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UNIVERSIDAD PABLO DE OLAVIDE

TESIS DOCTORAL

**THE RETURN OF FIRST-GENERATION REPUBLICAN
EXILES: A HISTORICAL TRIANGULATION OF
SPANISH REFUGEES REPATRIATING BACK TO SPAIN
1936 – 2010**

AUTOR

MAURICIO ESCOBAR DERAS

DIRECTORA

LIDIA BCANEGRA BARBECHO

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History shows that it is not only senseless and cruel, but also difficult to state who is a foreigner.

Claudio Magris (1986)

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I started doing research on the Spanish Civil War in the year 2000, with no idea of the eventuality of writing a doctoral thesis on it 22 years later. I've realized that reaching this point has only been possible because I have counted on people to, directly and indirectly, listen to my contemplations and support me with their ideas and perspectives. I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the following individuals who in their part made my search possible:

First, I would like to profoundly acknowledge my wife Malia Nora Politzer who has supported me through thick and thin and believed in my work and insight. Through the trials and tribulations of being new parents to Frieda Juanita, she, along with my daughter, become my bedrock and the source of my greatest strength, my family. I could not have finished if not for her motivation and support; I could not have had the peace and clarity of mind if she had not taken over parental roles and been my "buddy" in sleepless mornings, shielding each other when we still needed to work and coffee was not enough.

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I also want to thank my parents, siblings and adoptive parents for simply being the right distraction from work. To my parents Jorge and Gladys, and brethren, who simply supported me regardless of what it was and who believed in whatever I decided to do. To Joan and Greg Wright for taking me in as their adoptive son and extending their arms to include my growing family; to John, for being family from the first day; to Edward and Mike for keeping the long line of kinship through the distance and pandemic. To Pavel Panteleev for his friendship and for forging the exile map beyond my 2D limitations.

Lastly, I would like to thank the various individuals who shared their thoughts and stories throughout this research, especially the questionnaire respondents and interviewees. Thank you so much for opening memories that at times were difficult to voice but always alleviating to share.

ABSTRACT

The Return Phenomenon of Spanish refugee exiles who repatriated back to Spain is a relatively new field under the history umbrella of the Spanish Civil War. It is developing and evolving into its own specific branching studies. However, the phenomenon as a whole still lacks a broader understanding of its diverse elements. Our approach has been fundamentally a methodologically driven one. Its hypotheses, questions, research, and conclusions are generated from work endeavoring to follow empirical research on social and subjective elements such as life trajectories, collective history, and migratory experiences; while structuring and codifying qualitative memories of what people have sustained in order to triangulate a common understanding through a mix-method approach analysis. We then extricated prevailing outlines of first-generation repatriates (therein known as Returnees), to tentatively ascribe them to the greater phenomenon. Guided by our thesis objectives, care was taken to separate the quantifiable from its qualifying data to then re-merge specific aspects of the research, which yielded the first four published articles of this thesis. There are two additional sections that were specifically written to meet our thesis objectives and whose early findings will later be submitted to peer-review journals. Structurally, we have first presented the guidelines for which we are presenting the thesis, and subsequently, an indexed quality of publications, qualifying the four publications.

In the introduction, we further detail the recent origins of the Return subfield and reasoning for our investigation; defining the rather large range of time in our focus and our main study subject, the first-generation emigrant-exile, forced to émigré outside of Spain and later return to its new government, territory, and society. The historiography is also explained to better outline where this thesis falls and what it sets out to do. Equally, the thesis limitations are outlined to better delineate the scope of work done, that which is still pending or omitted, and that which was not conceived of when first outlining our tasks.

In the next section of our thesis, we compiled our four overarching objectives with our initial framework and scope. These being the reconstruction of exile and return paths; detailed and reasoned strategies of return; triangulating commonalities and differences; and finally,

visually exploring the large time frame of all returns. A graphical diagram is used to simplify and compare the four publications, along with two additional thesis chapters, and how each publication's focus and research pair with the four main objectives.

For the methodology section, we first defined the field by indexing the literature written on the Return phenomenon and delineated what makes a Returnee different from a migrant returning "home." Next, we outlined the creation and purpose of the two distinct databases and the reasoning for them. In short, the returnee data in literary studies (RD-LN), focused more on the quantifiable (QN) aspects of returnees; while the returnee data in social networks (RD-SN) concentrated more on the qualified (QL) narratives and experiences through the memory of the respondents. These recollections were captured through a questionnaire specifically designed to expressly collect both QN and QL data. Later, both databases were merged into one source called M-database that aggregated and separated 269 individuals and their 26 sub-data-entry fields. We also profiled the six individual interviews and the conditions under which they took place. We then outlined how the phases of research were divided into their various tasks and work. An illustration at the end of the section visually depicts the methodological framework and its various tasks as research was conducted.

Having defined and outlined our reasoning, objectives, and methodology, we focus on the results section where we reproduced the four publications as accepted by the various publishers in their corresponding journal-required formatting style. An official APA citation and an addendum description for each published article inaugurate each of the first four sections. This was done to provide context and reasoning for the corresponding article and to provide unexpected thoughts and summaries that perhaps did not make it to the published text due to length, theme, or scope of work.

In the first published article, we explored the decision-making process and reasoning for returning to Spain while classifying the various types of strategies employed. In this way, we categorized the various modes and types of returns as they transpired during Francisco Franco's reign and afterward, introducing four new types of returns and accompanying strategies to the emerging field: Jail, Dead, Economic and Political returns. We also expanded on the previously identified types of returns (Permanent, Failed, Involuntary, Temporary, Clandestine), and

introduced our corresponding strategies. We also introduced our system of partitioning the long span of time that our thesis covers into what would later become the three distinct time periods, the First and Second Francoist, and the Post-Franco period. In this first article, the focus was on different types of returns and thus time was either during Franco or Post-Franco.

In our second article, we endeavor to identify the various archetypes of returning women by the receiving country in which they were exiled. We focused on the four largest receivers, France, Mexico, the Soviet Union, and Argentina, per the M-database. We concluded that age and the duration of the exile period were statistically the biggest modifiers in terms of how these women were “uprooted,” and how this, in turn, affected them upon their repatriation back to Spain. With its relatively short exile period, the French grouping of women mostly returned to their city of origin; while on the opposite side of the spectrum, the Soviet grouping chose to resettle elsewhere in Spain. The Argentinian grouping, with its members being mature professional women, also followed suit. The Mexican grouping was the most diverse in their resettlement and well-off per capita, indicating the favorable social-economic conditions for Spanish refugees.

In the third article, we plotted the physical locations of where returnees resettled in Spain, incorporating the seven decades of time and comparing these new localities to their individual birth city. We surveyed patterns of repatriation in time, by decades, and also gender-specific. Our results reveal that the majority of M-data returnees repatriated during Franco’s period of rule and that most women resettled back to their birth cities as compared to the men. A strong factor in this was the fact that women did not face the same punitive governmental and societal backlash as the men. Furthermore, after the death of Franco, a wave of long-term exiles returned to Spain, resettling in larger cities, different from their hometowns. The overall Return for these individuals was not uniform and was influenced by external social-political forces. Even after their return to Spain, their “exile” continued internally, for commonly, they were anachronistically separate from the Spanish society that they remembered to the one they encountered.

In the fourth published article, we concentrated on the shared collective memory of the return experience as an aggregation of the Exit and Exile understanding; how the memory of the

return was as dominant and dynamic as the preceding exile period. We utilized an online questionnaire to quantify the respondents' answers and calculated the rate and transmission of familial memory; how postmemory is echoed across time and refracted through generations. This was in conjunction with the analysis of five interviews to further elaborate on the selective recollections of their escape from the conflict (exit), life in Exile, and the often turbulent Return experiences. Collectively, the Return memories depicted Spain as a backward country with a closed and unforgiving society, akin to recollections of outsiders encountering the new.

Two additional chapters or sections were written and added in the result section in order to fully meet the four main thesis objectives. Thesis section IV.5, sets out to visually trace and outline the individual life trajectories of Returnees and their respective exiles and returns, incorporating all seventy years till 2010. We document how we generated an online visual storytelling map using open source software and code. We aimed to make the resulting global map interactive and dynamic, however, unforeseen technical challenges left it still as a work in progress. Nonetheless, it served to display the range and scale of the Spanish diaspora. As a comparative tool itself, it clearly highlighted gender differences between women and men, as well as, the differences between the length or duration of exiles per individual and country; as well as the resettlement preference pattern for women to return to their birth cities and the more varied opposite option for men. It summarized the third published article's findings visually.

In the second thesis section added, IV.6, we compared two second-generation women as they remember their first-generation fathers. We explored the differences and likeness of these four individuals through the lens of personal and familial memory, as the men were remembered and their memories of the war were shared with their daughters. We found that the first-generation male, as veteran officers, shared more commonalities than their respective daughters. For the latter, the women's age difference and mental state of mind at the time of their respective returns drastically set them apart, influencing them, their postmemory, and world views.

In the conclusion, we abridge and review key concluding statements and add final closing perspectives, elaborating on previous conclusions and assertions. By them, we hope to encapsulate our findings while exploring more holistic ways of defining the overall Return Phenomenon experience and the men and women who lived it.

RESUMEN

El fenómeno del retorno de los refugiados-exiliados españoles a España, bajo el paraguas de la historia de la Guerra Civil española, es un campo relativamente nuevo que se está desarrollando y evolucionando cada vez más en estudios divididos. Sin embargo, todavía carece de una comprensión amplia por el hecho de ser tan complejo. En esta tesis, nos propusimos explorar una visión de conjunto, ampliar la definición y crear un punto de partida de dicho fenómeno mediante la triangulación específica de las similitudes y diferencias de una muestra de individuos de primera generación que regresaron tras un periodo de exilio, desde 1936 hasta 2010, y sus datos personales. Nuestro enfoque ha sido fundamentalmente una orientación metodológica. Sus hipótesis, preguntas, investigaciones y conclusiones se han generado a partir de un trabajo que intenta seguir la investigación empírica sobre elementos sociales y subjetivos como las trayectorias vitales, la historia colectiva y las experiencias migratorias; al tiempo que se estructuran y codifican las memorias de lo que las personas han sostenido.

Tal y como hemos definido en nuestros objetivos, hemos tenido cuidado en separar lo cuantificable de lo calificable para luego refundir aspectos específicos de la investigación. De este modo, se han publicado los distintos artículos y apartados de esta tesis; los cuales son desglosados en la sección de índice que les califica sus impactos. En la siguiente sección, la introducción, detallamos además los orígenes recientes del subcampo del Retorno y el argumentación de nuestra investigación; definiendo también el rango temporal amplio de nuestro enfoque y nuestro sujeto principal de estudio, el emigrante-exiliado de primera generación; cuál fue obligado a emigrar fuera de su país y que posteriormente regresó a la sociedad o territorio español. Igualmente, se apuntan las limitaciones de la tesis para delimitar mejor el alcance del trabajo realizado y el que queda pendiente u omitido.

En la siguiente sección de objetivos, recopilamos nuestros cuatro objetivos generales con nuestro marco teórico y alcance como fue inicialmente especulado. Que era reconstruir las trayectorias de exilio y retorno; detallar y razonar las estrategias de retorno; triangular los puntos comunes y las diferencias; y, por último, explorar visualmente el amplio marco temporal de todos los retornos individuales. Para simplificar y comparar las cuatro publicaciones, junto con

los dos capítulos adicionales de la tesis, se utiliza un diagrama gráfico para ver el enfoque de cada publicación y como esto corresponde con los cuatro objetivos principales.

Para la sección de metodología, primero definimos el campo mediante la indexación de la literatura sobre el fenómeno del retorno. A continuación, esbozamos la creación y la finalidad de las dos bases de datos distintas. Primera, la base de datos de los retornados en los estudios literarios (RD-LN), cual se centraba más en los aspectos cuantificables (QN) de los retornados; mientras que segunda base de datos, de los retornados en las redes sociales (RD-SN), se concentraba más en las narrativas y experiencias cualificadas (QL) a través de la memoria de los encuestados. Estos recuerdos se captaron mediante un cuestionario diseñado específicamente para recoger de forma secuencial tanto los datos QN como los QL. Posteriormente, ambas bases de datos se fusionaron en una única fuente denominada base de datos M, que agregaba y separaba a 269 individuos y sus 26 campos de sub-datos. También afinamos las seis entrevistas individuales y las condiciones en las que tuvieron lugar. A continuación, delineamos cómo se dividieron las fases de la investigación en sus distintas tareas y trabajos. Al final de la sección incluimos una ilustración que describe el marco metodológico y sus diversas tareas a medida que se realizaba la investigación.

Nuestros razonamientos una vez definidos y elaborados, conjunto a nuestros objetivos y metodología, reproducimos las cuatro publicaciones tal y como fueron aceptadas por las distintas editoriales en la sección de Resultados; anotando sus citas formales. En la primera publicación, exploramos el proceso de toma de decisiones y el razonamiento para regresar, al tiempo que clasificamos los distintos tipos de estrategias empleadas para regresar. De este modo, categorizamos los diversos modos y tipos de retorno tal y como se produjeron durante el reinado de Francisco Franco y posteriormente, introduciendo cuatro nuevos tipos de retorno en el campo emergente: Retornos carcelarios, muertos, económicos y políticos. En nuestro segundo artículo, tratamos de identificar los distintos arquetipos de mujeres retornadas según el país receptor en el que se exiliaron. Nos centramos en los cuatro más grandes, según el conjunto de datos M, Francia, México, la Unión Soviética y Argentina; concluyendo que la edad y la duración del período de exilio, fueron estadísticamente el mayor modificador en términos de cómo estas mujeres fueron "afectadas", y cómo esto a su vez, las afectó en su repatriación a España.

En el tercer artículo, trazamos las ubicaciones físicas de los lugares donde las repatriadas se asentaron en España, incorporando las siete décadas de tiempo y comparando estas nuevas localidades con su ciudad de nacimiento individual. Estudiamos los patrones de repatriación en el tiempo hecho, por décadas, y también en función de género. Nuestros resultados revelan que la mayoría de los retornados se repatriaron durante el periodo de gobierno de Franco y que la mayoría de las mujeres se asentaron en sus ciudades de nacimiento, a diferencia de los hombres. Además, tras la muerte de Franco, una oleada de exiliados de larga duración regresó a España, instalándose en ciudades más grandes, diferentes de sus ciudades de nacimiento. Tres vistosos gráficos de datos demuestran las conclusiones del artículo.

En el cuarto artículo publicado, nos concentramos en la memoria colectiva compartida de la experiencia del retorno como una agregación de la comprensión de la salida y el exilio; cómo la memoria del retorno es tan dominante y dinámica como el exilio precedente. Utilizamos el cuestionario y cuantificamos a los encuestados para calcular el índice y la transmisión de la memoria familiar y cómo se comparte a través del tiempo y las generaciones. Utilizamos los encuestados del cuestionario junto con cinco entrevistas para elaborar plenamente los recuerdos selectivos de las experiencias de salida, exilio y retorno compartidas por los individuos.

Se redactaron dos tesis de capítulo adicionales que se añadieron en la sección de resultados para cumplir plenamente los cuatro objetivos principales de la tesis. El capítulo de tesis IV.5 se propone trazar y perfilar visualmente las trayectorias individuales de sus respectivos exilios y retornos, incorporando los setenta años. Se ha procurado que el mapa global resultante sea interactivo y dinámico; sin embargo, los problemas técnicos imprevistos han hecho que siga siendo un trabajo en curso. Sirve para mostrar el alcance y la escala de la diáspora española; y como herramienta comparativa en sí misma, destaca claramente las diferencias de género entre mujeres y hombres, así como las diferencias entre la duración de los exilios por individuos y países. Muestra claramente el patrón de preferencia de reasentamiento de las mujeres para volver a sus ciudades de nacimiento y la opción opuesta más variada de los hombres.

La tesis del segundo capítulo añadido, IV.6, compara a dos mujeres de la segunda generación y a sus padres de la primera generación. Las diferencias y las similitudes se exploran a través del lente de la memoria personal y familiar, tal y como fue recordada y a través de las

generaciones, compartida. Los padres de primera generación, ambos veteranos de la guerra civil, tenían más puntos en común que sus respectivas hijas. En el caso de estas últimas, la diferencia de edad y el estado mental en el momento de sus respectivos regresos, las diferenció drásticamente e influyó en su memoria posterior y en la visión del mundo de sus padres. En la última sección, la conclusión, volvemos a esbozar rápidamente las distintas secciones de la tesis, con un repaso abreviado de las principales afirmaciones finales, y añadimos perspectivas para mejor encapsular el contexto variable del Fenómeno del Retorno.

GUIDELINES

This European doctoral thesis has been elaborated according to the University of Granada's "grouping of publications" modality, otherwise known as compendium. The components of it have been published as articles in international double peer-reviewed scientific journals and as indexed in the *SCImago Journal & Country Rank* (SJR) database, Scopus or in books of independent publishers in the *Scholarly Publishers Indicators* in Humanities and Social Science (SPI) database. Although the various journals require different writing standards, this thesis has been standardized with the 7th Edition American Psychological Association (APA) standard, with American grammar and punctuation. However, the article publications in the result section of this thesis have been left in their journal-specific formatting since they were accepted and published by these standardized writing metrics. Lastly, this thesis has also been compiled in accordance with the university's Governing Council's provisions of May 2, 2012, and its amendments on October 30, 2013, and February 25, 2020. Known as : TEXTO REFUNDIDO DE LAS NORMAS REGULADORAS DE LAS ENSEÑANZAS OFICIAL DE DOCTORADO Y DEL TÍTULO DE DOCTOR POR LA UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA. Translated to: Revised text of the regulation governing the official teaching of doctoral studies and the doctoral degree at the University of Granada.

In Chapter I of The Doctoral Thesis of the second title, the Doctoral Thesis section established that it shall adhere to the following:

Article 18. The doctoral thesis.

1. The doctoral thesis shall consist of an original research work prepared by the candidate in any field of knowledge that will be framed in one of the lines of research of the Doctoral Program in which he/she is enrolled.
2. The thesis must enable the doctoral candidate to work independently in the field of R+D+i.

3. The thesis must have, at least, the following contents: title, abstract, introduction, objectives, methodology, results, conclusions and bibliography.
4. A doctoral thesis may also consist of the regrouping in a report of research work published by the doctoral student in relevant scientific media in his or her field of knowledge.

The articles that make up the doctoral thesis must be published or accepted after the date of obtaining the bachelor's and master's degree and may not have been used in any previous thesis.

If the publication has been made by several authors, in addition to the doctoral student, the declaration of the remaining authors of not having presented such publication in another doctoral thesis or the waiver to do so must be attached.

In this modality, the thesis must have, in addition to the sections mentioned in the previous point, the articles that compose it, either integrated as chapters of the thesis or as an Annex.

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The Steering Committee of the corresponding Doctoral School may establish the minimum number of articles required to submit a thesis in this modality and additional conditions on the quality of the work (new wording approved by the Governing Council on October 30, 2013).

5. The thesis may be written and, where appropriate, defended, in the usual languages for scientific communication in their field of knowledge. If the thesis is written in another language, it must include a comprehensive summary in Spanish.

The International Graduate School of the University of Granada has dictated the following:

On the cover and title page of the thesis will appear:

- University of Granada, together with the institutional coat of arms.
- Doctoral Program.
- Title of the Thesis.
- Author.

The doctoral thesis should include a page in the initial pages where both the doctoral candidate and his/her directors guarantee that the rights of other authors to be cited have been respected, when their results or publications have been used.

Source: <http://escuelaposgrado.ugr.es/doctorado/estudiantes/tesis>
[accessed: July 16, 2021].

Regarding the “grouping of publications” modality, the International Graduate School of the University of Granada has ruled as follows:

The recommendation of the Doctoral Advisory Board is that to use this type of format a minimum of three articles should be used and that a report with the impact factor of the publications submitted should be included. In those areas where this criterion is not applicable, it will be replaced by the bases related by the National Commission for the Evaluation of Research Activity (CNEAI) for these scientific fields.

The Academic Committees of the Doctoral Programs may require additional conditions to those reflected in this web page. You should consult the website of the doctoral program and the corresponding Doctoral School to check if additional conditions have been published.

The doctoral student must respect the intellectual property rights related to the dissemination of the articles used in the doctoral thesis. The articles must appear in the version permitted or authorized by the journal.

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Source: <http://escuelaposgrado.ugr.es/doctorado/estudiantes/tesis>
[accessed: July 16, 2021].

Regarding the classification of a “European Doctorate,” it meets and conforms with the following International Post-Graduate and Migrations Institute guidelines:

The mention "European Doctor" may be included on the obverse of the title of Doctor, provided that the following circumstances are present:

1. That, during the training period necessary to obtain the doctoral degree, the doctoral candidate has completed a minimum stay of three months outside Spain in a higher education institution or research center of a member state of the European Union, studying or carrying out research work that has been recognized by the university.
2. That part of the doctoral thesis, at least the abstract and conclusions, has been written and is presented in one of the official languages of the European Union other than any of the official languages in Spain.
3. The thesis has been informed by a minimum of two experts belonging to a higher education institution or research institute of a Member State of the European Union other than Spain.

4. That at least one expert belonging to a higher education institution or research center of a Member State of the European Union other than Spain, with the title of doctor, and different from the person responsible for the stay referred to in paragraph 1 and those mentioned in paragraph 3, has been part of the evaluation board of the thesis.
5. The defense of the thesis must be carried out at the University in which the doctoral candidate was enrolled.

Source: <http://doctorados.ugr.es/migraciones/pages/organizacion/internacional>
[accessed: July 16, 2021].

Finally, regarding the indexes of quality and impact, the National Commission for the Evaluation of Research Activity (CNEAI) has been used as a reference. In the resolution of November 23, 2017, it states the following regarding the field of History, Geography and arts:




In the evaluation of articles, the means of dissemination used will be taken into account, with publication in journals of recognized value being accepted as an indication of quality. The inclusion of journals in international databases will be considered as a quality reference; specifically, those indexed in the Web of Science databases (*Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *Social Science Citation Index*, *Science Citation Index*, *Science Citation Index*, *Journal Citation Reports*, and *Emerging Sources Citation Index*) or those that occupy relevant positions in *Scimago Journal Rank*, as well as journals included in the *International Medieval Bibliography*, *RILMS Abstracts of Music Literature*, etc., will also be considered as a quality reference. Other national and international journals that may be included in different databases but which, in the opinion of the advisory committee, show signs of comparable quality and satisfy the criteria specified in the appendix to this Resolution, may also be considered. Electronic journals will be subject to the same criteria as other journals. The mere indexing or indexing of a publication in a directory or database without the inclusion of indexing indices is not in itself an indication of quality.

In the evaluation of books and book chapters, special consideration will be given to the prestige of the publisher and the existence of a selective procedure for the acceptance of originals according to systems included in the *Scholarly Publishers Indicators*, and paying particular attention to the position it occupies in this ranking. The number and nature of citations received, reviews and criticisms in specialized journals, the collection, translation into other languages, etc. will also be taken into account. With these indications of quality, the artist's monographic catalogs or catalogs will be evaluated, which must clearly reflect that they are the result of research or documented reflection on aesthetics or art theory. Likewise, these criteria will be taken into account for the evaluation of conference proceedings. Translations of the work itself into other languages will not be considered as new contributions.


INDEX QUALITY OF PUBLICATIONS

In view of the aforementioned regulations, the resulting chapters include the full texts of two articles published in impact journals and two book chapters from prestigious publishers. All four address the objectives of this research from different perspectives and triangulations. The following tables detail the rankings of journals, publishers, and publications according to the most up-to-date information corresponding to the year of publication. All four published articles were calibrated with the aim of their respective peer-reviewed journals.



PUBLICATION N° 1

Author(s)	Mauricio Escobar Deras
Year	2019
Title	A methodological approach to the Spanish Republican exile return
Title in	Una aproximación metodológica al retorno de exiliados republicanos
Journal	Quiroga. Revista de Patrimonio Iberoamericano
ISSN	2254-7037
Volume	15
Pages	20-30
DOI-URL	https://doi.org/10.30827/quiroga.v0i15.251
Quality Index	IMPACT FACTOR AND POSITION IN ITS CATEGORY OF THE
	Data from Scimago Journal & Country Rank (2020):
	- Impact Factor: 0.1
	- Categories and quartiles: Visual Arts and Performing Arts (Q4);
	Integrated Classification of Scientific Journals (ICSR) data: B-ranking
Quiroga	MIAR ICDS: 9.5
	Journal Indexed in:
	- Academic search premier (Ebsco)
	- Integrated Classification of Scientific Journals - CIRC
	- Communication Source (Ebsco)
	- Informe Académico (Cengage)
	- Dialnet (University of La Rioja)
	- Academic Source Plus (Ebsco)
	- Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ)
	- ERIH Plus
	- Resh CSIC
	- CSIC InDICES
	- Google Scholar
	- Web of Science - Emerging Sources Citation Index (Clarivate)
	- Scopus (Elsevier)
	- Recyt, Spanish Repository of Science and Technology (FECYT)

PUBLICATION N° 2

Author	Mauricio Escobar Deras, Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho
Year	2020
Title	Women's profiles: First generation of Spanish Civil War Republican exiles
Book	Women: Opportunities and Challenges
Publisher	Nova Science Publisher, Social and Behavioral Sciences
ISBN	978-1-53618-449-5
Editor	Eligio Fallaci
Pages	241-271
DOI-URL	https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5833527
Title in	Perfiles de mujeres: Primera generación de republicanas exiliadas de la Guerra
Quality Index	IMPACT FACTOR AND POSITION IN ITS CATEGORY OF THE
	EDITORIAL PRESTIGE AND ORIGINALS SELECTION PROCEDURE
	Web of science, Clarivete, Master Book List rankings.
	Selection procedures were based on:
	-A selection and editorial committee by the publisher.

PUBLICATION N° 3

Author	Mauricio Escobar Deras
Year	2021
Title	Resettlement patterns: a quantitative and exploratory digital approximation of
Title in	Patrones de reasentamiento: Una aproximación digital cuantitativa y
Journal	Hispania Nova
ISSN	1138-7319
Volume	1
Pages	152-168
DOI-URL	https://doi.org/10.20318/hn.2021.6182
Quality Index	IMPACT FACTOR AND POSITION IN ITS CATEGORY OF THE
	Data from Scimago Journal & Country Rank (2020):
	- Impact Factor: 0.2
	- Categories and quartiles: History (Q1)
	Integrated Classification of Scientific Journals (ICSR) data: B-ranking

H-INDEX	MIAR ICDS: 4.9
3	Journal Indexed in:
	- Academic search premier (Ebsco)
	- Integrated Classification of Scientific Journals - CIRC
	- Communication Source (Ebsco)
	- Informe Académico (Cengage)
	- Dialnet (University of La Rioja)
	- Academic Source Plus (Ebsco)
	- Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ)
	- ERIH Plus
	- Resh CSIC
	- CSIC InDICES
	- Google Scholar
	-Web of Science- Emerging Sources Citation Index (Clarivate)

PUBLICATION N° 4. IN PRESS

Author	Mauricio Escobar Deras, Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho
Year	2022
Title	Shared memory, inherited memory: analysis of the phenomenon of individual
Book	Redes políticas desde el exilio iberoamericano
Publisher	CIALC-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)
ISBN	TBD
Editor	José Francisco Mejía Flores
Pages	TBD
DOI-URL	TBD
Title in	Memoria compartida, memoria heredada: análisis del fenómeno del retorno
SPI	IMPACT FACTOR AND POSITION IN ITS CATEGORY OF THE
	EDITORIAL PRESTIGE AND ORIGINALS SELECTION PROCEDURE
	Web of science, Clarivete, Master Book List rankings of publishers.
	Selection procedures were based on:TBD

I. INTRODUCTION

The following doctoral thesis by compendium is a broad survey of the Return phenomenon of Spanish exiles. It attempts to define macro parameters, and distinctive time periods and presents hypotheses of the phenomenon as a whole by understanding distinct components like collective memory, strategies, types of return, and resettlement patterns. This covers the seventy-four years from 1936 to 2010, as subdivided into three distinct periods, the first and second Francoist periods (*Primer & Segundo Franquismo*), and the Post-Franco period. Although taken into account, the years of the Civil War (1936-1939), are not analyzed as being part of the overall common return experience due to the extraordinary circumstances of the fighting period. Thus the returns of these individuals take center stage as they logistically navigated these various times in Spain. Starting with the first period (1939-1959), the most time-consuming and dangerous for a returnee who was guilty until proven innocent due to Franco's 1939 law of political responsibility (Ruiz, 2005). As a country in these two decades, Spain underwent drastic socio-economic changes that are fields of study in their own right and that cannot be easily surmised. However, the more poignant laws and societal norms regarding Republican returnees are addressed since they serve as the backdrop through which returnees maneuvered through. The second Francoist period (1960-1975), a period characterized by Spain's economic development was less politically austere by comparison but the social exclusion of returnees still remained. The third and final period was triggered by the death of Franco in 1975 (1975-2010). It encompasses the largest amount of time, including Spain's transition to democracy (1975-1982)¹ and the fall of the Soviet Union (1991), but is not as represented nor as deeply analyzed in this thesis as the previous periods for two reasons. First, there is a relatively low number of returnees per year, and second, the returnees of these decades had no major political nor social restrictions in their planning, travel or resettlement once in Spain.

¹ The transition to democracy is being defined from the death of Franco to the general election of October, 1982.

The reason why this thesis took a top-overview approach is that the Return phenomenon for this historical event and people is not well-defined nor understood due to it being overshadowed by the fame of the bellicose period of the Civil War and by the long-lasting exile phase that was itself dwarfed by the Second World War and Cold War (de Hoyos Puente, 2017, p. 297). In this light, the returning Spaniards to their “homeland” were generally seen as the “closing” of the exile period and not as its own development (de Hoyos Puente, 2016, p. 5). The Second World War shifted the focus from the Spanish Civil War and amplified the fighting across the world. Refugee populations were truly everywhere the fighting took place, especially in Europe; the Spanish diaspora was but one of the thousands of displaced peoples and communities around the world (Berger, 1947, p. 46). Hence, the researchers who focused on Spanish Republicans naturally did so via the Civil War or its direct exile aftermath, including the branching subject themes related to the two.

Among the academics that began to focus on the return phenomenon, they innately segment the various historical elements of the return and focus on individuals, specific themes, genders and so forth. These included focusing on the Children of war (González-Allende, 2014; González Martínez, 2003); gender (Moreno Seco, 2020; Martínez Martínez, 2016); types of return (Pozo-Guitierrez & Soo, 2010; Pino Juste & Verde Diego, 2006; Egea Jiménez & Rodríguez Rodríguez, 2004); individual perspective (Gemie, 2006; Arce, 2002); generational (Aguirre Herráinz, 2015; Golías Pérez, 2014); digital (Bocanegra Barbecho, 2017); memory (Bosman, 2014; Colmeiro, 2011).

This excellent research has produced insightful fragmentations in particular areas like the exile children of war and the French and Mexican exile communities in relation to Spain and its society (Dreyfus-Armand, 2011; Alted Vigil, 2005; Manrique Arribas, 2007). However, in such deep focuses, they have retreated from a broad yet in-depth overview of the return phenomenon and it is unclear what it really means or where one should start to encapsulate it. Thus the object of study is to précis and triangulate a shared common return experience for the first generation of individuals who experienced the combative period, exile, and subsequently returned physically to Spain in the three aforementioned periods. In so doing, simplifying and articulating the general parameters and characteristics of the broader phenomena. A corresponding aim is also to

delineate the various conditions, environments, and historical outlooks for such an expansive period of time and deeply fragmented phenomenon.

I.1. LIMITATION

Within the scope and objective of this thesis, there are certain key elements that were overlooked due to time, the large scope of the period, and hindsight. Many could have afforded a deeper understanding of the overall phenomena and will be investigated in future analyses. The most pertinent among these is that the sample size of the dataset is too small and requires a larger increase of individuals. In addition, the use of only averages, without variances or mediums, may cause outliers to warp findings. However, this scenario was originally taken into account, and because of it, a mixed-method approach was devised and executed utilizing interviews and the online questionnaire. However, the work of increasing the data pool will continue post-thesis to better validate the overall conclusions extrapolated hereafter and in the adjoining articles. In future iterations, a further subdivision of the “first-generation” identifier will also subdivide into children and adults first-generation. As it is now, a child born in 1938 is grouped together under the same label as his 50-year-old grandmother, both being exiled at the same time.

Another limitation that will be focused on in the future is whether the individuals traveled with family members, specifically young children. Having, or otherwise, would have certainly played a role in their individual strategy and means of return travel, port of entry and resettlement options once in Spain. For example, a single mother of a school-aged child would certainly strategize and take different decisions than a single adult female. Affiliated elements or conditions like partnerships, age, or education would cause further differences on the paths and choices taken.

A subsequent limiting element is the question of permanence in the returns. The Return phenomenon for these individuals narrows down to two overarching statuses. These can best be surmised as a return being permanent or not (Escobar Deras, 2019; Pozo-Gutierrez & Soo, 2010). Specifically, in the latter condition, the circumstances for not being permanent and the aftermath of it. In other words, was the return a Temporary, Failed or even a Jailed return? If they left Spain after returning, did they go back to the receiving exile country or a new one? Second

departures after returning to Spain fell out of the scope of research but it is an area that would provide a more inclusive perspective on the political and social norms of the time in Spain and the individual conditions of the returnee.

Another restriction of this research is the digital and time divide that could not be breached. Most of the first-generation exiles are no longer living, and for those who are, social and digital networks are not their primary means of communicating. For this reason, the questionnaire focused on the second generation exiles or even the third generation who would then write about the first generation. However, this reliance on the family collective memory is itself an added constraint and adds a further distance to fully understanding the exile and return of the first generation of exiles. Thus more scrutiny and research are needed on the individual return phenomena, especially on the transferring of familial memory and the second generation exile experience.

A further drawback of having online citizen participation is the added steps of validating the submitted information and the inherent biases and romanticized accounts of the individual responding to the questionnaire. Care was taken to validate as much of the information as possible but in today's day and age of "deep fakes," anything is possible to fabricate (Albahar & Almalki, 2019). For some individuals, the information provided through the *Ficha del exiliado* of the *Exiliad@s project*, was accompanied by digitized official documents that already had validated information.² Additionally, a downside to an always-on online system is that it is susceptible to hacking and social engineering. For this reason, securing and safekeeping information from prying eyes is an issue that is beyond the scope of work, but one that is still needed.

² Exiliad@s Project (n.d). Retrieved March 25, 2020, from <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info>

II. OBJECTIVES

As previously stated, the Return phenomenon as a subject is a relatively new sub-genre of the Spanish Civil War field of study. Although it is now an established truth that the return from exile is a continuation of the “up-rooting” aspect of the exile, it is still largely an emergent area of study (de Hoyos Puente, 2017, p. 302). Its many aspects, types of returns, periods, conditions and perspectives, coupled with its long duration, make it nebulously difficult to approach. For these reasons, the overall objective for this thesis work was thus to quantify and simplify as much as possible the entire genre of the Return. However, more specifically, the project had four concrete objectives to realize. It was believed that these goals would give sufficient concluding findings to then cautiously extend correlations to the Return phenomenon itself. In so doing, also approximate a more informed overall description of the large span of time and the individuals with their different trajectories.

The first of these objectives was to rebuild the individual paths of exiles and returns of all the individuals found in the return database. The concept was to interactively show the national and global movements of the Spanish refugees after the war and upon their return to Spain with a specific focus on their resettlement patterns (if any). It was determined that the first of these tasks, rebuilding individual paths, would need to be done online, for if done in a 2D form, it would become a static and convoluted map with over five hundred lines drawn on it; with no interactivity incorporating the 70 years of returns. The online interactive map is a work in progress but screenshots of its functionality, as well as the navigation, will be discussed in IV.5 of the Results section. The 2D limitation of the said map was addressed in the fourth publication and a comparative map visualizing a “before exile” and “after returned” was utilized to explain the drawbacks. The latter part of this objective, to demonstrate patterns, was derived from the database and would become the third publication.

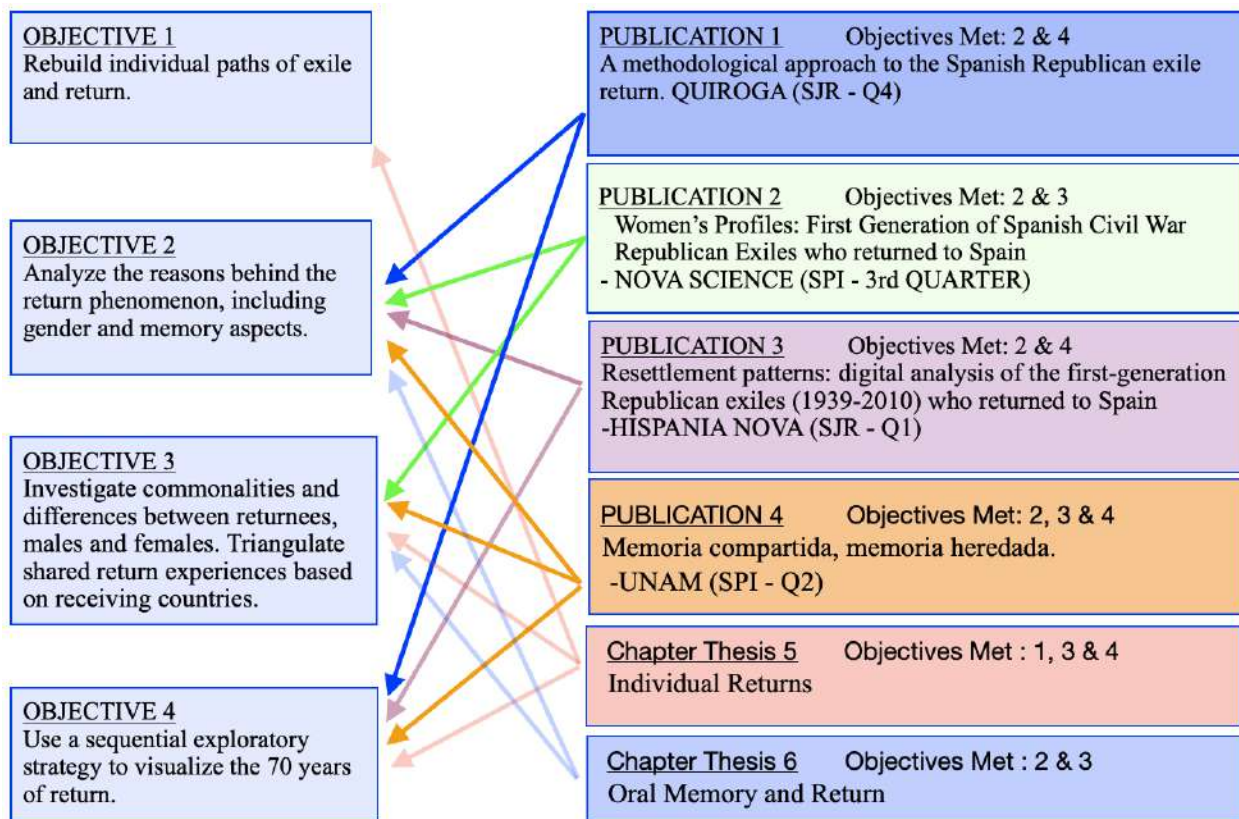
The second objective was to analyze the reasonings, strategies and types of returns behind the return phenomena of individuals, exploring gender and memory aspects. This objective was addressed in two separate publications. The first publication enumerated the

various types of return while mentioning the underlying strategies used for repatriation; while the second and third publications explored the gender aspects of the return. Finally, the fourth publication dealt with the use of modified multigenerational memory of the return in subsequent generations.

The third aim was to triangulate shared commonalities and differences of the returns as determined by the receiving exile country or time period of return. All of the aforementioned publications endeavor to bridge this objective. The first publication did so via the various types of return; the second through the average profile of the women per the top receiving countries; the third with its pattern recognition approach and finally, the fourth with its mix-method approach to contextualizing the return experience through the use of memory.

The final objective of this thesis project was to utilize a sequential exploratory strategy to visualize the 70 years of individual data. With the exception of the second publication, all published articles employed data-based graphics to display the large span of time of the returns. Each of these returns would also indirectly show the duration of the exile. For example, if the individual returned in 1960, the length gap would be seen from 1939. In many of these data time maps, lines indicating major events like pardons, the death of Franco, or the fall of the Soviet Union were vertically added to give a sense of the passage of time. In the case of the third and fourth publications, color was added to denote the different types of resettlement movements. In the following display, we can see the objectives as met by the four publications.

1. Visual Diagram: Methodological framework used in the doctoral thesis. Source: Author



III. METHODOLOGY

The research conducted was approached with an ageist and technological bias, which utilized a mix-method approach in a sequential exploratory strategy (Subedi, 2016, p. 571). In other words, the past physical returns of exiled individuals varied too greatly and the passage of time made it that much more difficult to accurately pinpoint their reentry trajectories. Complicating matters further, the majority of these people died without leaving written accounts. For this reason, a convergent method of data aggregation was developed when first formulating the thesis project. We started two concurrent databases, The Returnee Data in Literary Studies (RD-LS) and the Returnee Data in Social Networks (RD-SN), where we registered and compiled as much information about individuals and their returns. Later, the quantifiable (QN) data of both databases was merged into a single database (M-data). This would then serve as a numerical and visual comparative backdrop to our qualitative (QL) information (second half of an online questionnaire and interviews). Both QN and QL were synthesized for the various publications.

III.0. LITERATURE REVIEW AND STATE OF THE ART

The first step in our methodology, in conjunction with the creation of our data sets, was to survey the Spanish Civil War literary field, with a specific focus on the repatriation of individuals displaced by the conflict. They, in terms of terminology, changed from refugees, exiles, or migrants, and eventually returnees. Focusing on this last classification which included both political and economic returnees, we set out to chronologically outline the various corresponding literary works in the field prior to the first publication in this dissertation.³ Arguably, the field of the Return Phenomenon started its development in earnest in 1996 with Inmaculada Cordero Oliveros' "El retorno del exiliado," where she first quotes Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez's epilog in the 1977 *¡Exilio!*; in which he states that even "to return" does not mean the end of the exile. Branching off from Patricia Fagen's 1975 *Transterrados y ciudadanos*, Cordero Oliveros focuses on the Mexican exiles and their tribulations repatriating to Spain, noting the

³ Care was taken to separate the political (refugees or exiles), from economic migrants who returned. However, many early studies included both due to the effects of returning being similar in both types.

fact that the “difficulty of the return was proportional to the length of time in exile,” and reciprocal to the degree of individual political polarization (p. 142-143). She also surmised Max Aub’s 1965 *Las Vueltas* difficulties of adapting to Spain due to not being able nor being allowed (155). Her various arguments would develop into their own specific branches of the return phenomenon; like literary and art, gender differences, memory, postmemory, politicization, temporal and types of returns among others. In the following year, Gabriel Álvarez Silvar and Antonio Izquierdo Escribano published in 1997 “Estado actual de la investigación sobre el retorno.” This article generally surveys the field of the “return” to Galicia, Spain by exiles and emigrants alike, both in Spain and elsewhere (mostly from Europe). It does plant future research avenues for scholars to follow like the reliance on family networks when returning, the role of women, second-generation, and reverse culture shock among others.

The milestone year however was 1999, where four formative works and a conference commemorating sixty years of the exile defined the future course for the Return as a field. Starting with the collaborative work, *Los niños de la guerra de España en la Unión Soviética: de la evacuación al retorno, 1937-1999* (Alted Vigil, Marín & González); and Josefina Bustillo Cuesta (Ed.), *Retornos de Exilios y migraciones*. These were followed by “Idas y Vueltas del siglo” by Rose Duroux and “El difícil regreso,” by Pedro Barruso Barés. These researchers introduced to the general public most of the now studied branches like those previously mentioned and many others like the political belligerence and delineation of the first and second Francoist period of rule. The commemoration, *La España exiliada de 1939, Sesenta años después*, took place in Huesca, October 26-29, and produced many articles focusing on various aspects of the return. For instance, imaginary return of “El regreso de Alejandro Ascaso Abadia (1898-1982)” by Manuel Formoso Herrera; the social-political aftermath of the death of Franco in 1975 in “El final de un exilio: el comienzo del desencanto, by Beatriz Garacia; the multi-dimensional returns of “Exilio y retorno: el mito del regreso en la obra de Ramón J. Sender,” by José Antonio García Fernández; and finally Spanish assets returned to Spain by France including refugees in “Los acuerdos Jordana-Berard y el regreso de los exiliados españoles (abril-septiembre de 1939),” by Pedro Barruso Barés. Henceforth the field only grew.

In 2000, Antonio Rumeu de Armas in his, “El retorno de Agustín Millares a España desde el exilio en 1952,” briefly detailed the political and social atmosphere of Spain in the 1950s and what it meant to return for Millares. The following year, Yolanda de la Fuente examined the various inter and intra-economic migration in Spain, probing the myth of the return applying to all returning Spaniards in “La emigración de retorno.” In 2002, Rose Duroux once more broached the subject in her “La emigración a Francia (segunda mitad del siglo XX). Unas reflexiones sobre retornos y reintegraciones,” exploring inquiries into family fragmentation and networks among the various types of economic or political returnees. In 2003, Carmen González Martínez’s, “El retorno a España de los ‘Niños de la Guerra civil’,” placed a concentrated focus on the Soviet-Spanish children who officially returned in the 1956-59 expeditions and the majority’s subsequent return to the USSR. In the same year, Juan B. Vilar took an a broader general overview of all returns (political and economic migrations alike), in “El retorno en las migraciones Españolas con Europa en el siglo XX.”

In 2004, although focused on economic migrants like Vilar and not exiles and political refugees, Carmen Egea Jiménez, “Tipos de retorno de los emigrantes jubilados,” introduced numerous types of returns and the complexity and role the family plays in them. In the same year, Helen Graham, in her “The Spanish Civil War, 1936–2003: The Return of Republican Memory,” related, among various themes, the 2003 complex odyssey of returning siblings trying to uncover their mother’s 1936 demise under Franco’s squads and the labyrinths of social-political layers to unravel. Additionally, Roser Pujadas 2004 “Memoria y retorno del exilio republicano catalán,” investigated the various internal and external tribulations political returnees undergo when returning to Catalunya. Here, a distinctive boundary between political and economic returnees matured. In 2006, Margarita Pinto Juste and Carmen Verde Diego, explored the “uprooting” effects of retired economic migrants as they resettled back in Galicia in “Emigración de Retorno,”; while, Josefa Gómez Fayrén, “Las migraciones de retorno,” focused on the economic returns to the Murcia region of Spain.

Introducing the classification of returnees in the English language in 2010, Alicia Pozo-Gutierrez and Scott Soo’s, “Categories of Return among Spanish Refugees and Other Migrants 1950s-1990s,” outlined the various types for all returnees. The following year Jordi Guixé

Coromines in “El regreso forzado y la persecución contra los exiliados en Francia,” detailed the French complicity in forced repatriations in the 1940s and their groupings of returnees. Also in 2011, Elda González Martínez in, “Desde Argentina la reincorporación a España de emigrantes españoles,” analyzed the various characteristics of multigenerational returnees, many of which had never visited Spain. In 2012, Gemma Caballer Albareda (*La voluntad del retorno: correspondencia desde el exilio catalán*), explored the written desires of those wanting to return. In the same year, Jorge de Hoyos Puente, in his “Pensando en el regreso,” examined the various political individuals and organizations that returned after Franco’s death in 1975.

In 2013 two works furthered and enriched the returned phenomenon. First, Esmeralda Broullón Acuña (*El retorno como patrimonio en la obra de María Rosa Lojo*), compared themes of legacy, postmemory and identity through Maria Rosa Lojo's literary works. Second, Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo (Ed), *Coming Home? Vol. 1*, devoted the first half of the book (six chapters), to the Spanish exile return phenomenon by luminaries in the field like Alicia Alted Vigil, Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand and Mónica Moreno Seco.

The following year in 2014 three other outstanding compilation books were published. First, *Ha estallado la memoria: las huellas de la Guerra Civil en la Transición a la Democracia*, by Gonzalo Pasamar (Ed.), focused on the Spanish transition to democracy in relation to its historical past. Next, *El retorno: Migración económica y exilio político en América Latina y España*, by Alicia Gil Lazaro (Ed.), compared economic migrant-returnees with political ones. Lastly, *El exilio republicano de 1939. Viajes y retornos*, edited by Manuel Aznar Soler, contrasted the exile, return and imaginary trajectories of individuals. In addition, there were also two doctoral thesis that incorporated the return in their scope of work. First there was Montserrat Glías Pérez with a wide topic-ranging, “Los nuevos españoles a través de la Ley de la memoria histórica en Cuba y Argentina,” analyzing the various testimonies of those seeking and getting Spanish citizenship; and Pedro García-Guirao, “An anatomy of exile, return and de-exile. The writing and life trajectory of the former Spanish anarchist minister Juan López Sánchez.”

In 2015, Abdon Mateos Lopez, *Exilios y retornos*, scrutinized the return of political parties and various individuals after the death of Franco; while Pablo Aguirre Herraáinz explored the difficulties of returning to Spain in both his articles, “Hijos del exilio y de la emigración: La

segunda generación como problema,” and *¿Extraños en casa?: El retorno a España de los “niños de la guerra” repatriados desde la URSS (1956-1957)*. In the same year, Consuelo Carredano, in her “Un sendero sobre esta tierra roja. Miedo, censura, retornos,” compared the lives of three famous Mexican-exiled musicians and their intricate returns. Finally, Rosy Rickett in her excellent doctoral thesis, “Refugees of the Spanish Civil War and those they left behind: personal testimonies of departure, separation and return since 1936,” explored the return and postmemory of Mexican and French Spanish exiles.

Finally, in 2016 Jorge de Hoyos Puente, in “Retornos y desexilios imposibles: el caso del exilio español de 1939,” analyzed the various difficulties returnees experienced after the death of Franco and the transition to democracy. In the same year, Pablo Aguirre Herráinz published his doctoral dissertation focusing on the various philosophical problems of returning: *¿ Un regreso imposible? Expatriación y retorno desde el exilio republicano (1939-1975)*. Subsequently in 2018, a year before this thesis’ first publication, Immaculada Colomina Limonero in, “Blue Victors & Red Losers. Returned Spaniards from the Soviet Union,” analyzed the international press reporting, and disproportional language, towards those Soviet-Spaniards who repatriated in the 1950s.

III.1. RETURNEE DATA IN LITERARY STUDIES (RD-LN)

This database was designed to gather all possible individuals mentioned in scholarly or literary works. For this reason, it was called the Returnee Data in Literary Studies (RD-LS). All types of media were also included as long as an individual could be classified as an exile or a child of one. This also covered other repositories of Spanish exiles like the Exiliad@s Project of which the author collaborated with.⁴ The goal of this database was to arrange individuals by QN data. i.e. what year they exited; what route; where and length of exile; and how and when they returned. The data fields focused on factual and quantifiable queries at the time of the exile, return and aftermath. Other QN data fields included birthplace; year of birth; year of return; city of return; and slightly more open questions like education, marital status, or if the individual worked upon the repatriation. The main focus was also to categorize the return experience, and

⁴ Exiliad@s Project (n.d). Retrieved March 25, 2020, from <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info>

when possible, conclude whether the return was permanent or temporary, self-motivated or otherwise, including their reasonings and strategies behind the repatriations. Altogether at the time of writing, 201 individuals were compiled (108 males and 93 females). Of these, 188 were first-generation (105 males and 83 females), and 13 second-generation exiles (ten females and three males).

III.2. RETURNEE DATA IN SOCIAL NETWORKS (RD-SN)

The second concurrent database was compiled via an online questionnaire using Google Forms (Haag Granello & Wheaton, 2004). This one was later posted and circulated through social networks. For this reason, the author named it Returnee Data in Social Networks (RD-SN). It was designed to incorporate a mix-method approach and targeted the collective memory of the descendants of exiles. The reason being that they would be online savvy and on social networks. The database had the same quantifiable element of the RD-LS, but with a broader qualitative component that surveyed the return re-adaptation into Spanish society. The questions incorporated open-ended components and a value system from one to five. For example, “what were the first impressions of Spanish society upon the return?”; and, “rate the impression of Spanish society from one to five, where one is a bad impression and five a good one.” In total 62 individuals (as entered by respondents), were registered within the database along with their exile information at the time of writing. However, three individuals were already cataloged in the RD-LS database, two others never physically returned and one left Spain prior to the start of the war. These six people were excluded from our scope of research, leaving 56 exiled individuals, 49 first-generation (33 men and 16 women), six second-generation (four women and two men), and one third-generation male.

III.3. MERGED DATASETS (M-database)

The quantifiable sections of both the RD-SN and RD-LS databases were merged into one, hereafter referred to as M-database. It also contained 12 additional individuals as derived from

six interviews conducted during the research phase. It totaled 269 individuals as of the writing of this thesis (201 from RD-LS, 56 from RD-SN and 12 from the interviews).⁵ Included the three individuals from the RD-SN database that were already aggregated in the RD-LS. Their qualifiable answers for them were kept separate but were not added to the M-database. Broken down by gender, of the 269 individuals, 151 were males and 118 females. 247 were first-generation, 145 males and 102 females; 21 second-generation exiles, 16 females and five males, and one third-generation male.

III.4. QUESTIONNAIRE

The online survey was intentionally divided into two separate sections. The first was composed of QN questions that when answered would become the RD-SN database. The second half was the qualitative section that asked to rate, evaluate and answer seven open-ended and sequential questions. The former was merged and analyzed as part of the M-Database while the latter was originally conceived to supplement elements not specifically answered by the former (Creswell Hanson & Clark, 2007). Specifically, the aim was to utilize historical memory by capturing the relationship to the individual that they were writing about (Cude, 2004; Davis, 1999). In other words, the questionnaire wanted to establish a direct familial link, if one existed. The survey was then forwarded via email to exile associations and posted in three social networks, Instagram, Twitter and Facebook. The last one being the most effective in sharing the survey among private and public subnetworks.

Over the duration of the study, the survey generated 62 exiles and their information as filled in by 58 respondents. However, as mentioned earlier, six individuals and their information were removed from the analysis. This left 56 exiled individuals as generated by 52 respondents. Of these respondents, 26 were the children of the first-generation (14 men and 12 women), and 14 grandchildren (11 women and three men). Additionally, seven respondents entered their own personal information, broken down to three second-generation women, one second-generation male, two first-generation men and one third-generation male. The remaining five respondents

⁵ The date of final editing for this data section was November 3, 2021. No further entries were considered.

were: a nephew, a male friend, a female executor, a male biographer and one male who had no personal connection with Luis Santaló but was well aware of his numerous awards and accomplishments. This made 48 of 52 individual respondents (92%), that had a direct or familial link to the exile experience and the return phenomenon. Of the six registered individuals that fell out of the scope of our research, their corresponding respondents were mostly related to them: one was the granddaughter; a great-grandson, a nephew, a friend, and one male respondent that had no connection with the individual. Finally, there was also a second-generation female that had entered her own information. Of the three individuals that were entered into the RD-SN but were also aggregated in the RD-LS database, their quantitative information was excluded but their qualitative answers were included in the final analysis. This made 59 qualitative responses in total. Although there is more information on the respondents themselves that future research may explore, by design, the ultimate focus was placed on the first-generation returnee's information.

III.5. INTERVIEWS

Over the course of the research, six interviews were conducted. Two in-person interviews, one with D. Gomez in Toulouse, France (a first-generation exiled woman), who temporarily returned to Spain and another with Elsa Osaba Bailo in Granada, Spain (a second-generation woman), who permanently returned to Spain as a child with her parents. A further three interviews were conducted over the phone, one with a first-generational female (J. Rubella Clave); a second with a second-generational male (H. Farreny), and a third with a second-generation female (Angie del Riego). A final interview with B. Regidor Higuero (a third-generation male), was conducted via Facebook's messaging application. All interviews focused on the return and assimilation experience but also tried to capture the same QN information of the RD-LS database. From these interviews, 12 additional individuals were added to the M-database. Finally, the three additional University of California, San Diego Special Collections & Archives ("Spanish Civil War Memory Project"), online-video interviews were analyzed for their

exit, exile and return experiences.⁶ These were Felicidad Garcia Bienzobas (interviewed in 2008), Josefina Piquet (interviewed in 2010) and Marina Vega de la Iglesia (interviewed in 2008), all first-generation exiles. Of note, the interviews of three individuals were eventually excluded from the write-up for technical reasons. First, J. Rubella Clave’s interview could not be recorded over the phone and although her exile information was entered in the M-Database, the author did not want to use his memories of the interview. Second, H. Farreny did not want to speak of his personal connection to the exile experience for he did not see it as an exile. Instead, he spoke of the general history of the exile community in Toulouse in relation to Spain. Lastly, Felicidad’s exile experience takes place in a prison in Spain. Although a “Jailed Return” is part of the return phenomenon, it falls outside of the physically returning (from outside of Spain) focus of this thesis (Escobar Deras, 2019, p. 26).

III.6. PHASES OF WORK

This doctoral research is outlined by an essentially methodological approach, insofar as the object of study itself. Its mix-method approach rests on a predominantly empirical and practical perspective, which substantiates its results from different QL sources. In order to achieve the objectives as described in Chapter II, we defined, outlined and implemented the following phases of work:

1. Planning: the preliminary investigation of the field and the feasibility of the objectives. Ultimately, we decided to focus on the QN data as the initial first step of development and later overlay QL findings.
2. Identification of pre-existing datasets: we evaluated the existence of pre-existing data sets and found non matched our specific goals and requirements. The Exiliad@s

⁶ University of California, San Diego. (n.d). *Spanish Civil War Memory Project*. Retrieved April 5, 2020, from <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/>

database was the most closely related to the objectives and was queried for returning individuals.⁷

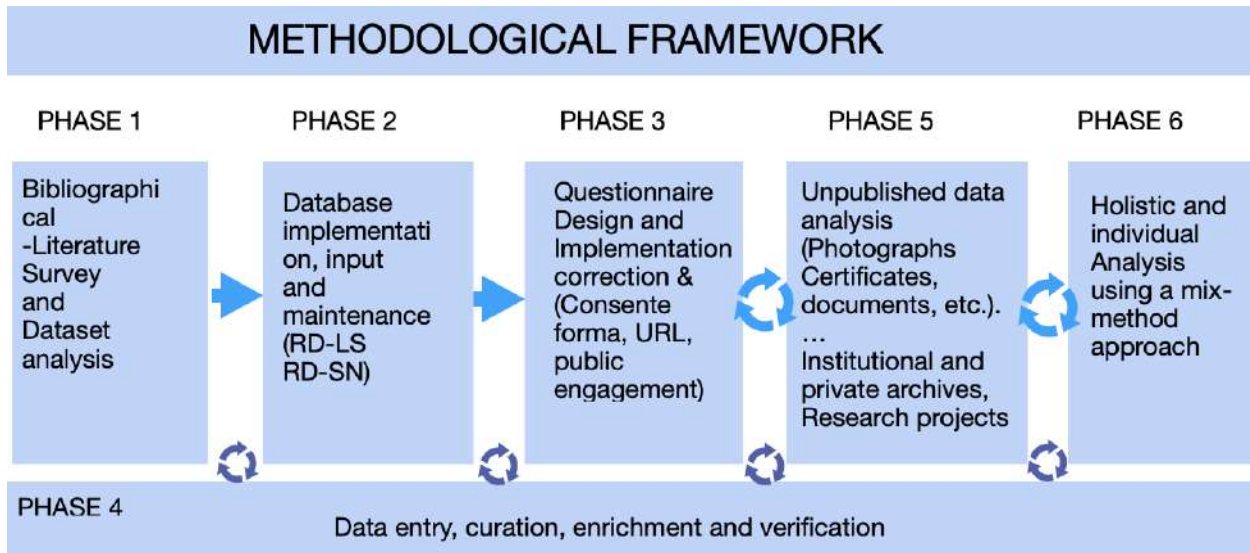
3. Design of data model and questionnaire: With a mix-method approach in mind, we undertook to define distinct field parameters and types of information that would be aggregated and attributed to meet the objectives. The questionnaire's questions were drawn up and placed so as to chronologically assess QN data, leaving the QL information to last.⁸
4. Deployment: Once the questionnaire was finished it was diffused via emails to Exile associations and posted on Twitter and Facebook. These three approaches yielded very little interest within the first two weeks except for Facebook. After which, all efforts were directed to and through this online platform.
5. Data entry, enrichment and verification: The author did an online survey of articles dealing with exiled individuals. All singular data pertaining to returns and of an individual was manually entered into the RD-LS database by the author. Verification of the returned individual was also done at the same time to ensure the accuracy of details. RD-SN individuals were imputed by the respondents of the questionnaire and thus verification and accuracy were done after they were registered in the database. Verification consisted of checking uploaded documentation, and when possible, cross-referencing online historical, national, or municipal records.
6. Data migration and analysis: Once a month, new entries (if any), from the RD-SN database were merged with the RD-LS database, generating a new master M-Data. This was then used for analysis depending on whichever topic was being investigated at the time.

⁷ Exiliad@s Project (n.d). Retrieved March 25, 2021, from <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info>

⁸ See Lyons, A. C., Cude, B., Gutter, M., & Lawrence, F. C. (2003). Collecting consumer data using online surveys. *Consumer Interests Annual*, 49, 1-3.

III.7. VISUAL METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2. Visual Diagram: Methodological framework used in the doctoral thesis. Source: Author



The first task (Phase 1), was to survey the written material in the repatriation of Spanish exiles. This was a two-fold approach. As the survey of articles and books were being surveyed, names of individual returnees (Phase 2 and Phase 4), were also being added to the RD-LS database. Based partially on the type of individual data being collected, or omitted in the bibliographic survey, we then set out to design, implement and diffuse the online questionnaire (Phase 3), with the added backend infrastructure of digital storage and folders. Once shared in online platforms (mostly via Facebook groups), and the respondents completed the questionnaire, automatically Phase 5 came into existence. The questionnaire respondents could upload and share information or documents corresponding to the individual they had themselves written about. Almost immediately Phase 6 started with preliminary analysis and observations. From this point onward, all phases rotated and cycled through as new information or data came online or was imputed. However, during the time of writing for an article, a copy of the M-database was made and subsequently dissected and analyzed according to whichever objective or focus we were trying to pursue. The reason for this was so that no new additional individual data would change the already quantified information. However, if there was a substantial increase, we would recalculate as needed.

IV. RESULTS

As defined in the introductory chapter, the research results of this doctoral thesis have been developed and are presented in a total of four publications. Specifically: two articles in high-impact scientific journals and two book chapters in prestigious publishers according to Scholarly Publisher Indicators (SPI). The respective language and format requirements of each publication varied from British to American spelling, but all of them were aimed toward the Iberian-Hispanic audience. The first publication followed the ISO 690 standard style; the second and third publications Chicago Manual Style and the fourth MLA Style. The two additional fifth and sixth sections, as well all other sections not mentioned, follow the 7th Edition of the American Psychological Association (APA) standard.

Each section of this results chapter presents the corresponding papers, with the same text, images, graphs, notes and appendices as the original publication but following the layout format of this thesis, in accordance with the regulations of the International Graduate School of the University of Granada. Each publication is preceded by a text explaining its role in the overall development of the work, as well as the main results obtained according to the research objectives in Chapter II.

IV.1. STRATEGIES OF RETURN

The first article in this thesis project was written following the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 690 standard (corresponding to the Harvard Style) as dictated by the *Quiroga* periodical in which it was later published. Punctuation follows a British English standard. It was intended to provide an overview of the various types of returns, as dictated by the strategies employed. It was meant to survey what was understood as repatriation and to singularize how a “return,” in the Spanish Exile context and the emerging Return Phenomenon, was different from the latter. The research was thus conducted in a twofold manner, first to appraise the scholarly work already in the field (noting key themes and emphases), and to identify individuals returnees for the RD-LS database. We excluded the 1936 -1939 bellicose period and directed our efforts at works that focused on the exile experience as it related to a physical return to Spain. These works were mostly centered in Mexico, France and the Soviet Union, with a general emphasis on various subjects like memory, gender, historical figures and children of war. One article, Alicia Pozo-Gutierrez and Scott Soo, stood out because it also surveyed the various returns, including other types of returns not related to the Spanish diaspora (Pozo-Gutierrez & Soo, 2010). Although a working hypothesis, it incompletely outlined the field of the various types of returns, even though it included imaginary returns. Its survey range started in the 1950s to the 1990s and it encompassed other types of migrant returns. Based on these parameters, we determined that the period of time was too short, skipping the bellicose period and the first decade of the First Francoist period, and its focus too broad for it to include economic migrants whose repatriation experience and adaptation back would have been different, from a political perspective, had they been part of the ruling Nationalist Party. As a consequence, our first article shifted to become more of an addendum to Pozo-Gutierrez’s. Thus, this first article would by default expand the time period from 1936 to 2010 and restrict the focus to first-generation returnees of the Spanish Civil War.

The resulting article with its larger time period and narrower inclusion of types of migrations was still too broad in its scope of work. In hindsight, it should have been two separate

articles, one focusing strictly on strategies, for either the pre-return phase or for the adaptation of once in Spain; perhaps even both for specific decades or time periods. A second article should have detailed more closely the various types of returns, including imaginary returns and the so-called “topos,” who never physically left Spain but who did self-exile from society (Torbado & Leguineche 1977). These should have also been separated by either decades or time periods. With the added character restrictions by the journal, this article should have focused on either strategy of returns or on the types of returns separately.

The resulting findings, however, do present new insight and conclusions to the field as a whole. In its survey scope of work, the article expands on the field by extending four new types of returns: Economic, Jailed, Dead and Political; and their corresponding strategies. Furthermore, concepts like “time-frame” of return were introduced, a new metric detailing the various logistical and political hurdles, depending on the time period, that returnees navigated through in order to repatriate. The conclusions then contextualize the various returns by noting the overarching political atmosphere.

Bibliographic Reference:

Escobar Deras, M. (2019). A methodological approach to the Spanish Republican Exiles Return. *Quiroga: Revista de Patrimonio Iberoamericano*, (15), 20-30. <https://doi.org/10.30827/quiroga.v0i15.251>

Original Title:

A methodological approach to the Spanish Republican Exiles' Return.

Titulo en español:

Una aproximación metodológica al retorno de exiliados republicanos españoles.

Abstract:

This paper examines the various strategies that first-generation of exiled republicans selected to facilitate their repatriation to Spain after the end of the Spanish Civil War. It categorizes the various types of returns that took place between 1939 to 2010 and analyzes the various repatriation strategies adopted by exiles in order to return to their homeland. It outlines the numerous challenges that exiles navigate for safe return. The data draws on two sets of databases compiled via scholarly work and from social media, surveys filled out by the descendants of exiles. It concludes with nine different types of returns and their corresponding strategies.

Keywords: Strategies of Return, Exile, Spanish Civil War, Repatriation, Digital Humanities.

Resumen:

Este artículo tiene como objetivo señalar las diversas estrategias que la primera generación de exiliados republicanos utilizaron para regresar físicamente a España después de la Guerra Civil española. Específicamente, analiza los diferentes tipos de retorno que comenzaron en 1939 hasta

2010 y las estrategias correspondientes que estos individuos iniciaron mientras navegaban por diversos desafíos para regresar a su antiguo país de origen.

Palabras clave: estrategias de retorno, exilio, guerra civil española, franquismo, humanidades digitales.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the fall of the Spanish Republic in 1939, more than half a million people were exiled from their homeland. As exiled refugees, the end of war signaled the possibility of repatriation, prompting exiles to adopt various strategies to navigate the numerous challenges impeding the possibility of a safe return¹. Some opted to stay in exile, while others were immediately and forcefully deported back. In between, the vast majority waited for the right window to repatriate, becoming returnees (R.)². In this paper, we will address the various types of returns and the corresponding strategies as defined by the individuals collected in two datasets.

A strategy of return deals with the temporal space before, during and after the arrival in Spain. They are the direct and indirect actions or encounters that ultimately lead to a successful return. This in turn becomes a permanent, temporary, or failed return strategy. Strategies were also dependent on the individual's education, experience or mental state. This is to say that a former combatant's return strategy in the mid-1950s would differ from the strategy employed by an adult "Niño de Guerra" [a child exiled during the war]. For this reason, strategies of return must also incorporate the desired objectives of the return.

The primary impediment to a safe return was the Nationalistic government of Francisco Franco. Following the end of the civil war and during the Second World War, Spain was to be an

¹ From the outbreak of the war, fear of retaliation by Franco's soldiers or police was widespread. Graham, H. (2004). The Spanish Civil War, 1936–2003: The Return of Republican Memory. *Science & Society*, 68 (3: Special issue), 313-328.

² For this section, the use of "return" will mean a self-willingness to repatriate; while the term Repatriation denotes a governmental body forcing or aiding in the return to Spain.

exemplary nation of authoritarian rule like Nazi Germany. According to Michael Richards (2002, p. 97), Franco wanted to purify his nation of undesirables. To accomplish this, support of the Republic was turned into a crime, punishable by prison or death. For 30 years, the government treated and viewed anyone associated with the republic as an enemy of the state, while society at large referred to them as a “Rojo”. Furthermore, the state institutions used punitive policies to identify and root out domestic enemies. This meant that for exiles hoping to return, one of the fundamental strategies was simply not to be harmed or imprisoned by government agents.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Returnee Data in Literary Studies (RD-LS)

Strategies of return for Spanish exiles were highly individualistic and varied. However, due to the majority of them being dead, we first assembled a database drawing on the data of individuals already mentioned in scholarly works. The mined data created the Returnee Data in Literary Studies (RD-LS) database. Other individuals from the Exiliad@s Project were also added³. The data fields entered were: year and place of birth, education, marital status, profession and destination of exile, as well as the year and city of their return. In total, 200 individuals were recorded with as much quantifiable information as was available. Of these, 187 were first-generation exiles, 12 were second-generation and one was third-generation. Of the first-generation group, there were 104 males and 83 females. Of the total, the average first-generation individual was born in 1912 and was exiled in 1939 at the age of 27. They would have spent an average of 26 years in exile, got married with children and returned in 1965 at the age of 54. Typically, exiles returned to Spain as a family rather than as individuals.

A limitation to the RD-LS dataset is the fact that many of the individual data were incomplete. It also does not include their formal educational level, but this is inferred by looking at their professions or ways of earning a living. For example, if an individual held a skilled profession, like teacher or engineer, they were classified as “advanced.” Oppositely, an unskilled

³ Bocanegra Barbecho, L. (n.d). Retrieved February 18, 2018, from <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info>

job like “day laborer” was classified as “elementary.” If the job was unknown, the classification was left empty. Likewise, politicians and artists were also not given an educational classification due to their respective uncertainties. Generally, however, there is enough quantifiable data to address the various strategies and types of return. The purpose of the dataset is, firstly, to categorize individuals and their return strategies, and secondly, to become a sample baseline to be compared with a second dataset, one directed and filled in by the descendants of returnees.

2.2 Returnee Data in Social Networks (RD-SN)

The Returnee Data in Social Networks (RD-SN) dataset is a second database compiled on first-generation individuals who returned to Spain, based on information collected via a Google Web-form questionnaire and filled out by descendants. The data was derived through questions focusing on identifying exiled individuals, and their personal, qualitative and chronological data, much like in the RD-LS dataset. Following Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho’s (2015, p.61) approach, the questions were organized in such a way so as to trigger a linear recollection and ease the post-data analysis. Once completed, the questionnaire was emailed in bulk to various organizations connected to “exiles” or descendants of Republican refugees. After a period of two months, 42 individuals were recorded, 36 first-generation and five second-generation and one third-generation. Of the first-generation exiles, 22 were males and 14 were females. Combined, the average first-generation returnee was exiled in 1940 at the age of 25, spent 28 years in exile, and returned married with kids in 1968 at the age of 52.

The RD-SN also included questions relating to the educational level and chosen profession of returnees. These represented key data points to discern the relationship between their education level and the job opportunities they had, both in the receiving countries and upon returning to Spain. Moreover, we wanted to see how these categories may have influenced an individual’s strategy and type of return.

A limitation of this dataset is that it is entirely dependent on the data provided by those filling out the questionnaire. As relatives of the first generation, their recollections of events are often oral stories that have been passed down. These narratives form part of a collective family

memory that was originally constructed by an individual who later transmitted it to the descendants.

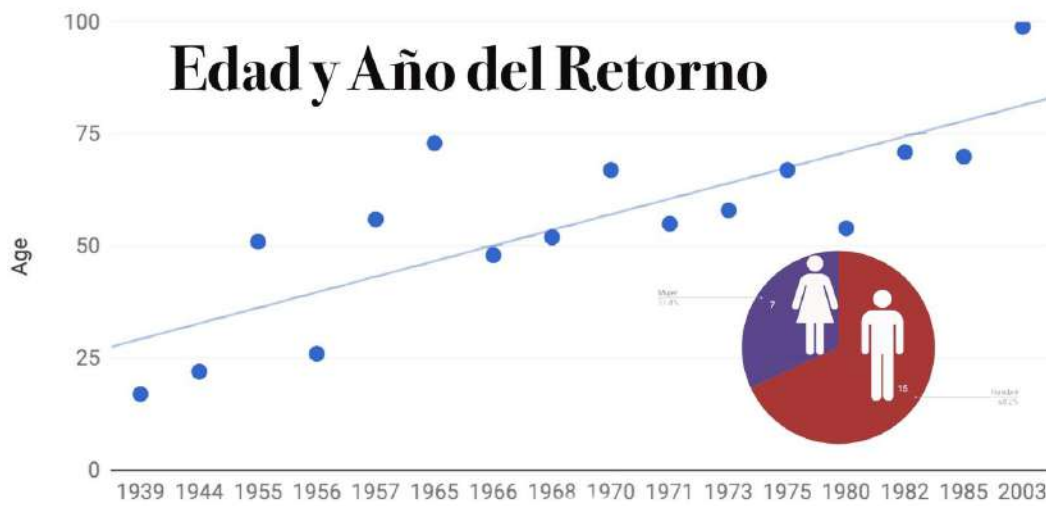
2.3 Online Data

Online historical data collection can be challenging: Information is often dispersed across various obscure sites, is blocked behind pay-walls, or simply does not exist in the digital domain (Bocanegra Barbecho, L., & Toscano, M., 2016, p.245). The creation of both the RD-LS and RD-SN datasets are ways of proving the viability of learning untold historical narratives and as a means to “discover” untold primary sources. Once the RD-LS database had a sample size of over 150 individuals, survey questions were written, establishing what would become the RD-SN dataset. After the latter questionnaire was completed, a sample introductory letter and request messages were written in English, Spanish and French. The email was sent to several Republican exile networks via their “contact” section. The majority of these messages were sent to Spanish associations and their corresponding social networks on Twitter and Facebook. The first email had no images attached and only included two links: the first to the survey questionnaire and the second to the larger Republican exile project, Exiliad@s⁴. In the closing lines, there was a call to action requesting that the message be shared with as many people as possible. After one month, all responses arrived via Facebook. Consequently, it became the platform of choice to send all subsequent message posts. In the following shorter messages through the “post” option, an image was added with a small amount of general information like gender and age and the number of returnees. At the bottom of the image, a Spanish message said “Help us and fill out the form!” This was a deliberate attempt to invoke images of the Spanish Civil War era posters.

⁴ *Solicitud de colaboración: investigación acerca del retorno del exiliado republicano*. Retrieved April 6, 2018, from <https://www.facebook.com/exiliados.republicanos/posts/1730437286995203>

Image 1. Age and year of the returned individuals.

Age and year of return



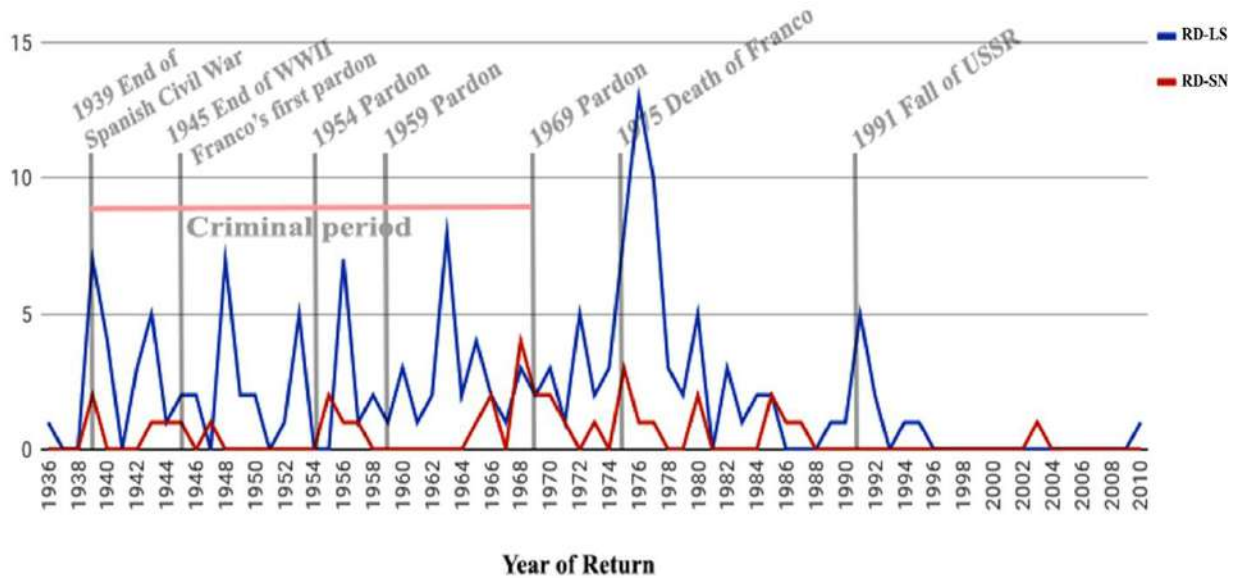
Ayudanos y rellena la encuesta!

3. STRATEGIES OF RETURN

The strategies of return varied based on the life condition of the individual, like in any plan, deviation and unexpected contingencies alter the ultimate executable strategy. Alicia Pozo-Gutierrez and Scot Soo in “Categories of return among Spanish refugees and other migrants 1950s-1990s,” illustrate the highly individualized phenomenon of the return and the often-complex challenge in discerning a clear picture of the individuals, their numbers and life back in Spain. This had to do with the fact that returnees, specifically their strategies, were radically different depending on whether they returned during the 1940s, ‘50s, ‘60s, or after Franco’s death in 1975. The strategies depended on a multitude of factors ranging from age, sex, health, wealth and even the mental well-being of the returnee; and whether they were single, married, with or without kids, etc. In short, the logistical timeframe of the planning to the eventual arrival (planning-arriving), including the transit and the cost, would vary from one person to the next. Based on the collective datasets of the RD-LS and RD-SN, the planning-arriving strategy timeframe took the longest and was the most dangerous in the first five years after the Spanish

Civil War finished⁵. With each succeeding six-year period, the process became much shorter and relatively easier. For these reasons, we will address the strategies of return with their corresponding types of return and divide them into two separate periods.

Image 2. Returns according to RD-LS and RD-SN databases.



3.1 Strategies: 1940-1975

The various strategies of return and types of return differed greatly during the time Franco was in power. These varied from difficult to less so due to Franco’s subsequent pardons and Cold-war politics. After 1939 and prior to 1945, anyone crossing the border back to Spain, repatriated or not, was a criminal until proven innocent. Fearing for their lives, individuals returning to Spain had to develop strategies just to avoid arrest and incarceration. In October of 1945, Franco issued his first limited pardon to exiled “enemies” who had tentatively supported the Republic against the Nationalist front (Pujadas, R., 2004). In 1954 he allowed a 30-day visit visa to “non-criminal” exiles wanting to return and who had not yet been sentenced to death in absentia. Later, in December of 1955, the Soviet Union voted for the inclusion of Spain into the

⁵ This is based on account descriptions, number of repatriated individuals and Franco’s first pardon decree in 1945.

United Nations, paving the way for the repatriation of many Spanish-Soviet exiles (Vigil, A. A., Marín, M. E. N., & González, R., 1999). There were other subsequent decrees that further eased the return of exiled individuals, for example, in 1959 when the 30-day limit was lifted and in 1969 when it was no longer a punishable crime to have supported the Republic. The 1950s is important because it was a radical shift away from the autarky economic policies to a joint-global economy, and for the first time, exiles could freely visit family (Rickett, R. M., 2015, p. 120).

With the context of this historical backdrop, we can begin to analyze the individual strategies of return. Pozo-Gutierrez, A., & Soo, S. (2010) succinctly outlined six different types of exiled individuals who returned to Spain. These are 1. Permanent. 2. Failed. 3. Involuntary. 4. Temporary. 5. Clandestine. 6. Imagined. We adopted these categories as a starting point to discuss some of the various strategies of return. As the focus of this paper deals with the various strategies of a physical return, number six was excluded and other types of returns were added. Furthermore, because the aforementioned authors have previously defined the first five types of return, we briefly defined what they are and detailed the corresponding strategy. The latter types of returns have been numerically added to the list and explained in detail below.

3.1.1 Permanent Return

These individuals include but are not limited to those wanting the restoration of their lands, reuniting with family, being in their country, or working “from the inside” to undermine Franco. The RD-LS database identified 104 first-generation individuals while the RD-SN identified an additional 26. Of the RD-LS, 47% had “advanced” education and 74% were identified as working upon their return. The individual’s educational level proportionately corresponded with their rate of success in reestablishing themselves upon their return (Rickett, R. M., 2015). The strategy was to first clear all bureaucratic costs and paperwork to then legally return, a planning-arriving time frame process that ranged from six months to two years. These returnees would have also prearranged temporary lodging with a relative and later used the family network to find long-term housing and employment while economizing their savings.

3.1.2 Failed Return

A failed return is an individual who intended to return permanently but failed to integrate back into Spanish society. Consequently, the individual is then forced to once again leave for another country, usually their last country of residence. This subsequent migration is a subject for further research but falls out of the scope of this paper. However, we can surmise that the return strategy to Spain is the same as that of a Permanent return.

3.1.3 Involuntary Return

By its definition, exiles who are repatriated via an involuntary return have no strategy or agency. Hence, it also falls outside the scope of this work. These returnees were given very little choice in the matter, they were repatriated, extradited, or forcibly expelled. Any strategy in this return would be truncated or nonexistent and would rely on survival rather than planning after arriving in Spain.

3.1.4 Temporary Return

With a one-year average planning-arriving strategy timeframe, these returnees were primarily motivated to visit family. They faced all the same external bureaucratic challenges and costs experienced by the permanent returnees, only to then stay for a short period of time. They did not plan for longer-term housing (only a short-term stay with family), nor sought employment through the family network.

3.1.5 Clandestine Return

By its nature, undercover return operations of exiles in Spain are difficult to document. The principal goal was to visit family members, while also gathering information and engaging

in anti-Francoist activities (Pozo-Gutierrez and Scott, S., 2010, p.12). The time duration of this category of return was often temporary and thus longer-term strategies did not usually apply. However, these returns took the highest risk and would have required the most in information gathering, document falsification and logistical preparation to illegally move around once in the country (Garcia Bienzobas, F., 2008). Lastly, the planning-arriving timeframe would be independent of bureaucratic procedures, time and cost.

3.1.6 Economic Return

In the 1960s, compared to various exile-receiving countries, Spain was economically flourishing and even celebrated its “apertura” (openness) (Richards, M., 2002, p.100). Upon returning, many exiles succeeded in obtaining better jobs, opening businesses, or advancing their studies and training. These returnees were akin to economic migrants who happened to choose their country of origin as their final destination to pursue a better life. Their primary focus was to professionally or financially improve themselves and not just to establish a life back in their birthplace⁶. In the RD-LS dataset, 13 individual returnees fell under this category, 85% of which returned in the 1960s and ‘70s. Such was the case of Aurora de Albornoz Peña (R. 1968), who after her divorce, took a professorship at the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM) and also taught at the New York University, Madrid campus (NYU)⁷.

The strategies of return for economic returnees revolved more around the logistical side of employment. The planning-arriving time frame was the same as that of permanent returnees, during which, they acquired the necessary documentation and did their bureaucratic due diligence before and during their return phase. However, the economic component served as their central motivation, and all subsequent strategies revolved around it.

3.1.7 Jailed Return

⁶ Of the 13 economic returnees, 62% chose Madrid as their residence.

⁷ Mujeres Geniales. Retrieve April 7, 2018, from <http://www.huellasdemujeresgeniales.com/aurora-de-albornoz-pena/>

Political prisoners can also be considered to be exiled individuals in that they have been physically isolated from the general population and forced to live in a different society. Prisons are environments that have their own system of rules, work, time, language and punishments. Upon their return to the world at large, if not killed, political prisoners encountered a changed society (Bravo, G. G., 2008). Most were also followed by state agents and were regularly required to report their whereabouts. When they were freed, or able to obtain a passport, many former prisoners chose to permanently leave Spain (Rickett, R. M., 2015, p. 178). Of those that did return, they did so after 1975.

Prior to their liberation, they would have had news and information from the “outside” and would have devised an exit strategy. After their release from prison and return to Spanish society, former prisoners experienced more limited mobility than involuntary returnees. Employing their personal network of friends, they would either stay or leave Spain (Mateos Lopez, A., 2015). Ramon Rubial Cavial for example, was in prison for 19 years, from 1937 to 1956. Upon his release, he continued working for his prison-initiated underground socialist movement and network and chose to stay and clandestinely work in Spain (Heywood, P. June 8, 1999). For others like Fernando Macarro Castillo (Pen name, Marcos Ana) who was imprisoned from the end of the war till 1961, the prison was virtually all he knew. Once freed, he used his prison network of friends and fled to France.

3.1.8 Dead Return

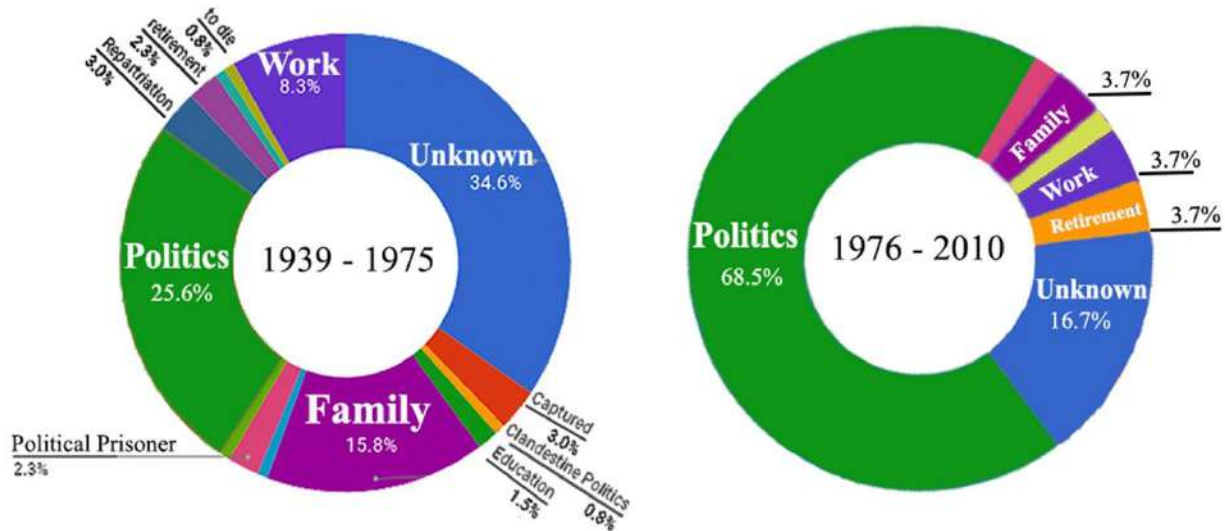
By the 1970s, Franco had ruled Spain for over 30 years, outliving many of his adversaries abroad. Some exiles, unable to safely return and unsure if a return would ever be possible during their lifetime, set about repatriating their mortal remains back to Spain should they die before Franco⁸. Individuals like Clara Campoamor Rodriguez, who died in 1972, stated in her will to have her body repatriated and cremated in San Sebastian, the place where she was living when the second republic started (Molero, J.A., 2017). Likewise, Diego Martinez Barrio died in 1962 but was only repatriated in 2000 (Alvarez Rey, L., 2010). For these individuals, Spanish soil was

⁸ Based on RD-LS number of returns, 69% of all returns after the death of Franco were politically motivated.

their ultimate and permanent resting place, even though they died in exile.

The postmortem strategy of return revolved around the transport of the body and the burial or dispersion of the remains of the individual. A close friend or relative would do the procedural and logistical paperwork and usually traveled back with the body (Arraras, A. S., 2010, P.175). According to Rosy Rickett (2015), Jose Montesinos, along with his wife, planned to have his body returned to Spain. However, it was an exhaustively bureaucratic procedure with unforeseen paperwork, costs and time (p.113).

Image 3. Reasoning for returning during Franco’s power and afterwards.



3.2 Strategies: 1975 - 2010⁹

3.2.1 Political Return

These individuals were a new type of permanent returnees, generally highly educated with a passion to share their Republican memory in order to rebuild from the past their future nation. They would not have returned while Franco was in power and many would have had a

⁹ 2010 is the year of the last return for a first generation returnee in the RD-LS database.

small sample of Spanish soil in exile (Rickett, R.M., 2015, p. 219). Politically driven, their goal was to influence Spanish politics and help to recover some of the Republican heritage.

Their political zeal was the result of 35 years of waiting. At the end of the Second World War and start of the Cold War, ardent Republican exiles played a waiting game (Caballer Albareda, G., & Solé, Q., 2012, p. 212). They would wait and hopefully outlive Franco and return after his death (Soo, S. (Ed.), (2014, p. 45). However, many died in the wait and were buried in their last country of residence. Those that outlived the dictator returned with the intention of influencing the politics of their homeland. The RD-LS dataset identifies 54 individuals that returned at this time and almost half of them returned within a two-year period after Franco's death: 28% in the first year and 21% the following year. These prominent returnees included Marcos Ana ('76); Rafael Alberti ('77); Maria Teresa de Leon Goyri ('77); Dolores Ibarruri ('77); Victoria Kent ('77) and Federica Montseny ('77), among others.

For these returnees, their politicized objectives defined their permanent strategies of return. Some sought to add their "grain of sand" to the changing political environment (Rickett, R.M., 2015.p.146), while others like Enrique Lister ('77) and Rafael Luis Fernandez Alvarez ('77) sought to take charge and lead the transitional period¹⁰. All of them had a high level of accurate information about the then existing conditions of the government and would have used their extensive network of friends and colleagues to move to Madrid. These returnees were the most focused on what they wanted from their return and conscious of the historical importance to do so.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Upon the death of Francisco Franco and soon after, all the external political and bureaucratic impediments blocking the exile's return were essentially rendered mute. Thanks in part to a series of pardons (in particular the 1969 one), exiles, barring those who still needed a passport, could return to Spain as easily as booking a holiday vacation. The planning-arriving

¹⁰ *Fallece a los 97 años.* (2010, December 18). *La Nueva España*. Retrieved January 13, 2018, from <http://www.lne.es/asturias/2010/12/18/fallece-97-anos-rafael-fernandez-primer-presidente-principado-asturias/1009464.html>

time frame was reduced to a personal choice and entirely depended on the individual's needs. However, the short and long-term planning in terms of housing and work still applied to those seeking a permanent return. Depending on their temerity, their return would lead to a Permanent or Failed case. Nothing much changed for temporary returnees, except perhaps that they no longer had police surveillance (de Hoyos Puente, J., 2012). The other forms of repatriation also no longer applied. Involuntary returns, barring economical needs such as the case of the Soviet Spanish adults in the 1990s or clandestine returns, ceased to exist because there was simply no need to return by such measures (Garrido Caballero, M., 2012). In the case of jailed returnees, all political prisoners directly linked to the civil war had been freed by the late 1960s. As for expatriation of bodies, it is unknown how many bequeathed their mortal remains returned to Spain after the death of Franco. It is a subject for further studies. However, the death of Franco created a new type of returnee, one who was exceedingly political and driven by a desire to return and to be a part of the new political landscape, and to help Spain transition back to democracy.

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IV.2. WOMEN'S PROFILES

The second published article was written following the Chicago Manual Style as directed by the *Nova Science* editorial board. In it, we introduce the profiles of exiled returning women by their receiving country; examining and surveying the various similarities and differences between them in a side-by-side comparison. At the time of writing, the total number of women amounted to 81% of the M-database. The queries focused on the age upon the returning, in relation to their exile period, and whether they worked or not as influenced by their education. We also considered their reasoning for repatriating and outlined the social-political events of their respective receiving countries that perhaps influenced them. We wanted to discern any overarching influence these exerted on returnees and if this amounted to shared national acculturations in their re-entries. We also took the aforementioned parameter averages and selected one individual woman to represent the entire group and provide a more detailed contextualization of the general group itself. The ultimate aim was thus to ascertain differences between the groups as they adapted back to Spanish society.

The findings favored more shared traits among all the women with the biggest modifier being age upon exile, and later, in the return. In other words, the shorter the exile period, the more re-adaptation occurred. Inversely, the longer the exile period, the less likely it was that the individual would resettle in their hometown. This may seem axiomatic, however, there have not been quantifiable studies stating as much for this population in the field.

The next limiter that differentiated the women was the time period of their return, which correlated with their time in exile. Women's re-adaptation experiences in the 1940s were drastically different from those in the 1970s. The women in the first decade, regardless of the receiving country, navigated more drastic social-political-bureaucratic challenges while returning to their native regions at 81%. Three decades later, the influence of the receiving country or the exile period of time (or both), factored into the point where only 38% returned to their hometowns while dealing with minimal social-bureaucratic trials.

Bibliographic Reference:

Escobar Deras, M. & Bocanegra Barbecho, L. (2020). Women's profiles: First generation of Spanish Civil War exiles who returned to Spain, a digital humanities perspective. In E. Fallaci (ed), *Women: Opportunity and Challenges* (pp. 241-271). Nova Science. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5833527>

Original Title:

Women's profiles: First generation of Spanish Civil War exiles who returned to Spain, a digital humanities perspective.

Título en español:

Perfiles de mujeres: Primera generación de exiliados de la Guerra Civil que regresaron a España, un perfeccionamiento de las humanidades digitales.

Abstract:

The Spanish Civil War displaced half a million people outside of Spain and exiled more than two hundred thousand across the world, concentrating them into refugee communities in France, Mexico, Argentina, and The Soviet Union. In the field of Spanish diaspora much of the research has focused on the exiled acculturation experience and to a much lesser degree, the repatriation back to Spain. In this homecoming, mostly all gender-based research has focused on the individual woman and narrative. We set out to broaden and categorize the various women who return by grouping them by their country of exile and comparing their comparable information. We created two databases where one (RD-LS) aggregated individuals found in literary mediums in academia and elsewhere, and the second (RD-SN) generated a database via an online questionnaire directed and imputed by exile descendants. We totaled 101 women, 83 for the latter and 18 for the former. These were then grouped by country of exile and their supplemental information was evaluated. We created four profile groups accounting for 81% of the total women. We analyzed migratory and social-political

queries and concluded that the French and Mexican profiles were more representative of their whole populations than the Soviet Union and Argentinian ones.

Keywords: Women, Digital Humanities, Spanish Civil War, Exile

Resumen:

La Guerra Civil española desplazó a medio millón de personas fuera de España y exilió a más de doscientos miles por todo el mundo, concentrándose en comunidades de refugiados en Francia, México, Argentina y la Unión Soviética. En el campo de la diáspora española, gran parte de la investigación se ha centrado en la experiencia de aculturación del exiliado y, en mucho menor grado, en la repatriación a España. En esta vuelta a casa, la mayoría de las investigaciones basadas en el género se han centrado en la mujer individual y en la narrativa. Nos propusimos ampliar y categorizar a las distintas mujeres que regresan agrupándolas por su país de exilio y comparando su información comparable. Creamos dos bases de datos en las que una (RD-LS) agregaba individuos encontrados en medios literarios en el ámbito académico y en otros lugares, y la segunda (RD-SN) generaba una base de datos a través de un cuestionario en línea dirigido e imputado por descendientes de exiliados. En total, 101 mujeres, 83 en el segundo caso y 18 en el primero. A continuación se agruparon por país de exilio y se evaluó su información complementaria. Creamos cuatro grupos de perfiles que representan el 81% del total de mujeres. Analizamos las consultas migratorias y sociopolíticas y concluimos que los perfiles francés y mexicano eran más representativos de sus poblaciones totales que los soviéticos y argentinos.

Palabras clave: Mujeres, Humanidades Digitales, Guerra Civil Española, Exilio

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939) uprooted over half a million Spaniards into neighboring countries, mostly into France. A quarter of which were women and children (Moreno-Seco and Martinez 2013, 168). Within a year afterward, more than half had returned on their own or were repatriated back by the French government (Soo 2014, 17). For the two

hundred thousand that remained in exile, their diaspora would define them. These women would become the first generation of peninsula-born exiles who were directly displaced by the warfare and its post-war aftermath. An unknown number would eventually turn back to Spain, becoming returnees, to either visit or resettle once more. On average, this return trajectory lasted 27 years; almost three decades away from Spain and its culture (Deras 2019, 22). Upon their return, they encountered a new Spanish society and government, as foreign as they were to it (Richards 2002, 97).

The Spanish diaspora as a research field is well-established and to a lesser extent, the return phase as well; which has shifted its focus beyond the homecoming experience (de Hoyos Puente 2017, 294, 299). The general study of exiled women has mainly focused on the overall experience in the receiving countries, by their culture or the acculturation or lack-there-of of these countries' dominant values (Vigil 2008, 61). Additionally, the repatriation back to the exiles' own country, the homecoming, was seen as an end to the refugee period. However, as the Spanish-Mexican philosopher exile Adolfo Sanchez Vázquez stated in his 1951 – 1952 sonnet, *Uprooted corpse* (Desterrado Muerto), the exile does not end with one's death (Alonso and González 2017, 3). Noting that the exile experience, elongated through the passage of time, skews the individual in a “no man's land,” even when returning to one's birth country.

This shift in focus, from the exile to the homecoming, became notably defined by Josefina Bustillo Cuestas and Alicia Alted Vigil respectively and established the return aspect of the diaspora as its own field (Bustillo 1999; Vigil 1999). Returning to one's own “home” country was no longer the end of the exile, but a continuation of the same. Other perspectives soon emerged. For example, the focus on the return experience of the children of war (González Martínez 2003). While others still categorized the various types of returns among the exiles (Pozo-Guiterrez 2010; Deras 2019). Further still are the individual women's experiences regarding the exile experience and to an extent their individual returns (Díaz Silva 2016; Sánchez 2006). Although much has been done in the field, it is still an emerging one and lacks a coherent broad overview of the returning women en masse. The majority of which were bureaucratically overshadowed by their husbands or whose individual returns were simply not noted for posterity (Bocanegra Barbecho 2015, 64; Vigil 2008, 61).

Our objective is thus twofold. First, it is to introduce a broad gender perspective on the homecoming aspect of these exiles and generate a starting point for future analysis of individual returnee women vis-à-vis their country of exile. Building on Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho's expansive online return analysis, we have set out to cover the time span from 1936 to the present (Bocanegra Barbecho and Toscano 2016, 242-244). We believe that such a wide-ranging overview and focus across the various decades after the civil war requires continuous revision. In order to accomplish this, we set out to distinguish the key commonalities among the exiled women and their general differences as they relate to their receiving country of exile. Using their quantifiable data, as well as their personal stories, we aggregated a general profile of the various types of returnees per country. Lastly, we chose a woman that closely matched the general overview of their profile group to embody and add context to it. We will strive to add an individual from the RD-SN database so that their narrative becomes part of the historical collective and memory of returnee women.

METHOD

Databases

In order to identify and group the many individuals exiled women who returned to Spain, two databases were designed and created. The first was to be composed of exiled individuals as mentioned by other researchers in the field and whose work or subject was published in any medium. We would then ascertain the individual via supplemental records and enter all information by hand. This database was thus called Returnee Data in Literary Studies (RD-LS). This was also boosted by five individual women found in the Exiliad@s Project, who by its online nature is itself a database (Bocanegra Barbecho 2019). The second database was created from an online Google questionnaire that was publicized in exiled social networks and directed at the descendants of exiled individuals, resulting in the Returnee Data in Social Networks (RD-SN). This database was created by the individual respondents and only slightly curated for accuracy and redundancy. It also served as a case study by itself to see how the internet questionnaires can be used to distribute information and engage citizen participation to bring to light untold stories and in so doing generate a historical perspective.

We then divided the long period of time of our data into two manageable periods. The first being Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939 – 1975), and the second, was after his death (1976 – present). This help delineate the various returns and contextualize the different historical events around them. For instance, if the return took place during the time of Franco, it meant a greater cost in terms of time, money and bureaucracy that the individual had to confront in order to return to Spain (Rickett 2015, 123). Although there is merit in further subdividing Franco's tenure into his First rule (1939-1959) and Second rule (1960-1975), we felt it would needlessly add complexity to the general profile overview of the women (Vigil 2001, 61).

Both databases contained similar fields and data since they were both designed with the individual return experience in mind, thus we combined them for our topic. We totaled 231 individual exiled returnees. Males were filtered out leaving 114 women; 100 first-generation and 14 second-generation returnees. The latter group was also filtered out leaving only the former.

We then further separated the data fields into two types of information, quantifiable data and personal subjective details. The former specifically involved itself with the timeframes of the exile, duration and subsequent repatriation or return years. The latter information was composed of particular data such as birth city; resettlement region or town (therein referred to as city); if married; educational background and reason for returning. Of note, subjective information could be incomplete or missing if the individual did not share them with us or could not be correlated elsewhere. Hence, only the two largest available data percentages are included for this type of data. To illustrate, the status of marriage may only total 50% of the individuals, including those that were not married; hence, the other 50% was unknown. Consequently, we endeavored to provide the top two percentages per profile group. Lastly, we also included information like the level of education of the individual, separated into either a basic level or post-secondary schooling, implying university or another specialized schooling.

Finalizing the group profile, we chose an individual woman from the RD-SN database, whose information was authorized to share and best exemplified the profile group. In this way, we hoped to add another exiled individual story and experience to the general collective of known returnees and to the historical memory.

There were however two parameters that were not included in our analyses. The first is that we did not account for the type of return of these individual women. They could have been Involuntary returns, Clandestine, Dead returns, and so on (Soo 2014, 13; Deras 2019, 25). We felt that adding such parameters would further complicate the broad group profiles. However, two such classifications were used in context (Failed and Political), to facilitate the group's description.

The second parameter, which is a limitation in our survey, is that we did not take into account if the exiled women returned with their children; and if so, their age. Having children, young or adult, would have provided a deeper interpretation of the sacrifices taken in the return process and explained the various decisions made once in Spain, i.e. work or resettlement city (Bahr 2001, 1241). This information was only indirectly captured for some women, and ultimately, we felt the data was insufficient for analysis.

Countries

We focused on the top four Spanish refugee receiving countries, The Soviet Union or United Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR), Mexico, France and Argentina (Rickett 2015; Brugat 1994). These four countries amounted to 80% of the returns in our databases. We then paired them by the number of returns and years in exile. The first pairing was the USSR and Mexico, which happened to be the chosen or ideal receiving countries for many politically-minded Republican and Communist refugees alike (Young 2014, 396). Together, these two countries accounted for 51% of the documented women in our database.

The USSR, Mexico and Argentina also have the distinction of being the few countries that officially helped the Spanish Republic during the Civil War (Barbecho Bocanegra 2014, 30; Gonzalez 1986, 42-43). Once the fighting ended, both the USSR and Mexico broke diplomatic relations with the then-new Franco Government, maintaining unofficial channels via their French consulates in Paris and only officially reestablishing diplomatic relations two years after Franco's death in 1977 respectively (Garrido Caballero 2008, 413). In terms of returns, they were the only two countries that did not repatriate their children of war in the postwar period (Qualls 2014, 24; Garrido Caballero 2012, 244). These two countries are thus unique in their general refugees, and

on a broader level, add a point of distinction to other receiving countries and their exiled populations.

The second pairing was of two distinct countries, France and Argentina. France was the default country of exile while Argentina was a chosen, and perhaps, the ideal country for the women that emigrated there. In France, many of the refugees were at an impasse, unable to return to Spain, they could either stay in the concentration camps or join the forced labor force (Guilhem 2005;17). Argentina, due to its distance, required greater social and monetary means (Martínes 2011, 7).

Terms

There are many terms regarding the Spanish Civil War, the exile period and the return phase. We wanted to define our uses of them and how they apply to the individual returnees and their countries of exile. First, the use of repatriation refers to individuals that were forced to repatriate or sought assistance to do so, lacking the mechanisms to do it themselves (Richmond 1993, 4). Returnee classifies those individuals that repatriated back to Spain on their own accord and means. Similarly, an exile is not an economic immigrant. The last is not addressed in this paper at all. In contrast, this paper does not make a distinction between an exiled or a refugee and uses them synonymously for readability. The next term is a child of war. In the Spanish Civil War context, it defines those children that were sent outside of Spain in mass groups without their parents. It is estimated that 33,000 were sent in such a background (Vivil 2003, 4). Most children of war were repatriated back to Spain on behalf of the Franco government during the post-war period (Garrido Caballero 2012, 253; González Martínez 2003, 76).

There are also other terms that are simpler. For example, the receiving country is one in which it willingly accepts refugees. This would be different from a default country of exile, where people had no choice but to be exiled in, due to having no other option. Portugal, France, Andorra, and even Morocco are all examples of default countries of exile for the Spanish refugees. However, if the refugee had the means to do otherwise, they would move from the default country of exile (now a transitional country), to a second or possibly a third exile nation until reaching their destination or chosen exile country (De Haas 2007, 45). These transitions of

terms and countries could last any time period, from months to years and are only now used in this way. Many individuals could not foresee the trajectory of their exile. For example, most of the children of war in the USSR did not see the Union as their chosen or transitional country but rather as something akin to a home base (Aguirre Herráinz 2015, 130; Qualls 2014, 3). Being mostly children, they, along with the entirety of the Spanish exiles around the world, unknowingly thought their exodus would only last a short period of time.

RESULT

Table 1. Averages for USSR and Mexico profiles

USSR 26%	timeframe	Mexico 25%
1927	Year of birth	1914
9	Age at exile	26
1937	Year of exile	1939
39	Years in exile	31
45	Age at return	60
1976	Year of return	1969

USSR

At 26%, the USSR average profile is the most numerous in our database research. It is the most homogeneous and yet the least indicative of the overall exiled experience per the receiving country. According to Dolores Pla Brugat, six thousand Spaniards exiled themselves to the USSR (Brugat 2002, 104). Of these, 2,895 were children of war (González Martínez 2003, 76). In our database query, only two individuals were adults at the time of their exile, the rest were all children of war. For this reason, this profile group is more indicative of the children of war than of the overall exiled group. Thus, when averaging the group's quantifiable data, they are unlike the others. Generally, members of this group were born later than all the others, on average in 1927. Ten years later, they would be exiled at the average age of 9. They would then go on to live the longest period of exile, spending 39 years outside of Spain and returning at the age of 45 in 1976. As a general rule, all Soviet children of war that wanted to, had free access to university

education, which 40% of them took advantage of (Vigil 2002, 149). However, our database only captured 19% as having a post-secondary education. Likewise, our data established that 27% were married. A low number considering that typically more than 80% of the Russian population was married by 31 years old (Scherbov 2004, 33). This is partially explained by Franco's policy of denying repatriation to Spanish women married to Russian men (González Martínez 2003, 85).

As for their return timelines, no other profile group has such a clear separation in their return patterns. Firstly, 27% of these women were repatriated during Franco's rule in a specific state-run repatriation event that lasted four years, from 1956 to 1959 (González Martínez 2003, 81). However and for this period, all the Soviet-Spanish returnees in our database arrived in two years, 1956 – 1957. There were no other returns for this group until after Franco's passing, where 42% returned on their own accord starting in 1980. Because there is such a stark contrast between these two groups of Soviet-Spanish women, we felt it best to describe them separately as it highlights the exclusive circumstances of the children of war.

The first grouping of 27% of women who returned during the late 50s state-sponsored repatriation was only possible after the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 and the release of Spanish military prisoners (Lordache Cârstea 2019, 49). In its restructuring, the USSR in 1955 also voted for the inclusion of Spain in the United Nations' 109 resolution (Soo, 2014, 20; Vigil 2003, 10). Combined, the average age for this group was 29 years old, where 50% were married, usually to other Spanish males (González Martínez 2003, 84-85). When surveying their reasoning for returning, 50% alluded to family motives. Indicative of either their familial connection, the re-establishment of it, or their need for one to rebuild their lives, the majority (84%) resettled in their city of origin. However, Spain's economy was only then transitioning to an open market and only 17% worked (Powell 2015, 5; Aguirre 2015, 132). Subsequently, and perhaps due to the inability of finding employment, having estranged familial ties, or the continual government surveillance, the majority (83%) turned back to the USSR within a year of their arrival. Most of these individuals would later move to Cuba or Mexico and ultimately back to Spain once more when the USSR dissolved (Young 2014, 396). Their original 1950s repatriation would be classified as a Failed return for they did not adjust nor integrate back into Spanish Society (Pozo-

Gutierrez and Soo 2010, 6; Deras 2019, 25). This academic classification would have not been seen the same way by the individual refugees themselves, for in many of their accounts, they refer to their repatriation in 1956 as an experience (González Martínez 2003,84; Arce 2002, 224).

For the latter half, the 42% that returned after Franco's death, at an average age of 59 years old, 60% returned for political reasons while only 20% were married and not one worked upon their return. Additionally, 15% resettled in their city of origin and 10% to larger cities. However, these percentages of personal data may not be indicative at all of the entire group nor reflect accurate information for the individuals in the group. This is because most Political returnees moved to larger cities to affect some level of social change (Deras 2019, 27). A further indication of this is that our database only accounts for 19% of the USSR group profile having post-secondary education. However, according to Soviet-Spanish child of war Manuel Arce, they did not need to compete for availability at universities and their post-secondary schooling was free if they simply passed the entrance exams (Arce 2002, 228).

The woman representing the group profile from the RD-SN database is Vicenta Llorente de Moral. Her information was entered by her longtime friend who had also written of her previously (Colón 2005). Born in 1930, she was only six years old when her widowed mother sent her and her brother in *La Habana* transport ship to France in 1937. There they were transferred to the *Sontai* ship en route to St. Petersburg. She would spend 19 years in the Soviet Union, earning her university degree in biology with a specialization in entomology. She was among the first to return when the opportunity to repatriate presented itself in 1956, wanting to reunite with her mother and sister. At 26 years old, she was unmarried and did not present a “threat” to the Spanish government (González Martínez, 2003, 85). Because of this, her undergrad degree was also recognized and allowed her to enroll in a doctoral program in Madrid. Thus she did not resettle back in her native Algorta and proceeded to work in Spain as an entomologist till her retirement.

Mexico

The Mexican profile group of women is the second largest at 25% of our database profiles. Mexico also received the second-highest number of Spanish refugees next to France,

estimated at 20,000 exiles (Fagen 2014, 37). The majority of the refugees in our profile, at 84%, moved directly from France to Mexico. It was the country of choice due to the welcoming social-political conditions of the time, with no professional or ideological requisites for the individual and freedom to work and even become Mexican citizens (Pliego-Moreno 2006, 213, 225, 233, 263). Even the Spanish Republican Government in exile resided in it pro tempore. With all these conditions, the Spanish intelligentsia in exile flourished and integrated into the Mexican nation.

Our database group profile is representative of the greater exiled population in Mexico. On average, this group was exiled in 1939 at the age of 26. They then spent the second-longest exile period at 31 years, returning in 1969 at the age of 60. This is significant because 64% returned during Franco's rule and 28% after his death. Once more, returning during the Franco government was significantly more difficult and dangerous due to the 1939 law of responsibility (Soo 2014, 39). This is particularly noteworthy when considering that Mexico had no official diplomacy with Spain and forms and passports were obtained via third-party organizations (Rickett 2015, 135). Citing their reason for returning, 24% of the individuals cited family motives and 16% returned for political objectives. According to our data, this group was also the most "well educated" at 28% post-secondary education and elementary at 12%. Once in Spain, 36% returned to their city of origin with 12% choosing a larger city; with close to half of this group opting not to work at 40%, while 32% did so. From its data, this group was the most well-off vis-à-vis the others.

The Mexican profile group is represented by Adela Zubiaurre González. Born in 1909, she was 30 years old when in 1940, she traveled to the Dominican Republic from France. It is unknown how long she remained in Santo Domingo, then known as Trujillo City, after the country's dictator. We can only speculate on her reasoning but the agrarian and working conditions for Spanish refugees at the time made many leave for third countries of exile (González Tejera 2012, 57). In Mexico she would spend 30 years, temporarily returning in 1970 at the age of 61 to visit her birthplace and family. According to her Mexican-Spanish granddaughter, Adela had a "basic" level of education and did not work beyond the realm of the house.

Table 2. Averages for France and Argentina profiles

France		Argentina
25%	timeframe	4%
1916	Year of birth	1902
24	Age at exile	41
1940	Year of exile	1939
14	Years in exile	24
41	Age at return	65
1955	Year of return	1963

France

Because of the Spanish Civil War, and the way it terrestrially spread, France became the default country of exile and the single largest receiver of the exodus. However, within a year from the end of the conflict, this number was halved due to repatriations and returns alike (Soo 2014, 35). For the over two hundred thousand that remain, France would become their second home country. Their various individual fates would be governed by whichever governmental policy they found themselves living in at the time. Many were forced into labor camps by the Vichy government, while many others sought ways to survive or even fight against fascism in France and Spain (Berdah 2008, 314).

Our database profile group represents well the greater whole of the exiled population. These Spanish refugee women have been described as mostly housewives with a basic level of education (Vigil 2008, 68). When averaging their data, this description becomes more complicated. At 25% of returns, this profile group matches the one of Mexico. However, this group of women is much younger upon their return. The average woman in this group was exiled in 1940 at the age of 24. This year of exile is after the conflict period of 1939 and is due to the fact that 16% of these women exiled themselves in 1947 and 1948 respectively. As a whole, these women would average 14 years in exile, the smallest time period for all of our profiles.

With 88% of them returning during the Franco period of rule, at 41 years old in 1955. A further point of distinction is that 36% of them returned by 1945, not waiting for the fighting of World War II to finish and dealing with all the full socio-political backlash in Spain at that time. On average, 27% of these women were married, while 25% were not. It is unknown how many of them had children and whether or not they returned with them or with their spouses. When deducing their reasons for returning, 64% did so for familial reasons, while 16% for political ones. This correlated to their resettlement location, where 72% selected their city of origin and only 12% opted for a larger city. Furthermore, 46% had a "basic" level of education and 29% had post-secondary levels. Because of the age at return, 46% of these women worked once in Spain, the largest of any group. It is difficult to ascertain in which sector or industry most of these women worked, but 32% of them did menial service jobs from seamstress to washer.

The individual woman that best represents this profile group is Rosario Ortells Badenes. Born in 1904 in Castellon, she was 35 years old when she and her husband were exiled to Elne, France. She would spend 16 years there and in 1955, at the age of 52, permanently returned with her husband and son to the same city (a neighboring town) that she was from. However, according to her grandson, she was not happy with how Spain was at the time of her return and was never "accepted" by the community that still saw her as a "red." Because of her age and basic level of education, coupled with the limited employment options at the time, she continued to work "odd" jobs but mostly took care of her family home.

Argentina

Last in the profiles is Argentina. At four percent of the total returns, it is the smallest in our profile groups. It is estimated that Argentina received approximately 10,000 Spanish refugees by 1945 (Pla 2002, 105). This would make it third in the total of refugees received by any one country. Well ahead of the USSR.

Four our profile group, and due to its small number of individuals from the RD-LS database, it is not at all representative of the larger exiled population in Argentina. It is a collection of women composed of three accomplished writers and one artist. The majority of them left France for Argentina directly, making it their country of choice. They were also the

oldest of all the profiles at 36 years old when departing in 1939. On average, they spend 24 years in exile, the second smallest period of time next to France. They then returned in 1963 at the average age of 65, the oldest average for our four profile groups. All of them had postsecondary education and were established in their profession prior to their exile. They also exercised a similar profession before and during their *émigré*. Three-fourths returned during Franco's rule and a quarter immediately after his death. When classifying their reasons for returning, half were for political reasons, while a quarter did so for work and another quarter for education. Upon their return 75% of them were married and 25% widowed. Once in Spain, half chose to resettle in a larger city from their birthplace, while a quarter returned to the birthplace and another to a smaller town

Unfortunately, there were no RD-SN women in this profile group and thus we chose the closest matching RD-LS female. This turned out to be the writer Rosa Clotilde Chacel Arimón. At 41 years old, she was the second oldest in the group to emigrate to Argentina. She was also in the minority for the Argentina group since it was not her first chosen country of exile and had arrived via a circuitous route of France, Greece and Brazil. She spent 22 years in Argentina, temporarily returning in 1961 at the age of 63 and staying till 1963. She would then permanently move to her native Valladolid, Spain in 1973. She was the only woman in the group to return for education purposes, receiving a Fundación Juan March scholarship to finish her “Neighborhood of Wonders” [*Barrio de Maravillas*] (Fundación March 2019). Chacel would receive various literary awards and continued to write till her passing in 1994.

CONCLUSION

Our objective was to create a general overview of the individual women and their differences as they returned and adapted back to Spanish society from their respective countries, while also creating a starting point of reference for subsequent similar research. We believe that by classifying their collective experiences in exile, we can gain insight into their varied ensuing experiences once home.

Our findings thus revealed more shared traits and subsequent questions than differences. According to our database, a short exile period favored re-adaptation into Spanish society. Both

the French profile group with its relatively short exile period and the much longer USSR period showed a correlation with the type of resettlement chosen once returned. In other words, if the individual returned in the first ten years of exile, there was an 81% chance that she resettled in her birthplace community and 19% elsewhere. Inversely, if she spent more than 40 years in exile, there was a 62% chance that she resettled elsewhere and 38% in the original hometown. Although resettling in the same community does not automatically equate to re-adaptation, it does favor it.

There was a smaller correlation when examining the shared trait of the familial link, or lack thereof, and politics. Among all the four profile groups, the top two reasons for returning to Spain were family and politics. We found that for those women choosing to return for familial reasons, there was a 77% chance they resettled in their original communities and 23% elsewhere. However, if they returned for political reasons, there was a 53% probability of resettling elsewhere and 47% for the same community. Both associations exemplify the uprooting distancing effect of the exile period overtime on the individual and culture.

This however advances many questions for exiles, and are particularly poignant when addressing the experience of the children of war. For example, if one is a child of nine years old when exiled into a new culture, how “Spanish” are you really after forty years in exile? Vicenta Llorente de Moral speaks of the Spanish culture in the USSR in active and positive terms, and she identified as such. However, her liberties and agency to be Spanish, and those of her adult guardians, is put into question when she herself stated that without telling her nor knowing of him, the USSR separated her brother from her for four years (Colón 2005, 211). Their degree of assimilation to Soviet culture is perhaps an extreme case, but one that speaks of how refugees change and adapt when in new cultures.

The four aggregated profiles of returnee women are examples of individual adjustments to tremendous circumstances over a long period of time and reflect shared common traits vis-à-vis their exiled country. The USSR profile was disproportionately made up of children of war. Our profile group serves as a case study of 50% of the exile population in the USSR. It highlights the long duration and acculturation these “children” had to Soviet culture and its educational system. As well as the re-entry shock some of these women experience when first repatriating in late

1950s Spain. However, as it is now, it is not an accurate sampling of the whole Soviet exiled population, nor of those rare few individuals that left and returned to Spain as adults. Like with all profiles groups, more individual returnees are needed to better describe the overall exiled populations.

The Mexican group of women was the most varied and indicative of its first-generation exiled population. It had the most diverse professions with a high number of post-secondary education. In general, these returnees were more financially, socially, and politically solvent than the rest of the groups. This in turn allowed them to return to Spain on better footing. However, this could be due to an imbalance in the RD-LS database, where more prominent figures were exiled in Mexico and thus have been written about by investigators.

Although France is where the majority of Spanish refugees resided, they only accounted for 25% of our database research. There could be any number of reasons why this is so, and we venture two. First, we did not aggregate enough candidates and must continue to enlarge the individuals in both databases. Second, the French returnees have not been identified as much as the other profiles and have been bureaucratically invisible among decades of paperwork as Spaniards traveling to Spain. With the shortest exile period, which places them in the first period of the Franco rule, and the highest resettlement rates to their original communities, they are more difficult to register. One thing is for certain, not enough female individuals have been documented as returnees and their lives written down for posterity.

Argentina, based on our database, is the complete opposite of the French profile. It is composed of the oldest women at the time of exile and also of those returning while being second to France in terms of the exiled period. All of them were established and recognized professionals in their fields, as registered by their inclusion in the RD-LS database of notable returnees. Finally, they had financial mobility or agency, unlike the other profiles.

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IV.3. RESETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The third article in the thesis followed the Chicago Manual Style as indicated by *Hispania Nova* periodical. It investigated the physical location of resettlement by returnees and whether they chose their native towns to return to after exile or elsewhere; and what, if any, external forces influence their choice. This is the first direct attempt at addressing the resettlement question and choice in the Return phenomenon field and in such a large span of time, 1939 through 2010. In our analysis, we also separated the returns by gender to inspect the differences between men and women. Besides quantifying the return location, the article ultimately meant to introduce a general exploratory dialogue of the variances in the return experience vis-a-vis the external social-political pressures that the distinctive genders faced as a whole; advancing groundwork correlations and not causations. The article also furthered the age progression idea introduced in the second article, where, in regards to women's resettlement choice, it was contingent on the age and long period of exile; i.e., the younger the woman and the shorter the exile period, the greater the probability of returning to her hometown. This relationship, however, was not extended to men and their resettlement choices.

Our findings were thus meant to be preliminary points of arguments to be expanded, contested and developed further. Chief among these is that most first-generation exiles returned during Franco's 35-year tenure, with only the most staunch politically driven individuals not returning during that time. Second, women were not exposed to the same social and political standards that the men were subjected to and therefore faced less social-political backlash when resettling back in their native towns. By extension, the Franco regime saw women as having less agency and means to challenge his power and base. Finally, the death of Franco triggered a wave of returns that were political in nature; in which these individuals gravitated to much larger cities than their birth towns.

In the future, a more refined gender resettlement focus will be explored, investigating only Permanent and Temporary Returns during the First Francoist period of rule (1939-1959). This period was the most dangerous for returning refugees and it bears examining how and where these resettled and if the same gender differences apply.

Bibliographic Reference:

Escobar Deras, M. (2021). Patrones de reasentamiento: una aproximación digital cuantitativa y exploratoria de los exiliados republicanos de primera generación que regresaron a España (1939-2010). *HISPANIA NOVA. Primera Revista de Historia Contemporánea on-line en castellano. Segunda Época*, 152-168.

Original Title:

Resettlement patterns: a quantitative and exploratory digital approximation of first-generation Republican exiles who returned to Spain (1939-2010).

Título en español:

Patrones de reasentamiento: una aproximación digital cuantitativa y exploratoria de los exiliados republicanos de primera generación que regresaron a España (1939-2010).

Abstract:

This research explores the quantifiable data of 158 first-generation Republican exiles based on the year of repatriation to Spain (from 1939 to 2010), and their resettlement choices once in the country. The data was obtained from the merging of two ad hoc databases, queried to see if the individuals returned to their birthplace after their exile period or if they chose a larger or smaller city to re-incorporate into Spanish society. Gender differences are moderately examined to explore variances between women favoring their birth cities and men's movement away from their hometowns due to external forces. We reached a series of conclusions that can be tentatively applied to the greater return experience and correlated a strong link between time spent in exile and the likelihood, or lack thereof, of returning to the city of origin. In so doing, helping to discern the adaptation back into Spanish society.

Keywords: Return, Repatriation, Republican Exile, Digital Humanities, women.

Resumen:

Esta investigación explora los datos cuantificables de ciento cincuenta y ocho exiliados republicanos de primera generación, según el año de repatriación a España (de 1939 a 2010), y sus opciones de reasentamiento una vez en el país. Los datos obtenidos provienen de la fusión de dos bases de datos, creadas ad hoc, que se consultaron para ver si estos exiliados regresaron a su lugar de nacimiento, después de su período de exilio, o si eligieron una ciudad diferente para reincorporarse a la sociedad española. Las diferencias de género se examinan moderadamente para explorar las diferencias entre las mujeres que optaban por regresar a sus ciudades nativas y los hombres que optaban por lugares diferentes debido a fuerzas externas. Llegamos a una serie de conclusiones que se pueden aplicar al fenómeno del retorno en general, correlacionándose el fuerte vínculo entre el tiempo pasado en el exilio y la probabilidad, o falta de ella, de regresar a la ciudad de origen. De este modo, nos ayuda a discernir la adaptación, o no, a la sociedad española.

Palabras clave: Retorno, repatriación, exilio republicano, humanidades digitales, mujeres.

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) displaced half a million people, most of them into France. The majority repatriated back to Spain within a year and a half of the end of the conflict. However, for the over one hundred thousand people that remained outside of Spain, the average period of exile would last 25 years (Soo 2014, 40-44). This group, as well as other peninsula-born individuals who emigrated after the civil war, became the first generation of Spanish exiles. A first-generation individual is a refugee of the Spanish Civil War who was directly affected by either the bellicose period, or its aftermath, and later lived in exile.¹ The total number of first-generation refugees that remained in exile or repatriated back to Spain is unknown (Ortuño Martínez 2015, 127). This is partly due to emphasis on the bellicose period of the war and the

¹ First-generation also includes individuals born in Spain after the civil war and who were forced to emigrate because of it. Their displacement from Spain would need to have been a direct result of the civil war itself. For example, V. C. Farga was born in 1943 in Barcelona, but due to his family's physical and political hardship, his parents emigrated to Mexico in 1950. He returned to Barcelona 59 years later in 2009 at the age of 66. See 'Encuesta del exiliado Retornado.' Published September 28, 2018.

subsequent human condition and plight of the exiles. The repatriation aspect (temporary or permanent; immediate or otherwise, which herein will be referred to as the return, if self-motivated), has been largely overlooked, and until recently, only sporadically noted. The focus was given to notable individuals like Salvador Dalí, who returned to Spain in 1948, intellectuals like Rafael Alberti (returned in 1977), or Civil War political figures such as “La Pasionaria” Dolores Ibárruri (returned in 1977). This oversight in the academic field began changing in the late 1990s when Alicia Alted Vigil and Josefina Bustillo, in their respective works, shifted the exile focus to that of the return of exiles (Alted Vigil 1999; Bustillo Cuestas 1999). As well as the testimony of Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, a first-generation refugee in Mexico who concluded that the exile period never ended, including for the individuals who returned to Spain (Sánchez Vázquez, 1997, 27-38). Their repatriations became a new focus for researchers like Carmen González Martínez (2003) who analyzed the lives of exiled children and their mixed reception and adaptation back into their families and Spanish society in general. Later, Pozo-Gutierrez Alicia and Scott Soo (2010) categorized the various refugee and migrant returns to Spain after Francisco Franco’s first “pardon”. More recently, Abdón Mateos López (2015) focused on prominent exiled socialists and their repatriations back to Spain following their political pursuits after the death of Franco in 1975. Likewise, Rosy Rickett (2015) and Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho (2015) each have scholarly works that look into the return experiences of former exiles, and how these affect the collective historical memory. Further still, the interest in the Civil War and Exile has extended to online networks and collectively come under the umbrella of digital humanities.² However, the Return phenomenon once more has not had a central focus.

Although the study of the return has gained the attention of researchers, there is still a dearth of scholarship that examines it at the macro-level and over the eight decades that followed the Civil War. This paper aims to aggregate, quantify and begin a general exploratory dialogue about the return experience by specifically focusing on where individuals resettled once they returned to Spain and their reasoning for doing so. We will also identify general trends from the datasets that can then be tentatively extended to the return phenomenon as a whole. It will not

² See Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica (CDMH), accessed April 20, 2021, <http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/areas/archivos/mc/archivos/cdmh/portada.html>. See also Proyecto Historia y Memoria (HISMEDI), accessed April 20, 2021, <https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/hismedi-g/page/inicio>

directly address the assimilation experience back into Spanish society but it will however speculate on the social-political conditions surrounding the various return groupings.

METHODOLOGY

Two distinct databases on returnees were combined into one online database that included the date and city of birth, year of return and the city of residency or death for each individual. The sources of the two databases are the Returnee Data Literary Studies (RD-LS), and the Returnee Data in Social Networks (RD-SN), which both are part of the E-xiliad@s project repository of exiled Republican individuals (Bocanegra Barbecho 2021).³ The first database is composed of data from 200 exiles (all generations), who were repatriated, or returned of their own accord to Spain, and who are identified in various literary mediums—including books, newspapers and academic journals—by various researchers who investigate Spanish diaspora. Included in the database are five individuals that were originally found in the general Exiliad@s open-access database (Bocanegra Barbecho 2014, 60-63). At the time of writing, the RD-SN database is composed of 57 exiles that returned to Spain and whose information was filled out and submitted by relatives or friends of the returnee via an online questionnaire. Its intended focus was to identify unknown returnees and ascertain the ease or difficulty of readapting to Spanish society.

Combining both databases, we identified 233 first-generation individuals who returned to Spain. Of these, 26 individuals (11.1%) were known to have returned— however, their exact year of return could not be identified. These returnees were excluded from further analysis. Another 75 individuals (32.1%) had the year of return identified, but either one or two of their resettlement locations (either the name of their birthplace or the city they moved to upon returning to Spain, resettlement city) was missing. These individuals had their year of return included in the overall analysis but their resettlement movements were discounted. In regards to gender, of the 100 women included, 34 of them did not have sufficient data to track their resettlement movements, leaving only 66 returnees with all the necessary data. Likewise, of the

³ Exiliad@s Project, accessed March 2020, <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info/en/project>

133 men, 41 had insufficient data, which left 92 exiles. This study did not take into account whether individuals repatriated alone or with a spouse and children—all of which would perhaps dictate a different return strategy or a resettlement destination.

We defined a resettlement movement as the city (town, village, province or region) that the returnee settled upon returning to Spain. We thus created three separate types of movements. The first movement was for those who returned to the same city where they were born. If so, a number one was written in their data file. This classification also included individuals who moved to a different city—independent of size—if this new city was less than 50 kilometers away.⁴ The distance being sufficiently large to account for the spatial distance of extended family-kin networks. However, it does not account for the ease or difficulty of the various terrains in Spain (Mönkediek and Bras 2014, 247). The second movement was for those returnees who moved to a larger city in terms of its population (and the distance was greater than 50 kilometers from their birthplace). Individuals who fit this second movement pattern were identified with the number two. Lastly, the individuals who moved to a smaller city (farther than the aforementioned distance from their birthplace), were categorized with a number three, identifying our third movement. For comparison purposes, both the second and third movements are referred to herein as “elsewhere” when comparing them to the first resettlement pattern.

Finally, based on historical and academic accounts of social-political reprisals, we correlated general assumptions to each of the resettlement movements.⁵ For the first movement (same or near the place of birth), we assumed that there would be a strong link to the land, family or culture of the individual. As was the case, for example, with C. E. Lahoz Barrio, who after 20 years in exile in France, Bolivia, and Uruguay, returned to her native Sarrión, along with her husband and daughters in 1968. The following year, her elderly parents joined her from their country of exile, France. Her example highlights the strong bond to the land and family network she kept across time and distance.

⁴ The rationale being that if both cities were in the same region, and in small enough distance, a returning individual could readily access his or her former community or family’s network. See Manuela Angelucci, et al. "Extended family networks in rural Mexico: A descriptive analysis." (2009).

⁵ All of the aforementioned authors in the introduction paragraph mention the various punishments or retaliatory experiences suffered by those who returned to Spain.

For the second movement (a bigger city farther away from the birthplace), we supposed that the individuals sought either anonymity, employment opportunities or were driven away by external or political pressures. As was the case with M. Vega de Iglesias, who combined her political objectives with her family obligations. Originating from the Santander province, she was first exiled in 1937 but returned once the war had finished to Madrid. She once again exiled herself for the second time in 1945 and finally returned in 1950 as a spy for the French government, moving once more to Madrid to both take care of her ailing father and continue her covert work.⁶

Our final and third assumption was for those individuals resettling to a smaller city. We assumed that they opted for a smaller community out of convenience, spousal connection (i.e. the spouse's birthplace region and family network), or that it led to a more advantageous existence. As was the case of S. Domenech Llin who in 1968 did not resettle in his native Alcoy, Alicante and instead opted for his wife's smaller city of Sarrión.

RESULTS

Once all categories were plotted by the year of return, a resettlement movement pattern emerged. The total breakdown was 58.2% moved to the same city, 34.8% to a larger city and 7.0% to a smaller city. Simplifying it, 58% returned to the same city or region and 42% chose elsewhere. This general breakdown, however, changed depending on the time period in which the return occurred. Chronologically, during the initial bellicose period from 1936-1939, 5.1% of all our cataloged individuals fled and returned to Spain. The great majority of these (92%), occurred after the war ended on April 1, 1939. These individuals were part of the more than 500,000 refugees who escaped the war and almost immediately returned or were repatriated back in the same year, or in 1940, by the French Government (Soo 2014, 44). Our database numbers correspond to the findings of other scholars who have examined how between April and

⁶ UCSD, 'Spanish Civil War Memory Project', accessed July 3, 2008, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html>

December of 1939, approximately 268,000 Republican exiles who were not especially involved in political causes were repatriated in great numbers (Vilar 2009, 72).

Table nº 1. Year, movement and percentage of return.

Years of return	Total percentage of returns.	same city (CASE 1)	larger city (CASE 2)	smaller city (CASE 3)
1939-1940	6.4%	78.6%	14.3%	7.1%
1941-1950	13.3%	52.5%	38.1%	9.5%
1951-1960	11.1%	77.8%	22.2%	--
1961-1970	16.7%	60.7%	28.6%	10.7%
1971-1980	27.0%	45.8%	45.8%	8.3%
1981-1990	6.4%	58.6%	37.9%	3.4%
1991-2000	2.5%	68.8%	31.3%	--
2001-2010	2.5%	72.7%	27.3%	--

The French Interior Minister at that time, Albert Sarraut, stated that refugees would be housed in camps with only what was necessary to prepare them for their expulsion or return to Spain (Del Árbol Cana 2010, 111). In Spain, Franco considered these people as “escapees” and as political criminals, subject to his Law of Political Responsibilities (Schwarztein 2001, 20-21). Thus, repatriation had grievous consequences for many men and women. Upon returning, they were separated from family members and imprisoned in labor camps, jails, or simply killed (Quintero Maqua 2016, 103).

Because of this vast forced repatriation, we combined the years 1939-1940 as a separate event from both the war and the subsequent decade. It totaled 6.4% of all returns in our database, where 79% of these individuals returned to their birth cities and 21% elsewhere. The rate of return for the year 1939-1940 was only superseded three decades later (1971-1980), where 27% of all returns occurred. Noteworthy for this decade, 62% of these returns occurred in a three-year period (1975-1978), following the death of Franco in 1975. The subsequent three decades from 1981 to 2010 amounted to 11% of all returns.

The rates of returns can only be partially explained by certain historical events and social-political trends. As previously stated, the end of the Spanish Civil War triggered the 1939-1940 repatriation from France to Spain, which is observed in the data. Equally, the death of Franco in 1975 triggered a large rate of returns, not seen since the latter event. These two cases are positively correlated with their respective increase in returns. However, the rates of return for the decades between and after these two occurrences are not as easily interpreted. For example, one would expect an increase in returns after the end of World War II (September of 1945), followed by Franco's first general pardon in October of the same year, but there is none.⁷ There is no statistical significance or increase in returns, even when factoring in a two-year timeframe of return (Escobar Deras 2019).⁸

Following Franco's second pardon in 1954 however, there was a slight increase in returns when Republican exiles could then obtain a Spanish passport and visit Spain for up to 30 days.⁹ The cause of this may well be a compounding effect of the previous pardon, coupled with Spain joining the United Nations (UN) in 1955. Nevertheless, there is no direct correlation between these events and a higher rate of return. Similarly, in the year 1984–1985, there was an increase in returns and some of the possible factors may have started two years prior in 1982 when Spain joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), or the Spanish General Elections where the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), gained power. Perhaps still, it was influenced by the return of Maria Zambrano (returned in 1984), after which newspapers declared the “exile” period to be over, which may have encouraged other individuals to return (Alted Vigil 2014, 27).

The earlier in Franco's rule the greater the danger for those individuals returning. Franco's Law of Political Responsibility (1939) lasted three decades and it held that any assistance to The Republic was a crime (Schwarzstein 2001, 20). Individuals were still being “acquitted” of wrongdoing in 1969 (Rickett 2015, 149). Even with this law, based on our dataset,

⁷ Decreto de 9 de octubre de 1945 por el que se concede indulto total a los condenados por delito de rebelión militar y otros cometidos hasta el 1.º de abril de 1939. Agencia estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE), <https://boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1945/293/A02430-02431.pdf>

⁸ The timeframe of return generally ranged from six months to two years.

⁹ Decreto de 25 de julio de 1954 de Indulto General con motivo del Año Mariano y del Año Jacobeo. Agencia estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE), <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1954/206/A05094-05094.pdf>. See also Rosy Rickett, ‘Refugees of the Spanish Civil War’ (doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2014), 132.

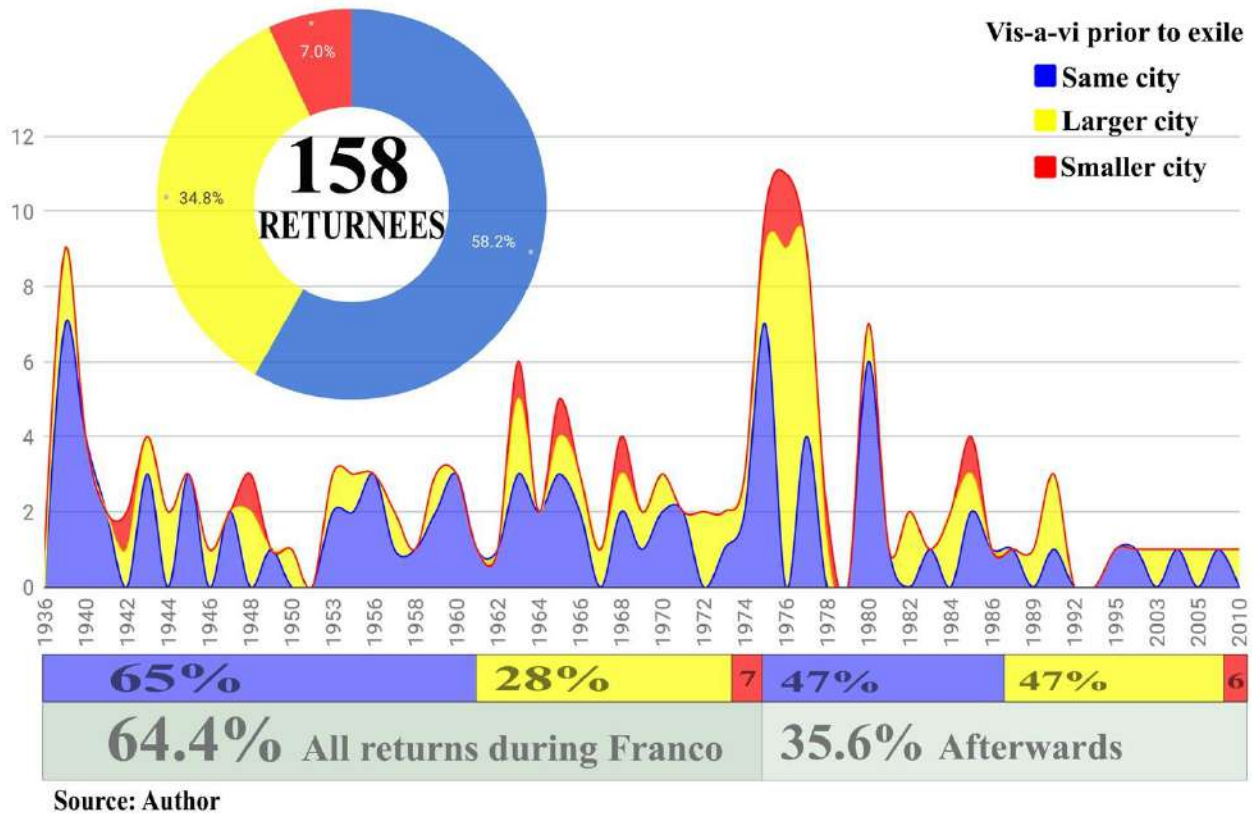
more than half (64%) of all exiles returned in this time period. Of course, it is not the same to speak of the first Francoist period (Primer Franquismo 1939-1959), than of the later Francoist (Segundo Franquismo 1959-1975), where, in the latter case, Francoist repression was more lenient as the country began to economically open towards the outside; shifting away from autarchy and starting a period of economic growth (Rickett 2015, 91). However, punitive and vindictive social-political controls still remained as exemplified by the three-member Osaba family upon their return from France in 1959.¹⁰ M. O. Fernandez Osaba and his wife F. B. Osaba, after 20 years in exile, moved back to the same city with their French-born 14-year-old daughter. After ten years in Spain, they were compelled to move to Madrid due to the continuous harassment and vandalism of their lands by the locals for being rojos.

In total, during Franco's 35-year dictatorship (1939-1975), 64% of first-generation exiles returned to Spain, and 65% of these moved to their city of origin while 35% chose elsewhere (26.0% to a larger city, 9.0% to a smaller city and 16% were unknown). Moreover, by 1969 almost half (46%) of all exiles in our dataset had returned. They had met all the bureaucratic requirements and penalties the regime imposed on them to do so. In regards to their resettlement movements by this year, 65% chose their city of origin and 35% elsewhere (26.9% opted for a larger city and 7.7% for a smaller city). These rapidly increased in the following five years (1970 to 1975), where an additional 19% returned to mixed receptions in both their families and communities (González Martínez 2010, 85). In these last five years, their resettlement movements were almost identical to the previous decades: 64% returned to their city of birth and 36% chose elsewhere (31.8% moved to a larger city and 4.5 to a smaller city).

After Franco's death, the pattern inverted. The total percentage of returning exiles was 36% (1976-2010). Specifically, 47% of the returnees relocated to their city of origin and 53% chose elsewhere (47.0% to a larger city, 6.0% to a smaller city and 16.0% were unknown). Of note, 29% of all these returnees arrived within the span of two years (1976-1978); of which 68% moved to larger cities to affect political change (Escobar Deras 2019, 27).

¹⁰ Interview of Elsa Osbaba, conducted by Mauricio Escobar Deras and Lidia Bocanegra-Barbecho, Granada, 18 June 2018.

Image n° 1. Resettlement movement patterns 1936-2010.



GENDER

Gender differences were also apparent in the rates of returns and in the individual movements. Of the 158 first-generation returnees, 66 were women and 92 men. During Franco's dictatorship, 70% of the women returned and 30% did so after his death. For the men, 59% returned during Franco and 41% afterward. Focusing on each resettlement movement, women displayed a much higher preference to return to their city of origin than the men. They relocated to their birthplace at 68% and 32% elsewhere (27.3% to a larger city and 4.5% to a smaller one); whereas men were more equally divided, 51% relocated to the same city and 49% elsewhere (40.2% to a larger city and 8.7% to a smaller city). We reasoned that men did not return to their hometowns, or even Spain, at the same rates as the women during both Francoist periods due to the stringent social-political pressures, mostly in the form of the aforementioned political and

social reprisals. We believe these align with the regime's socio-economic punishments that were ordinarily directed towards men, and to a lesser degree, women (Wyoming Fees 2007, 8).

The data demonstrated an overall preference for returning exiles to resettle in their native cities. Because of this, we focused on those individuals that opted for "elsewhere" to better highlight atypical returns. The first woman in the dataset to choose elsewhere to relocate was C. C. Godessart from Alcalá de Gurrea. Seeking anonymity, she resettled in the larger city of Tarragona in 1944 after returning from France where she was imprisoned at the border. Six years later, M. Vega de Iglesias from Cantabria, opted for the same as she resettled in Madrid to take care of her recently prison-released father who was "physically broken."¹¹ Similarly, the first women opting to resettle in a "smaller" city occurred almost three decades after the end of the Civil War, in 1965, when R. García Ascot from Madrid, exiled in Mexico, settled in Lugo after 26 years abroad (Carredano 2015, 81). The second woman to do so was A. R. Ruíz from Santander, who after 36 years in France working menial jobs, retired to Lloret del Mar in 1975. These individuals underline the tremendous preference for the city of birth, for so few chose otherwise.

Men choosing "elsewhere" to resettle, and thus circumventing their city of birth, occurred earlier in our timeline and with more frequency. The first instance of a man moving to a larger city occurred at the end of the war in 1939, when 67-year-old Q. Lavilla Navascues (exiled in 1936), moved to Guipuzcoa from Tudela. The second to do this was A. Paz, originally from Almería (exiled in 1939), who moved to Barcelona in 1942. He was later imprisoned until 1952 when once liberated, he exiled himself a second time till 1979 (Venza 2019). Likewise, choosing a smaller city first occurred during the first year of the Civil War in 1936, when J. L. Muñoz from Vitoria, was exiled and returned the same year but resettled in Girona, away from the then frontlines. The first relocation to a smaller city after the Civil War occurred in 1941 when J. P. Belis from Barcelona (exiled in 1939), was forcefully repatriated back and subsequently executed in Valencia (Abdón 2015, 120). These movements do not follow freely-chosen resettlement options and serve to highlight the severe reprisals awaiting many returnees. Finally,

¹¹ Marina Vega de la Iglesia, UCSD "Spanish Civil War Memory Project." July 3, 2008. <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html>.

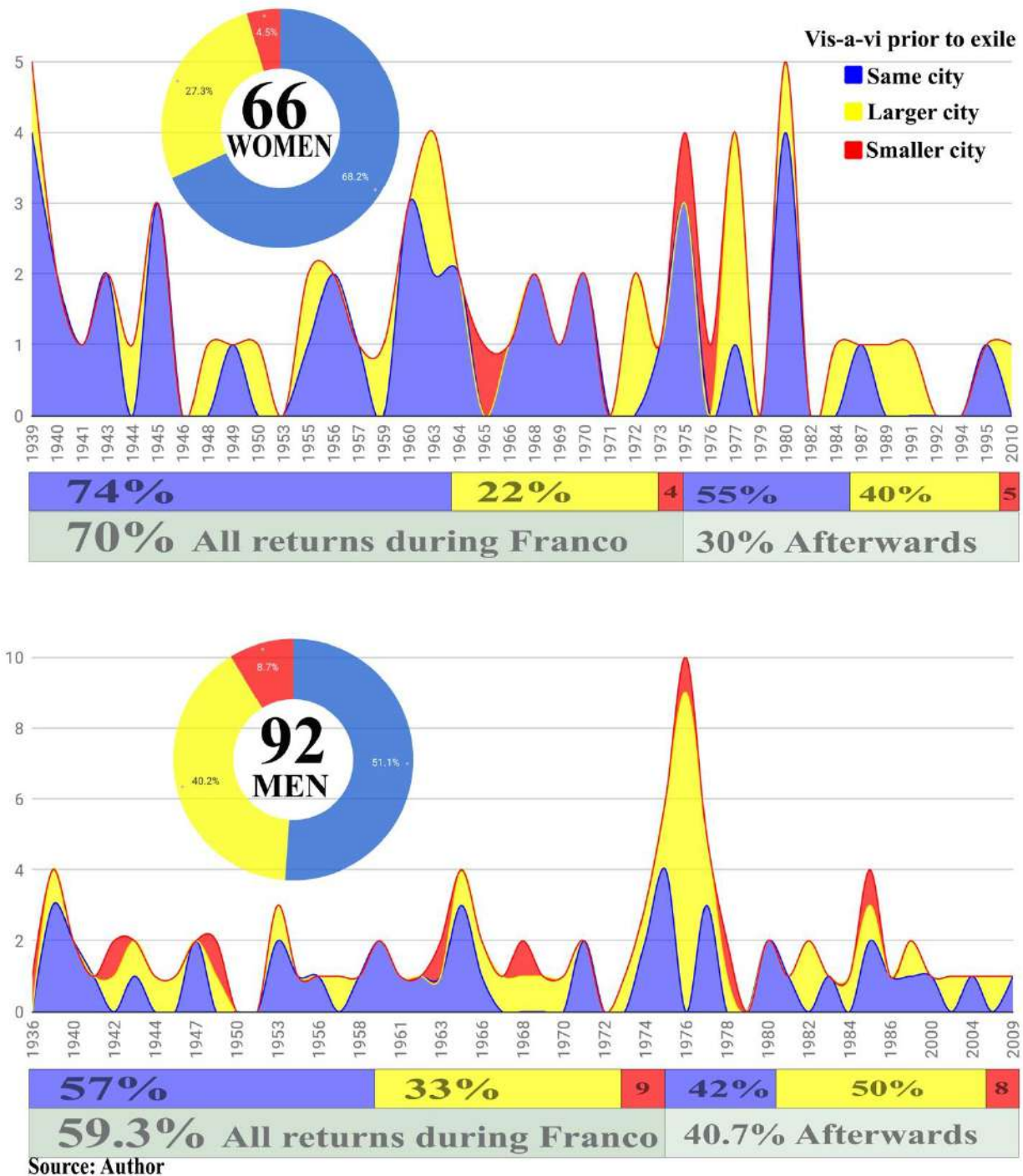
the first freely chosen movement to a smaller city occurred in 1948 when A. Z. Blanco, a Soviet *niño de Guerra* from Gijón, who was captured by German forces and ultimately repatriated by Franco's regime, chose to move to San Martín del Rey Aurelio (Vigil 1999, 81, 84).

Of significance, directly following Franco's death, the rate of returns (as compared to other decades and time periods), briefly spiked for both women and men. Women's resettlement movements favored the aforementioned trend with a slight increase in the second and third elsewhere relocations. Men's patterns on the other hand were radically different from their previous resettlement progression. The percentage of men choosing to relocate to a larger city jumped to 50%, all occurring in a three-year span from 1975 to 1977. Overall, these individuals would not have returned while Franco lived due to ideological purposes, and to have done so would also have been dangerous to their persons. Therefore, we surmised that these returnees opted for larger cities for two reasons: first, the familial link to their ancestral homes and communities no longer existed; and second, they were politically driven and wanted to effect broad changes in Spanish politics (Escobar Deras 2019, 30).

We also found that the resettlement movement followed a gender and an age progression pattern. For women, the average age upon their return was 50 years old. However, while Franco was in power, the average age of return was 42, and 68 after his death. When focusing separately on the individual time periods, a more marked pattern emerged. In the first resettlement movement, women who returned to their city of origin were on average 44 years old. However, during Franco's reign, the age was 39 and 67 after his death. In the second movement, women's overall age averaged 58 years old, 46 during Franco and 72 after him. Finally, women who moved to a smaller city were on average 68 years old, 60 during Franco and 83 after his death. This age progression indicates a rudimentary principle where the younger the woman was upon her return, the greater the chance she would return to her city of origin. Likewise, though proportionally less, the older the woman, and by general extension the longer the exile period, the greater loss there was to the familial link. This in turn would result in the individual resettling elsewhere. This indicates that for older women, the connection to the physical place of origin was more of an abstract memory rather than the actual corporal space (de Hoyos Puente 2012, 98).

Men, in general, were older than women when they returned to Spain. However, their resettlement movements did not follow the same age progression. The overall average for men was 56 years old upon their return, 49 during Franco's rule and 69 afterward. For the first resettlement movement, they were 56 years old when doing so, 51 during Franco and 68 after him. In the second movement, they averaged 60 years old, 51 during Franco's rule and 68 afterward. For the third and final movement, the relative age progression changed from that of the trend. The average age was 49 years old, 36 during Franco and 71 after him. Evidently, and unlike women, 48.9% of men sought a different resettlement city from their birthplace at a younger age and throughout both time periods of Franco's rule—indicating a desire for change at the very least, and a greater need for anonymity and reprisals.

Image n° 2. Gender resettlement movement patterns 1936-2010



CONCLUSION

Our aim was to begin a dialogue of the various repatriation movements of first-generation exiles as they resettled back into Spanish society, and determine if the broader general trends could be identified from a relatively small number of individuals. The dataset of 233 people, that have subsequently been narrowed down to 158 individuals, does not represent the thousands of individuals who returned to Spain—and it would be disingenuous to say that these data patterns serve as accurate indicators of the entire return experience. However, we can infer seven general patterns that can be carefully adapted to the whole. First, the return to Spain was not uniform due to the various international political factors influencing individuals and their return strategies. Second, the return frequency gradually increased during the 1950s. Third, the majority of returns happened while Franco was in power, and therefore, were more costly, difficult and troublesome for the individual. Fourth, immediately after Franco's death, there was an exponential increase in returns that lasted for five years, with the majority occurring in the first two years following his death. Fifth, the majority of women chose to return to their city of origin. At (68%), they had a greater inclination to live in their respective hometowns, and to a lesser extent, the men did as well at 51%. For the former, there was an age pattern whereby the younger the woman was upon her repatriation to Spain, the more likely she was to return to her city of origin.¹² The various factors associated with this decision ranged from the existence of familial ties, age and ease of re-adaptation (affiliation), to the local social culture.

Sixth, women did not have the same felonious political responsibilities as men and were thus more able to return to their hometowns unimpeded. Franco's regime saw women as weaker and less of a threat than men. This meant that women faced less risk of persecution, prosecution or retaliation, allowing them comparatively more freedom to return unrestrained (Vigil 1999, 199). Such was the case through the 1956-1959 repatriation of Spanish-Soviet children of war, where the government feared the foreign-born husbands but not the wives. The Spanish government barred any Spanish-born woman married to a Russian man from returning to Spain.

¹² With the exception of children of war.

This perceived threat could explain the limitations placed on men and why only 51% of our datasets opted for the first movement to their original cities.

Finally, men chose different resettlement options at different frequencies and rates than women. Unlike women, there were no age-related movement patterns among the men. As for the reasons why 49% chose elsewhere to resettle, it can be broadly correlated to various factors ranging from persecution, job availability and even political aspirations after Franco's rule. However, further studies with a larger database would help affirm our conclusions and gain a better understanding of the phenomenon as a whole.

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IV.4. SHARED AND REFRACTED MEMORY

The fourth article was originally written in English and ultimately published in Spanish. It endeavored to contextualize the return experience phenomenon as a whole by comparing the preceding traumatic exodus event and the exile period of the first-generation refugees with their eventual return. Once more, it surveyed seventy years from 1939 to 2010 of returns, as captured by the M-database. Through its sequential exploratory strategy, maps, illustrations, oral accounts, dataset and questionnaire, we outlined the background of the returns to then center our argument on the initial return phase and how this was later seen by the interviewed individuals after the fact through their collective memory. We introduced the concept of “refracted memory,” where like light passing through water, memories are slanted and directed through a prism. In this case, the medium being the exiled individual and the echoed memories through the passage of time. The aim was to once again triangulate a shared return experience; however, this time, approximate an overall contextualized experience of exile and return via the use of the returnees’ actual words in context and how these retellings were purposely curated for the sake of the listener or descendants.

Our findings indicated that for all the interviewed individuals and most answers from the questionnaire, the return was not just a repatriation event but a significant period of time in their lives. Just like the exile, returning back to Spain was just as unforgettable, challenging and enduring; fraudulent and worthy of being passed down to subsequent generations. Furthermore, in their collective first impressions of what Spain was like, they pictured the country as a socially-economically stunted society, backward as compared to their exile countries. In spite of this, they decided to remain and re-establish themselves within. Their drive to reconnect and regain their physical space, which was a part of them and filled in a missing piece that defined them, was so pervasive and strong that it created this permanent but malleable memory once returned.

Bibliographic Reference:

Escobar Deras, M.; Bocanegra Barbecho, L.; Memoria compartida, memoria heredada: análisis del fenómeno del retorno individual de los exiliados republicanos españoles (1939-2010) en *Redes Políticas desde el exilio iberoamericano*, CIALC-Universidad Autónoma de México, 2022. *In Press*.

Original Title:

Shared memory, inherited memory: analysis of the Return phenomenon of individual Spanish Republican exiles (1939-2010).

Titulo en español:

Memoria compartida, memoria heredada: análisis del fenómeno del retorno individual de los exiliados republicanos españoles (1939-2010).

Abstract:

The return phenomenon of the Spanish Civil War diaspora is varied and multifaceted with a long span of time crossing various countries, eras and generations. We converged quantitative data to comparatively assist in the interpretation of qualitative data in the form of an online questionnaire, narratives and interviews to develop a cross-section overview of the phenomenon. We then explored the transferability of our findings to the broader return experience. The aim being to survey Spanish returns by engaging in a mixed-method sequential exploratory strategy while utilizing collective memory as a historical lens to triangulate the shared phenomena among the individuals who repatriated to Spain from 1939 to 2010. We conclude that the return was not just an event, but a meaningful period of time; one remembered and altered through subsequent generations in exile and upon returning. The memory of it was actively curated by those with the agency to transmit it to the next generation; the familial home served as an echo chamber for said transmittal and refraction. Furthermore, the return to Spain was vastly different from the traumatizing collective exit and exile experiences, but just as memorable, challenging and

enduring. The majority of the returns happened during Franco's 35-year rule. For willing returnees, it was an acceptance of Franco's victory over the Republic. For the majority of those who returned in the first two decades after the war, the family was the main reason for returning and resettling back to their native towns. Ironically for our cited individuals, family was a major source of misunderstandings, different from outside-the-family discords. For many of those who returned in the later decades, their long exile period created a second uprooting experience for them and a first for their older children.

Keywords: Return, Repatriation, Republican Exile, Digital Humanities, Memory

Resumen:

El fenómeno del retorno de la diáspora de la Guerra Civil española es variado y multifacético, con un largo recorrido que atraviesa varios países, épocas y generaciones. Convergimos datos cuantitativos para ayudar comparativamente a la interpretación de los datos cualitativos en forma de cuestionario en línea, narraciones y entrevistas para desarrollar una visión general transversal del fenómeno. El objetivo es explorar la posibilidad de transferir nuestros resultados a la experiencia del retorno en general, mediante una estrategia exploratoria secuencial de método mixto, al tiempo que utilizamos la memoria colectiva como lente histórica para triangular los fenómenos compartidos entre los individuos que se repatriaron a España desde 1939 hasta 2010. Llegamos a la conclusión de que el retorno no fue sólo un acontecimiento, sino un período de tiempo significativo; uno recordado y alterado a través de las generaciones. La memoria del retorno fue activamente curada por aquellos que tenían la capacidad de transmitirla y el hogar familiar sirvió como cámara de eco para dicha transmisión y refracción. Además, el regreso a España fue muy diferente de las traumáticas experiencias colectivas de salida y exilio, pero igual de memorable, desafiante y duradero. La mayoría de los retornos se produjeron durante los 35 años de gobierno de Franco. Para los que regresaron por voluntad propia, fue una aceptación de la victoria de Franco sobre la República. Para la mayoría de los que regresaron en las dos primeras décadas después de la guerra, la familia fue la principal razón para volver y asentarse de nuevo en sus pueblos natales. Irónicamente, para nuestros individuos citados, la familia fue

una fuente importante de desencuentros, distinta de las discordias extrafamiliares. Para muchos de los que regresaron en las últimas décadas, su largo periodo de exilio supuso una segunda experiencia de desarraigo para ellos y una primera para sus hijos mayores.

Palabras clave: Retorno, repatriación, exilio republicano, humanidades digitales, Memoria.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

El fenómeno del retorno de los exiliados republicanos españoles a España es un aspecto poco definido y entendido en la propia historiografía de la Guerra Civil española¹. Regresar a España tras el período bélico (1936-1939) implicaba una multitud de factores y condiciones. Nos encontramos con la posguerra española, el inicio y el fin de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la Guerra Fría, los movimientos sociales de los años '50, '60 y '70 del S. XX y, por último, la transición a la democracia tras la muerte de Franco, el 20 de noviembre de 1975, cuyo gobierno autoritario duró cerca de treinta y seis años. Dentro de estos períodos se encuentran las diferentes condiciones socio-políticas de España, con las cuales se enfrentaba el individuo que regresaba en función de su género, edad, educación, familia, hijos, etc. Por esta razón, y debido al largo período de tiempo de esos regresos, como veremos más adelante, ha sido difícil para los investigadores definir la experiencia del retorno como un todo y proporcionar una visión cuantitativa del fenómeno.

El retorno de los exiliados españoles, como foco de estudio, es una rama de investigación relativamente nueva para los historiadores del exilio². Ensombrecidos por los acontecimientos geopolíticos e históricos más amplios, los refugiados que se repatriaron después de 1939 fueron vistos como el cierre de un capítulo de sus vidas: españoles que regresan a casa³. No fue hasta

¹ Jorge de Hoyos Puente, Los estudios del exilio republicano de 1939 a revisión: una mirada personal, *Dictatorships & Democracies. Journal of History and Culture*, Barcelona, 2017, pp. 294, 299.

² Pablo, Aguirre Herráinz, El retorno desde el exilio republicano español. Una revisión bibliográfica (1977-2018), *Historiografías*, Vol. 17, 2019.

³ Ana Jorge Alonso y Vicente Fernández González, Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez y el exilio mexicano, *TSN. Transatlantic Studies Network: Revista de Estudios Internacionales*, 2(3), 2017.

1999 cuando Alicia Alted Vigil y María Encarna Nicolás Marín, con su obra: *Los niños de la guerra de España en la Unión Soviética: de la evacuación al retorno, 1937-1999*⁴, así como Josefina Bustillo Cuestas con su obra: *Retornos de exilios y migraciones*⁵, cambiaron el foco de atención de la Guerra Civil española y la diáspora a aquellos exiliados que regresaron a una España que, para ellos, ya era diferente. A partir de las narraciones personales de los retornados, la experiencia del retorno y lo que éste supuso como fenómeno comenzó a tomar forma. Este foco de atención continuó en 2003 con la obra: *El Retorno a España de los "Niños de la Guerra civil"* de Carmen González Martínez⁶, en dónde se puso el foco en acento en la recepción mixta y la problemática de readaptación a la sociedad española de finales de la década de 1950, por parte de los niños de la guerra soviéticos-españoles. Posteriormente, en 2010, Alicia Pozo y Scott Soo, con su obra: *Categories of return among Spanish refugees and other migrants 1950s-1990s: Hypotheses and early observations*⁷, clasificaron, a grandes rasgos, los numerosos tipos de retorno tanto de los exiliados que regresaron como de los emigrantes económicos españoles. Como editor, Scott Soo se centró de forma más exhaustiva en los fenómenos de retorno en toda Europa en su obra: *Coming Home?*⁸. En los años siguientes, las investigaciones se centraron en otros aspectos de las repatriaciones, tales como el regreso de socialistas eminentes antes, y después, de la muerte de Franco en 1975⁹; o una extensa disertación de exiliados y sus testimonios personales sobre su salida, vida en el exilio y retorno personal¹⁰; así como un amplio estudio centrado en las redes de exiliados a través de Internet¹¹. Más recientemente, se ha vuelto a centrar los estudios en la larga experiencia del exilio que nunca termina, incluso después de

⁴ Alicia Alted Vigil, María Encarna Nicolás Marín, *Los niños de la guerra de España en la Unión Soviética: de la evacuación al retorno, 1937-1999*, Fundación F. Largo Caballero, Madrid, 1999.

⁵ Josefina Bustillo Cuestas, *Retornos de exilios y migraciones*, Fundación F. Largo Caballero, Madrid, 1999.

⁶ Carmen González Martínez, El retorno a España de los "Niños de la Guerra civil", *Anales de Historia Contemporánea*, Vol. 19, 2013, pp. 75-100.

⁷ Alicia Pozo Gutiérrez y Scott Soo, *Categories of return among Spanish refugees and other migrants 1950s-1990s: Hypotheses and early observations*, *Les Cahiers de Framespa. Nouveaux champs de l'histoire sociale*, Vol. 5, 2010.

⁸ Scott Soo, *Coming Home?*, Vol. 1: Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe's Twentieth-Century Civil Wars, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

⁹ Abdón Mateos López, *Exilios y Retornos*, Madrid, Eneida, 2015.

¹⁰ Rosy Rickett, *Refugees of the Spanish Civil War and those they left behind: personal testimonies of departure, separation and return since 1936*, Tesis Doctoral, University of Manchester, 2015.

¹¹ Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho y Maurizio Toscano, El exilio republicano español: estudio y recuperación de la memoria a través de la web 2.0. Nuevo enfoque metodológico con el proyecto e-xiliad@s, *Migraciones & Exilios*, Vol. 15, 2015.

regresar permanentemente a España¹², con análisis que profundizan en las categorías y perfiles de aquellos exiliados que regresaron¹³. Todos estos académicos han utilizado una gran cantidad de fuentes primarias y secundarias, incluyendo memorias históricas y colectivas para centrarse, específicamente, en un aspecto de la experiencia del retorno. Sin embargo, como se mencionó anteriormente, la experiencia del retorno varía mucho dependiendo de cuándo se produjo el mismo y, por lo tanto, no ha habido un intento global de incorporar, o definir, de manera general este como un todo para contextualizar, y comprender, mejor los retornos específicos de los individuos.

El objetivo de este trabajo es, por tanto, arrojar luz sobre este argumento poco investigado: el retorno del exiliado republicano, empleando una estrategia exploratoria secuencial de método mixto, y utilizando, además, la memoria colectiva como lente para triangular una experiencia de retorno compartida entre los distintos individuos que volvieron a España, en un marco cronológico que va desde 1939 hasta 2010. Utilizamos datos cuantitativos convergentes (QN) encontrados en el registro histórico, mediante la entrada de información en nuestra base de datos, con el fin de ayudar en la interpretación de los datos cualitativos (QL) agregados a través de un cuestionario digital, con la idea de obtener una visión transversal de dicho fenómeno. En las siguientes secciones, incorporamos las narraciones de las entrevistas de QL, primero, en un intento de utilizarlas como herramienta para contextualizar lo que significaba haber regresado después de experimentar los períodos de éxodo y exilio. A continuación, conectamos los datos QL con nuestros hallazgos de los datos QN para cada sección. Nuestro objetivo final ha sido explorar la posibilidad de transferir nuestros hallazgos inductivos al fenómeno del retorno en general contribuyendo, de esta manera, al incremento de conocimiento sobre este tema y creando un punto de partida más contextualizado para futuras investigaciones.

¹² Ana Jorge Alonso y Vicente Fernández González, Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez y el exilio mexicano... op. cit.

¹³ Mauricio Escobar Deras, Una aproximación metodológica al retorno de exiliados republicanos españoles, *Quiroga. Revista de Patrimonio Iberoamericano*, Vol 15, 2019, pp. 20-30. Mauricio Escobar Deras y Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho, Women's Profiles: First Generation of Spanish Civil War Republican Exiles Who Returned to Spain, en E. Fallaci (Ed), *Women: Opportunities and Challenges*, New York, Nova Science Publishers, 2020.

2. METODOLOGÍA

Los retornos físicos de los exiliados variaron de un individuo a otro y el paso del tiempo ha hecho mucho más difícil precisar sus trayectorias de reingreso en España. Por esta razón, se desarrolló un método convergente de agregación de datos. Pusimos en marcha dos bases de datos concurrentes, la de Datos de Retornados en Estudios Académicos (RD-LS – sus siglas en inglés Returnee Data in Literary Studies) y la de Datos de Retornados en Redes Sociales (RD-SN – sus siglas en inglés Returnee Data in Social Networks), en las que registramos y recopilamos toda la información posible sobre los individuos y sus retornos. Posteriormente, los datos QN de ambas bases de datos se fusionaron en una única base de datos (M-data). Esto serviría como telón de fondo numérico y visual para nuestras narraciones (QL), a las que analizamos en busca de rasgos compartidos.

2.1. Datos de los retornados en los estudios académicos (RD-LS)

Esta base de datos se diseñó para reunir a todos los posibles individuos mencionados en obras académicas o literarias. Por esta razón se denominó Datos de Retornados en Estudios Académicos (RD-LS). También se incluyeron datos de otros repositorios de exiliados españoles, tales como el Proyecto Exiliad@s¹⁴, con el que colabora nuestra investigación. El objetivo de esta base de datos era clasificar a los individuos en función de una serie de categorías, tales como: en qué año salieron, por qué ruta, dónde y cuánto tiempo estuvieron exiliados, así cómo y cuándo regresaron. Otros campos de datos QN incluían el lugar y año de nacimiento, el año de retorno, la ciudad de retorno, así como preguntas con campo de texto libre como la educación, el estado civil o si el individuo trabajaba en el momento del retorno. También nos centramos en categorizar la experiencia de este regreso y, cuando fue posible, concluir si el mismo fue permanente o temporal, auto-motivado o de otro tipo, incluyendo sus razonamientos y estrategias detrás de ese retorno. En total, se recopilaron doscientos un individuos: ciento ocho hombres y noventa y tres mujeres. De ellos, ciento ochenta y ocho eran de exiliados de primera generación y trece de segunda generación.

¹⁴ Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho, Exiliad@s Project, en *Visualizing Objects, Places, and Spaces: A Digital Project Handbook*, PubPub: Duke University, 2021, D.O.I. <https://doi.org/10.21428/51bee781.8836e6d4>. Web del proyecto exiliad@s, <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info/> (fecha de acceso, 14/04/2021).

2.2. Datos de los retornados en las redes sociales (RD-SN)

La segunda base de datos simultánea se recopiló mediante un cuestionario en línea utilizando un Formulario de Google como herramienta digital. Éste se publicó y difundió posteriormente a través de las redes sociales afines del exilio republicano español (Facebook y Twitter, principalmente). Por esta razón, la denominamos Datos de Retornados en Redes Sociales (RD-SN). Se diseñó para incorporar un enfoque de métodos mixto, enfocado en recuperar la memoria colectiva de los descendientes de exiliados republicanos. La base de datos tenía el mismo elemento cuantificable de la RD-LS, pero con un componente cualitativo más amplio que sondeaba la readaptación del retorno a la sociedad española. Las preguntas incorporaban un componente de texto libre (no a listas cerradas) y un sistema de valoración del uno al cinco. Por ejemplo, se realizaron preguntas tales como: “¿Cuáles fueron las primeras impresiones de la sociedad española a su regreso?”, o “califique la impresión de la sociedad española del uno al cinco, donde uno es una mala impresión y cinco muy buena”. En total, cincuenta y nueve exiliados (introducidos por los encuestados) fueron registrados en la base de datos, junto con la información correspondiente sobre su exilio. Tras una criba posterior, en donde se eliminaron para nuestro análisis aquellos registros de exiliados que nunca regresaron, o que abandonaron España antes de iniciarse la Guerra Civil española, nos quedamos con un registro definitivo de cincuenta y tres individuos: cuarenta y siete de primera generación, cinco de segunda generación y un varón de tercera generación.

2.3. Conjuntos de datos fusionados (M-data)

Las secciones cuantificables de las bases de datos RD-SN y RD-LS se fusionaron en una única base de datos, en adelante denominada M-data. También contenía diez individuos adicionales derivados de cinco entrevistas realizadas a lo largo de nuestra investigación. En total, obtuvimos doscientas sesenta y cuatro registros de exiliados retornados.

2.4. Cuestionario

La encuesta en línea se dividió en dos secciones separadas. La primera estaba compuesta por preguntas cuyos datos cuantitativos se añadieron en la base de datos RD-SN. La segunda parte era la sección cualitativa en donde se pedía calificar, evaluar y responder a siete preguntas abiertas y secuenciales. La primera parte se fusionó y se analizó como parte de la base de datos general (M-data); mientras que la segunda se concibió originalmente para complementar los elementos no respondidos específicamente por la primera sección, siguiendo un enfoque metodológico cualitativo¹⁵. El objetivo de la encuesta era captar la memoria histórica en relación con el exiliado sobre el que se escribía, estableciendo un vínculo familiar directo si lo había. La encuesta se remitió también por correo electrónico a las asociaciones de exiliados republicanos, con sede en España o fuera de ella, y se publicó en diferentes perfiles de tres redes sociales: Instagram, Twitter y Facebook. Siendo, esta última, la más efectiva para compartir la encuesta entre las páginas privadas y públicas de esta red social, por la gran cantidad de perfiles del exilio republicano que tiene. En año y medio, la encuesta generó información acerca de cincuenta y nueve exiliados retornados, cuya información fue cumplimentada por cincuenta y cinco encuestados. Sin embargo, como se mencionó anteriormente, seis individuos y su información fueron eliminados del análisis, quedando así cincuenta y tres fichas de exiliados retornados. De ellos, veinte y seis eran hijos de exiliados de primera generación y doce nietos. Además, seis encuestados introdujeron su propia información personal, desglosada en tres mujeres de segunda generación, dos hombres de primera generación y un hombre de tercera generación. Los cinco encuestados restantes fueron: un sobrino, un amigo, una albacea, un biógrafo y un hombre que no tenía ninguna relación personal con el exiliado Luis Santaló (matemático y docente), pero que conocía bien sus numerosos premios y logros. Esto hizo que el 92% de los individuos registrados en las encuestas tuvieran un vínculo directo, o familiar, con la experiencia del exilio y el fenómeno del retorno.

2.5. Entrevistas

¹⁵ John W. Creswell et. al., Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation, *The counseling psychologist*, Vol. 35 (2), 2007.

A lo largo de nuestra investigación realizamos, además, una serie de entrevistas en persona, vía telefónica, incluso, a través de la aplicación de mensajería de Facebook; todas las entrevistas se centraron en obtener información acerca de la experiencia del retorno y su posterior integración. Las personas entrevistadas fueron las siguientes: D. Gómez (entrevista realizada en Toulouse, Francia), una mujer exiliada de primera generación que regresó temporalmente a España; E. Osaba (entrevista realizada en Granada, España), una mujer de segunda generación que regresó permanentemente a España con sus padres cuando era niña; J. Rubella, una mujer de la primera generación de exiliados; B. Regidor, quien forma parte de la tercera generación del exilio. Para completar estas entrevistas se analizó, además, tres video-entrevistas realizadas por académicos de la Universidad de California, San Diego a través del Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española¹⁶. Se trata de Josefina Piquet (entrevistada en 2010) y Marina Vega de la Iglesia (entrevistada en 2008), todas ellas exiliadas de primera generación.

2.6. Limitaciones

Este tipo de estudios de análisis mixto (datos cualitativos y cuantitativos) tiene algunas limitaciones¹⁷; en primer lugar, y en nuestro caso, la limitación de la base de datos RD-LS radica en el hecho de que gran parte de la información, incluso toda la información de un determinado exiliado, ha desaparecido del registro digital público y, por tanto, no ha sido posible verificar los mismos debido al tiempo y al coste. Por ello, establecimos una serie de clasificaciones cuando no existía información directa; por ejemplo, en el ámbito de la educación, si un individuo tenía un trabajo como político, profesor o ingeniero, su nivel educativo se consideraba “avanzado”. Del mismo modo, las amas de casa y los peones del campo eran etiquetados con un nivel educativo “elemental”. Si no existía información deducible, el campo de datos se dejaba vacío. Esto se extendía a todos los campos cuantitativos (QN) de la base de datos. Si el individuo no tenía al menos un 70% de respuestas en todos los campos se descartaba de la base de datos y del posterior análisis.

¹⁶ Universidad de California, San Diego. (n.d). *Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española*, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/>. (Fecha de acceso, 14/04/2021).

¹⁷ Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie; Julie P. Combs, Data analysis in mixed research: A primer, *International journal of education*, Vol. 3 (1: E13), 2011, pp. 3.

En el caso de la base de datos RD-SN, su principal limitación fue que la misma dependía completamente de las respuestas dadas por los individuos en línea. Se tomaron medidas adicionales para verificar los datos aportados y obtener el consentimiento de los encuestados para salvaguardar la información al final del cuestionario. También se creó una carpeta de carga de archivos en línea para que subieran de forma segura documentos, fotos y otra documentación digitalizada. Además, el tamaño de sus individuos registrados y encuestados no es tan grande como el de la base de datos RD-LS; de ahí el uso de un enfoque de análisis de método mixto. Asimismo, en ambas bases de datos hay muchos más hombres que mujeres; esto puede explicarse porque al retornar, en presencia de un familiar masculino adulto, o esposo, las mujeres no fueron registradas ya que normalmente acompañaban a sus maridos, que eran quienes aparecían como cabeza del núcleo familiar¹⁸.

Un aspecto limitante de las entrevistas ha sido la falta de diversidad del país receptor. En otras palabras, no se han conseguido para el presente análisis entrevistas con individuos exiliados fuera de Francia. Para el futuro, sería beneficioso contar con una perspectiva contrastada de individuos retornados desde México, Argentina o la Unión Soviética. Sin embargo, hay individuos entrevistados de estos países en la base de datos general (M-Data) realizado por otros investigadores, pero con objetivos diferentes.

3. RESULTADOS

3.1. Éxodo

*“Desde 1936 no volví a comer bien durante otros diez años. En esas noches oscuras la única luz era el cielo iluminado con reflejos de disparos...”*¹⁹.

¹⁸ Alicia Alted Vigil, Mujeres españolas emigradas y exiliadas. Siglos XIX y XX, Anales de Historia Contemporánea, Vol. 24, 2008, p. 61.

¹⁹ Fraser, R., *Sangre de España: una historia oral de la guerra civil española*, Nueva York, Pantheon Books, 1979.

El fenómeno del retorno puede entenderse mejor a través del contexto de una emigración forzada, la vida en el exilio y el eventual retorno a España. Para contextualizar este fenómeno, primero destacaremos los recuerdos y posteriormente añadiremos antecedentes utilizando nuestros datos cuantitativos y cualitativos. Nos centraremos, principalmente, en los aspectos relacionados con el exilio y el retorno de los relatos individuales, con el fin de situar mejor los recuerdos colectivos del retorno dentro de un marco temporal y, al superponer ambos, obtener una visión de conjunto acerca del argumento analizado.

Aunque la mayoría de los exiliados llegaron a pie a Francia, hacia el final de la guerra, hubo otros que salieron por diferentes medios al principio del conflicto. La madrileña Marina Vega de la Iglesia fue uno de esos casos²⁰. Un año después del comienzo de la guerra, el 18 de julio de 1937, Marina voló en el avión privado de un amigo de la familia y ese mismo día llegó a París. En su entrevista en vídeo relata la sencillez con la que salió sin sus padres de aquella Guerra civil, siendo una niña de doce años, y cómo fue capaz de utilizar su francés para adaptarse rápidamente a la vida en París. Allí permaneció hasta el inicio de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, cuando la familia española adoptiva decidió emigrar a México y ella optó por repatriarse a finales de 1939.

Otra salida anticipada se hizo en barco; el “*4 de mayo de 1937, mi abuelo fue evacuado en el barco La Habana*”, cuenta B. Regidor en relación a su abuelo: J. Higuera; “*decía que se fue en 1936 con doce años [junto] a su hermano menor*”²¹. Ambos viajaron con otras 2.588 personas (2.273 eran niños), a bordo de un barco con capacidad para dos mil personas, en un viaje que duró treinta horas hasta La Rochelle, Francia²².

Para los desafortunados individuos que formaron parte de la oleada de refugiados de la “Retirada” que llegó a Francia a inicios de 1939, sus viajes de salida fueron más traumáticos²³.

²⁰ Vega de la Iglesia, M. (2008). UCSD “Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española”, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

²¹ Entrevista B. Regidor vía Facebook Messenger, 27/10/2020.

²² Jesús J. Alonso Carballés, J. J., El primer exilio de los vascos, 1936-1939, *Historia Contemporánea*, Vol. 35, 2017, p. 689.

²³ Dreyfus-Armand, G., L'accueil des enfants espagnols en France pendant la guerre d'Espagne et après la victoire franquiste, *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, Vol. 46, 2011, p. 3.

En su entrevista, D. Gómez no puede recordar su viaje a pie en 1937 hacia Francia; tenía año y medio, pero su madre le transmitió después los recuerdos de las largas jornadas, las luchas y las penurias: *"al principio pasé mucha hambre [...] mi madre estaba sola con dos hijas [en Francia]"*²⁴. De esta manera, D. Gómez adquirió de su madre una memoria heredada de aquel exilio, de aquella salida precipitada.

A otros, como a Josefina Piquet, el viaje de dos semanas, a finales de enero de 1939, por caminos de montaña la traumatizó profundamente. Tenía cuatro años y medio, padeció cansancio, frío y hambre. Comenta: *"mi madre tenía que sujetarme muy fuerte porque el pánico me hacía querer huir"* refiriéndose al oír los motores de los aviones que se acercaban. Recuerda que, después de un bombardeo, quedó enterrada viva cuando la casa en la que estaba se derrumbó: *"podía oír los gemidos y gritos de los demás atrapados dentro"*. Más tarde, en el camino, vio el cadáver de su compañero de viaje, un joven soldado que se había adelantado en busca de comida porque ella se había quejado de hambre; *"fue culpa mía"*, llora ochenta años después en su entrevista, añade: *"mi madre me confirmaría más tarde que nunca más me quejé por tener hambre"*²⁵.

Los datos del QN contextualizan estas salidas individuales en la gravedad de la guerra. Hubo tres oleadas de refugiados hacia Francia; desde el verano de 1936 hasta finales de 1938, más de 160.000 personas, en su mayoría mujeres y niños, cruzaron la frontera. Sin embargo, en el invierno de 1939 (enero-febrero), cerca de medio millón de personas cruzaron los Pirineos²⁶. El 32% de estos refugiados se exiliaron en los dos primeros años de la guerra. Casualmente, nuestra base de datos general (M-Data), se corresponde con este éxodo inicial: el 7% de los individuos se exiliaron al comienzo de la guerra (verano de 1936); al año siguiente, en 1937, el éxodo se disparó al 20%. A continuación, el porcentaje descendió al 5% en 1938. Así pues, el 32% de nuestros exiliados registrados salieron durante estos dos primeros años de la guerra civil. En el último año de la guerra, 1939, nuestra base de datos registró un 39% de exiliados que

²⁴ Entrevista a D. Gómez, Toulouse, 27/02/2020.

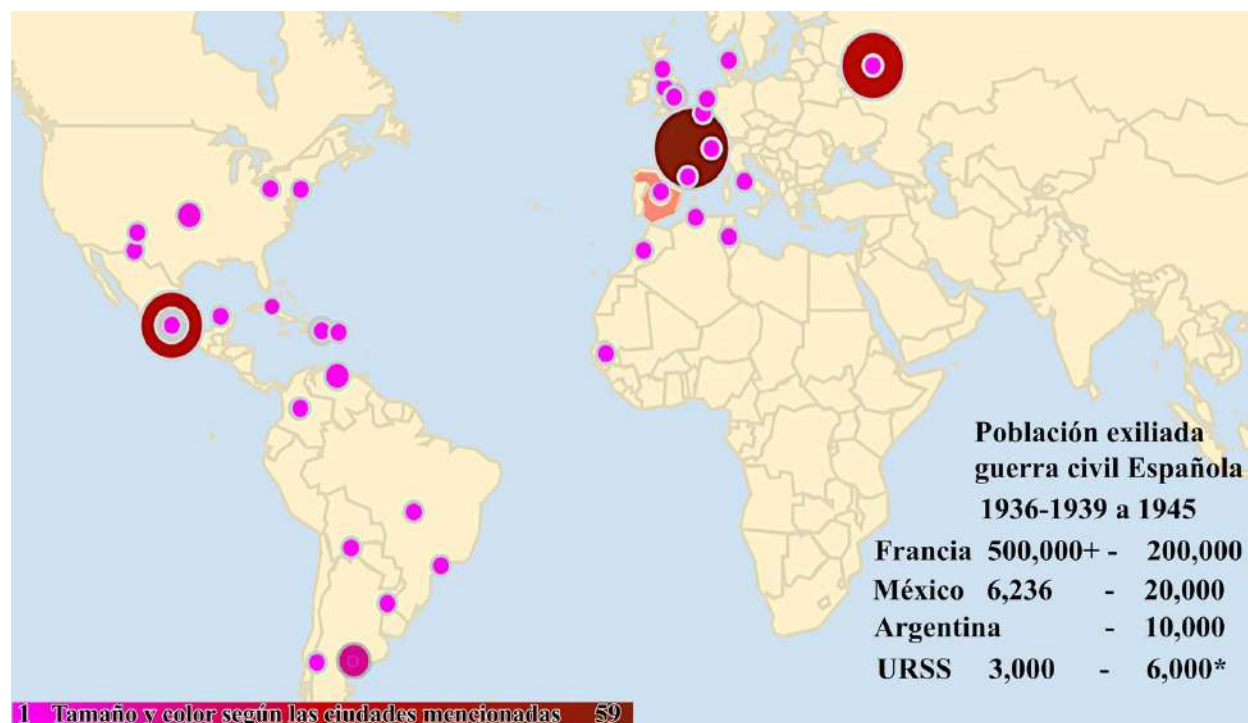
²⁵ Piquet, J. (2010), UCSD "Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española", <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

²⁶ Soo, S. (Ed.), *Coming Home?*, Vol. 1: Conflict and Return...op. cit., p. 36.

abandonaron España, coincidiendo este aumento con la gran oleada de refugiados que protagonizaron la Retirada, aunque no sea totalmente proporcional a las cifras históricas citadas.

Los tres años de la guerra civil representan el 72% de las salidas individuales en nuestro conjunto de datos (M-Data). Otro 11% se marchó en los años '40, y un 2% ciento dejó España después de 1950. El resto (7%) nació en el exilio y forma parte de la segunda generación. La mayoría de estos individuos (94%) salieron de España a través de la frontera francesa por los Pirineos y a pie²⁷. El resto de las rutas de salida tuvieron lugar a través de Portugal y el norte de África (Marruecos, Argelia y Túnez). Destacar que en todas las rutas de salida el principal medio para desplazarse era a pie o en barco²⁸.

MAPA 1: Ubicaciones de los exiliados, registrados en M-Data, comparados con el número total de exiliados en todo el mundo. Fuente: elaboración propia.²⁹



²⁷ Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, *L'accueil des enfants espagnols...* op. cit, p. 5.

²⁸ Scott Soo, *The routes to exile: France and the Spanish Civil War refugees, 1939–2009*, Manchester University Press, 2016.

²⁹ Población mundial esta basada en los totales de Rosy Rickett, *Refugees of the Spanish Civil war*. p. 53.

3.2. Exilio

Para los exiliados, el recuerdo de su tierra se convirtió en un punto de referencia inmutable, una imagen fijada en el tiempo, atrapada entre la aculturación, la adaptación, la identificación, la fijación y la nostalgia³⁰. La experiencia del exilio fue muy diferente para las distintas personas entrevistadas. En el caso de Josefina Piquet, su traumática travesía de la frontera con Francia tuvo efectos profundos y duraderos en su desarrollo cognitivo. Según ella, se sumió, a sus cuatro años y medio, en un silencio, hablando lo justo en momentos de hambre o malestar, y nunca expresando sus emociones. Destacar que Josefina fue internada en un campo de concentración con su madre en Les Cars, Francia; también fue dejada sola durante tres meses en una habitación, encerrada hasta dieciséis horas al día, mientras su madre trabajaba en una cocina gratis para no ser enviada de nuevo al campo de concentración. Por si fuera poco, en 1943 su padre fue denunciado, detenido y enviado a un campo de exterminio en Alemania, pero pudo escapar del vagón del tren estando éste en marcha. Entonces vivieron escondidos durante un tiempo hasta que pudieron escapar del territorio ocupado por los alemanes y trasladarse a la zona sur de Vichy en Francia. Más tarde, pasaría los siguientes siete años viviendo en varios pueblos rurales donde fue acosada por sus compañeros franceses por ser española³¹.

En cambio, D. Gómez, de un año y medio de edad cuando cruzó la frontera, no menciona su infancia con gran detalle, pero sí recuerda haber pasado “mucho hambre” durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial y después. Sus recuerdos se entrelazan con la historia de su padre quien, al cruzar la frontera con Francia, se unió a la resistencia y vivió en las montañas, mientras su madre cuidaba de ella y de su hermana recién nacida. En 1945, su padre regresó clandestinamente a España siendo encarcelado, durante quince años, mientras su madre tenía que criar sola a las dos niñas. Ella resumió este periodo como, simplemente, “difícil”³².

³⁰ Mónica Moreno Seco, Alicia Mira Abad, Cultures of Return among Spanish Republican Women Exiles and their Children, en Sharif Gemie y Scott Soo (eds.), *Coming Home? Vol. 1 Conflict and Return Migration in the Aftermath of Europe's Twentieth-Century Civil Wars*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, pp. 89, 92.

³¹ Piquet, J. (2010), UCSD “Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española”, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

³² Entrevista a B. Regidor vía Facebook Messenger, 27/10/2020.

J. Higuera tenía doce años cuando cruzó la frontera y pasó cuatro años como “refugiado” con una pareja sin hijos en Francia; al respecto su nieto comenta lo siguiente: *“según mi madre, mi abuelo no quería volver a España. Habían pasado muchos años y se sentía casi como un francés. Además, en aquella familia no le faltaba de nada. También estaba resentido con su padre por haberle enviado lejos. Se sentía abandonado”*. Por el contrario, para E. Osaba, nacida en Francia en 1945, su infancia de posguerra transcurrió con sus padres y tíos trabajadores en Toulouse. Sus padres, refugiados, se conocieron cuando la abuela materna de Elsa agonizaba en el hospital; su madre trabajaba entonces en los “campos de la montaña” y el único otro español que se ocupaba de ella era su padre, quien se recuperaba tras saltar de un vehículo militar en dirección a Alemania, rompiéndose los dos brazos en la huida³³.

Como ejemplifican nuestros entrevistados, la experiencia del exilio fue tan diversa como las propias personas, con más diferencias según el país en el que la persona se exilió. Los países con mayor población de españoles exiliados en 1945 fueron: Francia con doscientos mil, México con veinte mil mil, Argentina con diez mil, y la Unión Soviética con seis mil. Estos cuatro países sumaron aproximadamente doscientos treinta y seis mil, con otros veinte cuatro mil dispersos en otras regiones y países como el norte de África, Venezuela, Chile y República Dominicana. Con un 77%, Francia albergaba la mayor población de exiliados españoles, con un 8% en México, un 4% en Argentina y un 2% en la Unión Soviética. En total sumaban el 91% de toda la población española exiliada en el mundo³⁴.

Estos cuatro principales países del exilio también se reflejaron en nuestra base de datos genérica, representando el 78% de todos los individuos de M-Data, siendo Francia el primero con el 29% de los individuos, México con el 26%, la Unión Soviética con el 16% y Argentina con el 7%. El porcentaje restante se repartió entre otros dieciocho países receptores.

³³ Entrevista a Elsa Osaba, Granada, España, 15/06/2018.

³⁴ Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho, Argentina y el exilio republicano de 1939: las fronteras y el movimiento de solidaridad, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, Vol. 91(1-2), 2014, p. 25. Rosy Rickett, *Refugees of the Spanish Civil War...* op. cit., p. 53.

Centrándonos en estos cuatro países: Francia, México, Unión Soviética y Argentina, podemos deducir que existieron similitudes en la experiencia del exilio debido a las diversas condiciones socioeconómicas y políticas de los mismos y que los exiliados vivieron, y compartieron, al regresar a España. Por ejemplo, los exiliados españoles en México salieron “mejor parados” que los de Venezuela, o República Dominicana, debido a que contaban con mecanismos legales para trabajar libremente, utilizando su educación y formación, a la vez que obtenían fácilmente la ciudadanía mexicana³⁵. En consecuencia, al retornar, los exiliados hispano-mexicanos tendían a estar económicamente mejor³⁶. México también fue el único país con una gran comunidad de exiliados que no experimentó algún tipo de levantamiento armado, o conflicto político interno, después de 1940 expandiéndose, además, su economía en la década de 1950³⁷.

Por otro lado, los refugiados españoles de la época soviética alcanzaron grados de educación mucho más altos y experimentaron una mayor movilidad social que sus homólogos franceses³⁸. En Francia, la población exiliada se congregaba mayoritariamente en Toulouse y París y la mayor parte trabajaba en empleos menores³⁹. Los exiliados argentinos, aunque libres para trabajar, vivieron la convulsa revolución de 1943 que dio lugar al gobierno de Juan Domingo Perón y a sus dos períodos intermitentes de gobierno⁴⁰.

A partir de la M-Data, las poblaciones exiliadas de estos países receptores principales tenían perfiles medios distintos al regreso del individuo. Al tener la mayor población de exiliados, los

³⁵ Patricia Fagen W., *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, Latin American Monographs, No. 29, Institute of Latin American Studies, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1973, pp. 53, 63. Sebastiaan Faber, *Exile and cultural hegemony: Spanish intellectuals in Mexico, 1939-1975*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2002, p. 59.

³⁶ Dolores Pla Brugat, La presencia española en México, 1930-1990: caracterización e historiografía, *Migraciones & Exilios: Cuadernos de la Asociación para el estudio de los exilios y migraciones ibéricos contemporáneos*, Vol. 2, 2001, p. 160.

³⁷ Patricia Fagen W., *Exiles and Citizens...* op. cit., p. 61.

³⁸ Karl D. Qualls, From Niños to Soviets? Raising Spanish Refugee Children in House No. 1, 1937–1951, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Vol. 48 (3), 2014, p. 4.

³⁹ Alicia Alted Vigil, A., Mujeres españolas emigradas... op. cit., p. 68.

⁴⁰ Elda González Martínez, Desde Argentina la reincorporación a España de emigrantes españoles y sus descendientes con doble nacionalidad, *Amérique Latine. Histoire et Mémoire. Les Cahiers ALHIM*, Vol. 22, 2011.

refugiados de Francia se exiliaron a los veintisiete años, permanecieron en el exilio aproximadamente durante diecisiete años y regresaron a los cuarenta y cuatro años de edad. En general, el nivel de educación era bajo (58% básico o elemental) y, a su regreso, el 43% trabajaba. El perfil de exiliado proveniente de México difiere en que el individuo medio se exilió a los veintiocho años, permaneció en el exilio durante treinta y dos años y regresó a la edad de cincuenta y seis años. El nivel de educación era alto, con un 85% de educación secundaria o posterior (clasificada como “avanzada” en los datos del QN); al regresar a España, el 36% trabajaba en empleos de acuerdo a sus niveles educativos tales como escritores, compositores o artistas. El perfil hispano-soviético difería ya que cerca de la mitad de toda la población “exiliada” estaba compuesta por niños, unos 2.895⁴¹. En consecuencia, nuestros datos cuantitativos muestran que la media de edad de los individuos que se exiliaron eran los doce años, vivieron en la Unión Soviética durante treinta y seis años, retornando a los cuarenta y cuatro años. Según Manuel Arce, todos los niños españoles tuvieron educación universitaria gratuita en la Unión Soviética siempre que aprobaran el examen de acceso⁴². Sin embargo, según los datos de M-Data, sólo el 25% tenía títulos superiores y el 2% tenía niveles elementales; el resto tenía estudios “indeterminados”. Por último, el perfil de exiliado a Argentina contaba con los individuos de mayor edad, exiliándose a los treinta y cinco años, residiendo allí durante treinta y un años y regresando a los sesenta y seis años de edad, aproximadamente. La mayoría de este grupo (56%) tenía títulos superiores y trabajaba como escritores, profesores o artistas en el exilio y a su regreso a España.

La duración del período de exilio también es reveladora de las experiencias vividas en común. Los refugiados en Francia tuvieron el periodo de exilio más corto, un promedio de diecisiete años aproximadamente. En este tiempo, todos sus refugiados experimentaron la invasión y ocupación nazi, con gran parte del frente europeo de la Segunda Guerra Mundial luchando dentro de sus fronteras y las consiguientes privaciones. Como grupo minoritario, muchos

⁴¹ Carmen González Martínez, El retorno a España de los “Niños de la Guerra civil”, *Anales de Historia contemporánea*, Vol. 19, 2003, pp.76.

⁴² Manuel Arce, Vivencias de un joven en la Unión Soviética, *Migraciones & Exilios: Cuadernos de la Asociación para el estudio de los exilios y migraciones ibéricos contemporáneos*, Vol. 3, 2002, p. 205.

refugiados españoles fueron enviados a campos de exterminio nazis, empleados a la fuerza en campos de trabajo o abandonados a su suerte con movilidad limitada⁴³. Al compartir la frontera con España, muchos optaron por regresar de forma permanente, o temporal, dependiendo de su situación particular. En cambio, la duración del exilio en México y la Unión Soviética fue la más larga; esto se debió principalmente a la falta de relaciones diplomáticas respectivas entre ellos y España. Por otra parte, ambos países no restablecieron oficialmente relaciones diplomáticas plenas con España hasta 1977, dos años después del fallecimiento de Franco. Antes de esto, ambos países llevaron a cabo servicios de consulado de manera informal a través de sus embajadas en París, Francia⁴⁴. Basándonos en la edad media en el exilio (28 años), los españoles en México se centraron en el trabajo en un período de crecimiento económico nacional adoptando, la mayoría (70-75%), la ciudadanía mexicana⁴⁵. Los exiliados soviéticos-españoles, por otro lado, se enfrentaron a la Segunda Guerra Mundial, a las privaciones y al sometimiento de una educación y formación soviética⁴⁶. En relación a los exiliados españoles en Argentina destacar que, al igual que sus homólogos mexicanos, encontramos una alta proporción de intelectuales, profesores universitarios, literatos, médicos, periodistas y artistas; así como ex autoridades del gobierno republicano y altos dirigentes políticos, quienes, en su mayoría, se adaptaron rápidamente al país receptor⁴⁷.

⁴³ Alicia Alted Vigil; Manuel Aznar Soler (Eds.), *Literatura y cultura del exilio español de 1939 en Francia*, Barcelona, Gexel, 1998, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Rosy Rickett, *Refugees of the Spanish Civil War...* op. cit., p. 101.

⁴⁵ Patricia W. Fagen, P., *Exiles and Citizens...* op. cit, p. 59.

⁴⁶ Pablo, Aguirre Herráinz, El retorno desde el exilio... op. cit., p. 138.

⁴⁷ Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho, Argentina y el exilio republicano de 1939: las fronteras y el movimiento de solidaridad, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, Vol. 91(1-2), 2014, pp. 38.

MAPA 2: El mapa de la izquierda muestra las ciudades de origen de los retornados antes del exilio. El mapa de la derecha muestra las ciudades de reasentamiento tras el retorno.

Periodización de 1936 a 2010. Fuente: elaboración propia.



3.3. Retorno

“¿Cómo podría explicar a mis hijos que el día más feliz de la vida de mis padres fue el más triste de la mía?”⁴⁸

Para los entrevistados, el regreso a España fue tan memorable como su salida. En nuestra base de datos, la primera en regresar fue Marina Vega de la Iglesia en 1939, a la edad de 14 años. Solicitó al nuevo consulado español en París que la repatriara a Madrid; lo que hizo en trenes de ganado. En dicha ciudad se encontró con que su padre estaba en la cárcel y a su madre viviendo como “topo”, escondiéndose de la policía y de sus conocidos. Marina se hizo cargo de toda la casa, los gastos y el trabajo; al respecto comenta: *“estuvimos un año moviéndonos de un sitio a otro hasta que encontré a alguien dispuesto a alquilar a una chica de quince años”* para realizar tareas domésticas. Dos años después, empezó a trabajar para las Fuerzas Francesas Libres entregando mensajes clandestinos en la frontera francesa. En 1944, volvió a marcharse a Francia

⁴⁸ Sergi Pamies describiendo el día de su regreso. Soo, S. (Ed.), *Coming Home?*, Vol. 1: Conflict and Return...op. cit. p. 98.

y continuó con su trabajo clandestino hasta que en 1950, cuando su padre salió de la cárcel, regresó nuevamente a España. En este segundo regreso, le llamaba la atención que, diez años después de la Guerra civil, España siguiera lidiando con provisiones y suministros⁴⁹.

El segundo en regresar fue J. Higuera; tenía dieciséis años en 1940 cuando sus padres exigieron oficialmente la repatriación de su hijo. Su nieto, B. Regidor, contó que su abuelo no quería repatriarse y que, cuando lo hizo, le disgustaron las privaciones y restricciones que existían en la España de esa época; *“decía que en Francia las parejas podían besarse en la calle y que, en Año Nuevo, aunque no te conocieran, te deseaban un Feliz Año Nuevo y te daban dos besos”*. Durante la entrevista, su nieto reflexiona acerca de la perspectiva de su abuelo sobre el regreso, comenta que *“guardaba resentimiento hacia sus padres por haberle enviado al extranjero; se sentía abandonado. Lo que tal vez no sabía era que también debió de ser muy difícil para ellos. Tengo una hija de siete años y siempre trato de explicarle cómo escapó mi abuelo a Francia”*⁵⁰.

Siguiendo con nuestra base de datos, la tercera en regresar fue J. Piquet; lo hizo en 1948 a la edad de quince años, cuando sus padres la enviaron de vacaciones con la familia que todavía les quedaba en Barcelona; al respecto comenta: *“escribí a mis padres diciéndoles que no quería volver a Francia porque no quería volver a sentirme extranjera, lo que no sabía era la dictadura”*. Sus padres regresaron dos años después y ella se sintió culpable porque *“sufrieron el franquismo”*; dice: *“mi tía [nacionalista] no les permitía quedarse en su gran piso de seis habitaciones. Yo me quedaba con ella, pero estaba detrás de un muro de silencio [Sic] como la criada. Mi padre se murió y mamá, a las cuatro de la mañana, iba a vender cosas y si no vendía nada no había comida”*⁵¹.

La cuarta en regresar fue E. Osaba, quien nació en Francia en 1945. En 1959, sus padres decidieron regresar a San Sebastián, ella tenía 14 años, al respecto nos comenta: *“el tren de Irún*

⁴⁹ Vega de la Iglesia, M. (2008). UCSD “Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española”, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

⁵⁰ Entrevista B. Regidor vía Facebook Messenger, 27/10/2020.

⁵¹ Piquet, J. (2010), UCSD “Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española”, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

a San Sebastián se llamaba “el topo”, [lo que] me impresionó mucho. Si se te caía algo, no lo volvías a ver; podías ver las vías del tren [a través de las ranuras del suelo del vagón]. Se notaba que España estaba más atrasada que Francia; esto era completamente diferente”. Explicó que para sus padres el regreso se convirtió en un segundo exilio porque no entendían la sociedad española de entonces; dice: “era como si [nosotros] fuéramos extraterrestres, de otro planeta”. Al cabo de unas semanas, incluso, los miembros de la familia que habían quedado en España empezaron a distanciarse de ellos, afirmando que habían “*escapado de la guerra y no entendían lo difícil que era la posguerra para los que se quedaron*”, añade, además: “*los vecinos decían en voz alta: ¿no es el que matamos en la guerra?*” y afirma: “*en la escuela me llamaban la Pasionaria*”. Se burlaban de su acento francés cuando hablaba en español. Esto la afectó enormemente, desarrollando un impedimento en el habla durante un tiempo. Tres años más tarde regresó a Toulouse, Francia, y se quedó con sus tíos durante un año (1962-1963). En 1972, tras ser denunciada oficialmente como “roja” y simpatizante, Elsa se trasladó a Madrid y sus padres no tardaron en seguirla⁵².

La última de las entrevistas analizadas, y la de mayor edad al regresar, fue D. Gómez en 1963 a la edad de veintiséis años. Regresó con su marido y sus dos hijas y se instaló en Madrid. Sin embargo, pronto tuvieron problemas con la policía porque, comenta, “*mi marido era activista y comunista*”. Añade que, para no tener problemas, “*toda la familia volvió a Francia[Toulouse], encontró trabajo y la familia creció. De vez en cuando me pregunto: ¿por qué no vuelvo a España?, pero ahora es imposible, ¡tengo bisnietos!*”⁵³.

En los apartados anteriores hemos hecho referencia indistintamente repatriación y retorno; destacar que el término repatriación refiere a aquellos individuos que regresaron a España con la ayuda, o la coacción, de un gobierno o una organización no gubernamental (ONG); y, retorno, para los individuos que lo hicieron por cuenta propia. Dentro de este último término, el retorno dependía de varios factores, siendo los más importantes el tiempo, la geografía y los factores

⁵² Entrevista a Elsa Osaba, Granada, España, 15/06/2018.

⁵³ Entrevista a D. Gómez, Toulouse, 27/02/2020.

socio-políticos-económicos. Un ejemplo que incorpora todos estos puntos son las expediciones de repatriación de niños soviéticos-españoles en el período de 1956 a 1959. Estos niños, ahora adultos, no pudieron regresar durante la Segunda Guerra mundial y, después, la ex Unión Soviética no tuvo relaciones diplomáticas con España. Para los que regresaron en estas expediciones, la cultura y la economía de España resultaron ser demasiado extranjeras para ellos y la gran mayoría regresó a la URSS en el plazo de un año⁵⁴.

Para contextualizar mejor el uso de la memoria histórica, y la experiencia global del retorno, simplificamos las numerosas variables y condiciones que afectaron a los retornados, empezando por sus clasificaciones, éstas son: permanente, fallido, involuntario, temporal, clandestino e imaginado⁵⁵; a las que añadimos cuatro adicionales: económico, encarcelamiento, muerte y político⁵⁶. Estas diez grandes categorías variaron en función del período de tiempo en el que se produjo el retorno o la repatriación. Por ejemplo, un retorno involuntario en 1940 era muy diferente de uno realizado en 1945. El primero supondría un encarcelamiento seguro, la tortura o la muerte; mientras que el segundo conllevaría, en la mayoría de los casos, el encarcelamiento si se producía después del primer indulto de Franco⁵⁷. Un caso de repatriación involuntaria, no dirigida por el gobierno, ocurrió en 1991 cuando la Cruz Roja ayudó a un niño de guerra soviético-español y a su familia a trasladarse a España⁵⁸. Por otro lado, los retornos clandestinos fueron más peligrosos en los años '40 y '50 y no existieron después de 1975. Asimismo, los retornos por motivos económicos sólo se produjeron en la década de 1960 y, los políticos, después de la muerte de Franco⁵⁹.

⁵⁴ González Martínez, C., El retorno a España... op. cit, p. 99.

⁵⁵ Soo, S. (Ed.), *Coming Home?*, Vol. 1: Conflict and Return...op. cit.

⁵⁶ Escobar Deras, M., Una aproximación metodológica... op. cit.

⁵⁷ DECRETO de 9 de octubre de 1945 por el que se concede indulto total a los condenados por delito de rebelión militar y otros cometidos hasta el 1.º de abril de 1939. Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE), Nº 293, 9/10/1945, <https://boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1945/293/A02430-02431.pdf> (fecha de acceso, 16/04/2021).

⁵⁸ González Martínez, C., El retorno a España... op. cit, p. 88.

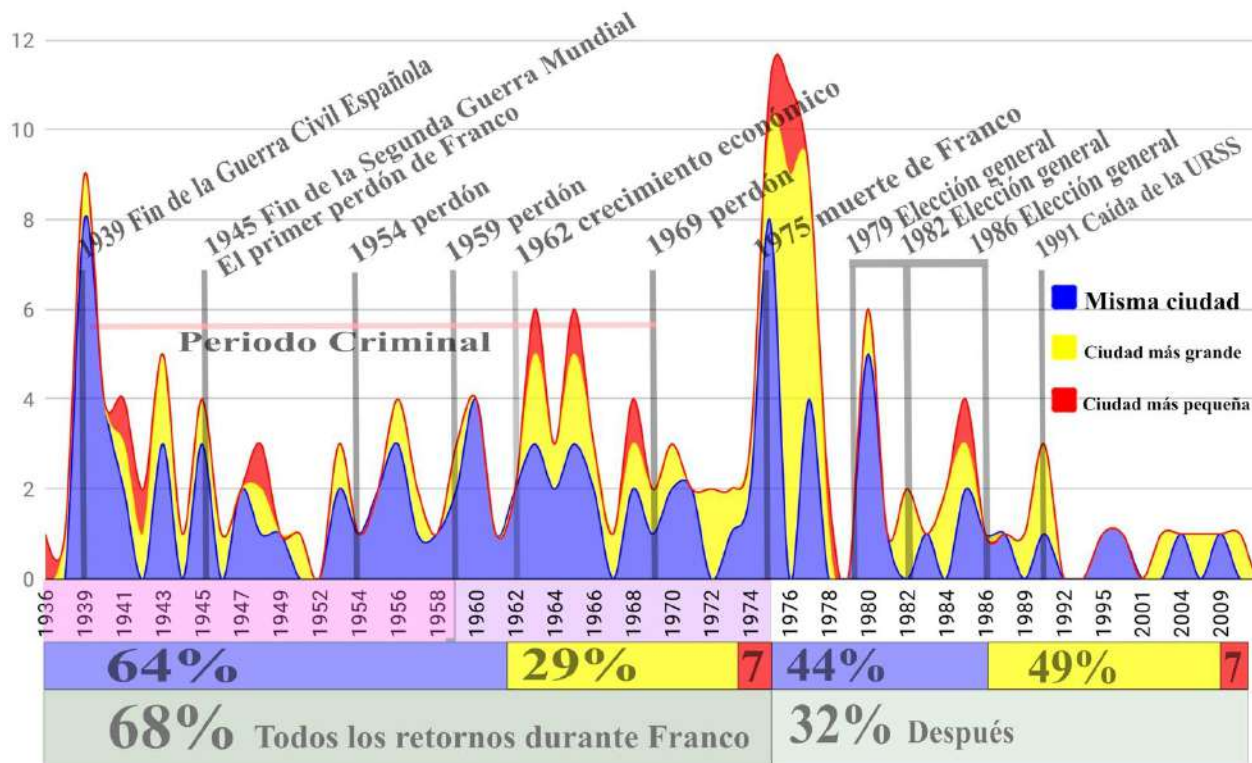
⁵⁹ Escobar Deras, M., Una aproximación metodológica... op. cit., p. 27.

Independientemente de esta clasificación, hemos dividido nuestro marco temporal de análisis en tres grandes períodos en relación con la dictadura de Franco: el primer período de gobierno franquista 1939-1959 (Primer Franquismo), el segundo de 1959 a 1975 (Segundo Franquismo), y el período post-franquista después de 1975⁶⁰. En consecuencia, la información de nuestra base de datos nos muestra que, durante el primer período franquista, el 35% de todos los individuos regresaron a España. Este período fue el más costoso en tiempo, dinero y vidas humanas⁶¹. Además, el 65% de los individuos se asentaron de nuevo en su ciudad natal y el 35% eligió otra ciudad o región. Para el 50% de estos individuos, el motivo principal para regresar fue la familia. Los dos siguientes motivos fueron la política, con un 26%, quedando las repatriaciones con un 15%. Esto cambió durante el segundo período franquista, en el que se produjo el 33% de los retornos. En este caso, el 61% de los retornados se asentaron de nuevo en su ciudad natal y el 39% en otro lugar. Al igual que en el período anterior, la familia fue el principal motivo de retorno, con un 42%, seguido de la política, con un 30%, y el trabajo, con un 16%. Por último, el período post-franquista se caracteriza por el 32% de los retornos; en este período, al contrario que el anterior, el 40% se reubicó en su ciudad de nacimiento y el 60% en otro lugar. Los motivos de sus retornos fueron políticos con un 70%, familiares (11%) y laborales (6%). Cabe destacar que el 51% de estos retornos se produjeron en los primeros cuatro años tras la muerte de Franco.

⁶⁰ Cabe destacar que el 11% de los retornados del conjunto de datos de la M-Data no tenían un año de retorno y, por tanto, fueron excluidos de la siguiente consulta de reasentamiento y del Mapa 1.

⁶¹ Soo, S. (Ed.), *Coming Home?*, Vol. 1: Conflict and Return... op. cit., p. 46.

GRÁFICA 1: Gráfica que muestra el conjunto de datos (M-Data) en relación a todos los retornos del registrados de 1936 a 2010 y su respectivo reasentamiento. Fuente: elaboración propia.



Haciendo un promedio del perfil compuesto del exiliado que retornó encontramos que el exiliado y la familia franco-española regresaron al final del primer período franquista, en 1956, con un promedio de edad de cuarenta y cuatro años. Con la excepción de los retornos encubiertos, todos los demás retornados debían tener nuevos pasaportes si viajaban con nacionalidad española y regresaron por ferrocarril, carretera o avión. El promedio de tiempo desde que se decidía definitivamente el retorno hasta poner pie en la península española duraría desde unos meses hasta un año⁶². Por su parte, el exiliado mexicano-español promedio (que viaja con pasaporte mexicano) regresó, mayoritariamente, en el segundo período franquista, en 1972, a la edad de 56 años, generalmente en avión y directamente a España. Además, en la década de 1950, muchos

⁶² Escobar Deras, M., Una aproximación metodológica... op. cit., p. 26.

exiliados volaban de México a Francia y luego cruzaban la frontera en tren. El tiempo de tramitación de estos retornos oscilaba entre seis meses y dos años, debido a la mencionada falta de relaciones diplomáticas. Por las mismas razones, los exiliados soviéticos-españoles también tuvieron que enfrentarse a largos procesos de retorno, por aire o por mar⁶³. El promedio de retorno se produjo tras la muerte de Franco, en 1976, con un promedio de edad de cuarenta y cuatro años. Para entonces, era un procedimiento rutinario conseguir un pasaporte español en París y luego viajar por tierra, o por aire, a España. Por último, el promedio de exiliados españoles argentinos regresó en el segundo período franquista, en 1971, a la edad de sesenta y seis años, con el mismo plazo de retorno que su homólogo mexicano. En esta ocasión, estos individuos viajaron, en su mayoría, directamente a España en avión.

El cuestionario en línea realizado nos afina la perspectiva del retorno analizando las experiencias individuales de los regresados. Se pidió a los encuestados que calificaran del uno (malo) al cinco (bueno), cómo el exiliado había percibido España en el momento de su regreso. En consecuencia, el 58% indicó una primera impresión negativa, el 25% fue neutral y el 17% positiva⁶⁴. Los encuestados indicaron que el 75% de estas personas regresaron con sus familiares directos, principalmente sus cónyuges e hijos, y el 56% lo hizo de forma permanente. Además, el 58% indicó que había recibido algún tipo de ayuda familiar en el proceso de retorno a España.

3.4. Memoria heredada

*“Ellos eran la voz y nosotros el eco”*⁶⁵.

Para los entrevistados, sus recuerdos del retorno ponen de manifiesto las profundas experiencias heredadas, así como las reflexiones de la sociedad española de la época. Por ejemplo, Marina Vega de la Iglesia refleja una postura intransigente contra la España franquista. Recuerda su viaje de vuelta en trenes de ganado, indicando la falta de vagones de personas “normales”, a los que hubiera estado acostumbrada en París. No menciona las privaciones y penurias que sufría España

⁶³ González Martínez, C., *El retorno a España...* op. cit., p. 82.

⁶⁴ El 53% de los encuestados eran hijos de retornados de primera generación, el 25% nietos.

⁶⁵ Nuria Parés describiendo su relación y legado de una generación a otra. Soo, S. (Ed.), *Coming Home?*, Vol. 1: *Conflict and Return...* op. cit., p. 104.

en los años 40 porque eran algo generalizado y normal. Sin embargo, cuando vuelve por segunda vez en 1950, se queda impactada, comenta: “*¡España seguía lidiando con las provisiones y los suministros!*”. No fue hasta mediados de los años 50, cuando España comenzaría a abrirse a la economía mundial y sus restricciones y penurias económicas se relajaron. Cuando se le preguntó qué significaba para ella la memoria histórica, su comportamiento y su voz cambiaron: “*[los nacionalistas despojaron a mi padre] de todo y lo dejaron en la calle, ¡la memoria histórica es mi derecho!*”. Continúa añadiendo que es un reconocimiento a las injusticias cometidas por el régimen franquista; que lo siente con tanta fuerza que “*no se relacionará con los que siguieron a Franco*”, incluidos sus familiares: “*he educado a mi hija para que no tenga vínculos familiares con [una] parte de la familia*”⁶⁶. Esta convicción es indicativa de lo centrales que son su historia, sus recuerdos y sus opiniones políticas después de setenta años de su primera experiencia de exilio y de cómo ha transmitido la memoria de esa experiencia a su hija.

Para Josefina Piquet, en su experiencia del retorno recuerda la dificultad de adaptarse a la vida española, al mismo tiempo que saca a relucir el trauma de los incidentes de la salida, su exilio despechado y la amarga culpa de haber obligado a sus padres a regresar a España en 1948. Trabajó para su tía rica pro-franquista como criada, mientras su madre intentaba vender chucherías en el mercado. Comenta: “*hay heridas que nunca cicatrizarán y que nunca se superarán*”. Su memoria personal, como la de Marina, representan las heridas y divisiones que existían entre las familias tras la Guerra Civil. Josefina se traslada decididamente al presente cuando comenta: “*me robaron la infancia, pero no me van a robar la madurez*”. Continúa explicando que, debido a que vivía en un mundo de silencio debido a sus traumas, una vez rompió esos muros autoimpuestos viajó a propósito a Francia en múltiples ocasiones, para encontrar pruebas de sí misma y descubrir sus recuerdos con el fin de reclamar su pasado. Dice: “*¿por qué? Porque, en primer lugar, lo necesito; mi pasado siempre estará conmigo y no puedo cambiar mis experiencias vividas, pero puedo transformar mis traumas en experiencias positivas*”. En su explicación, Josefina intenta reclamar su futuro a través de la memoria

⁶⁶ Vega de la Iglesia, M. (2008). UCSD “Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española”, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

compartida: *“todos los años celebramos el Jubileo de la Golondrina; he transmitido a mis hijos y nietos, de forma muy tierna, mi historia. No les ha causado ningún trauma, al contrario, están orgullosos de su abuela”*⁶⁷. Al igual que Marina, Josefina se ha asegurado de transmitir a sus descendientes una versión curada de sus recuerdos pasados para aminorar el dolor.

D. Gómez destaca hechos relacionados de la experiencia del exilio y lo que significó para ella el retorno. Destacar que los retornados franco-españoles pasaron una media de diecisiete años en el exilio, tiempo suficiente para que los hijos formaran sus propias familias en dicho país. Este fue el caso de D. Gómez que pasó cerca de veinticinco años en el exilio y luego regresó a España con sus dos hijas pequeñas y su marido, buscando conocer su país; atrás, en Toulouse, quedaron su red de amigos y familiares. Cuando el régimen franquista persiguió a su marido, regresaron nuevamente a Toulouse, su lugar de refugio, su hogar. La experiencia fallida de retorno de D. Gómez, en 1963, simboliza la imposibilidad de volver; aunque todavía se le antoja de vez en cuando la idea de regresar, de una manera imaginaria y romántica, es incapaz de desarraigarse de su país de acogida debido a la atracción de sus descendientes inmediatos nacidos en Francia. Una de ellas, su hija mayor, respondió al cuestionario como retornada de segunda generación y dejó constancia de su percepción positiva del retorno y la adaptación a España; al respecto comenta: *“con siete años me adapté rápido, ya que continué mis estudios de francés y empecé a hablar español en un colegio francés [en Madrid]”*⁶⁸. Ambas mujeres regresaron a España al mismo tiempo, pero naturalmente, lo vivieron y lo recuerdan de forma diferente.

En el caso de E. Osaba, sus recuerdos aluden a una sociedad religiosa dividida y a una España económicamente atrofiada, a finales de los años ‘50 y ‘60 del S. XX. Reflexiona: *“tuve que bautizarme antes de venir a España [...] mi madre tuvo que mentir sobre su pasado”*⁶⁹. Continúa explicando que, tras la cálida acogida inicial, la familia española que había permanecido siempre en España pasó a menospreciar su experiencia de exilio afirmando que

⁶⁷ Piquet, J. (2010), UCSD “Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española”, <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/cat-alpha.html> (Fecha de acceso, 23/03/2020).

⁶⁸ Encuesta en línea compilada por R. Gutiérrez, 08/03/2020.

⁶⁹ Entrevista a Elsa Osaba, Granada, España, 15/06/2018.

ellos, refiriéndose a E. Osaba y sus padres, no entendían lo que habían sufrido al no quedarse a España y huir a Francia. Esta discordia se extendió más allá de su familia, a la población general de su pequeño pueblo. En la escuela la acosaron y se burlaron de ella físicamente, hasta el punto que desarrolló un impedimento en el habla, esto hizo que sus padres la mandaran de vuelta a Francia. Las declaraciones de E. Osaba dejan claro que el trauma del regreso y la adaptación a España sigue siendo muy real para ella.

Por último, el ejemplo de J. Higuera, a través de su nieto B. Regidor, alude indirectamente al ambiente de desconfianza que se respiraba en la sociedad española de los años cuarenta. Su referencia a cómo en Francia hasta los extraños le deseaban a uno Feliz Año Nuevo, pone de manifiesto que para su abuelo había una gran diferencia en el comportamiento de los extranjeros en España; afirmando un mayor nivel de desconfianza. Destacar el trato negativo y el acoso que su hijo experimentó, más tarde, por ser el hijo de un republicano, a pesar que únicamente era un niño (J. Higuera) cuando fue evacuado y repatriado.

La historia de mis abuelos me ha impactado mucho. Me encantaba escuchar sus historias. [Sin embargo] mi padre, al ser hijo de un rojo, le afectó profundamente. Él [en los años 50] sufrió, junto a sus hermanos, humillaciones en la escuela por parte de los alumnos y profesores; señalándolo como 'el hijo de un rojo, de un comunista'. Las autoridades religiosas del pueblo también lo hicieron. Esto se llama la humillación del vencedor sobre el vencido⁷⁰.

B. Regidor añade que, para su abuelo, nunca vio su pasado (la guerra civil, su exilio y su regreso) como algo histórico, “*para él fue un momento profundo de dolor y desgracia*”. Como nieto de un niño de la guerra que sufrió la humillación, al igual que su padre, B. Regidor comparte emociones encontradas de la experiencia del retorno y lo que significa transmitir esos recuerdos a su propia hija: la memoria heredada.

Como herramienta, la memoria histórica sirve para mostrar un abanico de variantes de un mismo hecho, nacional, colectivo o individual. Para nuestra investigación, sirve para discernir las

⁷⁰ Entrevista B. Regidor vía Facebook Messenger, 27/10/2020.

distintas realidades de la experiencia del retorno que, aunque muy individualizadas, mantienen colectivamente una opinión similar de readaptación a una cultura española diferente desde un desarraigo compartido. Para estos exiliados, la decisión de regresar, y la experiencia en sí misma, fue una reconciliación forzada del pasado con el presente de entonces; una reconciliación tan memorable como los acontecimientos que condujeron al propio exilio. Hasta tal punto que también se transmitieron a las generaciones siguientes, como una experiencia traumática en sí misma o como un capítulo sucesivo de la historia familiar. Desde este punto de vista, el cuestionario es, en sí mismo un producto de la memoria colectiva transmitida, ya que intenta cuantificar y visualizar, y da forma con el análisis, la impregnación de sus historias y experiencias; de cómo estos recuerdos se hicieron eco a través de las generaciones sin importar el tiempo, el género o la nacionalidad⁷¹.

4. A MODO DE CONCLUSIÓN

El fenómeno del retorno de la diáspora de la Guerra Civil española es variado y polifacético, con un largo recorrido que atraviesa varios países, épocas y generaciones. El uso de la memoria histórica es nuestro intento de atravesar la multitud de capas para triangular una experiencia común de repatriación contextualizando su exilio. Asimismo, utilizamos el conjunto de datos (M-Data) como telón de fondo cuantitativo para converger, y comparar, los relatos cualitativos del exilio y el retorno. A partir de este punto, también nos propusimos explorar la transferibilidad de nuestro enfoque de métodos mixtos para llegar a unas cuantas conclusiones sinérgicas, interdependientes, que pueden extenderse a todos los individuos entrevistados y, más prudentemente, a los varios fenómenos del retorno en general. La principal de estas conclusiones es que el retorno no fue sólo un acontecimiento, sino un período de tiempo significativo, que se recuerda y se modifica a través de las generaciones posteriores. Fue diferente de las experiencias traumáticas del éxodo (momento de la salida) y exilio, pero fue igual de memorable, desafiante y duradero. Además, el regreso a España fue una especie de aceptación de la victoria de Franco sobre la República, como un hecho para asumir y vivir con ese gobierno dictatorial, en algunos

⁷¹ Cuando se les preguntó a los encuestados cómo se auto-identificaban a través de su nacionalidad, el 49% contestó que española, y un 24% adicional afirmó tener doble nacionalidad (española + otra). Los siguientes porcentajes fueron un 12% de franceses, un 5% de catalanes y un 5% de mexicanos.

casos; o luchar contra él de forma clandestina. En conjunto, los recuerdos compartidos describen a una España como un país económicamente atrofiado y una sociedad cerrada en sí misma, en la que la adaptación fue difícil en la mayoría de las ocasiones y situaciones y, especialmente, en los mismos pueblos, o barrios, de los que procedían los retornados. Para la mayoría de los que regresaron en las dos primeras décadas, la familia era el principal motivo para volver y se instalaron en sus pueblos de origen. Irónicamente, para las personas analizadas, la familia fue la principal fuente de malentendidos a su regreso, a diferencia de los antagonismos fuera de la familia. Para los que regresaron en las dos últimas décadas, en el período post-franquista, la política fue el motivo central y gravitaron hacia ciudades más grandes. En general, para estas personas, su largo período de exilio supuso una segunda experiencia de desarraigo tras el retorno para ellos; y una primera para sus hijos quienes debían adaptarse a un país completamente nuevo para ellos. Sin embargo, debido a la larga duración del gobierno franquista, la mayoría de los retornos se produjeron mientras Franco estaba en el poder. La memoria del retorno fue gestionada y comisariada activamente por quienes tenían la capacidad de transmitirla a la siguiente generación; mientras que el núcleo familiar servía de cámara de eco para dichos recuerdos, los hijos y nietos los proyectaron todavía más. Estos recuerdos se consideraban, a la vez, una carga y una insignia de honor, aliviados de haberlos contado pero orgullosos de haber sobrevivido a ellos.

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ENTREVISTAS

E. Osaba, Granada, España, 15/06/2018.

D. Gómez, Toulouse, Francia, 27/02/2020.

R. Gutiérrez, Toulouse, Francia, 08/03/2020.

J. Rubella, Toulouse, Francia, 26/06/2020.

B. Regidor, Granada, España, 27/10/2020.

IV.5. INDIVIDUAL RETURNS DISPLAYED: A CHRONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

In the original objective for this thesis, it was deemed vital to visually show an individual's trajectory from leaving his hometown to the receiving exile country and then finally to show the physical location of the return; a three-point triangulation of Exit, Exile and Return.¹ Due to the previous thesis publications focusing on the other aforementioned objectives (two through four), we felt it necessary to directly address the first objective point by adding a fifth section to the results section. The following is thus an early exploratory and analytical narrative of our online interactive solution to meet the first thesis objective, "the rebuilding of individual paths of exile and return." It follows the American Psychological Association (APA) writing style with American punctuation with a mostly classical descriptive narrative of images.

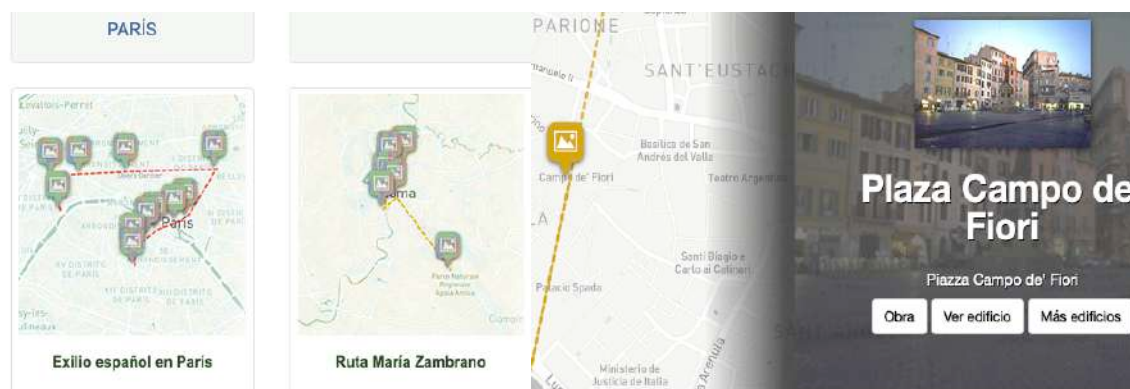
The first objective was originally conceived as such because in general classic historical research on individuals, their lives are written and analyzed to a lengthy extent, but their life phases or stages are rarely visually pinpointed on a map. Equally, how these people may possibly relate to the many more individuals who undertook similar journeys or experiences is also infrequently done. The rise of computers however has changed how storytelling is shown; while, the internet, coupled with multiplayer online games where spatial visuals and narrative maps are central, has redefined the possibilities of map-based 'path visualization' (Earley-Spadoni, 2017, p. 97; Biriukov, 2021, p. 14). Due to these developments, we felt the old model of simply writing about individual diaspora did not provide sufficient and immediate visual context to the vast distances, number of individuals, scales of terrains and nations' cultural barriers that these refugees experienced. Likewise, a simple 2D map with the various exit and entry points would not suffice for there would not be any interactive individual trajectories and would come across as too cluttered, busy and complex with all the individuals in the database (Biriukov, 2021, p. 57).

A classic example of one of the better online maps dealing with the Spanish Civil war and its exiles, we turned to the virtual library of Miguel de Cervantes and their On-Scroll exile maps of luminaries like Rafael Alberti, Ramón Gaya and Maria Zambrano. These individuals were

¹ Capitalization is used to denote a movement and use of the pronoun.

world renown in their respective fields and their exiles were publicly known and followed in the press. Each of these On-Scroll maps is dedicated to one individual and combines a movable map with a running narrative or image with each click. The extent of the interactivity lies in moving the map and clicking the next arrow.

Figure 5A. Miguel de Cervantes library use of story maps for various individuals.



Source: Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library. ¹

As visually compelling as these small maps are, they are rigidly very localized to specific cities, individuals and time(s) limiting their overall usefulness. They do not place the individuals' overall trajectories from start to finish, nor contextualize the prior emigration as they later transition to immigration. For example, they do not account Alberti's life in Argentina or his resettlement back to his native town upon his Return. The viewer-reader is expected to know them and fill in the gaps. Furthermore, missing are the thousands of individual lives paralleling Alberti whose information is unknown and was not retained nor captured by the individuals themselves.

Therefore, to meet our objective of a more engaging and interactive online map, it was reasoned to utilize a data-driven online solution with more collaborative functions to interface on a real-time basis. This would be a living map as a platform that could incorporate individuals as

¹ Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, (n.d). *Biblioteca del Exilio*. Retrieved September 22, 2021, from http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/biblioteca_del_exilio/

well as a wholesale display of the Spanish diaspora and the Return phenomena (Kerski, 2015, p. 21). Furthermore, we felt that open source and open data would be its cornerstone to encourage transparency and citizen participation from both scholars and individuals alike (Bocanegra Barbecho, 2020, p. 5). In this way as well, further development could be done by its future platform members to incorporate videos and other digital sources to truly be engaging and part of the digital humanities tagline. Ultimately, it is our hope that the software sources and dependencies will be packaged and uploaded to Github to further develop an ongoing open-source platform for this project and similar diasporas alike.²

The first step taken in this task was to identify the right software and coding language to build the rough structure of the interactive map. Excel, Google (Drive, Docs, Data studio) were initially utilized but were deemed “lacking” for our interactive objective. Instead, a mixed-composite or hybrid structure of software and coding language was pursued to meet said collaborating aims. Ultimately we settled for Jupyter Notebook, part of the Project Jupyter, as it afforded us the right mix of cost, functionality, transparency and robustness.³

The working prototype user navigation protocol would be as follows. The color red would indicate the birth city or hometown that was departed, while the blue indicated the city returned or settled in after the exile period. The color choices were based on redshift and blueshift that light produces as it moves away and back. In addition, if both the Exit and Return cities were the same, then the blue balloon bubble would remain blue with an added shadow at the base. However, if these were different, a distance line connecting the two would be added. Clicking or hovering on the blue bubble, the individual’s information would appear and remain in place. If one would then hover over the connected red bubble, the return information would appear for the specific individual whose blue bubble was previously clicked. In this basic user experience, we hoped to eliminate confusion as we incorporated all the various data fields for the numerous individuals.

In future iterations, the line connecting the red and blue balloons will measure the distance in kilometers between the two cities. In addition, the map itself will also display

² Github (n.d). Retrieved October 22, 2021, from <https://python-visualization.github.io/folium/>

³ Jupyter (n.d). Retrieved October 22, 2021, from <https://jupyter.org>

elevations in a static manner and thus provide an at-first-glance overview of distance as measured by terrain types. This was important because the higher the elevations the more difficult it would have been to stay connected to extended family networks (Escobar Deras, 2021, p. 156).⁴

Our next step was to visualize where the fighting in the Spanish Civil War took place and see how this affected our very own map of individuals. This was in an effort to identify the first point in our three-point triangulation, the Exit phase. Because the Spanish Civil War and a well-known and studied subject, we decided to utilize a map that was highly detailed with information.

Figure 5B. General map of Spanish Civil War battles (1936 – 1939) and key.



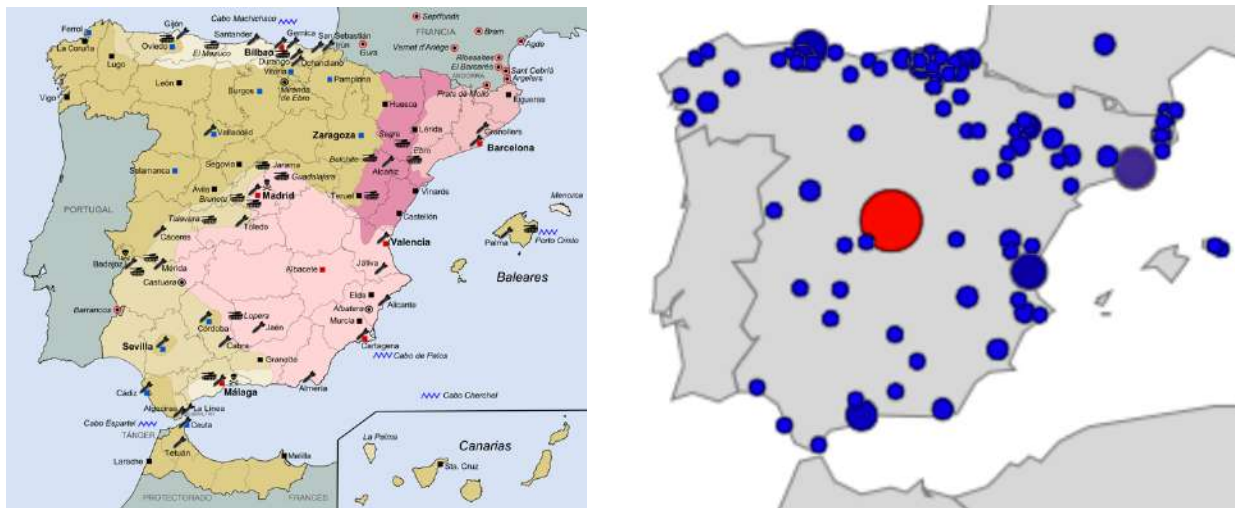
Source: User FDRMRZUSA, Wikimedia Commons.⁵

⁴ See Third published article, citing the difficulty or ease of re-integrating back to Spain based on distance.

⁵ General Map of the Spanish Civil War, (n.d). Retrieved September 20, 2021, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_Civil_War#/media/File:General_map_of_the_Spanish_Civil_War_\(1936–39\).svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_Civil_War#/media/File:General_map_of_the_Spanish_Civil_War_(1936–39).svg)

We then compared it with our own initial heat map of displaced locations based on all the individuals and locations mentioned in our merged databases, the M-dataset. From these, we selected only the original birth cities and generated a basic 2D snapshot image map. The aim was for an early visualization and comparison of the two maps to see if there were any patterns or cause-and-effect from the battle frontlines to the individuals themselves. The largest circle in red, Madrid, was the city most mentioned while the single blue dots were the least. We wanted to see if the battle sites corresponded with the heat map circles which would indicate movement. This by no means would equal causation for said movement (from battle to exile), but would perhaps highlight correlations and future areas of focus. The resulting map did show a greater displacement in those regions where most of the fighting took place, indicating some form of connection leading to the second triangulation point, the Exile.

Figure 5C. Comparison of Figure 5A with a heat map of Exit cities in the M-database.



Source: See previous notes.

Figure 5B examples how a 2D map displays movement through the use of color and a detailed key. There are six active colors that detail the Nationalist battle movements and the duration of the war. They serve to explain by displaying how the Nationals initially invaded Spain from the South and West in 1936 (dark and medium yellow), and then attacked the remaining pockets in the North and south in 1937 (light yellow). This was a divide-and-conquer

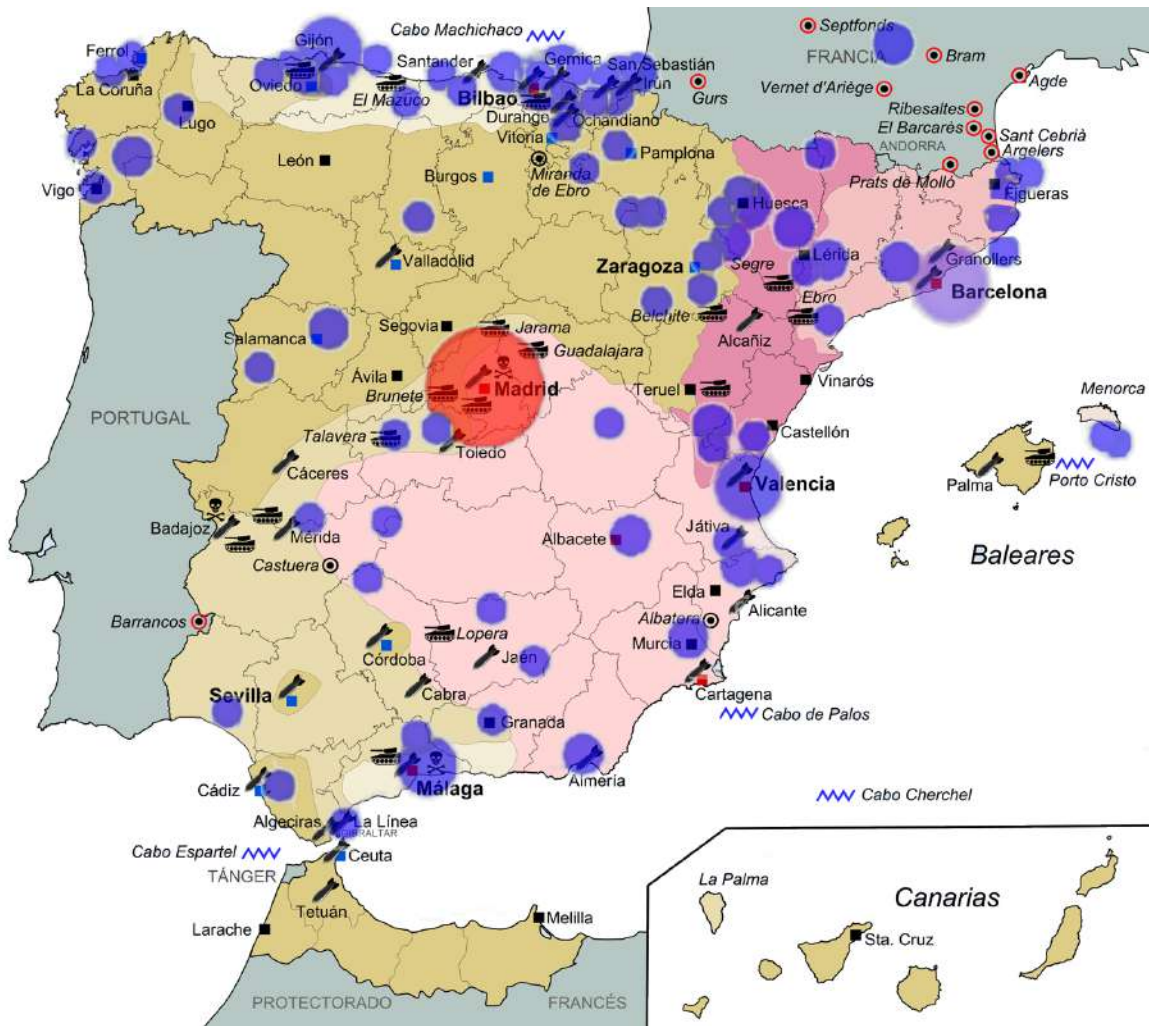
pincer movement that ultimately divided the Republican army into two, resulting in the defeat of the north in the Santoña agreement (Beevor, 2012, p. 237). A similar strategy would then separate Madrid from Barcelona in 1938 (dark pink), resulting in the final defeat in the early part of 1939.

It was the final six months of the war 1938-39 that would create the massive wave of refugees known as La Retirada into France. This massive exodus accounted for 56% of our M-database of returnees for the bellicose years. Once more, this would have been in the winter of 1939 when all these individuals exited. The next biggest year in our database was 1937 at 27%; followed by 1936 at 8% and 1938 at 7%. In our heat map, this would thus indicate a lot more activity in the north in 1937 and central and northeast of Spain in 1939, which turns out to be the case. The resulting composite image of both maps makes a compelling visual correlation between the official battlefields of the war with our exile and returnee individuals. Once more, our intention was not to prove causation but to create a base understanding of frontline battlefields in relation to our first triangulation point, the Exit.

This first point could be argued to be the most important of the three. It defined the mental and physical condition that the refugees were in before their period of exile. If they had been part of the fighting or simply caught up in the wave of people fleeing for their lives to an unknown land. If they were children, young adults, parents, or elderly, they would remember the violence done and the endless traveling alone, with relatives, or with road acquaintances. This was but the start of their exile, one that for many, would never be forgotten and whose memories would be passed down as family heirlooms. The Exit, or the Civil War itself that caused it, would become the most known and studied aspect of its history.⁶

⁶ de Hoyos Puente, J. (2017). Los estudios del exilio republicano de 1939 a revisión: una mirada personal. *Dictatorships & Democracies (D&D): Journal of history and culture*, (5), 285-312. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7238/dd.v0i5.3130>.

Figure 5D: Overlay of Figures 5B and heat map of Exit cities.



Source: Ibid.

The next step was to visualize the scale and physical extent of the Spanish diaspora on a geographical map, the second triangulation point, the Exile. We thus created a preliminary HTML application to view the trajectory lines of individuals and their receiving country of exile. Unexpectedly, using country names resulted in combining and merging individual lines to one point. In the case of France and the Soviet Union, this shifted the lines to Paris and Moscow, although many of the respective Spanish refugees were housed elsewhere. For instance, in France, the majority of exiles resided in the Haute-Garonne department in Southern France.

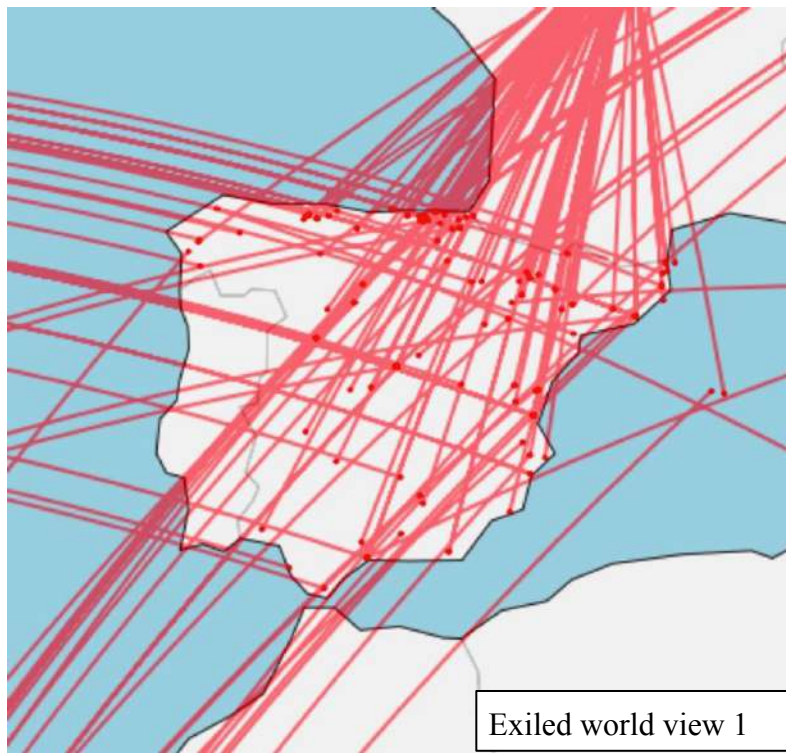
Figure 5E. World view of exile destinations.



Source: Author's HTML elaboration.

In regards to transitioning from the Exit to the Exile point, the majority of the M-database returnees evacuated Spain via France, and later to their corresponding receiving country of exile. This “motion” was not illustrated in the generated exile world maps and was omitted completely to avoid a converging solid line of red across the Pyrenees into France and then distributing from there to the world at large. Although historically accurate, the initial reasoning was to visualize the starting point of their exile experience (from their hometowns), with a direct trajectory line extending to their then country of exile. A corrective implementation would later add this transitional step when viewing individual trajectory lines, which would also display their related history. Consequently, when “zooming” to the map of Spain, the image became complicated and “busy” with too many trajectories lines extending outside of the viewing frame. The later features of displaying individual history as one selected a trajectory line were thus placed on hold. Adding such a feature would only further compound the complexity of the interactions. We felt that this would negate the engagement aspect of our objective of being overly complicated.

Figure 5F. Exile view of the Iberian peninsula.

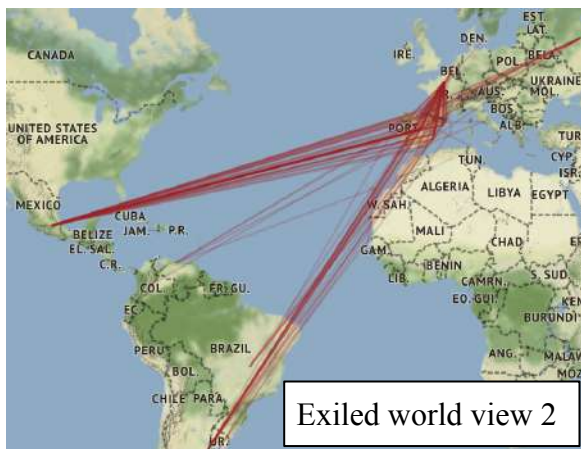


Source: Author's HTML elaboration.

Due to the simple 2D HTML outline maps that had become busy with lines, we decided to port our data to Jupyter Notebook. The aim was to add more background detail and explore if our path visualization could become more interactive and dynamic at the same time. In so doing, we could begin to approximate an interactive narrative map. This was important because we needed to meet our initial objectives; and if there was no engagement through interaction, then the maps would be no different from static ones. The dynamic aspect was deemed necessary because it provided a more “natural” feel to the world view, rendering land as green and displaying topography in real-time as one zoomed in and out. This was not possible with the HTML map for regardless of where one would zoom to, the background landmass stayed white and unresponsive. This further distracted the immersive experience we had hoped for in relating the scale of the exodus.

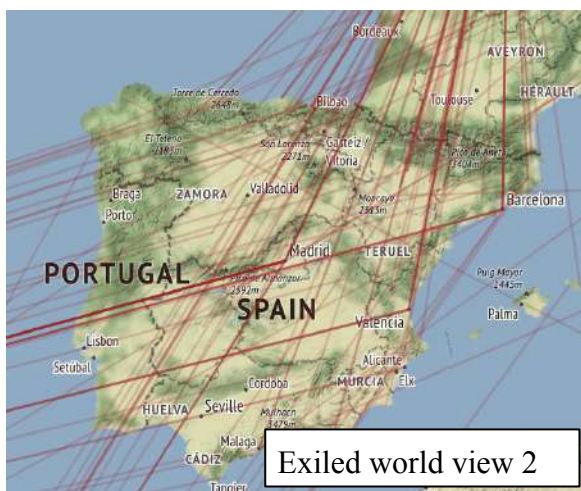
Just like we had not implemented the French transitional phase in the individual trajectory lines, we also did not add multiple receiving countries to the starting world view map. There were many returnees who had been exiled in multiple countries prior to returning to Spain. Some of them, did not stay in Spain after their Return and turned back to their receiving countries or chose others. Displaying all the points and intricate trajectories would elevate the complexity of the code, but also visually add to the array of lines already on the map.

Figure 5G. World view of exile destinations using Jupyter Notebook.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

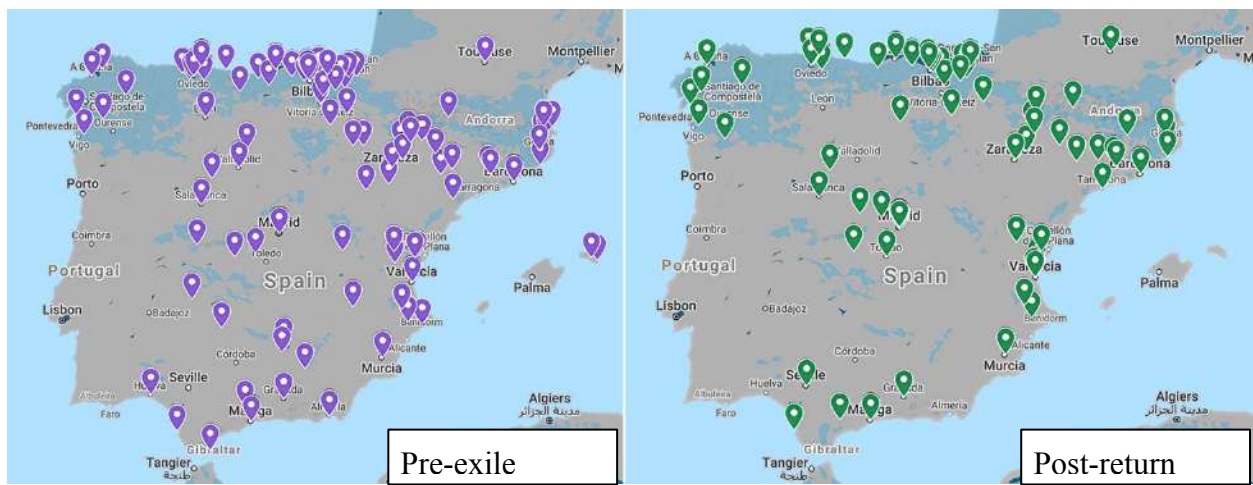
Figure 5H. Exile view of the Iberian peninsula.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

Noting the visual complexity of trajectory lines, we decided to return to a simpler style of map for our third triangulation point, the Return. In the fourth article of this thesis, we reasoned that a simple trajectory 2D line map was “messy, [especially] with 264 exit and returns lines across a global map.” Furthermore, a single line in such a type of map did not provide the same overview for the seven decades we wanted to easily display. For this reason, we used two different side-by-side maps as was done in the fourth publication in this thesis. The first displayed the birth towns of the individuals in the M-database, and the second, their resettlement locations once returned. The hope was for the reader to mentally align and discern the differences between the two maps.

Figure 5I. Comparison of Exit and Return cities.



Source: Author’s elaboration using google datasets. Currently in press in the fourth publication.

After implementing the changes and transferring to Jupyter Notebook, we wanted to recreate and merge both maps into one interactive one. We thus linked the two exit and return locations, and added a “pop-up” informational balloon, experimenting with the various icons, from houses depicting “homes,” to the neutral but more informative exit and entry icons. We also made sure to keep individuals’ personal data from being displayed in the off case there was a data breach. Due to the nature of the M-database being an amalgamation of several databases, we did not want to take a chance with the few questionnaire respondents who did not agree to the use of their names.

The composite maps for the whole of the Iberian Peninsula looked less busy with only the two types of balloons. In theory, this would be less work for the viewer-reader to merge on their own and then imagine the difference. With it, one could easily identify the red-colored balloons depicting those cities that were never returned to; and perhaps engage more with what these two colors implied, the aftermath of the war, the passage of time in exile.

Figure 5J. Iberian peninsula showing birth cities and return cities in one.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

Figure 5K. Experimentation of various icons added to visualize exits and returns, and distances.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

We also wanted to display distance and movement upon their return, to qualify that for many, returning to Spain was not a return to their hometowns but a transitional move to a different town, and country after the war; for it was now Franco's Spain. We thus experimented with symbolic and numeric displays but in trying to keep things simple, we settled for a semitransparent line extending from the exiting city to the returned. We also felt that for public figures from the Returnee Data in Literary Studies database (RD-LS), like Rosa Chacel, their personal information could be displayed without violating European and Spanish privacy laws. She was one of the individuals that started in one country and later moved to a second; for her, she started her exile in Brazil and shortly afterward moved to Argentina for a total exile time of 24 years.

Figure 5L. Experimentation displaying individual's data.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

As we implemented more individuals and their exit-return cities, it became apparent that we would have the same "busy" issue as before. However, this was now compounded with

merging lines of many individuals choosing the same larger city to resettle upon their return to Spain. In this case, Madrid and Barcelona. This was a concluding point in our third publication which saw that men and later returnees (Post-Franco period), in general, were more likely to resettle in bigger cities. This explanation, however, could not be written in the map without adding more to the complexity of it all.

Figure 5M. Example of multiple individuals converging into larger cities.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

This complexity was even more confusing when similar last names were involved. In the following example, two individual males were exiled and returned at different times, but both chose to resettle in Barcelona while originating in the same island, Menorca. S. Rubio Tuduri, decided to travel to Argentina via France in 1938 at the age of 46. He would spend 27 years in exile and return in the Second Francoist period (1965), at the age of 73, settling down in Barcelona. The second individual, M. Rubio Tuduri, exiled himself to France in 1939 at the age

of 43. He spent nine years in exile and returned in 1948, during the First Francoist period, and settled in Barcelona at the age of 52. These two men had radically different exile trajectories, and yet, in the Return map, they had a similar starting and ending point. Separately, each map indicated drastically different stories, but side-by-side, they generated an array of questions that no simple display feature could adequately answer.

Figure 5N. Comparison of problematic individual overviews vis-à-vis their returns.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

When grouping all individuals the “busyness” grew exponentially, leading to an overly complex map that would not be suitable for online interactivity and engagement. However, as a tool in itself, it served to point out patterns and visualize movements that were not possible previously. This was especially true when comparing different aspects of the same database. I.e., comparing the two main datasets of the M-database, or men and women. We started with the smaller Returnee Data in Social Networks database (RD-SD) and applied all the features and settings that we could so as to create a starting point of comparison. We set out to compare the busyness of each map and discern differences if any. We hoped to visualize “movements” that

were not readable through words and numbers. We also only focused on the Exit and Return cities, with the understanding that the element of time, as it transpired through their exile period, would be omitted. In other words, we would only compare the first triangulation point to the third, with all the decades in-between (1936 to 2010). This would give us a 2D snapshot of the data sets that we could then compare.

Figure 50. Iberian peninsula displaying Exit and Return of RD-SD individuals.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

In the resulting image, one can easily see more blue balloons than red ones and a movement-migration to larger cities like Madrid, Valencia, Bilbao, and Barcelona. The red Exit balloons of towns not returned were effortlessly identified, while the blue Return cities, which were the same as the birth cities, were mostly grouped in the same areas where the heavy north-based bombings of 1937 and central-west battles of 1939 took place. One thing to note, the RD-SD database was generated by mostly the descendants of first-generation exiles through an

online questionnaire, recounting the first-generation's exile and return experience as imputed by them.

In contrast, the RD-LR database was composed of first-generation individuals who were found in academic sources, or were luminaries and publicly known in exile. People like Salvador Dalí, Rafael Alberti, Victoria Kent, and Dolores Ibarruri to name a few. When generating the RD-LR snapshot map, an apparent superior amount of red balloons appeared across the whole of the country and a greater concentration of blue balloons occurred in the aforementioned larger cities. The concentration effect can be seen at the base of the balloons, the darker the shadow, the more individuals who opted for it. This snapshot map was also more suggestive of the general battlefield map that we first cited, and categorically displays the movement from before to after the war.

Figure 5P. Iberian peninsula displaying Exit and Return of RD-LR individuals.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

We then set out to visualize the gender differences of the 247 (145 men and 102 women) first-generation individuals in the M-database that had both the Exit hometown and the Return city.⁷ We first generated a snapshot map of the women and the resulting image showed fewer red balloons and a greater concentration of them in the north and northeast of the country. The fewer red balloons, as compared to the men, also indicated less movements to larger cities. This was in keeping with the third published article where 68% of all women returned to their city of birth (Escobar Deras, 2021, p. 165). This percentage preference would translate to less blue balloons with darker shadows.

Figure 5Q. Iberian peninsula displaying women’s individual Exit and Return.



Source: Author’s elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

For the red balloons that are displayed (32% of women who resettled elsewhere upon their return), they are regionalized mostly to the north and northeast of Spain. The same north

⁷ This would be at the time of writing, October 2, 2021, with no further entries incorporated.

areas of the 1937 bombings of Guernica, Bilbao and Gijon; and the 1938-39 offensives in the northeast that lead to La Retirada.

For the 145 first-generation men in our database, the snapshot image was quite chaotic with many more red balloons and movement lines in the direction of larger cities. Furthermore, its distribution of both exit and return cities are scattered all over Spain, matching much more closely to the general battlefield map than any other snapshot image of the M-database iterations. By any measure, these men were physically displaced to a greater extent than the women. Based on our third published article, at the time of writing, only 51% of the men returned to their city of origin, leaving the other half to relocate elsewhere upon their return (Escobar Deras, 2021, p. 166). This is evidently shown in the darker and concentrated lines extending to larger cities.

Figure 5R. Iberian peninsula displaying men's individual exits and returns.



Source: Author's elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.

Combining all the individuals in the M-database resulted in a confusing picture with no comparative value. We realized that although it was interesting in an abstract manner to see all

the movement lines, it did not meet our initial interactive objectives. In the subsequent iteration of the Jupyter code, we shall filter beyond gender and database, and focus on the various decades to incorporate time and compare movement in the 70 years of returns. We shall then generate a video at a second per year to visualize this time passage effect, with either the Exit world map view or the Iberian Peninsula perspective. These videos shall be an option within the website repository for anyone to view, should they choose not to engage with the individual trajectory lines of returnees. We hope that in this way, there will be varying degrees of passive viewing and active engagement within the site. Ultimately, an individual would be able to add more first or second-generation individual exiles on their own via a questionnaire like prompts. These new trajectories would need to be verified by an administrator but would be visible to the submitter.

Figure 5S. Iberian peninsula displaying all individual exits and returns.



Source: Author’s elaboration using Jupyter Notebook.⁸

⁸ Lines extending outside of the map are error lines when “N/A” (Not Applicable) was left in the original data. They point to 0°0” coordinates.

In conclusion, an interactive online map of the three-point triangulation of the Exit, Exile and Return can be done but it requires at least two different types of map views (world and local), and the merging of three different story-telling maps that would first visualize the trajectories, change over time and incorporate a sliding pop-up functionality. The Jupyter Notebook application was a new form of visualizing the Return phenomenon, and although slightly “busy,” it does serve as an attractive new tool to visualize the different iterations of the data itself. However, the individual work of interactively displaying information of hundreds of individuals is not as straightforwardly done in a manner that is both aesthetically pleasing or as interactive as our objectives outlined. Many changes and upgrades will need to happen before it can fully measure and display in an interactive manner the Return phenomena of the thousands of individuals exiled who returned. It is a visually positive start to engage in an ongoing dialogue of the Spanish diaspora and Return.

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IV.6. POSTMEMORY AND RETURN: A CASE STUDIES

As mentioned earlier, the variances of individuals are quite numerous and one generation (first or second), may encompass a multitude of different age-related generations within. For this reason, we felt it would be best to compare two individuals as much as one could to triangulate a common returned experience if possible; focusing on similarities and differences between the two women, their fathers and postmemory, along with their memories of their return to Spain (Aguirre Herráinz, 2015, p. 9). The following was thus the resulting observations of an unpublished case study of two second-generation females, who both returned to live in Spain, recounting their familial memories (postmemory), of their first-generation militant ex-republican combatant fathers (Hirsch, 1992, p. 18). It is the first time where we breach the subject of what it means to be a “second-generation” who “returned” by traveling for the first time to Spain; and where we further explore the generational structure of memory. It follows the American Psychological Association (APA) writing style with American punctuation.

Our first individual is Elsa Osaba Bailo (Elsa), a second-generation female and a mother of one. She was born at the end of the Second World War in 1945, in France. Her refugee parents returned to Ampuero, Spain in 1952 when she was a teenage girl of 14. Her parents met in exile and upon returning, had a difficult time adjusting to Spanish society and reverted to France for one year, staying with her family in Toulouse. Upon her second return, she finished high school and moved to Madrid for University where she permanently settled. At the end of the war, Elsa’s father Manuel was a 27-year-old ex-combatant from Ampuero who escaped on foot to France; was detained in a concentration camp and would later escape a Germany-bound truck, breaking both of his arms. This landed him in the hospital where he met his future wife and Elsa’s mother.

Our second individual is Angie del Riego. She is a second-generation individual, a mother of three who was born in 1961 in the Dominican Republic. At the age of 49 in 2010, she traveled alone to Barcelona, Spain as a divorcé, since her three U.S-born children were already adults. She journeyed to Spain following her artistic interest and had no intention of staying permanently. She obtained her father’s records and moved to Extremadura, Spain. At the end of

the war, her father, Jose was a 33-year-old ex-combatant who escaped on foot to France and was placed in a concentration camp. Later in 1940, he reunited with his first wife and two children and emigrated to Santo Domingo. He would later remarry Angie's Dominican-born mother.

Figure 6A. Manuel Osaba Fernández. cir. late 1940s. Lyon, France.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo.

Based on the above short descriptions, the respective differences between the women and their fathers are apparent. First, for the women, the age at the time of first traveling to Spain is remarkable. The age, nationality, agency and life experience between a 14 and a 49-year-old are unimaginably vast (Celejewski & Dion, 1998, p. 214).¹ This would then affect their mindset and first impressions of Spain. Likewise, the economically stunted Spanish society in 1959 in a small town in the Basque Region was incomparable to the internationally economically vital Barcelona of 2010 (Martínez Pino, 2018, p. 6; Biggart & Guillén, 1999, p. 736). Although both women did not work upon returning, this was due to Elsa being required to attend a religious school, while Angie pursued her own artistic and literary interests. For Elsa, Spain was developmental “backward” and disliked the need for her parents to be married by the church and for her to be baptized before gaining her new nationality. She saw her return in an overall negative light.

¹ This is based on social identity and categorization theory.

Angie on the other hand was “excited” to visit the Catalonian capital and travel through northern Spain; receiving her Spanish passport was “interesting.” She remarked that she “felt more Spanish when my dad was alive.”

Figure 6B. Jose Maria del Riego Orozco.²



Source: Senen Gonzalez Ramirez.

There is a stark difference in regards to the mindset that both women had at the time of their travel to Spain that seems to have influenced their sense of belonging, adaptation and link to the land and its people. As alluded to previously, their age and life experience framed their mindset upon first seeing and experiencing Spain and its society. As a 14-year-old, Elsa experienced a 1959 small-town religious society that was quite linguistic and culturally different from what she had known previously in France. Her troublesome scholastic experience in Spain, where she was mocked for her accent and called “Frenchy,” led her to seek shelter with her family in Toulouse. There she felt like she “belonged” even though, to the French, she was “seen

² Gonzalez Ramirez, S. (2004). *El General Riego, su ascendencia paterna y actuales parientes*. Asociacion Cultural de Campomanes.

as a Spaniard.” Paralleling her parents' exit and repatriation, she once again returned to Spain after one year to be with her immediate family. Older, she finished the high school equivalent in Ampuero and permanently moved to Madrid for her university; moving from a small town where everyone knew her family history to the capital where she could be whoever and whatever she wanted. It was in the city where she would go on to establish roots, start a family and become a grandmother. She now feels like she “belongs” to the exile group, to a generation who fought against Franco while also being victims of his atrocities.

For Angie, her mindset was that of an accomplished woman, traveling for the first time to Spain; who, by happenstance, decided to permanently stay, building connections as a result of her artistic and literary interest by means of her father’s military records. As a 49-year-old individual, mother of three adult children, and divorced, Angie followed her talents and artistic endeavors to Barcelona in 2010 alone. Accomplished in her own right, she sought growth and development in other creative fields. This made her open to new “explorations” and possibilities. Thus, when conducting a radio interview the host introduced her to the law of “Emigrante Retornado,” whereby the Spanish government would economically help her resettle back into the country, she accepted.³ Following her interest in her familial link to Spain, she was given her father’s military records by the Centro de la Memoria Historical in Salamanca. “I learned that my grandfather was killed by the fascist, things my father didn’t even know!” The trove of documents made her want to encapsulate her father’s unknown accomplishments and sacrifices in a book for posterity. In 2012 she relocated to Extremadura to further her creative endeavors and resided there ever since. Now, Angie does not see herself as part of an exile-return group. She self-categorizes as being outside of said groups and even nationalities; and sees no need for further identifiers. “I know that I am not a Spaniard. The only Spanish inside of me is called Jose, my father.”

The differences between their fathers were not that distinct in Elsa’s and Angie’s recollections of them. At the end of the war and although he had an elementary level education, Manuel had risen through the ranks to become a lieutenant. Jose on the other hand was college

³ Spanish Government (2008, January 24). *Documento consolidado BOE-A-2008-1264*. Retrieved October 29, 2021 from <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2008-1264>

educated and was a practicing lawyer with a wife and two children when he joined the Republican army as an officer, eventually becoming a lieutenant colonel. Both men fled Franco and sought refuge in France, eventually escaping their refugee camps. Manuel stayed in France to work in the field while Jose moved with his entire family to the Caribbean. Manuel became a father at age of 33 for the first time with Elsa, while Jose became a father with Angie for the third time at the age of 55 with his second, and much younger, wife. At the time of his return in 1959, the 47-year-old Manuel was a family man, working for a shoe-making company in Toulouse and was well regarded by his peers. His brother and nephew implored him to return and “take care” of pending family matters. He packed his family and traveled by train to his native Ampuero. Jose, on the other hand, returned after Franco’s death in 1975 at the age of 69. His sister entreated him to return and “deal” with family issues. Being a successful businessman and a lumber entrepreneur, he flew alone and directly to Madrid on a two-week trip. Upon arrival, Manuel was greeted warmly by his immediate family but cold and belligerently by the town at large. Many years later he regretted his decision; seeing it as the “worst decision” ever made. He would relocate to Madrid to be closer to his only daughter and get away from Ampuero’s “old shirts.” Jose’s return was also not what he expected and was short-lived. His sister did not allow him to stay in “her large Madrid apartment” and his “first wife sought ownership of all his things.” He left Spain after one week, never to return. In the end, both men were disillusioned with their return to Spain. In the case of Manuel, he stayed on for his family but looked fondly back at his time in France. For Jose, he immediately cut his ties and returned to his Dominican family and business.

In their recollections, both Elsa and Angie perceive their fathers as outstanding individuals worthy of being remembered. For Elsa, there is a need to remember and self-identify as an immigrant and as a “victim of Franco.” Like her father Manuel before her, she too seeks justice for the wrongs suffered by her family and her in the past. Through her words, her father was described as a courageous yet tragic figure who sacrificed everything for his family and yet this resulted in regretting his return to Spain; ultimately, leaving his hometown for Madrid to be closed to her, his only child. His example, and that of his generation, she feels bears retelling and has passed it down to her daughter and grandchildren. This necessity to add her and her family's

story to the collective history is so strong that she felt it was worth traveling from Madrid to Granada and spending two days personally relating her story with the author and Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho.

For Angie, her father is a larger-than-life character who fought and lost the battle, but he himself was never defeated. Following his heart and braving new lands, including society norms on marriage, he succeeded in the Caribbean island nation by jostling different endeavors till making it. For her, Jose and his story bear remembering for his character, sacrifice and significance. Even before moving to Spain, she would relate stories of her father to her children, “the good and the bad.” When her children did not believe her (relating to his concentration camp escape through a hole in the sand), “They said, he must have seen it in a movie.” “No!” She would say, “the movie must have seen him!” Prompted to share a “bad” memory that she herself shared with her children, she recounted the story of when her father had two soldiers under his command executed. These two subordinates had apparently raped a little girl whose father was a nationalist. The toddler’s father turned to Angie’s father Jose for justice, which he administered “right away” in front of all the men. This story, although disturbing, places Jose in a role worthy of being praised for conducting field and military justice after a terrible crime; where even the “enemy” seeks his aid and he puts aside war politics. This story was retold by Jose himself to Angie many times and it is one of two confirmed stories where her father plays the leading central role.⁴

⁴ The second story can be read in section VII.4.2.

Figure 6C. Elsa's mother Felisa, uncle Francisco and two years old Elsa in 1947, Lyon, France.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo

In conclusion, triangulating a shared common experience among two second-generation individuals and their first-generation fathers proved to be ambitious, for they are both similar and yet so different. Both women were born outside of Spain and acquired a different culture before resettling in their fathers' native Spanish soil. This also created incongruity in their self-identification and led to a period of adjustment to Spanish society. Both women also clearly loved their fathers and sought to honor them by sharing their complex and dramatic stories, hoping for a time when both Manuel's and Jose's respective accounts can be known and spread to more people beyond their immediate family; becoming a discovery of formerly nameless individuals of the Spanish Civil War collective history.

The comparison of both women points out similarities of how their father's similar exit and exile memory was repackaged and transmitted to both women from an early age. Elsa

inherited the postmemory of the war and shared in the Return creation memories from her unique child and female perspective. Angie, on the other hand, only returned to Spain and does not share in the multipart Return Phenomenon that is the context of this thesis. However, she lives and works in her postmemory of her father on a daily basis and currently is writing an account of her father's life story, focusing on his military record and life after his Civil War. She is actively working to merge her 80-year-old postmemory, mixed with historical records of the war, to a new audience. Both women's interviews are examples of the refracted transmittal of postmemory and how it personally defines them.

INTERVIEWS

Elsa Osaba Bailo, Granada, Spain, 15/06/2018.

Angie del Riego, Via Skype, Granada, Spain, 27/08/2021

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V. CONCLUSIONS

There are no simple means to fully calculate nor triangulate the Return Phenomenon of Spanish exiles back to Spain, there are only discerning attempts and multifaceted approaches to better define it. This thesis has employed a series of mix-method compilations to characterize a shared experience, both from a slight gender perspective and a general overview of one. This was done by combining historical records and their migratory trajectories to then differentiate the various types of migration and the visceral postmemory link between exile and return. We thus devised practical and peer-reviewed inspections for each of our observed results in order to adjoin our projected conclusions to the Return phenomenon as a whole.

In the first publication, our aim was to classify the various migrant stratagems employed as they corresponded with the types of returns, focusing specifically on post-civil war (first-generation) returnees. In this way, we could create common terminology, classification and scope of returns. To this end, we can surmise that said return phenomena were more varied and perilous during the first Francoist period, and less so as time passed; ending with the passing of Francisco Franco in 1975. Furthermore, there is a multifarious “passage” of meaning when analyzing this topic. Lengthening Inmaculada Cordero Oliver's meaning, there is a physiological passage of forcefully leaving a culture and arriving in a new one but not belonging to either; and through the passage of time, they transition and experience being the displacement. Thus the difficulty of returning was proportional to the preceding passage, for it would be backtracked in reverse and relative to the trauma of departing and being exiled. Therefore, any strategy of return accounted for the inherent trauma and the individual polarization as they faced the various difficulties of returning, especially during the more dangerous First Francoist period. This was the case for all nine types of return and their strategies wherein this first period, every individual needed to account for leaving Spain and strategies, so as to adjust, to a different Spanish government and society that demanded answers from them. Permanent, Clandestine, or Failed return individuals, along with their strategies of return that extended to their resettlement-adaptation periods, were classified by their ability to navigate and answer said demands while utilizing stratagems and

resources like family networks. Involuntary and Jailed returnees lacked the agency to remedy their often externally-based forced situations. Contrary to these, Temporary, Economic, Dead and Political returns often enjoyed the most freedoms with the least amount of demands. The latter grouping is mostly found during the Second Francoist period, a period of time where the planning-arriving time frame was mostly reduced to a personal and bureaucratic choice. This was made especially true for Political returns only after the death of Franco in 1975 when the last ideological hurdle for returning was removed.

In the second publication, in the hopes of discerning this common “passage” trauma from the war and subsequent exile period that irreversibly and permanently changed their condition, outlook and identities, we aggregated the M-database women and grouped them per their country of exile. The goal was to use their commonalities to generate an overview of the differences these women shared per country exile; age; duration of exile; as Spaniards and as women re-adapting to Francoist Spain. In other words, classify their collective exiled experiences as they navigate post-repatriation and adaptation. In general, their collective memory started during the civil war, and later, as they were gripped in the 1939 “Retirada,” the hellish winter exodus, attempting to flee the never before seen conflict of total war on cities and civilians.

They returned to Spain because they were not militant, just refugees trying to connect their past memories with their future goals. As they did so, one can see a time progression occurring, where if these women returned in the first ten years, there was an 81% chance of returning to their city of birth. In other words, excluding the government or society’s reaction, the shorter the exile the more reintegration into Spanish society there was; the less “uprooting” that occurred. With its relatively short duration of the exile of 14 years (average), the French grouping exemplified this resettlement back in Spain. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the Soviet Union’s grouping, which was mostly composed of Children of War, further solidified this time progression even though they were raised “Spanish.” Our M-data showed that after four decades (1979), only 38% of the women returned to their hometowns, and only one Soviet-Spanish individual did likewise. After such a long span of time, one apparent indication would be the lack of family links and community connections to root them in their hometowns; indicating a tremendous hold on the individual returnee.

The duration of the exile period affected the return strategy and influenced the resettlement choices; but the “quality” of the exile period, specifically the generating of wealth, was just as influential, if not more, in shaping the return and its strategies. Barring external political events like war and solely focusing on the internal ability to prosper within a receiving nation, it seems that the more able the individual was to thrive, the greater buffering effect there was against negative exile experiences, which in turn, affected the length of the exile itself. With the almost immediate ability to work and naturalize, and in turn be a part of a vibrant social community of exiles, Spanish women in Mexico progressed much faster than the other grouping of women, especially to their French counterparts who were also setback by the economic aftermath of the Second World War. A fairer comparison would be Spanish women in the Dominican Republic, or in Argentina, some of whom moved to Mexico to be refueged; indicating the healthier conditions Spanish exiles were in. In general, Spanish-Mexican women returnees were financially more solvent, which in turn allowed them better footing upon their return to Spain. This wealth buffer concept is especially in effect with regards to all the luminaries who returned to Spain like Maria Zambrano or Maruja Mallo; but especially with those who did not like Concha Méndez or Remedios Varo. They did relatively well anywhere they went and could afford a more comfortable quality of living.

Among the four groupings of women, there were two major reasons for turning back to Spain, family and politics. These two prevailing forces influenced their individual decisions, including strategies of return, which extended to the resettlement phase. If the women returned for familial reasons, 77% of them resettled in their hometowns, indicating the overall prevalence to reconnect with their familial roots. However, if the return was politically driven, only 47% followed suit. More than half of Political returnees veered towards bigger cities to exercise and be a-part-of political currents, indicating individual adjustments during their exile.

In our third publication, our objective was to visually localize and quantify the resettlement of cities returned to by exiled individuals and to explore any patterns in their incorporation to Spanish society. Through our findings, we wanted to broadly initiate a discourse on the various repatriation movements first-generation returnees experienced. We therefore carefully gathered several general resettlement patterns from our analysis and prudently applied

them to the whole Return phenomenon. We thus concluded that the return by exiled individuals was not uniform in terms of gender and numbers and that it only swelled after the 1950s, reaching an ostensible high frequency of return in the five years after Franco's death (1975-1980). Furthermore, we construe that the majority of all returns transpired during Franco's rule and that women did not face equal punitive repercussions by the government and society as the men did, allowing a greater number to resettle in their hometowns. In this, the younger the woman, the greater likelihood of returning to their birth city. Men, on the other hand, were less likely to return to their hometowns and experienced higher rates of punitive consequences by the government or local Spanish society.

Once more, the passage of time played a turbulent role in returnees' resettlements choices, for the longer period of "exile," and by extension, the older the individual became, the less likely it was to return to the city of origin. Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez's *¡Exilio!* summarized the first-person perspective of this internal struggle as the feeling of "ending" of the exile was directly proportional to the individual's polarization and time in exile. If we defined the end of an exile as the return to Spain, a simplified formula would thus be: Return = Political Polarization * Time in Exile; whereby the higher the political views or longer time in exile, the less likely it was for an individual to return to their hometown. To explain this argument further, we borrow Pascual-de-Sans's "idiotopy" and "idiotope" concepts and rationalize that the longer these individuals lived outside Spain, the longer they "rooted" themselves to different regions, places and societies. Thus, when returning to their homeland, their "expanded" or exiled idiotope was in conflict with their past self. This new vs old idiotope could be useful when explaining why so many of the returnees did so during the more dangerous first Francoist period. Less time had passed and thus their "old" sense of belonging, coupled with their family connections or obligations, provided a stronger "pull" towards their hometown. In the latter decades, their exiled idiotope was "stronger," while their family links were weaker, leading these individuals to have a greater feeling of "not belonging" or uprooting and choosing elsewhere to settle down upon their return. This concept is applicable to economic migrants as well, but for our exiled individual returnees, there is a political element that is central to their being that shapes and colors their

time in exile and memory. For many, if not all, being forcefully outside of their country is a constant source of dynamism that diffuses into all other parts of life.

Having combined all these prior analyses, we endeavored to contextualize the Return phenomenon of the Spanish Civil War diaspora. In the fourth publication, we focused on the postmemory as it was structurally engendered in Spain, mutated across several receiving countries and cultures around the world, and subsequently transmitted through the passage of decades to second or third generations by the first, becoming collective memory from familial memories. The use of postmemory was our endeavor to cut through the multitude of layers to triangulate the significance of the Return experience by parsing their unique exiles. We surmised that the return, and memory of it, was not just an event but a significant period of time; one that was equally and significantly remembered as the exit and exile experience. The act of returning became not just the termination of their exile, for they were in their “home” country, but a transitioning phase where they continued to be “exiled” as they “incorporated” back into Spanish culture. It also defined them by providing them with a “missing” aspect of their idiope. They returned to Spain because they “belonged” to it, and it belonged to them. They then passed on their exit, exile and return memories as a whole package of familial history. One where the return was important enough to be actively curated, if not modified, by those first or second-generation individuals who were old enough to transmit it to the next generation as refracted memories. The nuclear family home would thus serve as an echo chamber for said postmemories, extending and prolonging the exile experience.

Collectively, the return memories depict Spain as a backward country with a closed society but never address the tacit reality that it was this country and society that these first generation-individuals wanted to return to. For many, if returning in the time of Franco, it was a quiet acknowledgment that the civil war had ended and of Franco’s victory. If returning in the post-Franco period, it meant they had undergone a long exile period and now faced a second significant uprooting experience, a double-exile; a new exile from their receiving country and an anachronistic one in Spain. For the many children of this group of returnees, the return to Spain, for better or worse, was either a first exile experience for them or the moving away of their

parents. Regardless of when the return occurred, it engendered deep memories in all those around it.

The fifth section of our results picks up from the third publication and specifically focuses on visualizing the individual trajectories of individuals, attempting to show the scale and depth of diaspora on a global scale. We separated the trajectory lines into two distinct color groups to better display the redshift exile and blueshift return paths. As “busy” as the lines got, it was emblematic of how convoluted and messy individual life journeys were and how, at least for these specific returnees, how returning home from exile was always a defining and persisting goal; all their paths lead back to Spain regardless of politics and time. On a technical level, the fifth section illustrates the effectiveness of visually displaying results that are within its own data; like men in relation to women or the different databases incorporated within.

The final sixth section provides a case study of postmemory by comparing two distinct second-generation women as they “remember” their first-generation fathers, who return to Spain, and their own personal return. These daughters express how the family unit was their greatest decision-making entity in their lives and how it played an assertive role in mitigating the individual members, their goals, and even sacrificing them, for the whole as was the case of Elsa’s father Manuel. For him, the Return and choice of resettlement due to family matters was a life-defining moment. Being a Permanent returnee of the First Francoist period (1959), he encountered tremendous governmental and societal pressures for having been an ex-combatant in his small town of Ampuero, Cantabria. By extension, so did his only French-born 14-year-old daughter; whose 60-year-old memories of the return and 80-year-old postmemory of the war still impact her life presently. The complete opposite can be said for the Temporary returnee, Jose, who returned to Madrid for two weeks but only stayed for one to “deal” with family issues in the Post-Franco period (1975). His daughter Angie did not “Return” in the same context of this thesis. She only lives in Spain, pursuing her artistic endeavors, which like Art Spiegelman and his seminal work *Maus*, she works through her postmemory as it was transmitted and embodied by her father. Both Elsa and Angie exemplify the passage of postmemory, the refracted and echoed trauma from the first generation to the second.

V.SPANISH: CONCLUSIONES

No existen medios sencillos para calcular ni triangular completamente el Fenómeno del Retorno de los exiliados españoles a España, sólo hay intentos de discernimiento y enfoques multifacéticos para definirlo mejor. Esta tesis ha empleado una serie de recopilaciones de métodos mixtos para caracterizar una experiencia compartida, tanto desde una ligera perspectiva de género, como desde una visión general de la misma. Para ello, se han combinado los registros históricos y sus trayectorias migratorias para luego diferenciar los distintos tipos de migración y el vínculo visceral post-memoria entre el exilio y el retorno. De este modo, ideamos inspecciones prácticas y revisadas por expertos para cada uno de nuestros resultados observados, con el fin de incorporar nuestras conclusiones proyectadas al fenómeno del retorno en su conjunto.

En la primera publicación, nuestro objetivo era clasificar las distintas estrategias migratorias empleadas en su correspondencia con los tipos de retorno, centrándonos especialmente en los retornados de la posguerra civil (primera generación). De este modo, pudimos crear una clasificación y un alcance común de los retornos. Los resultados arrojaron luz acerca de que dichos fenómenos de retorno fueron más variados y peligrosos durante el primer periodo franquista, y menos a medida que pasaba el tiempo y finalizando con el fallecimiento de Francisco Franco en 1975. Por otra parte, existe un pasaje múltiple de significados al analizar este tema. Alargando el significado por Inmaculada Cordero Oliver, hay un pasaje fisiológico de dejar forzosamente una cultura y llegar a una nueva, pero sin pertenecer a ninguna de las dos. Así, la dificultad de regresar era proporcional al pasaje precedente, pues se retrocedería a la inversa y en relación con el trauma de partir y ser exiliado. Por lo tanto, cualquier estrategia de retorno tenía en cuenta el trauma inherente y la polarización individual al enfrentarse a las diversas dificultades del retorno, especialmente durante el periodo más peligroso del primer franquismo. Este fue el caso de los nueve tipos de retorno y sus estrategias en este primer periodo; cada individuo necesitaba dar cuenta de la salida de España y de las estrategias, para adaptarse a un gobierno y una sociedad española diferente. Los individuos de retorno permanente, clandestino o fallido, junto con sus estrategias de retorno que se extendieron a sus

períodos de reasentamiento-adaptación, fueron clasificados por su capacidad de navegar y responder a dichas demandas mientras utilizaban estratagemas y recursos, tales como las redes familiares. Los retornados involuntarios y los encarcelados carecían de la capacidad de remediar sus situaciones forzadas, a menudo de origen externo. Por el contrario, los retornados temporales, económicos y políticos solían ser los que gozaban de más libertades y con menos exigencias. Esta última agrupación se encuentra, sobre todo, durante el segundo franquismo, un periodo de tiempo en el que el plazo de llegada se redujo en su mayor parte a una elección personal y burocrática. Esto se hizo especialmente cierto para los retornos políticos, sólo después de la muerte de Franco en 1975, cuando se eliminó el último obstáculo ideológico para este regreso.

En la segunda publicación, con la esperanza de discernir este trauma de paso común de la guerra, y el posterior período de exilio, que cambió irreversible y permanentemente su condición, perspectiva e identidad, agregamos las mujeres de la base de datos M (BDM) y las agrupamos por su país de exilio. El objetivo era utilizar sus puntos comunes para generar una visión general de las diferencias que estas mujeres compartían por país de exilio; edad; duración del exilio; como españolas y como mujeres readaptadas a la España franquista. En otras palabras, clasificar sus experiencias colectivas de exilio al navegar por la post-repatriación y la adaptación. En general, su memoria colectiva comenzó durante la guerra civil y, más tarde, en su exilio al verse atrapadas, muchas de ellas, en la gran retirada de 1939, en aquel éxodo invernal, intentando huir del conflicto nunca visto de la guerra total sobre las ciudades y los civiles.

Volvieron a España porque no eran militantes, sólo refugiados que intentaban conectar sus recuerdos del pasado con sus objetivos futuros. Al hacerlo, observamos que se produce una progresión temporal, en la que si estas mujeres volvían durante los primeros diez años, había un 81% de probabilidad de volver a su ciudad de nacimiento. En otras palabras, excluyendo la reacción del gobierno o de la sociedad, cuanto más corto era el exilio, mayor era la reintegración en la sociedad española y menos desarraigo se producía. Con una duración relativamente corta del exilio, unos catorce años de media, la agrupación francesa ejemplifica este reasentamiento en

España. En el extremo opuesto, la agrupación de la Unión Soviética, compuesta mayoritariamente por niños de la Guerra, consolidó aún más esta progresión temporal, aunque se criaran "a la española". Nuestros datos (BDM) mostraron, además, que después de cuatro décadas (1979) sólo el 38% de las mujeres regresaron a sus ciudades de origen, y sólo un individuo soviético-español hizo lo mismo. Después de un lapso de tiempo tan largo, una explicación aparente sería la falta de lazos familiares y conexiones comunitarias que los arraigaran en sus ciudades de origen.

La duración del periodo de exilio afectó a la estrategia de retorno e influyó en las opciones de reasentamiento; pero la calidad del periodo de exilio, concretamente la generación de riqueza, influyó tanto o más en la propia configuración del retorno y sus estrategias. Si no se tienen en cuenta los acontecimientos políticos externos, como la guerra, y si nos centramos únicamente en la capacidad interna de prosperar dentro de una nación receptora, parece que cuanto más capaz era el individuo de prosperar, mayor era el efecto amortiguador contra las experiencias negativas del exilio, lo que a su vez afectaba a la duración del mismo. Con la capacidad casi inmediata de trabajar y naturalizarse, y a su vez formar parte de una vibrante comunidad social de exiliados, las mujeres españolas en México, por ejemplo, progresaron mucho más rápido que el otro grupo de mujeres, especialmente las francesas, quienes también sufrieron el revés de las secuelas económicas de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Una comparación más justa sería la de las mujeres españolas en la República Dominicana, o las exiliadas en Argentina, algunas de las cuales se trasladaron a México para refugiarse; lo que indica las condiciones más saludables, a nivel socio-económico, en las que se encontraban los exiliados españoles en dicho país. En general, las mujeres hispano-mexicanas retornadas tenían mayor solvencia económica, lo que a su vez les permitía estar en mejores condiciones a su regreso a España. Este concepto de amortiguación de la riqueza está especialmente vigente en todas las intelectuales que volvieron a España como María Zambrano o Maruja Mallo; pero sobre todo en las que no lo hicieron como Concha Méndez o Remedios Varo. Les fue relativamente bien en cualquier lugar al que fueron y pudieron permitirse una calidad de vida más cómoda.

Entre las cuatro agrupaciones de mujeres, había dos razones principales para volver a España: la familia y la política. Estas dos fuerzas predominantes influyeron en sus decisiones individuales, incluidas las estrategias de retorno, que se extendieron a la fase de reasentamiento. Aquellas mujeres que regresaron por motivos familiares, el 77% de las mismas se reasentaron en sus ciudades de origen, lo que indica la prevalencia general para volver a conectar con sus raíces familiares. Sin embargo, si el retorno se debía a motivos políticos el porcentaje disminuye, siendo un 47% quienes lo hicieron. Más de la mitad de las retornadas por motivos políticos se dirigieron a ciudades más grandes para ejercer y formar parte de las corrientes políticas, lo que indica que hubo ajustes individuales durante su exilio.

En nuestra tercera publicación, nuestro objetivo fue localizar y cuantificar visualmente el reasentamiento de las ciudades a las que regresaron los exiliados y explorar cualquier patrón en su incorporación a la sociedad española. A través de nuestros hallazgos, queríamos iniciar ampliamente un discurso sobre los diversos movimientos de repatriación que experimentaron los retornados de primera generación. Por ello, recogimos cuidadosamente varios patrones generales de reasentamiento de nuestro análisis y los aplicamos con prudencia a todo el fenómeno del retorno. Así, concluimos que el retorno de los exiliados no fue uniforme en cuanto a género y número y que sólo se engrosó a partir de los años 50 del S. XX, alcanzando una ostensible alta frecuencia de retorno en los cinco años posteriores a la muerte de Franco (1975-1980). Además, nuestros datos arrojan luz acerca de que la mayoría de los retornos se produjeron durante el franquismo y que las mujeres no se enfrentaron a las mismas repercusiones represivas por parte del gobierno y de la sociedad que los hombres, lo que permitió que un mayor número de ellas se reasentaran en sus pueblos de origen. En este sentido, cuanto más joven es la mujer, mayor es la probabilidad de volver a su ciudad natal. Los hombres, por el contrario, tenían menos probabilidades de volver a sus ciudades de origen y experimentaban mayores índices de consecuencias punitivas por parte del gobierno o de la sociedad local española.

Una vez más, el paso del tiempo desempeñó un papel importante en las opciones de reasentamiento de los retornados, ya que cuanto más largo era el período de exilio y, por

extensión, cuanto mayor de edad era el individuo, menos probable era que regresara a la ciudad de origen. La obra *¡Exilio!* de Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez resumía la perspectiva en primera persona de esta lucha interna, ya que la sensación de finalización del exilio era directamente proporcional a la polarización del individuo y al tiempo de exilio. Si definimos el final del exilio como el regreso a España, una fórmula simplificada sería un retorno igual a la polarización política multiplicada por el tiempo del exilio; según la cual, cuanto más elevadas fueran las opiniones políticas o mayor el tiempo en el exilio, menos probable sería que un individuo regresara a su ciudad natal. Para explicar mejor este argumento, tomamos prestado el concepto de idiotopía de Angels Pascual-de-Sans, por el que algunos migrantes sienten identificación geográfica, o idiotopía, con algunos lugares, como una expresión precisa de la pertenencia a un lugar. En nuestro caso, cuanto más tiempo vivían los exiliados fuera de España, más tiempo se arraigaban a diferentes regiones, lugares y sociedades. Así, al regresar a su tierra natal, su idiotopía expandida, o exiliada, entraba en conflicto con su pasado. Este idiótopo nuevo frente al antiguo podría ser útil para explicar por qué muchos de los retornados lo hicieron durante el más peligroso primer periodo franquista. Había pasado menos tiempo y, por lo tanto, su viejo sentido de pertenencia, unido a sus conexiones u obligaciones familiares, proporcionaba una atracción más fuerte hacia su ciudad natal. En las últimas décadas, su idiótopo exiliado era más fuerte, mientras que sus vínculos familiares eran más débiles, lo que llevó a estos individuos a tener un mayor sentimiento de no pertenencia, o desarraigo, y a elegir otro lugar para establecerse a su regreso. Este concepto es aplicable también a los emigrantes económicos, pero para nuestros retornados individuales exiliados, hay un elemento político que es central en su ser y que da forma y color a su tiempo de exilio y a su memoria. Para muchos, si no para todos, el hecho de estar forzosamente fuera de su país es una fuente constante de dinamismo que se difunde en todas las demás partes de la vida.

Tras combinar todos estos análisis previos, nos esforzamos por contextualizar el fenómeno del retorno de la diáspora de la Guerra Civil española. En la cuarta publicación, nos centramos en la postmemoria tal y como se engendró estructuralmente en España, mutó a través de varios países y culturas receptoras de todo el mundo y, posteriormente, se transmitió a través del paso de las

décadas a las segundas o terceras generaciones por parte de las primeras; convirtiéndose en memoria colectiva a partir de los recuerdos familiares. El uso de la postmemoria fue nuestro empeño en atravesar la multitud de capas para triangular el significado de la experiencia del retorno analizando sus exilios únicos. Suponemos que el regreso y su recuerdo no fue sólo un acontecimiento, sino un período de tiempo significativo; un período que se recordaba de forma igual y representativa que la experiencia de la salida y el exilio. El acto de regresar de forma más o menos permanente no se convirtió únicamente en la finalización de su exilio, puesto que ya se encontraban en su país de origen; sino en una fase de transición en la que seguían siendo exiliados mientras se incorporaban de nuevo a la cultura española. También les definió al proporcionarles un aspecto ausente de su idiotopía. Volvieron a España porque pertenecían a ella, y ella les pertenecía a ellos. Así, transmitieron sus recuerdos de salida, exilio y retorno como un paquete completo de historia familiar. Uno en el que el retorno era lo suficientemente importante como para ser cuidado, si no modificado, por aquellos individuos de primera o segunda generación que tenían la edad suficiente para transmitirlo a la siguiente generación como recuerdos refractados. El hogar de la familia nuclear serviría, de esta manera, de cámara de eco para dichos postmemoriales, extendiendo y prolongando la experiencia del exilio.

En conjunto, los recuerdos del retorno describen a España como un país atrasado con una sociedad cerrada, pero nunca abordan la realidad tácita de que era este país y esta sociedad a los que estos individuos de la primera generación querían volver. Para muchos, si volvían en la época de Franco, era un reconocimiento silencioso de que la guerra civil había terminado y de la victoria de Franco. Si regresaban en el periodo postfranquista, significaba que habían pasado por un largo periodo de exilio y que ahora se enfrentaban a una segunda experiencia de desarraigo importante, un doble exilio; un nuevo exilio de su país de acogida y uno anacrónico en España. Para muchos de los hijos de este grupo de retornados, el regreso a España, para bien o para mal, fue una primera experiencia de exilio para ellos o la mudanza de sus padres. Independientemente del momento en que se produjo el retorno, éste engendró profundos recuerdos en todos los que lo rodearon.

La quinta sección de nuestros resultados retoma la tercera publicación y se centra específicamente en la visualización de las trayectorias individuales de los exiliados, intentando mostrar la escala y la profundidad de la diáspora a escala global. Separamos las líneas de trayectoria en dos grupos, con código de colores distintos, para mostrar mejor las trayectorias de exilio (rojo) y de retorno (azul). Destacamos lo enrevesado y desordenado de los viajes vitales individuales y cómo, al menos para estos retornados concretos, el regreso a casa desde el exilio era siempre un objetivo definitorio y persistente; todos sus caminos conducían de vuelta a España, independientemente de la política y el tiempo. Esta sección ilustra la eficacia de mostrar visualmente los resultados a modo de mapas geolocalizados.

La sexta y última sección ofrece un estudio de caso de la postmemoria al comparar a dos mujeres distintas de la segunda generación, cuando recuerdan el regreso a España de sus padres, exiliados de primera generación, y su propio regreso personal. Estas hijas expresan cómo la unidad familiar fue su mayor toma de decisión en sus vidas. Como por ejemplo el padre de Elsa, Manuel; para él, el retorno y la elección del reasentamiento por cuestiones familiares fue un momento que definió su vida y todos los demás. Siendo un retornado permanente del primer franquismo (1959), se encontró con tremendas presiones gubernamentales y sociales en su pequeño pueblo de Ampuero, Cantabria por haber sido un excombatiente del bando republicano. Por extensión, también lo hizo su única hija de catorce años nacida en Francia; cuyos recuerdos del retorno, hace ya más de cuarenta años, siguen influyendo en su vida actual. Todo lo contrario puede decirse del retornado temporal, José, quien regresó a Madrid únicamente por dos semanas, pero sólo se quedó una para ocuparse de asuntos familiares en el periodo postfranquista (1975). Su hija Angie no regresó en el mismo contexto de esta tesis; vive en España persiguiendo sus esfuerzos artísticos que, al igual que Art Spiegelman y su obra seminal *Maus*, trabaja a través de su postmemoria tal y como le fue transmitida y encarnada por su padre. Tanto Elsa como Angie ejemplifican el paso de esta postmemoria, el trauma refractado y como eco de la primera generación a la segunda.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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VII. SOURCES

VII.1. INTERVIEWS

Interviews conducted by the autor.

- E. Bailo, Granada, España, 15/06/2018.
- D. Gómez, Toulouse, Francia, 27/02/2020.
- R. Gutiérrez, Toulouse, Francia, 08/03/2020.
- J. Rubella, Toulouse, Francia, 26/06/2020.
- B. Regidor, Granada, España, 27/10/2020.
- A. del Riego, Granada, España, 27/08/2021

Interviews conducted by researchers for the University of California, San Diego, Special Collections & Archives.¹

- Marina Vega de la Iglesia, interview with Andrea Davis and Scot Boehm, Madrid 03/07/2008.
- Josefina Piquet, interview with Jessica Cordova, Barcelona, 2010.²
- Felicidad Garcia Bienzobas, interview Luis Martin-Cabrera and Andrea Davis, Madrid 01/08/2008.

¹ University of California, San Diego. (n.d). *Proyecto de Memoria de la Guerra Civil Española*, Retrieved April 14, 2021, from <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/>

²No specific date found.

VII.2. ARCHIVES

Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES) - Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Spain

Centro Documental de la memoria Histórica – Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Spain

Archivos – Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Spain

Grupo de Estudios del Exilio Literario (GEXEL), Spain

Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, University of California, San Diego, EE.UU

Biblioteca Virtual del Exilio, Miguel de Cervantes, Spain

Centre de Recursos per a l’Aprentatge i la Investigació, Universitat de Barcelona,
Spain

Centro de Estudios de Migraciones y Exilio (CEME), Universidad Nacional de
Educación

a Distancia (UNED), Spain

Archives Nationales de France, Centre d’archives contemporaines, France

la Fundación Pablo Iglesias, Spain

Warwick Digital Collections, England

VII.3. PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Exiliad@s Project : <https://exiliadosrepublicanos.info/en>

Migrinter – National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) - Université de Poitiers.

<http://migrinter.labo.univ-poitiers.fr/presentation-eng/>

Project Jupyter: <https://jupyter.org>

Proyecto Historia y Memoria (HISMEDI), <https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/hismedi-g/page/inicio>

The Spanish Civil War Project, Library Digital Collections. University of California, San Diego: <https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/collection/bb8602294g>

VII.4. INTERVIEW NOTES

VII.4.1 Elsa Osaba Bailo and her father Manuel

Junio 15, 2018 15:40 entrevista con Elsa Osoba Fernandez, Lidia Bocanegra Barbecho, Mauricio Escobar Deras

Elsa Osaba Bailo:

Né Marzo, 1945.

Tiene 3 grand daughters. 1959 (14 years old) se mudo a España, en Cantabria. el PCE? le dijo que se fuera a Madrid. Ella era activista, antiFranquista. 1959 Retorno con sus padres. Se siente sola de no tener alguien para compartir? Heredamos los traumas, entre otras cosas. Ha heredado lo de los tíos. Se pregunta por qué le pesa tanto, y por que quiere resolver este asunto de la asaltó. A los 17 (1962-1963) regresó a Francia porque no se sentía bien en España. Y pasó su tiempo con su tío Pascal. Por qué?

Ella estaba muy mal (enferma?) Las niñas, compañeras de Elsa en España, la hacían chiste por el modo de hablar. Ella tenía que ir a misa, le fascinaba, mejor que el teatro. Hermanas de XX Cosío de Mar? de Santa Ana. Elsa tiene 14 años. Se burlaban de ella, la llamaban "Pasionaria." Y a la tía (Ignez) también le llamaban Pasionaria, muy bella, antes de la guerra le llamaban "La Perla". A la tía (socialista) se la llevaron a la cárcel 3 veces, y el vecino de ella fue el que le llevaba a fusilar (de mentira), Simulación. Modificó (Elsa Bailo) su lenguaje y modos de hablar.

Elsa **empezó a tartamudear**, no se acostumbrada a la comida. 17 años la mandaron a Francia a pasar con el tío. 1970 el vecino, la hija de Falangista. 1970 A Elsa le denunció camisas viejas. Ella estaba en Santander. 1969 ella estudia en Santander. La escuela/universidad?, **le bajaban todas** las notas. 1976 Ella visita a Francisco a Bellona. Ella se involucró en actividades contra Franco Es víctima del Franquismo y Sobreviviente de el J. Luis (su pareja, 10 años mayor que ella) la güela de la leche, 1970. El proceso de burgos, 9 personas detenidos, ponen multa al

obispado. La policía secreta se metía a los estudiantes, tenía pósteres de Che Guevara, Gandhi. Cosas prohibidas. Continúa la tradición de mantener una casa abierta a nuevos retornados. “Los hijos tienen que proteger a los padres.” 1972 se mudó a Madrid. El único beneficio del exilio es, la multicultural, doble lengua. Elsa se casó en 1972, se va a Madrid. 1962 Se fue a Francia por que su adaptación fue muy mala. Pasó un año. Tía Felipa, se conocieron (Felisa) en el campo de Argeles. Ver la película, “Morir en Madrid.” del 1962? Película de Francia

*Notes taken for article 6. Feb. 2012.

4:13:23. had to get baptized first in order to get back to Spain.

4:15:49 When crossing the border into Spain. The guards hit all their packages with the butts of their weapons.

4:16:52. Her mother had to falsify papers in order to get back to Spain and lie about her past, not mentioning her two brothers who had fought in the war.

4:17:59 “The train from Irun to San Sebastian was called ‘el topo,’ [which] impressed me a lot. If you dropped something, you never saw it again, you could see the railings. You could tell Spain was backwards compared to France. This was completely different.”

4:18:40 At first it was all well with the 7 other siblings.

4:20:16 Later, the family didn’t understand this second exile. They were like people coming from a different planet.

4:21:12 Those who stayed behind would say to those who were exiled that “they didn’t know how bad they had it” during the post-war.

4:22:35. They received my parents, generally, like Indians (American). [Meaning that they were immigrants that had gone to Mexico or the US and had returned with money].

4:42:45 I was called Pasionaria.

4:45:46 at 17 years old she was sent back to France.

To cross the border was very traumatic. She felt like she was **held at knife point**.

4:47:34 my **daughter** tells me that I changed every time I crossed the border.

4:48:40 From November to June 10 (8 months from decision to arrival). The family helped to expedite the process in Spain.

4:58:50 68-79 Magisterio, it took her 6 years (instead of 3) to finish

4:54:08 Her parents referred to their return as their great mistake.

5:02:57 Had to change schools in the final years because it was too much.

5:03:30 I am a victim of Franco just like my family. A survivor

5:37:00 In France I'm super Spanish and here I'm French.

5:54:51 My daughter lives two doors for me. My daughter returned to visit my family back there.

Manuel Osaba Fernández

Natural de Ampuero (Cantabria). Socialista.

Nació 1912. Servicio militar, era artillero (sharpshooter), luchó en la batalla del Ebro, terminó la guerra como teniente. Cruza la frontera en 1939 y es trasladado a Saint Cyprien. Fue destinado para trabajar en granjas de vacas en los Alpes. Zona en donde también estuvo trabajando, en granjas (ordeñando, haciendo quesos) Felisa (su esposa a hacer). Manuel conoció a la madre de Felisa, Justa M. Murillo, en el hospital donde él estaba ingresado ya que se había roto los huesos de los brazos al saltar de una camioneta militar alemana? cuando intentaban trasladar a un campo de concentración?. Mientras Felisa estaba trabajando en la alta montaña, Manuel atendía a Justa ya que eran los dos únicos españoles en el hospital. Mientras Felisa estaba trabajando en la montaña, su madre fallece en Albertville. El 6 de Junio de 1944 deja embarazada a Felisa y es trasladado en 1944 a la montaña alta en donde vuelve a bajar en Octubre, fue cuando supo que Felisa estaba embarazada. Mientras tanto Felisa no supo nada de él. Su hija, Elsa, nació en Marzo 1945. Primer trabajo forzado de Manuel fue en una mina pero lo sacaron porque le padecía de claustrofobia. En 1944, París ya es liberada, Manuel y Felisa piden permiso a los patronos y se fueron a Izeaux en donde en 1945 se reencuentran con Francisco.

Cuando sucedió el asalto de Du Guesclin en Lyon en 1951, fueron a buscar a Manuel y lo llevaron a la cárcel para interrogarlo en donde fue torturado, le pegaron tanto en la cara que se le hinchó sobremanera. Lo sacaron de su empresa de una forma humillante. Al final lo dejaron libre sin cargos. ¿Padeció del aparato digestivo en donde le operaron en el estómago al final de la década del 50'?

Al final de la década de 1950, unas primas suyas de Cantabria vinieron a visitarlo un par de veces a veranear a Lyon. Le convencieron para que regresara, le comentan de que su madre ya está muy mayor y que hay familiares ya en avanzada edad.

¿Cómo fue cuando regresó a su empresa después del robo?

¿Fue de él la decisión de regresar a España? y por qué?

Sí, la decisión fue de él. Entre el tema del atentado de José / Francisco, que le pesaba pesaba mucho, junto con las visitas de las primas hizo que decidiera volver a España con su familia en 1959. Recordar que el atentado de Lyon marcó un antes y un después en la familia Osaba Bailo y familia Mata. También es importante destacar que los exiliados españoles tenían miedo a regresar en esa época.

La familia Osaba Bailo regresaron a Ampuero, un pueblo de Cantabria, lugar de donde era natural Manuel. Durante un tiempo que llegaron se quedaron en la casa de la abuela de Elsa Fueron al consulado con su primo/tío?, a tomar un pasaporte?

¿Cuánto tiempo duró ese proceso de retorno?

Planning-landing: Arrived in Spain on 10 of June, 1959? Tío Eladio les visitó en Noviembre de 1958? y llegaron el 10 Junio. Adaptación: fue muy difícil y dura; de hecho para el año 1972 llegaron a la conclusión de que había sido una mala decisión, la peor.

En Francia Manuel trabajaba en una empresa de calzado diseñando modelos llamada: Ba?? Mientras que Felisa era modista, cosía vestidos de alta costura y ella también hacía vestidos por encargo. Su casa estaba siempre abierta para otros Españoles que emigraban/exiliaron en Francia; les ayudaba a buscar trabajo junto con una red de españoles, muchos de ellos anarquistas, que entre todos les ayudaban.

Desde España los familiares se informaron para ver si Manuel y su familia podían regresar, Manuel no tenía delitos de sangre. También, Manuel se informó en el consulado español de si podía regresar. El problema de la religión se planteó entonces, él estaba casado con Felisa por lo civil y Elsa no estaba bautizada. Así que, aconsejados por un párroco joven, se casan en la iglesia de forma rápida y sencilla, con apenas dos testigos, uno de ellos sobrino del general Leclerc?. Asimismo, Elsa tuvo que ser bautizada antes de regresar y una semana antes, Elsa hace la comunión de forma privada y la confirmación con el Obispo Jaquie?

El retorno planteaba muchas dificultades: despedirse de mucha gente, de su trabajo y de Francia, el trabajo en explotar la finca que el retomo de su madre. Primer trámite, pasar la frontera. Grandes equipajes. Los guardias civil estuvieron dando golpes a un bulto que llevaba Felisa que resultó ser su maquina tricotar?

Madre tuvo que mentir en la frontera cuando le preguntaban los guardias civiles: mintió sobre su edad diciendo de que ella llevaba en Francia desde la década de 1920, que no había vivido la Guerra Civil, de que no pertenecía a ningún partido político. También dijo que ella solo tenía un hermano, Pascal. Guardó silencio de sus hermanos Francisco y José y del pasado anarquista de su familia. Viaje: Tren, de Irún a San Sebastián en vagones muy deficientes, con tablillas de madera en el suelo en donde podía verse las vigas del tren; si se te caía algo, no lo volvías a ver. Tomaron un taxi a la casa de su abuela, madre de Manuel. Hacía más de 20 años que no se veían. Se fundieron en un gran abrazo. En un inicio la familia de Manuel, hermanas, hermanos fueron muy afectivos con ellos pero después ya no tanto; salían a relucir las diferencias de cultura, de idiomas. Los que se quedaron no entendían a los que se fueron, veían a ellos a unas personas que lo pasaron bien en el exilio mientras ellos pasaban penurias en España.

El regreso fue muy difícil también ya que tuvieron que tratar con los que asesinaron a su maestro. El pueblo era pequeño y allí había muchos miembros de falangistas, camisas viejas, que habían asesinado a pro-republicanos del mismo pueblo. Sin embargo, cuando regresaron, los del pueblo les veían como snobs, con sus trajes, sus acentos, traían dinero, de hecho, Manuel empezó a explotar una finca que tenía su madre abandonada plantando árboles frutales, luego compró más fincas. Felisa ayudaba a su marido atendiendo la finca además de la casa. Muchas mujeres del pueblo, mujeres falangistas, querían codearse con Felisa. Tanto Manuel como Felisa decidieron hacer de tripas corazón y no buscar conflictos siendo amables con todo el mundo, incluso con asesinos, y relacionándose lo estrictamente necesario con ellos.

También decidieron no participar con la religión: no iban a misa, aunque Felisa acompañó alguna vez a su hija.

El regreso significó lidiar con un largo silencio doloroso para la familia Osaba Bailo. Elsa tenía 14 años en 1959, a su regreso fue matriculada en un colegio de monjas. Sufrió durante varios años bullying por parte de las otras niñas del colegio de algunas monjas, quienes le

llamaban incluso “la pasionaria”, mote que también dieron a su tía Inés, quien estuvo encarcelada. Para ella fue muy duro, todo aquel cambio, aquella cultura tan cerrada, la religión católica aplastante y completamente nueva para ella; de hecho ella empezó a hablar español a su regreso ya que prácticamente se comunicaba en francés.. De hecho incluso enfermó y sus padres decidieron mandarla de regreso a Francia, en Grenoble, a casa de su tío Pascual; estuvo un año? y tenía 17 años.

Manuel era llevado a menudo al Cuartelillo del pueblo en donde unos guardia civiles, sin estudios y arrogantes, le preguntaban cosas. No le pegaron. En 1964 se cumplían los “25 años de la paz” y se realizó una votación para legitimar el gobierno de Franco; pretendían tener el 100% de los votos (era una artimaña franquista de cara al extranjero). La familia de Elsa no votó, y el pueblo no llegó al 100% de votación.

En 1977 se fueron del pueblo a Madrid, porque les empezaron a amenazar. Había en el pueblo los hijos/nietos (chavales) de falangistas y con ideología de derechas que tenían pistolas. Cada día Manuel para ir a la finca pasaba por delante de un solar, en donde esos chicos habían puesto una diana y jugaban a hacer puntería, cuando pasaba decían algo así como: “y si en lugar de darle a la diana le damos a ese rojo”. Elsa, estaba muy preocupada por sus padres y su familia, así que decide llevarlos a Madrid, lugar en donde ya estaba afincada trabajando como maestra. Cuando se mudó a Madrid, Manuel ya estaba mal psicológicamente, muy deprimido, en palabras de su hija Elsa estaba: “Vencido.”

Sus dos últimos años dejó incluso de hablar; tal vez por el tumor en su boca. Murió en 1985 de un tumor en la barbilla que se había extendido en la lengua. Felisa falleció en 1980 (nació el 20/Nov/1919). Ambos están enterrados en el cementerio civil de Madrid, muy cerca de Lister y Modesto. Testimonio Elsa Osaba.

Figure 7A. Manuel Osaba Fernández (far left). Spanish workers cir. 1943. Savoi, France.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo.

Figure 7B. Felisa Bailo cir. 1944, Savoi, France.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo.

Figure 7C. Francisco Bailo and partner Ines, mid 1940s. Savoi, France.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo.

Figure 7D. Handmade bracelet from a spoon by Francisco Bailo while imprisoned in Mauthausen Concentration Camp.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo.

Figure 7E. Francisco Bailo and Ines, cir. late 1940s. Lyon, France.



Source: Elsa Osaba Bailo.

Elsa (a Short description)

Second gen. mother of 1. Born in 1945. Returned in 1959 As a teen. Both parents were Spanish Civil refugees who met in France. Parents returned her to their hometown but she had a very difficult time re-adjusting. Returned to France one year and then moved to Madrid.

Recollection, memory of his father: Nació 1912. Servicio militar, era artillero (sharpshooter), luchó en la batalla del Ebro y terminó la guerra como teniente. Cruza la frontera en 1939 y es trasladado a Saint Cyprien. Fue destinado para trabajar en granjas de vacas en los Alpes. Father was a shoe salesperson, and welcomed all other Spanish exiting Spain and helped them find jobs.

Returned: Implored by a visiting brother and cousin to return because his mother was “very old.” In 1959 returned to the very same town that her father was from. It took them 7 months to prepare and return to Spain. Selling and getting rid of their belongings; He checked with the Spanish consulate if he had criminal charges against him (he didn’t), he also needed to get married by the church and baptize their 14 year old daughter. At the border, guards maltreated them. Mother had to lie and falsify papers to re-enter Spain and say that she had been in France a decade before the start of the war. Re-adjustment to Spain was very difficult. A decade later they regretted their decision. The aunts at first were warm towards them but later were not understanding of them, viewing the returnees as having lived well abroad and not suffered the post-war years like they had. Being a small town, her father had to be nice to the people who had killed his teachers.

VII.4.2 Angie del Riego and accompanied notes

The following is a short description of notes of Angie and her father from the audio recordings and submitted sources.

Angie:

She was born in Dominican Republic, lived there till 1980. At 19 she got married and moved to the US. She returned to Spain for an art exhibit. Emigrante Retornado Law? Unemployment subsistence for her to resettled back to Spain. Was not happy trying to live in DR as a divorcé with her children all grown up. Found records of her father using her father's birth certificate. In Salamanca, Centro de la Memoria Historical. Learned that her grandfather was executed by Nationalist. "Things that my father didn't even know."

Recollection of her father: Born in 1906. Was a university graduate, and practiced law as a lawyer. Father was a military rank : captain. lieutenant colonel. Captured on his way to France. [She's not sure about this] In exile: placed Camp Argeles. Previously Married. Escaped. Exiled to the Dominican Republic with wife and 2 children in 1940. In 1969 records of Franco searching for his father. Returned after Franco's death in 1975. He got his Spanish passport. Had one sister. She asked him to return and settle things. She kept the house in Madrid. His first wife was trying to have him sign papers to take all his belongings. Sister was not helpful and kept the family home. Did not allow him to stay at the family house. Was going to Stay in Spain for two weeks. Disappointed and dissolutions. First Daughter: Married an American Services man in Spain and later relocated to Boston. In 1975, he saw his son. In 1977 she sent him a plane ticket to go to Boston.

Memories passed to her children. The exile was simply people escaping danger. Many had nothing and did everything to survive. Lived in Santo Domingo, when they first arrive. [Laughing,] she tells the story how her father made a whole in the sand and escaped by digging a hole in the sand. Her children didn't believe her when she told them the story. "They said, he

must have seen a movie.” “No!” She said, “the movie must have seen him!” Shared the memory of executing two republican soldiers, who raped a little girl. The father of the other camp, went to him with the body of the girl. He had the soldiers executed.

How does she feel toward Spain? Spain is a great place to live. If you can be smart, you can find a quality of life to live comfortably. Tries to stay away from political people, who do not understand the civil war. “I would be offended and hurt.” Her research, the working title of her book, is called “Adios España.” “I know that I am not Spaniard. The only Spanish inside of me is called Jose, my father. The only American side of me are my children.”

The Toñin memory.

After the interview and analysis, Angie shared a story Spanish of how her father Jose had saved the lives of 125 people. “I am most proud of my father's military record: he refused to tell lies and they returned him to war after he saved a ship with 125 people from perishing in the sea.”

My father used to tell us about this incredible feat and lived it as if he was there again. We grew up with the story “El Toñin Contra el Cervera,” and I never thought I would come across this newspaper article that he so proudly mentioned and when I saw it in front of my eyes, I couldn't help but get emotional and cry, even though I didn't understand what it said in French. So at last I was able to find someone to do me the favor of translating it into Spanish and here it is, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Miquel Serrano, Historian and Curator of the Exile Memorial Museum, La Jonquera, Catalonia to whom I give my deepest gratitude.

She then attached a written account by Jose himself right before his passing in 1989. It is titled *Toñin vs Cervera, 1937*. For ease of reading, we translated into English. It is as follow:

The port of Gijon was the only place where we could go out and at machine gun point, we fought for the few little boats that were there. It was very hard for us to take possession of a little boat called “El Elsa” and when we were about to leave, I don't know what happened to me but I decided to leave the boat with the protest of all my comrades and I saw a boat called “El Toñin” and fighting hard we conquered it. We definitely started and got out of that hell of shooting, bombs, etc.

When we thought we were saved at about 12 o'clock at night, a huge mass silently approached our little ship. It was the battleship “Almirante Cervera.” Some sailors under the command of [captain Masaja] came to our little boat. They treated us with the best courtesy. The commander of the battleship asked

urgently to board the pilot of our *Toñin*. This operation was carried out in a few minutes and immediately by the [captain Mesaja] (original: Capital Mesaja) [who] was [then] ordered by a loud voice to rejoin his ship. The pilot told us all that he had orders to reach the height of Cabo de Peñas, where he would take charge of us in Bou. Failure to comply with this order would mean the sinking of our ship, because the whole squadron was deployed and escape would be useless.

There were 125 of us on the *Toñin* and I decided to force the pilot to disobey the order and set the ship on a northward course. After 5 days and 5 nights without food and especially without drink[ing water], we arrived at the French submarine base in Lorient. The French authorities treated us with true gallantry. The next day all the French newspapers in big headlines wrote in quotation marks "El *Toñin* against the *Cervera*". As I was pointed out as the head of the expedition, countless journalists approached me. I hid behind my military status in order not to make any kind of statement.

The Republican Embassy in Paris contacted me and ordered me to sign a note for the press stating that a pregnant woman who came with us was pierced through the belly by a soldier and thrown into the sea, in a word, that we were all massacred. As none of this was true but quite the contrary, I flatly refused to sign this and told the Ambassador that if he published it I would deny it in the press. [He then] told me that these were superior orders. I told him that I did not obey that kind of order, because I considered it an indignation; and that if he thought that I was speaking like that because I was safe outside Spain, then he could give me a train ticket to go to Barcelona, which was the Headquarters of the Republican Government, and there I would give explanations to whoever had the quality to ask me for them.

Once in Barcelona, I was taken to the high instances of the government where I was reproached for my indiscipline. My words were the following: "to win the war we do not need lies, because we have enough with the truth." I was in Barcelona as available for a few days and from there I was assigned to the Sub-Secretariat of Aviation with the rank of Major and a few months later with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel under the direct orders of Mr. Belarmino Tomas and the Minister of Defense Indalecio Prieto, in different functions, none of them dishonorable.

According to Angie, she and her siblings grew up hearing this "incredible" story. Jose's personal account is certainly dramatic and places him in a leading role. However, there are points that can be referenced and compared to the general historical narrative. First, it is tentatively verified that he did spend five days at sea. Set off Wednesday and arrived on Monday. It is surprising that there were no deaths on board from dehydration. Second, his decision to "force" the *Toñin* set sail north, abandoning the *Cervera* command to return to Spain and later designated at the "head of the expedition." According to Ramón Alvarez description of the *Toñin*'s population:

Un marinero se pone al timón, unos metalúrgicos, a la máquina y caldera... Salimos de El Musel. ¿Qué gente somos? Tenientes coroneles, comandantes, médicos militares y civiles, delegados del Gobierno de

Euzkadi, un periodista que por “radio” hizo mucho “de rabiar” a Queipo “la borracha”, 17 mujeres, oficiales del pueblo, milicianos, magistrados del Tribunal Popular, personalidades políticas, secretarios de departamentos del Consejo... Total, unos cincuenta “cabecillas” fusilables.¹

Furthermore, there were higher commanding officers than Jose like, deputy Carlos Martínez and the “lieutenant colonel Ibarrola y Semprún, jefe de la 3ª División.”² Third, Jose being sent to Barcelona to face insubordination. According to Marcelino Laruelo Roa, all Toñin “refugees” boarded or were placed on a train at 18:00 pm towards the direction of Barcelona on Monday, October 25. The Toñin arrived at four in the morning of the same day.

The final point of question that can be cross-referenced is that Jose was not the pilot of the ship. He “forced the pilot to disobey the order and set the ship on a northward course.” He does not state that he piloted the Toñin and therefore the use of “captain” in the French article refers to the later pilot of the ship, the skipper of the Dundee Lucien-Therese.

¹ Laruelo Roa, M. (1998). *Asturias, octubre del 37 : ¡El "Cervera" a la vista!* (2ª ed.). ed.). Gijón: En la Estela de Aldebarán.

² Sacaluga Rodriguez, B. (2014, June 8) *Saliendo de Asturias por Mar: Octubre 1937*. Retrieved March 25, 2022, from <https://benitosacalugarodriguez.blogspot.com/2014/06/saliendo-de-asturias-por-mar-octubre.html>.

Lorient, Monday, October 25, 1937.

The Spanish influx continues...

Two new ships arrived tonight at Kergroise and Groix with 280 Asturian refugees. Fifty Spanish “notabilities” arrived aboard the Somo, about ten days ago; Twenty-seven new refugees landed yesterday from the "Valdez Palace" which had authorized us to title our article yesterday: Lorient, port of the Spanish exodus: a title which the new arrivals amply justify.

PHOTO (“*Toñin*,” passengers photographed on board this morning at the dock of Kergroise).

This morning, at 4 o'clock, the small freighter *Toñin* docked at the Kergroise dock, with more than 197 passengers on board (the official list announced 160, but it is, according to the crew itself, very incomplete). In the evening, another steamer, also coming from Gijon, anchored at Groix. It carried about sixty refugees. At six o'clock in the morning, Mr. Troadec, head of customs, informed Mr. Bousquet, sub-prefect, and all the departments concerned, ordered some passengers who had already landed to return quickly to their ship. Mr. Gruet, the central commissioner, and Mr. Gide, special commissioner, went immediately to the scene, accompanied by Inspector Garnier. Mr. Bretheau, captain of the gendarmerie, deployed his police service. We also recognized Messrs. Mével, receiver and Fichau, customs controller, as well as Mr. Le Marrec, captain of the Port of Commerce.

THE MOVING JOURNEY OF “*TOÑIN*.”

Among the dense crowd that pressed in front, in the rear, on the steamer deck, we were able to gather interesting information:

-When did you leave Gijon? We asked a young journalist on board.

“Wednesday at 8 p.m.; We had no more food left, and I have not eaten since leaving.”

Are you all inhabitants of Gijón?

“No, we have onboard Basques and inhabitants of Santander, who recently arrived in Gijon and embarked with us.”

-How many of you are on board?

“Approximately 200, including 17 women.”

- Do these women have their families in *Toñin*?

“Some, [others] have left their fathers and husbands in Spain; others will join them.”

-Does the *Toñin* belong to the state or to a local shipowner?

“It's a state ship.”

-The government of Valencia, no doubt, has allowed you to use it in case of danger.

“We had been isolated for some time from all communication with Valencia.”

-How did you manage to force the Nationalist blockade?

“Oh, it was not without difficulty, as you can judge. We had barely reached 25 miles from the coast of Spain when the Nationalist ship Cervera stopped us. Three young Francoist officers came aboard inquiring about our opinions, identities and destination. We thought it best not to resist their questions, but we gave them false information. As soon as we saw them, we hurriedly hid our numerous documents. We had asked the young men and the luminary to hide in the holds. There remained on the bridge children, women and old people. We are poor fugitives, we answered Franco's officers. The atrocious bombing of Gijón left us horrified. We are not politicians, we are not government fighters, just poor horrified people, let us flee. At this point, the commander of the Cervera signaled his officers to assemble back onboard. A few moments after Cervera allowed us to continue our route, ordering us to go to Cabo de Peñas, where one of his ships (a commercial ship armed for war), would take us to El Ferrol. We feared we would be sunk if we did not obey Cervera's orders, so we headed for (Cape) Peñas, then, when we felt out of reach of the Nationalists, we headed north... to France... or England.”

-Excuse me, sir, to France... or to England?

“We didn't know exactly. We had no maps [or] navigation books... and no qualified sailors on board. The **captain** who was leading us was steering this ship for the first time. If this is what we call 'sailing by esteem,' we were sailing 'by esteem'!!!!”

-Did you have good weather?

“Wednesday and Thursday yes, but last night, what a storm! All of us had no shelter and were shivering on the bridge.”

-And how, sailing a little... on an adventure, were you lucky enough to get here?

“Thanks to...”

“Thanks to me!” Interrupted a fisherman who was next to us. Leaving the Asturians for a moment, we asked our new interlocutor to tell us the story of his “piloting.”

“I am,” he said, “the skipper of the Dundee Lucien-Therese (a traditional type of Breton fishing boat). Last night, I met the *Toñin* 20 miles S.W. of Belle-Île and took it to Palais. After giving them the provisions I had on board, at Le Palais, I bought bread for them. The captain is to pay me this morning for these expenses. Then, outside Le Palais, I took the rudder of the *Toñin* and brought her here.”

We said goodbye to the volunteer pilot [of the Dundee Lucien-Therese], who modestly asked us not to mention his name. We [then] asked the Spanish refugees about the current state of the city of Gijon.

“The city,” said one of them, “is completely destroyed, and the few buildings that are not destroyed are riddled with shells and bombs. We were surrounded on all sides and could only escape by sea, which is

what we did. The day before we left, a bomb blew up a gas main and a large number of people sheltering in subway shelters succumbed to asphyxiation.”

-And now, what are you going to do?

“Eat first, and then return to the ranks of the government (Republicans), to fight to the end. Our morale is excellent, we will win!”

We kindly point out to our interlocutor, whose eyes shine with passion, that the progress of the military operations in his country did not seem to confirm his prognoses... and that, moreover, some “dignitaries” from Gijon who arrived in Lorient on board the *Somo* did not hide their pessimism.

“Those you are talking about,” he replied, “are cowards and traitors who fled with the [bags], fearing for their skin.”

Adding this assessment, with the criticisms formulated yesterday, in violent terms, by the passengers of the *Palacio Valdez* with regard to the “luminaries” of the *Somo* (whom they accused of having taken from Gijon four billion-gold pesetas in their departure), precipitated by the surrender of the place, we cannot but fear that all these accumulated gut hatreds will produce in our so welcoming port, one day soon, regrettable sparks.

The passengers of the *Toñin*

Among the exiles embarked on the *Toñin*, the presence of the mayor of *Gijón*, two delegates of the Government of Valencia, an infantry colonel, some doctors, lawyers, etc., stand out. However, most of the survivors give the impression of belonging to the middle class.

About *Palacio Valdez*

Around 9:00 a.m., some passengers from *Palacio Valdez* came to greet their companions from *Toñin* and to inquire about news of their country. We learned that among the men of the *Palacio Valdez*, who entered the outer port of commerce last night, were some who, finding insufficient the menu, however substantial, which was kindly served to them by the Bodélio Hospital, issued protests as indecent and unwarranted.

On the other hand, the Customs informed us that, after having visited the *Valdez Palace* in the evening, they had taken the weapons that were there (machine guns and revolvers), but that a fierce militiaman, instead of surrendering his pistol, preferred to throw it into the sea with its holster. Most of them were surprised to be put under the surveillance of the French police, and some insulted greeted the Spanish consuls.

Refugee lunch of the *Toñin*

By decision of Mr. Bousquet, sub-prefect of Lorient, the passengers of the ... (*Toñin*)... went ashore and were taken under the supervision of the Gendarmerie, Avenue de la Marne, where they were fed by the “Fourneau Economique de Merville” [Economic Oven of Merville], which fortunately had provided for several batches.

Figure 7G. The Toñin with Spanish refugees on board in the Kergroise dock, Lorient, France.



Source: Benito Sacaluga Rodriguez.³

³ Sacaluga Rodriguez, B. (2014, June 8) *Saliendo de Asturias por Mar. Octubre 1937*. Retrieved March 25, 2022, from <https://benitosacalugarodriguez.blogspot.com/2014/06/saliendo-de-asturias-por-mar-octubre.html>. Narratives originally from book Laruelo Roa, M. (1998). *Asturias, octubre del 37 : ¡El "Cervera" a la vista!* (2^a ed.). Gijón: En la Estela de Aldebarán.

Figure 7H. Painting titled “Adiós España” by Angie del Riego.⁴



Source: Angie del Riego.

⁴ The wording reads: Life is always constructed from the ashes of our greatest defeats. It is to be the cover of a historical narrative written by Angie del Riego of her father Jose del Riego Orozco; Titled: *Adiós España*

VII.4.3 B. Regidor Higuero

Questions asked via FaceBook message. October 27, 2020 and follow-up questions on November 4, 2020.

Soy Mauricio, el autor del gráfico de las mujeres y hombres que regresaron a España. Me gustaría preguntarle unas preguntas sobre su familia y hablar del retorno a España. Podríamos tener una charla ?

Si, sin problemas, Aunque no tengo apenas documentación que atestigüe la historia. Mucha información oral, ahora me dedico a intentar recomponer las lagunas de esas historias con documentos

Vale, que bien. Cuando seria bien para usted ? Cuando quiera. Vaya preguntándome y le responderé con mucho gusto Mar.

Vale, primero hablemos de sus abuelos, empezando con su abuelo. Nombre y Apellido. Cuando Nació (pueblo), cuando se marchó de España y cuando regreso.

Mi abuelo era Julián Higuera González. Nació el 12 de noviembre de 1924 en Ortuella (Bizkaia), aunque su lugar de residencia era Barakaldo (Bizkaia). Fue evacuado a Francia junto a su hermano pequeño Eloy. Durante muchos años no hemos sabido exactamente las fechas de evacuación y repatriación. El decía que marchó en el 36 con 12 años y volvió en el 40 con 16 años. Investigando he conseguido averiguar su padre aparece en un periódico en una lista de padres para recoger documentación para mandar a sus hijos a Francia. Eso fue un 4 de mayo de 1937, por lo que se supone que viajaron el 6 de mayo que fue cuando partió el "Habana" desde el Puerto de Santurtzi (Bizkaia) al Puerto de la Rochelle (Burdeos). Pero no tengo ningún documento que verifique que embarcó en ese barco y con ese destino. Disculpe si estoy

escribiendo demasiado o no concreto las cosas. Tampoco recordamos el lugar donde estuvo en Francia, tan solo que estuvo acogido en una familia francesa, un matrimonio de maestros sin hijos. Su hermano fue repatriado a Barcelona el 5 de octubre de 1939. Pero de mi abuelo no he encontrado ninguna referencia. El decía que cuando le reclamaron sus padres los alemanes habían entrado en Francia. Eso podría ser mayo-junio de 1940, pero son solo suposiciones. El resto de información son anécdotas que contaba y que me encantaba escuchar cuando era niño. Espero que le sirva de ayuda en su trabajo. Es bonito recordar a nuestros seres queridos

Si, si lo es. Y que decía su abuelo de España al regresar? Y regreso a su pueblo natal me imagino?

Decía que cuando volvió su padre no le reconocía. Tenía barba juvenil, ya se afeitaba. Ya no era un niño. Lo contaba muchas veces y es de lo que mas me acuerdo. Que en Francia las parejas se besaban en la calle, en Año nuevo cualquier persona aunque no te conociese te deseaba un feliz año y te daba dos besos. Cosa impensable en la España Franquista que se encontró a la Vuelta. Por lo que me cuenta mi madre mi abuelo no quería volver a España, ya habían pasado varios años, el casi se consideraba un francés mas y en aquella familia no le faltaba de nada. Además, guardaba rencor a sus padres por haberle mandado al extranjero, se sintió abandonado...Lo que quizás el no sabría es q para sus padres también tuvo que ser muy duro. El documento donde aparece la fecha de repatriación de su hermano lo encontré de casualidad este mismo verano. Es en el periódico barcelonés de La Vanguardia, en una lista de niños repatriados, por lo que ha alterado toda mi investigación. Quizás el también fue repatriado allí, no lo se... Si se que volvieron a Barakaldo porque mi madre estuvo viviendo con mi bisabuela y mis abuelos en la misma casa que tenían antes de la Guerra. Su hermano Eloy también. Yo vivo actualmente en Barakaldo también. Una cosa negativa que mi abuelo contaba de Francia es que allí le decían que todos los españoles éramos unos ladrones, pero en general siempre habló muy bien de allí. Aún así, mi abuelo se dejó muchas cosas por contar, muchas serían dolorosas, es curioso pero nunca contó que viajo en barco. El contaba que en tren pero eso es imposible pq la frontera quedó cerrada en agosto de 1936, y las expediciones infantiles a Francia no se dieron hasta mayo del

37. Tampoco le oí hablar nunca en francés, mi madre tampoco. Es como si hubiese cosas que no quisiera volver a recordar. Hay mucho dolor en ese relato. Me imagino, es un trama que cambio el rumbo de su vida y la de todos.

Y su abuelo, encontró a su esposa (su abuela) en Francia o aquí en España?

Aquí, también sufrió los bombardeos. Era también de Barakaldo. Pero a diferencia de mi abuelo sus padres la mandaron a Oña (Burgos) que era la zona de donde eran sus padres, emigrantes burgaleses. Allí estuvo con un tío suyo que era cura, creo que volvió en cuanto cayó Bilbao o terminó la Guerra, no lo recuerdo. Lo que si recuerdo que decían ambos siempre, es que si volvía haber otra Guerra que estaríamos todos juntos , nada de separarse, que si había que morirse hacerlo juntos. Mi abuela siempre vivió con la idea de que iba haber otra guerra. Le daban miedo las tormentas y los fuegos artificiales pq la recordaban a los bombardeos que sufrió de niña. Ambos murieron en 2009 con una diferencia de tan solo 6 meses. De da mucha pena escuchar los efectos con los que su abuela y abuelo vivieron, las traumas de guerra son terribles para todos pero especialmente para niños.

Gracias por contarme la historia de ellos. La ultima pregunta que tengo es solo si su abuelo fue maltratado o visto enferma negativo por haber estado exiliado y retornado.

Que yo sepa, no. El hermano de mi otro abuelo murió de tuberculosis en los años 40. Un placer haber compartido con usted mi historia. Para mi es recordarles con mucho cariño. Muchas gracias! Me llamo B. Regidor Higuera, no recordaba haberme presentado, discúlpeme. De nuevo darle las gracias

Gracias B.! Y no se preocupe.

November 24, 2020

Hola B.,

Tengo unas mas preguntitas... primero:

1. Que modo de transporte uso su abuelo para regresar a España?
2. Que piensa usted de la recuperación de memoria histórica? Bien o Mal, porque? Qué hubiese pensado o pensaba de la memoria histórica su abuelo?
3. Cómo de importante dire usted que las historias de su familia le han affected a usted, sus padres e hijos si los tiene?
4. Cómo se identifica usted?

Hola Marcelo

1- Desconozco el transporte que utilizó. No lo comentó nunca. Pero por libros que he leído sobre niños evacuados a Francia estos regresaban a España por Irún a través de Hendaya o hacia Barcelona por ferrocarril. Así que me imagino que seguramente así fue.

2- Me parece muy bien la Ley sobre Memoria Histórica que sacó adelante el Presidente Zapatero en 2006. Aunque todavía hay mucho camino por recorrer. Se que en las escuelas se está intentando dar la asignatura de Memoria Histórica, pero los partidos de derecha en España no quieren.

¿Que pensaba mi abuelo sobre la Memoria Histórica? Mi abuelo no llegó a conocerla plenamente, murió antes de que la sociedad española empezara a preocuparse. Creo que el nunca fue consciente que vivió un momento histórico muy importante. Para el fueron momentos de profundo dolor y desgracia.

3- A mis padres les afectó las historias de mis abuelos. A mi padre mas profundamente al ser hijo de miliciano anarquista. Sufrió al igual que sus hermanos humillaciones en el colegio por parte de profesores, que machaconamente les señalaban por "Ser hijos de un rojo, de un comunista". También lo harían las autoridades religiosas del pueblo donde vivía mi padre. Es lo que se llama la humillación del vencedor sobre el vencido. A mi madre lo que siempre contó es que mi abuelo decía que en casa que hubiese otra guerra la familia entera debería permanecer unida. Si había

que morir, morir juntos. Tengo una hija de 7 años intento explicarle siempre que puedo como mi abuelo huyó a Francia.

4- Las historias de mis abuelos paternos y maternos me han marcado profundamente. Adoraba escuchar sus historias. Me siento orgulloso de ello. Es una forma de recordarles. Quería comentarte Marcelo que el año pasado interveni en un programa de la Televisión pública Vasca, la ETB (Euskal Tebista). Salgo hablando de mi abuelo y su padre.

<https://www.eitb.eus/es/television/programas/vamos-a-hacer-historia/capitulos-completos/>

Episodios completos sobre historia del País Vasco | Vamos a Hacer Historia EITB. Capítulos completos del programa 'Vamos a Hacer Historia' que investiga hechos históricos ocurridos en Euskal Herria con entrevistas a expertos y protagonistas relacionados con la historia. eitb.eus

Es el capítulo llamado "La Caída de Bilbao". Por alguna razón que no entiendo me cambiaron el nombre por el de Mikel. Soy el chico calvo de gafas, el mas joven. Espero que te guste. Un placer siempre colaborar contigo y contar mi historia. Un saludo

VII.4.4 D. Gomez

Interview on February 27, 2020.

Ne 1937. Crossed over in March and placed in concentration camps, separated women/ children and men. Mom escaped from her concentration camp. Dad also escaped and reunited in “Piededom”? In 1945 moved to Toulouse. Her father left for Spain in the same year (stayed in Madrid clandestinely for 2 years). As a little girl, she suffered a lot of hunger. Her mother was left alone with two daughters (6 year old (1937), 2 years old, the younger sister was born in 1943).

Father, was placed in Jail “Plaza del Sol” in 1947 and then later in Burgos for 15 years. His nickname was Rocka. When he left in 1962, he was very ill. Her mother and she were able to have him travel to Toulouse and live there till he returned to Spain (he said that his mother, D. paternal grandmother was dying. He returned to Spain. He died in 1969 in Madrid, he was 52 years old. His mother died in 1973. *[estranged marriage? 15 years not seeing each other, with no contact at all, then he leaves again for Madrid and dies in 1969.] He would spend as many nights with the priest. “There were so many students that they organized the whole way with the civil cemetery.”

Her mother and she stayed in France. Later in 1963, D. (26 years old) and her husband returned and lived in Madrid with two daughters. They had trouble with the authorities because D. husband was an activist and communist. In order not to be caught, the whole family returned back to France, found jobs and the family grew. She now has great-grandchildren. Now her daughters are all grown up, with grandchildren.

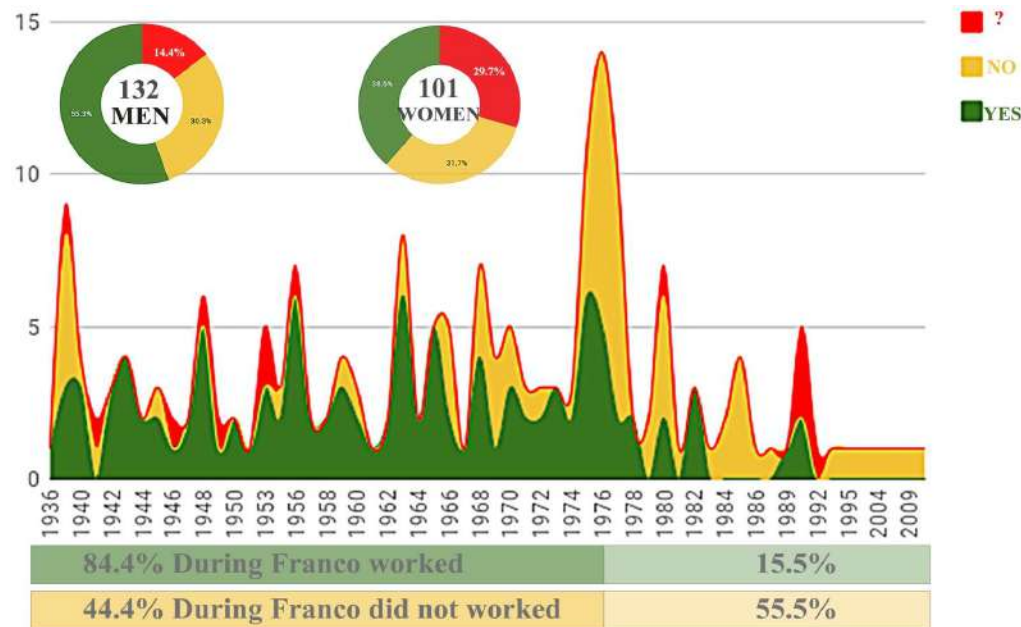
D. asks herself sometimes “why don’t I return to Spain?” “Now that’s impossible. Her mother Justa died in 2006. A friend would tell me that her stories of the concentration camp were “inventions” until that woman moved nearby to Argeles, and later told her that the stories were all true.

VII.5. UNUSED ILLUSTRATION

The following illustration was meant to be used in the resettlement publication. Our intention was to add context to the relocation and what percentage of attempts there were by individuals to work as they adapted back to Spanish society, at whichever time they repatriated. Once more this was looking only at first-generation exiles and therefore the same passage of time, with respect to working years, applied. By this, we mean that after a certain time, individuals will not be able to work. One can see this drop in working years after the mid-1970s, where after three decades, the percentage of individuals working dwindles. This means that it is almost certain that unknown individuals (marked in red) who returned after 1980 did not work.

Like the third publication, we also compared men and women and found a significant difference between the two. Of the men queried in the M-database, 55% worked upon their returns, compared to 39% of the women. The percentage of those who did not work was relatively the same (men 30% and women 32%). However, the unknown percentages were almost double each other, where men were 14% and women 30%.

Figure 7I. Percentage of Returnees who worked once in Spain, 1936-2010.



Source: Author's elaboration.

VII.6. JUPYTER NOTEBOOK CODE

The following is the full open-source code used to import and utilize the working application.

```
import pandas as pd
import os
import folium
from folium import FeatureGroup, LayerControl, Map, Marker

m = folium.Map(location=[40.0150, -2.2705],
               zoom_start=6,
               tiles = 'Stamen Terrain') #Stamen Terrain, Stamen Toner, Stamen Watercolor,
cartodbpositron, OpenStreetMap, Mapbox Bright

file_excel_db = os.path.abspath('/users/pavelmac/python_work/mar/data/exile_db_3.xlsx')
df = pd.read_excel(file_excel_db, sheet_name='DB')

#clean data
df.dropna(subset=['City fled from, Lat', 'City fled from, Lon',
                'City returned Lat', 'City returned Lon'], inplace=True)
df = df.reset_index(drop=True)

#show full dataframe
pd.set_option("display.max_columns", None)
pd.set_option("display.max_rows", None)

df_srd = df[df['LRD/SRD'].str.startswith('S')]
df_srd = df_srd.reset_index(drop=True)
```

In [2]:

```

for i in range(len(df_srd)):

    name_tick = ('Sr/Sra'+ ' '+df_srd.loc[i,'Last name'])

    fg = FeatureGroup(name=name_tick, show=False)

    city_out = [df_srd.loc[i, 'City fled from, Lat'], df_srd.loc[i, 'City fled from, Lon']]

    label_out = str(df_srd.loc[i,'1st Name']
        +' '+str(df_srd.loc[i, 'Last name'])+', '+
        str(df_srd.loc[i,'Age @ Exile'])+', '+
        str(df_srd.loc[i,'Job before exile'])+', '+
        'left '+str(df_srd.loc[i,'City fled from'])+' for '+
        str(df_srd.loc[i,'Exile Country & City'])
        )

    Marker(location=city_out,
        popup=label_out,
        icon=folium.Icon(color='red', icon='glyphicon glyphicon-log-out'),
        ).add_to(fg)

    city_re = [df_srd.loc[i, 'City returned Lat'], df_srd.loc[i, 'City returned Lon']]

    label_re = ('Age of return:'+ ' '+str(df_srd.loc[i, 'Age @ Return'])+', '+
        'reason: '+str(df_srd.loc[i,'Reason 2 return'])+'; '
        'returned in '+str(df_srd.loc[i,'Year returned'])+' to '+str(df_srd.loc[i,'City returned
    ascii'])+'
        ' and died in ' + str(df_srd.loc[i, 'Year of Death'])
        )

```

```
Marker(location=city_re,  
        icon=folium.Icon(color='darkblue', icon='glyphicon glyphicon-log-in'),  
        #icon_anchor (tuple of 2 int, optional) – The coordinates of the “tip” of the icon  
         #(relative to its top left corner). The icon will be aligned  
        #so that this point is at the marker’s geographical location.  
        popup=label_re,  
        tooltip=label_re,  
        ).add_to(fg)
```

```
folium.PolyLine(locations=[city_out, city_re],  
                color='darkblue',  
                weight=4,  
                opacity=0.3,  
                smooth_factor=5).add_to(fg)
```

```
fg.add_to(m)
```

```
LayerControl().add_to(m)
```

VII.7. ANNEX

The following is a shortened version of the M-database by year of return.

LRD SRD	Last name	Gender	Year Born	Year of exile	Year returned	Age @ Exile	Years in Exile	Age @ Return	Worked?	360 Return	Reason 2 return	Job before exile	Job in Exile	Education	Job in Spain	City from	Exile Country & City	City returned	Year of Death
LRD	Lavilla Muñoz	M	1914	1936	1936	22	0	22	Yes	3	Politics	Plumber	?	?	?	Vitoria	France	Girona	1961
LRD	Conde Abellan	F	1907	1936	1937	29	1	30	Yes	2	Family	writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Cartagena	France / Belgium	San Lorenzo d	1996
LRD	Fontana Ros	M	?	1939	1939	?	0	?	?	1	?	Farmer	?	Elementary	?	Lerida	France	Lerida	
LRD	Martinez Ruiz	M	1873	1936	1939	63	3	66	No	1	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	writer	Madrid	France	Madrid	1967
LRD	Lavilla Navascues	M	1872	1936	1939	64	3	67	No	2	?	News paper seller	?	Elementary	?	Tudela	France	Guipuzcoa	1946
LRD	de Castresana	M	1925	1936	1939	11	3	14	Yes	1	Repartriation	child of war	child	Advance	Writer	Valle de Trapaga	France / Belgium	Bilbao	1986
LRD	Gallardo	F	1925	1938	1939	13	1	14	No	1	Family	Child	Child	Elementary	Child	Malaga	France	Malaga	
SRD	Asensio Riaño	F	1929	1937	1939	7	2	9	No	1	Repartriation	child of war	Child of War	Elementary		Bilbao	England	Bilbao	
LRD	de Castresana	F	?	1936	1939	?	3	?	?	1	Repartriation	child of war	child	?	?	Valle de Trapaga	France / Belgium	Bilbao	
SRD	Calaf Soteras	M	1906	1939	1939	33	0	33	Yes	1	Family	Farm hand	Farm hand	Elementary	Farm hand	Orpí	France	Orpí	
SRD	Escriva Rodriguez	M	1921	1939	1939	17	0	17	?	Unknown	Repartriation			highschool		Valencia, Spain	France	Campo de concentracion	
SRD	Herrero Sanchez	F	1927	1937	1939	10	2	13	No	1	Family	Child	Child	Elementary	Student	Santander	Denmark	Santander	
SRD	Murillo Ruiz	M	1917	1939	1939	21	0	21	Yes	Unknown		Soldier	Laborer	Elementary		Belalcazar, Cordoba	France	?	
LRD	Martin Isardo	F	1933	1938	1940	5	2	7	No	1	?	?	?	?	?	Madrid	France	Madrid	
LRD	Redondo Urbietta	M	1927	1937	1940	10	3	13	Yes	1	Politics	child of war	Student	?	UGT Official	Barakaldo	France	Barakaldo	
LRD	Serrahima Bofill	M	1902	1939	1940	37	1	38	Yes	1	Family	Lawyer / Writer	Writer	Advance	Activiist / Pol	Barcelona	France	Barcelona	1979
LRD	Aillon Murgi	F	1917	1939	1940	22	1	23	Yes	1	Family	seamstress	seamstress	?	seamstress	Barcelona	France	Barcelona	
SRD	Higuera Gonzalez	M	1924	1936	1940	12	4	16			Family			Elementary		Barakaldo	France	Barakaldo	
SRD	Moreno Expósito	M	1899	1939	1940	40	1	41	Yes	3	Family		none	Elementary		Ciudad Rodrigo (sal)	France	Barcelona	
LRD	Gracia Bamala	M	1935	1939	1941	4	1.5	5.5	No	1	?	child	child	elementary	Child / student	Monzon	France	Monzon	
LRD	Vera Vidal	F	?	1938	1941	?	3	?	?	1	?	?	?	?	?	Fraga	France	Lerida	1993
LRD	Peiro i Belis	M	1887	1939	1941	52	2	54	Yes	3	Forced Deportati	Politician	N/A	?	N/A	Barcelona	France	Valencia, Spai	1942
SRD	González González	M	1924	1937	1941	13	4	17	Yes	2	Family	Student	Student	Highschool	Student / Sol	Lekeitio / Lequeitio	France, Belgium	Logroño (La Rioja)	
LRD	Paz	M	1921	1939	1942	18	3	21	Yes	2	Politics	Historian	Historian	Advance	Historian	Almeria	France	Barcelona	2009
LRD	Fernandez Miranda	M	1924	1937?	1942	?	?	18	Yes	Unknown	Captured	child of war	?	?	?	Tuñon, Oviedo	Moscow	?	
SRD	Gracia Miranda	F	1893	1939	1942	46	3	49	Yes	3	Family	washer	washer	Elementary	washer	Casbas de Jaca (Hue)	France	Sabiñanigo	1945
LRD	Meana	M	?	?	1943	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Captured	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	?	
LRD	Rapp Lantaron	M	?	?	1943	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Captured	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	?	
LRD	Riba	M	1893	1939	1943	46	4	50	Yes	1	Family	writer	?	Advance	?	Barcelona	France	Barcelona	1959
LRD	Herrero Alvarez	M	1924	1937	1943	13	6	19	Yes	2	Repartriation	child of war	child of war	?	?	Leon	Moscow	Madrid	
LRD	Tejero Bedate	F	1904	1939	1943	35	4	39	Yes	1	Politics	Painter	Painter	?	Painter	Toro	France	Toro	1968
SRD	Garcia Garcia	F	1917	1936	1943	19	7	26	Yes	1			None	Highschool		Madrid	France	Madrid	
SRD	QUINTANA DÍAZ	M	1910	1939	1943	29	4	33	Yes	2	Family	Technician	Tech	Advance	Professor	Malaga	France	Madrid	
LRD	Casas Godessart	F	1921	1939	1944	18	5	23	Yes	2	Family	?	?	?	?	Alcalá de Gurreea	France	Tarragona	2013
SRD	Sanchez Muñoz	M	1922	1925	1944	3	19	22	Yes	2			Carpenter	Elementary	Carpenter	Irun	France	Barcelona, Madrid, Candelari	
LRD	Mendez	F	?	1939	1945	?	6		Yes	1	Family	factory worker	Concentrati	Elementary	Menial jobs	Barcelona	France	Barcelona	
LRD	Vega	F	1923	1939	1945	16	6	22	Yes	1	Repartriation	child of war	Child of War	Elementary	Child of war	Madrid	Belgium	Madrid	
SRD	Echevarrieta Bilbao	F	1931	1937	1945	6	8	14	No	1			Student	Elementary	Student	Algorta, Getzo, Vizca	France	Algorta	
SRD	Gomez	M	1917	1939	1945	22	6	28	No	2	Family					Valencia, Spain	France	Madrid	1969
LRD	Rodriguez Valverde	M	1909	1946	1946	37	0	37	Yes	2	Clandestine	Soldier	PSOE Official	?	PSOE Official	Santo Domingo - Ca	France	Madrid	1997
LRD	San Agustin Labrada	F	?	1937	1946	?	9	?	?	Unknown	?	Hairdresses	?	?	?	Gijon	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Miralles Bravo	M	1911	1937	1947	26	10	50	Yes	1	?	Clerica	Journalist	Advance	Journalist	La Habana, Cuba	Cuba / Moscow / M	Madrid	1983
SRD	Gimenez Ibor	M	1898	1939	1947	41	8	49	Yes	1			Laborer	Elementary	Laborer	Lierta, La Sotonera	France	Lierta, La Sotonera	
LRD	Delgado Isasi	M	1925	?	1948	?	?	23	Yes	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	?	France	?	
LRD	Sanchez	M	?	?	1948	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LRD	Prats Tasenda	M	1927	1946	1948	19	2	21	Yes	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	Bilbao	Mexico / U.S	?	
LRD	Zapico Blanco	M	1925	1937	1948	12	11	23	Yes	3	Captured	child of war	?	?	Carpenter	Gijon	Moscow	San Martin de	?
LRD	Rubio Tuduri	M	1896	1939	1948	43	9	52	Yes	2	?	Civil Cervant	?	?	?	Mahon	France	Barcelona	1962
LRD	Pastor Menendez	F	?	?	1948	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	?	France	?	
LRD	Fortun	F	1886	1939	1948	53	9	62	Yes	1	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Madrid	Argentina	Madrid	1952
LRD	Pereña	F	?	?	1949	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Bertrana	F	1892	1936	1949	44	13	57	Yes	1	Family	Writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Girona	France	Berga	1974
LRD	Luis Benlliure Lopez	M	1898	1939	1950	41	11	52	Yes	Unknown	?	Architect	?	Advance	?	Madrid	Mexico city	?	

LRD	Vega de la Iglesia	F	1923	1937	1950	14	13	27	Yes	2	Family	Student	Spy	Advance	Spy	Cantabria	France	Madrid	
LRD	Basterrechea Zaldiva	M	1888	1942	1952	54	10	64	Yes	Unknown	?	Lawyer	Journalist	Advance	?	Bermeo	France / Argentina	?	1975
LRD	Gorritxo Bilbao	M	1907	1940	1953	33	13	46	Yes	1	?	?	?	?	?	Bilbao	Chile / Argentina	Bilbao	
LRD	Espina Garcia	M	1891	1946	1953	55	7	62	Yes	1	Work	Journalist	Journalist	Advance	Journalist	Madrid	France / Mexico	Madrid	1972
LRD	Masoliver Martinez	M	1910	1945	1953	35	8	43	Yes	2	Politics	Journalist	Translator	Advance	Journalist / W	Zaragoza	Italy	Barcelona	1997
LRD	Dominguez	F	?	1937	1953	?	16	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Dominguez	F	?	1937	1953	?	16	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	Mexico city	?	
SRD	Juste Salanova	M	1936	1938	1954	2	16	18	si	1	Family			Highschool		Benasque	France	Benasque	
SRD	Alfonso Guinot	M	1905	1939	1955	34	16	51	Yes	1		Laborer		Elementary		Onda	France	Onda	
LRD	Benegas Haddad	M	1948	born in	1955	?	?	7	No	?	Education	Born in Exile	child	Advance	Lawyer / Poli	?	Venezuela	San Sebastian	2015
LRD	Benegas Haddad	F	1951	born in	1955	?	?	4	No	?	?	Born in Exile	child	Advance	Lawyer / Poli	?	Venezuela	San Sebastian	2016
SRD	Ortells Badenes	F	1904	1939	1955	35	16	52	No	1				Elementary		Tales, Castellon	France	Onda, Castellon	
LRD	Altuna	F	1919	1937	1956	18	19	37	Yes	Unknown	?	Baby sitter	?	?	?	San Sebastian	?	?	?
LRD	del Bosque	F	1924	1937	1956	13	19	32	Yes	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	Palencia, Spain	Moscow	?	
LRD	Arce	M	1929	1937	1956	8	19	27	Yes	Unknown	Politics	Child	Student / d	Advance	?	?	Moscow	Madrid	
LRD	Rubial	M	1906	1937	1956	31	19	50	Yes	1	Politics	Politician	Prisoner	Advance	Politician	Biscay	Spain	Biscay	1999
LRD	Antepara Arin	F	1926	1937	1956	11	19	30	Yes	1	Family	child of war	?	?	?	Durango	Moscow	Durango	
LRD	Martinez Diez	F	1927	1937	1956	10	19	29	Yes	1	Family	child of war	?	?	?	Sestao	Moscow	Sestao	
LRD	X	F	?	?	1956	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Madrid	
SRD	Llorente del Moral	F	1930	1937	1956	6	19	26	Yes	2			Biologist	Advance	Biologisst	Algorta	Moscow	Valencia, Algorta, Madrid	
LRD	Pinol	M	1944	Born in	1956	?	?	12	No	2	?	Born in Exile	?	?	Student/doct	Mexico D.F	Mexico	Barcelona	
LRD	Garcia Santana	F	1927	1937	1957	10	20	30	Yes	1	Family	child of war	?	?	N/A	Acebar	Moscow	Acebar	
SRD	Menendez Fernandez	M	1901	1946	1957	45	11	56	Yes	2			Editor	Advance		Sobrerriba, Salas, As	Morroco	Madrid	
LRD	Bergamin Gutierrez	M	1895	1939	1958	44	19	63	Yes	1	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Madrid	Mexico / Uruguay /	Madrid	1983
LRD	Marull	M	1912	?	1958	?	?	46	Yes	Unknown	?	Business owner	?	?	?	Navata (Gerona)	Mexico city	?	
SRD	Bailo Osaba	F	1945	Born in	1959	Born in	Born in	14	No	1	Family	Born in Exile		Elementary	Student	Ampuero	Francia	Ampuero	
SRD	Bailo Osaba	F	1919	1939	1959	20	20	40	Yes	2	Family		Tailor	Elementary	Tailor	Leciñena	France	Ampuero	
LRD	Altolaquirre	M	1905	1939	1959	34	20	54	Yes	1	Work	Film Maker	Writer / Film	Advance	N/A	Malaga	Mexico city	Malaga	1959
SRD	Osaba Fernandez	M	1912	1939	1959	27	20	47	Yes	1	Family		Laborer	Elementary	Laborer	Ampuero	France	Ampuero	1985
LRD	Francisca Rubio	F	1911	1939	1960	28	21	49	Yes	1	Family	Artist	Artist	?	Artist	Madrid	Mexico city	Madrid	2008
LRD	Ulibarri	F	1917	1939	1960	22	21	43	No	1	Family	House keeper	House clear	Elementary	N/A	Santander	Dominican Republic	Santander	?
LRD	Botanero	F	1931	1937	1960	6	23	29	Yes	1	Family	child of war	Baker	?	N/A	Madrid	Mexico city	Madrid	
SRD	Rubella Clave	F	1929	1938	1960	8	22	31	No	1	Family			Elementary		Huesca	France	Huesca	
LRD	Blade	M	1907	1939	1961	32	22	54	Yes	1	?	Journalist	Student / W	Advance	Writer	Benisanet	France / Mexico	Barcelona	1995
LRD	Salvadores	M	1910	1939	1962	29	23	52	Yes	Unknown	?	Civil Cervant & L	?	Advance	?	Madrid	Mexico city	?	
LRD	de Rivas	M	1931	?	1962	?	?	31	Yes	1	Work	student	Writer	Advance	Writer	Madrid	Mexico city	Madrid	
SRD	Laporta Costa	F	1958	Born in	1962	Born in	Born in	4	No		Family	child		Elementary		Mexico D.F	Born in Exile	Barcelona	
LRD	Cunillera	F	1944	Born in	1962	Born in	Exile	?	?		4	Political	N/A	N/A		Paris	France	Barcelona	
SRD	Muñoz Aznar	M	1920	1939	1962	19	23	42	Yes	1	Family	carpenter	carpenter	Elementary	carpenter	Talavera de la Reina	France	Talavera de la Reina	
LRD	de Guilarte	F	1915	1939	1963	24	24	48	Yes	1	?	Journalist	Writer	Advance	Writer	Tolosa	Mexico city	Tolosa	1989
LRD	Clotilde Chacel Arim	F	1898	1939	1963	41	24	65	No	2	Education	Writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Valladolid	Brazil / Argentina	Madrid	1994
LRD	De Andres Elorriaga	F	1930	1937	1963	7	26	33	Yes	1	Family	child of war	home make	Elementary	N/A	Bilbao	England	Bilbao	2017
LRD	Chacel Arimon	F	1898	1939	1963	41	24	65	No	2	Work	writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	valladolid	Brazil	Madrid	1994
LRD	Blanco Aguinaga	M	1926	1936	1963	10	27	37	Yes	3	Politics	student	Professor	Advance	Professor	Irun	Mexico / U.S	Lejona	2013
LRD	Castro Delgado	M	1907	1939	1963	32	24	56	Yes	Unknown	Politics	Communist Part	PCE official	?	?	Madrid	France / Moscow	?	1965
LRD	Halffter	M	1905	1939	1963	34	24	58	Yes	1	Work	composer	Composer	Advance	Composer	Madrid	Mexico city	Madrid / Mex	1989
LRD	Ballester	M	1910	1946	1963	36	17	53	Yes	Unknown	Family	?	?	?	?	Valencia, Spain	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Garcia Guilarte	F	1915	1939	1964	24	25	49	Yes	1	?	Journalist	?	Advance	?	Tolosa	France / Mexico	Gulpuzcoa	1989
LRD	Gomez Gonzalez	F	1902	1937	1964	35	27	62	Yes	1	Work	Painter	Painter	?	Painter	Madrid	Argentina	Madrid	1995
SRD	Gomez	F	1937	1939	1964	1.8	25	27	Yes	2	Family	child	child			Valencia, Spain	France	Madrid	living
LRD	Gomez	F	1953	Born in	1964	?	?	11	No	?	Family	Born in Exile	?	?	?		Mexico	Santiago de Compostela	
LRD	Artis-Gener	M	1912	1939	1965	27	26	53	Yes	1	?	Journalist	Writer	Advance	Writer	Barcelona	Mexico city	Barcelona	2000
LRD	Seijo Piferrer	M	1917	1952	1965	35	13	48	Yes	1	Family	factory worker	?	?	?	Barcelona	Argentina	Barcelona	1987
LRD	Bal y Gay	M	1905	1938	1965	33	27	60	Yes	1	?	Composer	Composer	Advance	Composer	Lugo	Mexico city	Lugo	1993
LRD	Garcia Ascot	F	1902	1939	1965	37	26	63	Yes	3	?	composer	Composer	Advance	Composer	Madrid	Mexico city	Lugo	2002

LRD	Rubio Tuduri	M	1892	1938	1965	46	27	73	Yes	2	Family	Engineer	Engineer	Advance	Engineer	Menorca	France / Argentina	Barcelona	1980
SRD	Gutierrez Gomez	F	1958	Born in	1965	Born in	Born in Exile		No	2	Family	N/A	N/A	Elementary	N/A	Toulouse	France	Madrid	
LRD	Lopez Sanchez	M	1900	1939	1966	39	27	66	No	2	Politics	Politician	Writer	Advance	Politician	Murcia	England / Mexico	Madrid	1972
LRD	Mendez Cuesta	F	1898	1939?	1966	?	?	68	No	Unknown	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	N/A	Madrid	Cuba / Mexico	N / A	1986
SRD	Fernandez Diaz	F	1949	Born in	1966	Born in	Born in	16	No	2	Family		Student	Highschool		Granville (Manche)	France	Cartagena, Valencia	
SRD	Ramo Binaburo	F	1920	1939	1966	18	27	46	Yes	1			Tailor	Elementary	Tailor	Fuendetodos, Zarag	France / Brasil	Zaragoza	
SRD	Sampedro Molina	M	1918	1951	1966	32	15	48	Yes	1			Worker	Elementary		Montesa, Valencia	Brasil	Montesa	
LRD	Andujar Muños	M	1913	1939	1967	26	28	54	Yes	2	Work	Journalist	Journalist	Advance	Writer	La Carolina	Mexico city	Madrid	1994
SRD	Domenech Llin	M	1924	1948	1968	24	20	44	Yes	3	Family		Mechanic	Advance	Pharmacy ow	Alcoy, Alicante	Bolivia / Uruguay	Sarrion, Teruel	
LRD	de Albornoz Peña	F	1926	1944	1968	18	24	42	Yes	Unknown	Education	student	Student	Advance	Professor	?	Puerto Rico	Madrid	1990
LRD	Sender Garcés	M	1901	1939	1968	38	29	67	No	Unknown	retirement	Writer	Professor	Advance	N/A	Huesca	United states	N/A	1982
LRD	Navarro Ballasteros	F	1916	1939	1968	23	29	52	Yes	Unknown	Family	Baker & Dress M	?	?	?	Albacete	Dominican Republic	?	
SRD	Lahoz Barrio	F	1920	1948	1968	28	20	48	Yes	1	Family		Worker	Elementary		Manzanera, Teruel	Bolivia / Uruguay	Sarrion, Teruel	
SRD	Martínez Fernández	F	1930	1947	1968	17	21	38	No	1			Seamstress	Elementary		Las Caldas de Oviedo	France	Caceres, Oviedo	
LRD	Gonzales	F	1940's	Born in	1968	?	?		?	2	Family	Born in Exile	?	?	?	?	Mexico	Madrid	
SRD	Tornero Vicente	M	1916	1939	1968	24	29	52	No	2			Eonologist	Elementary		Miajadas	France	Carres, Oviedo	
SRD	Barrio Zuriaga	F	1892	1948	1969	56	21	77	No	1	Family		Homemaker	Elementary		Manzanera, Teruel	France	Sarrion, Teruel	
LRD	Olmedilla Navarro	M	1910	?	1969	?	?	59	Yes	Unknown	?	Teacher	?	?	?	Cuenca, Spain	France / Mexico	?	
LRD	Aub Mohrenwitz	M	1903	1939	1969	36	30	66	No	Unknown	Work	Writer	Writer	Advance	N/A	Valencia, Spain	France / Mexico	N/A	1972
SRD	Lahoz Burgos	M	1888	1948	1969	60	21	81	No	2	Family		Businessma	Highschool		Andilla, Valencia	France	Sarrion, Teruel	
SRD	Fernandez Carcaba	F	1904	1947	1970	43	23	67	No	1				Elementary		Oviedo	France	Oviedo	
LRD	Pallach	M	1920	1939	1970	19	31	50	Yes	2	Politics	student	Teacher / Ad	Advance	Politician	Figueras	France	Cataluña	1977
LRD	Espresate Xirau	M	1932	1939	1970	7	?		Yes	Unknown	Politics	student	Writer	Advance	Jornalist	Portbou	Mexico / France	?	2013
LRD	Segarra Tomas	M	1908	1940	1970	32	30	62	Yes	Unknown	?	Architect	?	Advance	?	Valencia, Spain	Mexico city	?	
SRD	Zubiaurre Gonzalez	F	1909	1940	1970	31	30	48	No	1			Homemaker	Elementary		Cabezon de la Sal	Dominican Republic	Cabezon de la Sal	
SRD	Cita Horcajo	M	1914	1939	1970	25	31	56	No	1	Family	Farmer		Elementary		Fuenlabrada de los Montes	Francia	Fuenlabrada de los Montes B	
SRD	Fernandez Calle	M	1915	1939	1971	24	32	46	No	1			Businessma	Elementary		San Julian de Muskiz	Mexico city	Bilbao	
SRD	García Igual	M	1915	1939	1971	24	32	55	Yes	1			Businessma	Elementary		Valencia, Spain	Mexico city	Valencia, Spain	
LRD	Pamies	F	1919	1939	1971	20	32	52	Yes	Unknown	Work	student	Writer	Advance	Writer	Lerida	Mexico / Czech Repu	?	2012
LRD	Champourcin	F	1905	1939	1972	34	33	67	No	2	Family	Writer	Translator /	Advance	Writer	Victoria, Basque Cou	Mexico city	Madrid	1999
LRD	Ginesta	F	1919	1939	1972	20	33	53	Yes	2	Politics	Writer / Translator		Advance	Writer	Toulouse	France / Dominican	Barcelona	2014
LRD	Montesinos	M	?	?	1972	?	?		?	Unknown	to die in his hom	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LRD	Sanchez	M	?	?	1972	?	?		?	Unknown	to die in his hom	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LRD	Herrera Petere	M	1909	1939	1972	30	33	63	Yes	Unknown	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	N/A	Guadalajara	Mexico / Switzerland	N/A	1977
LRD	Aguado Marco	M	1913	1939	1973	26	34	60	Yes	Unknown	Politics	Soldier	?	?	PCE official	?	France	Madrid	
LRD	Richard Sotes	F	1914	1936	1973	22	37	59	Yes	Unknown	Work	Various	?	?	?	Madrid	Mexico city	?	
SRD	Marina Barredo	M	1915	1939	1973	24	34	58	Yes	2			Painter	Highschool	Painter	Bilbao, Vizcaya	Dominican Republic	Madrid	
SRD	Selles	F			1973				No	1				Elementary		Alcoy, Alicante	France	Alcoy	
SRD	Méndez Suárez	M	1952	1954	1973	2	19	20	Yes	2	Family		Student	Advance		Casablanca, Marrue	Senegal	Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	
LRD	García Sesma	M	1902	1939	1974	37	35	72	No	2	retirement	Teacher	Teacher	Advance	?	Fitero	France / Mexico	Navarra	1991
LRD	Gaya y Pomez	M	1910	1939	1974	29	35	64	Yes	1	Work	Painter	Painter	?	Painter	Murcia	France / Mexico	Murcia	2005
LRD	Fernandez Dopico	M	1910	1939	1974	29	35	64	Yes	1	retirement	Artillery student	Loader	Elementary	Retired	Sillobre	Tunisia	La coruña	1989
LRD	García Bloise	F	1937	1948	1975	11	27	38	Yes	1	Politics	student	Accountant	Advance	PSOE Official	Madrid	France	Madrid	1994
LRD	Catala	F	1915	1939	1975	24	36	60	Yes	1	Politics	Nursing Student	?	Advance	?	Catalonia	France	Catalonia	2019
LRD	Dolores Arana	F	1910	1939	1975	29	36	65	No	1	Politics	writer	Writer	Advance	writer	San Sebastian	Mexico city	San Sebastian	1999
LRD	Jimeno	M	1909	1939	1975	30	36	66	No	1	Politics	Soldier	PSOE Official	?	PSOE Official	Fuentes de Jiloca	France	Zaragoza	1991
LRD	Millares Carlo	M	1893	1938	1975	45	37	82	No	1	Politics	Scholar	Scholar	Advance	Scholar	Las Palmas de Gran	Mexico / Venezuela	Las Palmas de	1980
LRD	Bernal Soto	M	1924	1950?	1975	?	?	51	Yes	2	Politics	student	Trade union	Advance	Senator	Linares	Brazil	Malaga	
LRD	Mata Castro	M	1911	1948	1975	37	27	64	Yes	Unknown	Politics	Soldier	PSOE Official	?	PSOE Official	San Martin del Rey A	France	?	1989
LRD	Segovia	M	1929	1939	1975	10	36	46	Yes	2	Politics	student	Writer	Advance	Writer / poet	Valencia, Spain	France / Mexico	Madrid	2011
SRD	Mendez Castro	M	1909	1937	1975	28	38	66	Yes	1			Accountant	Advance		Las Palmas de Gran	Senegal	Las Palmas de gran canaria	
SRD	Ramos Ruiz	F	1918	1939	1975	20	36	57	No	3	Family		Seamstress	Highschool		Santander	France	Lloret de Mar	
SRD	Ros Marti	M	1908	1939	1975	31	36	67	No	1			Chofer	Highschool		Lloret de Mar	Argelia / France	Lloret de Mar	
SRD	Rubella	M	1898	1938	1975					1	Family			Elementary		Huesca	France	Huesca	
SRD	Del Riego Orosco	M	1906	1939	1975		36	69	No	2	Family	Attorney/militar	Businessme	Advance	n/a	Tineo, asturias	Dominican Republic	Madrid	1989

LRD	Rosique Molina	F	1926	1939	1976	13	37	50	Yes	Unknown	Family	student	sales person	?	N/A	Barcelona	Mexico city	?	
LRD	de Madariaga y Rojo	M	1886	1936	1976	50	40	90	No	Unknown	Politics	Minister	Writer	Advance	?	?	England	Madrid	1978
LRD	Diosdado Prat Garcia	M	1905	1939	1976	34	37	71	No	2	Politics	Politician	Politician /	Advance	Politician	Albacete	France / Colombia	Madrid	1994
LRD	Garcia Duarte	M	1919	1949	1976	30	27	57	Yes	2	Politics	Soldier	Journalist	Advance	UGT Official	Antequera, Malaga	France	Madrid	2009
LRD	Llopis Ferrandiz	M	1895	1939	1976	44	37	81	No	2	Politics	Politician	Politician	Advance	Politician	Callosa de Ensarria	France	Madrid	1983
LRD	Ayala	M	1906	1939	1976	33	37	70	No	2	Politics	Professor	?	Advance	Novelist	Granada	Argentina	Madrid	2009
LRD	Estaura	M	1909	1939	1976	30	37	67	No	Unknown	?	Lawyer	?	?	?	La Coruna	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Sanchez Albornoz	M	1893	1936	1976	43	40	83	No	3	Politics	Historian	Historian &	Advance	Historian	Madrid	Argentina	Avila	1984
LRD	Macarro Castillo	M	1920	1939	1976	19	37	56	Yes	2	Politics	Soldier	Public Spea	Advance	Writer	Salamanca	France	Burgos	2016
LRD	Garnacho Villarrubia	M	1938	1939?	1976	?	?	38	Yes	2	Politics	student	Worker	Elementary	Construction	Valencia, Spain	France	Madrid	2000
LRD	Barrabes	M	1928	1939?	1976	?	?	48	Yes	2	Politics	student	Student / PS	?	PSOE Official	Valencia, Spain	France	Madrid	2012
LRD	Guillen y Alvarez	M	1893	1938	1976	45	38	83	No	2	retirement	Writer	Language Te	Advance	Lecturer	Valladolid	United states	Malaga	1984
LRD	Maizano	F	1902	1939	1976	46	37	83	No	3	Politics	Politician	?	?	?	Asturias	France / Mexico	Oviedo	1992
LRD	García Arias	F	1945	Born in	1976	?	?	31	Yes	1	Education	Born in Exile	Student	Advance	Teacher	Asturias	Mexico	Asturias	
SRD	Tritlla Salellas	M	1911	1939	1976	28	37	65	No	2			Tailor	Elementary		Cantallops, Gerona	France	Estivella, Valencia	
LRD	De Leon Goyri	F	1903	1939	1977	36	38	74	No	2	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	?	Longroño	France / Argentina	Madrid	1988
LRD	Ibarruri	F	1895	1939	1977	44	38	82	No	2	Politics	Politician	Politician	Advance	Politician	Gallarta	Mexico city	Madrid	1989
LRD	Kent	F	1891	1939	1977	48	38	86	No	2	Politics	Lawyer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Malaga	France / New York	Madrid / New	1987
LRD	Roces	M	?	1939	1977	?	38	?	?	Unknown	Politics	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LRD	Fernandez Alvarez	M	1913	1937	1977	24	40	64	Yes	1	Politics	Soldier	?	?	President of	Asturias	Mexico city	Asturias	2010
LRD	Alberti	M	1902	1939	1977	37	38	75	No	1	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Cadiz	Argentina	Cadiz	1999
LRD	de Irujo Olo	M	1891	1939	1977	48	38	86	No	Unknown	Politics	Minister of Justice	Minister for	?	Politician	Estella, Spain	England	?	1981
LRD	Carrillo Solares	M	1915	1939	1977	24	38	62	Yes	2	Politics	Soldier	Politician / C	?	PCE official	Gijon	France / Moscow	Madrid	2012
LRD	Lister Forjan	M	1907	1939	1977	32	38	70	No	2	Politics	Military officer	PCE official	Advance	PCE official	La Coruña	Moscow	Madrid	1994
LRD	Montseny	F	1905	1939	1977	34	38	72	No	1	Politics	Minister	Writer	Advance	Writer	Madrid	France	Madrid / Toulouse	1994
LRD	Alberti	F	1941	Born in	1977	?	?	36	Yes	2	Politics	Born in Exile	Student	?	N/A	Buenos Aires	Argentina	Madrid	N/A
SRD	Sierra Gonzalez	M	1918	1946	1977	28	31	59	No	1			Laborer	Highschool		Ledantes, Cantabria	France	Santander, Barago, Ledantes	
LRD	Carretero	M	?	?	1978	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	Engineer	?	Advance	?	?	Mexico city	Madrid	2002
LRD	Lopez Real	M	1913	1947	1978	34	?	65	Yes	2	Politics	Politician	Politician	?	Politician	Huelva	Belgium	Sevilla	2004
LRD	de Zulueta	M	1918	1936	1978	18	42	60	Yes	3	Politics	Doctor	Doctor	Advance	Doctor, Mayo	Madrid	Colombia	Ronda	2015
LRD	De Linares de Vidart	F	1911	?	1979	?	?	68	No	Unknown	?	Journalist	?	?	?	Gerona	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Galarza	M	1898	1939	1979	41	40	81	No	Unknown	?	Lawyer	?	?	?	Madrid	Mexico city	?	
SRD	Bailo	M	1921	1939	1980	18	41	59	No	1	Family		Soldier	Elementary		Leciñena	France	Leciñena	
LRD	Gracia	F	1932	1939	1980	7	41	48	Yes	2	?	child	Student / W	Advance	Writer	Barcelona	France / Venezuela	Madrid	2001
LRD	Bilbao	F	1903	1937	1980	34	43	77	No	1	?	Nurse	Nurse	Advance	?	Basque Country	France / Argentina /	Basque Country	
LRD	Ruiz Toribios	F	1924	1937	1980	13	43	56	Yes	1	Politics	child of war	Engineer	Advance	President of C	Gijon	Moscow	Gijon	
LRD	Giral	M	1911	1939	1980	28	41	69	No	1	Politics	Pharmacist	pharmacist	Advance	Pharmacist	Salamanca	Mexico city	Salamanca	2002
LRD	Tagueña Lacorte	F	1919	1962	1980	43	?	61	?	1	Tourism	Teacher	Teacher	Advance	N/A	Madrid	Mexico city	Madrid	2016
SRD	Bailo	M	1917	1939	1981	22	42	64	No	1	Family		Worker	Elementary		Leciñena	France	Leciñena	
LRD	Mendiola	F	1936	1937	1982	1	45	46	Yes	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Toledo	
LRD	Velez	M	?	?	1982	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	Physisit	?	?	?	?	Mexico city	Madrid	
LRD	Guillen	M	1924	1939	1982	15	43	58	Yes	2	Politics	student	Scholar	Advance	Scholar	Paris	United states	Barcelona	2007
SRD	Santalo Sors	M	1911	1939	1982	28	43	71	Yes	2	Work		Mathmathe	Advance	Mathmathec	Gerona	France / Argentina	Madrid	
LRD	Kaperotxipi Flores	M	1901	1938	1983	37	45	82	No	1	?	Painter	Writer	Advance	Writer	Zarautz	Argentina	Zarautz	1997
LRD	Castro Cardus	M	1906	1939	1984	33	45	78	No	2	Work	Navy officer	Writer	Advance	Writer	Huesca	Phillipines / Mexico	Madrid	1995
LRD	Zambrano Alarcon	F	1904	1939	1984	35	45	80	No	2	Politics	Scholar	?	Advance	Scholar	Malaga	Cuba / Puerto Rico /	Madrid	1991
SRD	Abos Matias	M	1915	1939	1985	24	46	70	No	1			Laborer	Elementary		Monzon	France	Monzon	
LRD	Ochoa de Albornoz	M	1905	1936	1985	31	49	80	No	2	Work	Scientist	scientist	Advance	Scientist	Asturias	United states	Madrid	1993
LRD	Carrasquer	M	1915	1939	1985	24	46	70	No	3	retirement	student	Writer / pro	Advance	Retired	Huesca	Netherlands	Tarrega	2012
SRD	Palacios	M	1936	1938	1985	2	47	49	No	1	Family		Engineer	Advance		Madrid	Mexico city	Madrid	
SRD	Camara Lavin	M	1925	1937	1986	12	49	61	No	1	Family			Elementary		Galdames, Biscay	England / Argentina	San Sebastian, Bilbao, Galdar	
SRD	Bernandez Gomez	F	1929	1936	1987	7	51	65	No	1				Elementary		Redondela Ponteved	France / Mexico	Madrid, Redondela	
LRD	X	F	1925	1937	1989	12	52	64	Yes	2	Politics	child	Doctor	Advance	?	Asturias	Moscow	Madrid	
LRD	Muñiz	F	1929	1937	1991	8	?	62	?	2	?	child of war	?	?	?	Gijon	Moscow	Madrid	
LRD	Mendiola	F	1934	1938	1991	4	53	57	?	Unknown	Family	child of war	?	?	?	Madrid	Moscow	?	

LRD	C.N	F	?	1937	1991	?	54	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Barrio de la Coma		
LRD	H	F	?	1937	1991		54	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Alfara, Valencia		
LRD	Sanchez Albornoz	M	1926	1948	1991	22	?	65	Yes	1	Politics	student	?	Advance	Professor	Madrid	Argentina	Madrid	N/A
LRD	De los llanos Mas	M	1925	1937	1991	?	54	66	Yes	2	Politics	child of war	Engineer	Advance	Translator	Malaga	Moscow	Alfara, Valenc	2012
LRD	X	F	?	?	1991	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Madrid		
LRD	Cobeña	F	?	1937	1992	?	55	?	Unknown	Economic	child of war	?	?	N/A	?	Moscow	La Coma, Valencia		
LRD	M. V.	F	?	1937	1992	?	55	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	?		
SRD	Feron	M	1951	1965	1994	Born in	Born in	43	No					Elementary		Casablanca, Marrue	Marruecos	Bande, Ourense	
LRD	Gonzales	F	1927	1937	1994	10	57	67	No	Unknown	Politics	child of war	?	?	?	Gijon	Moscow	?	
LRD	Albizu	F	1914	1940	1995	26	55	81	No	1	Politics	Writer	Writer	Advance	?	Zumarraga	France / Venezuela	Guipuzcoa	2002
SRD	Alcalde Vazquez	M	1912	1939	2000	27	61	88	No	1		Prisionero		Elementary		Rianxo, a Coruña	France / Argentina	Rianxo	
LRD	Subirats	F	1949	Born in	2001	Born in	Born in	50	Yes	2	?	Film Maker	Teacher	Advance	Teacher	Mexico D.F	Mexico	Barcelona	
SRD	Chamorro Daza	M	1903	1936	2003	38	67	99	No	2			Researcher	Advance		Huesa, Jaen	Germany / Francia	Banyoles	
SRD	Martinez Ribero	M	1921	1948	2004	27	56	83	No	1			Laborer	Highschool		Ribadesella, Asturias	Mexico city	Madrid, Gijo, Ribadesella	
SRD	Florez Gonzalez	M	1934	1939	2005	4	66	68	No	2			Worker	Highschool		Grado	France / Brasil	Aviles	
SRD	Castañar Farga	M	1943	1950	2009	7	59	66	No	1	Tourism	Child	Worker	Highschool	Child	Barcelona	Mexico city	Barcelona	
LRD	Navarro	F	1926	1939	2010	13	71	84	No	2	?	child	?	?	Retired	Barcelona	France / Mexico	Madrid	
SRD	Del Riego Abreo	F	1961	N/A	2010	N/A	N/A	N/A			Economical	N/A	N/A	Advance		Dominican Rep.	Dominican Republic	Barcelona	
SRD	Caamaño	F	1956	1976	2013	21	37	57	?			Elementaria		highschool		San Juan de la Magu	Dominican Rep.	Madrid	
SRD	Piñeiro Rioja	M	1992	Born in	2016	Born in	Born in	24	Yes		Work & Family		Sales Person	Advance		Mexico D.F	Mexico	Bilbao	
LRD	Lopez Perez	M	1925	1937	2016	12	79	91	No	1	Medical	child	cobbler	Elementary	none	Gijon	France / Mexico	Granada	Living
LRD	Abad	F	1940	Born in	?	?	?	?	?	2	Politics	Born in Exile	Journalist	Advance	?	Almeria	Russia	Gijon	
LRD	Tome	F	1943	Born in	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Born in Exile	?	?	?	Galicia	Mexico	?	
LRD	Ruiz	F	1950	Born in	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Born in Exile	?	?	?	Galicia	?	?	?
LRD	Soler	M	1963	Born in	?	?	?	?	Yes	?	?	Born in Exile	?	Advance	Writer		Mexico	Barcelona	N/A
LRD	Agirre	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	1	?	Nurse	?	Advance	?	Santurtzi	Andorra	Vizcaya	1998
LRD	Bahi	F	1909	?	?	?	?	?	?	1	?	?	?	?	?	Catalonia	?	Catalunia	
LRD	Baixeras	F	1925	?	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	Barcelona	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Duroux	F	?	?	?	?	?	?	Yes	Unknown	?	Writer / Historia	?	Advance	Writer	?	France	?	
LRD	Jimenez	F	1926	1939	?	13	?	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	Madrid	Mexico city	?	
LRD	Rodriguez	F	1926	1939	?	13	?	?	?	Unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LRD	Thiercelin	F	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	Writer / Historia	?	Advance	?	?	France	?	
LRD	Ruiz	F	1926	1937	?	11	?	?	?	1	?	child of war	Engineer	Advance	?	Gijon	Moscow	Gijon	
LRD	Ruiz	F	1932	1937	?	5	?	?	?	1	?	child of war	?	?	?	Gijon	Moscow	Gijon	
LRD	S.	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Cartagena	
LRD	A. S.	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Santurce	
LRD	Bernal	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	Translator	Advance	?	?	Moscow	Zaragoza	
LRD	Ortiz	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Barcelona	
LRD	Prieto Valencia	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Basauri, Vizcaya	
LRD	L. G	M	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	?	
LRD	Obregon	M	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	?	
LRD	de la Huerga	M	1926	1937	?	11	?	?	Yes	Unknown	Politics	child	Engineer	Advance	Recycler of m	?	Moscow	Basauri	
LRD	R. P.	F	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	child	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Cartagena	
LRD	Martinez	M	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	child	?	?	?	?	England	London	
LRD	Dali	M	1904	1936	?	32	?	?	Yes	Unknown	Politics	Painter	Painter	?	Painter	?	France / New York	Madrid	1989
LRD	del Bosque	M	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	child of war	?	?	?	?	Moscow	Murcia	
LRD	Sanchez Vazquez	M	1915	?	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	Politics	Professor	Professor	?	?	Algeciras	Mexico city	?	2011
LRD	Basterrechea Arzadu	M	1924	1942	?	18	?	?	?	Unknown	?	?	Pintor	?	?	Bermeo	France / Argentina	?	
LRD	Aranoa	M	1901	?	?	?	?	?	?	Unknown	?	Painter	?	?	?	Bilbao	Argentina	?	1973
LRD	Patxo P.	M	?	1937	?	?	?	?	?	1	?	child	?	?	?	Bilbao	Moscow	Bilbao	
LRD	Ureta Ibarra	M	1914	1939	?	25	?	?	?	1	?	Carpenter	?	?	?	Vizcaya	France / Venezuela	Vizcaya	

