wrong information. This frame defends the stance that memory laws should always come from historian’s demands and that collective memory should never stem from what laws dictate: “precisely because of the risk of submission to ideological approaches, almost always Manichean, the drafting of a law of memory should be based on the demands of history itself, with a capital letter, and not on political convenience” (Elorza, 2022, para. 6). Following this frame, the two main arguments for framing LMD as an ideological tool are, firstly, the fact that the war victims from the republican side are not explicitly recognised in the legal text. Secondly, the amendment supported by Bildu by which the Civil war and Francoism crimes will be studied and prosecuted until 1983, a time when the Constitution of 1978 was already in place and democracy had been established. In this frame, this last point is presented as a direct challenge to the Transition’s democratic government as it suggests that Francoism crimes were still being committed after Franco was dead and the Transition was in place. The moral devices highlight that LMD is harming democracy by manipulating the memory of past events and individuals.

Table 3. Frames in *El País*.

Frame	Framing devices	Problem definition	Causal explanation	Cultural devices	Recommendation	Moral devices
LMD as a "terrorist law"	LMD as "Bildu law or totalitarian memory law"	Seems contradictory to cooperate for the LMD with those who were against democracy	Even if the law brings forward positive policies, Bildu’s involvement is enough to be against it.	Bildu is still connected to ETA	PSOE should not have made a pact with Bildu	Making pacts with Bildu is morally wrong
LMD as factually and	“... the drafting of a law of	LMD was as born from political	LMD does not recognise all	Bildu has used this law to	Collective Memory should be born from	LMD is harming the

morally wrong	memory must be based on the demands of history itself, with a capital letter, and not on political expediency ”	convenience and not historical facts	victims, changes period for Francoism.	spread lies and manipulate .	history, not laws	memory of the past
------------------	---	--	---	---------------------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------

4.4 Main frames of *El Español*

The framing analysis conducted revealed *El Español* used two main frames to discuss the passing of the LMD (Table 4). The frame “LMD as a ‘terrorist’ law”, also present in *El País* and *El Mundo*, criticises Bildu’s involvement in the writing and passing of the LMD. This frame either equates Bildu to ETA or regards Bildu as the “...the legacy group of ETA's political wing” (Ramírez, 2022, para. 2). The framing devices suggest that Bildu “...in the afternoon they draft the Law of Memory and at night they sleep hugging their balaclavas and longing for their younger years” (Coll, 2022, para. 11). This fragment uses the visual image of the balaclava, so interlinked with terrorism, to create the depiction of a Bildu representative as a terrorist and develop a sense of fear or danger in the reader. Balaclavas, by covering the full person’s face, have been used by protesters and violent groups worldwide as it provides anonymity (Bruce, 2015, p. 45). ETA used the exact same outfit for years, with the characteristic white balaclava covering their faces (Tremlett, 2010, para. 1). Basque police wear black balaclavas, so ETA wanted to differentiate from them (Tremlett, 2010, para. 1). This visual depiction is supported by underlining the fact that Mertxe Aizpurua, current representative of Bildu in Congress, was condemned to one year of prison for supporting terrorism in 1984. Therefore, Bildu’s and ETA’s political interests are seen as the same. Bildu is accused of using LMD as a tool to justify the crimes committed by former terrorist group ETA using Francoism as an excuse. By doing so, ETA or Bildu, as prosecutors of fear and violence are victimising themselves using the memory of

the Civil war.

The second frame “LMD as factually and morally wrong”, also used in *El País* and *El Mundo*, focuses on the laws content and its alleged moral and factual shortcomings. It poses that the PSOE, but mainly Bildu, used the opportunity to adopt a memory law to establish their own version of the past. Firstly, PSOE is accused of promoting an “anti-Franco overreaction” (Moreno, 2022, para. 3) which “translates into the trivialisation of certain concepts” (Moreno, 2022, para. 3). This suggests that there should be a limit to reacting against Franco and that by overreacting the leftist group is simplifying the complexities of the past and sensationalising it. The frame suggests, then, that PSOE used the LMD as an emotional tool for their benefit. As in *El País*, Bildu’s involvement and support of the law is seen as immoral. Specifically, the amendment Bildu supported which extends Francoism until 1983, when the Constitution of 1978 had already been passed and ETA was already active, is seen as the most hurtful and incorrect part of the pact. This frame promotes the idea that Bildu promoted the period extension to justify the crimes committed by ETA during that time. On top of that, ETA victims are not recognised in this law. The left justifies this by clarifying that terrorism victims in Spain are already specifically recognised through another law passed in September 2011 by PSOE. Beyond the particularities of the text, memory laws, in general, are framed as totalitarian, as they portray and impose a specific version of the past. The frame’s critiques against memory politics follow the worries that some scholars have brought forward after memory laws were used by governments with authoritarian tendencies to impose a particular vision of the past and remove alternative narratives (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). The frame’s recommendation is simple: history should be written by historians, not by laws.

Table 4. Frames found in *El Español*.

Frame	Framing devices	Problem definition	Causal explanation	Cultural devices	Recommendation	Moral devices
LMD as the "terrorist law"	"... in the afternoon they draft the LMD and at night they sleep hugging	Some of Bildu's representatives were part of ETA	Bildu involved in the writing and passing of the LMD, they want to rewrite	Bildu is still connected, socially and culturally, to ETA	PSOE should not have passed the law with Bildu	The prosecutors are victimising themselves

	their balaclavas and longing for their younger years”	history and excuse their crimes				
LMD as factually and morally wrong	“But, on occasions, this anti- Franco overreaction translates into the trivialisation of certain concepts”	History should be made by historians, not laws	Any memory law that imposes a vision of history is totalitarian	PSOE is overacting its "anti- Francoism" and not taking the past seriously	Leave history to historians	Making wrong statements about the past, making pacts with Bildu seen as morally wrong

4.5 Frames of *El Mundo*

Three frames emerged from the framing analysis conducted on *El Mundo*, linked to a right-wing ideology (Table 5). “LMD as divisive” suggests the legal text, and the government promoting it, are reopening old disputes between the right and the left: “...the government seeks to impose a biased view of history and open up closed wounds around the left-right axis” (Coll, 2022, para. 2). The cultural devices bring back the “two Spains” narrative, traditionally used to discuss the ideological division that exists among the Spanish right and left (Pichel, 2019, para. 1). This frame is rooted in the reasoning that brought Spain to pass both the Amnesty Law and Pact of oblivion in 1977: “Amnesty was the oblivion of the motives for revenge...” (Aznar, 2022, para. 9). According to this perspective, closely adopted by the Spanish right, remembering the past sparks conflict and, therefore, forgetting is the only way to move forward (Golob, 2022, p.56). Furthermore, the problem is also rooted in how allegedly the LMD promotes the remembrance of the war but not the reconciliation that followed: “Remembering war and forgetting reconciliation: we are invited to such a historical mutilation” (Aznar, 2022, para. 5). The recommendation that

emerges from this frame is to leave history to historians and not let those who once put democracy in danger (Bildu) dictate how we remember the past so similar to the recommendation in the “LMD as factually and morally wrong” frame from *El País*..

The frame “LMD as a ‘terrorist’ law”, also found in *El País* and *El Español*, criticises Bildu’s participation in the writing and passing of the LMD. The frame describes Bildu as the “heirs of terror” (Aznar, 2002, para. 4), referring to the terror caused by former Basque terrorist group ETA. It also criticises that PSOE not only allowed but endorsed Bildu to contribute to this legislative procedure:

This has been the disposition of discord and not only because of its content but above all because of the complacent attitude of the government when it comes to agreeing with a party that is heir to, and even led by, those who sowed the Transition and democracy with pain and blood until eleven years ago (Cruz, 2022, para. 7).

Bildu’s main contribution to the LMD, an amendment which extends the considered Francoism period until 1983, is regarded as historical manipulation: “The historical lie that Franco’s regime lasted until 1983 is the damaged merchandise that the government buys from the legatees of terror” (Aznar, 2002, para. 4). The problem is not only with Bildu as a political group, but also with its representatives. Bildu’s main representative, Mertxe Aizupura, was condemned to prison in 1994 for being ETA’s journalist.

The third and final frame is “LMD as factually and morally wrong”, also found in *El Español* and *El País*. Similarly to these newspapers, *El Mundo*’s main object of critique is in the law’s content. First, the law is considered a “political and moral fraud” (Rico, 2022, para. 1) for challenging the Transition, which had been regarded, until recently, as one of the brightest political moments in Spanish history. As one article noted, “ONE SINGLE sentence confirms the moral and political fraud that Pedro Sánchez’s Law of Democratic Memory represents: ‘We are going to put in check the story of an exemplary Transition” (Rico, 2022, para. 1). The causal devices underscore the law contains factually wrong information:

There is no need for expert analysis on the conceptual, historical and legal aberrations of a text that considers ‘autonomous communities, languages and cultures’ as ‘victims’, prolongs the dictatorship until 1983 and tramples on individual

freedoms by imposing adherence to a narrative (Rico, 2022, para. 2).

This fragment summarises three of the main critiques the LMD receives. The law not only includes false interpretations of the past, such as considering Catalonia, Galicia or the Basque Country as victims, or prolonging Francoism to 1983, but also imposes a particular version of history that hinders individual freedoms. That is because the LMD follows the line of former victim-centric memory laws born from the understanding that by limiting the freedom of speech, governments foster a democratic system that prevents past atrocities from happening again (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2; Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2020, p. 327). The frame’s last critique suggests that, while deadly crimes were committed by both the Republicans and Franco supporters, the LMD seems to consider the crimes committed by the Civil war winners as worse than the ones committed by the losers: “...winning the war makes you guilty, losing the war makes you innocent...” (Trapiello, 2022, para. 1).

Table 5. Frames in *El Mundo*.

Frame	Framing devices	Problem definition	Causal explanation	Cultural devices	Recommendation	Moral devices
LMD as divisive	“...the government seeks to impose a biased view of history and open up closed wounds around the left-right axis”	Remembering sparks division, LMD only remembers the war	LMD divides society, remembering brings back old conflicts	LMD brings back the metaphor of the "two Spains"	We should leave the past behind, leave history to historians	Memory politics dividing society
LMD as the "terrorist law"	Bildu as the "heirs of terror"	Bildu, "heirs" of ETA, helped write the	LMD extends Francoism period, Bildu representatives	Bildu is connected, socially and culturally	This law should not have been written and passed with Bildu	Making a pact with Bildu is morally

		LMD	linked to ETA	ETA		wrong
LMD as factually and morally wrong	“ONE SINGLE sentence confirms the moral and political fraud that Pedro Sánchez's LMD represents: “We are going to put in check the story of an exemplary Transition”	LMD spreads lies about the past	LMD plays with sensitive concepts such as the Transition and the concept of victim	LMD challenges the Transition	Laws should be checked by historians and not used as political tools	LMD is wrongfully "playing" with the past

5. Conclusion

This thesis was set out to address the following research question: *How did Spanish newspapers frame the passing of the 2022 Ley de memoria democrática*. Five newspapers – *El Español*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, *elDiario.es*, *El País*– representing a rich political spectrum, from right, to centre, to left, and a total of 56 articles were analysed using a qualitative framing analysis. Five main frames were identified.

While there seems to be a common understanding among all analysed newspapers that Francoism was a dark time in Spanish history, the competing frames reconstructed highlight that there is a disparity of opinions on how to deal with the memory of such past. The newspaper’s framing mirrors the polarising divisions that exist among the right and the left political parties in Spain on their approach to memory politics. This study reveals that the construction of a national collective memory can be a deeply politicised issue.

5.1 Major findings

The passing of the LMD unveils itself as a deeply contested debate through the framing analysis. The five competing frames are proof of this disparity of opinions and the law’s politicisation. On the one hand, *La Vanguardia* and *elDiario.es*, which respectively represent the centre and left political ideologies, framed the passing of the LMD as a necessity, showcased that progressive groups think the LMD does not do enough and highlighted the right’s unwillingness to deal with the past. These frames reveal that leftist media promoted the LMD as a legal and political advancement, even not progressive enough to some, and depicted the right as blocking this important achievement. On the other hand, right-wing newspapers, and *El País*, framed the LMD as morally and factually wrong, and condemned the LMD as a “terrorist law” due to Bildu’s involvement. Bildu, whose support was essential for the passing of the LMD, is led by former ETA militants (Aznar, 2002, para. 4). As above mentioned, ETA was a Basque terrorist group. According to these frames, the LMD rewrites the past by not including the correct version of it, and thereby suggests PSOE used the law as a tool to promote their preferred reading of history. Additionally, the LMD is regarded as morally wrong mainly due to Bildu’s connection to terrorism. Finally, the cultural narratives in these frames also highlight that the political and media groups on the left and right still seek to promote distinct versions of the past despite that 49 years have

passed since the end of the dictatorship. Leftist media celebrates the Transition while recognising its flaws, referring to the LMD as “the culmination of the democratic and reconciliation process that began with the Transition” (Rubí, 2022, para. 10). In contrast, right-wing media view the LMD as a “moral and political fraud” (Rico, 2022, para. 1) for attempting to revisit the Transition’s shortcomings.

The framing analysis conducted on the five selected newspaper about the passing of the LMD generated five main frames. While *La Vanguardia*, linked to centre ideology, and *elDiario.es*, associated with the left, framed the LMD “as a necessity”, the right-wing newspapers and *El País* framed it as “factually and morally wrong”. The radical difference of perspectives between the right and the left not only show a difference in opinion, but also highlight that the interpretation of past events is also not the same. For the left, memory politics respond to a democratic need for remembrance for which the State has a responsibility to provide. The right, on the contrary, defend that memory laws can be used as an ideological tool to manipulate society and bring forward a particular version of the past. Furthermore, the right-wing newspapers’ frame promote that memory politics is a task that should be tackled by history should be written by historians, not by laws. These confronted perspectives provide a practical example of the two-fold memory politics debate which, on the one hand, understands memory laws as militant democracy and, on the other hand, see them as a threat to pluralism (Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2020, p. 327). It is worth noting that memory laws were a direct result of the Holocaust. Their initial purpose was to provide historical clarification as well as social justice by fostering reconciliation opportunities for the confronted groups (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 1). The progress in the human rights movement, influenced memory politics which adopted a victim-centric approach and were focused on the “right to the truth” (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2). While this intentionality still upholds for many of the enacted memory laws internationally, there have been cases in which they have been used as repressive tools by authoritarian and nationalistic governments to promote a specific vision of the past and condemn alternative readings (Barkan & Lang, 2022, p. 2; Belavusau & Gliszczynska-Grabias, 2020, p. 327).

The strong criticism that right-wing newspapers used when discussing the LMD, highlight their reluctance to its adoption. This is then underscored in the second leftist frame “LMD exposing the right’s unwillingness to deal with the past” found in both *La Vanguardia* and *elDiario.es*. This frame’s cultural devices importantly reveal that beyond the superficial critiques, the right’s opposition to the LMD is rooted in a deeper animosity to

bringing the memory of Francoism back. The right is fixed in the opinion that the 1977 Amnesty Law, which granted amnesty for all crimes committed during Francoism, and the Pact of oblivion, which avoided addressing the past to promote social reconciliation, were the most effective strategies for transitioning from dictatorship to democracy (Golob, 2022, p. 56). Bringing memories from the past is considered a threat to the democratic order and a disturbance to the current peaceful coexistence (Golob, 2022, p.56). As the literature suggests, PP has never been alone in their fight to uphold the “pact of silence”, they’ve consistently been supported by the military, the Catholic Church as well as Franco sympathisers (Golob, 2022, p.57). These groups all benefit from preserving the “pact of silence”, as each played an active role in sustaining the dictatorship.

But the right’s biggest criticism considered Bildu’s support for the LMD. The frame “LMD as a ‘terrorist’ law”, was present in three of the five analysed newspapers, including both right-wing newspapers and *El País*. Regardless if they agreed or not with the actual measures proposed by the LMD, Bildu’s participation in the law made it impossible for right-wing newspapers to support the law. Bildu’s personal and ideological ties to former terrorist group ETA are undeniable. Regardless of what the law proposed, the right saw this as an opportunity to easily object to its the passing.

Meanwhile, the most progressive leftist parties, together with memory civil society associations and other human rights NGOs, were of the opinion that the LMD was unsatisfying. The last frame “LMD as not progressive enough” appears in *La Vanguardia* and *elDiario.es*. The above-mentioned groups feel disappointed with the LMD as it did not revoke the 1977 Amnesty Law, which continues to provide impunity for Francoism crimes, and victims are not economically compensated for being recognised as such. These groups deem the LMD as a missed opportunity to bring social justice. Following Golob (2022, p. 61), the above-mentioned groups had already been disappointed by the previous memory law, the 2007 LMH. The revoking of the 1977 Amnesty law was a request that came from before the passing of the LMH, which neither of the laws included (Golob, 2022, p.61, 68).

Based on the study conducted by Guerrero-Solé (2022) which classifies the most-read Spanish newspapers politically from right-wing to left, *El País* was initially considered as a leftist newspaper. However, this study showed that *El País* shared the frames generated in the right-wing newspapers. Meanwhile, *La Vanguardia*, initially classified as centre, shared its three reconstructed frames with *elDiario.es*, associated with the left.

5.2 Theoretical implications

By answering the research question, the thesis contributes to the literature on media's role in shaping debates on the regulation of collective memory. In this context, collective memory is understood as a process of social construction (Halbwachs, 1925, as cited in Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p.1). Through an analysis of the media's framing around the LMD's passing, the social construction of collective memory is empirically grounded. This particular case study exemplifies how, as Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Baden (2016, p.1) suggest, remembering the past is an ongoing process of contestation in which multiple social actors, in this case media professionals, politicians, civil society organisations, and society itself, interact in different ways to construct a common past identity. Some of these actors share the same perspective on how a particular event happened and how it should be remembered and some have contrary readings of it.

One of the main studied mechanisms to construct collective memory is the media. Managing "memory frames" grants power over political outcomes, which is why elites use mass media to promote their preferred versions of the past (Littoz-Monnet, 2012, p. 1.185). Elites specifically use mass media because it is the most effective means of establishing collective memory within a population (Neiger, 2020, p. 4). Media professionals contribute this process by selecting and modifying these frames and adding their own (Matthes, 2012, p. 249). The framing of the LMD's enactment in newspapers provides a real-life example of this contested dynamic between political groups and media channels to promote particular versions of the past. The contrasting frames observed between right-wing and left-wing newspapers in the analysis confirm the covered theory suggesting the high degree of polarisation that Spanish media exhibits. Furthermore, the reconstructed frames reflect the political reality of the country divided between those advocating for the construction of a collective memory through the passing of the LMD and those preferring to leave the past behind and entrust history to historians. Consequently, as the theory also suggests, this study reveals Spanish media is also very politicised.

The passing of memory laws, such as the LMD, is another mechanism through which politicians and society at large intervene in the process of social construction. As previously noted, the literature on how memory laws are discussed in the media is underdeveloped. According to Tirosh and Gutman (2019, p. 53), memory laws serve as powerful tools to construct collective memory because they dictate which narratives are

deemed as important and which are overlooked. However, while memory laws determine which events will be remembered and how, it is the media that dictates how these events will be disseminated, discussed, and perceived by society (Tirosh and Gutman, 2019, p. 54). The passing of the LMD serves as a case study to showcase that by studying media's framing of the passing of a memory law, conclusions can be drawn about how a society approaches the construction of its collective memory. Specifically, by analysing how the media framed the enactment of the LMD, this study uncovered the implicit meanings behind the different approaches of the political right and left towards collective memory.

Qualitative framing analysis proved to be the ideal method in media studies for addressing this thesis' research question. The analysis conducted was informed on Van Gorp's (2007, p. 61) approach, which suggests that frames are deeply connected to the cultural tissue. With this perspective in mind, the framing analysis enabled to easily link the study's results within a particular social, political and historical context. In order to address the research question effectively, it was crucial to locate the media's framing of the LMD's passing within its current political climate and, more broadly, within a particular historical and social context. Consequently, this thesis serves as an empirical case study that expands the literature on qualitative framing analysis.

5.3 Societal relevance

The extended number of articles published and the intense discussion they contain during the period of focus, distinguish the passing of the LMD as an important mediatic event in Spain. The debates that preceded the ratification of the law and the ones that followed it, showcase that the LMD opened an opportunity to discuss deeply rooted social and ideological issues that had been avoided for a long time. Because of the particularities of Spanish history which include a deadly Civil war, the winning of the dictator, a long-standing dictatorship, and the followed by the Pact of oblivion, memory politics remains a highly sensitive, and often divisive, topic in the country. Because of how political representatives decided to deal with the memory of the Civil war and Franco's dictatorship, based on forgiving, forgetting and never looking back, it did not allow for a real social reconciliation to happen, specifically between both sides of the conflict, the famous "two Spains" (Pichel, 2019, para. 9).

The competing frames illustrated in this study show the ideological separation that still divides the right and the left in Spain enrooted in their oppositional approaches on how to deal with remembering the country's past. The right's opposition to the LMD and the left's support for it revive the narrative of the "two Spains" (Pichel, 2019, para. 9). This concept reflects the enduring division between the Spanish left and right, a division that reached its peak during the Civil war (Pichel, 2019, para. 1). On the one hand, the monarchic, catholic, right-wing, former Franco supporter who believes remembering sparks confrontation, mainly represented by PP today (Pichel, 2019, para. 1). On the other hand, the leftist, republican, anticlerical, leftist, former Republican or communist who endorses a revision of the past, mainly represented by PSOE today (Pichel, 2019, para. 1). The polarisation of opinions among political parties, reflected in the analysed newspapers and respective articles, clearly shows that the Spanish political representatives, and the Spanish society at large, have not found a way to deal with their past that allows for reconciliation and social cohesion to happen.

This study aimed to provide clarity on why Spanish society remains divided on the issue of remembering its past, specifically the Civil war and subsequent dictatorship. Through a framing analysis of the passing of the LMD, the nuances of both groups' positionality towards collective memory have been explained. Although the research was not intended to provide a definitive solution to erase this societal division, it sought to foster understanding by uncovering the implicit meanings behind each side's approach, thereby potentially bringing both sides closer together.

5.4 Limitations and future research possibilities

This research has been designed and conducted as comprehensively as possible. However, certain limitations should be acknowledged. In addition to the issue of positionality, covered in Chapter 3, one possible limitation is the period of focus. While most articles discussing the LMD were published around the time of its official enactment by the Congress and the Senate, analysing articles published months or a year later, discussing the law's implementation, could have provided insights into whether the framing of the law changed over time. Another limitation is the decision of focusing on a legislation. While memory laws are crucial for determining which narratives of the past are deemed important and which are not (Tirosh & Gutman, 2019, p. 53), other societal mechanisms

could have been studied to discuss debates around collective memory. Additionally, the images accompanying the articles were not included in the analysis. Including these images in the framing analysis would have added another layer of information and nuances to the results.

Acknowledging both the limitations and affordances of this thesis, several research possibilities arise. Firstly, as above-mentioned, the period of focus could be expanded to facilitate a comparative analysis between the law's framing during its enactment and a year later, during its implementation. Similarly, comparing the media's framing of the enactment of the LMH in 2007 and the LMD in 2022 could reveal if the conversations around the legalisation process of memory politics have changed over time. Beyond legislation, future research could focus on how the media framed past events themselves or societal mechanisms such as the opening of memorials and museums. Lastly, considering this analysis has solely focused on newspapers articles, future research could include other types of media. Since social media, together with mass media, is a prevalent means of cementing collective media, it would be worth looking into how the LMD was framed across different social media platforms (Neiger, 2020, p. 4). For example, analysing tweets or Instagram posts could reveal how the law was framed online.

References

- AIMC. (n.d.). *¿Qué es AIMC?* [What is AIMC?]. Asociación Para La Investigación De Medios De Comunicación. <https://www.aimc.es/aimc/que-es-aimc/>
- Álvaro, F. (2022, July 7). *¿Es un lujo mirar hacia atrás?* [Is looking back a luxury?]. *La Vanguardia*. https://www.lavanguardia.com/opinion/20220707/8391130/lujo-mirar.html?_gl=1*1eqawy4*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU
- Ardoy, L. N., Priego, J. L. O., & Esquinas, M. F. (2021). La sociología en los medios de comunicación: un análisis del impacto en la prensa española [Sociology in the media: an impact analysis on Spanish press]. In Fernández, E.M., Domínguez, A. M. (Eds.), *La sociología en España: Diagnóstico y perspectivas de futuro* (pp. 537-562). Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2zp509q.21>
- Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica. (n.d.). *¿Qué es la Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica (ARMH)?* [What is the Association for the retrieval of historical memory (ARMH)]. <https://memoriahistorica.org.es/que-es-la-asociacion-para-la-recuperacion-de-la-memoria-historica-armh-2000-2012/>
- Assmann, A. (2021). Cultural memory. In Hamburger, A., Hancheva, C., Volkan, V.D. (Eds.), *Social trauma – an interdisciplinary textbook*. (pp. 25-36). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47817-9_3
- Aznar, M, J. (2022, July 14). Amnesia democrática [Democratic amnesia]. *El Mundo*. <https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2022/07/14/62d04c97fc6c839d2e8b4588.html>
- Barkan, E., & Lang, A. (2022). Mapping Memory Laws. In Barkan, E., Lang, A. (Eds.), *Memory laws and historical justice* (pp. 1-22). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://shorturl.at/cmFLV>
- Belavusau, U., & Gliszczynska-Grabias, A. (2017). Memory laws: Mapping a new subject in comparative law and transitional justice. In Belavusau, U., & Gliszczynska-Grabias, A. (Eds.), *Law and Memory: Towards Legal Governance of History* (pp. 1-26). Cambridge University Press. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3015232>
- Belavusau, U., & Gliszczynska-Grabias, A. (2020). The Remarkable Rise of ‘Law and

Historical Memory' in Europe: Theorizing Trends and Prospects in the Recent Literature. *Journal of Law and Society*, 47(2), 325-338.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/jols.12228>

Beni, E. (2022, July 16). El problema no es Bildu, sino el PP [The problem is not Bildu, but PP]. *elDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/zona-critica/problema-no-bildu-pp_129_9177169.html

Bocio, A. N., & Chávez, R. M. (2014). Los diarios de referencia en el mercado de la prensa española. Propiedad, grupos mediáticos y conexiones estructurales [Reference newspapers in the Spanish press market]. *Correspondencias & Análisis*, 4, 307-333. <https://doi.org/10.24265/cian.2014.n4.15>

Borraz, M. (2022, July 14). El Congreso aprueba la Ley de Memoria Democrática con la oposición de las derechas [The Congress approves the Law of Democratic Memory with the right's opposition]. *elDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/congreso-aprueba-ley-memoria-democratica-oposicion-derechas-abstencion-erc_1_9170059.html

Bruce, C. (2014). The Balaclava as affect generator: free pussy riot protests and transnational iconicity. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 12(1), 42–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2014.989246>

Caballero, M. (2022, July 12). Ley de Memoria Democrática: del revanchismo a la timidez de la norma [Law of Democratic Memory: from revenge to shyness of the norm]. *elDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/comunitat-valenciana/opinion/ley-memoria-democratica-revanchismo-timidez-norma_129_9163088.html

Casero, R. A. (2012) El periodismo político en España: algunas características definitorias [Political journalism in Spain: some defining characteristics]. In Casero, R. A. (Ed.), *Periodismo político en España: concepciones, tensiones y elecciones* (pp. 19-46). Sociedad Latina de Comunicación Social. <http://hdl.handle.net/10234/80553>

Coll, R. M. (2022, July 14). Feijóo se reúne con las víctimas del terrorismo mientras Bildu defiende la Ley de Memoria [Feijóo meets terrorism victims while Bildu defends the memory law]. *El Español*. <https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220714/fejoo-victimas-terrorismo->

[bildu-defiende-ley-memoria/687681417_0.html](https://www.bildu-defiende-ley-memoria/687681417_0.html)

Coll, V. (2022, October 5). Aprobada la Ley de Memoria Democrática con el rechazo del PP, Vox y Cs: "Es una traición a los españoles" [The Law of democratic memory is approved with the opposition of PP, Vox and Cs: "It is a treason to all Spanish"]. *El Mundo*.

<https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/10/05/633d8252fdddff15618b45aa.html>

Corbin, J. (1995). Truth and Myth in History: An Example from the Spanish Civil War. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 25(4), 609–625.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/205772>

Coser, L. A. (1992). Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945. In Coser, L. A (Ed.), *On collective memory* (pp. 1-34). University of Chicago Press.

Cruz, (2022, July 14). EH Bildu apoya en todo al Gobierno y se consolida como su principal socio [EH Bildu supports the Government and becomes its main partner]. *El Mundo*.

<https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/14/62d05102fc6c8303208b45e5.html>

D'Angelo, P. (2017). Framing: Media frames. In Rössler, P. (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Media Effects* (pp. 635–641). John Wiley & Sons.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0048>

De la Cuesta, J. L., & Odriozola, M. (2018). Marco normativo de la memoria histórica en España: legislación estatal y autonómica [Regulatory frame from historical memory in Spain: state and autonomic legislation]. *Revista Electrónica de Ciencia Penal y Criminología*, 20(8), 1-38.

<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6474539>

De Vreese, C. H. (2012). New avenues for framing research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 365–375. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426331>

Dyntra. (2019, April 17). Partidos políticos – elecciones generales [Political parties – general elections]. *Dyntra*. <https://www.dyntra.org/indices/partidos-politicos/partidos-politicos-elecciones-generales/>

Elorza, A. (2022, July 20). Ley de memoria: reflexión póstuma [Memory law: posthumous reflection]. *El País*. <https://elpais.com/opinion/2022-07-20/ley-de-memoria->

[reflexion-postuma.html](#)

- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Federación Estatal de Foros por la Memoria. (2016, February). *¿Quiénes somos?* [Who are we?]. <https://www.foroporlamemoria.info/que-es-la-federacion-foros-por-la-memoria/>
- Fernández-Viso, A., & Fernández-Alonso, I. (2024). The evolution of government intervention in the Mediterranean media system: Spain, France, and Portugal. *Media and Communication*, 12. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.7738>
- Flick, U. (2018). *Designing Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529622737>
- Gascón, D. (2022, July 7). Ley de desmemoria democrática [Law of democratic forgetfulness]. *El País*. https://elpais.com/opinion/2022-07-07/ley-de-desmemoria-democratica.html?event_log=go
- Golob, S. R. (2022). (De) Criminalizing the Past: Spain’s legal response to history, memory, and historical memory. In Barkan, E., Lang, A. (Eds.), *Memory laws and historical justice* (pp. 45–72). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-94914-3_3
- González, J. M. (2009). Spanish Literature and the Recovery of Historical Memory. *European Review*, 17(1), 177–185. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798709000647>
- Guerrero-Solé, F. (2022). La ideología de los medios. Medición de la inclinación política de los medios de comunicación españoles a través de las interacciones de los usuarios de Twitter [Media ideology. Measurement of the political inclination of the Spanish media through the interactions of Twitter users]. *Communication & Society*, 35(1), 29-43. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.35.1.29-43>
- Hermida, X. (2022, July 14). La Ley de Memoria Democrática sale adelante tras un tempestuoso debate [The Law of democratic memory moves forward after a heated debate]. *El País*. https://elpais.com/espana/2022-07-14/la-ley-de-memoria-democratica-sale-adelante-tras-un-tempestuoso-debate.html?event_log=go

- Hiru.eus. (n.d). *La transición española* [The Spanish transition].
<https://www.hiru.eus/es/historia/la-transicion-espanola>
- Hristova-Dijkstra, M. (2016). *Reimagining Spain: transnational entanglements and remembrance of the Spanish Civil War since 1989* (Publication No. 9789461595836) [Doctoral dissertation, Maastricht University]
<https://doi.org/10.26481/dis.20161020mh>
- Holmes, A. G. D. (2020). Researcher Positionality - A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research - A New Researcher Guide. *Shanlax International Journal of Education*, 8(4), 1-10. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1268044>
- Humphrey, M. (2014). Law, memory and amnesty in Spain. *Macquarie Law Journal*, 13, 25-40. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.218179165278850>
- Juan, J. (2022, July 7). Arrojar luz a la transición [Bringing light to the transition]. *La Vanguardia*. https://www.lavanguardia.com/opinion/20220707/8391426/arrojar-luz-transicion.html?_gl=1*6n2k1i*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU
- Koposov, N. (2020). Historians, memory laws, and the politics of the past. *European Papers* 5(1), 107-117. <https://doi.org/10.15166/2499-8249/390>
- Kostopoulos, C., & Mylonas, Y. (2022). Framing migration in the Greek press; An analysis of the ‘Evros events’ in left, liberal, and far-right newspapers. *Journalism*, 25(1), 158-179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221134000>
- La Moncloa. (2022, October 5). *El Senado aprueba de forma definitiva la Ley de Memoria Democrática* [The Senate definitively approves the Law of democratic memory].
 Lamoncloa.gob.es.
<https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/serviciosdeprensa/notasprensa/mpresidencia14/Paginas/2022/051022-bolanos-ley-memoria-democratica.aspx>
- La Vanguardia. (2022, October 5). El Senado aprueba de forma definitiva la nueva Ley de Memoria Democrática [The Senate definitively approves the new Law of democratic memory]. *La Vanguardia*.
<https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20221005/8556284/senado-aprueba-forma-definitiva-nueva-ley-memoria-democratica.html>

- Littoz-Monnet, A. (2012). The EU politics of remembrance: Can Europeans remember together? *West European Politics*, 35(5), 1182-1202.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2012.706416>
- Lucksted, D. (2022). Memory laws, mnemonic weapons: The diffusion of a norm across Europe and beyond. *Memory Studies*, 15(6), 1449-1469.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980221134036>
- Mancisidor, B, G. (2022, October 9). Memoria histórica-democrática: es de ley. [Historical-democratic memory: it is the law]. *elDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/zona-critica/memoria-historica-democratica-ley_129_9609638.html
- Matthes, J. (2012). Framing Politics: An Integrative Approach. *American Behavioral Scientist* 56(3), 247–259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426324>
- Mattoni, A., & Teune, S. (2014). Visions of Protest. A Media-Historic Perspective on Images in Social Movements. *Sociology Compass*, 8(6), 876-887.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12173>
- Moreno, W, J. (2022, July 18). No frivolicen con nuestra historia. [Do not minimise our history]. *El Español*. https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/columnas/20220718/no-frivolicen-historia/688561142_13.html
- Navarro, V. (2014). Las dos Españas: La monárquica y la republicana [The two Spains: the monarchical and the republican]. *Público*. <https://www.vnavarro.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/las-dos-espaaas-la-monarquica-y-la-republicana-p057-vdef2-080414-edit.pdf>
- Nicolas, M. M., Humanes, M. L., & Lapiedra, E. S. (2014). La mediatización de la política en el periodismo español. Análisis longitudinal de la información política en la prensa de referencia (1980-2010) [The mediatization of politics in Spanish journalism. An analysis of political information in the reference press (1980-2010)]. *Trípodos*, 34, 41-59. <https://shorturl.at/jlRZ1>
- Neiger, M. (2020). Theorizing Media Memory: Six elements defining the role of the media in shaping collective memory in the Digital age. *Sociology Compass*, 14(5).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12782>

- Neiger, M., Meyers, O., & Zandberg, E. (2011). On Media Memory: Editors' Introduction. In Hoskins, A., & Sutton, J. (Eds.), *On media memory: collective memory in a new media age* (pp. 1-26). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230307070>
- Neumayer, C., & Rossi, L. (2018). Images of protest in social media: Struggle over visibility and visual narratives. *New Media & Society*, 20(11), 4293-4310. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818770602>
- Paricio, P. S. (2017). ABC, El País y La Vanguardia frente a la memoria histórica. Tratamiento del fenómeno y últimas novedades del caso [ABC, El País and La Vanguardia versus historical memory. Treatment of the phenomenon and latest news on the case]. *Cahiers Du MIMMOC*, 18. <https://doi.org/10.4000/mimmoc.2624>
- Pichel, M. (2019, November 10). Elecciones en España: qué son "las dos Españas", las dos ideas de país enfrentadas durante décadas (y cómo se reflejan hoy en día) [Spanish elections: what are the "two Spains", the two nationally confronted ideas after decades (and how it reflects today)]. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-internacional-50315710>
- Prats, M. (2004). Una unidad didáctica sobre la prensa española [A didactic unit on Spanish press]. *Coloquio 2004 Japón y el mundo hispánico: enlaces culturales, literarios y lingüísticos*, 161-166. <https://shorturl.at/eiLU3>
- Ramírez, J. P. (2022, July 17). El puro de Groucho Sánchez [Groucho Sánchez's cigar]. *El Español*. https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/carta-del-director/20220717/puro-groucho-sanchez/688381156_20.html
- Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. (2023, July 21). *España* [Spain]. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/es/digital-news-report/2023/espana>
- Rico, M. (2022, July 10). La Estafa [The fraud]. *El Mundo*. <https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2022/07/10/62c9b4e5fc6c835b608b4595.html>
- Rigney, A. (2018). Remembrance as remaking: memories of the nation revisited. *Nations and Nationalism*, 24(2), 240-257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12388>
- Rosa, I. (2022, October 5). La ley de memoria y la memoria sin ley [The law of memory and

- the memory without law]. *elDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/zona-critica/ley-memoria-memoria-ley_129_9599786.html
- Rubí, R. M. (2022, July 13). En defensa de la memoria democrática [Defending democratic memory]. *elDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/tribuna-abierta/defensa-memoria-democratica_129_9168249.html
- Sreepada, N., & Aksoy, A. (2023). Digital Archives: How Western newspapers frame our remembrance of the Gezi Park protest. *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, 17(2), 123-144. <https://doi.org/10.2478/jnmlp-2023-0012>
- Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K., & Baden, C. (2016). Collective memory. In Mazzoleni, E. (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of political communication*, (pp. 1-6). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tirosh, N., & Gutman, Y. (2019). On media, memory and laws: The Israeli ‘Law Commemorating the Exile of Jews from Arab Countries and Iran’ (2014) as a case study. *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, 15(1), 49–67. https://doi.org/10.1386/macp.15.1.49_1
- Trapiello, A. (2022, July 11). En mi olvido mando yo [I am in charge of my oblivion]. *El Mundo*. <https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2022/07/11/62c9653221efa038718b4571.html>
- Tremlett, G. (2010, September 6). Eta's ceasefire statement decoded. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/sep/06/eta-ceasefire-statement>
- Vallí, P. (2022, July 14). El Congreso aprueba la nueva ley de memoria entre alusiones airadas de la oposición a ETA [Congress approves the new law of memory among angry allusions by the opposition to ETA]. *La Vanguardia*. <https://shorturl.at/3f1By>
- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 60-78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x>
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2008). Op-ed pages. In Franklin, B. (Ed.), *Pulling newspapers apart: Analysing Print Journalism* (pp. 67-74). Routledge.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203630709>

Wertsch, J. V., & Roediger, H. L. (2008). Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches. *Memory*, *16*(3), 318-326.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>

Zamorano Balmaseda, P., San Jose Pérez, A., & Cabirta Martín, A. (2023). *La silenciosa transformación que no cesa* [The silenced transformation does not stop]. Kreab.

<https://kreab.com/espana/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2023/01/paper-de-medios-online-version-final-compressed.pdf>

20Minutos. (2022, May 25). Qué es GfK DAM, el medidor oficial de consumo digital de medios de comunicación en España [What is GfK, the official digital consumption meter of the Spanish media]. *20minutos*.

<https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/5005410/0/que-es-gfk-dam-medidor-oficial-consumo-digital-medios-espana/>

Appendix A

Name of the newspaper	Article link	Date	Type of article
El País	https://elpais.com/opinion/2022-07-07/ley-de-desmemoria-democratica.html	07.07.2022	opinion piece
El País	https://elpais.com/espana/2022-07-09/fejoo-en-el-homenaje-a-miguel-angel-blanco-prometo-derogar-la-ley-de-memoria-democratica.html	09.07.2022	news article
El País	https://elpais.com/espana/2022-07-14/el-pp-provoca-una-foto-con-victimas-del-terrorismo-en-pleno-debate-de-la-ley-de-memoria-para-sugerir-su-desacuerdo.html	14.07.2022	news article
El País	https://elpais.com/espana/2022-07-14/la-ley-de-memoria-democratica-sale-adelante-tras-un-tempestuoso-debate.html	14.07.2022	news article
El País	https://elpais.com/espana/2022-07-17/un-comisionado-de-la-onu-lamenta-el-desafortunado-debate-en-espana-sobre-la-ley-de-memoria.html	17.07.2022	news article
El País	https://elpais.com/opinion/2022-07-18/seguridad-por-extravagancia.html	18.07.2022	opinion piece
El País	https://elpais.com/opinion/2022-07-20/ley-de-memoria-reflexion-postuma.html	20.07.2022	opinion piece
El País	https://elpais.com/opinion/2022-10-01/kant-negrin-y-la-memoria-democratica.html	01.10.2022	opinion piece
El País	https://elpais.com/espana/2022-10-10/la-familia-de-primo-de-rivera-pide-exhumar-sus-restos-con-discrecion-del-valle-de-los-caidos.html	10.10.2022	news article
El País	https://elpais.com/espana/2022-10-10/cainita-o-deber-moral-dos-visiones-enfrentadas-en-los-debates-de-las-leyes-de-memoria.html	10.10.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/adios-nobleza-franco-recipientes-33-titulos-eliminara-futura-ley-memoria_1_9149362.html	10.10.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/comunitat-valenciana/opinion/ley-memoria-democratica-revanchismo-timidez-norma_129_9163088.html	12.07.2022	opinion piece
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/tribuna-abierta/defensa-memoria-democratica_129_9168249.html	13.07.2022	opinion piece
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/congreso-aprueba-ley-memoria-democratica-oposicion-derechas-abstencion-erc_1_9170059.html	14.07.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/ilegalidad-dictadura-renombrar-valle-caidos-claves-nueva-ley-memoria-democratica_1_9170193.html	14.07.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/politica/ley-memoria-atacan-derecha-sectores-psoe-investigacion-abre-primer-gobierno-gonzalez_1_9170205.html	15.07.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/zona-critica/problema-no-bildu-pp_129_9177169.html	16.07.2023	opinion piece

elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/ministros-amigos-familiares-titulos-dictador-otorgo-durante-franquismo-seran-anulados_1_9581908.html	01.10.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/zona-critica/ley-memoria-memoria-ley_129_9599786.html	05.10.2022	opinion piece
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/politica/pp-pidio-parlamento-mantener-maxima-condecoracion-franquista-tenian-mussolini-hitler_1_9602990.html	06.10.2022	news article
elDiario.es	https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/zona-critica/memoria-historica-democratica-ley_129_9609638.html	09.10.2022	opinion piece
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/opinion/20220707/8391130/lujo-mirar.html?_gl=1*1eqawy4*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU_	07.07.2022	opinion piece
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/opinion/20220707/8391426/arrojar-luz-transicion.html?_gl=1*6n2k1i*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU_	07.07.2022	opinion piece
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20220711/8401296/historicos-psoe-firman-manifiesto-ley-memoria.html?_gl=1*26azej*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU_	11.07.2022	news article
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20220714/8408438/imagen-erc-abandonan-congreso-turno-vox.html?_gl=1*sa5jyi*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU_	14.07.2022	news article
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20220714/8409098/congreso-aprueba-nueva-ley-memoria-alusiones-airadas-oposicion-eta.html?_gl=1*1xple0b*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU_	14.07.2022	news article
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20220714/8409383/congreso-aprueba-ley-memoria-desbloqueo-constitucional.html?_gl=1*26azej*_gcl_au*OTI4NDM0Njk5LjE3MDUxNjUzOTU_	14.07.2022	news article
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20220716/8412917/ley-memoria-democratica-historia-victimas-franquismo.html	16.07.2022	news article
La Vanguardia	https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20221005/8556284/senado-aprueba-forma-definitiva-nueva-ley-memoria-democratica.html	05.10.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2022/07/10/62c9b4e5fc6c835b608b4595.html	10.07.2022	opinion piece
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2022/07/11/62c9653221efa038718b4571.html	11.07.2022	opinion piece
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/11/62cbfd79e4d4d8ed648b4581.html	11.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/12/62cd81ea21efa066698b45d1.html	12.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/13/62ceae5dfdddffe2558b45a6.html	13.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2022/07/14/62d04c97fc6c839d2e8b4588.html	14.07.2022	opinion piece

El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/14/62d05102fc6c8303208b45e5.html	14.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/14/62d029efe4d4d8e9298b45bf.html	14.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/14/62cffe7621efa0a7508b45a9.html	14.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/07/15/62d12713e4d4d8bd3f8b4580.html	15.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/elecciones/elecciones-generales/2023/07/17/64b5a278fc6c8333668b45b7.html	17.07.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/10/04/633c69b721efa05b138b45d0.html	04.10.2022	news article
El Mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/10/05/633d8252fdddff15618b45aa.html	05.10.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220714/fejoo-victimas-terrorismo-bildu-defiende-ley-memoria/687681417_0.html	14.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220714/gobierno-ley-memoria-tildando-transicion-legalizacion-fascismo/687681495_0.html	14.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/columnas/20220709/elige-manos-quieres-levantar/686311378_13.html	09.07.2022	opinion piece
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220709/memoria-presidente-bildu-zapatero-gonzalez-aznar-rajoy/686181507_0.html	09.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/columnas/20220709/nadie-victima-partida-nacimiento/686311385_13.html	09.07.2022	opinion piece
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220711/exdirigentes-psoe-pedro-sanchez-ley-memoria-democratica/686931331_0.html	11.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220712/felix-bolanos-responde-exdirigentes-psoe-ley-memoria/687181315_0.html	12.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220715/yolanda-diaz-historia-ley-memoria-psoe-bildu/687681610_0.html	15.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20220717/evidencias-afloraron-debate-memoria-avivan-discordia-espanoles/687931337_0.html	17.07.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/carta-del-director/20220717/puro-groucho-sanchez/688381156_20.html	17.07.2022	opinion piece
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/columnas/20220718/no-frivolicen-historia/688561142_13.html	18.07.2022	opinion piece
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/20221005/senado-polemica-ley-memoria-democratica-psoe-bildu/708429454_0.html	05.10.2022	news article
El Español	https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20221006/nuevos-festivos-adn-jovenes-funcionarios-ley-memoria/708429586_0.html	06.10.2022	news article