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CONTESTED COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF MIGRATIONS IN CATALONIA

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Abstract

This prospective study examines the role of the M-Factor (Migration Factor) in the formation of a country's collective memory. Despite the seminal contributions of memory studies to the field of identity formation, the M-Factor in nations' historical heritage is particularly under-researched. The relationship between national identity and the collective memory of migration, and vice versa, represents a fertile area of enquiry into the formation of contested collective memories. By framing the analysis on the case study of Catalonia, a territorial community in Spain with national claims, which lacks a structured state apparatus and where 73% of the population is result of migrations in the 20th and 21st centuries, this paper provides an illustrative case study of a contested collective memories. In Catalonia there is a discrepancy between the historical reality of migration and its social and political acknowledgment. This apparent paradox presents a compelling opportunity for research that seeks to bridge the fields of collective memory studies and migration studies. The data was collected from existing documents and a sample of 18 semi-structured interviews with a variety of profiles at the meso level, allowing us to saturate the information. The subsequent analysis traversed two domains: diagnosis (the contested collective memories of migration) and normative considerations regarding the potential of a future memory politics. This research provides a basis for a future political theory that addresses intergenerational relations and shared intercultural experiences to ground an inclusive collective memory of migrations.

Keywords: Catalonia, collective memory, contested collective memory, diversity, interculturalism, intergenerational relations, migration.

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Discussion Framework: Debating Inclusive Collective Memory in A Context of Contested Memories of Migration

This paper examines the role of the M-Factor (Migration Factor) in the formation of a country's collective memory. Despite the seminal contributions of memory studies to the field of identity formation, the M-Factor in nations' historical heritage is particularly under-researched. The relationship between national identity and the collective memory of migration, and vice versa, represents a fertile area of enquiry into the formation of contested collective memories. By framing the analysis on the case study of Catalonia, a territorial community in Spain with national claims, which lacks a structured state apparatus and where 73% of the population residing in Catalonia in 2023 is the direct or indirect result of migrations in the 20th and 21st centuries,[1] this paper provides an illustrative case study of a divided national identity and collective memories. In Catalonia there is a discrepancy between the historical reality of migration and its social and political acknowledgment. This apparent paradox presents a compelling opportunity for research that seeks to bridge the fields of collective memory studies and migration studies.

While it can be argued that collective memory is inherently contested, given its interpretive nature (Y. Gutman and J. Wüstenberg, 2023: 4), it is apparent that the phenomenon of migration has the potential to disrupt the stability of a national collective memory and challenge the efficacy of essentialist rhetoric. Catalonia serves as an illustrative case study of the influence of power and politics, but also society and culture on the formation of collective memories surrounding migration. It also exemplifies the role of national ideology in shaping collective memories within a context of contested national identities.

'Contested memories of migration' are memories that are remembered differently, leading to disputed narratives about belonging, citizenship and identity. This article argues that in the context of Catalonia these contested memories are generational. First-generation migrants, who typically originate from other regions of Spain, tend to emphasize the sacrifices made, which are directly linked to urban social transformations. In contrast, new generations of migrants, who hail from the Global South, may reinterpret these memories in order to criticize the conditions of their upbringing or to assert their own differentiated ethnic identities. In light of the aforementioned context, this prospective study seeks to explore the social and political benefits of the notion of 'inclusive collective memory' and 'intergenerational collective memory formation' in contested contexts.

[1] These data came during the period it was announced the population in Catalonia reached 8 millions. It was announced during the 40st anniversary of the Center of Demographic studies (CED-UAB, 2024), and later disseminated by its vice-director A. Domingo (2024)

‘Inclusive collective memory’ can be defined as the shared set of social, cultural and national memories that a group of people possess and with which they identify to a significant degree. This group may be defined by ethnicity, religion, class, or other socially relevant identities. This concept also aims to encompass other social groups that are frequently marginalised in the construction and preservation of collective memory. Such groups include the Roma in Catalonia and also social working-class groups that do not align with the dominant national narrative of collective memory. These groups continue to perceive societal divisions along the lines of a ‘we-Spanish’ and ‘other-Catalan’ dichotomy. The exclusion of these groups from catalan collective memory has a direct impact on their sense of belonging and their perception of being excluded from collective memory.

In such a contentious atmosphere, the notion of ‘inclusive collective memory’ is conceptually useful for a number of reasons. Firstly, from the standpoint of representativeness, it is important to ensure that the collective memory of a country accurately reflects the diverse demographic reality. An inclusive collective memory ensures that the experiences and perspectives of marginalised and/or minoritised communities are recognised, thereby promoting a more inclusive understanding of the history of migrations. Secondly, this is a matter of justice and equity. Incorporating diverse memory narratives can encourage people to view differences associated with diversity in a more constructive manner. This approach can help to mitigate the reproduction of inequalities and power relations that are often associated with diversity, including racism and discrimination. Thirdly, and arguably implicit in the preceding two points, is the sense of empathy and mutual understanding that inclusive collective memory generates, thereby reducing the spaces for prejudice and stereotyping that often arise in an environment of high diversity. Inclusive collective memory facilitates the formation of intercultural connections between individuals based on shared experiences, fostering collective values of coexistence. It is also important to consider that inclusive collective memory plays a role in preserving the migratory heritage of different communities. This helps to ensure that their stories and contributions to the host country are not erased. It can be argued that immigration is viewed as a significant aspect of a country’s heritage and identity. Furthermore, this approach helps to avoid any essentialist perception of culture or ethnicity, as well as of social, cultural and national collective memory.

This inclusive collective memory could be a useful conceptual framework to consider to fill the gap left by ‘contested collective memories’ or to re-enforce these. In line with Rawski's (2024) comprehensive definition, contested memory can be defined as any disagreement over the legitimacy of specific sets of meanings and symbols related to significant past events that play an important role in identity formation for more than one social group in the present. Hodgkin and Radstone (2003: 1) posit that contestation is fundamentally about power over the representation and interpretation of the past. This encompasses the selection of symbols, the construction of meaningful narratives from them, and their communication to the

wider public. This general view of contested memory is thus rooted in the fundamental division of social reality into two distinct groups, which underpins the social, cultural and national dimensions of collective memory. In fact, there are two distinct perspectives that interact with one another. From a sociological perspective, the term 'contested' is used to describe disputes between social groups. This view describes contested memory as a dispute over the content of memory, produced and determined by enduring cultural, social and national dimensions, which is subject to negotiation and naturally tends towards the development of mutual agreement (consensus building) on a legitimate vision of the past by all sides in the dispute. The most political views of contested memory must follow the belief that social groups compete and are driven by the desire to gain/maintain power over one another. In this view, contested memory is a political struggle for a monopoly on the production of legitimate content about the past and the imposition of this content on social and cultural spaces by powerful political institutions. In the context of divided societies with two or more national identities in dispute over the public authority of collective memory, such as in Catalonia, this political contestation of collective memory also becomes an arena of dispute for attracting other cultural groups arising from diversity. In any case, contested memory demonstrates what Olick and Robbins (1998) have already noted: that memory is a dynamic process, characterised by constant negotiations and clashes between competing visions of the past, for which the national frame remains the main point of reference. The particular focus of this paper is that contested memory is a way of understanding the continuous politicisation of collective memory, i.e. an ongoing dispute over the legitimacy of an interpretation of the past that plays an important role in identity formation for more than one social group (Rawski, 2024: 4).

The present study directly engages with the area of focus identified by Ricoeur (2000), who underscores the substantial correlation between memory and forgetting, and the distribution of power among social groups within a particular context. This focus places contested memory as the focal point of the discussion surrounding the reproduction and control of collective memory, its institutionalisation. As Lisa Totta (2003) has suggested, this debate could potentially have some significant implications for the representation of the past within contested social, cultural and national contexts.

What Makes Catalonia an Appealing Location For The Research Into The Links Between Collective Memory and Migration Studies?

Catalonia is an appropriate case study because the question of the role of the M-Factor in its collective memory remains unresolved and directly affects its national ontology. Catalonia is a paradoxical case study. First, demographers and sociologists share the view that migration is an endogenous factor of the Catalan reproduction system (Cabre, 1999). But most textbooks on the history of Catalonia omit the word

immigration.[2] Furthermore, this historical fact is portrayed in a deficit-based educational textbook and, in the absence of memorials, the M-factor is perceived as an exogenous rather than a normal and natural population dynamic. We cannot even say that immigration is at the bottom of the history of Catalonia. The sociologist S. Cardús (2007) frequently highlights the fact that demographers teach us that Catalonia is a country made up of various migratory layers. Without these accumulated phases, the current population of 8 million would not have been reached; instead, it is likely that the population would have been closer to 2 million.

Then, we can wonder how it is possible that such an obvious M-Factor of Catalonia's demographic transformation is being silenced, ignored. These are unanswered questions that both S, Cardús and I. Boj, the director of the Museum of History of Immigration of Catalonia (MhiC) address in the interviews. If we consider historians to be the custodians of collective memory, then the written evidence suggests that Catalonia is experiencing difficulties in integrating its M-Factor into the collective memory. Amnesia and oblivion are the norm. There is no policy on how migration should be remembered. The hypothesis that the division of national identities engenders contested memories of migration may provide a satisfactory explanation. The Catalan collective memory is replete with rhetoric from the 1960s that has contributed to the political identity debate[3], yet this rhetoric has not been accompanied by commensurate practices, as observed by the majority of interviewees.

The peculiarity of Catalonia also lies in the fact that today it finds itself in an unexpected situation where demographic and historical arguments are being mobilised by a new essentialist political rhetoric. In the last year there is a renewed interest in migration in Catalonia, probably triggered by having recently reached the psychological threshold of 8 million that had not been predicted even by the most venturesome demographers. [4] This number is expected to continue increasing with the current rate of immigrant arrivals. If the 21st century follows the trend of the 20th century, and Catalonia's reproductive system continues to depend on the M-factor, Catalonia could reach 10 million in one or two generations. In majority-minority terms, Catalonia is already, and this is bound to be reinforced, one of the few European countries where the number of immigrants is greater than those born in Catalonia three generations ago. [5] During the industrialization period of Franco's regime (especially between 1950 and 1975) Catalonia reached two and a half million inhabitants thanks to citizens coming from other parts of Spain, doubling its population by

[2]For example, J. Mestre et al. (1992); J. Nadal et al. (1997); J. Sobreques i Callico (1999); F. Valls and F. Soldevilla (2002); A. Pérez *et al.* (2004); A. D. Montserrat and others (2006).
[3] These rhetorics have different social origins and political uses.. “Catalonia, land of welcome”; “Catalonia, we are a country of immigrants”; “We are one people”; “It's Catalan who lives and works in Catalonia, and wants to be”.
[4] See the newspaper Ara. E. Freixa (3 November, 2023)
[5] Probably with the exception of Luxemburg, 47.2% have a foreign nationality and among those from Luxembourg, 18% have a second nationality, See statistics portal https://statistiques.public.lu/fr/recensement/ nationalites.html

1964, as Domingo reminds us (Méndez, 2022). Since the 1990s and especially since the new millennium, most of the arrivals have been from non-European continents. Since the beginning of the century, more than a million immigrants have settled in Catalonia, which places the country, with a growth of 3.4 per thousand, above the Spanish and European average. Specifically, today, just over 60% were born in Catalonia (around 4.9 million, probably many second and later generations), 15% are from other autonomous communities (1.2 million) and around 20% are of foreign origin (1.6 million). (CED-UAB, 2024) Statistics often forget, but we must also consider that the Roma population currently ranges between 80,000 and 90,000 people, according to data from the Roma organizations themselves. The Statistical Institute of Catalonia (Idescat) estimates that in 2023, foreigners residing in Catalonia will represent more than 170 different nationalities.

In 2023, 73% of the population living in Catalonia was a direct or indirect product of immigration, all starting in the 20th century. This means that there were 24% who had a more rooted origin in Catalonia. Demographically speaking, Catalonia is a cosmopolitan society, with a population mostly of first, second or third generation of immigrants. This entails that everyone is a minority. But it seems that talking today about immigration in demographic terms leads to polarization and a confrontational debate in society. This study allows us to argue that the failure to fully accept demographic diversity in Catalonia is mainly due to the lack of an inclusive collective memory of immigration. Within this framework, this paper hypothesizes that there is a deficit of intergenerational discourse among diverse immigrant communities.

The demographic argument therefore plays a fundamental role in the debate on the collective memory of migrations in Catalonia. As Domingo (2024b) reiterates, a link is in fact established between the demographic evolution of Catalonia through migrations and the evolution of the national identity debate. This link must have a representation in the collective memory of migrations. Domingo also warns in the interview that “It is clear that the Catalonia of the 1920s with the first wave of migration, the Catalonia of the 1940s and 1950s, just after the Civil War, which is when Vicens Vives was still talking about Catalonia as a land of passage [*terra de pas*], is not the same as the Catalonia of the 1960s, with the second wave of migration, when this definition was formulated. And the one we have now.”

In the conversation we had with the Director of the Museum of History of Immigration of Catalonia (MhiC), I. Boj points out that migration is the most important factor in the evolution of Catalonia, and despite this, the most ignored and left aside when we seek to articulate a historical narrative of Catalonia. In the same vein, S. Cardús reiterates this in each of his writings, also with great surprise regarding the fact that the most relevant social phenomenon of the 20th century (S. Cardús, 2024; 59) is not sufficiently incorporated into a politics of memory. Between 1962 and 1973, four million people changed their residence in Spain

(CED-UAB, 2024) with many immigrants settling in areas of greater economic dynamism such as Madrid, the Basque Country, Valencia and Catalonia. Domestic migration, within the Spanish State, was constant, with immigrants arriving in Catalonia in a continuous flow, finding work and contributing to Catalonia's economic development.

Collective memory is also a social memory within a territory, and therefore identity and the feeling of belonging is territorial. This dimension of space is fundamental to understanding the current interactions between generations of immigrants where 'contact zones' are often transformed into 'conflict zones.' This reality has been highlighted by numerous interviewees, particularly those engaged in direct work in these neighborhood areas (del Genio from the Besòs district, Jover from Ciutat Vella district in Barcelona, and Ponce from Nou Barris district). These social workers have been first-hand witnesses to the profound transformation of neighborhoods, areas where multiple generations of immigrants have converged, yet there is a conspicuous absence of policies that promote the development of relationships. Following this line of argument, the technical head of the Besòs Neighborhood Community Plan points to this tension as being part of the same collective memory: "What has always surprised me is that in a neighborhood like Besòs and Maresme, which is a neighborhood that was initially created to accommodate internal migration in the 50s and 60s, there is all this rejection of extra-community migration. Why? Let's take a look at it in terms of social class."[6] It is true that there can be elements of aporophobia and a mentality of revisiting past traumas in others and not recognizing their legitimacy, as del Genio also points out: "We are facing an aging neighborhood that is rejuvenated by the profiles of different people, not by the children and grandchildren of past generations." It is a fact that in many neighborhoods made up of so-called internal immigrants, it is not assumed that the generational transition will take place with other profiles of immigrants. This raises a number of nuanced questions that can stimulate a new debate on the collective memory of migrations. It is acknowledged that the contemporary Catalan population is the result of a complex migratory history, which includes both internal (Spanish) and external (international) movements, but there seems to be a great deficit in terms of how these historical facts have been internalised in their collective memory. We may say that there is no "culture of migratory memory" in Catalonia.[7]

We must also add another contextual factor from the political arena. The post-independence process witnessed the emergence of a Catalan political party that essentialised Catalan identity against diversity and migrants because they either spoke Spanish (mostly Latin American) or were not Christian (mostly Muslim origin). There was even a racial component that claimed the whiteness of Catalan identity. The Aliança

[6] Translated from the original Spanish.
[7] The expression comes from J. M. Fradera (2024; 18). The application I make of it, is my own.

Catalana was created in 2020s and in 2023 it won the local elections in a Catalan symbolic rural and nationalistic town, Ripoll. Then, in the next Catalan elections in 2024, they entered the Catalan Parliament with 117,877 votes and two seats, again basically coming from non-urban and traditionally highly nationalist areas. This emerging political framework shapes the contours of the debate on the place of migrations in Catalan collective identity and provides the ground for political contestation. These new ideologies function as new denials of Catalonia's migratory past, and lead us to predict that there is a new trend in Catalan xenophobic discourse that cannot be ignored. This article interprets the emergence of these novel electoral spaces as a direct consequence of a deficit: the absence of an inclusive collective memory of migrations, and the current paradoxical situation of contested collective memories on migrations.

In light of the recent Rawski's (2024) theoretical contributions, it is possible to adopt a sociological perspective on contested memories and a more political one. Catalonia navigates between these two dimensions without a fixed consensus. The discussion of the place of the M-Factor in its collective memory is inextricably linked to the discussion of its own national ontology. It is arguably unwarranted to expect a fair discussion of these issues when a part of the contested national identity has its own state structure (Spain). This context thus becomes an interesting and unique laboratory within the logic of national identity survival, which creates these paradoxes and the contested atmosphere of collective memory of migrations.

I will now turn to the theoretical and conceptual resources that can help to better understand the current contested memories of migration in Catalonia. This can also be seen as an overview of the current literature on the subject.

Theoretical and Conceptual Resources That Can Help Analysing the Catalan Case

The theoretical approach to collective memory combines the sociological and political perspectives. The first has roots in the tradition of Durkheim's disciple, M. Halbwachs (1950 1st ed.) suggests that collective memory germinates through memories of individual practices. This phenomenological root relies on image memories of past experiences and memories of contexts and events, rather than on past ideas or perceptions. But collective memory needs political and institutional support so that it lasts over time and can be transmitted. Indeed, the political and generational dimensions of a policy of transmitting the memory of migrations are fundamental. This is attributable to the pivotal role the M-Factor has played in shaping the human demography of Catalonia, as well as Catalan society and politics. Therefore, political support is needed to make visible memories that have been hidden, ignored, overlooked or simply forgotten by previous intentional policies.

This social and political scenario allows us to discuss the starting hypothesis: the fact that a country recognizes itself as an immigration society does not guarantee that it has incorporated the M-Factor into its collective memory. The challenge of establishing a neutral collective memory, devoid of any values or biases, is also evident. The collective memory of migrations is, by its very nature, a space for ongoing debates about the diverse composition of the Catalan society and the future of Catalonia in terms of national survival. It is imperative that these debates include the M-factor. Any essentialist argument that shapes an ethnically homogeneous past, is what manipulates the narrative of historical memory. Ricoeur, whom we follow as closely as Hawlbacks, speakes about abuses of memory, of manipulated memory (*mémoire manipulée*), when memory is instrumentalized to claim an immovable identity imaginary. For the author of *Temps et Récit* (1983-1985), ideology tends to give a one-dimensional and essentialist view of memory, like a stagnant memory.

That is to say, although we are facing an obvious demographic reality, from a historical point of view, there is a great fragmentation of 'selective histories of migrations', disconnected and even differentiated histories, but not a line of continuity, or simply a historical account of the migrations of the 20th and 21th centuries in Catalonia. Every scholar of collective memory will admit that one of the main functions is that it helps us to give time a sense of continuity (Creet, 2010; 3). Collective memory clearly has an epistemological function, since it helps to manage the knowledge of the past, and an ontological one, since it also helps to make sense and understand who we are as a society, what our distinctive features are. To elaborate on some more conceptual resources for the empirical part, Connerton's work provides us with the necessary dimension of performativity. That is, collective memory is not only rhetoric but actions and practice, through commemorative ceremonies, habits and bodily automatisms (Connerton, 1989; 4-5). Connerton (1989; 38) reiterates that society tends to erase from its memory anything that might separate individuals, or that, at times, it is forced to associate itself with new values, i.e. to rely on other traditions that are better suited to its current needs and trends.

Applied to the case of Catalonia and its historical perspectives on the M-Factor, it is true that in terms of social impact, the different migrations in Catalonia have had different effects, until the point of segregating the Catalan society into several national identities, and hence transforming collective memory into a contentious issue. Therefore, it is essential that the current Catalan society considers the position of contemporary migrations in a line of continuity with previous migrations, even if the social impact differs or could be a matter of debate. When analyzing only the migrations that occurred under a dictatorial regime that sought to disperse its miseries and divide its political opponents, it is also important to take into account the favorable impact of the opening of the Catalan economy, which allowed the arrival of thousands of people from rural areas in the south of Spain.

These facts led to manipulations of memory that one of the first novelists to describe the conditions of pauperisation of these first internal migrants, Candel (1964: 152) described as follows (I quote from M. Marín, 2024; 23): "Catalans have always believed that this immigration of the 1940s was a provoked avalanche. They put people on trains and paid for their tickets so they could come. Deep down, and in a very obscure way, it was a bit like that, yes. In Jaén there were daily departures of three hundred people, towards Catalonia, regularly organised by the *Dirección General de Empleo* (...) There was the intention to de-Catalanise Catalonia. This has been believed. If the Andalusians have called that incursion —the one of the famine years, there is no shortage of Catalans who have called it —the invasion of silence, due to the cautious, sustained and continuous way of arriving without stopping. I can only assure you that they, those who came, those who arrived, did not suspect anything of this. They came because they needed it, and nothing more."

The metaphor of the city as a palimpsest (Huyssen, 2003) is also a powerful analogy when examining the collective memories of migrations in Catalonia.[8] It opens the way for us to have an archaeological view of memory, not just a historical one. The memories of migrations in Catalonia are fragmented in time. While applying the philosophy of history of W. Benjamin (1940), we are faced with scattered pieces of a puzzle that must be sewn through a narrative of the present, taking into account the voices of the victims and the silenced of the history. These memories represent different overlapping layers (hence the metaphor of a palimpsest) rather than being seen as a continuous accumulation in time. This involve that there is awareness that some migration facts may be intentionally or unintentionally hidden. The fact is that in Catalonia 'there are many holes', as indicated by some of the historians interviewed. When it comes to assessing a common past, it seems as if Catalonia is divided into 'parallel societies', living in a common territory, each with its own historical narrative and collective memory. This lack of inter-generational shared history makes the segregation of migration memories the norm, and is probably one of the main reasons of having contested collective memories on migrations. It is evident that if you want to promote a common, minimally shared collective memory, the only way to do so is by provoking relationships, debates between generations of immigrants, promoting joint experiences that will sew together a joint collective memory.

The vision of the collective memory of migrations in Catalonia as a palimpsest does not only narrate the fact that each historical period of migrations has hidden the previous one, but also the fact that each era has re-constructed its own narrative of migrations, making the previous one "invisible". We are here in front of

[8]Remember that a palimpsest is a parchment or document that has been used twice, after the first text has been scraped to write a new one.

one of Benjamin's theses: each present-time narrates its past, making visible and hiding what it selects. Let me illustrate this through a concrete example from my own migration research trajectory. When I started working in international migration, towards the end of the 80s of the last centuries, my first reaction was to go to the statistics department (Idescat) to know 'the numbers'. Surprisingly, not only did the category of international migrants barely exist and we still had no official figures, but the category of 'immigrants' was still reserved for Spanish groups from the 1960s. We had categories of Andalusian, Murcian and Galician immigrants. This was the demographic category of migrant in the years 85-90. Therefore, this is indicative that today when we look at the migrant category in Idescat, the new international migration hides the previous one. This is how the palimpsest metaphor works in practice. Each phase hides the previous one.

Methodology and sources: data collection, interviews, and time frame of the study

This article presents some preliminary findings from an exploratory study. It is therefore necessarily prospective. The specificity of a prospective study is that it concentrates information in the form of initial conclusions that point towards an agenda of key issues that need to be addressed publicly and a list of future actions. It has an anticipatory character on possible future scenarios, on risk prevention in terms of social cohesion. The collection of information has followed three basic criteria. Firstly, we have selected academic literature on collective memory both in general and more specifically on the role of immigration in the history of Catalonia. We have also collected reports, classic books/articles, encyclopedias and histories of Catalonia, to assess the presence of the M-factor. From this first collection of information, it has been possible to verify that the initial hypotheses are confirmed. Despite being recognized as a vital and even historical demographic phenomenon, immigration as a heritage of Catalonia is a rather forgotten or ignored legacy. A second data collection phase was conducted through a sample of 18 semi-structured interviews, following a profile variability criterion (historians, demographers and sociologists with a proven track record of research were interviewed, together with policy officers and social representatives from a wide range of migration backgrounds). We can say that methodologically this meso-level analysis allowed us to reach a point of saturation. The aim of the interviews was to provide a diagnosis of the current situation, to identify fundamental issues and to formulate a concrete research/policy agenda. Obviously, it has some limitations as we did not conduct individual interviews giving voice to different generations of migrants. Nevertheless, the objective is prospective in nature, with the aim of identifying a future research agenda. The interviews were conducted virtually and followed strict ethical research protocols.[9] The temporal scope of this study encompasses the migrations of the 20th and 21st centuries, spanning multiple generations. Consequently, the article covers a period of slightly over a century and has targeted to speak about the

[9] We have followed the basic ethical protocols recommended by the Institutional Commission for Ethical Review of Projects of Pompeu Fabra University (CIREP-UPF) https://www.upf.edu/web/cirep All this material is available upon justified request.

collective memory of the present generation, which is still anchored in personal, familial, and social experiences.

Findings: The M-Factor in the Collective Memory of Catalonia

Inquiring into the role of migrations in the collective memory of Catalonia inevitably gives rise to a multitude of interrelated debates. To gain insight into its contested nature, three key areas of debate have been identified. The first identifies favorable and unfavorable conditions for the formation of a culture of migratory memory. The second focuses on the two frames that currently condition the debate on collective memory of migrations. The third identifies three main readings shaping the contentious debate on the collective memory of migration in Catalonia.

A culture of migratory memory in Catalonia: favorable and unfavorable conditions

If we consider the minimum conditions that are required to achieve a culture of migration memory, marginalized communities should be actively included in the process of building and preserving collective memory, as claimed by all the social representatives interviewed. This can be done through community engagement, participatory projects and collaborative initiatives that give voice to all immigrant communities, especially women who are often invisible to their own communities. Encouraging positive experiences together, participation in traditional, neighborhood cultural activities, is one of the keys to potential success. Secondly, the acceptance that there is a plurality of collective memories is key. Therefore, the political strategy must not be to impose a dominant narrative, but to include the existing ones, formed from the own experiences of the social and cultural groups that are part of Catalonia. This can only be achieved by encouraging recognition of the complexities and diversity of interpretations of historical facts related to migration. The struggle stories of international migrations of the late 20th and early 21st are still to be written, for example. Finally, and this was a specific interview sections, education and the resulting socialization processes are also key conditions. Institutional and political support is also listed as a condition. Different local governments, institutions and organizations can play a role in promoting a culture of migration memory by implementing policies and initiatives that encourage having joint experiences, with communication processes of the respective community memories from schools and neighborhood shared projects.

An immigrant can feel part of Catalonia's collective memory if they feel welcomed. As Bononi, director of the Latin American Federation, emphasizes in the conversation: people can only have a sense of belonging if they are welcomed. From the outset, the discrimination, racial and anti-religious factors play against this. Therefore, the policies against hate speech and anti-racists could be re-interpreted as policies that at the same time could favor a culture of migration memory. It is established in academic research that resistance

against racism and discrimination are feats of memory (Stevens et al., 2013; Winfield, 2007). Collective memory can contribute to perpetuating racism and transmitting it across generations, as demonstrated by studies that analyze processes of reflexivity in political knowledge and practices, the decolonization of everyday life and social and political structures. (Dahinden et al. 2021). We know that racism is connected to the history of human relationships, past traumas and conflicts, and to social differences that have difficulties being recognized and accommodated in structures that generate exclusion. This would explain why racism is reinforced if there is no culture of migration memory.

Furthermore, it is cautioned that the 'diversity gap', or the reality that social diversity is underrepresented in numerous public sectors (R. Zapata-Barrero, 2018), presents a challenge in recognising collective memory, particularly in the context of public administration. This deficit is not only institutional. It is also reproduced by the lack of inter-generational presence of immigrants, as Ahmed, from the migrant women association, points out during the interview. For instance, in the public festival committees, diversity incorporation is still a pending issue. We are no longer talking about the issue of diversity as a guiding principle in the organization of public festivals, but in the very composition of the commission that organizes them. From this perspective, it is also argued that popular culture created at the neighborhood level can serve as a conduit for promoting a culture of migration memory. It is clear that there are contextual elements that can favor an inclusive collective memory or not. According to Andreu, former representative of the Federation of Neighborhood Associations of Barcelona (FAVB) and currently representative of the Fundació Cipriano Ciscar of Comisiones Obreras (the primary trade union in Spain), Catalonia had many consensuses that are now broken. This means that many 'consensus' must be re-sewn, links must be created, and among them is the sharing of a minimal collective memory about migrations. As long as the historical narratives about migrations are not incorporated into a cumulative continuum of historical knowledge, the community cohesion of Catalonia will always be seen with fissures.

The idea of social consensus on the inclusive collective memory of migrations has generated much interest from many interviewees from different sectors. In fact, it is not unreasonable to say that every collective memory is necessarily a consensual memory. The debate should not focus on whether or not there is consensus, but on how consensus is achieved (top-down or participatory), and what is the type of consensus (social, political, cultural?). During the discussion, A. Colomines, a historian and political representative of the Catalan nationalist political party, expressed his belief in the value of seeking a consensus. Social consensus is needed in the shared agreements of the past, which constitute the pillar for the collective memory of the present. It could be argued that when social consensus breaks down, collective memory, which plays an important role in its maintenance, is also indirectly affected. This helps us understand the current diagnosis. Following the process of independence, certain societal issues pertaining to Catalan

identity, which had previously formed part of the consensus acquis, have become the subject of conflict. Consequently, collective memory has become fractured into a number of divergent interpretations that are regarded as irreconcilable.

Furthermore, there is a tendency to emphasize on the differences between migratory processes, rather than focusing on the similarities at the level of shared experiences, traumas, and struggles for rights. As the majority of interviewees attest, this leads to a disorganized and incomplete collective memory of migration in Catalonia. This memory remains confined to the realm of rhetoric, as evidenced by the absence of policies that explicitly acknowledge and promote a culture of migratory memory. There is a paucity of publicly accessible spaces that serve as "places of migratory memory", with the exception of few monuments commemorating the sites of former slums. These monuments were erected to commemorate the internal human migration that occurred in the wake of the civil war in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as in the context of the 1960s workers' movement. As some have rightly observed, while there is a 'Sevillano' in a museum[10], there is not a 'patera' (small fisherman boats in the Mediterranean, usually used by migrants to reach European coasts), which also provides insight into the history of current migratory movements.

As the majority of representatives from last migratory processes in Catalonia attest, the necessity to justify one's identity, location and sentiments to others persists, despite having lived in Catalonia for two decades and having children who identify as Catalans. This indicates a societal failure to integrate these aspects into Catalan collective memory. Ponce, a representative of a prominent social network in the Nou Barris district of Barcelona, very well points out, "it is a very violent situation that a child educated and born here and who is black, has to listen to people who tell him that he is not from here, that he is not part of the group." The story of "The ugly duckling" (because it's black!), expelled from the group, and, in our terms, from the collective memory, is reproduced socially. It is not normal, she continues to blame, that a Catalan whose parents are immigrants sees that he is being discriminated, just as women and LGBT people are. Collective memory can help dismantling discrimination and stereotypes. Many interviewees say that power relations and elitism in Catalonia are not favourable. Collective memory cannot be built from above. We must consider socio-economic inequalities and poverty as unfavourable factors, because they affect how people remember the society. Migration in the 60s was seen as a social and even ideological struggle, full of traumatic experiences. Contemporary international immigrants are not included in this social struggle. They are perceived as deriving benefits from the achievements of previous generations. There is a discernible generational divide that has not been integrated into the collective memory of migration. Moreover, the

[10] The "Sevillano" is the popular name of the train that started in Seville and crossed all of Andalusia and the eastern litoral of Spain to Barcelona, carrying most of the migrants coming from the south.

legal inequalities inherent to the new migrations of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, reinforce the unfavourable circumstances for integrating migrants into a shared collective memory. This is a recurring theme in the interview with Abdou Mawa Ndiaye, the president of the Coordinating Committee of Senegalese Associations in Catalonia (CATSEN). This means that in Catalonia there are many parallel temporalisties, a-synchronities we may say, with different collective memories that do not quite connect, probably due to the existence of the unfavorable factors mentioned: inequalities, racism and discrimination, legal differentiations that consolidate by bridging structrural and social racism.

Historians who address the factors that contribute to the construction of collective memory, as for example Bloch, use the notion of 'non-synchronism' to argue that '[not] all people live in the same now' (Bloch, 1977; 22). As Gabaccia (2022; 65) rightly says, some perspectives interpreting the past think of time in terms of continuity and others in terms of rupture, some in cumulative terms, others in terms of rewriting the present. The application of the logic of continuity and rupture to the migratory history of Catalonia gives rise to a contentious debate, resulting in the formation of a fragmented public culture characterised by contested collective memories. In light of the main narrative patterns identified in the interviews, it seems that there is still a reliance on the collective history of migration, with a certain degree of legitimation accorded to the power that made it possible. For instance, there are periods in the history of Catalonia that are not objectively verifiable due to the likelihood of clandestine migration, rather than being legitimised by the prevailing power structures.When the Francoist regime legitimized immigration and gave it a certain openness, this power recognition is incorporated into the collective memory. This means that a more inclusive collective memory, less dependent on power structures, probably still needs to be built.

Two frameworks that currently shape the debate on the collective memory of migrations in Catalonia.
Following the content analysis of the interviews, two key frameworks that shape the debate on the collective memory of migrations in Catalonia have been identified.

a) *Relationship between different migration processes in Catalonia, including the Catalan Roma people with the new Roma immigrant communities.* In considering the history of migrations in the 20th and 21st centuries, the distinction between internal (migrations from Spain) and external migrations (international migrations) has dominated the narrative formation, thus differentiating essentially two migratory processes. It is correct to conclude that this distinction tends to generalize each process. Demographers, historians and sociologists will agree that within internal / external migrations there are many varieties of causes, profiles and volume. But what is interesting to point out here is that numerous neighborhoods are characterized by a complex interplay of migratory processes, giving rise to significant tensions between immigrants of diverse profiles and generations. The 'mutual ignorance' represents a key perspective of the interviewees,

who perceive that the processes of demographic transformation in neighborhoods have occurred without any policy promoting dialogue among different generations of migrants. Consequently, the experiences between these two groups remain predominantly negative, competitive, and traumatic. This social construction of memory may contribute to greater separation, segregation, and the legitimization of discrimination and even racism, rather than fostering inclusion and mutual understanding.

In this frame we can also include the Romani community in Catalonia, which has a long historical presence, with some records dating back to the fifteenth century. It is the largest in Spain. Over time, Catalonia has implemented a variety of social intervention programmes[11]. However, the Catalan Roma people are still perceived as 'outsiders' from a shared collective memory. But the Roma community in Catalonia is not homogeneous. It comprises a number of subgroups, each with its own distinctive cultural and linguistic heritage[12]. This is evidenced by the interview with Vargas Heredia, President of the Federation of Romani Associations of Catalonia (FAGIC), when he distinguishes between the Catalan Roma, who have been in Catalonia for centuries and continue to advocate for recognition, and the 'new' Roma, who have migrated internationally and are primarily of Romanian origin, but also hail from other regions in Eastern Europe, including Bulgaria and Hungary. These groups speak different languages and are perceived as two distinct realities, lacking any relational experiences.[13]

b) *Relationship between migration in general and Catalan nationals*. This distinction is obviously very generic, but it helps to understand current interpretations of the migratory past and present. The concept has garnered some support, chiefly from those who recognize the emergence of a Catalan ethnic minority and perceive this as the more authentic entity to provide content and oversee the collective memory of migrations. All the interviewees agree that at this point it does not make sense to use the argument of the eight Catalan surnames. For example, it is surprising that the Catalan encyclopedia refers to the concept 'migration' in terms of occupation of the territory.[14] The Catalan encyclopedia tells us, for example: "One of the effects of the demographic evolution of Catalonia, mainly throughout the 20th century, can be seen in the surnames of its inhabitants. Despite the fact that they are a very unreliable indicator and that they cannot be used exclusively to talk about Catalanity, they reflect the changes that have occurred in the cultural evolution of a society that has been in contact with other cultures and in recent centuries, especially, in close contact with a culture, the Spanish, which has enjoyed political dominance. In Catalonia today

[11] For exemple, the *Comprehensive Plan for the Roma People in Catalonia* (*Pla integral del pble gitano a Catalunya 2017-2020)* includes more than 120 measures and 200 specific actions aligned with the European political agenda. See: https://dixit.gencat.cat/ca/detalls/Article/20200513_poble_gitano_ii

[12] See virtual museum of the roma people: https://www.museuvirtualgitano.cat/es/lengua/la-lengua-romani/

[13] See Gypsies from Eastern Europe in Catalonia, Department of Welfare and Family, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://igualtat.gencat.cat/web/.content/Ambits/ antiracisme-migracions/publicacions/altres/altres/gitanos_europa_est_catalunya.pdf

[14] The Enciclopèdia Catalana tells us, for example: 'In this way, in the last decades of the century XX began a new process of occupation of the territory'

there are many surnames that have a linguistic origin that is not Catalan and whose introduction can be due to both the adoption of a foreign name and immigration." Therefore, this separation between immigrants and Catalans has an ethnic identity component that we cannot leave aside, because it is part of an essentialist (and ideological in Ricoeur's terms) interpretations of the collective memory.[15]

The two aforementioned frames of debate have been the subject of discussion in the interviews, and have served as a basis for the presentation of different points of view. Some positions are quick to label as 'ideological' those that diverge from their own perspectives. However, we adhere to the definition of ideology as a selective process of memory, as outlined by Ricoeur. When employed in a confrontational manner to discredit alternative perspectives, ideology can be perceived as a form of abuse. In this context, two predominant views emerge, each with its own nuances. The first is a nationalist reading, and the second is a classist one. Additionally, there is a less explicit third potential axis that follows a more cosmopolitan and democratic justice approach.

Three Readings Influence the Contested Nature of Collective Memory of Migrations in Catalonia.

The interviews have enabled us to identify three key interpretations that illustrate the contested atmosphere of collective memory of migrations. The first is an identitarian and nationalist approach, the second is more social and class-based, and the third is more focused on universal cosmopolitan principles of justice. This study defends the complementarity between the different views, rather than postulating a relationship of confrontation where one perspective is seen as necessarily negating the others.

National Collective Memory: Identity and Catalanist Reading

The topic of identity is a prominent one in migration narratives, giving rise to a multitude of discourses that often compete with one another. Nationalism tends to perceive identity as being rooted in distinct, shared traits, such as ethnicity, culture, religion, and language. It is deemed a community that preserves the recollection of historical events and utilises memory as a political instrument for its legitimisation. If nationalism is a dimension of modernity, then a diverse society with a plurality of national affiliations and collective memories may be considered to possess a certain postmodern quality. This indicates that national identity is encouraged to become more adaptable and receptive to diverse perspectives, given the existence of numerous collective memories. One of the current challenges when attempting to construct an inclusive collective memory of migration is to build a national community that takes into account the aforementioned plurality.

[15] For both quotes see enciclopèdia.cat: https://www.enciclopedia.cat/tradicionari/les-migracions:

In fact, some of the interviewees (S. Cardús, M. Lladonosa, A. Colomines and A. Domingo) remind us that historically immigration has always been on the agenda of Catalan politics since its inception, and this concern "has been articulated more in terms of national identity by the political elites of the time". For example J. Pujol (1976) in 1958,[16] as S. Cardús (2024, 62-63) reminds us, wrote the manuscript *Per una doctrina d'immigració o Immigració i integració* (*For an immigration doctrine or Immigration and Integration*), published in 1976 with the title *La immigració com a problema.*- (*Immigration as a problema*). We must also include J. Vicens Vives (1962) as one of the first articulators of this narrative, with his *News from Catalonia* (*Notícia de Catalunya*), and less cited, but no less important authors such as J.M Ainaud de Lasarte *et al*. (eds.) (1980). In this book entitled *Immigration and national reconstruction in Catalonia* (*Immigració i reconstrucció nacional a Catalunya)*, topics such as mass immigration, its effects on Catalan society, the challenges and opportunities it poses, as well as the integration of immigrants and their contribution to the national reconstruction of Catalonia are addressed. J.M Ainaud de Lasarte *et al.* (1980; 7) reminds us right at the beginning, for example, that F. Macià[17] when opening the Parliament of Catalonia in 1932, affirmed: "All Catalans - those of blood, those of language, those of birth, those of residence— will participate in the advantages of the regional organization." Therefore, there has been a certain awareness since the beginning of the 20th century that Catalonia is a land of immigrants, and that identity issues cannot be debated without immigrants.

In a more extreme line, this link gives M. Marín (2024; 22-27), an historian interviewed, the opportunity to name 'myths' linked to the first post-war emigrations, as the Spanish migrations from the South promoted by Franco have been an intentional policy 'perfectly orchestrated' to reduce the Catalan population and leave it in the minority, which was collected at the time by C. Sentís in a collection of articles between 1932 and 1934, edited in 1994 with a foreword by J. Pujol (then it must be understood as an agreement with the main arguments). Many of the interviewees offer us a storyline that links the Catalan identity debate to the collective memory of migrations. The premise is that the incorporation of new migrations pluralises the debate on national identity, making it more fragmented and complex, with the consequence of a more contested collective memory. Although none of the interviewees dispute the main premise, namely that there is a link between the incorporation of new migrants and the nation-building debate, there is no consensus on the final outcome. The sociologist M. Lladonosa, for example, insists that there are different ideological families on the right and left spectrum that have different visions of Catalanism, and that this is directly reflected in the vision they have of immigrants. In so, these different ideological sectors can interpret differently the place that migrations occupy in the collective memory of migrations.

[16] J. Pujol is a well-known retired Catalan political leader who was President of the Generalitat de Catalunya from 1980 to 2003 (23 years).
[17] F. Macià (1859-1933) was a Catalan president of the Generalitat of Catalonia during the Republican period (1932-33).

In this sense, Catalonia can be considered a land of immigration. However, it would be inaccurate to suggest that the nation's conception was based on immigrants. The national imaginary of Catalonia does not offer a substantial framework for migratory processes. A. Colomines posits that politics and collective memory have often been intertwined, resulting in the promotion of a particular idealisation of immigration that requires correction. The formation of the collective memory of Catalanness is a distinct process from the collective memory of migrations. It is an error of appreciation to relate these two concepts in a binding sense, as the individuals who have constructed the narrative of Catalan identity have not necessarily been the migrants themselves, but rather an initial political and economic bourgeoisie. This elite was focused on the survival of the nation and was driven by a desire to maintain its identity. According to A. Colomines, this occurred for two reasons: "The equality of all its members and a common identity in the sense of shared values was the central axis of this identity called *catalanitat* (*Catalanity oir Catalanness*)".

From the various interviews conducted, it is evident that while a connection between collective memory and identity is necessary, it is not a sufficient condition. It would be a fallacy to assume that a single 'appropriation' of collective memory by a nationalist ideological position is inevitable. It is evident that collective memory is also expressed through a multitude of emotional experiences, including those of a traumatic nature, whether positive or negative, as well as affective experiences, struggles and other challenging aspects that are often challenging to patrimonialise. It is therefore imperative that this issue be kept free from the influence of politics. Furthermore, it is essential to consider the role of the state in shaping collective memory of migration. As A. Colomines notes, the nature of this memory differs significantly when a state is present and when it is absent, as is the case in Catalonia. The issue raised by the debate on the collective memory of migrations in Catalonia is inexorably related to the question of what Catalanness means in the 21st century, in a super-diverse society. This is an invitation to a political debate with a broad vision of the future. As A. Colomines rightly says: "Since at the moment we do not have this State, we must take measures not to let this debate rot in our hands." The current situation is characterized by the absence of this debate and the atmosphere of contested memories. Undoubtedly, this contributes to a radicalization of positions and, consequently, to their politicization, as stated by several interviewees.

In this sense, the idea of creating mechanisms to reach a consensus seems to be a guiding idea for everyone, from A. Colomines himself to M. Andreu, President of the neighborhoods federation in Barcelona. Catalonia has raised social pacts on its most relevant strategic issues and its social and national challenges, and the inclusion of immigration in its collective memory is part, must be part, of this dynamic. It is therefore necessary to create a consensus on the collective memory of migrations. This consensus can only be achieved socially, with an open and collective public debate, also involving the country's most important democratic institutions, its political parties, trade unions, civil associations. Two simultaneous plans are

proposed: the creation of an expert committee made up of sociologists, anthropologists, economists, historians, lawyers, philosophers and political scientists, among other professionals. Secondly, the promotion of a social participatory process for the reconstruction of historical memory and collective memory (which includes interpretation of historical events).

In this context of identity debate, many interviewees warn that the framework of the debate is often methodologically focused on the opposition between Spain and Catalonia, and that therefore this polarization dominates, leaving aside a more plural debate framework, internal to Catalonia. Even within the nation-building debate, there are various views on the role the M-Factor plays in the national imaginary. For example, very often the identity debate is raised in terms of a social fracture between Spanishists and Catalanists, assuming that there is a single Spanishist vision and a single Catalanist vision. "But instead [reminds us, among others, M. Lladonosa] there is a whole void, a whole non-existent place in the debates about social fractures about what happened with the new migrations. And they are no longer so new, because many have been around for more than 20 years." In fact, this complaint was already well viewed in the 80s, when J. M Ainaud de Lasarte, J. M. Castellet and M. Vázquez Montalbán (1980; 21) already warned that "biculturalism is a fragile offer of discussion that starts from the assumption that in Catalonia coexist 'a' Catalan culture elaborated preferably by the bourgeoisie and 'an' immigrant culture elaborated preferably by industrial workers. Against this claim, we oppose the evidence that in Catalonia, as of now, there is a surviving Catalan culture, the product of accumulations of all kinds that come from all Catalan social layers, harshly repressed by centralism and in conditions very difficult to be able to take off again."

The inclusion of the different stages of immigration and the consideration of the place of immigrants within the identity debate necessarily requires the pluralisation of these perspectives and a shift in focus from the outside to the inside of the identity debate. To adopt what J.M. Ainaud de Lasarte, J. M. Castellet and M. Vázquez Montalbán (1980; 24) called for: a cultural polycentrism in the face of a centralised cultural policy. This is probably the effect that has caused the newest international migrations from other continents. The migrations of the 1960s presented this traditional framework between Spanish and Catalan supporters in a more universalist and essentialist way. But today, this context has become pluralised and therefore the logic of interpretation needs to be updated. At the moment, there is a worrying gap in the debate, because the essentialist rhetoric is advancing and not necessarily following the currents of consensus. This change in the framework of the debate has yet to take place, despite the fact that there have been more than three decades of international immigration. We are very much behind the times, and perhaps the space left by the proliferation of essentialist narratives has been left unprotected. This lack of debate means that the new phase of immigration has not yet entered the collective memory, as was probably the case with the Spanish migrations of the 1960s. From a demographic point of view, the incidence is comparable, although from a

socio-economic point of view, the impact must probably be addressed in a different way, since today's international immigrants are not so much linked to the more traditional, industrial labor movements, but to other forms of oppression, such as support and the securing of infrastructures and resources in society, including legal and juridical ones, which prevent them from making life plans without temporal limits. Nowadays, a strictly classist debate doesn't make much sense, nor does a debate about how immigrants have contributed to the democratisation of Catalonia, as was the case with immigration in the 1960s.

It would be remiss not to mention that the process also saw another example of migration being used in a partisan, nationalistic and confrontational way. M. Diaz points out that "during the 'process', in the last years, the Spanish immigrant community of the 50s, 60s, 70s has been a throwing weapon between the two conflicting tendencies, so to speak." This more ideological identity debate has yet to occur, and will most likely have an impact on the collective national memory-building approach. In this framework, M. Lladonosa insists that although "traditionally the right-wing sectors had maintained a position very much in line with the cohesion and integration of the newly arrived population, today is growing, as it is growing throughout Europe, a type of far-right discourse linked to migration with more virulence in relation strictly to the Catalan case and the issue of Catalan identity." It is therefore to be expected that the debate in terms of race, religion and ethnicity produces polarisation and divisions that prevent a more inclusive collective memory today.

Social Memory: 'Workerist' and Classist Reading

Neighborhood movements are more directly involved in the 'workerist' and classist debate than economic elites and political parties. This narrative framework is also an opportunity to scale the debate on collective memory of migrants, from an imagined national identity to the city and the neighborhood. The idea is that collective memory of migrants is not created by politics or a certain bourgeoisie elite, but rather by social processes. This reading is often contrasted with the more institutional debate, built from the spheres of economic and political power. In fact, it makes sense to speak of social memory. This term refers to the collective memory that exists within society, regardless of its association with power. This is why many participants differentiate in their accounts between social memory and institutional memory.

Social memory is transmitted through generations in a multitude of forms. P. Connerton (1989; 3) already expressed this analytical distinction: "Concerning social memory in particular, we may note that images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order. It is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory. The effect is seen perhaps most obviously when communication across generations is hampered by different sets of memories. Across generations, different sets of memories,

frequently in the shape of implicit background narratives, will encounter each other." This social reading does not help us understand the differences between Spanish and new international migrations. The different interviews do not help us either because there is no social reading of continuity between generations of immigrants. There is no dialogue. People in the neighborhoods say that the new migrant generations are not part of their groups. The social reading does not take into account the power relations established between generations of immigrants.

Although interpretations based on generational differences seem to dominate, it is not at all obvious that there are many commonalities that could be the subject of debate and could be incorporated into an inclusive collective memory of migrations. I am referring to the similar situations experienced by immigrants, whether Spanish or international. In other words, why should we differentiate between a poor person from Seville and a poor person from Rabat? The socio-economic condition cannot be dependent on the identity difference. In some interviews, we have found that a certain identity prejudice prevails over the social reading, even by those who claim to have a more socially sensitive approach and reject the institutional narrative. As M. Marin points out "Spanish immigrants do not feel like migrants. This sometimes causes confrontations/tensions with the new immigrants". There is even a certain institutional legitimisation that the generational distinction legitimises different treatments and interpretations of these two historical processes. This can also lead to an additional difficulty when trying to build an inclusive collective memory, i.e. including all generations of immigrants.

In addition, the interviews suggest a discrepancy in how the differences between migration processes are conceptualized. Some perceive these differences as in opposition or even in confrontation with each other, without recognizing the potential for interconnectivity. Many argue that there are always points of connection, or bridges, that a memory politics should recognize and highlight. At this point, M. Andreu, among others, insists that there are similar life stories: "Finding these connections would help a lot to understand that the current situation is not so different from that of the past…Paco Candel, for example, who was friends with Manchón, with the Barça player Manchón, who had also migrated, in this case from Lorca, and who lived in the shacks of the Zona Franca and played on the dusty fields of the Zona Franca. He ended up signing for Barça B, and this is a point of connection between the figures of Manchón and Lamine Yamal. There is not so much difference."

The social axis still needs to establish a certain logic of continuity between migrations. All immigration is driven by economic considerations and the search for work, but much of it is also driven by ideological reasons, both in the past and today, and all seek to build a new life, especially for children, in terms of social opportunities. The two immigrant profiles have had to organise collectively in order to assert their demands.

Perhaps a notable difference in context is that the immigration of the 1960s has a bigger class component, they were working-class individuals linked to left-wing ideology, with a demand for democratic recognition, in a more industrial context, and a process of urban and economic development in Catalonia. Now we are faced with an economic recession scenario, very different from the economic boom of the 1960s, and with greater democratic freedoms. Recent international migrations are increasingly associated with social movements and activist engagement. In contrast to traditional ideological motivations, contemporary movements tend to be more ideologically diverse and seek democratic recognition, particularly with regard to citizenship rights and political rights. The contextual space is certainly different, but it is not fully justified, because this difference in the historical environment must entail a different treatment in terms of social equality, of fitting into the inclusive collective memory. The current migratory movement is characterised by demands for cultural, religious and ethnic recognition that are probably less pronounced and/or simply absent in previous migratory processes. In order to facilitate the formation of an inclusive collective memory, it is essential to initiate a debate focused exclusively on social considerations, without any ideological contamination that tends to essentialise identity. Despite the differences in context, M. Andreu is perhaps the one who has a clearer position on the matter. He points out that "there is a minimum common denominator. This obviously facilitates shared goals." The problem, insists M. Andreu, is that "these lowest denominators have today been broken, and this makes it much more difficult to incorporate everyone into the same horizon." With this diagnosis, a consensus-building policy is needed on the place of current international immigration in the collective memory of Catalonia. Following this propositional reflection, M. Andreu elaborates on his diagnosis: "We have a problem because from a political and social point of view, the consensus has been broken and then, with a socioeconomic situation that does not have a horizon of social advancement and project and that has a horizon of negative expectations, this greatly complicates the lack of consensus, of a lowest common political denominator, and the regressive socioeconomic context makes this much more difficult".

This approach to the social similarities between the two migratory processes, without considering the distance between the historical contexts, reveals that there are surprisingly similar situations in terms of experiential restrictions. M. Diaz notes that "Furthermore, a fact that is not sufficiently known, not only in Barcelona, but in the rest of Spain, is the migrations of this period of the 40s. They were focused by the regime under a very restrictive governance. Let me explain. To move within Spain during the 40s, well, it is known that you needed an internal passport, and many people emigrated fleeing the hardships of the place of origin and political persecution, they emigrated on illegal terms, very similar to the current emigration to Barcelona in search of refuge. And once in Barcelona there were other types of restrictions to stop this immigration, which was the ration card. […] These facts are not, I believe, sufficiently integrated into the collective memory." Further reinforcing this line of argument: "Exactly the same. The regime raised

its governance of internal migrations in restrictive terms that are very similar to those applied today with respect to international migration. Only those who had permission from the regime, that is, those who were granted an internal passport, could emigrate."

For this reason, it is necessary to comparatively evaluate the migration policies of the Franco regime and those of the current era, and identify the similarities between the instruments of repression, migration control and restriction of mobility. It is essential to incorporate this political perspective into the collective memory of migrations.

Memory of Democratic and Cosmopolitan Justice

In addition to the two primary readings, a third emerged from the interviews, although to a lesser extent. This reading is more aligned with democratic and universal principles of global justice, and is more cosmopolitan in terms of human rights. It is true that the policy of the Generalitat has applied this approach to reconcile society with the injustices of Francoism and the civil war that originated it. But there are many key words that have been incorporated during the interviews that lead us to apply this new reading to the case of migrations and the construction of an inclusive collective memory. It is not only a matter of following principles of recognition, but also of reconciliation with past actions, with other generations of politicians, with other political regimes. Here we can include the policy of forgiveness demanded by the Roma collective, but also by historians of internal migrations, of those who played a leading role in the processes of industrialisation, with all their social injustices. I am also referring to concepts related to the reconciliation of the past, to the policy of making visible what has been hidden by the regime, to the fight against forgetting, to the policy of historical reparation.

The interviews have made it clear that the Franco regime was also a context of migrations and that there was a Franco policy of internal migrations, restricting mobility to certain sectors of the population, concentrating some sectors in what we now call 'refugee camps' even with an internal passport system, as M. Díaz reminded us in the interview and which also includes the beginning of the chapter by M. Díaz Sánchez and Jaume V. Aroca (2024; 126). All these logics of repression of human mobility are comparable, because they are logics of State power in the most Foucauldian sense. It is clear that, in general, the analysis of the interviews and documents processed facilitates the formulation of a diagnosis and recommendations to a greater extent than the application of arguments based on the normative dimensions of democratic justice. At this point, the more political aspect of control, repression of migrations, of borders, remains to be analysed. An example of this is the study of collective memory in relation to the civil war and its social consequences in Catalonia.

Further Research: Towards a Political Theory on Inclusive Collective Memory

The article's primary recommendation for further research is that the interactions between different generations of immigrants represent a fundamental issue underlying the contested collective memories of migration. The case study of Catalonia provides a valuable opportunity to address this gap in the existing literature on collective memories and migration studies. There is a need to develop a political theory on inclusive collective memory that can facilitate new forms of intergenerational relations within the context of the intercultural debate. To achieve this, it is essential to establish stronger links between collective memory studies and migration studies.

In the context of diversity management studies, the intercultural citizenship (R. Zapata-Barrero, 2019) approach provides a framework for addressing the questions raised so far. How can a positive collective memory of immigration be built at the local level? Interculturality represents a local diversity management strategy that prioritizes the promotion of social relations and contact between diverse individuals, a community-building and cohesion-building method. It could serve as an effective strategy for a new task: building an inclusive collective memory.

It is imperative that an inclusive collective memory policy acknowledges and commemorates the invaluable contribution of immigrants to the Catalan society. This should encompass not only their significant historical role but also the enduring spaces and memories they have left behind, regardless of whether these are traumatic or positive. It is crucial to recognise the emotional significance of these memories. This normative claim can be extended to the Roma people, a group that also contributes to the diversity of Catalonia. A joint reflection on the place that immigration and diversity occupy in the collective memory of Catalonia is of vital importance both from a social, political and cultural point of view. This reflection can be considered to have a clear strategic function, as it can contribute to the construction of narratives that can confront xenophobic and racist discourses that tend to essentialise demographic and historical arguments. The correlation between demographic evidence indicating that migrations have influenced Catalan society during the 20th and 21st centuries, and the absence of corresponding historical institutional acknowledgment, suggests that we are witnessing a concerning phenomenon of *collective amnesia*.

By 'collective amnesia of migrations' we refer to the tendency of Catalan society and institutions to forget or ignore migratory processes and their various historical implications in terms of continuity. Placing the various migration processes in a series of disconnected episodes, or even surpassing them in domestic Spanish terms, like pieces from a jigsaw puzzle scattered on the stage of recent history, also form part of this collective amnesia. I do not want to go into details, even though some interview responses hint at it quietly, of whether behind this amnesia lie some power relations, a certain predominance still evident by

the more essentialist and ethnic nationalist and economic elites of Catalonia, or simply that the more traditional ideological polarization between left and right in social terms is a prevalent explanatory factor.

The promotion of relationships and contact, positive interactions based on principles of equality and equity between people and groups of different origins, languages, religions and cultures, including the most settled citizens of Catalonia, with the objective of building collective memory, represents a new approach to the central action of intercultural policies. This means that the promotion of social relations, contact and common projects has now a new objective, that of fostering a shared, inclusive collective memory.

One significant shortcoming of Catalonia is the absence of an intergenerational policy that encompasses the various immigrant groups, both current and previous. The focus on interculturality, the promotion of interaction between people of different origins, has basically focused on the diversity of new generations of immigrant groups. There is still no awareness that there is a pending issue when we focus on the interaction between generations of immigrants from the 40s, 50s, 60s and 70s, and those of today, basically from the 80s and 90s to this day. The management of this interaction between generations of immigrants is left to some local initiatives, more motivated by personal or social will than by political attention.

The generational theme has appeared on several occasions in the interviews, but with a varied meaning. Following the different narratives, it is one of the key axes that will allow the proposal of a generational interculturality to be articulated. On the one hand, the generational interrelationship of various migratory movements, not only between the mentioned Spanish and international ones, but also within this first differentiation, the generational relationships within various Spanish migratory processes, and also within the international ones. The aging of the first generation can contribute to a more nostalgic perception that is incorporated into the collective memory. However, this aging indicates that we are at a key moment in building an inclusive collective memory of immigration. The generations are still ‘alive’. This provides an additional rationale for the proposal, reinforcing its urgency. In addition, there are the more conventional generational relationships between parents and children, which in this case take the form of the transmission of collective memory, a factor that must be taken into account. At this point, the educational and socialization issues are relevant areas in need of development.

This also implies that the fostering of relationships must be conducted in locations that have likely been overlooked or disregarded in the past. One such location is the memory site, which offers an opportunity to rethink the concept of an immigration museum and its potential to provide historical continuity and shape the collective memory of migration in Catalonia. In fact, from the point of view of the more academic and theoretical debate, there is no theory that links intercultural policies with collective memory of migrations.

In this sense, Catalonia could constitute an innovative space, a laboratory of ideas and practices, which could contribute to the ideological turn debate that is relevant throughout Europe and beyond (R. Zapata-Barrero, 2023). The rise of parties with xenophobic visions and the success of their essentialist discourses will be reduced if there is a solid narrative framework that promotes a culture of migratory memory.

This political theory on inclusive collective memory, which provides to the intercultural debate a new space of relations between generations, needs to better bridge collective memory studies and migration studies. Interculturalism as a collective memory tool leads us to the innovative notion of relational memory. Finally, what this study has conveyed to us is that the question of which interpretative reading of migrations in Catalonia should prevail is not a pertinent question. What is relevant is to propose a relational, intercultural collective memory policy that recognizes the contribution of immigrants to Catalan society, including their achievements, their experiences and their contributions to culture, the economy and other areas of Catalan life. The discussion of potential governance measures is a necessary subsequent step. These "governance measures" (J. Font Agulló, M. Fuentes Codera and M. Aguirre Oliveras, 2024; 9) must be dynamic and open, and cannot enclose historical events and their interpretations in an ivory tower.

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