Between @SOSCarabanchel and #BerlinMemorial

Locating Urban Memory, Conflict and Digital Space in Berlin and Madrid

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Abstract

Though an important amount of scholarship has been produced on urban memory, there is a comparative lack of inquiry in how digital technology is changing how personal and collective memories and experiences of conflict-based memory sites are understood. This thesis aims to do that, by analysing the impact of a variety of linked digital "sites" (a photography project, a blog, Instagram, and Twitter) related to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin and the former Carabanchel Prison site in Madrid. The thesis employs a two-step analytical framework, which utilizes discourse analysis and the analysis of social media datasets, relying on notions of the *globital, the digital bricolage* and *the rhetoric of memory (sites)* to explain how digital memory may expand geographic boundaries, all while remaining localised to a site through a variety of strategies.

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Enrique, for providing a safe haven from the roughest of seas.

~

While working on this thesis, I always had in mind:

those who were lost in conflicts not of their own making, whose stories might never be told, but whose lives still reverberate with us today.

those always read the plaques that mark our cities and are moved by the uncanny presence of something more behind the brick and mortar.

"Back then the city - a beautiful, immortal thing,
an indestructible republic of urban spirit - was fully alive
both inside and outside me. Its indelible sensory dimension,
its concreteness, seemed to defy the abstractions of war"
- Aleksandar Hemon, *The Book of My Lives*

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1. Introduction | **Grey Memorials and Grassy Fields**

1. *It's a grey morning in Berlin and I'm overcome by the weight of the skies and the weight of that concrete. I can't help but feel that no abstractions can explain or give meaning to so many lives robbed of their vitality. I want to scream at Eisenman.*

    ~

2. *It's an empty, grassy field, large and tranquil - there is so much going on around it, but its core seems like a void. The police questioned us when we tried to escape, they even tried to take Iris' film camera.*

    ~

3. *I stopped using Instagram a while ago, and Jason and Kristen just asked me if I was still alive.*

These three notes are taken from my journal, and represent sketches of experiences that relate to this thesis. The first was scribbled in frustration in a Berlin cafe on a cold March day, the second after my first visit to the former Carabanchel Prison site in Madrid, and third after finally giving up on social media (for a bit). Each represents a small germination of an idea, which led me to this thesis project. The first two became the sites I chose to study, and the third is the way in which I approached them.

Memories structure space. Pasts, presents, and palimpsests define our uncanny relationship with the brick and mortar that is laid by one generation, only to be crumbled by the next. Cities become become thresholds when the architecture of our own collective lives finds embodiment in urban space. This historical negotiation is ongoing and embodied by the steps we take everyday.

Cities bear witness to how spaces of social memory are hidden, made visible, or exist somewhere in between. The relational dynamics of the tourists taking selfies at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin or how a field of grass and debris in Madrid can be understood in a myriad of ways. Conflict: we build for it, commemorate it, or explain the voids created by it. In this contextual system, how do we approach a present life of a past site or memory? And what of technology? How does it blur, or improve the experience? Rose-Redwood et al. (2008) claim that "what memories are ultimately made visible (or invisible) on the landscape do not simply emerge out of thin air. Rather, they result directly from people's commemorative decisions and actions as embedded within and constrained by particular sociospatial conditions" (162). I would like to consider in this thesis the "sociospatial conditions" to be the digital interface that has permeated our lives.

Proceeding from my literature review on urban memory, I will elaborate on my research question, which seeks to frame how memories and experiences of conflict-based memory sites are understood. I will then describe the two cities and case studies in question, explaining my motivations for choosing the three-part structure of "physical site-initial online space-social media space" for each. These linked digital "sites" (a photography project, a blog, Instagram, and Twitter)

related to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin and the former Carabanchel Prison site in Madrid will provide the baseline for my analysis, which will contain two steps, utilizing discourse analysis and then analysis of social media datasets, relying on notions of the *glocal*, *the digital bricolage* and *the rhetoric of memory (sites)* to explain how digital memory may expand geographic boundaries, all while remaining localised to a site through a variety of strategies.

2. Literature Review │ Hauntings at the Crossroads of Inquiry

Setting a problem does not imply an easy answer, or of a conclusive set of reasoning. To quote Avery Gordon, "[to say] that life is complicated may seem a banal expression of the obvious, but it is nonetheless a profound theoretical statement" (Gordon 2008, 3). The theme of her book *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* is precisely that; complications, traces, and ghostly apparitions *is* the structure, and that a "haunting is a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither pre-modern superstition nor individual psychosis; it is a generalizable social phenomenon of great import" (idem, 5). To claim a haunting is to imply a multiplicity of perspectives, power structures, and embodiments of modern life. To think of cities as haunted by the past is to recognize their nature as the spaces of what Massey (2005) would understand as being composed with a number of facets, structured by relations, where the imaginary is articulated doubly through being in space and conceptualizing of it.

I aim to trace a historical trajectory in this literature review, dwelling on what I consider important in the vast literature surrounding memory, memorials, and the urban. In thinking of these different concepts, I would like to reflect on how these intersections can be read as "crossroads;" to quote Walter Benjamin in the context of Surrealism, "where ghostly signals flash from the traffic, and inconceivable analogies and connections between events are the order of the day" (Benjamin 1978, 51). In this literature review, the "ghostly signals" can be read as flashpoints of conflict, which coalesce around urban objects as their locus.

2.1 History, Society, and Politics

In a "classical" understanding of memory and space/place, groups would forge a sense of nationhood by designating sites of memory as a way to articulate stability (Till 2008, 292). These pasts, be them recent or further back in time, acted as a definitive narrative of the state, how it was formed, and how it was to be understood. More often than not, these places of memory were imbedded in urban contexts, as they were the loci of power and statehood. Furthermore, these stable processes depended on previous renderings of history; they were built in layered sequences (Johnson, 1995). The 20th century saw an important shift in how memory was conceptualised - with the horrors of two World Wars, the social space of remembrance took on a new, ethical and political dimension (Margalit 2000). The world post-1989, where the political shifts and the rise of democratic systems throughout Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet state redefined what kind of power was articulated in the public sphere, and to what ends. As liberal democracies were (re)established around Europe, distinct changes in "official memories" rather than "official memory" have led to conflictual interpretations of what *is* and what *should* be. A pluralist society depends on the "free market" of memory, where it can move from one social sphere to the next without

hindrance (Jovic 2004, 105). When this process is embedded in urban space, it can lead to a splitting of collective memory, where one narrative, usually a state-sanctioned one dominates. Thus, the effect can be jarring, and can lead to conflictual situations in urban life, such as civil protest (Ramet 2013; Finney 2002).

The social nature of memory, is not to be discounted either. Halbwachs (1995) foregrounds how remembering is a collective act, and that it is not removable from its social context. Memory is a subjective entity, and never makes claims to a past as was experienced, and as such, an individual stands in relation to a memory through an "'intersection of collective influences" that form conventions and structures (Halbwachs 1995, 44).

However, to quote Sabrina Ramet, "collective memories are sturdy, but not immutable" (2013: 879). Karen E. Till's work on places of memory in Berlin outlines how this paradigm works. She describes social memory as "an ongoing process whereby groups map understandings of themselves onto and through a place and time" (Till 2005, 8). This ongoing process is a negotiated one, where determined "topographies" of memory are "fixed" given a number of factors, including politics, economics, and national priorities (Till 2005, 9). This merging of material and immaterial practices is useful, but the interplay between the public and private can also be problematic, when variable "turns" of affect, mediation, and performance might be taken into account, that is to say when the body and its relation to space is foregrounded (Jones, 2011).

Thus, spatial structures of urban memory are for the most part, defined in a contemporary sense, as both fixed, localized, and tied to the understanding of history as contingent on these material processes, but not without a strong current of social relations.

2.2 The Shock of the New, the Revenge of the Old

The urban development of cities, spurred on by recent changes in urban governance, economic priorities, or even recent wars, also reorients our understanding of memory and/in conflict. Berlin, the post-1989 mantra of *vergangenheitsbewältigung* (the struggle to overcome the [negatives of the] past) that expanded into the former East Germany is an example of this, where expansion, reconciliation, and memory were deeply engrained in the explosive growth of the city post-reunification, reckoning both a divided political past and a repressed sense of guilt (Till 2005; Azaryahu 2012). In what Andreas Huyssen describes as "voids," the city's past, present, and future lives are written on the buildings that are removed, rebuilt, or constructed (Huyseen 2003, 51).

Within this paradigm of memory and change, the real danger of competing interests as discussed in the previous section as the centrality of individual memory as structured by social relations and politics, comes to the forefront. When the old intersects with the new in the rubric of urban (dis)investment and increasing foreign interests in urban development projects, two contradictory forces can be seen to be in competition: either a hypervisibility and atonement of memory can be enacted, or of a specific favouring of spatial sites in the city, to the detriment of others.

Under the rubric of tourism and new knowledge industries, less desirable or complicated sites of memory can be forgotten, as is the case in the post-Yugoslav War Mostar or Sarajevo (Grodach 2002; Jauković, 2015). Without the distance of history, or of true democratic structures that allow for debate and safe disagreement to occur, it becomes easier to ignore or "forget" previously marked spaces of conflict and memory. However, the opposite may also be true – in stable democratic states and cities such as Vienna, memories of past conflicts and brutal disenfranchisement can be buried under too many layers of historical discourse to warrant any popular discussion, and when they do, they are marred or warped by interests that go beyond simple discursive strategies of place-making for memory (Kuttenberg 2007; Silverman 2003; Pages 2003).

2.3 Heritage, by Designation or Otherwise

Another dimension to this debate about memory and the city revolves around the role of heritage buildings and designations in urban space. Deep divisions exist over what should be acceptable in terms of "heritage," for whom that demarcation is beneficial, and for what aims. Beyond monuments, buildings, streets, parks, and other spatial assemblages that make up urban life can be considered have value as related to memory (Tweed and Sutherland 2007). The *types* of urban structures up for heritage status, and implicitly state approval, can be controversial. For example, modernist constructions, as related to socialist-era regimes in Eastern Europe are rarely seen as valid heritage buildings, or ones that might be legitimate places of memory.

We can turn to what would constitute "built" dimensions. Two major theories underlie this dimension, specifically *heritage by designation*, a top-down system by which a honorific is applied to a monument or building by experts, or *heritage by appropriation*, by which a space is *de facto* understood as heritage-worthy by use and collective understanding (Tweed and Sutherland 2007; Dupagne et al. 2004). The latter is of consequence to numerous urban assemblages that are not necessarily sanctioned by the state or are considered central, where permeable boundaries and complex histories are not easily summarized. Space by appropriation usually exists at the periphery, and might constitute a *lieu de mémoire* for a marginalised group. Nevertheless, both rely on identity, conflict and negotiation to be formed, and can ultimately infuse debates around authoritarian systems of control as related to heritage and its interface with memory.

2.4 Indexes, Voids, Thresholds, and Mediations

To further this debate, I will turn to Soja and Nora's notions of shifts and splits in the urban fabric. For them, and for Foucault, the potential for change, or resolution, or successful ideological negotiation is at the margins, or in the spaces of imagined fissure (Johnson 2013; Legg 2005). The thresholds, heterotopias, and thirdspaces of urban discourse are in themselves valuable, and can ultimately offer a sense of understanding that stands *outside* of the established norms of conduct. Thinking in terms of "otherness" may also challenge the consensus models that the post-political can infer, to ultimately include the multiplicity of voices and memory structures that can inhabit one given city.

The issue remains with the "stickiness" of urban objects. Memories are anchored and localized and must be mediated *through* and *by* everyday elements. Novel approaches include the study of the interface of photography and digital technology, like in Mostar's sites of remembrance (Halilovich 2016), in the "revenge" of memory in a small model of Teblinka (Witcomb 2010), the renaming of streets (Azaryahu 2012), or the *stolperstein* that exist in a number of European cities (Cook 2014).

Furthermore, they also include more classical versions of mediation, like Aleksandar Hemon's memoirs on Sarajevo entitled *The Book of My Lives*, or Miljenko Jergović's collection of stories entitled *Sarajevo Malboro*. Both work within the rubric of ironic rhetoric, which I suggest is similar to Roland Barthes' introductory passage in *Mythologies*, in which he notes "the full the contradiction of [our] time, which may well make sarcasm the condition of truth" (1972, 11). These experiential strategies attempt to work in between what we might term the "indexical trap," which is to say rather than to point *at* a monument, a void, or a space, to point *through* it, revealing what might be concealed in a personal memory, but perhaps not in a collective one, or vice versa.

2.5 Conclusions, Area of Focus & Research Question

Hypervisibility and the stability of state and consensual structures usually lead to clear systems of memory and place-making. What might be lost in this formulation are the complicated relationships and configurations that enable, cloud, and distort these practices, and put the private in conflict with the public. Localizing the personal within the larger narratives of urban life and trauma or conflict creates the interface by which places of memory in contemporary society can be formed. One thing is clear: to quote Drozdzewski et al, "thinking specifically of the remembrance of (or resistance to) memory of war and conflict, we would stress the usefulness of a more-than-representational approach, one seeking to disentangle the tangible and intangible strands of melancholia, nostalgia, sorrow, and loss of belligerent times" (Drozdzewski et al. 2016, 453).

One overlooked element in the current literature is the effect new digital technologies are having on an understanding of urban memory. Returning to the idea of *the more than representational*, how memory is articulated in the digital realm, and its impact on urban life, expands the boundaries of current geographical understandings of memory as place and time-specific. By localizing in other ways, or by focusing on how these waypoints are blurred by the interjection of technology, we can interrogate the emancipatory, and perhaps radical potential of urban memory.

In approaching this issue, it is useful to clarify a few notions related to the urbanity of memory. As Ladd (1997) notes, "cities serve as powerful symbols and repositories of memory," and offer a gateway for approaching the stratified and "polyvocal" nature of urban life (Nas, 1998). Cities and their sites of memory "often possess an official meaning bearing the intentions of the creator or creators in mind, but informal references may be attached to them, enforcing, neutralizing and even counteracting the original intention" (idem, 457). The memories inherent in urban life are symbolic and discursive, and can ultimately perhaps gesture towards larger issues of community, development, and politics.

Keeping in mind all the of the above issues, my research question is as follows:

How are personal and collective social memories of conflict represented and contextualized in digital representations of urban memory space?

3. Cities and Case Studies │ Hypervisible Berlin and Amnesiac Madrid

Given the large number of possible cities and case studies related to urban memory, the choice of Berlin and Madrid offer interesting opportunities for comparison. At the national scale, there is developed and state-sanctioned program of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in Germany and a less than cohesive policy in Spain that is still often debated in the political arena, where a pact of forgetting was considered essential to the cohesive development of democracy in the immediate post-Franco era (Till 2005; and Preston 1986). The institutional level of support in Germany and the very open possibilities in Spain entail very different memorialisation processes, with variable goals, tactics, and potential outcomes. In reflecting on topographies of memory as evolving, these two oppositional contexts will provide space for anchoring these cities in the debate around what remembering or forgetting might in fact mean in practice.

At the urban scale, Berlin and Madrid have always played an outsized role in their respective national contexts, as the seats of government, the centres of culture, and of a particular kind of national-self understanding. Over the past 300 years, their histories as capitals of empires, fascist dictatorships, and of newly-minted democratic projects have led to a palimpsest of hopes, aspirations and competing ideologies to be contained within their city limits. Of interest for this thesis is the urban history of the past 40 years, when both Berlin and Madrid have been presented with a particular reckoning of their pasts. In each case, the approach has been different.

I have chosen to concentrate on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin (hereafter referred to as the MMJE) and the former Carabanchel Prison Site (hereafter referred to as the FCPS) as a way of localising these urban memory processes. In essence, each case study is threefold:

- Berlin: the MMJE → *Yolocaust* → geolocated Instagram images of the MMJE
- Madrid: the FPSC → *Salvemos Carabanchel* blog → @SOSCarabanchel Twitter feed

In this introductory section for the case studies, I will briefly explain, in the case of the MMJE, its development as a site, and how it is localised in discourses of nationhood, experience, and belonging in Germany. In the case of the FPSC, I will describe in more detail the construction and life, and aftermath of the Carabanchel Prison complex. As a little-known space outside of Spain, and to a certain extent within the country as well, I believe that understanding the historical timeline of the site is essential to then observing how it functions today, as a ruin and a void Madrid's urban fabric. The main objects of analysis in both cases are the online iterations of these sites, and I will proceed by using a particular example of each. In Analysis I, I will focus on Shahak Shapira's *Yolocaust*, and the *Salvemos Carabanchel* blog. In Analysis II, I will focus on how geolocated Instagram images of the MMJE and the @SOSCarabanchel Twitter feed function, in relation to both the physical sites themselves, and the first online iterations I have chosen as significant. I will do this because I see memory structures as "an ongoing process" like Till (2005),

and understand Drozdzewski et al.'s (2016) assertion that understanding memory in relation to war and conflict's complicated "strands" might necessarily entail exploring a few different paths.

In observing these sites, I see them as emblematic of Tweed and Sutherland's (2007) notions of heritage/memory by *designation* (the MMJE) and by *appropriation* (the FCPS). To put it crudely, one is a site in search of re-articulations of memory, and the other is a memory in search of a site, but both are in a sense articulating a void - the MMJE wrestles with 6 million lost lives and the individuals who visit the site, and the FCPS contends with an empty field full of meaning. In thinking of the research question, each site repesents an interesting nexus of personal and collective, embedded in their different histories these contextual spaces can be expanded upon by adding the different digtial layers.

3.1 Berlin: The Memorial to the Missing and Murdered Jews

There is a vast amount of material about the MMJE, and for the purposes of the this section, I will focus on a few elements to build a coherent timeline, and attempt to localise it within the context of Berlin's development in the years proceeding unification.

The genesis of the MMJE began in August of 1989, when an a citizen's initiative called "Perspective Berlin" called for the creation of a memorial to commemorate the murdered Jews during the Holocaust. The site was to be highly symbolic - initially the location was to be the former Gestapo headquarters, but it was eventually moved to an area north of the Reich Chancellery in 1992, after the project was formalised by the new Chancellor of a united Germany, Helmut Kohl in the immediate political moments after the fall of the Berlin Wall. By the Spring of 1995, an initial public competition for the memorial design was initiated, and 528 proposals were submitted, but the chosen designs were ultimately rejected by Kohl ("History of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe").

After that, the project entered period of conflict and crisis, that played out on a number of political and institutional scales (Carrier 2005). The project was ultimately re-initiated in June of 1997 with a narrower focus and with only 25 architects and designers invited to participate. Peter Eisenmann and Richard Serra's design is chosen and revised, and in June of 1998, Serra withdrew from the project. In the following two years, the project receives yet another revision on the insistence of the State Minister for Culture and the Media, Michael Naumann, where an interpretation centre is added underneath the field of stelae, to add an "authentic" site of memorialization to complement the severe and intentional abstractness of Eisenman's work ("History of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe").

Beginning with the Bundestag's approval in 2000, the memorial is constructed over the next four years in a number of stages, with various conferences including an international symposium in November of 2001 complementing the construction work. On the 15 December, 2004 the last of the 2,711 stelae is put in place in a public ceremony, and the official opening of the memorial takes place on 10 May, 2005 ("History of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe").

Figure 1: the MMJE (source: furtherglory.files.wordpress.com)

The symbolic positioning of the MMJE is important, both in its physical location, and its political context. Its immediate urban surroundings situate it at the heart of a "new" Berlin: it is at the centre of a new government zone, the new Reichstag building and Brandenburg Gate, the Potsdamer Platz, Leipziger Platz, the Topography of Terror museum, and the Jewish Museum. As Carrier (2005) notes, the MMJE "exemplified the problematic culture and symbolic transformation of this city prior to and following its reinstatement as the seat of government in 1999" (Carrier 2005, 99). Furthermore, by occupying the no-man's land between the old East and West Berlin, it "acquired national symbolic significance that neutralized discrepancies between separate commemorative traditions of the former East and West Germanys [sic]" (idem, 100).

As part of a larger matrix of museums and memorial sites constructed after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the MMJE contributed to the creation of a new "landscape of memory", which Kashuba (2001) evaluates as a "working off" of the past, where a potential praxis can occur, which is to say where theories of memory can be enacted through the body (Kashuba 2001 in Denkel 2013, 18). As one of the first "all-German site[s}," it acts as a complement to other memorials built around Germany since 1989 (Carrier 2005, 101). As a material object, its status is also unique - rigorously non-representational and abstract, Eisenman describes it thus: "the enormity and horror of the Holocaust are such that any attempt to represent it by traditional means is inevitably inadequate. The memory of the Holocaust can never be one of nostalgia" ("Peter Eisenman – Architect of the Field of Stelae"). The MMJE has no "goal, no end, no working one's way in or out," the field of stelae that form its grid logic consciously rejects any figurative interpretation (ibid). As such, it "breaks with the tradition of commemorative forms used in both the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. It is not designed to mark and trace the history of a specific authentic site of event on a specific day, but recalls the genocide as a whole" (Carrier 2005, 99). As a monumental work of 20,000 square metres, its scale is also significant, for Judt (2005) the message is explicit: it "contrasts sharply with the ambiguity and prevarication of an earlier generation of lapidary commemorations" (Judt 2005, 851). It does not "ecumenically" commemorate the "victims of Nazism," rather it is unflinchingly a Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.

Furthermore, the site is an important space of urban tourism in general and memory tourism in particular. Dekel (2013) situates it at a crossroads of Berlin, German, and European history: the history of Prussian architecture, World War II, the GDR all find their nexus in this area.

As a "Memorial Quarter," the area of central Berlin is a "space that enables wandering in the discourse about memory, leisure and pastime, accidental tourism, and play [which] do not disconnect visitors from the urban surrounding" (Dekel 2013, 30). The "recreational turn" of the site has enabled a new set of opportunities for engagement in an individual's "memory way," that is to say the path that they follow through their own approaches to the site. This new way of "seeing" has reoriented behaviours at the site, and has engendered different responses, including online pieces like *Stelen*, *Tindercaust*, *Grindr Remembers*, and most recently *Yolocaust*, which will be discussed in the following sections of this thesis. As an affective space, its impact is clear - Dekel (2013) notes a newspaper piece taken a year after the MMJE's inauguration, where centrality, time and experience dominate:

> The memorial is a central point. Sometimes the tourists hop into the Field of Stelae, a little reminiscent of the skyline of Manhattan, to photograph or walk into the nothingness, in which one feels power- less, or can be afraid, or unafraid. [...] Memory is also set free between the stelae. 'The memorial casually gets a face through the people'. [...] The stelae-jumpers have become seldom. It seems that school classes, differently from a year ago, know where they are. It is not a cemetery but a memorial" (Dekel 2013, 27).

This blurring of space and time is intentional, and relates Eisenman's original intentions. He describes the temporal nature of the MMJE as "the time of the monument [...] is disjoined from the time of experience. In this context, there is no nostalgia, no memory of the past, only the living memory of the individual experience. Here, we can only know the past through its manifestation in the present" ("Peter Eisenman – Architect of the Field of Stelae").

As a final note on the MMJE, I would like to turn again to Judt (2005), to mention a European dimension to the memorial. For him, the one of the central tenants of "Europeaness" is recognizing the horrors of World War II, "Holocaust recognition is our contemporary European entry ticket" (Judt 2005, 803). The concept of full citizenship in Europe rests on first assuming "a new and far more oppressive heritage. Today the pertinent European reference is not baptism. It is extermination" (ibid). Thus, considering the MMJE at the heart of the capital of the most economically powerful European state, is a provocative one, and underscores the importance of the memorial far beyond Berlin.

3.2 Madrid: The Carabanchel Prison Site: Past and Present

The Carabanchel Prison site has a long and complex history, which I will outline here, ending with the civil society groups that advocate on behalf of the site into the present day. There is a comparable lack of documentation on the site, which perhaps speaks for itself, and I have based this overview primarily on Hepworth (2013), Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz (2015), and a number of articles and blog posts from *Salvemos Carabanchel* in an attempt to adequately frame the site. Tackling the urban planning legacy of the Franco regime in Madrid can be a challenge, given that cities, as areas that were strongly Republican during the Spanish Civil War, "were not a priority in the new regime's post-war reconstruction agenda" (Muñoz-Rojas, 2009: 149). Save the imposing Air Ministry building in Moncloa, completed in 1951, much of what was planned for Madrid was never constructed, and the imposing Carabanchel Prison was only of the only urban interventions of note for a number of years.

Following the Spanish Civil War, there was urgent need for new prison space: 270,000 people were imprisoned in a system designed to accommodate just 15-20,000 (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015). A new, monumentally-sized prison was intended to improve this situation and avoid the risk of further disorder and the potential for rioting. Completed in 1944, this new prison site was located in Carabanchel. Even with the implementation of gulags throughout the country, a redención (atonement) program was initiated in the early 1940's, freeing many of the political prisoners who had been held. This amnesty program was not one done out of benevolence or true forgiveness for crime, but one that was intended to solely alleviate the massive amounts of overcrowding and the risk of disease, reduce the risk of prison revolts, and to aid in the reconstruction of the country (Rubial and Ortiz 2015). The area was an important site during the Battle of Madrid, when General Francisco Franco's forces attempted to seize the capital, entering from the southwestern suburbs of the city. Following the war, Carabanchel was left with large empty spaces; 48% of it was in ruins (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015). It was a name now associated with Republican working-class resistance to the now triumphant regime. Thus, the area of Carabanchel became a loaded site of symbolic retribution by Franco's regime on a spatial scale. As a suburb of Madrid, Carabanchel's location was ideal: it evacuated a great number of political prisoners from the city centre, all while reminding nearby inhabitants of their existence with its imposing structure.

Figure 2: The Carabanchel Prison Complex (source: Atlas Obscura)

The Carabanchel Prison site was also already historically loaded before its construction for two main reasons. Firstly, The *Cárcel Modelo de Madrid* was situated in the area, and was the site of a massacre of 2,000 presumed Francoists in 1936 by the Republican forces. It was demolished to make way for the new prison, erasing the physical proof of the previous incident and replacing it with a new act of spatial revenge on the city. Secondly, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Carabanchel was a location in which there were similar exclusionary institutions were found. Spaces for society's 'deviants', excluded from regular society populated the space, some still there today: for orphans, the mentally ill, epileptic people.

The repressive purpose of the building was reflected in its design. Following the ideas of the panopticon, devised by enlightenment philosopher Jeremy Bentham, the system intended for the prisoner to always feel under surveillance. The symbolism of the building's design was intended to project an image outwards too, of the essential nature of Franco's regime. To the outside world, Franco wanted to project an image of his society as modern, treating prisoners in way that was both technologically advanced and humane. Following the Second World War, and the defeat of fascist powers in Germany and Italy, Franco wanted to transform the image of his regime in the eyes of the international community, and removing the image of a repressive regime, with Franco as the Spanish counterpart to Hitler and Mussolini (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015). Instead of medieval dungeons or Nazi camps, his regime would be represented by efficient, humane modernity. For Foucault, the panopticon is the embodiment of a modern society (Foucault 1995); however modernity should by no means be necessarily linked with humaneness. In the case of Carabanchel, overcrowded and cruel from the start, it certainly was not.

Something entirely different was hoped for with the image projected by the prison onto the immediate neighbourhood. The true function of the Carabanchel prison, as with all prisons but especially so in a totalitarian regime, was order, control and surveillance. The Carabanchel neighbourhood, again due in a large part due to its Republican history, was being warned of the futility of revolt to Franco's regime. Furthermore, the neighbourhood was burdened with an institution that fundamentally symbolised repression, and then later, deprivation and decay. The neighbourhood of Carabanchel became a place where its identity and history were refused, for the sake of the stability of wider society. Having opened in 1944, the prison was to remain in use for over five decades. Statistics show that in the early period of the prison's existence, there were 4,922 political prisoners from the war, 535 post-war political prisoners and 1,552 common criminals. Over three times the capacity of the prison, tactics such as executions, torture and censorship were common. The result of this is was the standardization of the "exceptional practices" that define war, and they were normalized and ingrained within Spanish society (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015).

As the prison entered the 1960s the prison's function shifted. There was a stark decrease in the number of political prisoners, towards a penal system filled with petty criminals. Of note, a Reformatory for Young Offenders was established, which offered job training programs at the Carabanchel prison. During this period, the political prisoners were relocated to a 6th wing, one which was roomier and more luxurious than the rest of the prison (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015).

As the political shifts in the 1960s and early 1970s tested the Francoist state. In 1973 a state of emergency was declared and arbitrary detentions were once again initiated. Resistance to the prison system mounted as calls for amnesty were made from both political, and common prisoners, culminating in the Battle of Carabanchel on July 18, 1977 where several hundred inmates took to the top of the prison before being subdued by riot police. A young anarchist was beaten to death, and the director of prison was murdered in retribution (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015). In 1979, as part of the transition to democracy, a new law was introduced to reform the prison system, which eliminated the need for large prison complexes. From then until its closing in 1998 there were several incidents and high profile political prisoners, but mainly the cells were filled with common criminals or young working-class people that were involved in the drug

business. The prison began to disintegrate: "Carabanchel in the 1980s and 1990s can only be described as a place of abjection, a symbolic and spiritual ruin before the actual, physical ruin" (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015, 147). What Hepworth (2015) describes as a "grotesque structure," the neo-Herrerian Carabanchel Prison, with its initial grandeur and expression of power began to collapse (Hepworth 2015, 284). The prison was officially closed in 1998 without any clear plan of action for its future. The ruined state of the prison created an intricate network of traces indicating the once occupied cells and spaces. What Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz (2015) termed 'acts of memorialisation' took place in the first two years, such as guided tours of the complex and photography exhibitions of when the prison was in use or a concert in the old prison yard (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015, 149). The site's new life as a memorial had begun.

Figure 3: Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros (source: author's own)

Simultaneously, the old prison hospital was turned into an internment centre for foreigners (Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros) in 2005, undergoing a large refurbishment that covered the the brick of the old building with brightly coloured and strange shapes, making it into a circus-like post-modernist structure. This represented a return to the site's original function, and one that infuriated the neighbourhood associations, replacing the prisoners with marginalised groups such as immigrants. In 2008, the Carabanchel Prison site was razed to the ground, leaving an an empty field, three small walls, and the entrance gate intact.

Far from calming the area's residents, the proposals for the new life of the site ignited another round of protest and controversy. A brief sketch of the political situation can illustrate the further relationships that have formed around Carabanchel, localizing and embodying a number of issues of note in Madrid, and more generally, Spain during this period. In 2008, Acquiescing to the community groups' demands for a public hospital to serve the area's residents, the city government also planned to include a residential complex of 1,300 units, to be sold on the open market ("Sentencia de muerte", 2008). This was seen as an affront to the citizens, who decried it as an open act of speculation in a politically fragile time, right before the global housing crisis began to have major repercussions in Spain. The negotiations had included this provision because they involved a number of state actors with differing agendas. Alfredo Perez Rubalcaba, the PSOE (Socialist Party)

Minister of the Interior and Alberto Ruiz Gallardon, the Partido Popular (PP) Mayor of Madrid were the major players. Rubalcaba represented the owner of the land (the Ministry of the Interior), and Gallardon the City of Madrid, who was intent on upgrading the area as part of a larger urban development strategy – nicknamed the "Pharaoh," his term as Mayor of Madrid included the burying of the M30 highway, the Olympic bid, and the laws that put in allowed for the rapid "upgrading" of neighbourhoods like Malasaña. As such, even if the eventual project was downgrading to include 650 units of social housing, it belied any test of social sustainability, were the "basic rights" of an important interest group was denied, in favour of another set of development goals.

Figure 4: the former prison fences (source: author's own)

Furthermore, the community group demands included the erection of a monument or of an interpretation centre to commemorate those who died or were incarcerated in Carabanchel. As part of the wider attempt of the Spanish state under the *Law of Historical Memory* in 2007 to contextualize and effectively acknowledge the victims of Francoism, this was seen as a necessity, and one that reframed Carabanchel's prison space as one of resistance, struggle, and eventual emancipation from the brutal regime (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Ortiz 2015). This, of course, corresponds to one of its periods, namely in the late Franco era and early shift to democracy (1973-1978), where the final political prisoners included students and a number of intellectuals as well as prominent ETA members, and who staged strikes and protests. It has been noted that the PSOE downplayed this demand, due to their peripheral role in the early period of the democratic transition (Hepworth 2015).

From this period onwards, we can observe a shift in strategies from the community groups in Carabanchel and Aluche. To keep their chosen memory structures alive, they began to engage in

a number of symbolic acts, including the building of a staged hospital, a miniature version of the prison as a memorial, the erection of highly visible signs on the site's fences, and a protest in 2009 against the detention centre that attracted close to 2,000 participants ("Los vecinos de Carabanchel", 2009). The city and federal government remained inactive or intransigent to the community groups and the needs of the area. The current situation of the Carabanchel prison site has been defined by the shifts in Madrid city governance and priorities. In 2015, Manuela Carmena, a respected lawyer and civil right advocate became Mayor after her *Ahora Madrid* party formed a government in coalition with the PSOE. The administration instigated a Commissioner for Historical Memory, which recommended the renaming of a number of streets, and prepared a list of 15 "Places of Memory" that were to be included in a new development plan that put social memory, notably related to the Franco era, as a priority ("Carmena y el PSOE", 2017). The Carabanchel prison land is featured on that list, and lobbying efforts by a number of community groups has applied pressure on the Commission for it to be the site of a Museum of Peace and Historical Memory. With the claimed approval of Carmena, the site has yet to be turned over to the city, with the old agreement of 2008 with the Interior Ministry still standing. As such, the PP still requires that a large parcel of land be ceded for the construction of a prison guard facilities, which the city does not approve of (Alvarez, 2015).

The most active organization is *Salvemos Carabanchel/Carabanluche*, and through their multi-scalar approach, have been able to keep the memory of the Carabanchel prison complex alive. A sophisticated network that uses social media, in-person representation at city council meetings, and a distinct desire to connect the events of Carabanchel to a wider Spanish and global context, *Salvemos Carabanchel/Carabanluche* is continually testing the possibilities for a true model of social sustainability. On their blog, they give prominence to researchers in the fields of social memory, activists who rally members of the neighbourhood, and community members who are searching for information on missing loved ones who served a sentence at Carabanchel. As such, they are connecting the past of the site to the present, while imagining possible futures and offering a robust critique of the structures already in place.

4. Methods and Methodology | Discourses and Datasets

The "more-than-representational" nature of online communications is both fascinating and daunting. The complexities inherent in analysing an object that is expanding exponentially megabyte by megabyte[1] everyday presents a certain set of challenges, even more so when the intention is to explore its locative rather than its networked qualities, that is to say how it can be fixed to a certain site and set of ideas, rather that existing solely as a thread in a larger system of communication. Furthermore, if we are to understand these objects of study as social texts imbued with a particular vernacular expressive style, what are the best methods by which to explore this? Given that the majority of research into social media and online communications is sociological in tone and far-reaching in its methodology and research object, for the purposes of this thesis I have developed a framework that remains relatively focused and smaller in scale. To understand memory structures like Till (2005) as "an ongoing process" of mapping ideas and thoughts rather

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[1] A fair amount of technology terms used in social media and larger theories of mass digital communications are employed throughout this thesis, and rather than interrupt the cadence of the text to explain them, I have included a glossary of terms in **Appendix 1**. I have endeavoured to add as many as I can, but it is quite possible that a few have fallen between the stele.

than an endpoint *per se* still presents certain difficulties for a researcher. I have elaborated a research design that is summarized in the following chart:
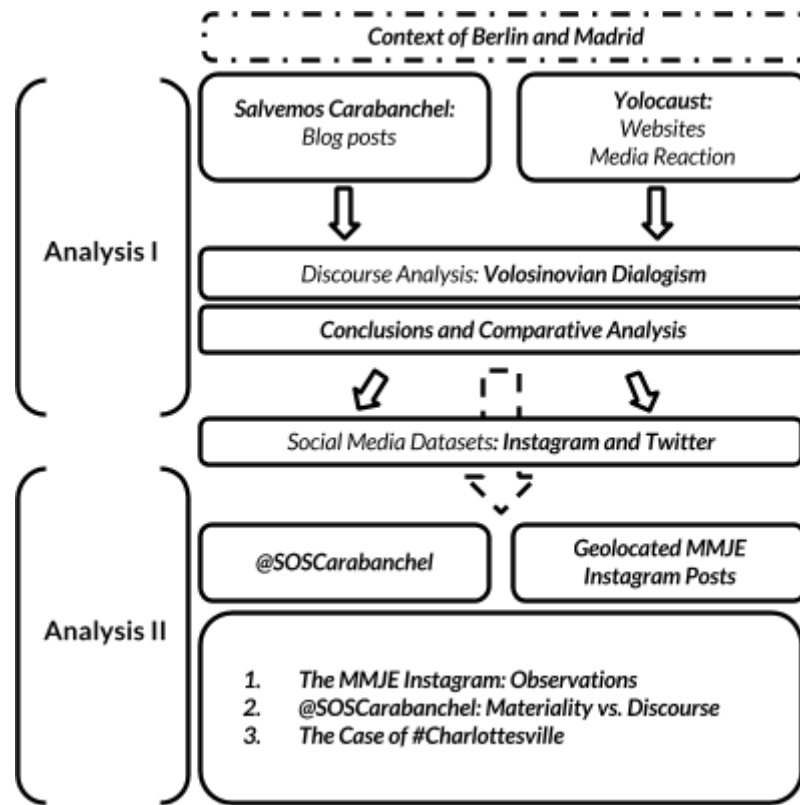
The research will proceed in two analytical sections. In Analysis I, I will apply discourse analysis to two introductory online manifestations of the memory sites: for the MMJE, I will focus on Shahak Shapira's *Yolocaust* and the media reaction to it, and for the FCPS, I will focus on the *Salvemos Carabanchel* blog. From there, I will compare both approaches, and synthesize a clear positioning for each *vis-a-vis* the spaces that they purport to comment on or claim to represent.

In Analysis II, I will then evaluate whether these positions are in fact observable in a specific set of social media data that I have collected from Instagram in the case of *Yolocaust*/MMJE or from Twitter in the case of FCPS. From there, I will comment on what alternatives might be present in how digital space (re)presents urban memory. For this, I will employ the theories I have elaborate upon below, and I will concentrate initially on the MMJE Instagram data before suggesting new possibilities for understanding social media interactions in relation to urban memory by outlining two specific instances for discussion, one related to the materiality of the sites which will foreground the @SOSCarabanchel Twitter, and the other related to a specific incident that links both case studies. In the following sections, I will outline the discourse analysis method that I will use, frame social media data as a qualitative method, and explain what comparative strategy I will employ. I have also decided to not use interviews as a method because I feel that the vernacular nature of online communications provide ample data by which to draw adequate conclusions about various behaviours and ideas.

4.1 Discourse Analysis: Volosinovian Dialogism

Discourse analysis has become a major methodological strategy in the social sciences and humanities. Despite its ubiquity, a great number of theoretical strategies and frameworks are unclear in their applications, despite all having a central objective, namely investigating:

"the nature and role of language and other meaning-systems in the operation of social relations, and in particular the *power* of such systems to shape identities, social practices, relations between individuals, communities, and all kinds of authority" (Baker, 2008: 152).

Issues of "power" are less clearly articulated as most discourse strategies, including critical discourse theory, take it as a given centrality to the matter at hand. Therefore, to keep the focus on the dynamic of social relations in the discursive analytical sets that I will study, Valentin Volosinov's dialogism will be used throughout this thesis, because while "power" is still considered a crucial element of discourse, it is treated as an *empirical* one that rests on observable elements throughout the texts under analysis.

A member of the Bakhtin Circle of philosophers and thinkers who emerged during the post-Revolutionary period in Russia , Valentin Volosinov was a linguist and scholar who focused on "significance in social life in general and artistic creation in particular, examining the way in which language registered the conflicts between social groups" (Brandist, 1997). The Bakhtin Circle used the term "utterance" as the central component of their analysis of language, locating it as the space in which meaning is generated, in a specific historical and social context. In a concrete sense, the utterance is formed through various interactions between social groups, where what is said or written depends on how they interact, or "interanimate" each other. As such, they are dialogical in form, in which "echoes and reverberations of the voices of previous speakers can be heard in the words of a current speaker" (Collins, 1999: 74). Authority, or power, is thus built within this relationship, and can be mutable as different utterances are adopted over time.

From this Volosinov theorizes that utterances work within a larger rubric of "speech genres." These are created over a given period of time, when utterances are tied to specific social contexts, and their collective understandings are revealed through "relatively stable types." These stable types are grounded in what the Bakhtin Circle referred to as "generic/genre" interactions, that is to say a agreed-upon expressions may or may not refer to the "word" or speech pattern in question, rather that "this typical (generic) expression belongs not to the word of language as such but to that genre in which the word usually functions" (Bakhtin in Collins, 1999: 75). As such, the speech genre foregrounds that no utterance is ever individual, rather it represents a constituent part of a larger collective social imaginary.

Because the Bakhtin Circle grounds their linguistic theory in specific historical contexts, as the meaning of utterances and speech genres change, we can observe similar shifts in the social environments they are used in. To quote Volosinov, "it stands to reason then, that the word is the most sensitive index of social changes [;] the word has the capacity to register all the transitory,

delicate, momentary phases of social change" (Volosinov in Collins, 1999: 75). Furthermore, when these shifts are conflictual to dominant ideologies (which the Bakhtin Circle would argue they always are), the distinction between "meaning" and "theme" becomes all the more central. Whereas "meaning" is essentially analogous to the dictionary definition of a word, "theme" relates to *how* the word is used in a given social context, and if it is considered to be of importance, it must undergo a process of assessment, by which it eventually receives an "evaluative accent." For Volosinov and Bakhtin, all utterances are appraisals: "no utterance can be put together without value judgement. Every utterance is above all an evaluative orientation" (Bakhtin in Collins, 1999: 76).

Finally, this evaluative and "re-evaluative" mode of understanding utterances and words underlines a crucial element - that as utterances shift, they also affect different types of social groups in different ways. A particular insight of Volosinovian Dialogism is that disparate social groups with different aims and ideological positions will use essentially the same language, but will attempt to define the utterances in specific ways. For the Bakhtin Circle, this is another way in which power is articulated: authority is granted through *how* groups attempt to define a certain set of ideas in a way that masks difference, and in turn there is an embodiment of a "clash of live social accents" that is played out with each given utterance. As such, the way language is used is understood as "being both a site of and a stake in the social conflicts" they represent (Collins 1999, 77).

To briefly summarize the aims and intentions of Volosinovian Dialogism without its theoretical language, I have adapted and paraphrased the following sketch from from Baker (2008). The foundational principle of Volosinovian Dialogism is that individuals adapt language to create groupings, mostly related to social struggles. The primary linguistic dimensions that this theory explores are the strife between forming a coherent language, and conceptualising it as a fixed entity. Collectives and individuals orient themselves toward the language that they feel represents their interests best, and critical thought is provoked by *how* this language use is observed. "Power" is in essence persuasion and tactical dominance, and ultimately Volosinovian Dialogism can reveal change as it is articulated through *how* groups, in their simplest forms, associate and communicated with each other using a shared language.

Two scholars, Collins (1999) and Steinberg (1999), both use Volosinovian Dialogism when discussing the contested processes of community-building in 20th century Glasgow and 19th century English mill towns, and I am indebted to their approach. By emphasizing daily speech practices, both provide a useful example of how this theory is used in practice, and the following sections that use this discourse method are inspired by them.

4.2 Explaining Social Media as a Qualitative Tool and Object of Study: By the Numbers

Using social media as a method for analysing urban phenomena is still relatively recent, but its ubiquity and daily use is significant enough to warrant attention. Instagram, the photo-sharing platform, has 95 million images uploaded each day from 700 million active monthly users and 200

million daily story users as of April of 2017 (Instagram 2017).[2] In 2016, it was estimated that 32% of adult internet users in the United States were regular Instagrammers, and 49% of them also used Twitter (Pew 2016). Twitter, a microblogging, news, and messaging platform, has 328 million active monthly users as of early 2017 (Statistica 2017). Approximately 500 million tweets are are posted and retweeted every day (Internetlivestats 2017).[3] Though lower in numbers than Facebook, both these social media networks are significant in their reach, daily interaction, and use as a means of establishing and articulating social practice.

Furthermore, the increase in adoption and use of social networks has been exponential. Between 2005 and 2015, the share of internet-using adults in the United States who regularly use at least one social networking site rose from 10% to 76%, and the share of those classified as urban increased from 9% to 64% (Pew 2015). In 2013, 30% of adult social media users either enabled their posts to be automatically geotagged or actively located them themselves (Pew 2013). Given the data trends outlined above, this estimated location-based practice will have also increased by 2017.

As such, social media presents an interesting opportunity for analysis, given its sheer scale and adoption over the past 12 years, particularly by urban users. The fact that users actively locate themselves, of note in its informed and self-aware application, provides a noteworthy geographic dimension. It can potentially frame and contextualize any data collection on specific spaces and sites.

4.3 "Reassembling the City": Framing Social Media Data in an Urban Dimension

Using social media as an observable and qualifiable method for analysis is current in a number of disciplines and research areas. Two examples included the Pew Research Center's Internet and Technology division (which most of the data above comes from) who ues surveys and statistical trend modeling, and the Social Media Research Foundation, who developed an open-source software called NodeXL to track and collect large volumes of social media data to analyse using network theory. The former approaches social media from a policy perspective, and the latter from a mass communications and sociological standpoint. Neither localises their analysis in the urban, instead observing larger phenomena of social organization.

However, there have been important advances in using social media as a contextual tool for urban studies. Boy and Uitermark (2015; 2017) developed an interface that interacted with the Instagram API to track over 442,246 posts and metadata from Amsterdam and 507,445 posts from Copenhagen to ultimately map and built a cohesive understanding of how social media segments

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[2] These numbers are hard to conclusively verify, as most of the data comes from Instagram itself, which as a profit-driven corporation, is selective with the information it shares. "Story users" refers to the "Instagram Stories" feature, in which users can upload short videos and photos that can be viewed for 24 hours, usually accompanied by a location tag, relevant hashtags, and superimposed comments germane to the event shared. As such, these stories act as a complementary dialogue to the photostream and personal profile of the user.

[3] As with Instagram, these numbers are also hard to verify, as Twitter is also a private, profit-driven corporation. These estimates are based on information provided by the company, reported by internetlivestats.com based on statements made by Twitter executives and tracking tools.

and stratifies social-spatial difference in the city. Using network theory, they ranked in importance a number of posts based on relational factors, and contrasted their work with the Chicago school's early 20th century sociological inquiry into how cities are organized. They conclude that "one way is to view the interface between the city and social media as a membrane that filters images and impressions," and these impressions are in turn selective and performative in quality (Boy and Uitermark 2017, 2). By incorporating both micro and macro scales to their work, Boy and Uitermark build on earlier work by scholars such as Silva et al. (2013) who used Foursquare check-ins and Instagram to track urban consumption patterns.

Though still in its infancy, this field is rich in theoretical and methodological tools, albeit with certain constraints. Firstly, there is a skills component: the sophisticated systems that Boy, Uitermark and other researchers have developed require a fairly high level of computer programming knowledge and comfort with enormous data sets - on average, Boy and Uitermark's study logged 1.2 million pieces of information per day. Secondly, there is an issue of access: Instagram and Twitter have greatly tightened their API access, limiting it to registered developers and in some cases academics, depending on their research work. Neither of these is easy to obtain, given the re-orientation of both these social networks towards monetization. Thirdly, there is the issue of time: though millions of posts are shared daily across the primary social media sites in question, it is almost impossible to analyse data historically. Mining the Twitter or Instagram archive is extremely difficult and costly, and as such, keeping with the larger orientation of social media as being either "in the moment" or forward-looking, data analysis must have a starting point, and cannot be retroactive in its application. This poses issues when building an adequate timeline, as is the case with the two thesis case studies in question. However, Boy and Uitermark's general methodology can be applied, using different data sets and parameters, which will be described in further detail in Analysis II.

The general saturation with social media has also spilled over into the corporate communications realm, and as such, there is a large market for social media analysis. For the purposes of the data collection component of this thesis, a number of free data analysis tools were tested, with varying degrees of compatibility and suitability. A major issue with all social media tracking tools was their temporality as none offer historical data. After evaluating tracking systems In relation to the SOSCarabanchel Twitter feed, Quintly was the most effective in supplying enough information. Unfortunately, Instagram posed a larger problem: given the API's closed nature, access to tracking posts that are geolocated rather than hashtagged is not possible. As such, to build an effective data set to analyse and comment I had to produce it manually. The mechanics of this data collection will be explained in Analysis II.

4.3 Comparative Structure(s)

Given the important differences in spatiality and historical structures surrounding the two case studies I have chosen and the inherent difficulties in analysing their digital manifestations as a the primary object of study, I would like to outline a few elements of importance as related to how I will attempt to compare them. I will employ an approach that relates to multiple-case study work, which posits that a researcher is less attentive to the specific context of each case, but rather to the ways in which they can be complemented and contrasted (Dyer and Wilkins 1991). Though the

debate as to whether or not a rigorous and explicit outlook in this instance is required from the beginning, I err on the side of the critics, who claim that it may be preferable to adopt "a more open ended-approach," which allows space for unexpected insights and new potential syntheses to arise from the research work at hand (Bryman 2012, 75).

Furthermore, comparative design is by its nature a way to reflect on difference, and on how that difference might yield a new understanding of a given phenomena, it "acts as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings" (ibid). I have developed a research design that is in many ways a hybrid of discourse analysis, data collection, and observation of trends, and as such it can seem almost a "quasi-experiment," which is attentive to the demands of social science research, all while keeping a focus that is open to new potential outcomes.

4.4 Notes on Limitations

In reflecting on both urban memory and methods/methodologies, I would like to turn to a few issues of limitations, by use of a contextual quote:

> "memory allows us to centralise everyday temporality as it speaks to the vernacular untidiness of lived practices of remembering that conventional historiography aims to smooth away [...] it is also about the marginalised present. It concerns the power structures that impact on the ways in which we are able to draw on our own pasts in the interests of our present and futures" (Keightley 2008, 179).

In building a comparative, multiple-case study research design, I have attempted to keep the focus on what we might consider the "vernacular untidiness" of online social interactions and expressions, and in what ways individuals might form new relationships to the urban spaces they remember, have visited, or are in the process of documenting, all while contributing to a larger sense of community and place. Space and memory as concepts have the pernicious tendency to balloon out of a manageable sphere, and as such I cannot address everything using these tools. Issues related to the physical spaces of the FCPS and of the MMJE will be discussed where relevant, but I want to note that neither of these case studies takes the sites themselves as the primary focus, rather it is how they are perceived in online manifestations that interests me. It is the same for politics - though it looms over the history of Berlin and Madrid, the complicated institutional structures that Margalit (2000) notes play an important role in the ethics of memory are another thesis altogether. However, I will gesture to each when necessary. Furthermore, each case study has its own particular elements of interest, and I will attempt to balance them, but there will be at times more to say about the MMJE and Instagram, or the FCPS and Twitter, given the topic at hand. Finally, I make no claims to absolute truth, in thinking of process as Deacon (2008) does, I am attempting to craft some small conclusions from a much larger set of data.

5. Theories │ Investigations into The Digital

The theories I have selected come from a number of different disciplines, and are not immediately recognizable as being urban, through I will demonstrate that when used in combination with the objects of study (how the MMJE is perceived on Instagram and how the

SOSCarbanchel Twitter feed functions) they may expand current notions of space.[4] They are summarized below, in the following graphic:

Globital Memory

Rhetoric of Memory (Sites)

Digital Bricolage
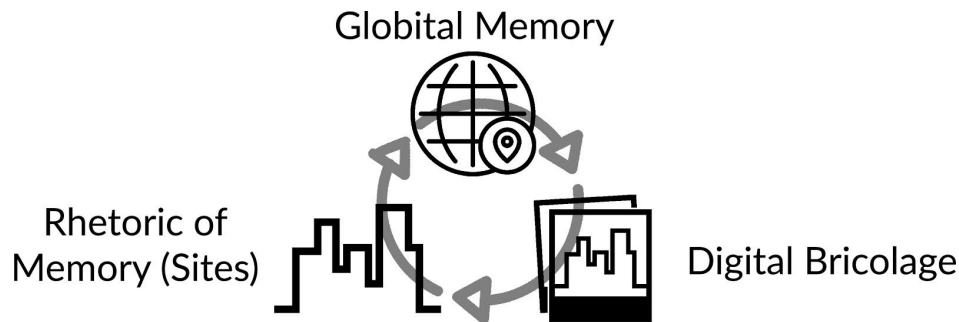
These theories that I will elaborate on below can be seen to complement each other, as they build a new matrix of meaning, which will ground the urban at the centre. Furthermore, in combination, they are somewhat new in their approach to the object of urban memory and how it exists online, and as such, I would like to attempt a new reading of digital practice using elements of each. These theories will be primarily applied in Analysis II, and will be informed by the two discourse analyses, the first from Analysis I, and the second from section 7.4.

5.1 Globital Memory & the Digital Bricolage

There has been a relative lack in critical analysis related to *how* digital technologies are interrupting, re-orienting, or negotiating social memory in urban space. A good starting point is what Reading (2014) terms the *globital memory*, a calque of "global" and "bit" which denotes the "unevenly distributed digital memories as gendered assemblages mobilized by agents of memory mobilized by agents of memory such as museum curators, journalists, state and interstate actors, corporations and protest groups working to secure them within an uneven field of struggle" (Reading 2014, 750). She infers that the materiality of memory is not so much the object that is being memorialized, but rather the political and economic processes that allow for it to happen: namely in this case access to new technologies, and the unseen nature of the ways in which that information is stored. A globalising venture, access to information takes on new forms as is it transformed and mediated through the technologies that we use everyday, like social media. Though Reading applies her theory critically to the political economy of materials produced through processes that span the globe (for example, rare earth metals mined in Africa to produce mobile devices), the basic tenant of globital memory is still relevant to other contexts - though even these connected systems are nothing new, "memory is produced under the interconnected conditions of globalization and digitization" (758). To complement this context, I would turn to the rhetoric of the online world and James' (2013) theory of *digital bricolage*, which she relates as a concept to "the subtle indication of social discord circulating at the margins of society in civil spaces" (James 2006, 981). This expands Till's "topographies of memory" far beyond the embedded urban object in echoing Jenkins (2006) and the idea that "old and new media converge with

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[4] I am reminded here of a professor who once mentioned that because you drink a glass of water in a city doesn't make it urban, which I would disagree with - most generalised theories and social phenomena have a clear urban dimension, it is just a question of contextualizing it adequately.

real-world culture on the Internet, and the resulting participatory culture forms a collective intelligence" (Jenkins in James 2006, 981).

Both these theories rest on the ideas of "bricolage" and "assemblage," which I will clarify here. Hartley (2002) refers to Lévi-Strauss, and defines it as "the creation of objects with materials to hand, re-using existing artefacts and incorporating bits and pieces" (Hartley 2002, 22). As such, bricolage reconstructs a variety of materials, be they speech, text, image, or a combination of all in order to create a new insight or meaning structure. For Deuze (2006), "the *bricoleur's* strategies are constrained not only by pragmatic considerations such as suitability-to-purpose and readiness-to-hand but by the experience and competence of the individual in selecting and using 'appropriate' materials" (Deuze 2006, 17). In contrast and complementary to this, the assemblage in this context is an activity involving "the fitting together of parts and pieces [:] assemblage as a model of engagement with the world rather than as a formal category. The fact that the bricoleur [assembleur] speaks *through* things, as well as *with* them (italics mine)" (Dezeuze 2008, 31).

We can thus consider a number of online artefacts and collections of information as bricolages, defined and constrained by their creators, either an artist like Shahak Shapira, or by the technological limitations of the applications we use to observe them, like Instagram or Twitter. Furthermore we can consider these digital bricolages as also being constrained by processes of globital memory, that is to say that they are stratified and exist in an "uneven field of struggle," given that certain users or posts will be prioritised. Open to the world in the sense that these digital bricolages are still are accessible to anyone with a computer or a mobile device, to refer back to Boy and Uitermark (2017), they nevertheless define "a membrane that filters images and impressions," and are dependent on who produces them.

5.2 The Rhetoric Of Memory Sites

Scholars have argued that memorial structures have their own particular rhetorical quality, usually contained through their material form (Blair,1999; Hess, 2007). The shift of focus into the digital realm has not changed that, but the mode of analysis takes into account different factors. Hess (2007) elaborates on this by discussing five commemorative websites related to the September 11, 2001 attacks. Because the space of memory in question did not have an anchor, he argues "that vernacular web memorials both utilize the material functions of physical or off-line memorials, but are also unique to the expressions of vernacular" (816). In thinking through vernacular as analogous with "collective," we can also apply these ideas to a variety of digital responses to memory structures.

It is important to note that Blair's context is almost pre-digital, and Hess' is in a digital age quite different from ours, and that the permanence of a website can seem almost quaint in relation to the speed and fury of online communication in 2017, notable in the ways that social media, including photo-sharing platforms like Instagram covet the "now" as foundational to their effectiveness. Nevertheless, Blair's framework is still useful when approaching the layered and complex nature of digital responses to urban memory that occur in contemporary discourse. The aforementioned framework is contextualized as five questions, which are as follows:

1. What is the significance of the text's material existence?

2. What are the apparatuses and degrees of durability displayed by the text?
3. What are the text's modes or possibilities of reproduction or preservation?
4. What does the text do to (or with or against) other texts?
5. How does the text act on person(s)?

Blair's strategy includes an attempt to underscore the performative aspects of memory cultures, by framing them in the context of a "text," which can be understood in the broader sense, similar to theories in Cultural Studies that associate everyday objects as texts, meant to be "read" as strategic holders of symbolic meaning. which relates back to Nas (1998) and the notion of urban space as "polyvocal," with a variety of voices "enforcing, neutralizing and even counteracting the original intentions." Questions four and five of Blair's framework are especially salient here, given that they rest on the intertextual dimensions of a given object of study, and that the relational structures of a text are necessary for understanding how and why they are significant. I will concentrate on those two final questions as a means to help explain observations in section 7.4.

6. Analysis I | Starting Points

In the second phase of each of the case study sites I have chosen, I will apply the discourse analysis method I outlined above the *Yolocaust* and the *Salvemos Caranachel* to get a better understanding of how these memory sites work from the perspective of one viewer, or collective of viewers. I will test these conclusions in Analysis II to see if the positioning each makes is observable in the data I have collected.

6.1 Discourse Analysis of Yolocaust

The discourse analysis of Shahak Shapira's work will proceed in two steps: firstly, I will analyze the two versions of the *Yolocaust* site itself (during the project's initial phase, and the site Shapira set up after the unexpected critical and popular response), and the media reaction *Yolocaust* engendered. Ultimately, this analysis will position Shapira's work in the larger context of the MMJE and in relation to one social media platform in particular: Instagram and its geolocated posts of the site. In the concluding part of this section, I will place the two speech genres determined through Volosinovian Dialogism, with their inherent utterances in relation to each other, and will synthesize how they complement and perhaps contradict each other.

Figure 5: Yolocaust (source: archived yolocaust.de)

Shapira initially presented Yolocaust on January 18, 2017 with a tweet: "I have combined Selfies from the Holocaust Memorial with images from extermination camps: http://yolocaust.de/ #YOLOCAUST" (Shapira).[5] The original site, now only available in archived form as it was removed by Shapira to be replaced with an "Aftermath" postscript, was simple in its form. It featured 12 different images of seemingly oblivious individuals mugging for the camera, in various poses, with images of the extermination camps appearing behind them as the user moved their cursor over the image. The accompanying text was divided into two sections, a explanatory text, written in the third person, and an "FAQ," both presented in English and German. Given its brevity, the text is reproduced here in its entirety, with utterances of note bolded:

> "Yolocaust is a project by Israeli satirist and author Shahak Shapira that explores our commemorative culture by combining **selfies** from the **Holocaust Memorial** in Berlin with footage from Nazi extermination camps. **The selfies** were found on Facebook, Instagram, Tinder and Grinder. Comments, hashtags and "Likes" that were posted with the selfies are also included. About 10,000 people visit the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe every day. Many of them **take goofy pictures**, jump, skate or bike on the 2,711 concrete slabs of the 19,000 m² large structure. The **exact meaning and role** of the Holocaust Memorial are **controversial**. To many, the grey stelae **symbolize gravestones** for the 6 Million Jews that were **murdered** and buried in mass graves, or the **grey ash** to which they were burned to in the death camps" ("Yolocaust," archived version).

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[5] The original tweet was in German, translation is author's own. As of August 25, 2017 it has received 2,502 retweets and 3,612 likes.

Shapira builds a specific speech genre, localising the both the memorial and its visitors within a set of utterances that gesture towards the form and function of the site. He chooses to call the MMJE not by its official name, but by its popular alternative, "the Holocaust Memorial." He presents the users' approach to the site as one of "selfies" and "goofy pictures," omitting any other methods by which a visitor might interact with the memorial. With the authority of a nameless "many," he frames "the exact meaning and role" of the site as "controversial," all while making a clear statement on the intended symbolic value of the stelae - "gravestones" and "grey ash" - as metonymies for the 6 million Jews who perished in the Holocaust, not the abstract structures that Peter Eisenman envisioned them to be.

To complement this text, he includes the following "FAQ," also reproduced in its entirety, with specific utterances bolded:

"So what **am I allowed to do** at the Holocaust Memorial, **and what not**?" No historical event compares to the Holocaust. **It's up to you** how to **behave** at a memorial site that marks the death of 6 million people.

"Isn't this **disrespectful** towards the victims of the Holocaust?" **Yes, some people's** behaviour at the memorial site is indeed **disrespectful**. But the victims are dead, so they're probably busy doing dead people's stuff rather than caring about that.

"I'm on one of the pictures and **suddenly regret** having uploaded it to the internet. Can you remove it?" Yes. Just send an email to **undouche.me@yolocaust.de**" ("Yolocaust," archived version).

Presented as a mock "question and answer," the first person is used for those asking the questions, with the authority of the answers resting in the nameless third person, again inferred to be Shapira himself. In a similar way that the "about" section positions the reader and viewer of the images Shapira has constructed, the utterances in this space receive their appropriate "evaluative accent," that is to say they frame the hypothetical actions of the visitor to the site within the rubric of rules and potential regret for actions deemed "disrespectful." The "some people" Shapira conjures are a set of individuals worthy of a certain amount of condemnation, all while asserting, ironically, that "it's up to them." Addressing those who might have found their image in his work, he notes that an email has been set up (undouche.me@yolocaust.de). The significance of this utterance refers to the colloquial use of "douche" or "douchebag" as a way to describe an obnoxious or detestable person, so to "undouche" them would be to render them acceptable again.

The temporal negotiations are clear. As utterances that echo and reverberate with the past in the current words of Shapira, they function as building a clear bridge between the Holocaust as a historical trauma and the locative nature of the memorial as a space of remembrance, one that has clear behavioural cues. In Contrasting the vivid and commonplace language of the Holocaust ("extermination camps," "6 Million Jews," "mass graves") with the variably flippant language of popular culture ("selfies," "goofy pictures," "undouche") and of **condemnation** ("disrespectful," "behave," "regret"), Shapira establishes a speech genre and pattern that links the horror of the Shoa to the presence of representations of the MMJE on social media as insufficient in their expression of atonement or awareness. The images he uses are the clearest embodiment of this. With the simple movement of the cursor, the heterochronic, that is to say rapid temporal shift, of grey concrete becoming grey bodies summarizes Shapira's attempt to link a specific contemporary urban site with a vast set of strong visual representations of the Holocaust. [ADD HERE]

On January 27th, 2017 Shapira removed the original *Yolocaust* site and replaced it with what he referred to as the "Aftermath." Using a similar two-column approach in English and German as the original site, he begins by addressing the "internet," explaining the outcomes of the project: that the site was visited by "over 2.5 million people," and that the "project actually reached all 12 people who's [sic] selfies were presented" ("Yolocaust," updated version). Furthermore, he outlines the "tons of great feedback" he received from a variety of individuals, from Holocaust researchers to "folks who lost their family" during the Holocaust. Some of the responses are included on the site, and they reflect a certain selectiveness: they are anonymous and largely laudatory. Framed as "reactions," they add to what the Bakhtin Circle would refer to as the "interanimated" dimension of Shapira's speech genre, reinforcing the utterances and system of evaluative accents that he established with the original *Yolocaust* website. Some of the reactions are reproduced here, with utterances bolded:

"I am a **son of a survivor** but your background is even more **poignant**.

 [I] think people are not always aware of the **importance of a monument**.

I am a Pole, the history of my family is related to the **place of execution** of many nationalities [.]

I think it is **a fantastic project** and expresses a very thought-provoking message on the topic.

As a gay jew living in Berlin I avoid that place. Your project brings to light a very **serious problem** with visitors to that site.

I have been to the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin and **was moved by the installation** - I also found people visiting sometime [sic] **don't get the idea and act foolishly**.

I remember the atmosphere was grim and I had lost my appetite. I hope some people actually **become aware of the meaning** of their selfies as 'tourists'.

Thank you for **channeling your outrage** into something so impactful and for using your creativity to send a clear message rather than resorting to less effective and/or aggressive means.

Two days ago I went to auchwitz [sic] and **I was completely appalled** at the behaviour that was happening around me.

I really think it is a good way **to make people aware** of the **importance of respect** for the past.

Thank you for **bringing this behavior** to the world's attention.

They are called **selfishies**. **Selfishies.**" ("Yolocaust," updated version).

Firstly, the responses affirm and echo Shapira's original intentions. A number of reactions underscore Shapira's work: it is "a fantastic project," one that is productive in "channeling your outrage" in a "poignant" manner. *Yolocaust* addresses a " serious problem," mainly those visitors to the site that "don't get the idea and act foolishly," and ultimately "become aware of the meaning" of their "selfies/selfishies" as related to the "importance of respect." What the Bakhtin Circle would

refer to as the "genre/generic" conventions of the utterances undergoes the process of re-evaluation as related to the social group Shapira has formed with his project, and it sediments its aim: to directly associate the memory of the Holocaust with the location of the MMJE. In turn, this is used as a moral imperative to police behaviours, or the making of amends for "wrong" approaches to the MMJE.

Secondly, the reactions also expand the speech genres beyond the MMJE itself by specifically including personal narratives. One commenter is the "son of a survivor," another is "a Pole" born in Auschwitz, and yet another is a "gay jew living in Berlin." The associative utterances of these reactions ground their reactions to the selfie-takers and *Yolocaust* in their own personal experiences, relating their nationalities, sexual orientation, and family histories to *how* they feel, centralising their reactions by individualising them. Finally, the reactions also relate to the geographic and historical positioning of the MMJE. One commenter relates *Yolocaust* to their visit to Auschwitz and "was completely appalled" by the behaviour they witnessed. Others highlighted the "importance of a monument" and were themselves "moved by the installation," again expanding the associative power of their experiences to the larger context of memorial sites in other countries, and of monuments in general.

Shapira concludes his text by highlighting the specific instance of a young man leaping around the slabs, captioned "Jumping on dead Jews @ Holocaust Memorial" ("Yolocaust," updated version). The first image in the series, it was emblematic of the project, and is perhaps the most extreme example of the behaviour Shapira condemns. A combined misreading of the site (there are no victims buried at the MMJE) with a regrettable caption creates the ideal circumstances by which Shapira can prove his point, which becomes all the more salient when he includes the yolocauster's email response:

> "I am the guy that inspired you to make Yolocaust, so I've read at least. I am the "jumping on de..." I cant even write it, kind of sick of looking at it. I didn't mean to **offend anyone**. Now I just keep seeing my words in the headlines. I have seen what kind of **impact those words** have and it's crazy and it's not what I wanted (...) The photo was meant for my friends as a joke. I am known to make out of line jokes, stupid jokes, sarcastic jokes. And they get it. If you knew me you would too. But when **it gets shared**, and comes to strangers who have no idea who I am, they just see someone **disrespecting something important to someone else or them**. That was not my **intention. And I am sorry. I truly am**. With that in mind, I would like to be undouched. P.S. Oh, and if you could explain to BBC, Haaretz and aaaaallll the other blogs, news stations etc. etc. that I fucked up, that'd be great. 😁" ("Yolocaust," updated version).

The public and real consequences of Shapira's project are thus brought to the individual again, who has been ritually and roundly condemned for his actions, and made to understand what he has done wrong. The speech genre that relates to MMJE clearly to the Holocaust as a unitary symbolic space of mourning, and not of pleasure or aesthetics, is embodied in the way the utterances that Shapira and the social set of commenters that he has selected is echoed by the yolocauster in question. In being "truly sorry" and not initially recognizing that "offense" might have been caused by his actions, the "impact of his words" is relayed as a fundamental "[disrespect] to something truly important." The social aspect of this performance is clear - though the yolocauster in question saw himself as sharing the image amongst his "friends as a joke," the implications of circulating images on social media becomes all the more stark when they are reappropriated and commented on by others.

Shahak Shapira's *Yolocaust*, though short-lived on the internet, was met with a number of articles that responded to both his images and his claims. For the purposes of this section of the discourse analysis six newspaper articles were considered, from a range of including both larger media outlets and less recognized ones. I decided to concentrate on international publications to assess the larger framework of how the *localised* nature of the MMJE might be interpreted from a variety of perspectives. However, Shapira gave a number or interviews, one of note to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. It will be considered in a separate section, following the discourse analysis of the first set of articles.

The international media reaction was divided amongst editorial/opinion pieces and more conventional journalistic reporting. In discussing these articles, I will bold the utterance I consider important. To simplify the discussion, I will refer to the texts by their associated numbers from now on, all while providing the appropriate citations for the passages in question[6]:

I. James Kirchick, *Tablet*: "'Yolocaust': New Web Site Satirizes the Misuse of One of the Most Iconic Holocaust Memorials"
II. Owen Hatherley, *Dezeen*: "However Brutal, the Yolocaust Website Gave Meaning to Berlin's Holocaust Memorial"
III. India Bourke, *the New Statesman*: "The "Yolocaust" Project Conflates Hate With Foolish but Innocent Acts of Joy"
IV. Joel Gunter, BBC News: "'Yolocaust': How Should You Behave at a Holocaust Memorial?"
V. Phillip Olterman, *the Guardian*: "'Yolocaust' Artist Provokes Debate Over Commemorating Germany's Past"
VI. Lara Sanchez, *El País*: "The Creator of Yolocaust Withdraws Part of the 'Selfies' of Tourists at the Berlin Holocaust Memorial" (trans. author's own)[7]

To summarize, the thematic register in the articles was wider-reaching than Shapira's two *Yolocaust* websites, incorporating other discursive elements that he originally elided, and in doing so provides a wider context for his work. Articles I through III were editorial or opinion-based in tone, and the writers form a set of utterances that range from agreement with his work to seeing it as a provocation. The "**disgusting phenomenon**" at one of the the most "**iconic Holocaust Memorials**" is a cause for a reactionary loss of faith on the part of the viewer (Kirchick, 2017). Shapira is "**frighteningly successful** in doing what it set out to do – **shame**" (Hatherley, 2017). Contrary to this, "*Yolocaust* may have intended to provide a **space for reflection** on our **commemorative behaviour** but the result feels worryingly **sensationalist**, if not **censorious**" (Bourke, 2017). Furthermore, all the articles cite the current political climate in Germany, referencing Björn Höcke, a politician from the hard-right AfD (Alternative for Germany), and his comments about Germans being "the only people in the world who plant a **monument of shame in the heart of the capital**" (Kirchick, 2017), linking the date of his posting *Yolocaust* with Höcke making his statement. Both articles I and II

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[6] Full bibliographical information for these titles is available in the References Section.
[7] German and Spanish are not my native languages, nor am I more than basically conversant in either. When I add "author's own" to any translation, I mean to imply that I have used either translation software or picked a colleague's brain - most often both.

mention other projects that have employed images of the MMJE to varying effect, they include: *Stelen*, a 2012 piece by Marc Alderman that comprised 150 images from Gay Romeo and was presented at the Jewish Museum of New York, *Grindr Remembers*, a site that collected images from Grindr profiles that featured the MMJE, and *Tindercaust*, a similar site that did the same, only for Tinder, the popular dating app. Article II mentions Peter Eisenman explicitly, and commends Shapira for performing "a service – it **imposed the meaning** that Eisenman wouldn't" (Hatherley, 2017). While that meaning is unclear, it does point towards the oppositional position that Shapira's work takes on in relation to the established speech genres that are present around the memorial.

Articles IV through VI are more neutral in tone, establishing different circumstances for *Yolocaust*'s creation. Each give voice to Shapira himself, who provides further details about his work, including its creation: "it's **a phenomenon** I had begun to notice in Berlin and then I started seeing those pictures everywhere. I felt like **people needed to know** what **they were actually doing**, or **how others might interpret** what they were doing" (Shapira in Gunter, 2017). Furthermore, he expands on his conception of the MMJE: "Berlin's **Holocaust memorial isn't there for the Jews**, or even the victims – it's **a moral compass for future generations**, to **warn them** precisely about people such as Björn Höcke" (Shapira in Olterman, 2017). Article VI notes elements of Shapira's own history: he is the descendant of Holocaust survivors, and his grandfather, Amitzur Shapira, was one of the Israeli victims of the massacre at the 1972 Munich Olympics (Sanchez, 2017). The articles also bring in disruptive elements to Shapira's established speech genre ("acceptable" behaviours at the MMJE and the very public consequences of that "failure") by featuring Eisenman himself, who is clear in his rebuttal about "his" memorial: ""There will be fashion models modelling there and films will be shot there. I can easily imagine some spy shoot 'em ups ending in the field. **What can I say? It's not a sacred place**" (Eisenmann in Olterman, 2017). Article VI includes a social media expert who explains that "the portrayed are young people who tend to **avoid negative emotions**" (Sanchez, 2017). Article IV mentions an educator, who notes that "the generation of today is one that **experiences a great deal through the lens of a phone**, and it's **not about chastising, exposing, or humiliating** them. We try to **have challenging conversations** about what they want from a picture in that setting" (Gunter, 2017).

As such, the utterance and genre interactions that Shapira had established in *Yolocaust* are tested through these different reporting strategies. Though the notions of "shame" and "disgust" are returned to, receiving their "re-evaluative" accent from these commenters, the social implications or Shapira's work is also explored, setting it against the established, historical (in the sense of the past 10 years) utterances of Peter Eisenman. The "sacred place" of memory is not to be found at the MMJE, nor should the selfie takers be treated with too much contempt, given that experiential patterns have shifted, and the "lens of a phone" is a means of filtering life that is quite common. The muted tenor of this shift in debate demonstrates a certain "clash of live social accents," where Shapira's work is put to the scrutiny of others.

The two German interviews provide further details about Shapira's conceptual process as well as contrasting his utterances and claims against the larger context of established collective memory in Germany. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* piece positions Shapira, in a series of questions, in opposition to another set of speech genres, one that highlights issues of consent, the public and private notions of photographs depicting victims of the Holocaust, and what might be considered an alternative form of memorial or memory in Berlin. Jarosch (2017) questions Shapira on the

"**arbitrary**" nature of the photographs and of the montage, highlighting its "**tasteless**" manner of showing detainees in a certain way. Jarosch makes a direct link through a drastic formulation, "that one could also say the tourists **trample on the dead again**" (Jarosch, 2017). For Shapira, "**the dead don't matter**," the real issue is how the memorial reflects behaviours of the present, and "how well the young people of today deal with it." Jarosch then counters with the issue of "meaningful representation," that is to say that when certain painful images are made public and reproduced on a mass scale, they do not do justice to the actual horror experienced. Shapira disagrees, claiming that "**that is exactly what the Nazis wanted** […] the Nazis have always told the Jews that the world will never know what happened to them" (Shapira in Jarosch, 2017). For him, the use of Holocaust imagery has no negative moral implication, it is rather the "selfies much more **tasteless**," and the use of images of the extermination camps is "legitimized" through the discussion *Yolocaust* has engendered. There is also a value judgement at play in this instance: Jarosch claims that the composite images themselves might be "**grotesque**" or "**ugly**," to which Shapira counters with a revealing element of his biography, one that had not been mentioned previously: his "family was **murdered in Treblinka**, and that he does not share that opinion" and that for him "riding a BMX on the stele" might be considered an affront, and not the Holocaust image itself. When it comes to his own thoughts on the memorial itself, Shapira is less clear. Jarosch pushes him on whether or not *Yolocaust* is an "indirect **critique of the memorial** itself," which Shapira refuses to answer concretely, and when he is questioned on what an "**appropriate** form of memory" would be at the memorial, Shapira is also circumspect, replying that "everyone has to find that for themselves" (Shapira in Jarosch 2017).

The interview is enlightening because it provides yet another set of speech genres to test Shapira's utterances. Jarosch "re-evaluates" the genre interactions of Shapira's original *Yolocaust*, by reframing the meaning of "tasteless" in relation to his own use of imagery that some might find offensive, ultimately underscoring the non-representational nature of the MMJE. Blocks of concrete cannot mean anything unless they are placed within the context of something, and what Shapira chooses to represent the communicative strategies (the selfies) that he finds distasteful with yet another "tasteless" appropriation - the loaded and symbolic images of the Holocaust survivors or victims themselves. The utterance of "tasteless" is tested in two ways, accentuating how the "meaning/theme" dichotomy of the Bakhtin Circle works: for Shapira, it relates to the social context in which the selfies are taken, for Jarosch it is the use of the horrific images of the Holocaust. In each instance, the "theme" of "tasteless" is different, and I think it reflects the "sensitive index of social changes," that is to say that what Shapira wants to provoke in another set of speech genres around the Holocaust (representing the horror is beyond the pale) is a "re-evaluation" of what we might consider to actually be the most egregious images related to the Holocaust and remembrance (Volosinov in Collins 1999, 75). For Shapira, the "dead don't care," and though his utterances reverberate with specific instances of historical trauma (specifically his own), his rhetorical strategy is to concentrate on the current struggle for meaning in a contemporary period.

6.1.3 Conclusions

The first section of this discourse analysis dealt with *Yolocaust* as a discrete object, and the second attempted to move the frame beyond the Shapira's work to consider the discursive strategies around the MMJE in the popular press. The first set of speech genres that Shapira

establishes rest on the notions of "moral transformation," and "acceptable" behaviour, and if that proper shift does not occur, one might consider the space to be a "ritual failure," and the perpetrators made to atone in the public sphere. Considering the framework of *Yolocaust*, and Shapira's own self-selectivity from the onset when it came to the images he used and the comments he shared, the critical and complicated nature of remembrance is omitted to favour a set of utterances that position the memorial in a clear moral space: selfies are bad, but the alternatives are less clear. What are we supposed to do, what would be acceptable to Shapira? Furthermore he relates two important pieces of information, but only in the interviews. His family was murdered at Treblinka, and that "Berlin's Holocaust memorial isn't there for the Jews, or even the victims – it's a moral compass for future generations" (Shapira in Olterman 2017). Thus, the narrative of *Yolocaust* is set within another discursive space, one that relates to identity and personal history, in which Shapira can be localised. His claims are not without value, but they do provoke - in Analysis II, I will evaluate *if* and *how* this established set of discursive patterns exists around the MMJE on Instagram.

6.2 Discourse Analysis of Salvemos Carabanchel
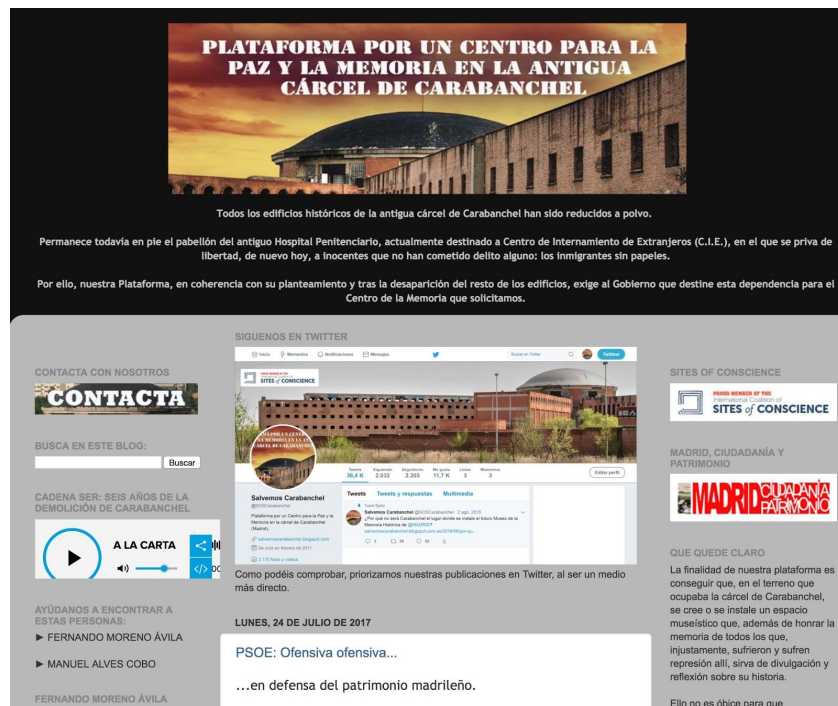
Figure 6: *Salvemos Carabanchel blog*

As discussed above, *Salvemos Carabanchel*, the community group that was formed to contest the Carabanchel Prison site's reuse without necessarily acknowledging its past, first prioritizing protests in physical space and before moving to the online realm with their blog and Twitter account (@SOSCarabanchel). This discourse analysis will be less exhaustive than that of the *Yolocaust,* and will use text from their blog to explain their positioning and speech genres. I will include a brief conclusion before turning to a comparative of *Yolocaust* and *Salvemos Carabanchel.* It is already clear about what *Salvemos Carabanchel* wanted to achieve through its use of Twitter, as they indicate on the header of their blog that, "as you can see, we prioritize our publications on

Twitter, being a more direct means [...] to communicate and share news related to the purpose that, after more than nine years, continues to drive us (trans. author's own) ("*Salvemos Carabanchel*").

6.2.1 The Blog

One contributor to *Salvemos Carabanchel* set the speech genre that frames the blog succinctly when they ended a recent post with "Madrid continues to be a city without memory." As a polemical statement, it clarifies the evaluative accents of the utterances that the rest of the site uses: in essence, their right to understand and process the historical memory they see as most essential. The blog itself is a combination of images, texts, and declarations, where the entire webpage is filled with references to the FCPS, its missing inmates, and the current efforts to make the site into a designated memory space. The header, under an image of the ruined Carabanchel Prison, reads as such, with utterances of note bolded:

> "All the **historical buildings** of the old prison of Carabanchel have been **reduced to dust**. The flag of the former Penitentiary Hospital is still flying, currently housing the Internment Center for Foreigners (CIE), where **innocent people** who have committed no crime have **been deprived of their liberty**, such as undocumented migrants. Therefore, our Platform, consistent with its approach and after the **disappearance of the rest of the buildings**, **demands** that the Government allocate this space for the **the memorial** which we requested (trans. author's own)" ("Plataforma por un centro Para La Paz")."

Furthermore, they list a series of demands, under an icon declaring their association with the *Sites of Conscience*, an international coalition of organizations that advocate for memory sites across the world, to clarify their mission. The utterances of importance are bolded:

> "TO BE CLEAR:
> The purpose of our platform is to ensure that, in the area occupied by the Carabanchel prison, a **museum space is created or installed** which, in addition to **honoring the memory** of all those who **unjustly suffered and suffer repression** there, includes a **reflection on its history**. However, this does not prevent us from sharing other social and neighborhood claims:
>
> - **Immediate closure of the Carabanchel CIE** (officially masked with the name "de Aluche")
> - Allocate **ALL the space of the site to social facilities**, including the promised hospital, given the insufficient attention given at Hospital Gómez Ulla (whose capacity is too low)
> - Construction of a residence for retirees, not to be forgotten in in some districts with more than 55,000 people over 75
> - **Cleaning and development** of the surroundings of the church of Nuestra Señora la Antigua (the oldest original construction in the area, today **totally abandoned**) and of the remains of the old estate owned by the Empress Eugenia de Montijo

- Completing the Eugenia de Montijo Park, with the **definitive abandonment of the fast-track project** and the valorization of the i**mportant archaeological remains found in the subsoil**
- Opposition to the extension of the parish cemetery to the grounds of the Eugenia de Montijo Park

74 years of almost uninterrupted operation of the prison (including the more than 9 that the CIE has been active) have **meant a stigma for our neighborhoods** that must **be compensated**, at least with a **positive future for the area** (trans. author's own)" ("Plataforma por un centro Para La Paz")."

The blog posts themselves contain utterances that set the stated goals of *Salvemos Carabanchel* up against the various interactions the group has with political actions surrounding the FCPS. In reference to the PSOE's (the Socialist Party) position on sites of memory they adopt a combative stance: "we are currently dealing with what we might call an **"offensive" in defense** of some **symbolic buildings** in the city of Madrid." In commenting on the inauguration of a new memorial for the victims of the 1954 uprising in Hungary, they comment on the city's land appropriation process: "the speed of the permitting process, the transfer of the public park where it is located and, above all, that notable and representative delegates attended the ceremony, contrasts with the **indifference, if not the contempt, with which thousands of [Spanish] victims are treated**." In relating one of the failed proposals, they express a generalised sense of exasperation with how the national governing PSOE dealt with the site before it was destroyed:

"opting for **Carabanchel would be to recognize the enormous nonsense** they committed in 2008 when they **demolished the buildings that would have been the ideal container to house this museum**. It would also c**ontradict the miserable offer with which they tried to silence our voices**: "... *a simple plaque* ... " **Carabanchel would remind them**, at all times, what they did eight years ago" (trans. author's own)" ("Plataforma por un centro Para La Paz")."

All these instances build a speech genre whose utterances are anchored both in the past (**"thousands of [Spanish] victims"**, "**unjustly suffered and suffer repression"**, "**historical buildings**") while anchoring them in the present life of the neighbourhood ("**positive future for the area,**" "**cleaning and development,**" "**honoring the memory**"). By "interanimating" in the Bahktinian sense these utterances with each other, the evaluative accents of *Salvemos Carabanchel* take on a dimension that attempts to equate future prosperity with a procedural "memory way," that is to say that "compensation" for the wrongs perpetrated in the neighbourhood necessarily depend on the state interceding and providing legitimacy to their claims. In this sense, the speech genres elaborated on by *Salvemos Carabanchel* are "both a site of and a stake in the social conflicts" (Collins 1999, 77). As they are modulated to answer to each political claim, their re-evaluation becomes more pertinent. Whether this strategic positioning exists on Twitter will be explored in Analysis II.

6.3 Comparing The Discourse Strategies of Yolocaust and Carabanchel

Yolocaust and *Salvemos Carabanchel* approach urban memory as related to conflict in different ways. In a discursive sense, *Yolocaust* emphasizes the "shame" and "disrespect" of not

adequately approaching the MMJE correctly, the speech genres that Shapira establishes rest on the notions of "moral transformation," and "acceptable" behaviour, and if that proper shift does not occur, the "re-evaluative" nature of the utterances is played out in the public sphere. *Salvemos Carabanchel* is more organisational and socially-oriented in nature: they seek with their utterances and stable types to build a notion of "legitimacy" to their claims, that is to say that they link the historical nature of the FCPS to the community in the neighbourhood. While Shapira builds and contests his speech genre from a personal memory, *Salvemos Carbanchel* takes their starting point to be the collective struggle of a neighbourhood, composed of a number of voices and actors, working towards the same goal, despite the (perceived) indifference of the institutional structures that govern the planning and policy that would make their stated objective a reality.

Beyond the discourse, both *Yolocaust* and *Salvemos Carabanchel* exist within the matrix of the digital bricolage and globital memory. As constituent parts of globital memory, they operate within Reading's (2014) "uneven field of struggle," where the communicative strategies and dominant speech genre of Shapira's work embodies was quick to get a reaction, and a response from the media. Within that same theme, the urban memory processes that *Salvemos Carabanchel*, though related to remembering conflict and articulating *what* a monument should also be, is not given the same attention, belying what kinds of memory spaces are favoured. They represent the "the margins of society" in James' (2013) definition of the digital bricolage, communicating through a layered creation of space in the blog: "bits and pieces" that they incorporate are the images, thoughts, and statements of others, ultimately to "speak *through* things, as well as *with* them" Dezeuze 2008, 31). This speaking *through* and *with* is accomplished by the juxtaposition of histories (the missing inmates), of intentions (the manifestos), and the active commentary (the posts themselves), providing a nuanced form of memorialization that straddles time periods, all while keeping a focus on the FCPS. Shapira is also a *bricoleur* with *Yolocaust*, but his bricolage is a reconstruction of time localized differently: the historical space of the Holocaust as a generalized, horrific, and abstracted evil is made to fit together with the "artefact" of both the MMJE and the photographs of the visitors to the site. The new "insight" in this instance is how vast globital memory is, which allowed him to take and appropriate the images for his project, reinforcing how "uneven" the field in fact is - his position as the arbiter of meaning would not have existed so easily before the rise of digital technology.

7. Analysis II | (Alternative) Digital Embodiments of Urban Memory

In this section, I will explain how I collected the data from Instagram in the case of *Yolocaust*/MMJE and from Twitter in the case of FCPS. From there, I will build on the previous conclusions from the discourse analysis by commenting on how they relate to the social media sets in three sections: the MMJE Instagram, @SOSCarabanchel in relation to materiality and discourse, and the case of #Charlottesville, providing a reading of how alternatives might be present in how digital space can (re)presents the specific urban memory sites.

7.1 Building a Dataset for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

Though the initial inspiration for the first research object is Shahak Shapira's *Yolocaust*, the actual observable phenomena is the geo-tagged images of the MMJE on Instagram. In keeping with

the notions of posts as social texts, polyvocal in nature, and each containing elements of a synthesized bricolage of meaning, the strategy was two-fold, and followed Boy and Uitermark's (2015, 2017) general methodology: observable elements on the micro and macroscopic levels. Though their analysis refers to strategies related to network theory, in this case it was the experiential and aesthetic qualities of the image-text that were to be highlighted, in relation to the aforementioned discourse analysis on the responses to Shapira's work - that of selfie-takers and general "disrespect" to the MMJE, and what it represents. Given that almost 7,000 posts were hashtagged as #monumenttothemurderedjewsofeurope or the German equivalent and an unspecified number geolocated to that specific site[8], to keep the scale manageable and within the bounds of what is feasible in terms of a research sample, a total of 207 Instagram posts were logged and their characteristics noted, over a period of two weeks, from July 30, 2017 to August 16, 2017.

When a location is searched for on Instagram, the well-organized and ordered website interface is divided into a map, locating the geotagged posts, and two sections: "top posts" and "most recent" posts. How these sections are determined is unclear - for the former, Instagram's help page explains that "top posts appear on trending hashtags and places to show you some of the popular posts tagged with that hashtag or place" (Instagram, 2017). For the latter, it is the most recent posts "of interest" to a particular user. Thus, it is important to note in both instances that the posts in question have been carefully calibrated based on Instagram's algorithm, which takes into account your profile preferences in type of post that you view, the people you follow, and the hashtags that you have used in the past (www.socialstudioshop.com 2015). As such, Instagram is already selective in what is shared with each user, stratifying what posts it chooses to highlight and build a given digital bricolage with. The experience of using Instagram is subjective and cannot be controlled for these biases.

On the macro scale, a typology of characteristics of 198 posts were recorded from Instagram's "most recent" section. The aesthetics of the images themselves were divided into 4 categories, which are as follows:

1.Presence of bodies	2.Situation	3.Composition	4.Significant Details
Full body	In stele	Low Angle	Back to Camera
Half body	Jumping on Stele	Panoramic View	Balancing Between Stele
Hand	Sitting on Stele	Perspective View	City Visible
Only head	Standing on Stele	High Angle	Closeup
2 bodies	Whole Memorial		Flowers
Multiple Bodies			Looking at Camera
Selfie 2 bodies			Looking at Each Other

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[8] Instagram does not share this data.

Animal			No City Visible
No Body			No Head Visible
Picture of a Picture			Not Looking at Camera
			Only Legs Visible
			Trees Visible

These categories are useful as they allow for a systematic way to track what users consciously choose to prioritize in their shared image of the MMJE: whether they include themselves, others, or no one; whether they feature almost (if not all) of the memorial, or just part of the stele rows; whether they decide to be active or passive by staring into the camera or appear contemplative; and whether the surrounding urbanscape is included or not. In a few cases, the unique details that were of note to these users was also recorded, such as "flowers." Furthermore, the colour composition of the posts was recorded - if they were black and white or in colour, as this function is also another significant element of the overall aesthetic of a post. A detailed visual glossary including examples of each of these characteristics is found in Appendix 2.

Another element of posts on Instagram is their captions, which can function as a means by which the user can contextualize, comment on, or locate their image with text and hashtags. These were also recorded, and divided into a set of discursive categories, which are as follows:

1. **Quotation**: the user is clear in their use of a quote from another author to frame their image.
2. **Hashtag:** the user makes use of a single or a number of hashtags, either alone or with an accompanying comment.
3. **Emoji**: the user includes an emoji, either as a unique symbolic element, or in combination with a comment and/or hashtags.
4. **Comment**: the user provides a textual element to their post, divided into the following sub-categories:
   a. **Architectural**: the user reflects on the architectural nature of the memorial.
   b. **Contemplative:** the user reflects on the symbolic nature of the memorial's function as a site of memory of the Holocaust, or relates it another site of memory/personal experience.
   c. **Travel:** the user relates the monument to their touristic itinerary through Berlin, or simply comments on its nature as a site to visit in the city.
   d. **Other:** the user's motives are not discernable and/or do not relate to the MMJE.

Either standalone or in combination, these various elements of an Instagram caption work to elucidate the meaning of the image-text in question, revealing a variety of complex structures that underpin the motivations for why a user might post an image. Though sometimes ironic, they can also help flesh out earnest reasons for why a user would add their own image to a digital bricolage of space. Furthermore, they provide a base for the discourse analysis that will follow, as this raw

material is contextualized as social text. The datasets for this macro data can be found in Appendix 3.

On the micro scale, another typology of characteristics of nine posts were recorded from Instagram's "top posts" section for the geolocated MMJE. These posts are the ones that are the most commented on and liked at a higher rate for a period of time, usually six hours. They offer an opportunity to analyse certain attributes of their function as social texts in further detail. As such, they complement to and contrast with the macro scale data, and provide another opportunity to observe certain given attributes of social texts as they possibly interact with each other. Taking a slightly modified approach to these nine posts, the following aesthetic characteristics were noted, with the same considerations as above:

Portrait 3/4	Sitting on stele
Portrait full body	Middle distance stare
Portrait Group	Turned away from camera
Portrait 3/4, arm on heart	Six women leaning against stele
No person featured	Perspective shot with city visible
Full body	Shot from above with stele in view
In stele row	Perspective shot with low angle and staring at camera
Standing on stele	Perspective shot with low angle and not looking at camera

As with the macro data of the other 198 posts, the caption information was also noted, using the same evaluative categories. However, given that these posts are to be analysed in further detail, additional attributes were recorded for these posts. They are as follows:

1. **Likes:** refers to the number of **likes** from other users the post received at the time of its recording. Given Instagram's algorithm, some of the top posts may have a relatively lesser number of likes, but that may include a higher proportion of interactions from their followers in a short period of time.
2. **Comments:** the number of comments from other users and interactive replies from the poster. Instagram's commenting system is dialogic, where the poster must address the users in question using the "@username" function.
3. **Positive/Negative Comments:** the number of each was recorded, based on the poster's original caption. This is a subjective evaluation, and does not necessarily relate to opinions of the MMJE in question, rather what the poster chose to foreground in their textual explanation of the image, or its interplay with the image.

4. **Highlight Comment:** if necessary, a significant comment was recorded, either in a negative or positive vein, ultimately to summarize how that particular post was perceived by other users.
5. **Country Of Origin:** this refers to the poster in question's country of origin, if it could be determined, based on either the information they provided in their Instagram biography, or using a Google search with their name.
6. **Posts, Followers, Following:** this refers to the user's general profile, not to the post about the MMJE. It was recorded to get a better sense of their Instagram habits. The number of posts can denote if they are a frequent user, and their network, determined by both followers and profiles they follow can indicate how much they engage on Instagram.
7. **URL:** the post's URL was recorded if it needed to be referred to at a later date.
8. **Notes**: anything of significance that did not fit into the above categories.

For category 3 and 4 (Positive/Negative Comments and Highlight Comments), an extra step was included. If there was a positive or negative comment about the user's representation of the MMJE that *specifically* referred to it, that user's account was also analysed using the same categories, but only if they themselves had posted about the MMJE on their own Instagram profile. The goal of this data collection is to flesh out these users' digital footprint and lives, expanding from the focus on the MMJE to reveal what other interactive elements could be uncovered. The datasets for this micro analysis can be found in Appendix 3.
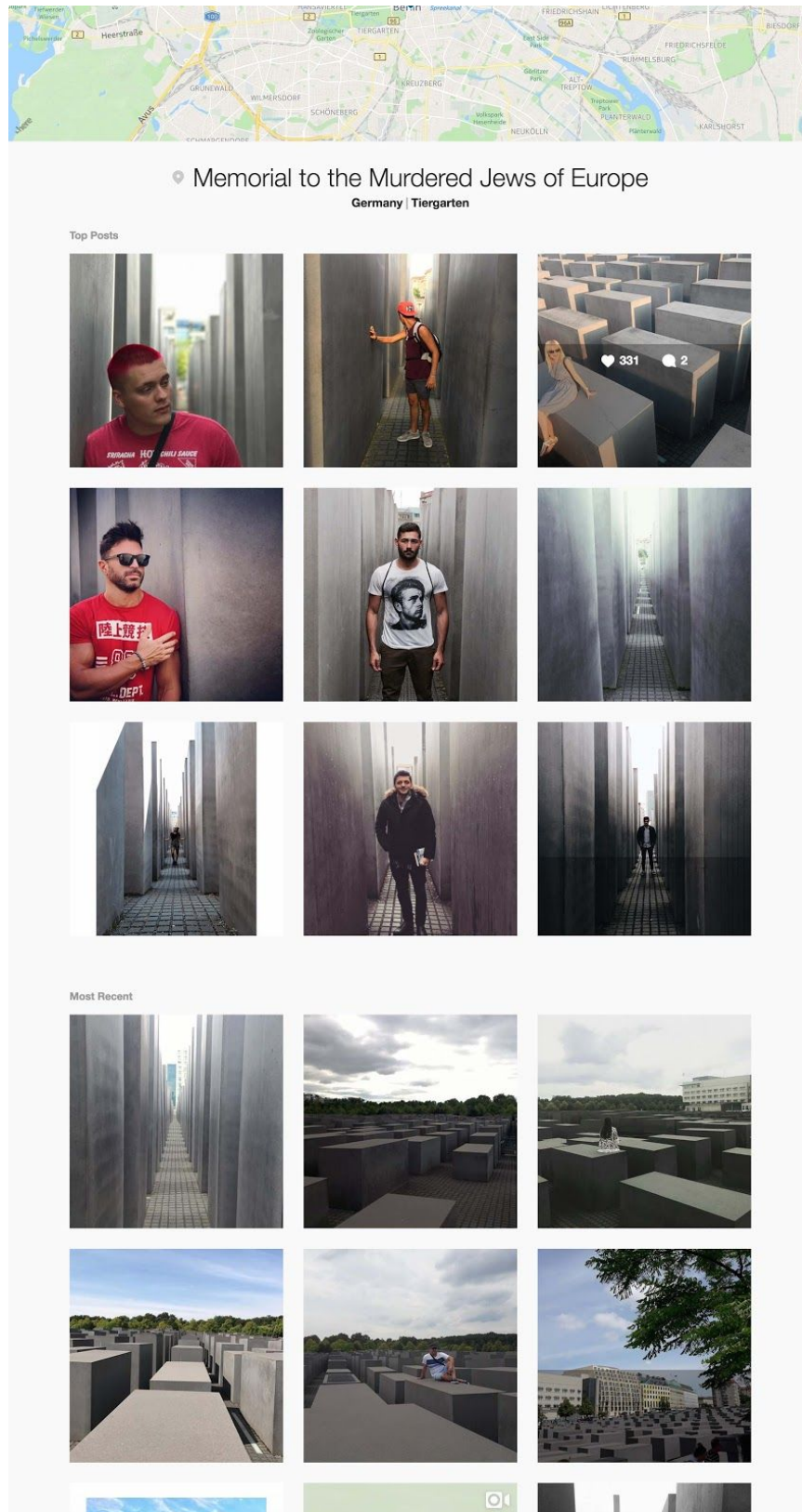
Figure 7: Geolocated Instragram for MMJE

7.2 Using Quintly and Social Media Twitter Tracking for @SOSCarbanchel

      Contrary to Instagram, social media analytics and tracking is well-developed for Twitter, mostly due to a large percentage of businesses and organizations using it as a means to market their products, increase their audience, or inform a community of their work. As such, a typology of data characteristics did not need to be developed as in the case of the Instagram postings of the MMJE. Furthermore, given that the research object in the case of the CPS is a Twitter account, the focus point was clearer for data collection. By concentrating on the Twitter profile and how information is articulated and shared, we can observe how @SOSCarbanchel functions in relation to its stated aim of keeping the memory of the FPSC alive, all while pushing for a memorial to be constructed there. The data was tracked and collected over a 2-week period, from July 30th to August 15th, 2017. With a total of 443 posts, the following information was logged, based on the tools offered by Quintly:

1. **Hashtags**: the total number of hashtags used in tweets that were either posted by @SOSCarabanchel or retweeted by them, with their respective count. As hashtags can be considered the basic syntax and grammar of Twitter, they provide an interesting insight into how tweets are to be understood, who they are directed at, and in what context they should be read in. For each hashtag, Quintly's system also logs the number of times it was included in a retweet or a favourited tweet.
2. **Mentions Table**: this refers to the number of times the @SOSCarabanchel twitter profile was mentioned by other users, including the "Key influencers" described above. It also includes information on the number of times each tweet that included @SOSCarabanchel was favorited or retweeted by other users.
3. **Own and Retweets Table:** provides the basic information about all the tweets on the @SOSCarabanchel feed for the two week period, including:
   a. **Message**: a copy of the message text that was posted, including any hashtags or links
   b. **Retweets and Favourites**: similar to the hashtag metric, this tracks how many time the given tweet was favourited and/or retweeted, indicating the level of engagement in the post.
   c. **Replies**: refers to whether or not the tweet in question was part of a longer chain of communication, where the @SOSCarabanchel profile replied to, or was replying to someone, using the '@username" in a similar manner to Instagram.
   d. **Retweet**: denotes as to whether or not this is a retweet from another user or an original tweet from @SOSCarabanchel.

With this information in hand, and in a similar way to the geolocated Instagram posts of MMJE, we can start to observe how the @SOSCarabanchel Twitter feed anchors a set of discursive social texts. By contrasting the marco data, including the total hashtags and information about the qualities of the tweets with the micro data analysis of what information is prioritized how @SOSCarabanchel operates as a dynamic and diffuse space can be expanded upon, perhaps anchored to the original site, but moving far beyond it. The datasets for this can be found in Appendix 4.

7.3 The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe: an Instagram Existence

I will begin by discussing the results of the social media analysis for the MMJE Instagram posts. Of the 198 independently assessed images and texts, I will proceed to organize and tabulate the posts using the established criteria that I explained above. I will being with the macro sets, and then a discussion of the micro sets, keeping in mind Shapira's positioning *vis-a-vis* the visitors to the site. For the image typology section, I made the following observations:

- 40% of the images contained bodies
- 32% were of individuals alone
- 1% of the images were selfies, and they were in fact of two people, not alone
- 3% were engaged in the "disrespectful" behaviours of jumping, standing, or balancing between the stelae
- 47% chose to feature their image of the stele rows
- 39% chose to approach the "whole memorial" and 52% chose a panoramic view and 45% chose a perspectival one

When the Instagram users were featured in the photographs, they exhibited the following behaviours, and chose to highlight the following features of the MMJE:

- 5% had their back to the camera
- 13% chose to look at the camera
- 13% also chose to look away, either into the middle distance, or at the ground
- 86% of the images are in black and white
- 14% were in colour
- 28% included some sections of the city
- 16% prioritized the trees at the other end of the memorial
- 4% chose to feature either a closeup image of the stele, flowers that were left behind in commemoration, or animals

77% of the Instagram users employed captions, but to a varying degree, choosing either to use only one of the typology options, or more. The average user used two, most commonly hashtags in conjunction with some kind of text. In the rare instance, a few users employed 3 or more. The following elements were observed:

- 6 users had quotes (eg: "Those who kept silent yesterday, will remain silent tomorrow" -Ellie Wiesel)
- 39% used hashtags
- 22% used hashtags related to the memorial (#memorial, #murderedjews #BerlinMemorial)
- 13% used emojis (eg: 😔, 😦, 🌳🌳, 💬💔)
- 37% included a comment (eg: "A thought provoking and very moving memorial to the slaughtered Jewish people from Nazi oppression. Sad and timely reminder of what can happen when people refuse to listen to or learn from history!")
- 12 users' comments were architectural in tone
- 26% were contemplative

- 35% were travel-oriented (they located themselves, or mentioned a travel-related item #Berlin, #travel, #Germany, #backpackers)
- 16 users were in the "other" category, where it was hard to discern their intentions

By and large, this analysis of the images does not compare with the speech genres that Shapira positions the MMJE in. Only a small number of individuals are behaving in the manner that he finds "disrespectful," and most do not even feature themselves in the photos they take. Most belie an interest in the aesthetics of the site, preferring to adhere to a fairly homogenous set of types - perspective views, and wider panoramas of the stele. The seriality of the images presented is innocuous in tone and in most cases quite demure in timbre - if a caption was included, they ranged from short reflections ("we are human" and "So that we would not forget") to longer, more ponderous pieces:

"The memorial has another meaning rather than reflection and self-absorption of the spectator, becomes a true artificial topography, is a public space, playful and appropriated by society. And it is valid to live the work, to sit, to walk, to climb, to enjoy it. Far from being a lack of respect as might at first sight be branded (original Spanish, trans. author's own)"

For the most part, these image-texts did not engage with the site in an sustained way, preferring to include locative hashtags and small bites of text, save those who prepared a quote related to the site and included it, explaining their feelings by contextualising them in well-worn words of others (Those who kept silent yesterday, will remain silent tomorrow" - Ellie Wiesel [sic]). Shapira also makes the claim that the MMJE is "for the Germans" as do a number of scholars (Carrier 2005; Kashuba 2001), but the languages used in the posts are either English, Spanish, Swedish, French, or Portuguese, demonstrating for the most part that the visitors to the site are foreign. In a similar fashion to Dekel (2013) highlighting the normalization of the MMJE through sustained engagement and practice, these Instagram users relate as much as they feel they need to, with most remaining at arm's length from commentary that might seem disrespectful or flippant.

For the micro analysis, I chose to focus on two posts, which I will describe in further detail. Using the method I established above, in the "top posts" section, I followed a negative posting to the other user's profile, and also undertook the same analysis for that user. In the following section, I will describe the interactions between *@Loreginer* and *@kaleyisiswolfe*.

Figure 8: Loreginer's Instagram Post

As one of the "top posts" for the period that the geolocated Instagram space of the MMJE was monitored, Loreginer's image of the site received 3,196 likes. Captioned with "La clásica," (ie the "necessary shot, the one that is required") the image fits into Shapira's general classificatory structure of "disrespectful" images of the MMJE, with the general obliviousness for the site's history and a composition that focuses on the individuals present in the image rather than the contemplative nature of the stele field. The image received a number of approving comments, but two negative ones as well, reacting in disbelief at the poster's attitude. I will focus on Kaleyisiswolfe's, reproduced here in full, with utterances bolded:

> "This is **really disgusting** and you should take this down. This is a monument to **Jewish lives lost in the holocaust**, not a place **to pose for Instagram**. Those blocks **represent literal murdered lives** so maybe take your shoes off them"

In this comment, we see echoes of Shapira's speech genres, berating and chastising the poster for their callousness. Though it is indeed a "monument to Jewish lives lost in the holocaust**,"** Kaleyisiswolfe conflates Eisenman's stele for "literal" representations of "murdered lives," rather than recognising their essentially abstract nature. In enacting the *Yolocaust's* stated aim in real-time, Kaleyisiswolfe is re-evaluating the utterances that frame this particular position on the MMJE. Furthermore, she is motivated to post her own image, with the following caption, edited for brevity, with utterances bolded:

> "I wasn't planning on posting this photo because I hated the culture of taking pictures at this monument and almost regretted documenting it [...] This is the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. **I was very excited** to see this place with my own eyes in the one day we had in Germany. What I saw when I got there was **appalling and disheartening**. People taking selfies, eating soft pretzels, and literally sitting on top of **the concrete slabs that represent the lives** of **my murdered ancestors** while making out or even tanning. Over half of the people walking through had a selfie stick

in their hands while doing so. **Parents were letting their children CLIMB** these blocks. **The heaviness and uneasiness that the artist was trying to convey** with this monument was completely lost to every single tourist I saw. I felt sick. I felt angry. **I felt invisible in my state of disbelief** as no one was batting an eye at this behaviour. So am I surprised that there are so many people ignoring, allowing and **apologizing for nazis today?** Sadly, not at all. Just look at how people treat a **physical tangible monument meant to reflect the evils of nazism** and the millions of lives lost in the holocaust and **you really don't need to know much else**.
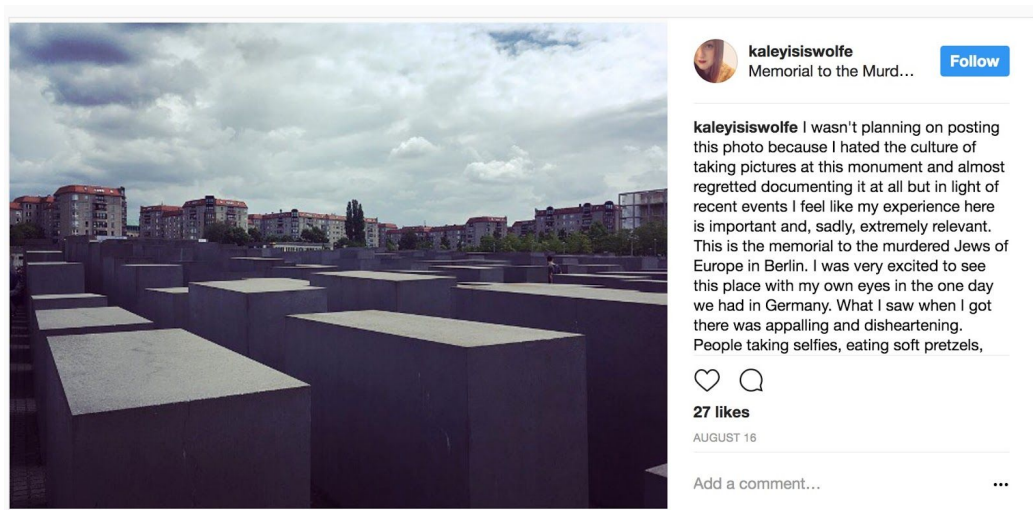
Figure 9: Kaleyisiswolfe's Instagram Post

Kaleyisiswolfe presents a sober image of the MMJE, focusing on a reaction that is polemical, yet highly personalized. She locates herself as a Jew, shocked by the behaviour of the site's visitors, finding it "appalling and disheartening," feeling "invisible" and equating the behaviour she is witnessing to "nazi apologism." Though perhaps an overreaction, it demonstrates the very visceral reactions that an individual might encounter at the MMJE. In this sense, we can consider how the text works in a performative sense as a rhetorical tool. Hess' (2007) 4th and 5th questions are the most relevant here (What does the text do to (or with or against) other texts? / How does the text act on person(s)?) because they illustrate the means by which a "feedback" of memory occurs: Kaleyisiswolfe, motivated by the Instagram bricolage of the site she identifies so strongly with, posts her own image, utilizing the speech genres of Shapira, the visual codes of "acceptable" MMJE images, and then re-evaluates his vision of urban space. Facilitated by the "unevenly distributed digital memories" of the digital bricolage she is a part of, Kaleyisiswolfe can participate in the "social discord circulating at the margins" by challenging Loreginer. Though I refrain from assigning a normative evaluation to this interaction, I believe that it nevertheless demonstrates how personal identities shape and influence online interactions.

7.4: @SOSCarabanchel: *The Concrete and the Ruin, or Discourse and Materiality*

The 442 tweets that I analysed demonstrate a different type of discursive pattern that the MMJE, and by sheer volume, the data proved challenging to tabulate. I will begin by some macro level observations on @SOSCarabanchel's tweeting behaviours before entering into a discussion about the methods by which the information is organised. Of the 442 tweets that were recorded,

only 26 were original, all the rest were retweets from a variety of organizations, groups, and individuals. In terms of hashtags, the primary means by which information is organized and articulated on Twitter, 194 different ones were used by either @SOSCarabanchel's own tweets or their retweets, of these the top 5 were as follows:

- **#13Rosas (12 times)**
- #StragediBologna (7 times)
- **#Badajoz (6 times)**
- **#FloresParaLaMemoria (5 times)**
- #MemoriaHistórica (5 times)

The bolded tweets refer to the 13 female victims of an early Francoist era massacre, and they bear heavily in Spanish popular consciousness. As a question of chronology, it was clear that the rhythm and cadence of the tweets went with the events that were commemorated, both in Spain and abroad, as they related to issues surrounding the FCPS. #Bajadoz refers to a bullring in Spain that was also the site of a Franco era massacre, and @SOSCarabanchel attempts to contextualize it in relation their own "lost" site. What all these interactions do is serve to reinforce and re-evaluate the most important utterances for the organization - that legitimacy as a site of memory is not bounded by space, though it is localised by it. The reflexive nature of online communications belies how these retweets start to build an accumulative archive of space, which through their careful selection, the @SOSCarbanchel *bricoleurs* are in fact making a sophisticated archive, "re-using existing artefacts" of small slices of time and place from around the world, bolstering their claim being part of a larger field of memory.

At a micro level, these tweets also contextualize the difficulties of not having a fixed site of memory, as is the stated goal of @SOSCarabanchel. The invocation that is often made on the @SOSCarabanchel feed is one of nostalgia, or recognition of the ruined nature of the FCPS. The traces of the site echo through the tweets they share, as "warnings" to others. In contrast to the clear aesthetic considerations of the MMJE, the ruins of Carabanchel, that are featured prominently on their Twitter header image recalls Hetherington's "spectral poetics," that focus on the ghostly and the haunted and so 'seek to give voice to these traces by emphasizing their evocative - evoking - character' (Hetherington 2013, 27). Ruins, according to Huyssen (2006), are where "history appears spatialized and built space temporalized." Both these ideas seem to be at work in @SOSCarbanchel, as the consistent "evocation" of the past, of the "dust" of the lost prison, informs how they experience each new tweet. The digital bricolage in their case is also an instance of memory at the "the margins of society," where through the uneven processes of "distributed digital memories" might not favour @SOSCarabanchel - they are not that popular a Twitter profile - their work in re-evaluating the spaces of memory throughout time still evokes the ghosts that others would want to suppress.

There is also a link to the MMJE in these sentiments. Ball (2008), equates Peter Eisenman's "'deconstructed minimalism' as [marking] the power of the rhetoric of sublime unrepresentability" (Ball 2008, 12). It is a view that isn't without its detractors, as Cocotas (2017) suggests:

> "The most human thing about this memorial, the most genuinely rousing thing about
> it, is an occasional chip on one of the blocks. A pile of dirt, subtly shifted and altered by

millions of footsteps, would have been a more moving tribute. A suggested intervention: Blow up the memorial and leave the rubble."

The humanity of failure, of failed promises, of imperfect and rough things, and of rubble is what animates the @SOSCarabanchel Twitter feed, and in thinking of the aesthetic concerns of the MMJE and its obsessive representation on Instagram, it is interesting to consider how it would be articulated differently, if the assemblage had different parameters.

7.5 The Case of #Charlottesville

On the weekend of August 12, 2017, a white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, North Carolina, protesting the planned removal of a statue and the renaming of a park, ignited a wave of controversy, panic and sadness across the United States when a protester was run over and killed by a white supremacist driving in a car. It foregrounded the dire nature of race relations in the country post Donald Trump's election and localised it in the highly symbolic urban fabric of cities in the south United States, where statues honouring confederate soldiers and generals had long been installed. As globital memory crosses geographic barriers by its very nature, the incident found itself becoming a reactive moment on both the MMJE Instagram posts and the @SOSCarabanchel Twitter. I will attempt a reading of how that functioned, to demonstrate how the concepts and themes that I have been discussing relate to Till's understanding of memory as a "process," that is finely attuned to different spaces, and is dealt with in varying ways.
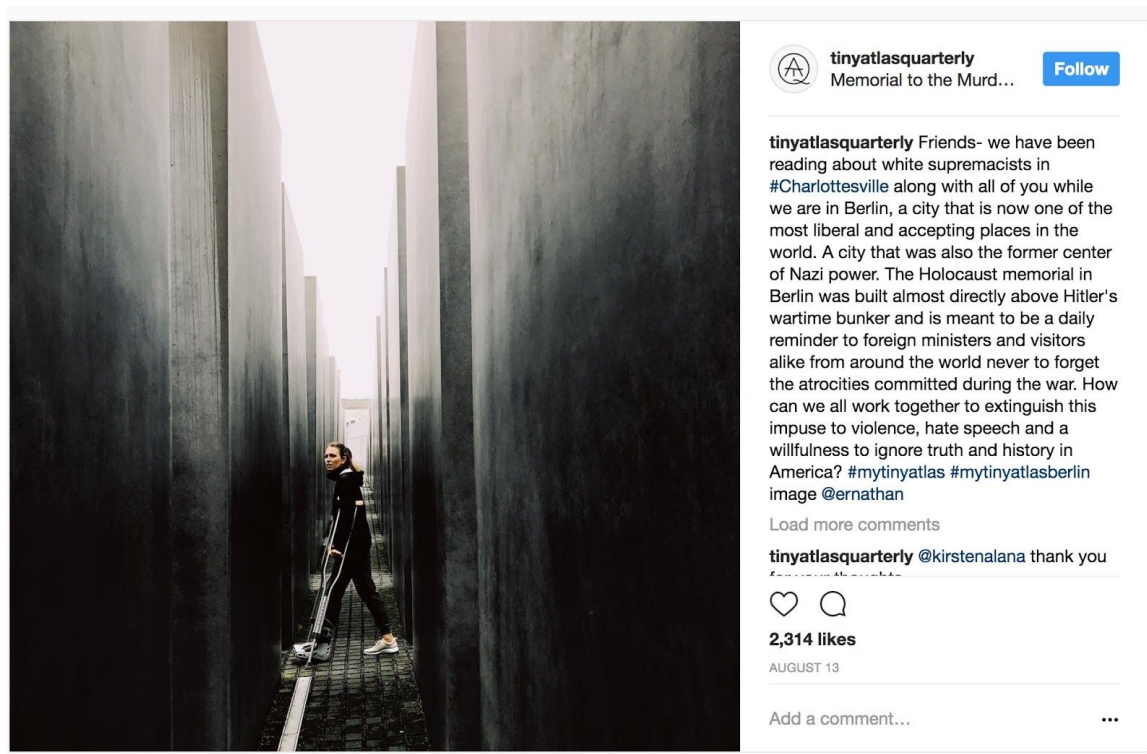
Figure 10: tinyatlasquaterly's Instagram Post

For the MMJE posts, they reaction was observable in both the macro and micro sets. One of the "top posts," by @tinyatlasquarterly featured #Charlottesville. In a reflective caption that

accompanied the user's image of themselves wandering through the stele, @tinyatlasquarterly addresses her followers as "friends" building a sense of community within the post, and relating how she has been reading "about white supremacists" while visiting Berlin, the "former center of Nazi power." She then localises MMJE and frames it as a "reminder" of war and violence and posits that it makes for an ideal time to reflect on how to "extinguish" America's worst impulses towards hate speech, etc. Her post received a 2,314 likes and 42 comments, commending her for her message. In total, another four Instagram posts referenced Charlottesville. All except one featured the contemplative images that did not include themselves in it. Their comments are reproduced below, with utterances of note bolded:

- "**Never again**, Mr. Trump"
- "It was **surreal and frightening touring around Berlin** today discussing Nazism in Germany given the **horrifying news from back home** these past few days (months, years...) The threats of white supremacy and complacency are **real and grave and unacceptable**"
- "I felt **the need to come here** today"
- "Being here at the Holocaust memorial in Berlin felt **particular relevant** today. I never thought, in my lifetime, I would experience an American president **taking anything but the absolute strongest of stands against** bigotry and hatred. Pardon my French, but **fuck this coward that's in office**. Never again"

These captions also comment on the locative significance and importance of being at the MMJE at this specific time, relating the "surreal" nature and "relevant" situation of their encounter with the memorial. Beyond calls to action of "never again," all the users transpose their American identity and sense of belonging onto their experience, seeing *through* the memorial, and associating it with current events as they were occurring. In thinking of Hess' 4th and 5th questions about the rhetoric of memory, we can see how the memorial offers a counterpoint to the situation in Charlottesville, an inflection of hope to some of the users that there are ways to combat and challenge the things they see in the world as a problem. As such, the text of the memorial and the text of the image perform a kind of transformation, where ideas about remembrance are articulated *through* the experience of the memorial. In the larger context of the globital, these opinions can be shared immediately, and in the space of the bricolage of the Instagram feed, it can contribute to expanding the variety of dialogues that occur between users. As a means of expression that rests in the interplay between the text and the image, this bricolage uses the "appropriate" materials of the memorial and the memory of the Holocaust to make a link to the present.

@SOSCarabanchel's Twitter feed functions slightly differently. Over the span of three days, they tweeted ten times about Charlottesville, with only one being their own tweet, which was a simple "#Charlottesviille [sic] https://t.co/yvXnBUxA1z," which linked to a post from the Auschwitz Memorial: "Auschwitz stands today as a painful reminder of what rasist [sic] & antisemitic ideology can lead to, of what may happen when people hate." In keeping with the discursive value of Twitter and @SOSCarabanchel's consistent re-evaluation of the past in light of the present, they retweeted a number of organisations, including the Sites Conscience, the Anne Frank Centre, and the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau:

- RT @BBCWorld: Charlottesville death: Marianne Rubin, 89, joins protests https://t.co/8Y3W7bigTe

- RT @ 1916Abu: #Charlotesville #NeverAgain https://t.co/Ka6Phlualb

- RT @AdaColau: When hatred and racism planting, growing monsters. What you call it @realDonaldTrump, as of # Charlottesville ...

- @AnneFrankCenter RT: We tweeted the below three days before Charlottesville. Our only correction: **The alarming parallels of history** escal ...

- RT @AkishaRJones: Heather Heyer, the 32yo Who Died in #Charlottesville attack. Her last FB msg read, "If you're not outraged, you're not p ...

- @pnique RT: Why Trump does not condemn neo-Nazi murders of Charlottesville? **Why the PP does not condemn the Franco regime?** rhetorical questions ...

- RT @SitesConscience: Were These monuments erected in hate & amp; it still inspire today; We stand w / those working so bravely in # Charlottesville ...

- #Charlottesviille https://t.co/yvXnBUxA1z

- @demiguelch RT: What happened in #Charlottesville is further proof **that fascism is still there, dormant**. The more you know, the more prep ...

- RT @amauthausen: Fascism grows if no one does anything about it **#Charlottesville #NoPasaran** (trans. author's own).

In their accumulated digital bricolage of retweets points to their consistent strategy, which foregrounds historical elements of discourse from other sites or individuals, continuously making an argument that rests in localising the struggle for legitimization as a site of memory within the site of the FCPS and Spain - by retweeting someone like @demiguelch ("@pnique RT: Why Trump does not condemn neo-Nazi murders of Charlottesville? **Why the PP does not condemn the Franco regime?** rhetorical questions") @SOSCarabanchel is creating a clear throughline between the horrors of the Spanish past and the issues of today. By allying themselves with Charlottesville, they are reacting, in a rhetorical manner, to their mission as an organization that blurs the quest for a proper memorial with the awareness that they exist *for* and *by* a larger community, be it their online followers or the neighbourhood they claim to also represent.

8. Conclusion | Towards The Urban Memory Heterotopia

As a means of concluding, I would like to turn to one last image and briefly to one last theory, because I feel it offers a good synthesis of what I have discussed. Late in his career, Foucault turned to the idea of heterotopias, loosely defined as the spaces of *otherness*, where non-hegemonic conditions of physical being and mental understanding could coexist, and in that sense, could offer the emancipatory potential for contesting and re-imaging history (Foucault 1986). As a reflection of ourselves, the heterotopia "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault 1986, 8). It functions like the bricolage in that it assembles, but it acts more as a mirror of our own aspirations and thoughts: "it makes this place that [we] occupy at the moment when [we] look at [ourselves] in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal" (idem, 4). This real/unreal

juxtaposition of place slices through time, making them heterochronic, open to possible shifts in chronology - it is in many ways similar to the digital.

Figure 11: jaimevn99

Jaimevn99 stands on the stele, looking into the distance. The wet blocks and contrasting sky make him pop out of the scenery as he stares into the middle distance. He's Spanish, and as an accompanying caption, he quotes León Felipe: "Aquí se rompen las cuerdas de todos los violines del mundo/Here the strings of all the violins of the world are broken." A Spanish anti-Fascist poet who was exiled to Mexico, Felipe was referring in this instance to Auschwitz, but the feeling is transferable to the grey stones, and comes off as appropriate for the monumentalism. Jaimevn99 links and locks histories *in* and *through* the digital membrane, juxtaposing places, bringing parts of himself to the image and mode of remembrance that he choses. For a second, despite its selective and staged nature, Jaimevn99's Instagram image-text becomes a *heterotopia of illusion*, where I see the reaction I wish I had on that cold March in Berlin, rather than the disillusionment I felt with the space. What makes this unique and unlike any situation before is that I am able to open up these heterotopias whenever I chose and localise them wherever I want.

And that is why I chose to tackle this topic. The mundane as much as the special inhabit the digital realms we all participate in, and elucidating these small, but significant ways in how behaviours, presentations, and performances of interactions with conflict memory shape ourselves and those around us speaks towards how we build larger, cohesive urban communities. In elaborating on the research question of *How personal and collective social memories of conflict represented and contextualized in digital representations of urban memory space* I employed a methodology that rested on letting the research objects in question speak for themselves, by using a discourse analysis that let utterances and speech genres *empirically* determine positions of power and control. Furthermore, I used social media as a qualitative tool and object of study because it is so ubiquitous, and is often overlooked a serious venue for textual or discourse analysis.

In terms of results, the initial use of Volosinovian Dialogism on *Yolocaust* and *Salvemos Carabanchel* revealed clear positionings vis-a-vis their respective communities. *Salvemos*

Carabanchel and @SOSCarabanchel are fairly consistent in terms of their speech acts and bricolage tactics, building legitimacy through repetition, and by linking the history of the FCPS to a number of current events, all while echoing the "spectral poetics" of the ruins of their original site. Given Madrid's current political climate, it is unclear if @SOSCarabanchel will get what they want - a sanctioned memorial - and perhaps the *heterotopia of illusion* that they continue building with every retweet will continue the "process of memory" in a way that becomes self-fulfilling. @SOSCarabanchel may have already *become* the memory site.

Shahak Shapira's *Yolocaust* rests on shame and disrespect localised at the MMJE, creating a bricolage of meanings about the site that provide the evaluative accents he requires and leveraging the "uneven digital spaces" to get the reactions he wants. Though, for the most part, the Instagram posters are not the type to be that extreme or flippant in their images, as the data analysis of the geolocated posts demonstrated. Rather, save the micro analysis exception of @Kaleyisiswolfe and @Loreginer, the users at the site are more interested in the aesthetics or touristic potential of the site, gesturing somewhat broadly towards its status as a memorial. As such, these users are situated somewhere in between the extreme of Shapira's stele monsters and Dekel's delicate and emotionally transformed visitors - they mostly represent the mundane nature of a memorial that has become a fixture of Berlin. Both social media datasets contain a wealth of information that I did not have time to address, and a longer discourse-based analysis of large amounts of data could highlight even more the networked and dialogical quality to online communications as related to memorials.

It is when the topographies of memory are spiked for a brief moment that I feel this research is novel. In the case of #Charlottesville, an observable new set of meanings arose from the Instagram users and @SOSCarabanchel, as they related their lives and identities to the spaces they were visiting at that given time. #Charlottesville revealed how the recorded experience of space, working through the events surrounding them and the historical context of their making, offered transformative potential. As a future path of inquiry, I would expand this type of work to consider how other popular sites of memory are used to articulate experience around significant events. I would also suggest one last desire line for future research: Judt's (2005) assertion that "Holocaust recognition is our contemporary European entry ticket" tests the ideas of what "Europeaness" is, and in combination with the mostly international guests to the MMJE, any new research that aims to study the scalar relationship of memory structures around Europe could prove worthwhile, if their focus remains on Eder's (2005) narrative constructions of individuals from local, cosmopolitan, and national identities. How issues of re-territorialisation are affecting what gets memorialised where could be of great importance in the coming years.

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10. Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary of Social Media and Technology Terms

The following definitions were taken from TechTarget's "WhatIs.com" dictionary of technology terms (http://whatis.techtarget.com/definitions).

Active Monthly Users: the amount of unique users (individuals using the same IP address) who have logged in or used a website or application over a 30 day period.

Algorithm: a procedure or formula for solving a problem, based on conducting a sequence of specified actions.

Analytics: refers to the approach of collecting data from social media sites and blogs and evaluating that data to make business decisions. This process goes beyond the usual monitoring or a basic **analysis** of retweets or "likes" to develop an in-depth idea of the social consumer.

API: a code that allows two software programs to communicate with each other, and share certain sets of information.

Check-in: an act of "self reported positioning," where a user adds a geotag to their online posts to orient themselves in physical space.

Emoji: a small image, either static or animated, that represents a facial expression, an entity or a concept (among other possibilities) in digital communications.

Engagement: the number of interactions people have with content (i.e.: likes, comments, shares, retweets, etc.)

Favourite/Like: A way of signalling positive feelings towards a post on social media.

FourSquare: a local search-and-discovery service mobile app which provides search results for its users.

Geotag or geolocate: the addition of geographical information, usually in the form of latitude and longitude coordinates, to Web sites, images, videos, and social media posts.

Handle: Another term for a username. In combination with the "@" it addresses the user in question.

Hashtag: a tag ("#") used to categorize posts on social media according to topics.

Interaction(s): the number of people who either engage with content or form social nodes (ie retweet) over a given period of time.

Metadata: data that describes other data. Meta is a prefix that in most information technology usages means "an underlying definition or description."

Microblogging: a web service that allows the subscriber to broadcast short messages to other subscribers of the service.

Post(ing): to upload a photo or text to a given website, also defined as the entity itself.

Reach: the number of people who see your content.
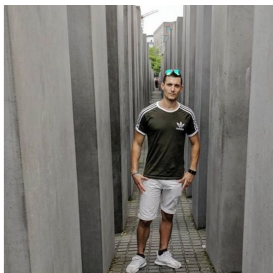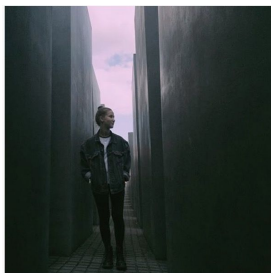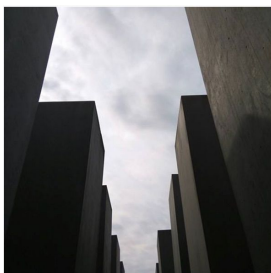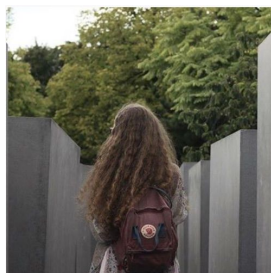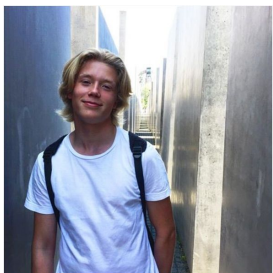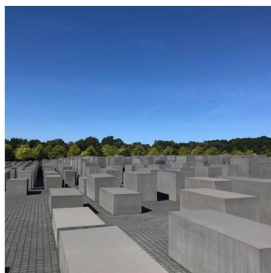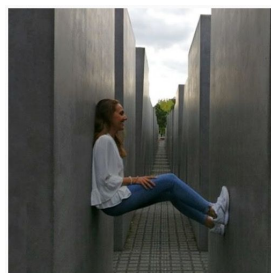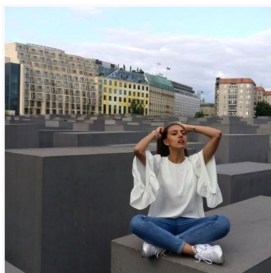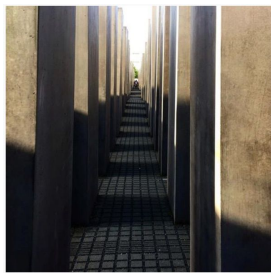
Retweet(ed) or (RT): the repetition of another user's update, or tweet, on Twitter. Like tweet, the term is used as a verb as well as a noun.
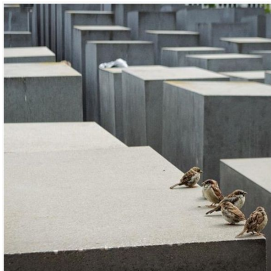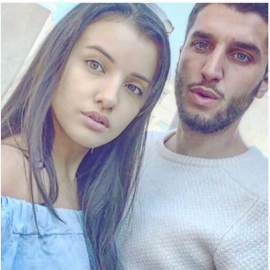
Twitter: a free social networking microblogging service that allows registered members to broadcast short posts called tweets.
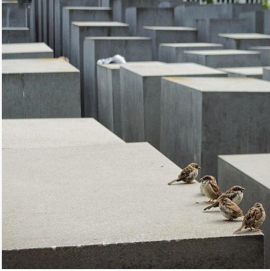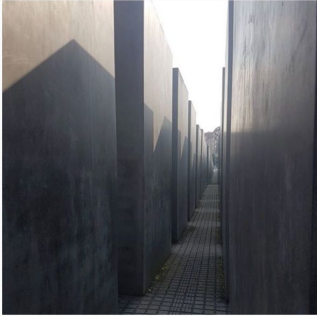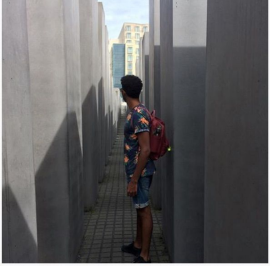
URL (Uniform Resource Locator): as the name suggests, it provides a way to locate a resource on the web, the hypertext system that operates over the internet.

Appendix 2: Visual Glossary of Instagram post Image Characteristics

The images below illustrate the typology of the Instagram posts that were analysed.

Full body	In stele	Low Angle	Back to Camera
Half body	Jumping on Stele	Panoramic View	Balancing Between Stele
Hand	Sitting on Stele	Perspective View	City Visible

Only head	Standing on Stele	High Angle	Closeup
2 bodies	Whole Memorial	Looking at Camera	Flowers
Multiple Bodies	Animal	Looking at Other	No Body
Selfie 2 bodies	No Body	Not Looking at Camera	Picture of a Picture

Animal	No Head Visible	Only Legs Visible	No City Visible
Not Looking at Camera	Trees Visible		

ORIGINAL TOP POSTS

ITEM NUMBER	PROFILE NAME	IMAGE DESCRIPTION 1	IMAGE DESCRIPTION 2	IMAGE DESCRIPTION 3	DATE	CAPTION	LIKES	COMMENT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	HIGHLIGHT COMMENT	HIGHLIGHT COMMENT 2	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	POSTS	FOLLOWERS	FOLLOWING	URL
1	aronmola	Portrait 3/4	In stele row	middle distance stare	16-Aug	BERLIN (German Flag)	1,390	3	3	0	n/a		ICELAND	1,054	16,600	530	https://www.instagram.com/p/BX262HQF-xD/?taken-at=2136776284
2	jardino129lbdancer	Portrait full body	In stele row	turned away from camera	16-Aug	Why cant were be friends?	688	18	18	0			SPAIN	107	1452	696	https://www.instagram.com/p/BX20thTDqBO/?taken-at=2136776284
3	loregner	Portrait Group	In stele row	six women, leaning against stele	15-Aug	La clásica	3194	22	19	3	Kayleylsswcfe: This Look at where they're tagg		SPAIN	125	25,800	1,133	https://www.instagram.com/p/BXwRgGsIHxa/?taken-by=loregner
4	francescoromne	portrait 3/4, arm on heart	In stele row	middle distance stare	14-Aug	A touching place in the wor	2887	28	28	0	I'm sure it is a very sa	Thank you @francescoromne	ITALY	1415	529000	322	https://www.instagram.com/p/BXyKN_zFdVU/?taken-at=2136776284
5	rheinmeg	no person featured	In stele row	perspective shot, city visible	13-Aug	"i would rather die a meani	2468	6	6	0			INDONESIA/GERMANY	46	9,783	1675	https://www.instagram.com/p/BXv8gi2DLg/?taken-at=2136776284
6	jamevn99	full body	standing on stele	perspective shot, city visible	15-Aug	Aqui se rompen las cuerdas	258	4	4	0			SPAIN	250	1284	757	https://www.instagram.com/p/BX23AKqzEc8/?taken-at=2136776284
7	savcamillaendd	full body	sitting on stele	shot from above, stele in view	13-Aug	Berlin'in gölegiinde 1900 m	254	0	0				TURKEY	192	4,268	802	https://www.instagram.com/p/BX3W8oyXHd2/?taken-at=2136776284
8	carlosdburgos	full body	In stele row	perspective shot, low angle, staring at camera	15-Aug	[Black Blocks]	416	7	7	0	FOTON		SPAIN	888	5915	1049	https://www.instagram.com/p/BX0mGjFyF8P4/?taken-at=2136776284
9	tinyatitsquarterly	full body	In stele row	perspective shot, low angle, not looking at camera	12-Aug	Friends- we have been resi	2,294	42	42	0	I was there like a weel	So many great grandparent	UNITED STATES	4718	127,000	3937	https://www.instagram.com/p/BXmJiCBhrlU/?taken-at=2136776284

"NETWORKED" TOP POSTS

ITEM NUMBER RELATED	PROFILE NAME	IMAGE DESCRIPTION 1	IMAGE DESCRIPTION 2	IMAGE DESCRIPTION 3	DATE	CAPTION	LIKES	COMMENT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	HIGHLIGHT COMMENT	HIGHLIGHT COMMENT 2	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	POSTS	FOLLOWERS	FOLLOWING	URL
3	kaleyslsswcfe	no person featured	middle view of full monur surrounding, city visible		16-Aug	I wasn't planning on posting	16	4	4	0	It's a beautiful piece, and the increasingly deep	n/a	ITALY	1,214	671	639	https://www.instagram.com/p/BX3mtrsIeBKY/?taken-by=kaleyslsswcfe
9	nomadic_norwegian	person featured, taking a	middle view of full monur perspective image, no city visible		01-Aug	The Memorial to the Murde	85	6	6	0			NORWAY	472	2198	681	https://www.instagram.com/p/BXRcgcDH1BK/?taken-by=nomadic_norwegian

APPENDIX 3: "MOST RECENT" INSTAGRAM

TIME OF DAY	ITEM NUMBER	IMAGE DESCRIPTION	IMAGE DESCRIPTION	IMAGE DESCRIPTION	IMAGE DESCRIPTION	COLOUR/BLACK AND WHITE	ITEM NUMBER	CAPTION	QUOTATION	HASHTAG	HASHTAG	EMOJI	COMMENT	ARCHITECT	CONTEMP	TRAVEL	OTHER
EVENING	1	Full body	In stele	low angle	not looking at camera	colour	1		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	2	head	In stele	Low angle	back to camera	colour	2	2,711 blocks...it gets quiet in the midd	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	3	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	3	Un lugar de profunda tristeza, pero es	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	4	half body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	4	Berlín, donde todo está guardado en l	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	5	no body	in stele	panoramic view	no city visible	colour	5	In wake of all the appalling violence th	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	6	no body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	6	Es mentira que puedes planear tu vida	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	7	no body	in stele	panoramic view	city visible	colour	7		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	8		in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	black and white	8	#berlin #architecture #Germany #phot	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	9	full body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	9	"Those who kept silent yesterday, will	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	10	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	10		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	11	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	11		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	12	no body	in stele	perspective view	high angle	colour	12		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	13	no body	in stele	panoramic view	city visible	colour	13	relembrar até onde o ódio e a intolerância pode levar.	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	14	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	14		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	15	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	15	At the Memorial Murdered Jews	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	16	2 bodies	in stele	perspective view	balancing between ste	colour	16	#berlin	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	17	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	17	[emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	18	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	18	Respect #Berlin #Germany #memorial	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	19	half body	in stele	perspective view	back to camera	colour	19	#112 "Aprenda a aprender de la histo	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	20	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	20	It was surreal and frightening touring a	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	21	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	21	A thought provoking and very moving	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	22	2 bodies	in stele	low angle	no city visible	black and white	22		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	23	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	23		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	24	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	24	#berlin	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	25	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	black and white	25	Being here at the Holocaust memorial	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	26	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	26		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	27	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	27		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	28	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	28	Su fotografi cekerken hissettiklerimi a	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
EVENING	29	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	29		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	30	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	30		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	31	no body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	31	#l4l #f4f #interbus #redbus #kirmizioto	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	32	full body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	32	white blocks	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	33	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	33		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	34	no body	in stele	perspective view	flowers	colour	34		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	35	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	35	"I shall always be oppressed, I shall al	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	36	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	black and white	36	Feeling small.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	37	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	black and white	37	[emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	38	full body	jumping on stele	panoramic view	city visible	black and white	38		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	39	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	39		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	40	half body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	40	#Berlin	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	41	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	41	#berlin #skøndag #memorialofthemur	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	42	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	42		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	43	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	43	#respect #memorialjewishberlin #berli	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	44	hand	in stele	perspective view	closeup	black and white	44		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	45	full body	In stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	45	Paying my respects.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	46	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	46		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	47	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	47	#berlin #sightseeing #sky #germany #	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	48	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	48	...	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
EVENING	49	full body	jumping on stele	panoramic view	city visible	colour	49		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	50	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	50	Berlin[emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	51	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	51	Memorial #berlin#memoria#shoa#host	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	52	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	52	The history of this place is just intense	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	53	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	53	#Berlin #memories	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	54	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	black and white	54		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	55	2 bodies	standing on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	55	— suspense —	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	56	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	56	Let this be a reminder that history doe	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	57	only head	in stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	57	#waky #waky #time to #wakeup the #	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	58	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	58	2,711 concrete slabs, arranged in a gr	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	59	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	59	waky #waky #wakeup #yoga #time #d	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
EVENING	60	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	60	waky #waky #wakeup #yoga #time #d	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
EVENING	61	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	61	Rows and rows of concrete slabs as a	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	62	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	62	Stunning memorial #berlin #memorial	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	63	full body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	63		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	64	half body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	64	Thoughts [emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	65	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	65	Think about what happened.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	66	half body	in stele	perspective view	back to camera	colour	66	In memory of...	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	67	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	67	Directions. #Berlin #memorial #Holoca	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	68	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	68	226/365	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	69	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	69	Spot the Jan	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
EVENING	70	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	70	We are human.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	71	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	71	It's funny how such a beautiful place o	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	72	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	72	O Memorial do Holocausto, em Berlin,	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	73	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	73	Mächtig. [emoji] #berlin #city #travel	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	74	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	74	Ocurrió, por lo que puede volver a pas	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	75	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	black and white	75		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	76	no body	in stele	panoramic view	city visible	colour	76	[emoji][emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	77	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	colour	77		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	78	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	78	#2.700stele#ebrei#sterminio#	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	79	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	79	Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Eu	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	80	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	80	America	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	81	half body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	81	Beklijvend. Zowel het monument als n	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES
EVENING	82	no body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	82	#tb #berlin #travel #memorial #jews #	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	83	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	83	#memorial #Berlin #touristic #history #	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
EVENING	84	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	84	[emoji][emoji][emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	85	no body	in stele	perspective view	high angle	black and white	85	#berlin#holocaustmahnmal#photograp	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	86	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	black and white	86	#blackandwhitephotography #blackan	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
EVENING	87	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	87	Berlin [D][E]	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	88	2 bodies	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	88	wunderschöne Stadt #eins	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	89	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	high angle	black and white	89	Berlin.	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	90	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	90		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	91	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	black and white	91		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	92	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	colour	92		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	93	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	93	2711 blocs de béton	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	94	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	94	Walking round there is really weird isn	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	95	picture of a picture	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	95	Berlin	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	96	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	no city visible	colour	96	Day 2 #nofilter #memorial #Berlin #Be	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	97	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	97	There's always a way out. #berlin #be	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES
EVENING	98	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	98	Berlin[emoji] #memories #germany	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
EVENING	99	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	99	We learn from history that we don't lea	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
EVENING	100	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	NOT MEMORIAL	colour	100		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
EVENING	101	half body	in stele	perspective view	back to camera	black and white	101	Can you remember who you were, bef	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	102	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	102		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	103	2 bodies	in stele	perspective view	looking at each other	colour	103	#travelling #berlin #friendship #meand	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
MORNING	104	no body	in stele	perspective view	trees visible	colour	104		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	105	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	105	A memorial like this puts into perspec	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	106	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	106		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	107	Selfie 2 bodies	whole memorial	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	107		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	108	multiple bodies	whole memorial	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	108		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	109	full body	sitting on stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	109	O NOT FORGET. [X][D][E] #berlin201	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	110	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	black and white	110		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	111	2 bodies	whole memorial	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	111	#memorial #berlin #history	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	112	2 bodies	sitting on stele	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	112	#memorial #murdered #monument #c	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	113	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	low angle	colour	113	Never forget #murdered #jews #mem	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	114	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	114	[emoji] to Berlin! [emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	115	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	115	#memorial #holocaust #berlin #deutsc	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	116	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	116	I felt the need to come here today.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	117	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	117	Não é falta de respeito, juro, mas sem	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	118	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	118	#holocaust #memorial #berlin #travelp	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	119	half body	sitting on stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	119		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	120	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	120	En un mar de concreto #memorial #be	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	121	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	121	[emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	122	full body	in stele	perspective view	balancing between ste	colour	122		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	123	multiple bodies	whole memorial	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	123	El memorial tiene otro significado	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
MORNING	124	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	124	BERLIN [D][E] Memorial to the Murde	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	125	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	125	Something is a little different about thi	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	126	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	126	Memory [emoji] #berlin#germanydays [D]	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	127	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	127		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	128	no body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	128	[emoji]	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	129	no body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	129	[black square]	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	130	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	130	[emoji] #memorial #Berlin	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	131	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	high angle	colour	131	Concrete.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	132	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	black and white	132		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	133	full body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	133	"I like to travel any chance I get, even	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	134	no body	in stele	perspective view	closeup	colour	134	#memorialtothemurderedjewsofeurop	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

MORNING	135	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	135	#berlin #germany #alemania #deutsch	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	136	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	city visible	colour	136	#berlin #levis #nikesb #mathieumphot	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	137	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	137	a reminder	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	
MORNING	138	full body	whole memorial	panoramic view	not looking at camera	colour	138	Şeref yoksunu kaybolursun inşallah or	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	139	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	139	Yagmurlu hava #tbt si #berlin #holoca	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	140	full body	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	140	#memorialofthemurderedjews #berlin	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	141	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	141	futuro ilimitado. #sofaraway	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
MORNING	142	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	142	#berlin #fox	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	143	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	black and white	143		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	144	multiple bodies	in stele	perspective view	looking at camera	colour	144	Obligatorisk bild	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	145	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	145	📍 Memorial to the murdered Jews in	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	146	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	146	🌳🌳	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	147	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	147		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	148	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	black and white	148	Memorial. (72/365)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	149	no body	in stele	panoramic view	closeup	black and white	149	#Berlin #memorial #history	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	150	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	150	#berlin #holocaustmemorial #travel #t	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	151	half body	in stele	perspective view	only legs visibe	colour	151	#Berlin #Germany #berlin2017 #mem	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	152	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	152		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	153	full body	whole memorial	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	153	Memorial of the murdered jews	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	154	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	154	Berlin, Germany	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	155	2 bodies	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	155	Berlin, Germany	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	156	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	looking at camera	colour	156	#interrail2017 #4	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	157	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	157	#germany #germania #memoriale	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	158	full body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	back to camera	colour	158	🥀	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	159	no body	in stele	perspective view	no city visible	colour	159	😊	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	160	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	160	😊	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	161	full body	in stele	perspective view	no head visible	colour	161		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	162	no body	in stele	perspective view	back to camera	black and white	162	#berlin #mybae	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	163	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	163	Memorial	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	164	multiple bodies	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	164		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	165	full body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	black and white	165	Always be yourself, because not much	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
MORNING	166	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	166	"Monsters exist, but they are too few i	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	167	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	167	So that we would not forget.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	168	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	168	Holocaust-Mahnmal. Berlin 2017.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	169	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	169	Never forget, never again! Love to all	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	170	no body	in stele	perspective view	trees visible	black and white	170	è impossibile.	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	171	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	171	#memoria.	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	172	no body	in stele	perspective view	high angle	colour	172		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	173	Selfie 2 bodies	sitting on stele	perspective view	city visible	black and white	173	Holocaust Mahnmal #Berlin	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	174	full body	in stele	perspective view	back to camera	colour	174	✡️ Mémorial Aux Juifs ✡️ #Berlin #his	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
MORNING	175	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	175	Those who kept silent yesterday, will	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	176	half body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	176	Här var man lagom slut efter en dag s	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	177	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	177	#berlin #ig_great_pics	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	178	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	178	#nowords #berlin	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
MORNING	179	animal	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	179	#berlin #fox	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	180	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	180	#Berlin #Germany #jewishmemorial #2	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	181	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	181	😐	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	182	no body	in stele	perspective view	low angle	colour	182	One of the most beautiful architectura	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	183	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	183	Å jode eller ikke å jode #berlin#fuckbe	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	184	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	184	Jewish memorial	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	185	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	trees visible	colour	185	📍 #travel #travelling #toptags @top.ta	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	186	no body	sitting on stele	panoramic view	city visible	black and white	186	#love #InstaTags4Likes #photoofthed	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	187	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	black and white	187	#love #InstaTags4Likes #photoofthed	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	188	full body	standing on stele	panoramic view	back to camera	colour	188	Denkmal für die ermordeten juden	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	189	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	189		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	190	half body	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	190	4 days around BERLIN #love #InstaTa	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	191	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	191	Never again, Mr. Trump.	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	192	2 bodies	in stele	perspective view	not looking at camera	colour	192	Sneak shot!	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
MORNING	193	full body	in stele	perspective view	back to camera	colour	193	#memorial #holocaust #holocaustmen	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
MORNING	194	half body	whole memorial	panoramic view	back to camera	colour	194	Remembering the past...	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	195	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	colour	195	❤️🧡 B E R L I N	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MORNING	196	no body	in stele	perspective view	city visible	colour	196	Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Eu	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
MORNING	197	half body	whole memorial	panoramic view	closeup	colour	197	Lost in silence. #berlin #eurotrip #trav	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
MORNING	198	no body	whole memorial	panoramic view	city visible	black and white	198	🙏🏼 #respect #memorialofthemurder	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

DATE CREATED	MESSAGE	MESSAGE TRANSLATED	link	MENTION CHARLOTTESVILLE	RETWEETS	FAVS
08/13/2017 18:44:31	RT @aalfayaocampo: @SOSCa	@aalfayaocampo RT: @SOSCarabanchel tibi terra levis @ARMH_Memoria No. eternal gratitude.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896865073104		1	2
08/05/2017 09:43:42	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Que su	@AmigosBrigadas RT: Let their names not be erased from history https://t.co/3cTrN1A3kl	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893829871092		24	31
08/14/2017 07:30:56	RT @AnneFrankCenter: We Tw	@AnneFrankCenter RT: We tweeted the below three days before Charlottesville. Our only correction: The alarming parallels of history escal …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	2865	3943
08/07/2017 04:09:35	RT @AnpiBrescia: @rosbet51	AnpiBrescia RT: @ rosbet51 @cgilnazionale @UILofficial @SusannaCamusso @fiabonlus @UispNazionale @AICSDirezione @paolobologn …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892296235301		2	1
08/06/2017 09:05:20	RT @apces: Hemos estado en	@apces RT: We have been in the mass grave in the cemetery of Oviedo paying tribute to our / as comrades killed by the Franco @ …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894182601849		25	40
08/13/2017 12:59:50	RT @ape_astronaut: If you a	@ape_astronaut RT: If you are ever in Cologne, take some time to visit the @NSDOK to Nazi Germany Learn about. Not just the history book looks …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896778332687		2	8
08/08/2017 10:43:06	RT @berflowersta: Y por eso	@berflowersta RT: And this is part of the party founded by ideological and political heirs who shot the author of Lo …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894931984140		4277	3928
08/14/2017 04:04:58	RT @CEstudiantilB: ¿Sabes lo	@CEstudiantilB RT: You know what happened in Badajoz 81 years ago? EXPLAINING ▼ HILO: The # MatanzaDeBadajoz ▼ https://t.co/Bog3eyoSIY Be Thank …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897066515585		1400	723
08/11/2017 17:38:53	RT @chilepatrimonio: Muy bie	@chilepatrimonio RT: Well, declaration of National Monument Site Memory Silva Palma barracks in Valparaiso was approved. UNESCO World Heritage Sites …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896123782514		33	36
08/14/2017 14:48:35	RT @ColumnaUruguaya: Graci	@ColumnaUruguaya RT: Thank you for your note Sergio Israel in @BUSQUEDAonline https://t.co/mH5m8N5mBL	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897168089237		4	8
08/14/2017 13:20:54	RT @conchacatalan: 31 diput	@conchacatalan RT: 31 deputies commemorate struggle fascism, racism, xenophobia, etc. during #GuerraCivil … in @UKParliament https://t.co/FT…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897146021930		9	6
08/14/2017 13:39:39	RT @demiguelch: @patriciof7	@demiguelch RT: @ @ARMH_Memoria patriciof76 @_jcgallardo @eldiaríoes Tribute, homage … Vale greeted the widow of Azana, but …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897150740996		3	21
08/07/2017 04:10:13	RT @demiguelch: Recomiend	@demiguelch RT: I recommend reading @ruthtoledano, although his last sentence I will cause nightmares 😱😱 @Honneur	https://t.co/oyasWmW2B via @ eldiar …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894470722680		14	16
07/30/2017 05:09:02	RT @demiguelch: ¿Qué repres	@demiguelch RT: What democratic institutions expect to expropriate a country house that Franco stole the Galicians? cc @ FeijooGalicia …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891586422884		42	29
08/13/2017 04:43:26	RT @demiguelch: Lo ocurrido	@demiguelch RT: What happened in #Charlottesville is further proof that fascism is still there, dormant. The more you know, the more prep …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	41	33
08/03/2017 06:03:35	RT @demiguelch: Lo sorprend	@demiguelch RT: What is surprising is that nobody has done before. A major initiative of the BNG: find out that we deny justice in E …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893049700445		11	8
08/09/2017 04:57:09	RT @docu_elena: @Madrizala	@docu_elena RT: @Madrizalaizquie @teresafdez @doctorfirlollo @ vivi2729 @ antonioortizma2 @mromanza A year without Juan Luis, nue forever …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895207308095		12	12
08/03/2017 12:57:05	RT @eldiarioes: Así se hizo la	@eldiarioes RT: So the Franco family took the Pazo de Meiras "donations" from house to house supervised by the Falange https://t.co/OO…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893153763187		606	217
07/31/2017 05:18:28	RT @eldiarioes: La justicia fra	@eldiarioes RT: The French justice studies withdraw the Legion of Honor to Franco https://t.co/yApRfllc8b https://t.co/sRV30LY176	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891951185602		110	98
07/31/2017 03:58:59	RT @Emilio_Silva_: La justicia	@Emilio_Silva_ RT: The French justice studies withdraw the Legion of Honor to Franco. https://t.co/SJRREPpp4G	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891931180740		15	35
08/08/2017 06:38:45	RT @fascaso: #HonorYGloria a	@fascaso RT: #HonorYGloria in remembrance of #AdaGrossi, #Anarquista #Internacionalista #RadioLiberta announcer in #RosaDeFoc, Health, …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894870488685		20	21
08/07/2017 20:01:14	RT @fmontielvillar: @deporta	@fmontielvillar RT: @ deportado4443 recognition for Mr Alfonso. Not be forgotten its past. https://t.co/J6YCJI2cFEH	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894710052954		14	17
08/15/2017 09:39:21	RT @gabrielrufian: Sabes más	@gabrielrufian RT: You know more than the Machado street in Sabadell q truth Dastís vacation in Ecuador, wa est …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897452656058		3006	3830
08/08/2017 20:00:21	RT @gerardotc: Que dice And	@gerardotc RT: That says Andrea Levy is considered a revolutionary. When there is always yells convention PP "We're all falt …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895072218195		3963	5118
08/02/2017 05:54:18	RT @grancocolio: El desconoc	@grancocolio RT: The unknown concentration camp prisoners detained 15,000 Republicans https://t.co/0ZUacAjqbw via @publico_es	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892684975832		102	30
08/12/2017 15:05:05	RT @GuachaPuskas: @JmGarre	@GuachaPuskas RT: @ 1916Abu @adoyma @JmGarretas @anruilu @ muyfandel36 @SOSCarabanchel @Buscameblog @ gresgris20 @ deportado4443 @MathausenM @ A …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896447466962		11	9
07/30/2017 06:42:56	RT @IndeGranada: Un impres	@IndeGranada RT: Impressive Memorial pays tribute to victims of the cemetery wall. This is the best chronicle of the act. https: …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891610053211		59	52
08/01/2017 18:57:09	RT @JmGarretas: @GuachaPu	@JmGarretas RT: @ muyfandel36 @adoyma @GuachaPuskas @SOSCarabanchel @El_Rusaka @bookLoverRus @ spanje3639 @Buscameblog @anruilu @ SylviaGrossi …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892519598687		2	9
08/13/2017 12:49:22	RT @luciasocam: Gracias, @m	@luciasocam RT: Thank you, @marserranov continue until you know the whole truth. https://t.co/fv8C0pW28L	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896775700732		5	6
08/09/2017 09:24:44	RT @madridcyp: GUERRA CIV	@madridcyp RT: CIVIL WAR Vallecas house in Telemadrid # SalvaPeironcely10 https://t.co/XnRRKEsRVU Report on … https://t.co/M…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895274650896		5	6
08/01/2017 20:35:12	RT @manuelabergerot: El cas	@manuelabergerot RT: The German case: The state guaranteeing the quartet Justice, pedagogy, television and archives to face the past h …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892544274490		3	3
08/14/2017 08:01:08	RT @MrGeorgeWallace: That	@MrGeorgeWallace RT: That little baby grew up believing in goodness and justice and standing up to hate. Heather Heyer. Say her name. https …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897065550358		50714	138297
08/05/2017 19:19:36	RT @patrigos: Así cuenta Julia	@patrigos RT: So Julia Manzanal account in his book, Commissioner Chico, as the trial and the execution of the CARC # 13Rosas lived …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893974802175		12	5
08/15/2017 04:28:20	RT @pixelatedboat: No, see,	@pixelatedboat RT: No, see, the statues are generally racist just there to help us remember the past, that's why all Holocaust memorials are …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897374386454		37534	105368
08/08/2017 19:01:17	RT @pnique: Yo te entiendo,	@pnique RT: I understand you, Andrea Levy. To me Oliver and Benji made me a center forward and I also laugh when I tell you. Take heart, ca …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895057355263		6770	9440
08/13/2017 14:57:27	RT @pnique: ¿Por qué Trump	@pnique RT: Why Trump does not condemn neo-Nazi murders of Charlottesville? Why the PP does not condemn the Franco regime? retóri questions …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	2243	3019
08/02/2017 05:50:55	RT @saveriolakadima: Il giorn	@saveriolakadima RT: Il giorno del ricordo. Giorno in cui il tempo and the spazio diventano memory. Strage fascist. Il fascism è un crimine …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892684123692		94	132
08/03/2017 06:07:37	RT @sosracismomad: ¡Nos co	@sosracismomad RT: We confirm that they have suspended the deportation to the boy who received the police attack on 31 July! https: …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893050718319		232	202
08/02/2017 05:43:55	RT @1916Abu: 'A death in Sp	RT @ 1916Abu: 'A death in Spain & amp; a funeral in Paris' Remembering, Gerda Taro. https://t.co/pPdgIwnXzo	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892682362651		4	3
08/12/2017 15:04:35	RT @1916Abu: @gresgris20 @	RT @ 1916Abu: @ gresgris20 @anruilu @GuachaPuskas @JmGarretas @adoyma @ muyfandel36 @SOSCarabanchel @ deportado4443 @MathausenM @ A …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896447338234		16	17
08/02/2017 18:12:05	RT @1916Abu: @SCWHarbour	RT @ 1916Abu: @SCWHarbour3639 @BMT_SCW 🎗 https://t.co/xF6SHgouQD	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892870644832		3	2
08/14/2017 13:23:19	RT @1916Abu: #Charlottesvill	RT @ 1916Abu: #Charlottesville #NeverAgain https://t.co/Ka6Phlualb	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	13	10
08/14/2017 13:39:49	RT @AA_1mayo: Por supuest	RT @AA_1mayo: Of course the kill. What were you expecting? What would take 4000 red prisoners with me? Speaking to John T. …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897147450997		17	9
08/13/2017 05:31:42	RT @Anaais5: El franquismo f	RT @ Anaais5: The Franco financed the covert adoption of children "abandoned" https://t.co/Fa3YsIQLOG	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896665558082		8	4
08/12/2017 15:05:58	RT @antonioortizma2: Memo	RT @ antonioortizma2: Memorial Valencia [AL] https://t.co/YC3Hh40k4v @RecupMemoria @SOSCarabanchel @Fund_ABoveda @FundMalagon @ f …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896447687045		6	4
08/15/2017 18:32:58	RT @antonioortizma2: Memo	RT @ antonioortizma2: Memorial Valencia [AR] https://t.co/sAYr9knMr9 @ AA_1mayo @mromanza @RecupMemoria @SOSCarabanchel @ FundMala …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897586943814		7	5
08/01/2017 12:43:10	RT @Asunmar15gmail2: El dic	RT @ Asunmar15gmail2: The Franco dictator, murderer and torturer, not have to have the Legion of Honor of France. Retirensela ¿yaaaaa! Graci …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892425484033		4	4
08/13/2017 05:35:27	RT @BogateII10: Avuì, 77 any	RT @ BogateII10: Avuì, 77 anys of detenció the president of the Generalitat, Lluís Companys i Jover, per part of the Gestapo França # Fare …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896666501821		483	349
08/13/2017 12:40:33	RT @carolacaracola5: Badajoz	RT @ carolacaracola5: Badajoz. Acts in remembrance and tribute to the victims of the "Massacre of Badajoz", 14 and 15 August. Truly, justice …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896773480720		58	23
07/30/2017 07:13:24	RT @deportado4443: En esta	RT @ deportado4443: In this picture we see the Jewish boy Siegfried Meir with his adoptive father, Saturnino Navazo. … https://t.co/Ko5K7YNUzG	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891617719627		38	50
08/02/2017 11:32:51	RT @deportado4443: Siegfrie	RT @ deportado4443: Siegfried always considered his adoptive father, Saturnino Navazo, as the engine of your life. In … https://t.co/rFd5ox8vrB	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892770177099		16	22
08/04/2017 19:17:32	RT @deportado4443: La lucha	RT @ deportado4443: The fight that keeps the son of a fellow Mauthausen for France to withdraw the Legion of Honor to jump Franco no …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893611895021		104	99
08/08/2017 09:21:26	RT @deportado4443: La famil	RT @ deportado4443: The Santisteban family was deported to Mauthausen on August 6, 1940, the first convoy of … https://t.co/DXO4LSIFds	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894911431195		51	53
07/31/2017 05:20:28	RT @deportado4443: El hijo d	RT @ deportado4443: The son of my fellow Mauthausen has taken another step that France withdraw the Legion of Honor to our executioner htt …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891951688331		59	118
08/15/2017 13:00:11	RT @Historia2punto0: El libro	RT @ Historia2punto0: The book "Papers Lead", the result of the investigation into Uruguayans who fought in the Civil War. htt …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897503194774		11	16
08/09/2017 12:21:22	RT @iegUC3M: Descubre el pa	RT @ iegUC3M: Discover the role of women in Argentina lawsuit against the crimes of Francoism #SeminarioDDHHyMujer https: //t…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895319098669		11	8
08/01/2017 19:33:36	RT @JoseLui56432410: El hon	RT @ JoseLui56432410: The honor of France is at stake, withdraw the Legion of Honor https://t.co/uSpK6absWx	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892528773308		24	23
08/11/2017 14:17:28	RT @kolontai1959: Hasta en	RT @ kolontai1959: Even in #Chile, with a transition fairly light -very light- repressor some condemned murderer or one Here! https: …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896073093847		6	2
07/30/2017 19:24:53	RT @MaatMaat2017: La justic	RT @ MaatMaat2017: The French justice studies remove the # LegióndeHonor to #Franco https://t.co/FcHH2HLLWS @Buscameblog @ARMH_Memoria @ And_ …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891801803481		4	5
08/14/2017 14:46:02	RT @Miryam1968: @1916Abu	RT @ Miryam1968: @ 1916Abu The hero of Jarama, Kit Conway ☘ !! I just cant believe in my luck! Its a pleasure to follow you with my Entire so …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897167447345		5	7
08/04/2017 12:00:45	RT @muyfandel36: "Las dos N	RT @ muyfandel36: "The two Marias", the Cloudful statue of the Alameda de Santiago, is a tribute to two women who lived one story br …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893501972778		4	4
08/08/2017 10:38:50	RT @muyfandel36: @SOSCara	RT @ muyfandel36: @SOSCarabanchel just lends us some jet 😂	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894930909060		1	2
08/09/2017 09:04:52	RT @muyfandel36: #libro : An	RT @ muyfandel36: #libro: Amanece in Paris. (Paloma Sanz) The testimony of a Spanish who returned to life after spending five years o …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895269651852		4	4
08/05/2017 13:11:12	RT @muyfandel36: #Parma. E	RT @ muyfandel36: #Parma. The founder of the Arditi del Popolo #GuidoPicelli @Guadalajara died on January 5, 1937, the head of Battalion # Ga …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893882089120		9	10
08/07/2017 08:59:53	RT @muyfandel36: #Paterna	RT @ muyfandel36: #Paterna "If I find my father in this second pit, I'm going to take with me" #MemoriaHistorica https://t.co/37FiV…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894543620002		10	14
08/09/2017 09:26:23	RT @muyfandel36: #Teatro :	RT @ muyfandel36: #Teatro: Paper Presses August 20 at 11:30 am https://t.co/kMROLTA2Pd	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895275064962		11	10
08/05/2017 09:41:54	RT @muyfandel36: 🎗 Carmen	RT @ muyfandel36: 🎗 Carmen 🎗 Martina 🎗 Blanca 🎗 Pilar 🎗 Julia 🎗 Adelina 🎗 Elena 🎗 Virtudes 🎗 Ana 🎗 Joaquina 🎗 Dionisia 🎗 Victoria 🎗 Luisa https://t.co/oY…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893829417780		10	14
08/03/2017 13:00:00	RT @muyfandel36: 13 Rosas-O	RT @ muyfandel36: 13 Rosas-Osarios full of roses https://t.co/yo6rqfuGD9 https://t.co/GTrtfoWw7p	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893154494070		5	5
08/09/2017 05:24:27	RT @muyfandel36: Un proyec	RT @ muyfandel36: A project for unity! #BrigadasIntercacionales #GuerraCivil #proyecto https://t.co/PDlz6ZqYu7 https://t.co/1c3flE1p…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895214181632		1	2
08/08/2017 11:50:33	RT @muyfandel36: 7 de Agost	RT @ muyfandel36: August 7, 1944. The Nine, 2nd Division Leclerc has its first casualty in combat with the Wehrmacht, the Spanish soldier …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894948955699		13	15
08/13/2017 09:12:01	RT @muyfandel36: Muere Bas	RT @ muyfandel36: Die Basilio Martín Patino, the rebel and free filmmaker https://t.co/16vxPHIV5A	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896721002775		3	3
08/01/2017 15:31:16	RT @muyfandel36: Homenaje	RT @ muyfandel36: Homenaje a Federico García Lorca. August 26 - Plaza Santa Ana & lt; M & gt; Sol at 11h https://t.co/m3WuhNqnzv	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892467788828		48	39
08/03/2017 13:25:48	RT @muyfandel36: Judicializa	RT @ muyfandel36: judicializes the pit 92 Paterna cemetery where he is expected to find the shot of the 'cause Benifaió' https: / …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893160986856		8	8
08/08/2017 19:54:08	RT @muyfandel36: Organizan	RT @ muyfandel36: organize two interpretative routes through the streets of #Badajoz to spread the "massacre" of August 1936 https://t.co/…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895070654978		10	11
07/30/2017 15:09:17	RT @muyfandel36: Organizan	RT @ muyfandel36: organize two interpretative routes through the streets of #Badajoz to spread the "massacre" of August 1936 https://t.co/…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891737479799		3	3
08/04/2017 12:00:31	RT @muyfandel36: Placa com	RT @ muyfandel36: Plaque commemorating prison Ventas.Duele much ignorance of the coming youth are already unconscious on …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893501914469		16	13
08/01/2017 19:35:13	RT @muyfandel36: Rutas de la	RT @ muyfandel36: Routes of Memory: The osculta history of the island of Saltés, #Huelva https://t.co/7nfqCUcPpo	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892529181338		2	1
08/04/2017 13:26:53	RT @muyfandel36: El Refugio	RT @ muyfandel36: The Air Raid Shelter makes "dump" in the heart of Jaen. https://t.co/inSAaJ0pPS	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893523648820		1	4
08/08/2017 19:56:53	RT @muyfandel36: La historia	RT @ muyfandel36: The story of José Alcubierre. That boy of 14 who was imprisoned in Mauthausen in the company of his father Miguel https: / …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895071349349		17	14
08/08/2017 11:57:03	RT @muyfandel36: Homenaje	RT @ muyfandel36: Tribute to political prisoners forced to build the Ebro and neighbors affected https://t.co/SYWh39jzqm	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894950592187		20	14
08/13/2017 18:44:33	RT @ricardotejada19: @SOSC	RT @ ricardotejada19: @SOSCarabanchel a great filmmaker and one of the absolute pioneers in the defense of historical memory. do not forget …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896865084357		6	5
08/02/2017 05:43:14	RT @rmac679: Abe Osheroff	RT @ rmac679: Abe Osheroff Brooklyn, USA - Brigadistas survivor of City of Barcelona. Please donate. https://t.co/HKgubS0fuE https://t.co/A…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892682192727		15	18
07/30/2017 19:26:53	RT @rmac679: Help us build t	RT @ rmac679: Help us build participatory community esta memorial to working class heros! https://t.co/HKgubS0fuE https://t.co/NQzic6IasZ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891802307805		19	17
08/15/2017 04:24:53	RT @rmac679: https://t.co/LV	RT @ rmac679: https://t.co/uVH19WsVe1	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897373515678		4	1
08/08/2017 04:13:14	RT @rmac679: @AmigosBriga	RT @ rmac679: You, @AmigosBrigadas @UICE @BcnMemoria @MemoriaVa @ColumnaUruguaya @FeriaLibroMarxi @ spanje3639 @Buscameblog @foroporlamemori @ Memo …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894833869572		10	5
08/08/2017 18:52:22	RT @SCWHarbour3639: The D	RT @ SCWHarbour3639: The Danish sailors of the #CiudadDeBarcelona With biographies, consult soon También en English https://t.co/6VEuoQYjqa	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895055113026		3	4
08/06/2017 20:26:09	RT @spanje3639: @FFALBUSA	RT @ spanje3639: @FFALBUSA @CanadaSCW @AICVAS @HereditasNexus @IISG_Amsterdam @rls_history https://t.co/f6nl3aCVup	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894353938824		3	2
08/10/2017 02:58:05	RT @spanje3639: Cuban comm	RT @ spanje3639: Cuban commander Sanchez Mendez died at Battle of #Brunete https://t.co/AYnQ25y0bl	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/895539733698		5	5
08/04/2017 17:50:39	RT @spanje3639: Museum ba	RT @ spanje3639: Museum Battle of Brunette by Vinas and Tuytens maker of documentary About The Mamas Belgian Belgian nurses # SpanishCi During …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893590028194		5	5
08/03/2017 10:09:16	RT @sumalen59: ¿Sabías q Fr	RT @ sumalen59: Did you know q Franco still has the French Honor Legion d? 🙄 Franco may run out of Legion d'Honneur	@ctxt_es https: / …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893121594750		52	28
08/03/2017 11:20:49	RT @_Boreal_: La victoria de	RT @_Boreal_: Victory Ascension Mendieta @TimoteoMendieta https://t.co/3QSIWPjUBT	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893138613696		24	21
08/12/2017 06:09:45	RT @_Stolpersteine_: Betwee	RT @_Stolpersteine_: Between 23 / 8-27 / 8 new layings of #Stolpersteine in Norway/ 23/8: #Oslo; 24/8: Oslo + # Follo; 25/8: #Alvik; 27/8: # Sunnda …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896312745917		26	57
07/30/2017 16:53:52	RT @_Stolpersteine_: Moment	RT @_Stolpersteine_: Moment, in denen ein Bild sagt mehr als tausend Worte. /// Moments, in Which a picture is worth a thousand words. # St …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891763797458		206	405
08/13/2017 09:07:52	RT @_Stolpersteine_: Unser Z	RT @_Stolpersteine_: Unser Ziel? Bis zum 70. Geburtstag des Initiators der #Stolpersteine, Gunter #Demnig, 10.000ten Follower auf den Twitt …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896719954732		33	39
08/12/2017 11:31:32	RT @_tintalibre: La demolición	RT @_tintalibre: The demolition of most Franco jail thousands of hectares has become a wasteland. By @MJCarmonaLopez https: //t.co…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896393723344		4	5
08/14/2017 00:09:43	RT @AdaColau: Cuando se sie	RT @AdaColau: When hatred and racism planting, growing monsters. What you call it #realDonaldTrump, as of # Charlottesville.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	1408	2034
08/14/2017 06:52:05	RT @AkishaRJones: Heather H	RT @AkishaRJones: Heather Heyer, the 32yo Who Died in #Charlottesville attack. Her last FB msg read, "If you're not outraged, you're not p …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	14726	25004
08/08/2017 09:11:38	RT @AlternativaArta: @Mem	RT @AlternativaArta: @MemoriaMallorca @SOSCarabanchel @VickyBol @memoristorica @foromemoria (I) Hello. Per part of the "Civil Society" hi h …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894908963271		5	4
08/08/2017 09:11:43	RT @AlternativaArta: @Mem	RT @AlternativaArta: @MemoriaMallorca @SOSCarabanchel @VickyBol @memoristorica @foromemoria (II) L'Aunt. L'Artà has homenatjat repressa els …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894908984027		3	3
08/03/2017 06:28:38	RT @AlvaroMin: El resumen d	RT @AlvaroMin: The summary of a month of work in front of the Clinical Hospital in Madrid: Excavate asylum Republican surrender https: // …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893056005885		14	11
08/06/2017 12:39:07	RT @amauthausen: Exposició	RT @amauthausen: Exhibition on the streets of Leipzig to denounce the persecution of the Jews by National Socialism athletes. te …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894236404464		21	23
08/12/2017 19:25:59	RT @amauthausen: El fascism	RT @amauthausen: Fascism grows if not bout it #Charlottesville #NoPasaran	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab	YES	65	69
08/13/2017 09:36:53	RT @AmicaleStruthof: ["Touri	RT @AmicaleStruthof: ["Tourisme de mémoire"] 40ans après sa déportation, BorisPahor revenait au Struthof, suivant les touristes "parmi les o …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896727258323		13	6
08/15/2017 04:25:07	RT @AmigosBrigadas: "Espacio	RT @AmigosBrigadas: "Spaces of Memory: The International Brigades" by @haizearenzizua in Boltaña, Huesca, from 23th https: / …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897373547764		8	16
08/04/2017 07:56:25	RT @AmigosBrigadas: 80 urug	RT @AmigosBrigadas: 80 Uruguayans in the International Brigades https://t.co/y1YB4kWKwA	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897373576382		6	16
08/04/2017 07:56:25	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Una exc	RT @AmigosBrigadas: A little publicized exhibition at the Museum of History of Catalunya in the Palau del Mar https://t.co/QYYVXcKRro	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893440483856		11	18
08/02/2017 05:51:12	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Gratis:	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Free: Book in pdf on Thaelmann Children's Home, part of the solidarity of the International Brigades htt …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892684198531		14	19
07/30/2017 07:35	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Javier R	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Javier Reverte writes about John Cornford, intellectual English great-grandson of Darwin, died in Batalla de Lopera ht …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893439015046		20	14
08/03/2017 10:50:38	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Josep A	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Josep Almudver meets Fosdinovo 98 years and presents in Italian "The Covenant of nonintervention: Poor Republic" https …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893121932736		11	17
08/04/2017 12:11:53	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Más de	RT @AmigosBrigadas: More than 400 brigade buried in the cemetery of Fuencarral were hidden by the Franco regime https://t…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893504775161		46	25
08/13/2017 09:33:06	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Dos hol	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Two Dutch help to recover our recent history https://t.co/o0BQze7uq	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896726306599		5	7
08/13/2017 09:10:11	RT @AmigosBrigadas: Puedes	RT @AmigosBrigadas: You can find information about the Association and its activities on our website and Facebook https://t.co/6GXZWAmuxO ht …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/896720540517		11	10
08/05/2017 09:43:26	RT @AnneFrankCenter: Nazis	RT @AnneFrankCenter: Nazis found Anne Frank on August 4, 1944. In 1941, US denied entrance to Frank family. Refugees hear now. …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893829805233		14698	23980
08/05/2017 09:39:15	RT @AnneFrankCenter: ON A	RT @AnneFrankCenter: ON AUGUST 4, 1944, 73 years ago, the Nazis found Anne Frank. In 1941, the US denied the Franks immigration. @POTUS …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893828751766		7320	8241
08/08/2017 06:48:33	RT @AnpiBrescia: " Radio #Fre	RT @AnpiBrescia: " Radio #Freedom The story of an #antifascist family in #Barcelona" #AdaGrossi #SCW Italia … https://t.co/clLO0xk2jjl https://t.co/…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894872954778		12	7
08/07/2017 20:29:30	RT @AnpiBrescia: @SylviaGro	RT @AnpiBrescia: @SylviaGrossi @cntvigo @cntaitreus @SOSCarabanchel #AdaGrossi, "The voice of Radio Free Spain" republican Italy …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894894080882		3	4
08/07/2017 04:29:33	RT @AnpiBrescia: #AdaGrossi	RT @AnpiBrescia: #AdaGrossi, "The voce di Radio #Spagna Frees" ci lasciava 2 anni fa, l' # Agosto 2015 https://t.co/50rW1A7HR8 # Spagna80 # S …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894883274698		13	17
08/05/2017 04:18:41	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Bovegno (	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Bovegno (#Brescia) # Stagosto 1944. #antifascista rappresaglia più feroce contro i civili in terra bresciana https: //t…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893737195252		26	12
08/04/2017 12:23:45	RT @AnpiBrescia: #GuidoPicel	RT @AnpiBrescia: #GuidoPicelli, the hero of #Parma, would later be killed near #Guadalajara, 5Jan 1937, while leading the #Garibaldi Battal …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893507760171		13	13
08/14/2017 08:01:58	RT @AnpiBrescia: #OTD 1944,	RT @AnpiBrescia: #OTD 1944, Italian #Resistance #partisan Irma Bandiera (29) was murdered by #Fascists after days of torture. Awarded Gol …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897065761105		46	44
08/14/2017 06:59:55	RT @AnpiBrescia: #OTD 1944,	RT @AnpiBrescia: #OTD 1944, Italian #Resistance #partisan Irma Bandiera (29) was murdered by #Fascists after days of torture. Awarded Gol …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897050145728		15	16
08/02/2017 05:54:57	RT @AnpiBrescia: #OTD in 198	RT @AnpiBrescia: #OTD in 1980, the #Bologna Massacre: 85 dead, wounded by a #fascist 200+ non-warning bomb at the city's train station https …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892685141488		13	12
08/04/2017 17:20:49	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Parma. Il #	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Parma. Il # 4agosto fa gli anni di 95 #squadristi di Italo Balbo venivano Fermati and respinti dagli #antifascisti guidati d …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893582519714		54	49
08/04/2017 12:23:58	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Parma. Il #	RT @AnpiBrescia: Il Fondatore degli Arditi del Popolo #GuidoPicelli morì to #Guadalajara il 5 gennaio 1937 alla testa of Battaglion …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893507814051		11	11
08/01/2017 03:53:51	RT @AnpiBrescia: #PiazzaLogg	RT @AnpiBrescia: #PiazzaLoggia. Arrivo della staffetta delle #stragi Brescia- # Milan-Bologna. Parla Piero Massetti #ANPI Provinciale di # …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892292277942		10	20
08/03/2017 09:09:25	RT @AnpiBrescia: #PiazzaLogg	RT @AnpiBrescia: Arrivo della staffetta delle #stragi Milano- # Brescia-Bologna. Parla Manlio Milani. https://t.co/LiGuPn6y8x	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893105938342		7	20
08/01/2017 11:32:36	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Spagna. La	RT @AnpiBrescia: #Spagna. The francese della Giustizia valuta il Legion d'Onore ritiro to dittatore #Franco https://t.co/1lSnv8MXw https: // …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892407725359		11	7
08/02/2017 05:50:08	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBo	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBologna - With train stations packed on the 1st August weekend, the Bombers Were bent on #carnage: https://t.co/oA…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892683930452		16	9
08/02/2017 05:49:04	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBo	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBologna # 2agosto Catherine Mitchell and John Kolpinsky (#Britain), Both 22 Were on Their first holiday together …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892683660676		15	10
08/02/2017 05:48:23	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBo	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBologna # 2agosto Catherine Mitchell and John Kolpinsky https://t.co/QUDHtPHOph https://t.co/hSSdF6p9V	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892683487555		13	12
08/02/2017 05:42:37	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBo	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBologna # 2agosto Kai Mader (8, #Germany), 1 of the youngest victims, died with his mother Margret Rohrs and Broth …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892683004908		16	9
08/02/2017 05:42:37	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBo	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBologna # 2agosto The clock outside the train station is stuck on 10.25, the exact time the bomb #fascist Went off …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892682036284		18	12
08/02/2017 05:40:00	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBo	RT @AnpiBrescia: #StrageDiBologna Francisco Gómez Martínez (23, Catalonia / # Spain) loved Italian culture. Saved Italian culture. Went t …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892681341583		17	8
08/14/2017 07:00:42	RT @AnpiBrescia: Il #14agost	RT @AnpiBrescia: Il # 14agosto 1944 Irma Bandiera #partigiana veniva assassinata dai giorni dopo di #fascisti torture. Medaglia d'oro to …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/897050341589		150	162
08/07/2017 04:14:55	RT @AnpiBrescia: Italy - #Mur	RT @AnpiBrescia: Italy - #Mural unveiled last April in #Bologna to brave # WW2 Partisan #IrmaBandiera (29), tortured and murdered by # fascis …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894879703609		14	14
08/04/2017 12:25:09	RT @AnpiBrescia: Italy - #OTD	RT @AnpiBrescia: Italy - #OTD 95 years ago, #antifascists in #Parma led by #GuidoPicelli Fought back #blackshirts 20,000 armed & amp; won https:...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893508113651		22	12
08/02/2017 05:49:26	RT @AnpiBrescia: Italy - #Stra	RT @AnpiBrescia: Italy - #StrageDiBologna. 9 Foreign Nationals Were Among the 85 victims of the bombing #fascist Carried out in #Bologna # O …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892683754002		10	14
08/07/2017 19:19:48	RT @AnpiBrescia: Morto a 91	RT @AnpiBrescia: Morto #partigiano 91 anni il francese Jean-Paul Schlienger, condannato a morte due volte, di Vichy regime and …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894699628582		1	4
07/31/2017 05:17:32	RT @AnpiBrescia: Piazza della	RT @AnpiBrescia: Piazza della Loggia # 31luglio. Staffetta delle #stragi Milano- Brescia-Bologna https://t.co/76eVgiIBK # PiazzadellaLoggia …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/891950950121		29	14
08/07/2017 03:37:14	RT @AnpiBrescia: Sentieri del	RT @AnpiBrescia: Sentieri della Resistenza in prov. d #Brescia. Il sentiero della Brigata #Perlasca, 17 settembre with Aldo Giacomini https: …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894870188705		1	4
08/06/2017 04:54:51	RT @AntonioMaestre: Campos	RT @AntonioMaestre: Camposancos, the concentration camp forgotten https://t.co/py22JKyw60	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/894132149779		74	53
08/01/2017 13:53:27	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Curso:	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Course: Massive violence, mass graves and human rights. Perspectives from forensic and social sciences. https: / t …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892443170075		43	47
08/02/2017 17:38:28	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Las tra	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Exemplary families with what they have, that municipalities can not even decide the name of its streets. https: / …	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/892862187211		72	59
08/05/2017 13:27:12	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Hace c	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Fifteen years ago the case of the missing arrived at UN High Commissioner for Human Rights https://t.co…	https://twitter.com/SOSCarab/status/893886114796		78	52

Date/Time	Text	Full Text	URL	N1	N2
08/14/2017 03:50:17	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Lxs nie	RT @ARMH_Memoria: LXS nietxs Democrats seeking their abuelxs in the gutters; the dictator, enjoying everything stolen. ¿Dem ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897002421309	169	110
08/01/2017 19:38:21	RT @ARMH_Memoria: A vece	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Sometimes transitions copies have these things. https://t.co/ngJRsaj5Ok	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892529966231	175	106
08/14/2017 19:57:17	RT @ARMH_Memoria: La mat	RT @ARMH_Memoria: The killing of Badajoz, a war crime go unpunished never be forgotten. https://t.co/zGwbfN8W8E	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897245775763	318	179
08/04/2017 02:10:26	RT @ARMH_Memoria: Hay tr	RT @ARMH_Memoria: There are so exemplary democratic transitions that municipalities can not decide the name of the streets that imposed F ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893353415606	445	228
07/31/2017 09:18:11	RT @arte_canal: ¡Buenas tard	RT @arte_canal: Good afternoon! At the end of year we will present @auschwitzxhibit with 600 original objects from mostly @ Au ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892011509374	21	32
08/08/2017 12:38:39	RT @ArteEnMadrid: Buen rep	RT @ArteEnMadrid: Good interview with Telemadrid today and José Latova @SalvaPeirocely footprint Capa in Madrid https://t.co/mIrYAvb9UQ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894961061157	9	12
08/14/2017 04:57:35	RT @ASMJ_Salamanca: Una ju	RT @ASMJ_Salamanca: A judge refuses to investigate a crime while recognizing that Franco might be a forced disappearance - https: // ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897019357968	7	3
07/30/2017 06:41:24	RT @asturmiranda: hace 65 a	RT @asturmiranda: 65 years ago the fascists murdered my grandfather, Andrés Llaneza "El Gitano" and Fernando Álvarez "El Alcalde" # MemoriaH ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891609665418	31	23
08/01/2017 04:07:31	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: "The	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: "The deportations of Warsaw residents to Auschwitz after the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising" at @googlearts https: // t ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892295716013	55	60
08/04/2017 12:12:04	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: #FF	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: #FF Memorials @MajdanekMuseum @GedenkstaetteNG @StutthofMuseum @GMSachsenhausen @Gusen_Memorial & amp; @annefrankhouse	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893504819037	11	14
08/03/2017 14:32:12	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 3/8/	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 03/08/43. The Germans deported c. 9,000 Jews from the ghetto of Sosnowiec to #Auschwitz. More than 6,700 killed in inmed ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893177698176	6	7
08/06/2017 06:21:09	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 6/8/	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 06/08/43. A transport of 3,000 Jews arrived at Auschwitz from the ghetto of Sosnowiec. 2,514 people, dead of inmedi ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894141284771	31	25
08/13/2017 09:35:59	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 13 A	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 13 Aug 1942	999 Deported Jews from occupied Belgium in Malines arrived at Auschwitz. 481 Were killed in a gas Chambe ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896727033514	92	71
08/02/2017 13:08:29	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 2 Au	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 2 August 1943	German Jewish prisoners at Treblinka extermination center launched into revolt. Over 200 escaped, ca. hal ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892794241780	109	141
08/02/2017 06:02:49	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 2 Au	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 2 August is the Roma Genocide Remembrance Day. Learn about Sinti and Roma people at the German Nazi Auschwitz camp: ht ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892687121512	266	174
07/31/2017 03:20:21	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 31 J	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 31 July 1942	216 Jewish women (selected from a transport of 1000 ppl from Drancy) Were murdered in a gas chamber of ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891921466656	38	42
08/01/2017 02:41:46	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 73rd	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 73rd anniv. of the beginning of Warsaw Uprising	We Remember About 13k Citizens Deported to Auschwitz of Warsaw https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892274137993	56	55
08/15/2017 14:24:10	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Una	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: A tour of 3 German Nazi death camps serves as an important reminder of how low you can drop the huma ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897524331554	50	47
08/15/2017 12:25:16	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Auso	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Auschwitz II-Birkenau. The door of death and rails platform selection in the field. https://t.co/AD7z9...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897494409729	24	35
08/02/2017 07:55:29	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Com	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Commemoration event of the Roma Genocide Remembrance Day at one of the former 'Gypsy industry' of Birkenau liquidat ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892715472642	115	138
08/04/2017 05:56:56	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: On 4	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: On 4 August 1944 the Frank family, Along With the other four people hiding in the annex on Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893410416512	339	309
08/07/2017 06:36:02	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: El C	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: The @arte_canal Center of Madrid will host the world premiere of @auschwitzxhibit on German Auschwitz http ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894507418553	44	34
08/02/2017 11:13:54	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: The	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: The @auschwitzxhibit created by Spanish Musealia With the Memorial will Have ITS 1st presentation in Madrid at @ arte_c ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892765406875	9	22
08/04/2017 12:19:59	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: This	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: This moving exhibition of art made by prisoners in Auschwitz will be open at Szolayski House in Cracow Until 20 Septem ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893506812355	32	72
08/10/2017 14:35:29	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Visit	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Visiting the premises of the former Auschwitz-Birkenau camp: history lesson and personal experience of the au ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895715238103	26	51
08/06/2017 06:12:55	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: Pres	RT @AuschwitzMuseum: We preserve the site of the former German Nazi camp to honor victims and for everyone to remember and learn. h ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894139214002	38	50
07/31/2017 12:48:54	RT @auschwitzxhibit: Cultura	RT @auschwitzxhibit: Culture: The footprint of Auschwitz https://t.co/NUtVxTiSot travel the world via @nytimesES	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892064536957	20	31
08/03/2017 04:24:06	RT @auschwitzxhibit: More th	RT @auschwitzxhibit: More than 600 objects will be displayed in the exhibition, each of them With its own historical voice and story. https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893024667426	2	2
08/01/2017 04:29:23	RT @auschwitzxhibit: Not Lon	RT @auschwitzxhibit: Not Long Ago Not Far Away.. https://t.co/HI32k3sTUj	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892301219355	16	15
08/02/2017 05:44:56	RT @awlky: #lamemoriadelso	RT @awlky: #lamemoriadelsoccorso # 2agosto1980 #BolognanondimenticaÂ #StrageDiBologna https://t.co/rYY2x7asVbN	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892682619380	3	1
08/07/2017 03:37:35	RT @Azcoagalimena: Isla de S	RT @Azcoagalimena: Saint Simon's Island was a concentration camp Franco d between 1936 and 1943. It is requested that this island is declared as ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894462510430	13	12
08/09/2017 10:45:41	RT @barcelona_cat: A partir d	RT @barcelona_cat: From 2018 gener Obrim per semper des Portes de la #model. Més informació: https://t.co/ETr2iLBUIZ https ://t.co...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895295021796	19	31
08/14/2017 19:07:13	RT @BBCWorld: Charlottesvill	RT @BBCWorld: Charlottesville death: Marianne Rubin, 89, joins protests https://t.co/8Y3W7bigTe	https://twitter.com/SOSCaraÐYES	1768	4458
08/15/2017 09:40:42	RT @bcn_bleach: ALERTA! La	RT @bcn_bleach: ALERT! The Civil Guard should be introduint a Catalunya exemplars of 'Campos de Castilla' i 'Solitudes' aprofitant vague ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897452992844	419	488
08/02/2017 05:51:46	RT @BunkerCapricho: Alerta ¡	RT @BunkerCapricho: alert the graves of birgadistas Via @RafaelFraguas @El_Pais_Madrid #SOSPatrimonio #Fuencarral #Madrid http:/ / t ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892684339724	4	2
08/01/2017 19:56:04	RT @Buscameblog: Una muer	RT @Buscameblog: A Death in Spain and burial in Paris (Remembering Gerda Taro) https://t.co/NKPDr9dHmC https://t.co/5nEhluC3D1	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892534425648	15	20
08/08/2017 18:49:46	RT @Buscameblog: Sobre la n	RT @Buscameblog: About memory antifranquista opsición https://t.co/Ul8mFOM8wh https://t.co/Qp2hYQJWxK	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895054455967	1	1
08/07/2017 19:04:34	RT @Buscameblog: Ley de Am	RT @Buscameblog: Amnesty Law no impunity; Articles that protect the Franco https://t.co/zJwkYPNLcX https://t.co/QfifENoz3N	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894695795575	25	18
08/04/2017 16:30:05	RT @Buscameblog: 5 agosto 3	RT @Buscameblog: August 5 39 Dionisia Manzanero Salas One of the 13 Roses, wrote a farewell letter to his parents and siblings https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893569753788	32	20
07/30/2017 19:22:28	RT @Buscameblog: Esmond R	RT @Buscameblog: Esmond Romilly Esmond Romilly @RomillyEsmond tribute to the 80th anniversary of its participation in BI XII during l ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891801196477	10	8
08/04/2017 17:06:38	RT @Buscameblog: Joaquim A	RT @Buscameblog: Joaquim Amat-Piniella, was deported to the Mauthausen camp https://t.co/ExdA0bh5JE https://t.co/qeOh3ixRTy	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893578949263	5	5
08/04/2017 16:30:51	RT @Buscameblog: Recordam	RT @Buscameblog: Mercedes Nuñez Targa remind the anniversary of his death. https://t.co/MQAy7nYWZX https://t.co/TkeovL4f3u	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893569945157	7	9
08/08/2017 09:24:26	RT @Buscameblog: Las milicia	RT @Buscameblog: Militias of culture. https://t.co/ZuydmUomHA https://t.co/nNHfj4rb	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894912186677	14	10
08/08/2017 09:23:34	RT @Buscameblog: Sobre la n	RT @Buscameblog: On the memory of the anti-Franco opposition https://t.co/Ul8mFOM8wh https://t.co/hdon72mD4	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894911969538	1	1
07/30/2017 19:14:48	RT @Buscameblog: Algunos n	RT @Buscameblog: Some names and places in memory of repression in Vigo https://t.co/EHMXNjYoOy ... @CorunaMemoria @ carolacaracola5 ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891799268012	7	8
08/01/2017 19:51:59	RT @Buscameblog: Este es m	RT @Buscameblog: This is my last cartridge Before leaving this earth hope will allow you to withdraw the Legion of Honor dictator https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892533398635	11	11
08/04/2017 17:06:03	RT @Buscameblog: Se necesi	RT @Buscameblog: your support Declaration of Saint Simon's Island is required as Illa da Memoria (Memory Island) https://t.co/ad9q...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893578804819	39	32
08/05/2017 13:17:44	RT @CasanovaHistory: Décad	RT @CasanovaHistory: Decades of work, research, dissemination of history. Story that people want to read, with @Ed_Critica https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893883734507	32	63
08/02/2017 05:56:07	RT @CementerioLibro: @Buss	RT @CementerioLibro: @Buscameblog Almudena Cemetery # 13Rosas @carlosslepoy best tribute End Impunity Franco https://t.co/Uo0C...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892685433355	2	2
08/02/2017 17:01:36	RT @CementerioLibro: @edu	RT @CementerioLibro: @educaclineal @Batallalarama @ muyfandel36 #Memoria_Publica Gerta Pohorylle tomb famous Robert Capa photo reminisces ago ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892852910069	3	3
08/08/2017 12:35:51	RT @CementerioLibro: @My	RT @CementerioLibro: @MyLMadrid @FMemoriaMadrid @UJCECLineal @Ce_AQUA @fibgar_ @ManifiestOviedo @FAMYR_Asturias @ muyfandel36 @icam_es @ forum ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894960358871	1	2
08/08/2017 12:34:56	RT @CementerioLibro: @My	RT @CementerioLibro: @MyLMadrid @FMemoriaMadrid @UJCECLineal @Ce_AQUA @fibgar_ @ManifiestOviedo @FAMYR_Asturias @ muyfandel36 @icam_es @ forum ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894960126972	3	4
08/04/2017 09:34:29	RT @CementerioLibro: @ujce	RT @CementerioLibro: @ujcemadrid 13 cosуntes Roses filled Tapia Necropolis This August 5, 1939 # MemoriaHistórica # VíctimasFranquismo @ D ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893465162275	4	3
08/03/2017 11:19:26	RT @CementerioLibro: @Fun	RT @CementerioLibro: Homenaje @FundMalagon Trece Rosas and 43 comrades PCE and JSU shot August 5, 1939 via @Madrizlaizquie @ antonioorti ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893129185597	6	2
08/03/2017 18:47:31	RT @CementerioLibro: @ujce	RT @CementerioLibro: Homenaje @UJCE @ujcemadrid Trece Rosas 43 comrades shot to death PCE and JSU Sagosto1939 via @Madrizlaizquie @ antonioortiz ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893241953479	9	4
08/09/2017 12:50:23	RT @CementerioLibro: Mirta	RT @CementerioLibro: Mirta Núñez War Council Executions Madrid https://t.co/vGCKXqe9aK	https://t.co/hT5JnFz1PL	List tweets htt ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895326401519	9	4
08/12/2017 05:03:48	RT @CervantesFAQs: ¡Este ar	RT @CervantesFAQs: This article @demiguelch essential to understand the farces that publish @hermanntertsch or @juanerpfl https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896296146787	32	29
08/14/2017 08:05:01	RT @CEstudiantIB: 1. Hoy, 14	RT @CEstudiantIB: 1. Today, August 14. 81 years ago, it took place one of the bloodiest events in the history of our city. The # M ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897066526901	2317	1074
08/14/2017 08:05:38	RT @CEstudiantIB: 11. se den	RT @CEstudiantIB: 11. Column also called Death came down Andalusia and Extremadura. X the atrocities attributed au ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897066683902	71	46
08/14/2017 08:06:03	RT @CEstudiantIB: 16. Vários	RT @CEstudiantIB: 16. Several foreign journalists witnessed and verified the #MatanzaDeBadajoz. Mario Neves, Marcel Dany o Jacque ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897066789036	70	58
08/15/2017 20:09:50	RT @CEstudiantIB: FOTOS de	RT @CEstudiantIB: PHOTOS Manifestation and HOMENAJE. By tod @ s @ s that were assassinated @ S in #MatanzaDeBadajoz. Will follow...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897611319645	54	50
08/14/2017 09:01:35	RT @CgtMemoria: https://t.co	RT @CgtMemoria: August 14 https://t.co/OxDXhRVJFG Today we return to remember the barbarity of the massacre of Badajoz. Justice!!!!! https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897080764671	18	10
08/03/2017 14:30:06	RT @CIEsNO: .@DefensorPue	RT @CIEsNO: .@ DefensorPuebloE claims that 13 inmates CIE of Aluche (#Madrid) claim to be minors https://t.co/jTa0qdxcwc # CIE ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893177170398	15	6
07/31/2017 19:42:46	RT @CIEsNoMadrid: #CIEsNO	RT @CIEsNoMadrid: 86 #CIEsNO protest in the CIE of Aluche not be expelled. We remain vigilant.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892168698826	45	17
08/02/2017 06:04:49	RT @cmsouthern: (3) Photo f	RT @cmsouthern: (3) Photo from the Auschwitz Album showing the arrival of a transport from Hungary https://t.co/w8X3oM7HOZ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892687623772	3	4
08/08/2017 06:23:06	RT @cntvigo: Ada Grossi, soci	RT @cntvigo: Ada Grossi, libertarian socialist, who fought in the War of Spain, said goodbye on 8 August 2015. The voice of "Radio ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894866552414	60	74
08/07/2017 08:58:37	RT @colectivoanemoi: Petició	RT @colectivoanemoi: Petition for the outlawing of organizations that make apology for Francoism https://t.co/2dEvUJhBC3	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894543299746	120	69
08/01/2017 04:59:15	RT @conde_suarez: Obituario	RT @conde_suarez: Obituary #AdaGrossi in the world. @AmigosBrigadas @republicist @ArchivioAAMOD @rosa_schiano @FelipeAlcarazM http: /t...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892308766936	14	10
08/14/2017 04:59:15	RT @CorunaMemoria: "Aquí t	RT @CorunaMemoria: "Here non hai sides, So there or democratic camp" @ efdcb4876a6142b https://t.co/lPDeFlAD1L https://t.co/oLb0zvAG2k	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897019778099	2	1
08/09/2017 11:14:01	RT @CorunaMemoria: Iniciat	RT @CorunaMemoria: Initiative to create XUNTA PRO RETURNS DO Pazo de Meirás. https://t.co/tsIZubuUYl https://t.co/pI1MKgWEr2	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895302149684	10	5
08/09/2017 11:35:43	RT @CorunaMemoria: Iniciat	RT @CorunaMemoria: Initiative to create XUNTA PRO RETURNS DO Pazo de Meirás. https://t.co/tsIZubuUYl https://t.co/UE5ETSfM5y	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895307613189	79	98
08/04/2017 05:01:56	RT @CorunaMemoria: La Fun	RT @CorunaMemoria: The Franco Foundation gets paralyze the renaming of 52 streets Franco. https://t.co/BudfSECMxB @ SOSCaraban ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893396573215	26	13
07/30/2017 07:13:36	RT @CorunaMemoria: La Fun	RT @CorunaMemoria: The Franco Foundation gets paralyze the renaming of 52 streets Franco. https://t.co/BudfSEUnp9 @ SOSCaraban ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891617771766	9	4
08/01/2017 04:08:45	RT @CorunaMemoria: Unidad	RT @CorunaMemoria: Unidade (na aló less opposition) for Meirás. O Tellado no problem Feijoo and two addicts ao Franco ... # Mei ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892296025892	31	15
08/01/2017 04:10:24	RT @debatelibros: Entrevista	RT @debatelibros: Interview with Paul Preston and @josepablosesamor in @LasMananas_rne https://t.co/viXqBofc5y https://t.co/KlmcQiPxkD # LaMuer ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892296442638	4	4
08/14/2017 03:44:47	RT @demiguelch: Abundio An	RT @demiguelch: Abundio Andaluz will have to wait in a pit that justice is done. I count on @eldiarioes https://t.co/8T...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897001037780	50	25
08/08/2017 18:10:39	RT @demiguelch: Abundio lle	RT @demiguelch: Abundio takes 81 years waiting for justice in the bottom of a pit. According to the story in @eldiarioes will have to go there https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895056800374	33	21
07/31/2017 03:19:41	RT @demiguelch: Franco está	RT @demiguelch: Franco is closer to losing the Legion of Honor that was awarded France. I count on @eldiarioes https://t.co/UMZcR7mSEE	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891921289941	13	14
08/11/2017 04:08:57	RT @demiguelch: Obedecer, p	RT @demiguelch: obey, obey ... https://t.co/PpV6r5sPzA	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895919957192	22	28
08/11/2017 04:16:20	RT @demiguelch: OPINIÓN		RT @demiguelch: OPINION	The extinction of the "Foundation" Francisco Franco: a matter of general interest. By Manuel Maroto https://t.co/...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895921814475	11	9
08/01/2017 02:39:50	RT @demiguelch: Escándalo e	RT @demiguelch: Scandal in Germany. Hitler's heirs enjoy the German people a stolen mansion. Today @eldiarioes https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892273652116	145	92
08/11/2017 04:16:26	RT @demiguelch: La @ARMH	RT @demiguelch: The @ARMH_Memoria presented the petition Congress to the @FNFFranco be outlawed. #MuyBien https://t.co/Y24dqe...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895921836940	49	47
08/08/2017 07:35:24	RT @demiguelch: El patriotist	RT @demiguelch: The patriotism of Franco: Meirás: the tip of the iceberg of spoliation of that profit the Franco https://t.co/7GAbYAiezY...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894884748111	8	6
08/11/2017 04:09:13	RT @demiguelch: Hoy cuento	RT @demiguelch: Today @eldiarioes contextualize some things that have been said about the 13 roses and grandfather @Pablo_Iglesias_ https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895920024690	302	307
07/31/2017 03:20:27	RT @demiguelch: Hoy cuento	RT @demiguelch: Today @eldiarioes story in the history of the son of a Spanish deported to Mauthausen Nazi camp struggling to ... https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891921485291	31	26
08/08/2017 07:19:57	RT @demiguelch: Hoy inform	RT @demiguelch: Today reported in @eldiarioes on a strange judgment convicting a Franco regime to follow in a grave https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896996475208	206	85
08/01/2017 05:02:26	RT @desalambre: 86 internos	RT @desalambre: 86 internal protest within the CIE in Madrid https://t.co/ghduGZRpC https://t.co/M10UOfPRWy	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892309537675	18	7
08/11/2017 04:16:35	RT @Ediciones_B: Un testimo	RT @Ediciones_B: A unique testimony now in room # 4443 of @demiguelch comic DEPORTEE and @IoannesEnsis https://t.co/210rVHnEmE https://t.co/j...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895921874772	19	23
08/06/2017 04:51:44	RT @el_pais: A estos dos chin	RT @el_pais: These two Chinese were not going to forget that in Germany can not do the 'Heil Hitler' or joke https://t.co/4RpoV...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894118782742	541	620
08/14/2017 08:02:39	RT @eldiarioes: Una jueza rec	RT @eldiarioes: A judge refuses to investigate a crime while recognizing that Franco might be a forced disappearance https://t.co/t...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897065931058	115	36
08/04/2017 12:01:12	RT @eldiarioes: El gobierno d	RT @eldiarioes: Feijóo government financed the opening of the Franco Meirás 50,000 euros until 2013 https://t.co/rmrHdvVxc7 https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893502086549	239	70
08/12/2017 05:04:33	RT @eldiarioes: OPINIÓN	La	RT @eldiarioes: OPINION	13 roses and grandfather Pablo Iglesias https://t.co/DcneCimuYo By @demiguelch https://t.co/WHJiryuMUc	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896296336739	70	69
08/01/2017 05:02:08	RT @eldiarioes: OPINIÓN	Ar	RT @eldiarioes: OPINION	Berghof wrest the Hitler https://t.co/1vtjNLXK0 By @demiguelch https://t.co/aihKk6HxDM	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892309460353	42	27
08/12/2017 07:01:59	RT @eldiarioes: Dos holandes	RT @eldiarioes: Two Dutch dunks in the struggle for historical memory become the new international brigade https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896325889939	195	265
08/14/2017 03:22:32	RT @elfjcgc: There are US Fas	RT @elfjcgc: There are US Fascists. But there are Also US Anti-Fascists. They have always been stopped fighting unavailable. @ Lin ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896995439035	4	5
08/11/2017 14:15:45	RT @ElMundoDeGila: Fallece	RT @ElMundoDeGila: Dies great friend Rius monero d #Gila As he was about to be shot d and d father was an orphan #GraciasRius +htt ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896072662480	17	12
08/12/2017 12:38:35	RT @ElMundoDeGila: Los inh	RT @ElMundoDeGila: Inhuman nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945 by the US in World War II caused the muer ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894236268942	26	14
08/04/2017 12:56:28	RT @elpcm: Mañana homena	RT @elpcm: Morning tribute to the # 13Rosas and # 43claveles that his name not be erased in history. After the event visit the @ AsociacionCem ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893515992571	90	69
08/02/2017 17:38:44	RT @Emilio_Silva_: Al aeropu	RT @Emilio_Silva_: Barajas airport you add the name of Adolfo Suárez and nothing happens. You take a street Millan Astray and develo ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892862252784	162	115
07/31/2017 03:59:15	RT @Emilio_Silva_: Mientras,	RT @Emilio_Silva_: Meanwhile, in a not very distant democracy, the Justice Department strives to renew peerages because everything ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891931248935	61	39
07/31/2017 04:06:42	RT @Emilio_Silva_: El poder d	RT @Emilio_Silva_: The power of culture and the media. "How a television series prompted the historical memory in Germany". https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891933121716	29	39
08/03/2017 07:19:57	RT @Emilio_Silva_: Vello Cárc	RT @Emilio_Silva_: Vello Cárcere Lugo, if you go near their exposure visit, an example of what should be a place of memory... https: // t ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893176920353	56	64
08/07/2017 02:40:54	RT @esgomor: Otro motín en	RT @esgomor: Another riot in the CIE Aluche. We remain committed to a city without opaque institutions, we continue to demand #CIEsNo https: //t...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892273916651	81	15
08/15/2017 15:18:34	RT @espacio_memoria: Recor	RT @espacio_memoria: In memory of Father ESMA in honor of the Day of the Disappeared https://t.co/Je138l6l7 Tours	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897538010413	24	20
08/01/2017 14:53:08	RT @EspuerdaUnida: Homena	RT @EspuerdaUnida: Homenaxe to figure Rafael Bárez symbol integridade and memory, # ACoruña through two seus read comun ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892458190344	11	9
08/03/2017 03:59:14	RT @EugenioRomeroB:. @aed	RT @EugenioRomeroB: @ Aecos_comsoc and @ARMHEXMemoria organized "Walking the memory Badajoz in August 1936..." Do not miss it. Because I privilege ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893018409285	4	2
08/08/2017 11:48:22	RT @europeanness: Perché è	RT @europeanness: Perché è importante far conoscere Ragazzi di oggi ai Marcinelle	Il Pezzo di Orio Vergani dall'Archivio https://t.co/GZp...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894948407390	3	2
08/13/2017 09:20:24	RT @europeanness: Save the.	RT @europeanness: Save the.date.23 August: European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Totalitarian regimes.Pins & amp; ribbons are ready. TO...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896723110619	3	1
07/30/2017 09:38:51	RT @exiliados: Los exiliados R	RT @exiliados: Republican exiles and Dunkerque https://t.co/01Ig3cwv3p	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891654322701	1	1
08/08/2017 19:49:30	RT @ExtremaduraRoja: AGOS	RT @ExtremaduraRoja: AUGUST ANTIFA. DEMONSTRATION x those killed in the massacre of #BADAJOZ. August 14 at 20: 30h. Attend and disseminates ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895069489137	130	86
08/01/2017 12:42:02	RT @Falbaluca: OPINIÓN	Ar	RT @Falbaluca: OPINION	Snatch Berghof to Hitler, by @demiguelch https://t.co/SfiziLVcYp via @eldiarioes's a great story.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892425198837	7	4
08/15/2017 09:49:04	RT @FAMYR_Asturias: En Ale	RT @FAMYR_Asturias: In Germany preserve her memory as a people for evidence of Nazi crimes. In Spain, we destroy them. http ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897455501941	8	7
07/30/2017 06:37:03	RT @fibgar_: "Mi familia pud	RT @fibgar_: "My family was able to close his wounds. To you it accuses of wanting to open them "| @ctxt_es https://t.co/DkS9kivSnC	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891608571837	3	6
08/08/2017 07:29:09	RT @foromemoria: @SOSCar	RT @foromemoria: @SOSCarabanchel @jonathanmartinz @JoseABrazo Unfortunately, neither party wants the state itself ou ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894883173049	1	3
08/05/2017 13:54:50	RT @foromemoria: El homen	RT @foromemoria: The tribute we have to do to # 13Rosas and his 43 companions is fight to the cancellation of all judgment ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893893071997	58	61
08/01/2017 19:45:47	RT @foroporlamemori: Contra	RT @foroporlamemori: Against the impunity of Franco, against equidistance, against el.fascismo. No change without memory ... https: // ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892531838295	26	17
08/12/2017 13:10:29	RT @FraBonastre: Espais de la	RT @FraBonastre: Spaces of the Battle of the Ebro (II)	Photo gallery	NacióDigital https://t.co/HfcY7JgKRY	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896418626508	1	1
08/01/2017 15:27:34	RT @FundMalagon: El próxim	RT @FundMalagon: Next Saturday met 78 years. We do not forget. https://t.co/4Hk9iBEo66	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892466858066	32	23
08/15/2017 09:50:40	RT @gabrielrufian: Antonio M	RT @gabrielrufian: Antonio Machado died of fever in Colliure fleeing some q grandparents today are so concerned. X true, of ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897455504536	3213	3112
08/02/2017 12:15:24	RT @Gacetinmadrid: Las obra	RT @Gacetinmadrid: Work on the cemetery #Fuencarral not affect the graves of @mvalienteots #brigadistas @JMDfuencarral https: // ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892780885027	14	9
08/07/2017 11:26:08	RT @GacemosMadrid: Nueva	RT @GacemosMadrid: New protest in the CIE of Aluche. The only alternative is closing. #CIEsNo https://t.co/jhJKbOfxNF	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894583543663	31	17
08/15/2017 09:42:39	RT @gerardotc: Antonio Macl	RT @gerardotc: Antonio Machado went to France so he would not put his name to a ditch.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897453485016	3687	4669
08/15/2017 19:34:19	RT @gerardotc: ¿No es raro q	RT @gerardotc: Is not it strange that you the pele that Machado had to go into exile, but you indigne much a canard about Catalan ca ... taking away his	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897602383932	4026	4979
08/02/2017 06:03:20	RT @GesualdoEdizion: La me	RT @GesualdoEdizion: Memory è un che non finisce present mai di passare Octavio Paz #Bologna # 2agosto1980 https://t.co/YUz2BlbC4v	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892687248897	12	12
08/05/2017 11:46:41	RT @golondrinadnata: # 13Ro	RT @golondrinadnata: # 13Rosas Dionisia Manzanero letter to his family: "But keep in mind that I do not die by criminal or thief, but ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893860820010	160	134
08/08/2017 19:08:15	RT @GregoryBaudouin: Jeudi	RT @GregoryBaudouin: Jeudi 24 août 2017 Hommage aux Espag ... https://t.co/7x7VVSm3s4 # guerred'espagne # MémoiresRépublicainsEspagnols # nu ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895059107715	2	4
08/07/2017 19:22:43	RT @GregoryBaudouin: The b	RT @GregoryBaudouin: The big event for September 2017 is the presentation of the f ... https://t.co/V57MmaQD27 # guerred'espagne # Mémoirede ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894700360117	2	4
08/14/2017 06:40:59	RT @GrupDeuteLH: https://t.	RT @GrupDeuteLH: https://t.co/Kz74ByU5xa # BasilioMartinPatino #Antifranquistas #Referente # 15M https://t.co/C5c29DVTe9	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897045378339	4	4
08/12/2017 15:05:10	RT @GuachaPuskas: 29/08/20	RT @GuachaPuskas: 29/08/2017 Inauguration in Paris of a square in honor of Lise and Artur London https://t.co/MWmbPpJlIg brigadiers	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896462998693	24	22
08/01/2017 08:32:01	RT @heimbergch: #Barcelone	RT @heimbergch: #Barcelone # MuséeDHistoireDeCatalogne Exposition en cours sur des drapeaux de la guerre civile https://t.co/cAcWfASqIs	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893449442141	3	3
08/04/2017 08:32:20	RT @heimbergch: Drapeaux d	RT @heimbergch: Drapeaux of guerre civile https://t.co/wB50aAk6C6 https://t.co/krkTKWMnvs	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893449524844	3	5
08/10/2017 14:38:26	RT @heimbergch: Grande mo	RT @heimbergch: Large Mobilization of victime des associations pour faire du franquisme interdire qui l'ignoble Fondation Franco promeut u ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895715899902	23	15
08/04/2017 12:36:21	RT @heimbergch: Le 4 août 1	RT @heimbergch: Le 4 august 1974, a néofasciste attentat faisait 12 morts et 44 dans un train blessés italien #Italicus # mémoire https: // tc ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893510931795	7	7
08/14/2017 22:55:21	RT @heimbergch: La place de	RT @heimbergch: Place de taureaux of Badajoz, lieu du massacre of 1936, n'aurait mais pas dû être transformée demolished in lieu d'hist ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897132097353	20	10
08/12/2017 11:10:14	RT @heimbergch: Sant'Anna	RT @heimbergch: Sant'Anna di Stazzema, Province of Lucca, Toscane, Italie Le 12 août 1944, les Nazis and commirent one immense massacre of civ ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896388364462	10	10
08/01/2017 19:44:45	RT @HMPNYC: Soccer stadiu	RT @HMPNYC: Soccer stadiums are #sitiosdememoria #Argentina and in #Chile #Noolvidamos @PopNoj https://t.co/nKDiMvvLIH	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892531577498	1	1
08/09/2017 05:30:28	RT @HolocaustMuseum: Tod	RT @HolocaustMuseum: Today in 1938: Authorities open the Mauthausen SS concentration camp near Linz, Austria. https://t.co/PE225BMYF1 https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895215695151	72	45
08/06/2017 06:01:42	RT @IBMT_SCW: IBMT memb	RT @IBMT_SCW: IBMT members receive fortnightly esta eNewsletter With all the latest news and events. Join here: htt ... https://t.co/I4PrqFYTlm	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894136508559	11	16
08/06/2017 09:06:30	RT @IkaiAlo: Josep Renau. Cre	RT @IkaiAlo: # 13Rosas we can not forget your name Julia, you are into history... https://t.co/HBK6cAUPrx	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894182897325	5	16
08/08/2017 09:28:45	RT @IkaiAlo: Josep Renau. Cre	RT @IkaiAlo: Josep Renau. Chronology. 1907-1982 https://t.co/wldfSkogUU @LaMariadeO	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894913271848	1	4
07/30/2017 06:44:40	RT @IndeGranada: 'The Franc	RT @IndeGranada: 'The Franco regime that sold his food in hotel in other media. https://t.co/LqswcNXReA...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891610490136	44	40
07/31/2017 04:00:08	RT @inesgce: Mañana de trine	RT @inesgce: Morning #CiudadUniversitaria trenches thanks to #ArqueologiadelaGuerraCivil @IncipitCSIC https://t.co/Ri1UKKsaBL	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891931469727	22	12
08/04/2017 05:03:56	RT @IoannesEnsis: El 5 de ago	RT @IoannesEnsis: On August 5 killed thirteen roses. https://t.co/5aWXBBNygQ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893408562879	36	61
08/08/2017 12:45:05	RT @itsarolsen: #OnThisDay i	RT @itsarolsen: #OnThisDay in 1938: Arrival of the first prisoners at Mauthausen concentration camp https://t.co/4bKWOpduul https://t.co/sm...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894962681626	13	6
07/30/2017 05:06:32	RT @IveserVenezia: "Gli Stati	RT @IveserVenezia: "Gli Stati Uniti e la Repubblica Spagna e Civile War (1931-1939)." @studistorici https://t.co/qZ9W3WKqc via https: / ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891585792715	14	13
08/12/2017 06:05:00	RT @IveserVenezia: "Pietre d'	RT @IveserVenezia: "Pietre d'Inciampo - Venezia", a short online ... A promosso progetto da @comunevenezia @Comebravenezia @ centro_tedesco ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896311546485	15	17
08/07/2017 06:03:28	RT @IveserVenezia: #Bologna	RT @IveserVenezia: #Bologna, August 2, 1980, ore 10.25 #nondimenticare https://t.co/l027GwB05N	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892687283136	72	85

Date	Content	URL		
08/09/2017 12:21:44	RT @IveserVenezia: #stolpers RT @IveserVenezia: #stolpersteine #pietreinciampo #Venezia https://t.co/45Ue2QJNfs	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895319191846	12	19
08/06/2017 02:56:21	RT @IveserVenezia: 6 agosto RT @IveserVenezia: August 6, 1945 #Hiroshima https://t.co/jdMiUnxnVr	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894089744409	88	73
08/08/2017 03:15:44	RT @IveserVenezia: 8 agosto RT @IveserVenezia: August 8, 1956 #Marcinelle https://t.co/ddLjUkDiSj	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894819398913	52	45
08/10/2017 03:31:52	RT @IveserVenezia: E Hitler o RT @IveserVenezia: E ai war Hitler Ordino civiliL'Atlante ferocia e dolore della Felici di aver collaborato ... https://t.co/p1V...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895548234667	17	8
08/14/2017 04:54:15	RT @JdMJerez: En Almería, re RT @JdMJerez: In Almeria, reminding Javier Verdejo on the 41st anniversary of his murder by police of Francoism in France. Idyllically ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897018517823	101	96
08/02/2017 11:29:42	RT @jesusmarana: La pequeñ RT @jesusmarana: The small / big story of the 'Children of Russia' which were not adapted to Spain. By @josecahuerta in #VeranoLibre https: // t ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892769383222	33	25
08/13/2017 11:25:23	RT @JmGarretas: 'Sucedió en RT @JmGarretas: 'It happened in Grazalema'. The documentary crime of the fifteen roses and a teenager https://t.co/Kx0StkQFVM With tears ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896754563071	6	6
08/04/2017 19:17:08	RT @JmGarretas: A los soldad RT @JmGarretas: A unknown soldiers, two graves of Soviet soldiers killed in the Battle of Brunete, surely operators l ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893611790596	55	59
08/15/2017 07:26:24	RT @JmGarretas: Gerta Poho RT @JmGarretas: Pohorylle Gerta was born in Stuttgart on August 1, 1910, the daughter of Polish Jews fled to Paris to raise the Nazis to power ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897419198107	1	1
08/13/2017 06:15:21	RT @JoaquimBoschGra: La ap RT @JoaquimBoschGra: The apology for Francoism is not a crime, but it is unacceptable that is subsidized and declared of public interest. The...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896676542574	1783	1761
08/04/2017 05:58:19	RT @JoaquimBoschGra: El fra RT @JoaquimBoschGra: The sociological Francoism supporting the dictator and his crimes show that part of society that does not believe to see ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893410765436	2530	2370
08/15/2017 15:19:41	RT @jonathanmartinz: Los res RT @jonathanmartinz: The remains of Machado are always covered with Republicans and Catalan nationalist messages. I've never seen a flower bouquet ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897538300096	538	630
08/02/2017 11:10:25	RT @Koeln: Am Donnerstag h RT @Koeln: Am Donnerstag und haben alle Kölnerinnen Kölner wieder unsere freien Eintritt in Museen! # KölnTag https://t.co/yLwnWLT8Qb https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892764531210	9	23
08/14/2017 04:35:30	RT @Krakenberger: #TalDiaCo RT @Krakenberger: #TalDiaComoHoy in 1941 was Father Maximilian Kolbe murdered in Block 11 of Auschwitz. @AuschwitzMuseum https: // tc ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897013800003	25	36
08/08/2017 04:12:56	RT @LaCroix: Les souvenirs d RT @LaCroix: Les souvenirs d'un survivant du bombardement of #Guernica https://t.co/uV3c8Dd2b8	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894833795450	11	13
08/13/2017 09:50:41	RT @LaFallaras: Que en 2017 RT @LaFallaras: That in 2017 we're raising the Valle d Memorial, the Pazo de Meiras Foundation and the Franco portrays what have we done h ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896730730268	5626	6041
08/12/2017 11:09:35	RT @lamarea_com: Catalina Si RT @lamarea_com: Catalina Silva dies at 100 years. He could not find the remains of his sister Maria (Libertarian), murdered in 1936 https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896388199945	262	112
08/09/2017 05:29:40	RT @lamarea_com: Los civiles RT @lamarea_com: Civilians fleeing Malaga in disbands found shelter in Almería. Their refuge is still little known https: // t ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895215491882	63	42
08/08/2017 09:19:01	RT @lamarea_com: La historia RT @lamarea_com: The story told by @AntonioMaestre Camposancos in @DebatAlRojoVivo https://t.co/TjXOs4z4Yi...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894910824241	35	24
08/08/2017 06:28:04	RT @lauraboldrini: Anniversar RT @lauraboldrini: Anniversario tragedy #Marcinelle ricorda quando ci i #migranti eravamo noi. Oggi è più che mai non Diment dovere nostro ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894867800816	339	859
07/31/2017 06:13:57	RT @LauraGuien: 83e Manifes RT @LauraGuien: 83e Manifestation of catalane plateforme d'memorialistes Entités #Barcelone à ce matin. #Memoria #Justicia https://t.co/...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891965147178	10	6
07/31/2017 06:14:07	RT @LauraGuien: Les militant RT @LauraGuien: Les militants of #MesaDeCatalunya ont également les noms exécutées lu des victimes suite aux condamnat " franquistes (pre ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891965186948	9	3
08/01/2017 12:34:56	RT @LincolnBrigade: Help bri RT @LincolnBrigade: Help bring esta Important album into the world! https://t.co/Rf1wmJFihp https://t.co/MtmyjgW0kB	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892423413662	33	30
08/08/2017 12:49:47	RT @LincolnBrigade: Sol Felli RT @LincolnBrigade: Sol Fellman 1911-2006, Fought against fascism in Spain. https://t.co/0UUIwf8Jv1	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894963864638	59	105
08/10/2017 03:32:30	RT @Llibertatcat: #TaldiacomH RT @Llibertatcat: #Taldiacomavui [1932] of crap Intent General José Sanjurjo https://t.co/xX84j3SlIz https://t.co/6lkdY8nD80	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895548395288	4	2
08/02/2017 13:07:16	RT @LQSomos: #ACoruña Par RT @LQSomos: #ACoruña stop the feet to the Foundation Franco https://t.co/weQ9wrLobR @euromemories @JovenesMemoria @rodriguezamorin @ SOSCara ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892793938679	6	5
08/01/2017 12:46:52	RT @LQSomos: 83 Concentrac RT @LQSomos: 83 Concentración Mesa de Catalunya https://t.co/HrOGHpXUsa @Recupermemoria @Buscameblog @ jmcoronas2 @Ce_AQUA @SOSCarabanchel	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892426414112	4	6
08/06/2017 05:37:36	RT @LQSomos: A los 78 años RT @LQSomos: At 78 years of that morning https://t.co/36df1BU9UN # 13Rosas #RecuperandoMemoria	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894130326431	16	21
08/13/2017 14:55:34	RT @madridcyp: NECROLÓGIC RT @madridcyp: OBITUARY Dies at 87 filmmaker Basilio Martín Patino ... https://t.co/mo5CzTqjTf	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896807458882	7	3
08/02/2017 11:25:56	RT @Madrizalaizquie: "Que m RT @Madrizalaizquie: "Let my name be erased from history." Tribute to the Thirteen Roses and 43 comrades (JSU / PCE) 08.05.1939 htt ... shot	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892768434102	18	16
08/13/2017 07:57:03	RT @Madrizalaizquie: Los trab RT @Madrizalaizquie: Subway workers, gendarmes and rail face the Germans in Paris https://t.co/fGdAv9d2JS @ AA_ ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896702134464	6	6
08/02/2017 11:09:35	RT @Madrizalaizquie: La fosa RT @Madrizalaizquie: The grave of the Brigade of Fuencarral, at risk for some works, Rafael Fraguas. Via El País. https://t.co/oAXB8O7U...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892764321587	27	18
08/02/2017 11:14:47	RT @MajdanekMuseum: Toda RT @MajdanekMuseum: Today is the Roma Genocide Remembrance Day. Roma and Sinti on more people in the labor camp in # Bełżec (1940): https: // ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892765629006	37	40
08/12/2017 06:11:04	RT @manelmarquez: Catalina RT @manelmarquez: Catalina, the last survivor of Casas Viejas, died a hundred years! Dignity has woman's name. https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896313076030	10	7
08/15/2017 17:40:56	RT @manelmarquez: Las calle RT @manelmarquez: The streets of #Badajoz welcome worthy people demanding truth, justice and reparation for victims of Francoism # ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897573849566	38	37
08/12/2017 06:13:07	RT @manuelabergerot: Las pa RT @manuelabergerot: Madrid walls speak what Callan q institutions. @PorFavorHH makes urban art loaded Memory # AscensiónM d ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896313590814	36	36
08/04/2017 17:53:32	RT @MauthausenGusen: Cárc RT @MauthausenGusen: Franco Prison in Benamaurel https://t.co/p0ly2OPbcc	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893590755209	8	8
08/05/2017 09:43:55	RT @Memoria_Publica: Marti RT @Memoria_Publica: Martina, White, Elena, Pilar, Julia, Adelina, Carmen, Virtues, Luisa, Joaquina, Dionisia, Victoria and Ana # 13Rosas	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893829926545	273	358
08/01/2017 11:30:00	RT @Memoria_Publica: El des RT @Memoria_Publica: The unknown concentration camp in which he secluded himself in Jaén 15,000 republican prisoners https://t.co/bP91brhHF1 htt ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892407069025	88	35
08/14/2017 07:33:19	RT @Memoria_Publica: Hoy RT @Memoria_Publica: Today 81 years ago the troops of Yagüe took Badajoz, where they performed one of the most brutal massacres committed ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897058551201	261	81
08/04/2017 08:08:18	RT @Memoria_Publica: Hoy s RT @Memoria_Publica: Today marks 73 years of the arrest of Ana Frank and her family in Amsterdam, after nearly two and a half years almost hiding ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893443474179	161	111
08/07/2017 19:38:08	RT @memoriacarcere: "Fouce RT @memoriacarcere: "Foucellas" that deu nome Oscar guerrilleiro galegos and prisoner and seized cárcere not Coruña ... https://t.co/LLMdm5kc...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894704241834	5	2
08/07/2017 19:37:48	RT @memoriacarcere: "Fouce RT @memoriacarcere: "Foucellas" that deu to antifranquista nome foi imprisoned guerrillas and that no cárcere and garrotazo Coruna ... https: //t.co...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894704158992	4	2
07/30/2017 15:07:22	RT @memoriacarcere: A solid RT @memoriacarcere: A solidariedade between os prisoners. Cóntanolo Rafael Pillado. https://t.co/TDnguMSYtO https://t.co/57XMBT99s1	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891736996560	5	4
08/03/2017 18:11:39	RT @MemoriaMallorca: Ni en RT @MemoriaMallorca: Ni ens ho represent or volem! https://t.co/nlhSE5alQw	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893232926225	14	15
08/14/2017 04:58:39	RT @MercedelaVega: #TalDia RT @MercedelaVega: #TalDiaComAvui #catmex # TalDiaComoHoy #Badajoz suffered #genocidio dl #fascismo https://t.co/YNtRCjvoZr # Spain # Crimes ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897019624893	5	4
08/05/2017 03:59:48	RT @mhistoriacat: #taldiacom RT @mhistoriacat: #taldiacomavui 1939 will be afusellades 13 noies pel regim Franco #Madrid # 13RosesRoges https://t.co/x7XBkchaL4	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893743324544	257	165
08/13/2017 09:10:19	RT @mhistoriacat: #taldiacom RT @mhistoriacat: 1940 #taldiacomavui detenir the #Gestapo is the president of the Generalitat de Catalunya, Lluís Companys to # França https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896720574973	831	373
08/03/2017 13:01:24	RT @mhistoriacat: #taldiacom RT @mhistoriacat: 1974 #taldiacomavui will die Piniella Joaquim Amat i, il escriptor politic Sobreviure going to camp #Mauthausen (...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893154848182	81	46
08/06/2017 08:55:30	RT @MistralS: Same in Spain RT @MistralS: Same in Spain About PP lovers of Franco regim: Fake news is bad. But even worse is Fake history. Natalie Nougayrède https: // ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894180129768	41	55
08/02/2017 07:31:15	RT @millmeorca: Els represal RT @millmeorca: Els represaliats menorquins pel REGIM Franco, amb nom i llinatges https://t.co/iK1TFueSnL	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892709375084	12	7
08/14/2017 04:54:43	RT @MontotUgart: Decir que RT @MontotUgart: To say that Franco's crimes are crimes against humanity but not applying international law is a incongruenc ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897019141101	4	2
08/15/2017 11:31:34	RT @MozaikaMagazine: 16/08 RT @MozaikaMagazine: 08/16/1934 "Barcelona has a major refugee center Become, surpassed only by Paris and Palestine" @G_Pisarello @ volemaco ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897480896193	15	20
08/08/2017 10:41:18	RT @MuseoDDHHChile: #Sien RT @MuseoDDHHChile: #SiemprHayMotivosPara revisiting the museum. You expect from Tuesday to Sunday from 10 to 18 hours	Matucana 501	In...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894931529553	19	25
08/08/2017 12:00:26	RT @MuseoDDHHChile: Pued RT @MuseoDDHHChile: You can review images of the launch → https://t.co/4z4isSVldi https://t.co/3UeLTK8mp0	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894951444192	5	5
08/05/2017 03:59:37	RT @MVTARDE: VÍDEO	La r RT @MVTARDE: VIDEO	Emilio Silva's response to the Franco Foundation: "I feel very ashamed of this country" https://t.co/HM8MGGnGeT http ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893743280671	32	48
08/12/2017 04:00:12	RT @MyLMadrid: Los conceja RT @MyLMadrid: Councilors We have proposed to its partners of government in the city of Oviedo perform ... https://t.co/BGT2...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896280140803	7	8
08/04/2017 05:55:03	RT @MyLMadrid: Desde hace RT @MyLMadrid: For over a decade, Ernesto Viñas, dental technician and Sven Tuytens correspondent of Radio Television ... https: // ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893409941909	4	4
08/13/2017 19:51:07	RT @MyLMadrid: El Campo de RT @MyLMadrid: The field work for the Recovery of Historical Memory of Extremadura has become # 13Rosas has ... https: //t...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892533181840	4	7
08/13/2017 03:45:45	RT @OditaN: Visita al refugio RT @OditaN: Visit to the bomb shelter of Santander. Recommended by @Ovicente. https://t.co/9qhpeWterS	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896638891163	9	17
08/01/2017 15:27:58	RT @oldpiccarchive: Francisc RT @oldpiccarchive: Francisco Franco Q, with Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro (L) and Iraqi Vice President Saddam Hussein ® in Madrid, D ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892504669251	77	46
08/02/2017 07:52:45	RT @OnEtsOncleGuill: Hem cr RT @OnEtsOncleGuill: Hem creat a nou # moment 🔍 per Anar documentant l " Exhumació of Fossa Commune Cornudella de Montsant (Priorat) »h ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892714785548	7	5
08/15/2017 11:22:23	RT @oriolserra: Eine "Adolf # RT @oriolserra: Eine "Adolf #Hitler Stiftung" in Deutschland? In Spanien ist die "Francisco Franco Stiftung" erlaubt. Interessant oder? @ l ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897478584943	10	13
08/03/2017 14:30:11	RT @paredonpaterna: Hoy en RT @paredonpaterna: 1939/42/44 Today, 31 people were killed by #Franco in Manage of #Paterna # MemoriaHistórica @Buscameblog @ fe ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893177193165	14	5
08/14/2017 14:46:40	RT @partizankur: Carta a su m RT @partizankur: Letter to his wife and children of Miquel Castel, one of the 1717 executed by Franco in the Campo de la Bota (Barcelona) ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897167606347	48	13
08/03/2017 04:24:52	RT @patrigos: 13rosas. No pe RT @patrigos: 13rosas. Not let his name never be forgotten. #Verdad continue to demand #Justicia # Repair https: // t ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893024850976	9	8
08/01/2017 04:10:47	RT @patrigos: El 1 de agosto RT @patrigos: On August 1, 1910 born Gerta Pohorylle (Gerda Taro) .The first female photojournalist to cover a war, the war ci ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892296536406	74	76
08/03/2017 18:31:36	RT @patrigos: Con este hilo d RT @patrigos: This thread reminds @QComandas Q-roses, grey oils, and brave fighters to fascism creative...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893237945448	11	15
08/01/2017 04:29:00	RT @Patrindustrial: Negligenc RT @Patrindustrial: negligence is called mistake ... So going to the heritage in this country https://t.co/9kc85uY9Rav https://t.co/Inu3Fnis...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892301124132	9	13
08/02/2017 07:53:35	RT @PCM_Arganzuela: El #SA RT @PCM_Arganzuela: The # SA tribute to the # 13Rosas and # 43Claveles in the Cementerio del Este #Madrid ❤🏴💛 💜 🖤 @iiunida @IU_Madrid @elpce @ the ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892714994621	28	23
07/30/2017 06:40:33	RT @PCM_Carabanchel: Hilo RT @PCM_Carabanchel: Hilo Comrade @lataninad about Cristino García. Guerrilla. WWII hero. Shot and buried in the cementation ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891609453224	18	11
08/04/2017 05:56:40	RT @PCM_Carabanchel: Este RT @PCM_Carabanchel: This Saturday at 11:00 tribute to the 13 Rosas. Memory to have future https://t.co/tFv7PfCZ1H	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893410349491	9	10
08/05/2017 13:54:42	RT @pedripol: No olvidemos. RT @pedripol: Do not forget. It's what they want .... # 13rosas https://t.co/neNnChctj8	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893893039449	250	343
08/03/2017 14:43:16	RT @PlayersTribune: "We hav RT @PlayersTribune: "We Have to do a better job breaking through ignorance and the close-mindedness ... Plaguing our society in 2017." http ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893180484485	565	1052
08/03/2017 14:31:02	RT @politicahoyayer: Excavaci RT @politicahoyayer: Excavations at the point where Colonel Adolfo Prada signed the capitulation of the Republic on March 28, 1939 ht ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893177405082	10	11
08/12/2017 07:04:05	RT @PorFavorHH: Para ti, As RT @PorFavorHH: For you, Ascension, thank you for your fight, which is many. @Ce_AQUA #ascensionmendieta @manuelabergerot # MemoriaHis ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896326417503	22	28
08/04/2017 12:23:04	RT @prazapublica: A Xunta fin RT @prazapublica: A Xunta financiou to opening Meirás Franco years with 50,000 euros ana 2013 https://t.co/9StkQPaGBT...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893507588679	42	17
08/08/2017 09:19:27	RT @publico_es: Las 13 rosas RT @publico_es: The 13 roses: 13 names for memory #TreceRosas #MemoriaHistorica By @lacomunapress https://t.co/4ThtZok7XN	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894910932169	20	25
08/01/2017 12:45:30	RT @publico_es: El desconoci RT @publico_es: The unknown concentration camp prisoners detained 15,000 Republicans https://t.co/U9OwXYTBT7 via @publico_es ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892426070124	191	81
08/03/2017 18:47:19	RT @QCamaradas: ♣ Julia Co RT @QCamaradas: ♣ Julia Conesa Conesa. 19 years. Dressmaker. Affiliated with the JSU where he helped in sports facilities. He worked as charged ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893241900404	41	32
08/02/2017 05:19:12	RT @RaioficialNews: #2agost RT @RaioficialNews: # 2agosto1980: the #Rai ricorda the #StrageDiBologna, Tutta la programmazione dedicata 📺 https://t.co/liJdCRiim1 # 2agost ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892290038905	246	268
08/02/2017 05:19:12	RT @RaiTre: "Non ci sono par RT @RaiTre: "Non ci sono parole che il mio Possano esprimere stato d'animo E 'straziante one thing." Sandro Pertini. # 2agosto1980, the Stra # ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892676145975	515	593
08/12/2017 05:04:22	RT @ramonlobo: OPINIÓN	1 RT @ramonlobo: OPINION	13 roses and grandfather Pablo Iglesias. By @demiguelch https://t.co/yJlFPdpBK via @eldiarioes	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896296289591	35	33
08/07/2017 19:06:05	RT @ReaccionaDB: Actos en c RT @ReaccionaDB: Events commemorating the 81st anniversary of the #MasacreDeBadajoz #Badajoz #Extremadura # MemoriaHistórica # Nevermore https ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894696174497	24	17
08/14/2017 06:44:52	RT @ReaccionaDB: El #fascism RT @ReaccionaDB: The #fascismo took umbrage with #Extremadura in retaliation for his vigorous peasant and workers' struggles #MatanzaDeBadajoz # M ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897046358481	124	64
08/03/2017 04:14:09	RT @RedComunismo: #Argent RT @RedComunismo: #Argentina shows signs of Santiago Maldonado predicting reappear ... https://t.co/ywrgCZHDiE	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893023589255	5	14
08/08/2017 19:45:08	RT @Redvark: @lincolnbrigade RT @Redvark: @lincolnbrigade @IBMT_SCW very sad to find the Lincoln Battalion memorial on Hill 666 Has Been Smashed https://t.co/ogiOArYnJJ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895068389948	54	24
08/14/2017 04:54:24	RT @ris_org: Una jueza recha RT @ris_org: A judge refuses to investigate a crime while recognizing #franquismo could be a # forced disappearance https://t.co/43xEdl...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897018556654	15	8
07/30/2017 06:39:40	RT @rodriguezamorin: Retwee RT @rodriguezamorin: JUANCARLOS Retweeted TEFONES (@CARLOSMASACHS): Justice for the victims of Francoism and civil war ... https ...!	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891609229890	5	2
08/14/2017 13:56:52	RT @ROSFON: Vaya tipo, Rod RT @ROSFON: Go type, Rodriguez Ibarra .. The destruction of the plaza de toros of Badajoz, by Francisco Espinosa https://t.co/RcmqiWLYUI saw ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897155075436	2	2
08/12/2017 07:32:42	RT @runawesty: Como bien d RT @runawesty: As stated @demiguelch these women are the brigadiers of SXXI. #MemoriaHistórica https://t.co/ncNoLh7od	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896333621002	4	4
08/04/2017 16:33	RT @semillamemoria: 😃 🔜☀️ RT @semillamemoria: 😃 🔜 ☀️Sábado Aug. 5 (12h- 🎪 Parque San Telmo-LOGC) 💛 💜 🖤HOMENAJE heroes and heroines fought q x the obrera 🏴 ACTUACIÓN class ...!	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893536150169	11	11
08/08/2017 09:27:56	RT @seorafranquista: AHORA RT @seorafranquista: NOW THE PIJAS OF PP are revolutionary. THIS WITH FRANCO not happen. https://t.co/dQM3ENWXvn	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894913066059	808	1241
08/01/2017 14:39:45	RT @SerFiss: #ricordiamodom RT @SerFiss: #ricordiamodomani 1980 avrebbe potuto essere chiunque. Siamo stati tutti https://t.co/t9fXLFpymf	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892464246316	60	63
08/04/2017 12:25:34	RT @sergioandreola: #4Agost RT @sergioandreola: #4Agosto1974 #italiac - strage. Un'altra fascist bomb. https://t.co/4BH3aR3Wae	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893508216331	38	36
08/15/2017 05:31:24	RT @sgambarte: Gabriel Maravillas, rosa navarra. A 15 August https://t.co/nIVTUbKbyM more Lamberto remember Maravillas.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897390258031	14	9
08/13/2017 12:48:55	RT @ShaunKing: Heather Hey RT @ShaunKing: Heather Heyer. An American martyr. A hero. My hero. Last words on FB "If you're not outraged, you're not paying attentio ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896775586588	29321	76367
08/08/2017 10:46:21	RT @SitesConscience: On the RT @SitesConscience: On the Importance of Grassroots Efforts to collect and preserve 'difficult memories' - https://t.co/u6SVgbpHG1	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894932803056	6	8
08/06/2017 12:33:37	RT @SitesConscience: The Ato RT @SitesConscience: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima https://t.co/R3enLzlyiZ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894235018431	3	4
08/13/2017 12:12:23	RT @SitesConscience: These RT @SitesConscience: Were These Monuments erected in hate & amp; it still inspire today; We stand w / those working so bravely in # Charlottesville ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCaraboł YES		5	12
08/05/2017 19:08:04	RT @stgoturismo: Mira en nu RT @stgoturismo: Look at our website, some sites report that invite us to reflect on the past, present and future. https://t.co/...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893971896856	15	21
08/07/2017 11:12:23	RT @StoriaPerTutti: Sul @qn_ RT @StoriaPerTutti: @qn_carlino Sul di oggi. @IveserVenezia https://t.co/0DqEpR4Had	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892765024257	5	5
08/09/2017 05:19:48	RT @Stosteimuenchen: #Gun RT @Stosteimuenchen: #GunterDemnig creator of the world's largest, Most Democratic & amp; beloved project of commemoration: the #Stolpersteine h ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895213010469	6	13
08/08/2017 09:34:23	RT @subversivos_: "El @PPou RT @subversivos_: "The @PPopular is a party of Franco origin, and never will do anything to the Valle of the figure exalts dictation ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894914691692	608	472
08/07/2017 10:39:07	RT @SylviaGrossi: Entre 1938 RT @SylviaGrossi: Between 1938 i 1944 month 840 militants of the CNT will be afusellats to Catalunya L'stat amass Fon: https: //t.co/4DLLXb...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894568594788	30	15
08/08/2017 18:58:25	RT @SylviaGrossi: @cntvigo C RT @SylviaGrossi:	@cntvigo Partners on its behalf in all the Grossi family was, and the two still remain, Thanks! Sa ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895056632115	4	24
08/13/2017 11:22:14	RT @Tremending: Los tuiteros RT @Tremending: Tweeps criticize the equidistance of 'El País' to call "radical groups" racist and antiracist https://t.co/blO...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896753770218	160	112
08/15/2017 11:22:59	RT @UEumann: @oriolserra @ RT @UEumann: @oriolserra @HeikeKeilhofer @heuteplus @BILD @SZ Franco hat für alle Gnadengesuche abgelehnt Salvador Puig Antich, kommt das e ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897478734818	2	2
08/11/2017 14:13:43	RT @UEumann: #80GuerraCi RT @UEumann: # 80GuerraCivil CGN 11/08/1937 Daily Nazi. "Anarchists against Communists 'Temps' on the inner power struggle in the camp of Sp ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896072148720	6	2
08/12/2017 18:49:13	RT @UEumann: #80GuerraCiv RT @UEumann: # 80GuerraCivil Nazi CGN Daily 07/08/1937: "General Franco's party program 'Service to the community, brotherliness, subordinati ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896691928658	3	4
08/04/2017 16:37:50	RT @UEumann: #80GuerraCiv RT @UEumann: # 80GuerraCivil Nazi CGN daily 08/04/1937: "Franco Recognized by vatican" #FakeNews again: only in recognition Implemented June 1 ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893571702399	2	1
08/12/2017 11:06:38	RT @UEumann: #80GuerraCiv RT @UEumann: # 80GuerraCivil Nazi CGN Daily 12/08/1937: "Falange - This creative tool The meaning of the constitution of T ... Spanish Falange.	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896387458165	1	2
08/15/2017 14:26:04	RT @UEumann: #80GuerraCiv RT @UEumann: # 80GuerraCivil WiIl Remmel During His first days as member of the XI International Brigade, June 1937 (hand colored Photogra ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897548101911	12	16
08/03/2017 04:01:27	RT @UEumann: An unnotice RT @UEumann: An exhibition at @mhistoriacat unnoticed: Flags of Civil War (until October 2017.) https://t.co/NHquuytdS ... https://t.co/GIPbEEs3...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893018964044	16	17
08/03/2017 13:53:45	RT @verdechamberi: @locode RT @verdechamberi: @locodelpelorojo @madridcyp In Madrid demolish heritage often involves increased buildable and pitch, so gu ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893168021346	7	14
08/07/2017 19:01:24	RT @VickyBol: Las ruinas del RT @VickyBol: The ruins of the "Camp of the soldiers" are a sign of the pain of the slaves of Franco in Mallorca https: //t.co...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894694995940	53	44
08/01/2017 14:57:00	RT @villamor_juan: https://t. RT @villamor_juan: https://t.co/ktqOZFJgSB	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892459166312	7	7
08/13/2017 13:30:38	RT @wrkclasshistory: #OTD 1 RT @wrkclasshistory: #OTD 1944 Irma Bandiera Italian resistance fighter was murdered by the Nazis. Blinded and tortured for 7 days she ref ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897148473073	129	141
08/13/2017 10:50:24	RT @YescaCastilla: El 13 de a RT @YescaCastilla: On August 13, 1976 the Civil Guard ended the life of Javier Verdejo for asking for bread, work and freedom. https: ...	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896710597198	43	21
08/13/2017 05:43:57	RT @YGnzalez: Ha fallecido B RT @YGnzalez: Basilio Martín Patino has died. https://t.co/BoIN8tAuk5	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896668639239	1	1
07/30/2017 06:35:55	...y luchan en sus barrios, sus "... and fighting in their neighborhoods, their small plots, and rise again look into the world and see a horizon repopulated fingerprint" https://t.co/3hEv273Sbl	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891608288168	1	3
08/01/2017 11:59:20	"Toda España era una cárcel "All Spain was a prison" https://t.co/EnW3ixiBP8	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892414454218	2	4
08/12/2017 05:21:09	"Me siento indignada por la fa "I am outraged by the way q Franco is still present in Spain" When solidarity comes from outside https://t.co/JPL5varsv8 https://t.co/aey1e9wlif	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896300514807	6	5
08/13/2017 09:09:49	#Charlottesville https://t.co/ #Charlottesville https://t.co/vwXnBUxA1z	https://twitter.com/SOSCaraboł YES		1	1
08/06/2017 05:06:42	#FloresParaLaMemoria #13Ro #FloresParaLaMemoria # 13Rosas Place (plate) https://t.co/X3vr4nbbPwX https://t.co/T8XDj2yOhv	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894122551122	17	11
08/15/2017 06:20:51	#LugaresDeMemoria Al meno #LugaresDeMemoria At least in i Badajoz, built a conference center in #Carabanchel installed a new prison (#CIE "Aluche") https://t.co/qg6nn3j9HH	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897402699855	4	3
08/12/2017 15:20:05	+1000 https://t.co/mdfcLdUG +1000 https://t.co/mdfcLdUGgl	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896451241827	2	3
08/04/2017 14:55:52	Hace un año colocamos #Flor A year ago #FloresParaLaMemoria placed on the plate (-the true below-) tribute to #TreceRosas https://t.co/3VC7svFpg6 https://t.co/e3g2MFUZDc	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893546040741	4	1
08/15/2017 15:35:22	Y a mi que lo exagerar [tergiv And to me that I exaggerate [misrepresenting] what Antonio Machado and granted creative dedicated takes a "deja vu" ... https://t.co/QRE20nAkKv	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897547225080	4	2
08/15/2017 05:53:52	Como la tumba de Gerda Taro As the grave of Gerda Taro itself had decided to leave offerings at the brigade #FloresParaLaMemoria Domanski https://t.co/AnpIXCNSJB https://t.co/g5gnb85Cr4	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897393090370	1	1
08/02/2017 04:35:00	Bologna, 2 de agosto de 1980 Bologna, August 2, 1980 - 10:35 h. #NoDimentticare "If we forget it, again." (Embrace the Italian comrades) https://t.co/fcfHH99PMN	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892662504551	6	5
08/07/2017 09:04:29	c/c @deportado4443 https://t. c / c @ deportado4443 https://t.co/j8KUzZ2clc	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894544477311	4	2
08/13/2017 05:03:27	c/c @spanje3639 https://t.co.. c / c @ spanje3639 https://t.co/lb1NRmoqiy	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896296057889	4	3
08/13/2017 05:34:34	c/c @BunkerCapricho https:// c / c @BunkerCapricho https://t.co/K9sBt2kjXQ	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896664289864	2	1
08/12/2017 04:12:51	c/c @BunkerCapricho https:// C / c @BunkerCapricho https://t.co/x9XMUuiJJ2	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896283326880	1	1
08/02/2017 17:01:11	Dinamarca transforma un fort Denmark becomes a fort of World War II Museum ... #ImaginaCarabanchel https://t.co/P3oEJUACba	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892852800044	2	1
08/09/2017 12:40:46	Imprescindible ese gran traba Essential that great work to learn how not reach peace but victory. https://t.co/aV8oGkCLUm	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/895313917202	2	1
07/31/2017 07:29:17	Contundente "recuerdo" al @ Forceful "I remember" the @PSOE, by Francisco Espinosa, as you will understand everyone will serve you ours. https://t.co/MVBjElCHk https://t.co/ZNmlg5jiI8	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892075754867		
08/02/2017 03:01:27	#AnomaliaHistórica @ALER https://t.co/gTkSZ2GjBy ALERT #AnomalíaHistórica Works in Fuencarral Cemetery mass grave could affect international brigade	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892641429060	13	4
07/31/2017 11:06:27	Impresionante la primera pre Impressive first presentation of the #auschwitzxhibit (at the end of the year, in Madrid) ... https://t.co/mU618pFIS4 https://t.co/evRk2lE2Br	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892038754512	4	3
08/14/2017 03:43:41	Guardamos esta noticia para Keep this news to when they say q would be a waste to create the Museum d # MemoriaHistórica https: //t.co/6X9age5Xj7t https://t.co/VKvD28WTfY	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/894546923918	8	3
08/15/2017 09:20:30	Mi opinión sobre la "polémic My opinion about the "controversy" about Antonio Machado in Sabadell. Magnify so interested, the anecdotal to hide important. https://t.co/FZTG4gzxUm	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897447911470		
08/14/2017 09:08:32	Ahora que se cumplen 81 año Now that marks 81 years of #MatanzaDeBadajoz, historian Francisco Espinosa reminds us that the @PSOE did with the place of & gt; & gt; & gt; https://t.co/lQdRpmp29d	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/897082513573		
08/03/2017 12:57:00	Habrá quien diga (que lo hay) Some might say (any) that donations were voluntary ... In May 1938! https://t.co/1XFL4dQ8B2	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893153743012		
08/13/2017 13:51:58	Las víctimas olvidadas de la # The forgotten victims of the #ModelicaTransición. https://t.co/MLjuxhFuQs	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896791451266		
08/05/2017 12:57:45	Hoy hemos repuesto las #Flor Today we spare the #FloresParaLaMemoria deposited last year in tribute to the plate # 13Rosas https://t.co/6lmRXU82dr https://t.co/3F9J9qWs1p	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/893878707382		
08/01/2017 02:35:27	¡Muy bueno! La #AnomalíaHi Very good! The # AnomalíaHistórica of Spain in evidence. https://t.co/XxV4NQT2VH	https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/892272545753	0	0

| 07/30/2017 07:03:52 | Llevábamos #FloresParaLaMe | We had been #FloresParaLaMemoria for the grave of Gerda Taro, but his hand a crown worn by time ... https://t.co/gTeXyMuLNo https://t.co/MM4n6FaSAl | https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/891615320942 | 3 | 3 |
| 08/13/2017 15:02:39 | Se nos ha ido otro de los que | We have been gone another who suffered Franco's repression. Like so many, also went through #Carabanchel. Basilio Martín Patino (DEP). https://t.co/KSWyJ0WlMJ | https://twitter.com/SOSCarabanchel/status/896809242463 | 50 | 51 |

APPENDIX 4: SOSCARABANCHEL HASHTAGS

HASHTAG	COUNT	FAVORITES	RETWEETS	REPLIES	INTERACTIONS
#13Rosas	12	719	685	0	1404
#StragediBologna	7	37	63	0	100
#Badajoz	6	76	85	0	161
#FloresParaLaMemoria	5	27	26	0	53
#MemoriaHistórica	5	33	61	3	97
#Bologna	5	128	124	0	252
#OTD	5	225	215	0	440
#Parma	5	100	101	0	201
#80GuerraCivil	5	27	27	0	54
#AdaGrossi	5	59	64	0	123
#Charlottesville	5	27152	16252	0	43404
#MatanzaDeBadajoz	5	892	1651	0	2543
#2agosto1980	4	874	776	0	1650
#2agosto	4	19	33	0	52
#GuidoPicelli	4	51	47	0	98
#Franco	3	12	21	0	33
#stragi	3	37	54	0	91
#fascist	3	31	43	0	74
#Madrid	3	190	289	0	479
#taldiacomavui	3	584	1169	0	1753
#Guadalajara	3	34	33	0	67
#MemoriaHistorica	3	43	32	0	75
#Stolpersteine	3	102	65	0	167
#Barcelone	2	9	13	0	22
#Justicia	2	14	19	0	33
#CIEsNo	2	72	114	0	186
#StrageDiBologna	2	269	249	0	518
#PiazzaLoggia	2	23	25	0	48
#Spagna	2	20	18	0	38
#ACoruña	2	14	17	0	31
#Argentina	2	8	12	0	20
#Chile	2	3	7	0	10
#Fuencarral	2	11	18	0	29
#Paterna	2	19	24	0	43
#Italicus	2	44	45	0	89
#TreceRosas	2	32	24	0	56
#Extremadura	2	81	148	0	229
#guerred	2	3	4	0	7
#Marcinelle	2	904	391	0	1295
#GuerraCivil	2	8	10	0	18
#Carabanchel	2	54	54	4	112
#franquismo	2	45	53	0	98

#fascismo	2	68	129	0	197
#M	2	1138	2441	0	3579
#Resistance	2	53	57	0	110
#partisan	2	53	57	0	110
#Fascists	2	53	57	0	110
#MemoriaH	1	23	31	0	54
#St	1	405	206	0	611
#LegióndeHonor	1	4	4	0	8
#CiudadUniversitaria	1	22	7	0	29
#ArqueologiadelaGuerra	1	22	7	0	29
#31luglio	1	14	29	0	43
#PiazzadellaLoggia	1	14	29	0	43
#Memoria	1	6	10	0	16
#MesaDeCatalunya	1	3	9	0	12
#CIEsNO	1	17	45	0	62
#AnomalíaHistórica	1	0	0	0	0
#Rai	1	268	246	0	514
#2agost	1	268	246	0	514
#Milano	1	3	5	0	8
#Mei	1	15	31	0	46
#LaMuer	1	5	6	0	11
#ricordiamodomani	1	63	60	0	123
#Huelva	1	2	2	0	4
#sitiosdememoria	1	1	1	0	2
#Noolvidamos	1	1	1	0	2
#NoDimenticare	1	7	6	1	14
#Stra	1	593	515	0	1108
#lamemoriadelsoccorso	1	1	3	0	4
#Bolognanondimentica	1	1	3	0	4
#Germany	1	3	5	0	8
#O	1	8	10	0	18
#carnage	1	7	16	0	23
#SOSPatrimonio	1	2	4	0	6
#nondimenticare	1	85	72	0	157
#moment	1	5	3	0	8
#5A	1	23	28	0	51
#43Claveles	1	23	28	0	51
#KölnTag	1	23	9	0	32
#Bełżec	1	40	37	0	77
#VeranoLibre	1	25	33	0	58
#brigadistas	1	9	14	0	23
#ImaginaCarabanchel	1	2	0	0	2
#Verdad	1	8	9	0	17
#Reparación	1	8	9	0	17
#Mauthausen	1	46	81	0	127

#CIE	1	6	15	0	21
#Auschwitz	1	7	6	0	13
#MuséeDHistoireDeCata	1	3	3	0	6
#VíctimasFranquismo	1	3	2	0	5
#FF	1	14	11	0	25
#Garibaldi	1	13	13	0	26
#antifascists	1	17	14	0	31
#blackshirts	1	17	14	0	31
#4Agosto1974	1	36	38	0	74
#mémoire	1	8	7	0	15
#43claveles	1	69	90	0	159
#FakeNews	1	2	2	0	4
#4agosto	1	49	54	0	103
#squadristi	1	49	54	0	103
#antifascisti	1	49	54	0	103
#SpanishCi	1	5	5	0	10
#13RosesRoges	1	165	257	0	422
#Ga	1	10	9	0	19
#13rosas	1	343	250	0	593
#Hiroshima	1	73	88	0	161
#CementerioDelEste	1	11	17	0	28
#RecuperandoMemoria	1	21	16	0	37
#Resistenza	1	7	5	0	12
#Brescia	1	7	5	0	12
#Perlasca	1	7	5	0	12
#MasacreDeBadajoz	1	17	24	0	41
#NuncaMás	1	17	24	0	41
#partigiano	1	3	5	0	8
#Mémoirede	1	2	2	0	4
#Guernica	1	13	11	0	24
#migranti	1	859	339	0	1198
#HonorYGloria	1	21	20	0	41
#Anarquista	1	21	20	0	41
#Internacionalista	1	21	20	0	41
#RadioLiberta	1	21	20	0	41
#RosaDeFoc	1	21	20	0	41
#Freedom	1	7	12	0	19
#antifascist	1	7	12	0	19
#Barcelona	1	7	12	0	19
#SCW	1	7	12	0	19
#Spagna80	1	17	15	0	32
#S	1	17	15	0	32
#SiempreHayMotivosPar	1	25	19	0	44
#OnThisDay	1	6	13	0	19
#CiudadDeBarcelona	1	4	3	0	7

#MémoiredesRépublicai	1	1	2	0	3
#nu	1	1	2	0	3
#BADAJOZ	1	86	130	0	216
#GunterDemnig	1	6	6	0	12
#BrigadasIntercacionales	1	2	1	0	3
#proyecto	1	2	1	0	3
#libro	1	3	1	0	4
#SalvaPeironcely10	1	6	5	0	11
#Teatro	1	10	15	0	25
#Model	1	31	19	0	50
#SeminarioDDHHyMujer	1	11	8	0	19
#stolpersteine	1	19	12	0	31
#pietreinciampo	1	19	12	0	31
#Venezia	1	19	12	0	31
#Brunete	1	3	5	0	8
#Taldiacomavui	1	2	4	0	6
#MuyBien	1	47	49	0	96
#cómic	1	23	19	0	42
#Gila	1	7	10	0	17
#GraciasRius	1	7	10	0	17
#Oslo	1	57	26	0	83
#Alvik	1	57	26	0	83
#Sunnda	1	57	26	0	83
#AscensiónM	1	36	36	0	72
#ascensionmendieta	1	28	22	0	50
#MemoriaHis	1	28	22	0	50
#NoPasaran	1	69	65	0	134
#Fare	1	349	483	0	832
#Demnig	1	39	33	0	72
#Charlottesviille	1	1	0	0	1
#Gestapo	1	373	831	0	1204
#França	1	373	831	0	1204
#ModélicaTransición	1	3	3	0	6
#TalDiaComoHoy	1	36	25	0	61
#desaparición	1	8	15	0	23
#TalDiaComAvui	1	4	5	0	9
#catmex	1	4	5	0	9
#TalDíaComoHoy	1	4	5	0	9
#genocidio	1	4	5	0	9
#España	1	4	5	0	9
#Crímenes	1	4	5	0	9
#BasilioMartínPatino	1	4	4	0	8
#Antifranquistas	1	4	4	0	8
#Referente	1	4	4	0	8
#15M	1	4	4	0	8

#Mural	1	12	15	0	27
#WW2	1	12	15	0	27
#IrmaBandiera	1	12	15	0	27
#fascis	1	12	15	0	27
#14agosto	1	162	150	0	312
#partigiana	1	162	150	0	312
#fascisti	1	162	150	0	312
#Charlotesville	1	10	13	0	23
#NeverAgain	1	10	13	0	23
#Bovegno	1	12	26	0	38
#15agosto	1	12	26	0	38
#nazifascista	1	12	26	0	38
#LugaresDeMemoria	1	3	4	0	7
#Hitler	1	13	10	0	23