YEDİTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ TARİH BÖLÜMÜ ARAŞTIRMA DERGİSİ Cilt 1 – Sayı 2 Haziran 2017.

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY RESEARCH JOURNAL Volume 1 – Number 2 June 2017

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

# A SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS ON SPANISH WOMEN (MUJERES LIBRES) DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR $^{\rm 1}$

Onur YAMANER<sup>2</sup>

This study lays down the results of an analysis carried out using social network method on exhaustive bibliographic citation index that consists of scientific publications on Spanish women during Spanish Civil War. For this purpose, web-based system kaynakca.info is employed. Firstly, the historical, bibliographic citation index named "References and Citation Index on Spanish Women History" is created on kaynakca.info within the scope of this study. The index incorporates the main studies written following the war such as books published by prestigious international presses, articles published in peer-reviewed journals, international symposium reports and dissertations. Aforementioned index was analyzed by using the betweenness, closeness and eigenvector collectivism criterions of the social network analysis method. Important researchers that conducted significant research on the subject "Spanish women during Spanish Civil War" as well as other relevant contributors that connect different groups in this network are revealed using network maps created by employing the social network analysis.

Key Words: Mujeres Libres, Spanish Women, Spanish Civil War, Social Network Analysis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Bu çalışma 30 Mart 2 Nisan 2016 tarihleri arasında İspanya'nın Valencia kentinde düzenlenen ESSHC – European Social Science History Conference'da sunulan bildirinin genişletilmiş halidir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Doktora Öğrencisi, Universitat de Valencia, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales Departamento de Sociología y Antropología Social, onurediperu@yahoo.co.uk

### Introduction

Spanish Civil War has aroused many historians' interest for two reasons: First of all, Spain became a giant testing ground for the weapons, tactics and military concepts of the upcoming World War II and secondly, the war became one of the most publicized armed conflicts via propaganda by either sides, using every instrument that the technology of the period made possible from songs, booklets and posters to movies, documentaries, and EAJ15 type of microphones. It should be also pointed out that the scholars had to wait until Franco's death (1975) in order to reach the primary sources related to the war. Upon his death, a large number of books have been written and countless interviews and oral history projects have been done about the war. However, Spanish woman's role in war, her identity and her direct contribution to the war effort, or even any tiny detail related to her life during the war has been suffered from a double collective amnesia; the amnesia caused by loss and by virtue of her gender. This untold history of Spanish Women needed to be rewritten in the light of new concerns and understandings. Invisibles or no name heroines of Spanish modern history became more and more visible by the pioneer works of Irish Historian Mary Nash, founder of the Spanish Association of Research into Women's History and founding director of the Research Group in Multiculturalism and Gender at the University of Barcelona, and two American historians Martha A. Ackelsberg and Temma Kaplan. This paper focuses on the academic interaction between the scholars who study Spanish Women during the Spanish Civil War according to the references have been used in their academic works. To do so, I have created an online bibliography using web-based system kaynakca.info, created in 2008 by the History Department of Hacettepe University, and added over 1300 references in 685 different academic publications including articles, books, and dissertations.<sup>3</sup>

# 1. Under the Umbrella of Mary Nash

Mary Nash, without a doubt, is the first scholar to consult for those who study Spanish Women and especially Mujeres Libres<sup>4</sup> during Spanish Civil War. Her valuable contributions to the field and detailed researches on Spanish Women have put the research area in shape with a great applicable framework for the following scholars. There are several reasons what makes Mary Nash the key scholar for the modern history of Spanish Women. Firstly, she has produced (still producing) a large number of works in Spanish and English and made it globalized. Additionally, her interviews with the important Spanish women who witnessed the war have enriched her studies. Secondly, she aims at shedding light on women's history; lending a voice to women from the past who can't speak for themselves (Nash, 1995, pp. 1-7). She has attempted to touch on every subject about Spanish Women from women organizations to triple enslavement of women, from women's place in the war to women in revolutionary imagery and rhetoric like 'Man to the War Front, Women to the Home-front' (Nash, 1993, 270).

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> You can see the whole list of publications that I have used for this study from the link below http://www.kaynakca.info/kaynakca/6011482/disa aktar/ic-savas-yillarinda-ispanyolkadinlari.pdf?stil=apa?stil=apa

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Mujeres Libres was an anarchist women's organization in Spain that aimed to empower working class women (1936 - 1939)

In 1975, she published the collected writings (letters) of the founders and members of Mujeres Libres as "Mujeres Libres": España 1936 – 1939. This edited book in Spanish – is referenced 112 times made those crucial letters more accessible. The other most cited works of Mary Nash are; Rojas: las Mujeres republicanas en la guerra civil (1999) 228, Mujer, familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936) 224, Mujeres en el mundo: historia, retos y movimientos (2004) 191, Defying male civilization: women in the Spanish Civil War (1995) 136, Historia y género: las Mujeres en la Europa moderna y contemporánea (1990) 112, Mujer y movimiento obrero en España (1981) 87 times have been cited. Even the number of times she was cited, is quite enough to understand how valuable her works are.

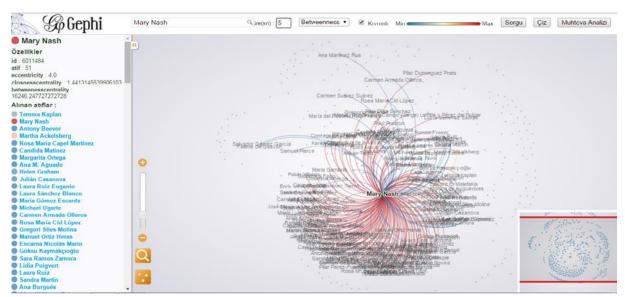


Figure 1: Mary Nash social net diagram analysis according to Betweenness criteria (It has been drawn by using kaynakca.info analysis module at 25.12.2015)

As it is seen at Figure 1 – a social network diagram of Mary Nash according to betweenness criteria – Nash stays at the center. Even the furthest person on the diagram is directly connected to Nash or has a connection through another scholar. The circle around her is getting larger regarding the number she has cited and she has been cited by. The people who have been cited by Nash were generally members and founders of Mujeres Libres and celebrated historians or politicians of the period such as Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Amparo Poch y Gascón, Lola Iturbe, Federica Montseny, Manuel Azaña, Dolores Ibárruri, George Orwell and many others. Briefly, the social network analysis, I surveyed, indicates that Nash is the most cited scholar on the subject of Spanish Women History during Spanish Civil War.

## 2. Anarquismo una Forma de Vivir

When the Republic came, many people went to storm the prisons to free the prisoners, and I went, too. There was some guy there shouting, "Abajo la política (Down with politics!) Abajo la Guardia Civil! (Down with the Civil Guard)... all sorts of abajos." And then he yelled, "Viva

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

YEDİTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ TARİH BÖLÜMÜ ARAŞTIRMA DERGİSİ YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY RESEARCH JOURNAL

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>https://scholar.google.com.tr/scholar?q=mary+nash+mujeres+libres+espana&btnG=&hl=tr&as sdt=0%2C5 (03.01.2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The numbers of the citations may be varied as the social network analysis mainly uses the online data, websites such as Google scholar or other academic reference websites so that it doesn't involve the works do not appear online.

la anarquía!" (Long live anarchy). And I thought, "Aha, here is an anarchist." This was my first encounter with an anarchist – and he did not look like he was a terrible person. He had a good face (Ackelsberg, 1991, 37).

Soledad Estorach

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

Themes on Spanish Anarchism and Women has been mostly written by Temma Kaplan and Martha Ackelsberg. Mujeres Libres, for the first time, appeared in Kaplan's article 'Spanish Anarchism and Women's Liberation' in 1971 (when the Franquist dictatorship still existed)(Kaplan, 1971, pp.101-110). Indeed, she considers Mujeres Libres within the context of the anarchist movement in Spain but she doesn't define the organization as feminist and doesn't mention where the ideology of Mujeres Libres may have come from (Ayguavives, 2014, p.9). She has also examined Spanish Anarchism territorially in her books, Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903 and Conciencia femenina y acción colectiva el caso de Barcelona, 1910-1918. Her specific studies over a specific region give an opportunity to compare with one another.

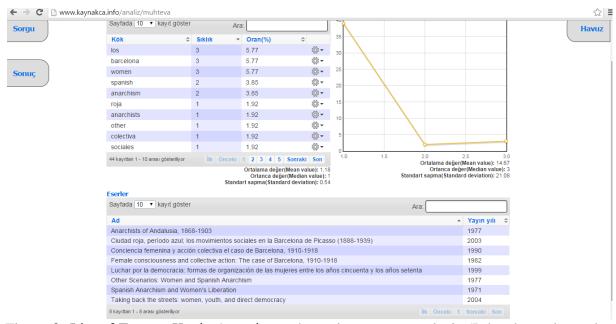


Figure 2: List of Temma Kaplan's main works and a content analysis (It has been drawn by using kaynakca.info analysis module at 09.01.2016)

Martha Ackelsberg, another significant historian in this field, is well – recognized by her famous book Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women (1991). In this book, she mentions and explains Spanish Anarchism and the movement during the Spanish Civil War, definition of Mujeres Libres as a women organization, the magazine<sup>7</sup> and its relations with other women's organizations and Federica Montseny(1905 – 1994), Minister of Health during the social revolution. Except Free Women of Spain, she has numerous successful articles that refer to the most crucial and problematical issues. To examplify, "Captación y Capacitación: el problema de la autonomía en las relaciones de "Mujeres Libres" con el movimiento Libertario"(Ackelsberg, 1991, pp.35-40) emphasized an

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Fourteen issues published but the last one could not reach to day by virtue of the entrance of the Franco's troops into Barcelona. See Ackelsberg, M. (1991): Free Women of Spain, Edinburgh: Ak Press.

extremely important point which was captación (to attract women's attention) without capacitación (to train women) would not make any sense. As a conclusion, the social net analysis I have utilized for this article indicates that, Ackelsberg is one of the leading scholars in her field.

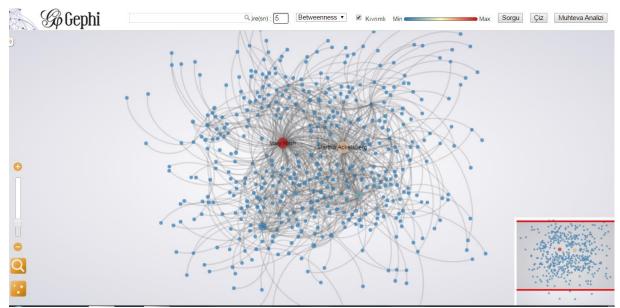


Figure 3: Martha Ackelsberg and Mary Nash social net diagram analysis according to Betweenness criteria (It has been drawn by using kaynakca.info analysis module at 25.12.2015)

# 3. Recent Studies on Spanish Women and Spanish Civil War

I mainly used the article of Spanish historian Ana Martínez Rus to identify recent studies on Spanish Women and Spanish Civil War. In her article, ''Mujeres y Guerra Civil: Un Balance Historiográfica'', (Rus, 2014, pp. 32, 333-343) she reviews publications of the last ten years which have been related to Spanish Women during the Spanish Civil War. I have also added her footnotes to my online bibliography in order to understand the influence of leading scholars over others. Her article is a sort of crosscheck for my social network analysis. Since on the diagram below (Figure 4), the scholars who have been cited by Rus, are connected to key scholars as well. Although there is an intense relationship between Nash, Ackelsberg and the following scholars, various analyses and approaches on Spanish Women and Civil War have emerged. These studies absolutely enrich the content and contribute to an extensive literature on the aforementioned subject. By the rising number of scholars who work on Spanish Women, the topic has been studied in terms of many different aspects such as mobilization of women, war effort, and exile, biographies of significant women, anarchist movement, women's emancipation movement, and the image of women in the civil war, sexual violence, and milicianas.

Ana Martínez Rus mentions forty-eight sources in her article and there are only two in German, a few translated from English to Spanish, and one in French out of total number. This has two meanings; the subject is being widely disseminated and started to be written by mostly Spanish scholars unlike the pioneer scholars.

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

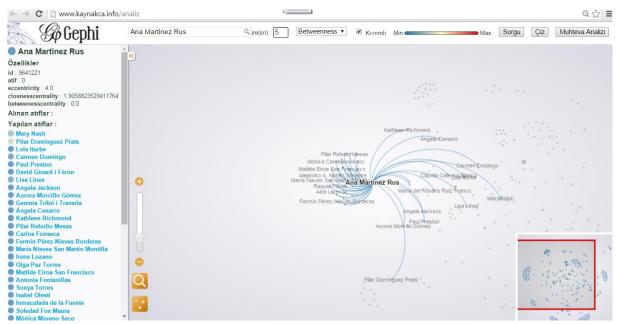


Figure 4: Ana Martínez Rus social net diagram analysis according to Eigenvector criteria (It has been drawn by using kaynakca.info analysis module at 09.01.2016)

### Conclusion

Spanish Civil War has been studied in terms of many different aspects such as international intervention to the war, social change, political movements, economic and religious points but the number of books included Spanish women's lives and war efforts during the war was very restricted until pioneer works of Mary Nash and other key scholars like Martha Ackelsberg and Temma Kaplan. In other words, without the works of these historians, especially Mary Nash, History of Spanish Women during the Spanish Civil War might not have been studied that much. Because these historians carried out a lot of oral history projects with the members of Mujeres Libres and other significant women leaders and politicians and they did produced reference books and articles on the subject. Later on, historians like Carmen Domingo, Carmen Suárez, Ana Martínez Rus, Rosa María Cid López, Pilar Domínguez Prats and many others started to write about it in Spanish. The second (new) generation of historians who study Spanish Women are mainly Spanish unlike the pioneer historians. Unavoidably, this question comes to the minds: Why do non – Spanish scholars come in the first place? I think there should be several reasons. Women studies and feminism in Spain – even Mujeres Libres did not want to be called themselves as feminist – were / are differentiated from the one in northern European countries and United States of America. Beside this, it could have been more difficult, because of internal problems, for Spanish scholars to study on the history of not only women but also men who lost the war. Or it could be only a personal preference. Even though these pioneer women historians have an external perspective, there has always been a possibility that they might miss some cultural details, at least in the very beginning of their works. But one way or other the work done in archives by Nash, Kaplan and Ackelsberg are extremely crucial since their works made Mujeres Libres less invisible.

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

#### References

Ackelsberg, M., & Addelson, K. P. (1987). "Anarchist. Alternatives to Competition". Competition, a Feminist Taboo?, . New York: Feminist Press.

Ackelsberg, M. (1989). "Captación y Capacitación: el problema de la autonomía en las relaciones de "Mujeres Libres" con el movimiento Libertario". Las mujeres y la guerra civil española, 35-40. Salamanca: Jornadas De Estudios Monográficos.

Ackelsberg, M. (1991). Free Women of Spain. Edinburgh: Ak Press.

Ackelsberg, M. (1992). "Mujeres Libres: The Preservation of Memory Under the Politics of Repression in Spain". International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories, Vol. I, . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ackelsberg, M. (1985). "Separate and Equal? Mujeres Libres and Anarchist Strategy for Women's Emancipation". Feminist Studies, 11 (1), 63-83.

Ackelsberg, M. (1993). "Models of revolution: Rural women and anarchist collectivisation in civil war Spain". The Journal of Peasant Studies, 20 (3), 367-388.

Ackelsberg, M. (1985). "Revolution and Community: Politicization, Depoliticization, and Perceptions of Change in Civil War Spain". Women Living Change, 85-115. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ackelsberg, M. "Women and the Politics of the Spanish Popular Front: Political Mobilization or Social Revolution?". International Labor and Working Class History, 30 (), 1-12.

Ackelsberg, M. (2000). Mujeres Libres. El anarquismo y la lucha por la emancipación de las mujeres. Barcelona: Virus.(1975)."Mujeres Libres" España 1936-1939. Barcelona: Tusquets Editor.

Ayguavives, Mónica (2014). Mujeres Libres: Reclaiming their precedecessors, their feminism and the voice of women in the Spanish Civil War History, Central European University, Master Degree thesis, Budapest

Kaplan, T. (1977). Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Kaplan, T. (1990). "Conciencia femenina y acción colectiva el caso de Barcelona, 1910-1918". Historia y género: las mujeres en la Europa moderna y contemporánea, . Valencia: Edición Alfons El Magnànim.

Kaplan, T. (1971). "Spanish Anarchism and Women's Liberation". Journal of Contemporary History, 6 (2), 101-110.

Kaplan, T. (2004). Taking back the streets: women, youth, and direct democracy. California: University Of California Press.

Kaplan, T. (1999). "Luchar por la democracia: formas de organización de las mujeres entre los años cincuenta y los años setenta". Mujeres, regulación de conflictos sociales y cultura de la paz, 89-108. Valencia: Universitat De València.

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

Kaplan, T. (1982). "Female consciousness and collective action: The case of Barcelona, 1910-1918". Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 7 (3), 545-566.

Kaplan, T. (2003). Ciudad roja, período azul; los movimientos sociales en la Barcelona de Picasso (1888-1939). Barcelona: Península.

Nash, Mary (1995). Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish CivilWar, Denver: Arden Press

Nash, M., & Tavera, S. (1995). Experiencias desiguales: conflictos sociales y respuestas colectivas (siglo XIX). Madrid: Síntesis.

Nash, M. (1975). "Dos intelectuales anarquistas frente al problema de la mujer: Federica Montseny y Lucía Sánchez Saornil". Convivium Revista de Filosofia, (44-45), 74-86.

Nash, M. (1977). "La problematica de la mujer y el movimiento obrero en España". Teoria y practica del movimiento obrero en España, 1900-1936, 241-279. Valencia: Fernando Torres.

Nash, M. (1989). "'Milicianas' and homefront heroines: Images of women in revolutionary Spain (1936-1939)". History of European Ideas, 1-6 (11), 235-244.

Nash, M. (2000). "Identidad de género, discurso de la domesticidad y la definición del trabajo de las mujeres en la España del siglo XIX". Historia de las mujeres en Occidente, . Madrid: Taurus.

Nash, M. (2005). Mujeres en el mundo. Historia, retos y Movimientos. Madrid: Alianza.

Nash, M. (1983). Mujer, familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936). Barcelona: Anthropos.

Nash, M. (1984). ""Nuevas dimensiones en la Historia de la Mujer"". Presencia y protagonismo. Aspectos de la historia de la mujer, 9-50. Barcelona: Ediciones Del Serbal.

Nash, M. (1984). "El neomaltusianismo anarquista y los conocimientos populares sobre el control de la natalidad en España". Presencia y protagonismo. Aspectos de la historia de la mujer, . Barcelona: Ediciones Del Serbal.

Nash, M. (1994). "Experiencia y aprendizaje: la formación histórica de los feminismos en España". Historia social, 151-172.

Nash, M. (2012). "Feminismos de la Transición políticas identitarias, cultura política y disidencia cultural como resignificación de los valores de género". Entre dos orillas las mujeres en la historia de España y América Latina, 355-380. Barcelona: Icaria.

Nash, M. (1991). "Dos décadas de historia de las mujeres en España". Historia social, 137-161.

Nash, M. (2005). "El moviment feminista durant la transició". La transició democràtica als Països Catalans, 355-365. Valencia: Publicacions De La Universitat De València.

Nash, M. (1987). "Le donne nella Guerra Civile". A cinquant'anni dalla guerra di Spagna, . Milan: Franco Angeli.

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

Nash, M. "Social Eugenics and Nationalist Race Hygiene in Early Twentieth Century Spain". History of European Ideas, 15 (4-6).

Nash, M. (1996). "Political culture, Catalan nationalism, and the women's movement in early twentieth-century Spain". Women's Studies International Forum (Women's Studies International Quarterly), 19 (1-2), 44-54.

Nash, M. (1994). El Feminismo, Información e historia. Madrid.

Nash, M. (1995). Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War. Denver, Colorado: Arden Press.

Nash, M. (1993). "Women in War: Milicianas and Armed Combat in Revolutionary Spain, 1936-1939". The International History Review, (), 269-282.

Nash, M. (2006). "Republicanas en la Guerra Civil: el compromiso antifascista".

Nash, M. (1982). "Desde la invisibilidad a la presencia de la mujer en la historia: corrientes historiográficas y marcos conceptuales en la nueva historia de la mujer". Nuevas perspectivas sobre la mujer: actas de las Primeras Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria, 18-37. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma De Madrid, Seminario De Estudios De La Mujer.

Nash, M. (1996). "Las mujeres en la guerra civil". La España del siglo XX. De la Segunda República a la Guerra Civil (1931-1936), 103-112. Barcelona: Laia.

Nash, M. (1981). Mujer y movimiento obrero en España 1931-1939. Barcelona: Fontamara.

Nash, M. (1991). "Género y ciudadanía". Ayer (Asociación de Historia Contemporánea), (20), 241-258.

Nash, M. (2007). Dones en transició: de la resistència política a la legitimitat feminista, les dones en la Barcelona de la transició. Barcelona: Regidoria De Dona.

Nash, M. (1998). "Ideals of Redemption: Socialism and Women on the Left in Spain". Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women: Europe between the Two World Wars, 348-375. New York: Berghahn.

Nash, M., & Morant, I. (2002). "Arenal: une experience historiographique nationale". Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés, 16, 61-64.

Nash, M. "género cambio social y la problemática del aborto".

Nash, M., & Álvarez González, A. I. (2002). Seneca Falls. Un siglo y medio del Movimiento Internacional de Mujeres y la lucha por el sufragio femenino en España. Oviedo: Ed. Consejería De Educación Y Cultura.

Nash, M. (1999). Rojas. Las mujeres republicanas en la Guerra Civil. Madrid: Taurus.

Nash, M. (2008). "Mujeres en guerra: repensar la historia". La guerra civil española, 61-84. Madrid: Fundación Pablo Iglesias.

e-ISSN: 2564-7687

Nash, M. (2003). "Women's Role in the Spanish Civil War". Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women, 533-548. New York: Routledge.

Nash, M. (2010). Trabajadoras. Un siglo de trabajo femenino en Cataluña (1900-2000). Barcelona: Generalitat De Catalunya, Departament De Treball.

Rus, Ana Martínez (2014). "Mujeres y Guerra Civil: Un Balance Historiográfica", Studia historica. Historia contemporánea (32). 333 – 343.

http://www.kaynakca.info/kaynakca/6011482/disa\_aktar/ic-savas-yillarinda-ispanyol-kadinlari.pdf?stil=apa?stil=apa (03.01.2016)

 $\frac{https://scholar.google.com.tr/scholar?q=mary+nash+mujeres+libres+espana\&btnG=\&hl=tr\&ass_s_sdt=0\%\,2C5\ (03.01.2016)$ 

e-ISSN: 2564-7687