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Catalan Social Sciences Review (CSSR) is edited by the Philosophy and Social Sciences Section of Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC). IEC is an academic, scientific and cultural institution devoted to scientific research and Catalan culture located in Barcelona.

CSSR came out in 2012 as a yearly publication on the popularization of science. Its aim is to publish scientifically relevant articles which originally came out in Catalan translated into English. By doing so, CSSR addresses academicians, professionals and students around the world interested in social sciences subjects and Catalan research. The articles relate to social sciences subjects such as Philosophy, Pedagogy, Psychology, Sociology, Demography, Geography, Law, Economics, Anthropology, Communication and Political Science. Each subject constitutes a section of the review.

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Catalonia, the pioneer of advertising as an academic science in Spain

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Abstract

The fundamental goal of our research was to demonstrate that it was in Catalonia that advertising was first given the status of academic science in Spain in the opening decades of the 20th century, based on the knowledge and advances of the most industrialized countries, especially the USA. Our findings confirm three main lines of the proposed hypotheses, namely: a) the secondary role played by Spain in worldwide advertising theory; b) the national interest in adapting advertising studies in Spanish curricula, above all according to the contributions of Catalan theorists; and c) the leading role of the written press as a platform for the dissemination of advertising.

Key words: advertising, mass communication, education, press, psychology.

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1. Hypothesis

Advertising activities have a long history. Indeed, the use of persuasive techniques to promote and disseminate the acquisition of goods or services is as old as commerce itself. However, the genesis of modern advertising dates from the nineteenth century and was the outcome of the progress of industrialisation. The phenomenon of advertising began with few theoretical underpinnings. It essentially sought to solve companies' occasional problems and needs, while uncovering and exploiting the many possibilities provided by the mass media, which in the early decades of the twentieth century not only included the written press but also began to incorporate new media like the radio and cinema.

From the 1910s to the 1920s, the development of advertising became evident. Theoretical reflections on advertising reveal that the phenomenon had taken root and was beginning to be part of the popular imaginary. Advertising reached the 'Roaring Twenties' after this recent reflection and academic organisation.

In the United States, it was a tightly regulated academic discipline—Chicago had a prestigious advertising school—and France created a chair in advertising in the École des Hautes Études Commerciales in 1911.

The essential objective of this research is to demonstrate that the status of advertising as an academic science was introduced into Spain via Catalonia in the early decades of the twentieth century based on knowledge and advances from the more industrialised countries, especially the United States. Likewise, this research also sets out to reveal that the main person to introduce the new advertising methods to Spain was the Catalan Pere Prat Gaballí, an exercise we have undertaken by analysing his theoretical contributions from academia and the media in an effort to determine his main influences.

The first demonstrable fact we find on the introduction of the new advertising methodologies dates from 1915, when the Official Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Navigation of Barcelona sponsored the first scientific advertising class to be taught in Spain, precisely by Pere Prat Gaballí.

Continuing this methodology, it is essential to ascertain to what extent Prat Gaballí was a pioneer in the development of advertising as an academic science. In his first publication in the advertising literature, 'La publicidad de nuestro tiempo' (The Advertising of our Time), from 1915, we find a pioneering concept of advertising in Spain: the advertising engineer. He wrote, 'Especially in England and the United States, the expert is a professional working for a businessman using all the technical resources and means that he is familiar with or invents to ensure that the items he is advertising reach the broadest market possible' (Prat Gaballí, 1915, p. 4).

Based on Prat Gaballí's definition of advertising engineer, we seek to ascertain what advertising theories Prat Gaballí developed that became the most important in his teaching career.

Another annotation that Prat Gaballí wrote in 1915 describes the real situation of Spanish advertising at the time: 'In Spain there are not yet technical advertising offices. Here, advertising agencies play the exclusive role of intermediaries in the administrative order. Furthermore, no magazines on the topic are published in our country, and the commercial magazines that are

published in the largest cities pay no attention to disseminating knowledge about advertising' (Prat Gaballí, 1915, p. 11). In short, Prat Gaballí was expressing in writing that the literature on this subject was non-existent in Spain. Therefore, the handful of people interested in studying it had to draw from the literature from England, the US, Germany and France. Consequently, the handful of Spaniards trained in advertising were truly self-taught after having studied the international literature or sojourned abroad.

For this very reason, it is important to learn about the international literature that was repeatedly cited in Prat Gaballí's books on advertising. We also need more information on his stays abroad, because this combination of theory and experience that Prat Gaballí acquired was crucial to the development of his innovative advertising technique. One good example of this is the international literature cited by Prat Gaballí in the book *Una nueva técnica. La publicidad científica* (A New Technique. Scientific Advertising, 1917). The list he publishes in this book showcases Prat Gaballí's theoretical knowledge. Specifically, we would like to ascertain whether the influences were a global trend in the twentieth century or whether his referents dated back to the nineteenth century.

The debate on the nature of advertising theory and its dependence on other disciplines remains alive and produces new scientific resources today, such as this article. The goal of analysing the history of advertising in Spain from unconventional vantage points is to suggest new avenues of research to illustrate the birth and development of advertising as an academic science. Interpreting advertising through academic education and especially through its dissemination in the written press is the main purpose of our research. Without a doubt, the phenomenon of advertising encompasses many features from other disciplines, and therefore transversality largely defines its origin and development.

2. Theoretical framework

The analysis of advertising from an interdisciplinary perspective provides considerable intellectual substance. Worth noting is the majestic Claude C. Hopkins book entitled *Scientific Advertising*; published in 1923, it advocated a formal approach between advertising and the social sciences primarily through research on the market, the consumer and the efficacy of advertising, as well as the potential of these sciences to make advertising more rational and objective. Claude C. Hopkins claimed that advertising had reached a high degree of maturity and was gaining the status of a science: 'It is based on fixed principles and is reasonably exact. The causes and effects have been analysed until they are well understood. The correct method of procedure have [sic] been proved and established. We know what is most effective, and we act on basic law' (Hopkins, 2013, p. 13). The reissues of this book in recent decades—1980, 2013—clearly reveal the continued relevance of its content.

In the specific case of the Catalan Pere Prat Gaballí, the main subject of this study, his theoretical contributions are analysed primarily through his most important work, *Una nueva técnica. La publicidad científica* published in 1917, in which he acknowledged the intellectual influences of authors and works like: Herbert W. Hess, *Productive Advertising* (1915, reissued in 2013 and 2015); Sherwin Cody, *How to Deal with Human Nature in Business. A Practical Book on Doing Business by Correspondence, Advertising and Salesmanship* (1915);

Harlow Gale, *On the Psychology of Advertising* (1900); Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising. A Simple Exposition of the Principles of Psychology in their Relation to Successful Advertising* (1902, reissued in 2017), one of the first books to establish well-grounded connections between psychology and advertising, which claimed that the goal of modern advertising was to suggest more than to convince (Sáiz & Sáiz, 2007); E. E. Calkins and R. Hole, *Modern Advertising* (1905); Frank Alvah Parsons, *The Principles of Advertising Arrangement* (1912, reissued in 2016); S. Roland Hall, *Writing and Advertising* (1915, reissued in 2013); Octave Jacques Gérin and C. Espinadel, *La publicité suggestive: théorie et technique* (1911); and J. Arren, *Sa majesté la publicité* (1914, reissued in 2018). The recent reissues of the works that influenced Pere Prat Gaballí demonstrate that they have become classics and are part of the scholarly underpinnings of the field of advertising even today. For example, the case of the University of Minnesota professor Harlow Gale is telling, as the relevancy of his book—which is constantly cited by scholars (Eighmey & Sar, 2007)—reveals the depth of his innovation and influence as a founder of the psychology of advertising. He was the first to undertake experimental studies on the effects of advertising and established concepts and methods which are still used today.

The transversality of the science of advertising—and especially the scientific nature of the phenomenon—is indisputable in the theories of all the aforementioned authors, and the re-reading and subsequent analyses of their works have been validated and confirmed by the researchers who came after them. In the early twentieth century, the science of advertising entered Spain's classrooms and gradually became part of them with the legitimacy provided by its theoreticians, curricula and syllabi. Prat Gaballí's writings also left indications of some works on advertising that he considered indispensable. They are classics, most of which have been reissued in recent years, such as William James, *Psychology. The Briefer Course* (1892, reissued in 2003) and *Talks to Teachers on Psychology* (1899, reissued in 2013); W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916, reissued in 2005); and Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules* (1895, reissued in 2013).

Likewise, in recent years the figure of Prat Gaballí has also been studied by researchers like Barjau (1999), Sáiz and Sáiz (2007), Rom, Altarriba and Martorell (2009) and Quintas (2011), although acknowledgement of his prime role in consolidating advertising as a science and teaching subject still requires further research.

3. Methodology

The study and interpretation of the bibliographic sources was complemented with a rigorous effort to locate and analyse journalistic sources with the goal of determining the Spanish and Catalan press's takes on advertising in the early decades of the twentieth century. Thus, we set out to identify journalistic articles which focus on and analyse the phenomenon of advertising.

The primary research goal was to interpret the phenomenon of advertising essentially in light of the opinions on the topic reflected on the pages of the contemporary press. The genesis and development of modern advertising occurred in industrialised Europe and the United States, but the analysis is

essentially local, Spanish and chiefly Catalan, in an effort to consider the (mainly) English and North American influence on Spanish advertising.

Therefore, one methodological resource often used in the study presented here was journalistic research. Alongside what are considered the mass media in Spain, like Barcelona's *La Vanguardia* and Madrid' *ABC* newspapers, we also analysed the viewpoints in the local press in Girona, Tarragona, Palma de Mallorca, Còrdova, Figueres, Igualada, Olot and Puigcerdà. The views of the correspondents in the modern cities of New York and Paris were also included.

We sought to group together and interrelate journalistic viewpoints, which are ultimately largely the viewpoints of citizens, with the more academic story provided by the theoreticians of advertising from that period.

4. Document sources and resources

Our research methodology is clearly qualitative—based on the content analysis of 38 journalistic pieces—although it clearly benefitted from the digital immersion of journalistic sources. The new technologies have done much to facilitate the historian's work (Magallón, 2017) because millions of pages that had been restricted to in-person access in the reference rooms of archives and libraries are now available online. Therefore, this is a significant advance from the standpoint of accessibility to culture and knowledge.

The possibilities afforded by digital technology are extraordinary and have transformed the field of research, especially if it is available via a word-search mechanism (the priority keywords in the study were the following: 'advertising', 'science of advertising', 'communication', 'psychology', 'advertising agencies', 'teaching' and 'education', as well as the names of the theoreticians of advertising). The timeframe was from 1900 to 1936, and the preferred geographic scope of the newspaper titles were Catalonia, along with the rest of Spain to a lesser extent.

The research was conducted by consulting the following online journalistic libraries: Historical Press Virtual Library (BVPH) (https://prensahistorica.mcu.es/es/inicio/inicio.do), Digital newspaper library/BNE (http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/HemerotecaDigital/), Municipal Archive of Girona (https://www.girona.cat/sgdap/cat/premsa.php), Network of County Archives of Catalonia (XAC). Press (http://xac.gencat.cat/ca/inici) and ARCA: Archive of Old Catalan Magazines (https://arca.bnc.cat/arcabib pro/ca/inicio/inicio.do).

Likewise, to complement the document sources and resources, the following Prat Gaballí works were analysed: *La publicidad de nuestro tiempo* (1915), *Una nueva técnica. La publicidad científica* (1917), *La publicidad racional* (Rational Advertising, 1934), *El poder de la publicidad* (The Power of Advertising, 1939) and *Publicidad combativa* (Combative Advertising, 1953). Another source directly related to this author is the technical magazine put out by Prat Gaballí's Fama advertising agency (1919-1921).

Furthermore, to corroborate our theories, we got in touch with his social, family, scholarly, professional and institutional milieux in order to gain or check all the relevant information on Prat Gaballí's works. In this quest for Prat

Gaballí's more personal documentation, we conducted several searches in the cities of Pineda de Mar, New York and Barcelona.

First, we contacted Francesc Roldán from the Municipal Archive of Pineda de Mar to verify Prat Gaballí's birth; interestingly, this same archive contains documentation of the birth of Prat Gaballí's wife, Ernestina Ballester. The author was listed as a resident of this town, where he spent his summers and later lived after he was married. However, the documents ultimately show that he was born in Barcelona in 1885.

Next, we researched whether Prat Gaballí had been in New York in 1911. To do so, we contacted the researcher Jordana Mendelson (New York University) to try to verify his journey. One possible reason for the journey may be that he went to study at the Alexander Hamilton Institute (1909-1980), a modern business institute. Therefore, we contacted the Irma & Paul Milstein Division of United States History, Local History and Genealogy and the Science Industry and Business Library (SIBL) – The New York Public Library, to get more information on that modern business institute. In this search, we found the methodological book *Forging Ahead in Business* (1921) published by the Alexander Hamilton Institute. We also checked with Mireia Bertrana (Archive of the Maritime Museum of Barcelona) to search the ship departure records from the Port of Barcelona to New York. Lastly, through digital sources, we confirmed that Prat Gaballí travelled to New York in 1946 via the Ellis Island Foundation (https://www.libertyellisfoundation.org) and Ancestry.com (https://www.ancestry.com).

Another research source was the Advertising Documentation Centre in Palma de Mallorca to find out what documents Prat Gaballí possessed (documentation provided by the son of the publicist Jordi Garriga) in order to get more information on his journeys, lectures and conferences. We also contacted the publicist Robert Rodergas, who advised us to reach out to Prat Gaballí's grandson, the CEO of the Editorial Hispano Europea publishing house. In order to get more information on Prat Gaballí's unpublished personal collection, we got in touch with the Professional Journalism and Public Relations Association of Catalonia, the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce and the collector Marc Martí, who had organised an event in memory of Prat Gaballí in 2016.

Likewise, we researched Prat Gaballí's publications containing poetry and literature, the artistic passions of his youth. By doing so, we ascertained that there are two documents at the Ateneu Barcelonès on the poet and publicist Prat Gaballí published by Dr Maria Àngela Cerdà in 1985 and 1986. The first is a book on Prat Gaballí and his poetic youth (Cerdà, 1986), and the second is a sound recording of the event celebrating the centennial of his death (Garriga, 1985), at which Dr Cerdà spoke as the living witness of the author's poetry. Through Dr Juan Miguel Zarandona (University of Valladolid), we got in touch with Dr Cerdà, a philologist who lives in the city of Barcelona. Finally, we secured an interview with Dr Cerdà, in which she shared information on her personal notes from when she was writing the book on Prat Gaballí (1986).

In particular, she theorised on the *Poemes de la terra i del mar* (Poems of the Land and Sea, 1912) published by Prat Gaballí, and her notes proved his journey to New York in 1911. Finally, we found out that this author had worked with Jordi Prat Ballester, Prat Gaballí's son, at Barcelona's Foment del Treball office.

We then contacted the director of documentation at Barcelona's Foment del Treball (Job Promotion) office, Carlos García, and found that Prat Gaballí had contributed to the journal *Éxito: Revista Técnica de Negocio* (1925-1935), among other publications. Furthermore, we checked newsletter no. 2 published by the Publi-Club[1], which describes the working sessions of the First National Advertising Conference held in Barcelona in 1929. We found, for example, Prat Gaballí's talk on advertising and the market: 'It is urgent for the current generation of businessmen to be well-versed in modern distribution methods, and especially in the economic system of the large brands launched and sustained by advertising'.

In this talk, Prat Gaballí outlined the need for education on market research because in the more developed countries, like the United States and Germany, modern techniques were being applied like marketing and the analysis of commercial statistics, fundamental concepts in the modern economy.

5. Theoretical reflections and scientific vindication of advertising

Catalonia's dynamic economy, with its entrepreneurial bourgeoisie who forged solid commercial ties with the Americas throughout the nineteenth century, was perfectly poised to import theoretical influences from abroad. In Barcelona in 1926, L. Chambonnaud and Alfonso Carnicero published a book which emphasised the theoretical reflection on advertising at a time when this discipline was on the upswing and gaining in prominence. The authors associated concepts from the field of psychology with the world of advertising, and they vindicated the imagination as an optimal resource for activating the consumer's senses: 'Let's imagine an advertisement showing a beautiful automobile stopped at the door of a wonderful hotel. An elegant lady steps out of the car and gets ready to enter the hotel. In our imaginations, we see the luxury of this sumptuous hotel and mentally associate it with the comforts and ease that come with owning the car' (Chambonnaud & Carnicero, 1926, p. 11).

In this sense, images contain profound psychological value, and this insight was reinforced over the years, even though today no author has pinpointed it so early on: 'The selling points used in advertising in the early twentieth century, where the image was merely an illustration of what the word said, started to make way for advertising messages where the image supported all the rhetorical argumentation, this time appealing to audiences' feelings and emotions, giving rise to a kind of "visual catechism"' (Correa, 1999).

The theoretical reflections put into practice, sometimes still under the effects of intuition, led to highly successful advertising creations which often shifted between symbolism and psychology.

Outside of Spain, advertising was considered a science. In a report published in the newspaper ABC on 19 April 1907, its Paris correspondent F. Mora was surprised that one of his interviewees defined himself as an 'ad writer' and told him that: 'For us, advertising is a true science with its own established

[1] For more information on the newsletter published by the Publi-Club describing the working sessions of the First National Advertising Conference, see: 'Congreso Nacional de Publicidad. Organizado por el Publi-Club - Asociación de Estudios de Publicidad y organización', Boletín. O. P. V. S. (Barcelona) (December1922), year ii, 4, p. 14.

laws and principles based on extensive experience. In fact, many serious psychologists and quite a few sage philosophers at universities have deigned to codify it, and there are even journals, like *Publicity*, which solely discuss these matters' (Mora, 1907, p. 3).

Professionalisation naturally led to an investment in advertising that was not made in Spain as it was in countries like England; according to the 16 March 1907 issue of the newspaper from Olot, *El Deber*, British industrialists and merchants allocated 25% of their profits to advertising their products in newspapers, convinced of the efficacy of this strategy.

Naturally, regarding advertising as a science meant that it was part of the educational system in the more developed countries. In the United States, it was a fully regulated academic discipline, and as mentioned above, countries like France created the Chair of Advertising at the École des Hautes Études Commerciales in 1911 directed by E. Arnaud de Masquard, who said: 'I am convinced that advertising is a social science. It puts all the resources of human intelligence into play: it makes sense of observation and criticism; it forces us to study our fellow human beings' tastes, wishes, needs; it obliges us to find all the means to satisfy them, retain them, suggest in them the desire to buy' (Arnaud de Masquard, 1911, p. 10).

The French scholar pointed out that in the US and England, companies had an Advertising Service which was hierarchically just below the owner in the company's organisation. He called on French companies to rank it equally. The situation of Spanish advertising was far from these countries, and even from France, which was behind according to Arnaud de Maquard's opinions, although it was nonetheless a referent for Spain.

In the United States, the first academic course on advertising was taught by Walter Dill Scott at Northwestern University in Illinois in 1904, while in Europe classes on advertising were advocated by the pioneer Luis Vergne in 1907 at a lecture delivered at the Association des Hautes Études Commerciales in Paris, in which he upheld the need for formal academic programmes on advertising techniques (Méndiz, 2000).

6. Pere Prat Gaballí, a pioneer of modern advertising in Spain

The economic and social context of cosmopolitan Catalonia—along with some degree of chance—can explain the appearance of a figure like Pere Prat Gaballí (Barcelona, 1885-1962), who was capable of transforming the intuitive practice of advertising into a scientific discipline. In 1910, he left poetry behind when he discovered his vocation in advertising with the magazine *System* in New York, and he set out to study advertising techniques. Prat Gaballí praised the value of this US magazine: 'It was a great magazine dedicated to studying and propagating new methods of commercial organisation, encompassing the art of selling and the technique of advertising. It was a magazine written in a vivid, dynamic, incisive language that was totally new to me' (Prat Gaballí, 1959, p. XII).

Thus, his enthusiasm for advertising theories was furthered with new influences from the US through the magazines *Printer's Ink*, the oldest advertising magazine in the US which advocated a new way of working, grounded more on analysis than the professional's intuition; *Advertising World*; and the

first theoretical treatises by Daniel Starch and Walter Dill Scott. The Americanisation of Prat Gaballí's thinking on advertising must have been further magnified by his training at the Hamilton Institute in New York, although there are reasonable doubts whether Prat Gaballí actually spent time at this US institute,[2] as there is no written proof to confirm it. What is indisputable, however, is that Prat Gaballí set out to construct a new kind of advertising based not on improvisation but on analysing the advertising experiences of other more developed countries and comparing them with his own experience as a working professional (Prat Gaballí, 1934).

Pere Prat Gaballí began to build his own advertising theories. He believed that advertising should be able to not only capture consumers' attention but also clearly express the usefulness of the good or service and create the need for and interest in it. The next step consisted in acting on consumers' sensibilities and stimulating their desire to possess the good or service. This would overcome any possible resistance, and consumers would purchase it on their own will. Prat Gaballí graphically depicted this process with a scale where the actor starts indifferent to and resisting the product. The ultimate goal of advertising was naturally to effect the purchase through different levels: attention/memory, interest, desire and will. To prompt the shift from indifference to purchase, advertising had to use the weapons of psychotechnics. Prat Gaballí's theories, which were innovative for Spain, resemble the advertising system proposed by Elmo Lewis in 1898, although Prat Gaballí never cited that author.

Prat Gaballí's theoretical training in advertising was intense, and in the early 1910s he sought to carve a niche for himself and disseminate his American influences. In 1915 he started holding advertising classes at the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, where he introduced the rational new advertising methods grounded on psychological criteria. The class syllabus included such a wide range of topics as the psychological principles that explained individuals' reactions to outside stimuli; the objective criteria of the perception of shapes, colours and texts; and memory and capturing people's interest. That is, the contents were based upon innovation and modernity. He thus embarked on a productive combination of teaching and advertising which trained extraordinarily competent advertising professionals.

Prat Gaballí's flood of writings started in 1915 with the publication of *La publicidad de nuestro tiempo* (The Advertising of Our Time), and his magnum opus came out two years later: *Una nueva técnica: la publicidad científica*. In this book, he reported on his international influences and his proposals to expand the scientific knowledge of advertising, and he outlined how advertising had evolved from the mid-nineteenth century until then. He defined it as follows: in 1850, advertising 'raised awareness of products in order to sell them according to the public's needs'; in 1895 it 'raised awareness of products among the greatest number of individuals possible, expressing their particular advantages in an attention-grabbing way in order to create and meet needs to encourage

[2] Some authors claim that Prat Gaballí was in New York, and after he married Ernestina Ballester he travelled to New York in 1911 to further his commercial studies at the Hamilton Institute. They say that his journey must have been revelatory to the young poet, as he discovered the world of ad writing through the professional magazines System and Printer's Ink. More information can be found in the following article: Barjau, S. (2002). 'Els inicis del pensament publicitari: Pere Prat Gaballí, Rafael Bori i el Publi-Club: la teoria i la pràctica de la publicitat racional a Catalunya entre 1915 i 1939', in *Publifilia*, 6, pp. 49-64.

purchases'; and in 1917 he offers a future vision, which would take almost four decades to be widely implemented in Spain: advertising 'teaches you to ascertain the spirit of the public and apply this knowledge imaginatively and ingeniously to tell the largest number of individuals possible about the usefulness or advantages of an item so that it effects action; that is, it suggests desires and determines acts of will' (Prat Gaballí, 1917, p. 24).

Pere Prat Gaballí's approaches confirm the cross-disciplinary nature of the fields that converge in advertising. Thus, in addition to psychology and sociology, he also vehemently defended the need to be familiar with economics, he situated advertising between production and consumption and he outlined its relationship with the laws of distribution. Prat Gaballí largely grounded his theories on the book by Pierre Clerget, *Manuel d'economie commerciale*, published in Paris in 1909 by Librairie Armand Colin.

That same year, 1917, the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce published *Lecciones de publicidad explicadas en las clases de Enseñanza Mercantil, impartides per Prat Gaballí* (Lessons on Advertising Explained in the Mercantile Education Classes Taught by Prat Gaballí). As Joaquín Lorente explains, this book 'came out eight years [actually six] ahead of what many people erroneously believe to be the first book in the world on the subject: the great classic *Scientific Advertising* by the US author Claude C. Hopkins, Prat Gaballí's most important teacher, who believed that all well-crafted advertisements had to contain a complete story' (Lorente, 2006m p. 25). Prat Gaballí's large volume of work is sufficient to determine that the fundamental principles of a new theory of advertising had taken root in Catalonia, and it soon spread around Spain and benefitted from specialised magazines.

In 1919, Prat Gaballí founded the Fama advertising agency in Barcelona; a few years earlier, Pablo León Domínguez had founded the Helios agency in Madrid. Both agencies reached partnership agreements with the Swiss international advertising agency Publicitas, which had set up shop in Spain in 1922 (Checa, 2007, p. 122). Publicitas inundated the Spanish and Catalan press with its own advertisements featuring such provocative slogans as 'Shrewd propaganda always leads to success. You don't have to spend more to boost sales. You have to spend wisely. Don't forget that you can get different results with the same amount of money depending on how you spend it. Huge amounts are wasted on advertising! There's no need to get distracted on advertising problems as long as you have someone with know-how thinking about and working on it' (*La Esfera*, 9 February 124). Or: 'Advertising is the key to success. If you use it methodically and consistently, you'll get amazing results. Advertising is the only sure way to counter economic crises, increase sales and build the prestige of a company on a solid foundation' (*La Vanguardia*, 12 April 1924). And finally: 'Thinking is winning: An idea? An idea is the bolt that doubles a machine's output, the moral principle that opens new horizons… An idea is an advertising campaign that creates the demand for the item, a poster that captures crowds' attention. The branding that makes a product popular…' (*La Galeria*, 20 August 1930).

These adverts explained that Publicitas' advertising services could not be hired through the technical departments of agencies like Helios in Madrid and Fama in Barcelona. Instead of company advertisements, sometimes the press itself published reports on the Publicitas agency and its services, such as when *La Esfera* published an article—which today we could consider an infomercial—

entitled 'Una visita a Publicitas' (A Visit to Publicitas), in which it described the agency's characteristics, properties and services: 'Overwhelmed with multiple concerns, a businessman does not always have the time to conduct an in-depth study of how to advertise his products or brands. He relies on intuition, and he often gives in to momentary pressures. If he has a trained ally to think and work for him, he doesn't need to distract himself with advertising problems. The expert will ensure that he gets the most profit from the least cost; he will choose the best media and materials for every case; write up the adverts; draw and design their slogans with provocative ideas; and produce the circulars, prospectuses and catalogues and everything else related to propaganda' *(La Esfera*, X, 511, 20 October 1923, p. 16).

However, the meticulous planning of advertising strategies in the US sometimes contrasted with the more unconscious and disorganised nature of European advertising, which was dominated by the avant-gardes, who clearly focused on the artistic value of the advertisements.

With all this theoretical and practical knowledge under his belt, in 1928 Prat Gaballí moved to Madrid to direct the Veritas advertising agency owned by the Gal chain of perfumeries, regarded as one of the first Spanish companies to grasp the importance of advertising.

7. Barcelona, Spain's capital of advertising

In the first third of the twentieth century, the conditions were in place for Spain to modernise: the population was growing, the manufacturing structures were modernising and society was undergoing profound changes (Arroyo, 2016), even though the political context brought about by the instatement of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1923 can be considered unfavourable, as it had many negative effects in the field of communication (Costa, 2013).

In any event, in the 1920s, Catalan advertising professionals organised themselves into a guild. Barcelona was the test lab of advertising in Spain. In 1921, the Associació de Professionals de Publicitat (Association of Advertising Professionals) was founded in this city, mostly made up of Prat Gaballí's former disciples. They met at the Hotel Europa on Barcelona's Rambla in 1926 to debate turning it into the Publi-Club, Associació d'Estudis de Publicitat i Organització (Association of Advertising and Organisation Studies), a goal that materialised one year later. It joined the International Advertising Association of New York, the Union Continentale de la Publicité of Paris and International Mail Advertising of Chicago. The Publi-Club hosted many activities and showcased the country's drive to modernise by incorporating innovative advertising techniques and staying in constant contact with similar entities in Europe and the US. The experts who belonged to the Public-Club were familiar with the field of creative advertising in the English-speaking world, and their projects were warmly received abroad. They participated in conferences and exhibitions in Barcelona, Chicago and Brussels, and they taught classes and published the newsletter *Opus*.

As part of the 1929 Barcelona International Expo, Publi-Club organised the First National Advertising Congress in Barcelona, where its vice-president, Rafael Bori Llobet, asserted the importance of advertising in society, along with the fact that unlike Spain, countries like the US, England and Germany, with governments who were aware of the value and benefits of advertising, had official

chairs at the universities and business schools. He ended by proclaiming Barcelona the birthplace and hub of advertising in Spain: 'He stated that the Congress was held in Barcelona for two reasons: first, because it is the cradle of advertising in Spain, and secondly because of the Expo' (*La Vanguardia*, 31 August 1929). Rafael Bori and José Gardó reflected and theorised on advertising, and in 1927 they published a textbook in which they described the six qualities that they believed advertising had: it sparks attention, it retains attention, it stimulates interest, it inspires sympathy, it creates desire and it activates the will. Likewise, they assigned advertising educational purposes: 'It should be born in mind that an advert should not just draw the public's attention, but by fulfilling its advertising purpose, it also performs the delicate task of educating the masses; while it does predispose them to choose what we are advertising, it also teaches them things that otherwise they might not have learned' (Bori & Gardó, 1928, p. 33).

Advertising gradually gained social standing, to such an extent that the media pontificated about it and trumpeted its importance, which they sometimes considered even higher than the quality of the product itself, as in *La Veu de Tarragona*, which actually stated in its 24 June 1922 edition that 'the advertisement accredits products much more than their own quality does'.

In the 1920s, Catalonia's industrial and commercial expansion intensified as a result of Spain's neutrality in World War I, which led the first American advertising agencies to set up shop there. Along with these agencies, such advanced magazines as *The Saturday Evening Post and Ladies Home Journal* also came to Spain. Consumption was awakened, and the brands ran with it; those without a graphic image wanted to create one. In 1926, the US agency J. Walter Thompson came to Spain, and with it a new way of doing advertising upheld on the strategy of presenting the advert in a well-reasoned, explanatory way; this was novel in a country where the norm was a style based on illustrated poster advertisements which used images that would draw attention and texts that were as brief as possible. This new orientation of advertising technique had begun to be proclaimed on the pages of newspapers some time earlier: 'Advertisements are no longer a means to draw attention but are an entire sales system, with its own reasoning and stages, whereby merchants not only find new markets for their products but also encourage consumption, create new customers and enlighten consumers; in short: they shape the credibility of their company to their whim and solve all product distribution difficulties' (Gardó, 1928).

Naturally, American society was better poised to consume adverts with long, well-reasoned texts that argued for the product because it was much more literate than Spanish society. In Spain as a whole, Catalonia was clearly the main engine driving advertising. If we look at the attendees of the First National Advertising Conference held in Barcelona in 1929, we can see that 94 out of the 123 participants were Catalan. On 19 March of that same year, the journalist Santiago Vinardell Palau published the article 'La publicidad' (Advertising) in *La Vanguardia*, in which he reported on the extreme backwardness of Spanish advertising compared to more developed countries.

8. Conclusions: Certainties and some questions

The research confirms the three essential strands of our hypotheses: a) Spain played a secondary role in the world of advertising theory; b) there was a national interest in adopting advertising in Spanish curricula, primarily through the contributions of Catalan theoreticians; and c) the press was the top platform for disseminating advertising, which was proven to be an essential research instrument as both an object and subject of research processes.

On the threshold of the Second Republic, the Spanish press interpreted the new advertising phenomenon: 'Advertisements are no longer a means to draw attention but are an entire sales system, with its own reasoning and stages, whereby merchants not only find new markets for their products but also encourage consumption, create new customers and enlighten consumers' (Sedó, 1930). This article reports on the profound transformation that advertising experienced thanks to American input, specifically from the US magazine *Printer's Ink*, which announced in 1895, almost anachronistically, that psychology's next application would be in advertising.

Advertising entered Spanish academic circles discreetly yet significantly. In 1934 one local newspaper, *La Voz de Córdoba*, published a report on the rise of advertising in society, although if we believe its business reporter, Gregorio Martínez (the professional name with which he signed the article is very important), a lot of pedagogy was still needed; even though he acknowledged that newspapers in Spain were showing more and more advertising, some businessmen were still reluctant to use it through either 'apathy', 'poorly understood economics' or because they thought 'it would have little influence on the course of their business'. However, the writer did say that adverts had to be created with professional and technical criteria in order to be optimally profitable (Martínez, 1934). This opinion was shared by many other newspapers, which had fully internalised the phenomenon of new, modern advertising.

Our research was essentially conducted by interpreting the scientific evolution of advertising in journalistic sources. Likewise, we also set out to conjoin two communicative worlds which are clearly inseparable: the press and advertising. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the business press, which was modern and had an industrial or business-oriented mission, had gained sway over the ideological press. It was a time of change and transformation in Spanish society as a whole, when the society of mass communication was undergoing an apparently irreversible development. The purpose of newspapers from the professional standpoint was to inform, and from the business standpoint to do business.

The time had come when newspapers' main source of income, beyond subscriptions or newsstand sales, was advertising. The Catalan press reported on the debate that sprang from the International Advertisers Assembly held in Chicago in 1930 to discuss the most appropriate, effective advertising medium. The conclusions revealed that the written press was more effective, given that 85% of budgets earmarked for advertising in US companies was invested in the written press, as reported in the *Chicago Tribune* (*La Galeria*, 20 August 1930). Several years earlier, the 18 February 1911 editorial of the weekly *Sometén d'Igualada* reported that if you looked at newspapers published in the US, England or France, it was clear that their main source of income was advertising, which enabled them to hire correspondents and have large newsrooms.

However, Catalonia's progress could be shown by the advent of advertising associations in Barcelona. The creation of this ecosystem, comprised of theoreticians, technicians and professionals from the advertising sector, was crucial in making Barcelona the hub of Catalan innovation in modern advertising. Furthermore, in his article 'Los albores de una técnica: la publicidad en Cataluña' (The Dawn of a Technique: Advertising in Catalonia, *Mundo Gráfico*, 1104, 28 December 1932), Prat Gaballí stated that in 1912 advertising technique had been unknown and ignored in Latin countries. The magazine *Comercio* (1912-1914) had existed in Barcelona, featuring concepts like advertising and sales based on the foundations of an advertising technique which had been founded in the US and was being introduced to Europe through England, Germany and France. Shortly thereafter, a technical advertising agency opened in Barcelona, yet this initiative was premature, because company executives were not yet ready to enlist services whose usefulness they were unaware of and were hard to demonstrate.

The advent of advertising truly took place in the capital of Catalonia in 1915, in the midst of the Great War, when the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce and Navigation incorporated a course on advertising technique into its advanced studies programmes. The same institution published and distributed the first Spanish-language book on advertising, which could be interpreted as revolutionary, as it signalled a time when the sales techniques used in Spain were being updated and modernised. The dawn of advertising technique stood out in Spain through the work of the Catalan school. The first technical agencies were created and the majority of treatises on advertising were published in Barcelona, such as magazines like *Fama* and *Éxito*, which provided the bulk of materials on experimental psychology applied to advertising and the technique of campaign planning and management.

The first Spanish advertising association was also created in Barcelona. In 1926, 27 advertising professionals met at the Hotel Europa on Barcelona's Rambla in 1926 to debate its transformation into the Publi-Club, Associació d'Estudis de Publicitat i Organització. It joined the International Advertising Association of New York, the Union Continentale de la Publicité of Paris and International Mail Advertising of Chicago. Another noteworthy event was Barcelona's Universal Exposition, which was held from 20 May 1929 to 15 January 1930. The First National Advertising Congress in Barcelona was held on 31 August 1929 as part of its programme of events, with talks by Prat Gaballí, Rafael Roldós, José Gardó and Rafael Bori. Modern advertising emerged in Barcelona within this context. All these events took place within Catalonia and its epicentre: Barcelona, the capital.

Furthermore, in 1919 Prat Gaballí founded the agency Fama in Barcelona, an advertising agency which sought to have all the technical departments needed to provide the highest technical quality expected of the modern advertising profession. As Natalia Rodríguez and Francisco Verdera say, 'If he decided to open a business that was risky at the time it was because he must have glimpsed a potential market' (Montero, Rodríguez & Verdera, 2010).

The Fama agency was the first technical agency in Spain; afterwards, its model was replicated all over the country. Its organisation was reminiscent of the American agencies of the time. Agencies no longer just purchased advertisement spaces but also offered customers a full panoply of services. The structure of the Fama agency was comprised of innovative departments such as Market Analysis,

Statistics and Research, Ad Writing, Art Studio, Window Dressing and significant managerial posts: technical director, creative, media expert and CEO.

The Fama agency sought to promote the latest events or developments in scientific, rational advertising, which it also applied internally. Based on these communicative actions, it published a business magazine (Reina, 2015) with the same title as the agency, *Fama*. This model had already been tested in more developed countries like England and the United States. It was a small magazine published periodically which the agency sent to its leading or potential customers, or to any subscriber who requested it in advance. Its content was comprised of professional articles and samples of advertisements that the agency had created.

To conclude, another interesting point is theorising on whether Prat Gaballí actually went to New York in 1911 to receive training. The point of departure is the book *Publicidad combativa* (1959), when the author himself refers explicitly to his particular 'literary hara-kiri', a professional transition stage in which he buried his literary passions to devote himself exclusively to advertising. In consequence, two Prat Gaballí quotes on the Alexander Hamilton Institute were compared to gain more clarity on his possible stay in New York.

The first is the quote found at the beginning of the prologue to the *book Mi vida en publicidad* (My Life in Advertising, 1945): '[...] the lessons I learned through the excellent texts and admirable "lectures" at the Alexander Hamilton Institute' (Hopkins, 1945, p. 16). The second is the quotation in the book *Publicidad combativa* (1959) about the '[...] admirable collection at the Hamilton Institute' (Prat Gaballí, 1959, p. XII). We sense that if this stay abroad is confirmed, it may be relevant in the study of the figure of Prat Gaballí. Our theories are that knowledge of the sciences of experimental psychology and economics, along with the construction of the early discourse on contemporary consumption, may have been crucial to Prat Gaballí's learning.

However, a more divergent line of inquiry that got underway in 1986 with aim of capturing Prat Gaballí the literary artist or poet is the publication 'Pere Prat Gaballí i el càntic de jovenesa: centenari del seu naixement, 1885-1962' (Pere Prat Gaballí and the Canticle of Youth: Centennial of his Birth, 1885-1962). This study explains how as a young poet, Prat Gaballí studied at the Ateneu Barcelonès and contributed to the magazine *Auba*, along with his friends Alfons Maseras and Ramon Vinyes. The philologist Maria Àngela Surroca mentions '[...] 1962, the same year his last book, *Moments. Poesies* (Moments. Poetry) was published, a compilation of a series of unpublished verses he had written at different life events; he never stopped being a "poet" at any time after having intoned his exquisite song' (Cerdà, 1986, p. 309).

In short, a documentary search of his journey to New York in 1991 could be conducted through the interpretation of a poem contained in the book *Moments. Poesies*. Below is an excerpt so that each person can reach their own interpretation of whether it is part of the book *Poemes de la terra i el mar* published in 1912:

New York:
Giant jungle of carved stone,
you fill with stars that cascade down
and know how to rein in a flood
(Prat Gaballí, 1962, p. 73)[3]

In the 'Mar enllà' (Overseas) section her book on Prat Gaballí, the author also shows us 'where, on his way to America, he went from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, the passion of the "romeu-naut" swelled with the immensity of the sea' (Cerdà, 1986, p. 309). This reflection stems from a conceptual interpretation of his stay in New York in 1911.

Finally, Prat Gaballí laid the groundwork of his advertising theory in the magazine in *Printer's Ink* in 1895: 'when our cultural level is higher, the ad writer and the professor will likely study psychology' (Prat Gaballí, 1959, p. 15).[4] Later on, modern advertising grounded on psychology was established in 1908 with the Walter Dill Scott classic *The Psychology of Advertising*, which is usually considered the book that founded this genre.

In summary, all the events in Catalonia, and specifically in Barcelona, outlined above reveal the creative and avant-garde tradition of advertising in Catalonia. These early figures in advertising are the remembrance of the birth of a new sales model, modern advertising, implemented throughout all of Spain. Yet at a time of wars (World War I and the Spanish Civil War), when rationing and autarchy coexisted, these Catalan theoreticians of advertising produced more than they gained. They wasted their talent and foresight. They studied, translated and wrote books. They promoted legal regulations, audience metrics and the creation of advertising schools, at that time in university faculties. It was difficult for them to explain the nature of their profession to their fellow citizens and the people around them, yet it was even more difficult for them to get people to understand that the key to success in communication lay in the truth and honesty of advertising. As Prat Gaballí said, '[...] to earn respect in a profession, you can't enter it impatiently and without a fierce determination to overcome obstacles' (Prat Gaballí, 1959, p. XV).

[3] The article cited by Prat Gaballí which prophesied the future of advertising in the book *Publicidad combativa* (1959) was by Oscar Herzberg and it was entitled 'Human nature as a factor in advertising'; it was published in *Printer's Ink*, the magazine put out by the company Lord & Tomas, in 1895. Prat Gaballí described the following: 'The topic of human nature as a factor in advertising is almost as vast as human nature as a factor of life. In an article like this one, we can only point to its most salient feature. The fact is that the advertiser who speculates on "the noblest study of humanity" will have the best prospects of achieving good results. When our cultural level is higher, the ad writer and the professor will likely study psychology, because no matter how different their occupations look at first glance, the ad writer and the instructor share an overarching goal: to influence the human mind. The instructor has a scientific underpinning for their work, yet at times the ad writer has to be a psychologist, too. Human nature is a huge factor in the success of advertising, and whoever composes adverts without referring to it may well discover what has gone wrong by not bearing it in mind' (Prat Gaballí, 1959, p. 15).

Notes

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Education Represented in Spanish Propaganda Documentaries (1914-1939)

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Abstract

This article describes the main conclusions from research into educational documentaries and newsreels from the first thirty or so years of the twentieth century in Spain. It firstly sets out the general and synthetic methodology used to carry out the study, and then outlines the overall picture we have assembled of how education is represented in the films examined from a formal, contextual standpoint and through content analysis. This overview provides a complex picture of education and childcare during that period. Despite the caution that must be taken when working with visual resources, we are able to assert that analysing the material has enabled us to pinpoint nuanced details and open up new perspectives on the history of education.

Key words: educational films, propaganda, history of education, content analysis.

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1. Introduction

This article presents some of the conclusions reached upon the completion of a research project on educational films from the first third of the twentieth century. Specifically, this project analysed documentaries and newsreels produced in Spain between 1914 and 1939 which implicitly or explicitly refer to issues of educational interest.

The background of this project includes the fact that in order to undertake an analysis that was as comprehensive as possible, we believed it was essential to approach the films from a plurality of training and field-specific approaches. The research team had to be multidisciplinary in order to respect this plurality. This requirement was met by bringing experts in history, psychology, pedagogy and sociology into the team. This diversity made it possible for us to better understand the educational conceptions that inspired and were disseminated in the documents and audiovisual productions.

Likewise, as presented in the Methodology section, the articulation of our understanding of the educational representations identified in the productions meant that we had to undertake a research process which included aspects like the cataloguing, analysis and interpretation of the discourses in these historical sources.

Conducting this research process designed enabled us to achieve the objectives of recovering the audiovisual memories from the period and disseminating them through a single database[1] in order to gain access to an understanding of the pedagogy promoted by the different ideologies of the period and to develop an overview of the different topics that occupied the attention of the policies and discourses of the period, most notably the production of the documentary *Viure la infància en temps de la dictadura de Primo de Rivera* (Experiencing Childhood in Times of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship).[2] Some of these strands studied are examined in this article.

Before delving into the organisation of the different sections, we want to underscore that different ideologies from that period, some of them contradicting each other, used this channel of communication as a propaganda strategy (Collelldemont, 2018). This fact was very important to us when both analysing these audiovisual sources and understanding the discourses underlying them. Indeed, anarchists, communists, republicans and Francoists all realised that audiovisual productions were the most effective channels for achieving an optimal impact when disseminating their principles. They also all used images with children and youths to achieve their propagandistic aims, which became their best calling card. This tendency is also found in European audiovisual productions produced in the interwar period (Aldagate, 1979; Chapman, 1998; Mendelson, 2012; Porton, 2001; Russell, 2009; Welch, 1983).

[1] Link to the record: Universitat de Vic, https://www.uvic.cat/sites/default/files/documento-en-proceso-registro-films.pdf [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

[2] Link to the documentary: under the Productes section of the following website from Universitat de Vic: https://www.uvic.cat/museu-virtual/investigacions/radae [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

2. Getting down to work: The methodology

To approach the complex reality entailed in analysing audiovisual productions from a clear temporal distance, it was essential to share, think and weigh the different options that the research methodologies afford us in order to decide which ones would enable us to best approach the topics of interest for our study.

The nature of the documentary sources, the diversity of ideological motivations, the features of the audiovisual narratives, the propagandistic nature of the documents, and their origin in personal interests (household documents) or public interests (public administration, political parties, etc.) are all aspects that forced us to construct a custom methodology which would integrate different gazes and disciplines.

Likewise, we had to bear in mind that one of the main dimensions contained in the sources we have worked with is the cultural dimension. The films are articulated around narratives that seek to communicate an idea, a story, a conception, etc., which should be examined, while considering and respecting their complexity (Smeyers & Depaepe, 2014). It was essential to take care not to fall into reductionist analyses that simplify what is shown to be complex, keeping in sight the goal of finding and understanding the narrative skeleton with which they were created (Herman, 2015).

At the same time, the symbolic significance of cultural material forced us to interpret it cautiously, which could easily turn into acritical judgements that ignore the uniqueness of the contexts in which they were created. It is obvious that when speaking about the importance of considering the contextual aspects of a fact, a document or a creation, not only should the temporal and physical factors be included but so should the symbols (Gómez & Casanovas, 2017). Here is where the symbols, that is, the set of meanings attributed to a certain production, lead us to consider all the elements that generate it, all the elements that come into play when attributing meanings.

While we share the temporal plane, tour different personal and academic trajectories confirm the convergence of a diverse range of symbols and training which come into play in the research gaze. Therefore, deciding what to observe, where the emphasis of the analysis will be placed and the value attached to each element cannot be an automatic practice, because this could lead to an over-interpretation or an underestimation of the time and intentions in which they were created. Only by using methodological tools that guarantee that the complexity presented by the nature of our subject of study is preserved was it feasible to avoid these pitfalls. Therefore, we surveyed which methodological and epistemological elements taken into consideration in previous studies should be incorporated into this research, as they share the fact that they are all cultural creations.[3]

Specifically, we revisited the orientation of approaching the material with the awareness of the triple leap, referring to the temporal, generational and

[3] Approach developed in the project: 'DiDD. Documentación y difusión digital del patrimo nio educativo producido entre 1936-1939 en las escuelas de Barcelona. Los dibujos de la infancia sobre la vida cotidiana en tiempos de guerra', National RDI Plan I 2011-2013 (Ref. EDU2010-20280).

narrative discontinuities between the research team and the contextual elements of the document sources (Gómez, 2017).

Secondly, we also included the ideas of the imagined community—found in everyone's symbolism, and therefore in each of the team members—and the imagination of the community. Both are essential analytical indicators. In fact, when audiovisual productions are conceived as propaganda to disseminate certain messages or ideas, the indicator of the imagination of the community becomes particularly important because the imagination of the community refers to the symbolism imbued in any cultural creation by its authors, and therefore we cannot merely accept the idea that what is shown literally reflects the reality to which it refers (Comolli, 2007; Didi-Huberman, 2010; Lebas, 2005 & 2007).

This pendulum swing between the two analytical indicators found in all research, between the imagined community and the imagination of the community, especially in the interpretative phase, means that even though it seems impossible, after analysing certain pieces, an 'a priori' with which we were working has been contradicted., that is, thinking that every documentary piece will serve the imagination of the community assigned to a single ideological corpus. In fact, it became inconceivable to consider that the same production was used with different and even opposite purposes. This was the case with the film *Vidas Nuevas* (New Lives), for example; even though it was produced in 1936, before the start of the Civil War, the Franco regime appropriated it by dating the production from the 1940s and attributing it to the Ministry of Governance (Perdiguero, 2008). This once again reveals that the different contextual planes are vitally important at all times in both the dissemination and the reception of the message.

Once we were situated within the coordinates of the research paradigm, we had to more specifically systematise the technical data collection that would make the formal analysis possible. Attention to the formal aspects coexisted simultaneously with—and cannot be dissociated from—the analysis of the main thematic strands that emerged from viewing the different documentaries (such as the body, the conception of childhood, the conception of work, educational policies, etc.) and with the influence of the temporal context (such as the political, social, economic and cultural features of the period). This analysis (Prat & Padrós, 2014) was conducted by singularities (piece by piece) and serially (either by theme or by historical period).

We started the formal analysis by creating a technical file on each piece. The date, producer, source of financing and script were logged. Likewise, the different sequences shaping the film stories were identified, and the main contents and length were categorised. Next, the presence of the type of elements accompanying them (iconographic, figurative, metaphorical aesthetic resources; textual resources; rhythmic resources; and lighting resources) were recorded, which took shape in a narrative that reached the receiver with a specific type of message (emotional, rational and mixed). Finally, we observed what persuasive routes they took and the relationship established between these persuasive routes and ideology (Chapman, 1998).

3. The evolution and typology of informative cinema on education: Between newsreels and documentaries

Chronologically, our study of documentaries and newsreels is situated at the beginning of informative cinema, that is, the first third of the twentieth century, when documentaries and newsreels began to be created and developed. It is difficult to distinguish the different informative cinema productions from the early decades of that century because neither documentaries nor newsreels had developed their own style and identity yet (Paz & Montero, 1999). We find more defined formulations of documentaries and newsreels late in the interwar period.

In any case, we can highlight the fact that among the different informative cinema formats, newsreels have the features that would go on to fully define the genre. Examples of these features are: regular projections, a wide variety of topics on each newsreel, similar time spent on each of the topics and direct presentation of the facts without interpretation (Baechlin & Muller-Strauss, 1951). In contrast, the documentaries have more varied features, a less rigid structure, widely differing and less regular lengths and sometimes a much more noticeable artistic and interpretative component than the newsreels.

3.1. Cinematographic magazines, the forerunners of newsreels and documentaries

At the start of the period analysed, which ranges from 1914 to 1939, the cinema was considered a window open to the world, and a great deal cinematographic production was comprised of views (almost photographic displays of urban and rural landscapes) and newscasts. Seen from today's perspective, these views and newscasts begin to gain specific rules on style, form and news when cinematographic periodicals started to be made. The earliest cinematographic magazines were produced abroad, in France. In 1908, the company owned by the Pathé brothers created the magazine entitled *Pathé Journal*. Shortly thereafter, in 1910, their competitor Gaumont created the magazine *Gaumont Actualités*. Both companies also produced audiovisuals in other countries, including Spain.

One of the cinematographic magazines that followed the model initiated in France but was produced in Spain was *Revista Camarillo* (Ruiz Rojo et al., 2004). Its promoter was Tomás Camarillo, a photographer who also ventured into the world of cinema. Six issues of this magazine were made in 1927 and 1928. Most of its images show views, buildings and monuments of the city and province of Guadalajara, and they also report on a variety of festivals, sporting events and factory work. The educational theme is barely found: there are only education-related images in one issue. Specifically, issue 4 shows 'School group on Paseo de las Cruces', with views of the school's main façade, yet without actually showing the activity inside it.[4]

In fact, the scant presence of education in this type of cinematographic magazine from the early period is common, judging from what we found in our analysis. When educational themes do appear, they tend to show the school as a building, not its pedagogical activity. On the other hand, we occasionally see

[4] *Revista Camarillo*, 4. Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cY1RPIsN2Yk [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

images of children and youths, often participating in social events outdoors in public, such as the groups of scouts in *Revista de Huesca*, a 1914 film production by Antonio P. Tramullas. The film conserved of this magazine shows images of Huesca and includes a brief scene preceded by the title *Boys-Scuts* [sic] *de Huesca*, showing a group of scouts on bicycles riding through the city streets on 11 April, when the boy scouts were hosting a charitable festival in the city.[5]

Director and producer Antonio P. Tramullas was born in Barcelona in 1879 and moved to Zaragoza, where he created his own film production company, Sallumart Films (his surname spelt backwards). He and his son shot many metres of film. He often showed his films, which focused on upper Aragón, at the Teatro Principal in Huesca under the title of *Revista de Huesca*, which was like a newsreel or bulletin (Lasaosa, 2011).

3.2. Newsreels: Political filters of reality

It wasn't until years after these examples, in the late 1930s, when newsreels started to gain large audiences in Europe by providing eyewitness accounts of the disturbing political situation on the continent. After the direct experience of the First World War, the different political regimes harnessed the cinematographic media to serve state propaganda purposes. In Spain, the Civil War led to the swift development of newsreels on the conflict and the society of the day with the creation of production companies usually associated with different political and union organisations. Thus, the private producers making their own cinematographic magazines in the 1920 gave way to production companies owned by the state or social and political organisations. The productions that were formerly for commercial purposes now had more propagandistic aims (Chapman, 1998).

During the Spanish Civil War, cinematographic production was much more prominent in the republican than in the national zone. This is partly because the cities where the bulk of the Spanish film industry was located were in republican hands, yet also because the republicans knew how to use a modern propaganda medium like the cinema better by disseminating newsreels showing the latest news, war documentaries and even some fiction films (Caparrós, 1977).

Propaganda cinema in the republican zone encompassed production companies that were both government-owned and owned by political and union organisations (Crusells, 2003). Anarchist productions were promoted by the Show Business Industry Union, part of the national union organisation CNT-FAI, which used the brand SIE Films. The CNT-FAI produced around 30 issues of the newsreel *España Gráfica*. The topics related to the conflict include references to education, such as the documentary *El Frente y la retaguardia* (The Front and the Rear-Guard) directed by Joaquin Giner and produced by SIE Films in 1937, which contains interesting images of refugee settlements for children. These images were later used in 1938 by the republican government's Ministry of Public Instruction and Health in the documentary *La República protege a sus niños* (The Republic Protects its Children) (Collelldemont & Padrós, 2016). This is an

[5] *Revista de Huesca* (see minute 5). Accessible at: http://www.europeana1914-1918.eu/en/europeana/record/08625/FILM00064089c_4?edmvideo=true&iframe=true&width=657&height=510 [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

example of a production by the government, which established a Sub-Secretariat of Propaganda to produce film documentaries in 1937.

Notable among the government's film productions are the films promoted by the Cinema Department of the Propaganda Commission of the Generalitat de Catalunya through Laya Films. This production company put out the newsreel *Espanya al Dia* in the Catalan version, and *España al Día* in the Spanish version, and it also made versions in French and English for international audiences. All told, Laya Films issued 108 newsreels from December 1936 to January 1939 (Caparrós & Biadiu, 1977). Figures from the catalogue of the Filmoteca de Catalunya calculate that the more than 100 newsreels issued by Laya Films contained a total of between 900 and 1,000 news items.[6] Many of these productions have been lost. Of those that are still conserved, 17 news items from *Espanya al Dia* deal with education (Casanovas & Prat, 2016). The Generalitat de Catalunya undertook a vast number of propaganda actions through all the media led by the journalist and politician Jaume Miravitlles, who created one of the best propaganda organisms in Europe at the time, the Propaganda Commission of the Generalitat de Catalunya, where cinema played a prominent role (Batalla & Miravitlles, 2016).

Still on the republican side, we should also mention communist productions. The PCE and the PSUC had the production company Film Popular, whose most important project was publishing the newsreel *España al Día*, created by Laya films and initially co-issued in a Spanish version, until Film Popular started making its own version in April 1937.

Film production was much lower in the national or Franco zone, though nonetheless significant. A cinematographic project was launched during the war that continued in the post-war years.[7] The main propaganda lines of this project focused on charismatic leaders, history and Falangist organisations (Tranche & Sánchez-Biosca, 2011). Some educational issues can be found in these organisations' presentations, such as in the films of the Sección Femenina, which had to do with children. This is also true of the images of a cafeteria run by Auxilio Social in a town on the east coast, collected in spools of film conserved by the Filmoteca Española.[8]

In the newsreels produced by the Franco side, including *Noticiario Español*, which began to be issued in 1937 after the National Cinematographic Department was created, what stand out in the early years is news from the front and celebrations of events within the war. In this sense, educational themes were virtually totally absent (Tranche & Sánchez-Biosca, 2011).

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[6] Filmoteca de Catalunya. Catàleg. Available at: http://www.filmoteca.cat/web/centre-de-conservacio-i-restauracio/acces-a-la-colleccio/cataleg [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

[7] In fact, in its news and propaganda facet, this project resulted in the creation of the NO-DO newsreel in 1943. TRANCHE, R., SÁNCHEZ-BIOSCA, V. (2006). *No-Do. El tiempo y la memoria*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra; Filmoteca Española.

[8] They are located on spool 4 of the films Batalla de Aragón – Ofensiva de Levante. These are five spools of unedited negatives conserved at the Cinemateca Portuguesa within the 'Guerra de Espanha' series recovered by the Filmoteca Española, which also shows that the lack of cinematographic resources in national Spain led them to turn to a neighbouring country like Portugal.

3.3. Documentaries: Interpretations of reality

So far we have traced the production of newsreels in the first third of the century. Next we shall turn our attention to documentaries. The evolution of documentaries followed a timeline quite similar to that of newsreels, yet it was somewhat delayed because they took longer to be identified as a genre. At the beginning of the period studied, documentaries were simply reports without many cinematographic pretensions. We cannot find the first specific formulations of the documentary genre until the 1920s, and in fact the use of the term 'documentary' did not become widespread until the 1930s (Breschand, 2007). This common origin should come as no surprise, given that the same producers that issued film magazines or newsreels also tended to produce documentaries on a wide array of topics.

The private producers during this period tended to make more documentaries than cinematographic magazines. One example is the Samullart production company, which not only issued the *Revista de Huesca* but also produced numerous documentary-style reports particularly focusing on Aragón. Gran Canaria Films is another example of a private production company that only lasted a few years but produced documentaries on 'Canary Islands affairs' (Betancor, 2000).

Among the varied productions of Gran Canaria Films, there is a documentary on education, the film *A pesar de todo* (Despite it All, 1926), which shows an outdoor tour by the students in a baccalaureate school in Las Palmas.

Unlike the private producers, those that depended on the public institutions which emerged during the Civil War attached greater importance to propaganda. They also produced documentaries which were heavily focused on the war. One case worth noting is Laya Films, which not only stood out for its newsreels but also started producing a line of documentaries on a wide variety of topics related to the Catalan rear-guard. In fact, some sources cite the production of the documentary *Escoles Noves* (New Schools),[9] which examined the Catalan schools created at the start of the war but cannot be located in the collections of the film libraries consulted (Sánchez, 2006).

However, previous documentaries are accessible, such as the 1928 film *Valencia, protectora de la infància* (Valencia, Protector of Children). This documentary was made by Maximiliano Thous on commission from the Provincial Youth Protection Council in conjunction with the Valencia Town Hall and Provincial Council. It was made to participate in the Fifteenth International on Child Protection and Social Action held in Paris in July 1928, and it shows images of orphanages, children's hospitals, maternal wards and schools with their educational practices.[10] Likewise, within the Segell Pro-Infància campaign created in Catalonia in 1933 with the goal of raising people's awareness and raising funds, the Generalitat de Catalunya promoted the production of a propagandistic film entitled *Segell Pro-Infància* (Pro-Child Campaign) made between 1934 and 1935, whose authors are unknown (Perdiguero & Castejón, 2006). Finally, one very unique case is the film *¿Qué es España?* (What is Spain?),

[9] According to some sources, this is a 10-minute production from 1937; see: Caparrós & Biadiu (1978, p. 35).

[10] Available at: http://www.restauracionesfilmoteca.com/cine-valencia-2/no-ficcio/valen_cia-protectora-de-la-infancia/ [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

a documentary on the modernising impetus of Spain in the 1920s and 1930s, which also deals with education.[11] The original film, which was probably made to illustrate lectures, underwent many changes after it was initially created in 1926, and not all the parts are conserved, nor is it clear who produced it. A second version of the film included a detailed report on the teaching activities of the Grupo Escolar Cervantes in Madrid, a model school in applying the pedagogical methodology of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. This change was made between 1929 and 1930 by the pedagogue Rodolfo Llopis, who seemed to have used it in his tours and lectures (Lahoz, 2012).

The majority of these documentaries promoted by public institutions were one-offs produced with very specific purposes in mind, often propaganda, and they were not continued. In the next section, we outline the results of the content analysis of the documentaries and newsreels presented.

4. Content analysis of the films on education

Based on the methodology used, and after bearing in mind the type of informative films produced in Spain in the first third of the twentieth century, we shall now briefly analyse the main educational contents that appear in these films, specifically how schools and educational institutions are represented in the films analysed, the image projected of corporal education and the way children and their rights are depicted.

4.1. The representation of schools: From the building to educational practice

During the first third of the twentieth century, among the informative films in Spain there were very few documentaries or newsreels showing schools. In that period, education in Spain was subpar, with a notable lack of schools, extremely low educational rates, rampant illiteracy, very high levels of school absenteeism and extremely low status for schoolteachers. Cinematographic cameras did not focus on this lamentable situation which affected schools and education; instead, when schools are depicted in documentaries and newsreels, it is to show positive aspects, like the opening of new buildings or the innovative pedagogical practices of the period.

We can trace the educational policy on schools from public institutions or private schools through this institutional representation. In this sense, through the images from the first films analysed, we have found that that a great deal of importance was attached to school buildings in the first few decades of the twentieth century, while in the late 1920s the interest shifted towards educational practices and the new pedagogical conceptions of that period.

The years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-1939) are very interesting to analyse through documentary films on education. In those years, in the words of the Hispanist Shlomo Ben-Ami, there was an 'incipient attempt at development' in order to modernise the country (Ben-Ami, 2012, p. 222). In education, this was shown in a concern with increasing the number of schools,

[11] Put out in DVD and available online at: http://www.restauracionesfilmoteca.com/cine-espanol/no-ficcion/que-es-espana/ [Consulted on 14/03/2017].

leading to what has been described as 'school expansionism', manifested in the drive to build new school buildings (López, 1994, p. 41). The figures on the number of new schools that were created in Spain during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship vary, ranging from 4,650 to 8,000 (López, 1994, pp. 106-107). Beyond the discussion on figures, however, we can state that school policy during the dictatorship was based on creating schools, the more the better, without attaching too much importance to either educational practices or children's actual education. As a reflection of this quantitative policy, many films that show schools during this period essentially focus on openings of new school buildings.

This is the conclusion we drew by analysing four documentary films or reports on the opening of schools in Spain during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. The cinematographic cameras focused more on the building façades and the authorities opening the schools than on the students, teachers and their educational practices. This is found with strikingly similar scenes in films on the construction of a school park and the visit by General Primo de Rivera to the town of Carlet (1926), the opening of the Maria Quintana school group in Mequinensa (1927), the blessing of the school group in the village of Vinyoles d'Orís (1928) and a Gaumont newsreel on the opening of the Escola Primo de Rivera in Barcelona (1929).

After the dictatorship, during the Second Republic, educational policy shifted. Even though school groups continued to open, there is virtually no film devoted to the opening of school buildings. This is a sign that school policy had changed, and with it so did the images projected in documentary films and newsreels. During the Second Republic, educational practices and children were represented much more often in the images than school buildings. We find the most samples of documentaries and newsreels which talk about the schools' educational practices in Catalonia, where several innovative pedagogical currents which had been introduced early in the century were cropping up.

One example of this shifting gaze can be found in the film *Canet de Mar* (1931-1936), a report on this town which begins with images of the famous Montessori School. The different scenes barely touch on the building but instead show images of students and teachers in the classrooms, where Montessori's pedagogy was being applied, as well as schoolchildren outside on the lawn doing rhythmic activities following the method developed by Joan Llongueras (Pomés, 2011). This school was created in 1918 by the Canet de Mar Town Hall, but we cannot find a cinematographic documentary showing its teaching activity until the 1930s.

One report from 1935 entitled *Festa de gimnàs* (Gym Festival) is yet another example of how the cameras in the Second Republic focused more on educational practice than on the school building. It is a documentary conserved at the Filmoteca de Catalunya and made by the Mútua Escolar Blanquerna of Barcelona, an institution with different schools that held a physical education festival every summer between 1933 and 1935 (Masabeu, 1989). The images show innovative methods for the era, such as the students practising physical education on the school lawn led by teacher Jaume Garcia Alsina, the vice-president of the Acadèmia d'Educació i Física de Catalunya, a platform which was highly influential in disseminating physical education in Catalonia (Torrebadella, 2013). There are also images of rhythmic exercises following the method developed by Joan Llongueras, a music teacher at the Mútua Escolar Blanquerna whose

method was inspired by the rhythms of the Swiss composer and pedagogue Émile Jaques-Dalcroze (Comas, Motilla & Sureda, 2014).

At the end of the period researched, during the Civil War, educational practices and especially attention to students gained more prominence in the documentary films. One newsreel from the Civil War years by Laya Films contained the news item 'Per als nostres infants' (For Our Children), which reports on the opening of the Parvulari Forestier kindergarten in a building owned by the Barcelona Town Hall. The images do not focus on the building itself; they only briefly show the façade and the authorities opening the building, with close-up shots of their faces. Outside, the children are seated and being given cups of milk and slices of bread. This is yet further proof that the documentaries' and newsreels' view of schools focuses on the social and political interests of every period; at the beginning of the period of study, the interest was on school buildings, in the Second Republic it was educational practices and in the Civil War, a time of scarcith, it was on feeding the children.

4.2. Constants in corporal education

Through the audiovisual representation that we find in propagandistic films, we can see a discourse on corporal education, or on how to be healthy, which shows a continuous logic that stands out for the clarity of the proposals (Collelldemont & Casanovas, 2016). It was created in different periods, and even though we know that it was constructed via a merger of different voices, it does nonetheless show narrative linearity.

The most common constant features that the films analysed show on this topic are: the representation of the body as an integral part of a group, scenes of vitality in gradual submission to society's ideas and the dilemma between caring for and cultivating the body (learning eating habits for oneself and the group).

With regard to the individual body as an integral part of a group, there is a gradual imperative of order. In the different images referring to care of the body found in the documentaries and newsreels, the individual body is constantly projected as part of a collective body. In fact, the idea of the serial body outlined by Conrad Vilanou can be found in the films analysed, as it is easy to find 'a series of bodies with no attributes that cannot be distinguish amidst the crowd' (Vilanou, 2000, p. 95) in the majority of them, especially in the documentaries and newsreels made in periods of conflict.

This projection can be found explicitly in different scenes, but especially in the practice of fitness drills. Viewed as both physical education and spectacle, what the films show is a gradual disappearance of the experience of the body as an individual entity and instead an adjustment to collective corporeality.

Thus, cultivating the body becomes a metaphor for shaping the physique towards a political ideation in which the collective, the symbolic and order occupy the focal point. All three concepts (collectivisation, symbolism and order) refer directly to the political imaginaries of the period. In fact, we cannot consider that the reconversion of fitness drills into the use of the child's body to convey a political message at a time of political clashes was a coincidence. In this sense, the film *El frente y la retaguardia* (The Front and the Rear-Guard, 1937),

produced in the midst of the Civil War, shows how a fitness drill is turned into the message 'Libertad' (Freedom).

The second constant we have pinpointed is scenes of vitality in gradual submission to the prevailing political ideas. Parallel to the rhythmic march, with clearly paramilitary references, from the very start we can also find a defence of play and movement outdoors. In this sense, some of the films show a steadily increasing presence of non-domesticated landscapes as spaces that encourage a kind of physical activity that challenges the body, which must show endurance. Thus, although at first the rural environment was viewed as an inhospitable, dangerous place, during the war the rural setting, with its climatic conditions and rugged terrain, became a 'safe place'. Different images of games in the films evoke a healthy, active, strong child who plays as exercise and enjoys movement, although there are also a few exceptions, such as the domestic film by Manuel Amat *Sant Joan de Déu* (Saint John of God, 1934- 1935), which shows outdoor activity as a prelude to health problems.

The third constant, as noted above, is caring for and cultivating the body: learning eating habits for oneself and for the group. The relationship between corporal education associated with movement and education in hygiene and eating habits is found repeatedly in the films from the period analysed. Attention to learning how to care for the body can be situated within the first half of the twentieth century, first with texts and later with graphic and audiovisual representations. Unlike attention to physical activity, however, in this case we see much slower progression. Cleaning and feeding oneself properly are first praised in intellectual manifestos and observations, while they only become part of the established discourse after the 1930s and the advent of the Second Republic.

For example, in relation to beverages, the presence of alcoholic drinks gradually disappears, while the need to bring back mother's milk and water are highlighted. Just like with beverages, the eating ideals that the official institutions wanted to promote also appear in the films. They include the quasi-symbolic presence of bread. Bread is given to children with food deficiencies, while also referring to the mystification of the countryside and traditional life. Bread is the symbol of a healthy, austere diet.

Hygiene is also represented in the films as a health factor. Refugee settlements is where we first find explicit images of children's hygiene habits on film. In the documentaries from the previous period, either adults took care of children's hygiene or hygiene habits were announced but not shown, as in *Vidas Nuevas*. Therefore, we could say that the drive to create autonomous hygiene habits was one of the propaganda motives of the documentaries and newsreels in the period analysed, especially during the war. The recurring image of children washing their faces, hands and hair as an indicator of the start of a full day is illustrated by the newsreel *Asilo de la Paloma* (La Paloma Shelter) by Laya Films, named after a war refugee centre for children in Barcelona. In fact, the frequent images of children bathing can also be interpreted from this vantage point, given that despite the official propaganda, swimming in pools and the sea did not become popular until much later on.

4.3. Variations in the presence of a concern for children's rights in education

In our content analysis of the films, we also sought to capture the sensibility towards childhood that they convey in terms of their conception of childhood, care for the sake of children's wellbeing and attention to their education. We should bear in mind that these are aspects which mattered in the international interwar context period, in which children's role was gaining more space in the political and pedagogical debate. Actions involving special care of children become visible, and the spread of new schools and educational proposals that were more attentive to global education based on the children's centres of interest and seeking integral development can be seen.

In a context besieged by war, childhood and children's education became the subjects of concern and future projection. This can clearly be seen in different forums like the Third International Congress of Moral Education, which focused the debate on education and solidarity. One noteworthy contribution was by Eglantyne Jebb, the vice-president of the International Save the Children Union, who issued a cry of hope by claiming that the future of civilisation and individual happiness depended on the attitude shown towards children. In her paper, she reflected on children whose physical needs had to be met, who wanted a good education and who wanted to enjoy themselves, yet who also wanted to receive love, be respected and exercise their power and responsibility, that is, occupy a place in the world (Jebb, 1935). This was not the first time that Jebb had spoken about the need to protect children, their interests and their rights. This schoolteacher, the founder of Save the Children,[12] was convinced that societies had to mobilise to achieve social and political changes that would allow for actions that were more sensitive to children's reality, especially children in the most vulnerable situations in war and post-war settings. With this spirit, in 1923 she drafted the first Declaration of the Rights of the Child, a seminal text that revealed the need for children and their rights to play an important role in political agendas.

Studying the films reveals that the presence of children was not merely anecdotal, but that they were the main actors in the events and situations that the documentaries and newsreels recount, even though this centrality is mediatised by the propagandistic interests of the governments, which wanted to send the people messages about the 'goodness' of their policies, regardless of whether this was just discourse or a practical reality as well. Somehow, this tangible presence of children in the films corresponds to the content of Eglantyne Jebb's text on the rights of the child, known as the Geneva Declaration.[13] There was a political will from national and supranational institutions to show that they were working in line with the content of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, which states that it is humanity's duty to give children our best. This obligation implicitly entails non-discrimination on the basis of 'race, nationality and creed' and fulfilment of five basic rights regarding the protection of children.

[12] The International Save The Children Union, headquartered in Geneva, was created in 1919 as a humanitarian response after the First World War.

[13] Save The Children. *Especial: 90 aniversario de Save the Children. Eglantyne Jeeb. De persona com prometida con los niños a fundadora de Save the Children*. Available at: https://www.savethechildren.es/sites/default/files/imce/docs/cuaderno-englantyne-jebb.pdf [Consulted on 14/03/2017]

We shall adopt these rights as our referents when analysing the way the films convey an idea of childhood and child protection. For this analysis, we shall focus on children's visibility in the *Espanya al Dia* newsreels from the Laya Films production company, discussed above.

The first article of the Geneva Declaration states that children must 'be given the means requisite for [their] normal development, both materially and spiritually'. Even though this is generic, the content acknowledges childhood as a developmental stage and children as an educationally and socially distinct group, a factor also conveyed in the news analysed. From this perspective, they promote propaganda on the creation of new schools for very young and older children, innovative educational methods and the provision of additional services like school lunchrooms. These are examples of the services that the government provided to ensure the normal material and spiritual development of each child.

Articles 2 and 3 of the Declaration further flesh out the first article and refer to attention to basic needs, caregiving and striving to ensure children's wellbeing. Specifically, article 2 says that 'The child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succored' and that 'the child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress'. We found that many news items show the opening of shelters, farm-schools, children's settlements and schools in the rear-guard, among other initiatives that sought to showcase the political attention to vulnerable children within a context of war. The news items referring to children displaced by war explicitly showcase the solidarity of the citizens who fostered them and contributed to covering the specific needs of the children who were directly affected, not only with regard to food—by citizens handing out snacks or soldiers handing out bread—but also by trying to ensure their affective, social and ludic wellbeing. For example, the news items on the children's colonies also show play areas with games and experiences of contact with nature, and the scenes where toys are being handed out or shipped reinforce this idea of trying to ensure children's integral development. As a whole, these news stories have a propagandistic tone that reaffirms the ideals of the Republic while showing the appropriation of an international climate that disseminates that message that in order to contribute to peacebuilding, social and educational actions targeted at children must be promoted, and these actions must be adapted to the local conditions, the context and the circumstances in which the children live. The newsreels contribute to disseminating the message that protection, care, the provision of food and education are political priorities, just as they were in interwar Europe.

Article 4 of the Declaration stresses that children 'must be protected against every form of exploitation', and it also mentions the need for them to 'be put in a position to earn a livelihood', thus referring to their education and future. Caring for the education of the children, as the citizens of the new human societies of the future, was the ideal and the challenge that also appears in article 5, which states: 'The child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of fellow men'. This content is conveyed in many of the news stories that particularly reflect the prime role of children as a group that is present in different sites—in institutions and on the street—engaged in specific educational, cultural and civic activities, because their education was supposed to be scientific and humanistic, pedagogical and social. In this approach, even

though they may not be the main attraction, other times children are shown participating in collective activities with adults; that is, they are present at political activities which are also shown to be examples of citizenship and civic and socially-conscious mobilisation. These news items convey a palpable ideological message through the events they recount and the images of children's participation in school openings and parades, welcoming and bidding soldiers farewell and more. They are scenes which express an interest in children's political and moral education, as they shape a new citizenry for a new society showing 'their best qualities'.

5. Epilogue

In short, as shown throughout this article, tracing the newsreels and documentaries from the first third of the twentieth century has enabled us to better understand how education was represented during this period and the concerns, ideologies and future projections of the people who promoted these films.

This is why despite the necessary reservations when analysing this type of source, as cited above, we can assert that studying them is extremely interesting for researchers in this field, as it enables us to gain insight into the complexity of any historical time. We can see this complexity, for example, when the analysis shows the interest in improving children's care by promoting changes in their habits and lifestyles, improving their health conditions and education, yet contradictorily doing so through different ideologies, a clearly propagandistic use of images of children.

Therefore, we want to highlight the fact that studying this type of source serves as a way of opening up to thinking, imagining, ascertaining and exploring the ideological and aesthetic options of the period studied, and especially learning more about the nuances of the details which would otherwise go unnoticed.

Notes

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What are just language policies?
The current paradigms of linguistic justice

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Abstract

Within the framework of political theory and political philosophy, theories of linguistic justice aim at establishing universal principles in order to determine what just language policies are, and, at the same time, supply tools for the analysis and assessment of existing language policies according to the principles considered. These theories identify values and interests derived from languages and propose ways to fairly distribute interests. This article presents, firstly, the current paradigms of linguistic justice: their philosophical framework, the main contemporary theories (linguistic instrumentalism, territorialism and pluralism) and the patterns for organising linguistic diversity suggested by these theories. Secondly, it offers a critical analysis focused on three points identified as theoretical deficits, namely a lack of attention to the relational dimension of language, a dichotomist view of communication and identity as values associated with languages, and the underestimation of the relevance of empirical contexts in both the conception and application of theoretical frameworks. Finally, it proposes a contextual approach to the case of Catalonia, paying attention to the relationship between language policy and self-government.

Key words: political theory, language policy, linguistic justice, linguistic instrumentalism, linguistic territorialism, linguistic pluralism, self-government, Catalonia.

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1. Introduction

This article presents an examination of the principles that can guide language policies from the perspective of normative political theory or philosophy.[1] Normative political theory is a discipline that takes an ethical-moral stance to examine the different political dilemmas facing today's societies. That is, instead of focusing on what existing societies are like, philosophers or theorists of normative policy ask what they should be like and what principles should govern and guide their laws and institutions so they can be just (or ethically acceptable/desirable).

This article focuses on the theoretical frameworks that address the relationship among *national* linguistic groups that share the same state. That is, we shall not consider relationships with linguistic groups from abroad (immigrants), even though we acknowledge their increasing importance in language policy management and the need to further explore this line of research, which is still quite inchoate at this point.

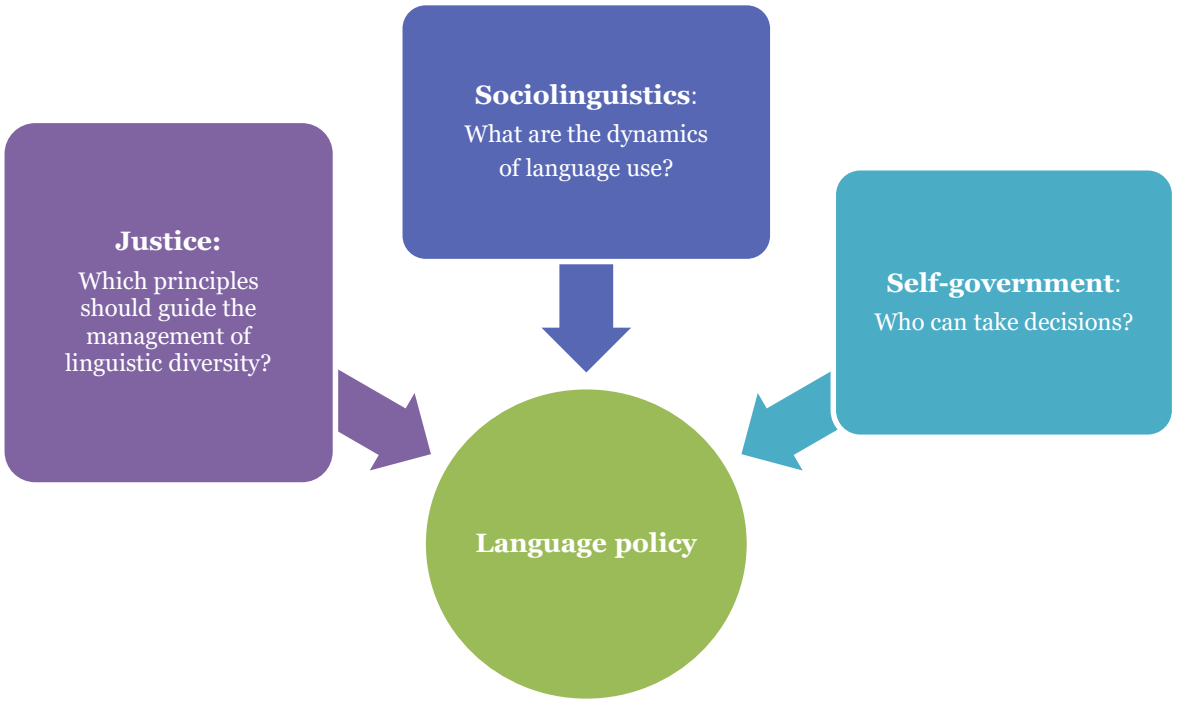
We shall primarily address issues of justice (such as just language policies) by compiling the most representative positions of contemporary political theorists who specialise in this field. These scholars work within the parameters of a tradition of thought which can broadly be called liberal egalitarianism. This is a predominant approach in contemporary political philosophy, so we have adopted it as our point of departure in accordance with the nuances and considerations that we provide in section 1, yet without excluding critiques and references or mentions to other traditions (see section 4).

To present the current linguistic justice paradigms, we first outline the philosophical framework and main theories; secondly, we provide a critical analysis of some aspects of these theoretical lines. Finally, we present a contextual approach to the case of Catalonia, focusing on the relationship between language policy and the evolution of the self-government system. By self-government we basically mean a political community's capacity to decide on its own collective affairs. This capacity can be measured gradually and range from a minimal capacity (such as, deciding only on street maintenance and cleaning in a city) to a considerable capacity (such as holding the authority of an independent state).

Our overarching objective is to offer a conceptual foundation for a debate on the pros and cons of possible language policy models for Catalonia. We seek to provide an interpretative framework coupled with the more common sociolinguistic framework which can contribute to situating the debate on language policy, thereby moving research and reflection in this field forward.

[1] Throughout this entire article, we will use the two concepts (political theory and political philosophy) interchangeably. However, it is important to note that not everyone views them as the same. Some authors state that political theory is more appropriate when analysing empirical cases, while political philosophy is more closely related to normative reflections. However, to simplify matters, in this article we shall assume that both concepts have the same meaning.

Figure 1. Interpretative framework for language policy



Source: Authors

This article is organised into the following sections. Section 1 provides an introduction to the philosophical framework of linguistic justice, reflects on the premises that inspire it and points to the consequences for regulating community life. Section 2 analyses the values of languages according to different theoretical perspectives. Section 3 outlines the main current theories and the models of organising linguistic diversity that they suggest according to their principles of the distribution of the values and interests associated with languages. Section 4 offers a critical analysis of these theoretical approaches focused on three points identified as shortcomings: the lack of attention to the relational dimension of language given their eminently distributive approach; the contrast between communication and identity as values associated with languages given their qualitative and excessively simple vision of communication; and the importance—not always properly acknowledged—of empirical contexts in both the conception and application of theories. Finally, section 5 provides reflections on the case of Catalonia by focusing on different self-government scenarios.

2. Linguistic justice: A philosophical framework

Western democracies, which are heavily influenced by different traditions of thought like liberalism, republicanism and socialism, tend to accept two philosophical premises that help us to organise the social and political reality, that is, to conduct life in the public sphere. They are two premises of our liberal modernity, in the words of Cécile Laborde and John Maynor (2008).

The first premise is moral individualism,[2] according to which the individual is the only unit with intrinsic value and therefore the only agent worthy of inherent moral concern (Barry, 2001; Tamir, 1993; Rawls, 1999; Pettit, 2010). That is, according to this premise, only the individual has moral agency: individuals are the only ones with the ability to think about what is good and what is bad and to live their lives in consequence. Therefore, individual choices and preferences have a moral value and help us to morally evaluate things. For example, from this vantage point language has no moral value in and of itself but only inasmuch as an individual wants to maintain or speak it.

The second premise is ethical pluralism, which claims that individuals with different conceptions of the good, and therefore with different lifestyles, coexist in any society. According to ethical pluralism, these societies (along with their institutions) have to be capable of encompassing these different conceptions of the good and the lifestyles stemming therefrom.

It is worth clarifying the way these premises are viewed in contemporary philosophical thought.

a) First, both premises have historically been considered part of the liberal tradition, in contrast to more communitarian positions, which give moral entity to the group over the individual (we shall further examine this below). However, today thinkers from other traditions of thought—from republicanism to feminism—also accept them. For example Philip Pettit, the contemporary republican thinker *par excellence*—largely accepts these premises in his construction of the theoretical corpus of republicanism (Pettit, 2010 p. 76). Therefore, they cannot be viewed as exclusively liberal premises in contrast to other traditions of thought.

b) Highlighting the centrality of the individual does not imply ignoring the complexity of the relationships among individuals and between the individual and the group, including cultural or national groups. In fact, over the past 30 years prominent liberal philosophers like Will Kymlicka and Philippe Van Parijs have emphasised the importance to the individual of belonging to cultural or national groups, without abandoning the principles of moral individualism and ethical pluralism (Pettit, 2010 p. 76). The group is morally relevant, they would say, but only because the individual members of the group believe it is. And therein lies the main difference with the communitarian approach.

The core question is the following: Does the group have a moral value in and of itself, or does it have moral value inasmuch as it is a desirable instrument for the individual? Broadly speaking, communitarians would uphold the first proposition: the group has an intrinsic moral value. The community, in the sense of 'social practices, cultural traditions and shared social visions' (Kymlicka, 2002, p. 209), has a fundamental value that must be respected and protected.[3] In turn, liberals would uphold the second stance.

[2] Also called normative individualism.

[3] Communitarianism is much more complex than what we have outlined here. For a general overview, see: KYMLICKA (2002), *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, chapter 6. For more specific information, see different authors who could be classified as communitarian, such as: SANDEL (1982), *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*; WALZER (1983), *Spheres of Justice*; MACINTYRE (1984), *After Virtue*; and TAYLOR (1985), *Philosophy and the Human Sciences*. It is worth noting

c) However, today the boundaries between the two perspectives is not so clear. Generally speaking, contemporary thinkers tend not to find a frontal opposition between the individual and the group, or individual versus collective rights. Instead, they tend to understand and consider them together.

On the one hand, some of the ideological evolutions of communitarianism have gradually accepted these two liberal premises, albeit partially. On the other, since the 1990s, liberalism has been engaged in an in-depth debate on the relationship between the individual and the group. Will Kymlicka is the most often cited example of how the theories of group rights can fit within the liberal framework (Kymlicka, 1995). Within the Catalan academy, Neus Torbisco takes a similar approach in her defence of the existence of individual rights (like language rights) which cannot be exercised without the community, without the group (Torbisco, 2006).

Finally, we note that the predominant ideologies in the Western world tend to combine both perspectives. For example, as Daniel Cetrà has demonstrated via an analysis of the discourses on language policy in Flanders and Catalonia (Cetrà, 2019), in both cases the dominant public philosophies—regardless of whether or not their ideological orientation favours the protection of local and minority languages—draw elements from both liberalism and nationalism (an ideology which tends to be considered communitarian in a broad sense).

One of the main consequences of considering the premises of moral individualism and ethical pluralism together is that it leads to the application of a principle of equality or equity.[4] To be coherent, any theory of justice that accepts these two premises must also accept a profoundly egalitarian idea: that all interests and conceptions of the good hold by the members of a society must be considered equal when regulating life in common.[5] That is, if we believe that (1) individuals are moral agents with the ability to take decisions on how they want to live, and (2) our societies are plural and people should have room to developing their own life plans, then we can glimpse a very clear egalitarian underpinning: people's interests and conceptions of life should have equal consideration.

And the mission of public institutions is to make this possible, without first judging the moral value of the different life choices. For example, institutions should not view it differently if individuals want to live a contemplative life revolving around reading or if they prefer a very social life focused on political activism and transforming their environs. Institutions should simply be neutral with regard to these life choices; they should regard them all equally. Not doing so would mean privileging the preferences of some people over those of others, which could violate the principle of equal consideration, as they would not be treating their moral autonomy the same, or even further, they would be imposing the life preferences and lifestyles of certain people on others.

The same holds true of political and ideological preferences, that is, those related to how we organise our societies, such as language rights and duties. A priori, everyone has the capacity and moral agency to discern what goods and

that not all of them feel comfortable with this label and some have evolved towards more liberal or republican positions over time.

[4] In this text we use both terms synonymously, in accordance with the concept we outline below.

[5] Obviously this principle has moral limits, such as the consideration of fundamental rights (right to life, to human dignity, etc.). For example, conceptions of the common good which seek to physically eliminate anyone different (like Nazism) would be excluded.

interests are socially and politically important and what principles should guide the implementation of those interests. Therefore, all societies have a plurality of visions. Naturally, ethical and political plurality causes conflict, because some preferences and principles clash with others, so mechanisms must be put in place to decide how disagreements and conflicts are managed.

Political philosophy offers tools first to establish the principles on what interests and rights are required or permissible to achieve a just society, and secondly to evaluate existing policies following certain standards of justice (and to determine whether or not they are just and why). Therefore, within the framework of political philosophy, any theory of justice has to first identify the goods and interests that people value, and secondly distribute them equitably in accordance with certain principles. The rights and responsibilities governing life in common emerge from this distribution. As we shall see in section 4, the empirical features of each case bear a heavy influence on both the identification of interests and the possibilities of distributing them equitably.

Within this basic framework, the debate on linguistic justice answers two fundamental questions:

(1) What makes languages important in terms of justice; in other words, what values do languages have which are the basis of people's interests (and therefore rights)?

(2) Once we have determined what these values are, how do we distribute them equitably? What principles should guide the policies related to what we have deemed important about languages?

In the next two sections, we shall analyse these questions and how the main theoretical lines answer them today.

3. The value of languages

In accordance with the approach outlined above, languages have not intrinsic but instrumental value: they have value inasmuch as they have it for individuals. As mentioned above, human beings[6] have moral agency and therefore are the only ones who have moral value themselves and the capacity to confer moral value on other things. This is why languages only have value if individuals confer this value on them. If we accepted that (all) languages had an intrinsic moral value, that is, regardless of what value human beings confer on them, then we would have the moral obligation to do what we could to ensure that they continued existing, that is, that they were spoken. This would entail forcing people to learn and even use them, even if no person thinks that is valuable. There may be reasons for forcing people to learn languages, but they have to be good reasons grounded on values and interests that people can derive from languages. These considerations are primarily applied to the speakers of each language.[7]

[6] This perspective is far from that of sociolinguistics, which tends to assume the intrinsic value of linguistic diversity.

[7] However, its speakers are not the only people who can confer value on a language. Thus, a citizen from Catalonia who does not speak Catalan can confer value on Catalan and believe that there are good reasons to promote knowledge and use of it (because it is good for peaceful coexistence, or because it can help lower social inequalities, etc.), and therefore they may be willing to forfeit some of their own privileges as a speaker of a majority language (like Spanish), for example, in order to

Broadly speaking, the values and interests associated with languages can be related to two factors: communication, meaning the effective exchange of information; and identity, meaning primarily as the sense of group belonging.

All theorists agree that languages are important for people as instruments of communication which make it possible to transmit complex information. Among the individual interests associated with communication possibilities, political theorists tend to highlight: (1) access to democratic deliberation, so everyone can participate (communicate and be understood) in the debate on the common affairs of a given democratic society; (2) mobility within a state (or beyond it), so the maximum number of people can move around within a given territorial space without language proving a limitation; (3) improved socioeconomic opportunities, so language is not a problem when guaranteeing people the maximum number of opportunities to progress throughout their lifetime (especially at work); and (4) efficiency, so the costs of managing linguistic diversity are as low as possible.[8] Therefore, there is general consensus on the fact that it is beneficial for people to have communicative competence in the languages shared by the citizens of a state and languages used to communicate internationally, and it is worth enacting language policies to foster this.

Philosophers like Thomas Pogge (2003), Brian Barry (2001) and Daniel Weinstock (2003) have claimed that the main values that a person can deduce from language are associated with communication, especially for the four reasons outlined above. Weinstock says that in order for a democratic system to function, everyone has to be able to communicate fluently in a shared language. People have to be able to know and understand the laws, or what the government demands and requires, and especially to be able to collectively debate with their fellow citizens. In a similar vein, Barry conceives of language as a tool for improving people's mobility and socioeconomic opportunities. These interests tend to be associated with communication in more widespread languages, and with efficiency in that using a single language to communicate with many people is more profitable than using many languages.

Furthermore, many authors point out that languages have values associated with people's identity: especially autonomy (associated with cultural belonging) and dignity (associated with respect and self-esteem).

First, people can derive the value of autonomy from languages, meaning the ability to choose from options that are meaningful for the individual. Kymlicka (1995, 2001 & 2002) was the first to theorise this idea clearly. Based on the ideas of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, Kymlicka implies that cultures (or societal cultures, as he calls them) provide the contexts for people's choices. That is, people do not choose the cultural options available to them; they are not born into a void. We grow up and are raised in specific cultural contexts which, by default, offer us a range of choices which make sense to us, that is, allow us to choose among

allow more space for the use of Catalan. Sharing these values would legitimise the language model of the educational system, with Catalan as the preferential language spoken. For further information on types of reasoning to justify principles, see PATTEN (2014), *Equal Recognition*, pp. 18-21.

[8] Furthermore, some social interests like solidarity, cohesion and peaceful coexistence tend to be related to communication, even though different authors also relate them to the identity implicit in the use of one language or another. For example: PATTEN & KYMLICKA (2003), 'Introduction. Language Rights and Political Theory', p. 3; RÉAUME (2003), 'Beyond Personality', p. 283; and VAN PARIJS (2004), 'Cultural Diversity against Economic Solidarity'.

things we have learned to value. Therefore, in Kymlicka's opinion, protecting cultures has an instrumental value because it makes the value of individual autonomy possible, the value of being able to freely choose among different conceptions of the good and among different lifestyles. Languages are part of these cultural contexts. As Kymlicka says, they are the keys that provide us with access to contexts of choice that are valuable to us.

Secondly, people can associate the value of dignity with language because we can identify with our language(s) and feel like they are part of who we are as people. Therefore, we associate the status that other people (or institutions) confer on these languages of identification with the status they confer on us as people. For example, a Finnish citizen who speaks Swedish could argue that their dignity has been attacked if the Finnish institutions suddenly decided that Swedish was no longer an official language with the same status as Finnish. They could interpret it as meaning that their linguistic preference as a citizen is not being taken into consideration under equal conditions and that therefore they are not being treated with dignity. This approach to the debate was initially theorised by Philippe Van Parijs (2000), who developed his idea of linguistic justice as equal esteem or respect. Van Parijs uses the terms *esteem*, *respect* and *dignity* interchangeably.

Just as the values associated with communication tend to be associated with the use of the most widespread languages, the values associated with identity are usually associated with the use of minority or minoritised languages in a given context, and they tend to be the only ones cited to justify protecting the speakers of these languages. Therefore, in theoretical works we often find a dichotomous approach that assumes that the most widespread languages are the best tools for communication, while the least widespread ones may be defended for identity reasons. The former are considered valuable as instruments of communication (but not necessarily identity), while the latter may be valuable as instruments of identity (but not necessarily communication). In other words, the most widespread languages are viewed as instruments of socioeconomic justice, while the least widespread ones are solely associated with national and cultural justice. This dichotomy has traditionally been raised within the framework of states, between the languages of the national majorities and national minorities, but the role of global languages, especially English, is gaining importance in these debates. For the time being, the languages of immigrants only have received secondary consideration (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003; May, 2005; Morales-Gálvez, 2016; Ricento, 2015; Riera-Gil, 2019; Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012).

Below we shall see that this approach is based on a simplistic and purely quantitative conception of communication, which shall be the subject of one of our critiques on the current theoretical approaches to linguistic justice.

4. Current theories: Principles and organisational models of linguistic diversity

As stated above, any theory on linguistic justice must first identify the values and interests associated with languages and secondly suggest an equitable distribution of them in accordance with certain principles.

We can currently distinguish three main theoretical lines which differ in these two aspects and therefore propose different models for organising linguistic diversity. Table 1 summarises them.[9]

Table 1. Theoretical lines of linguistic justice

Theoretical line	Value of language		Application of the principle of equal treatment	Normative proposal (just solution)	Main empirical reference
	Communication	Identity			
Linguistic instrumentalism	Yes	No	Maximisation of communication opportunities	Institutional monolingualism throughout the entire territory (uniform linguistic convergence)	Single-nation state
Linguistic territorialism	Yes	Yes	Maximisation of communication opportunities	Institutional monolingualism in the territory of each group (territorialised linguistic convergence)	State with highly territorialised national linguistic groups
Linguistic pluralism	Yes	Yes	+ Recognition of identities	Institutional multilingualism	State with mixed national linguistic groups

Source: Authors

The first theoretical line, which we can call *linguistic instrumentalism*, says that identity belongs solely to the private sphere and that the only value that should be considered when discussing language is communication. For this reason, people who uphold this theoretical line believe that an egalitarian treatment is achieved by maximising individuals' communication opportunities in the public sphere. For linguistic instrumentalism, communicative value is the only good reason to promote languages. Its proponents do not deny that languages can generate identity interests, but they do not believe that identity is a good reason for promoting languages because they claim that it should be kept in the private sphere. In contrast, they believe that the values associated with communication—improving people's mobility, efficiency, shared democratic deliberation and socioeconomic opportunities—do provide good reasons for promoting some languages. Underlying this thinking is the defence of socioeconomic justice (national and cultural justice are not taken into account). Thus, authors like Pogge (2003) and Barry (2001), who defend egalitarian societies, wonder how language can influence—socioeconomically—the attainment of a more just society which maximises people's opportunities (in terms of access to job opportunities under equal conditions, for example).

[9] We have based this classification on several works by De Schutter, and we have adapted the terminology from his most recent work. See: DE SCHUTTER (forthcoming), *Linguistic Pluralism*.

Broadly speaking, linguistic instrumentalism fosters monolingual, uniform regimes in the language of the majority group in a state and views the linguistic assimilation of minority groups not as a problem of justice but even as an advantage for their members (Barry, 2001). In line with what John Stuart Mill upheld in his book *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), instrumentalism is based on the idea that minority groups can access an entire range of opportunities in the majority language that would be beyond reach for them if they only spoke a minority language. And while Mill did not foresee the possibility of massive, sustainable bilingualism back in 1861 (which is hard to imagine in societies with low literacy rates), the current instrumentalists simply believe it has no value within a state if the goal is to maximise communication opportunities.

In contrast, the second and third theoretical lines outlined in Table 1 believe that identity should also be distributed in the public sphere and that citizens' communication and identity interests should be considered in an egalitarian fashion. The authors that uphold this view, such as Kymlicka (2001), Van Parijs (2011), Patten (2014), De Schutter (forthcoming) and Réaume (2003), believe that the instrumentalists err when they say that the identity-based interests inferred from language should not be taken into account. First, because there are important interests that have to be borne in mind, like autonomy and dignity. Secondly, because no matter how much one tries to only use communication-related values to justify a language policy, identity-related values are always distributed, even if unintentionally. For example, English could be promoted in Wales by using exclusively communicative criteria, but it is false that there are no identity values at stake. The identity interests of the Anglophones in the region would be met (because the policy to promote English would indirectly satisfy them), while those of the Welsh speakers would not. In this case, the identity interests of the two groups of speakers are not treated in an egalitarian fashion. It is untrue that institutions can be indifferent to identity, as the instrumentalists claim. Despite the fact that they try to justify it with communicative reasons, they will always be promoting the identity interests of the speakers of one language (in this case, English), while failing to do the same with the speakers of the other language (Welsh).

Even though both the second and third theoretical lines summarised in Table 1 believe that identity can be a good reason to recognise and promote a language, they differ in proposing models of organising linguistic diversity which start from very different perceptions of the territorial distribution of this diversity in political communities.[10]

The second line, which we shall call *linguistic territorialism*, starts with a territorialised perception of linguistic diversity which enables to identify a majority national language group in each territory.[11] It suggests that the language of this group should clearly predominate in the public sphere in order to facilitate equal treatment in both communication opportunities and recognition of the identity of the members of each group. For the proponents of this model, like Kymlicka (2001) and Van Parijs (2011), each territory should have a clearly dominant language which

[10] We say that they start from very different perceptions because, as we shall see below, the authors that uphold each one build their model under the influence of empirical cases which reflect different territorial distributions of linguistic diversity. However, it is also plausible that these authors simply prefer one model over another because they believe it is the best way to achieve certain results.

[11] By language group we broadly mean a set of people who share the same initial language or language of identification. For an in-depth analysis of the factors that define a language group, see RIERA-GIL (2016), *Why Languages Matter to People*.

plays a very important role in the public sphere. Thus, linguistic diversity is recognised in terms of identity (in the case of multilingual states, each substate recognises a language, and plurality is thus recognised in the state as a whole), and the recognised language in each territory plays a preponderant role in communication: it is what guarantees shared democratic deliberation, equal socioeconomic opportunities, mobility and efficiency.

Linguistic territorialism fosters territorialised monolingual systems which are compatible with multilingualism in decentralised states: each substate has a relatively monolingual linguistic system, but the common state institutions are multilingual. The most representative empirical models of this theoretical line are Belgium and Switzerland. The cases that are usually cited are the monolingual Belgian regions (Flanders and Wallonia) and Swiss regions (most of the cantons). However, reality is complex and nuanced, so there are more flexible ways of understanding this theoretical line. For example, it can materialise with the preponderance of one territorial language without excluding recognition of other languages, as in Quebec.

The third line, which we call *linguistic pluralism*, starts with a less territorialised perception of linguistic diversity in which national linguistic groups are not easy to be territorially delimited but instead tend to live mixed in with each other. It suggests that the languages of these groups should be present in the public sphere in order to facilitate equal opportunities for communication and identity recognition among the members of each group. Unlike the previous model, pluralists do not believe that language rights have to be territorially delimited within a state (or substate), but instead they should follow individuals, wherever they are. The main proponents of this stance, like Helder De Schutter (2008, 2014 & forthcoming) and Alan Patten (2001, 2003 & 2014), believe that the strict territorialisation of identity-related interests and rights violates the principle of equal dignity of the speakers and reduces the contexts of choice, given that each territory only recognises one language. Recognition of languages on the grounds of identity, say the pluralists, should be egalitarian, so different languages merit recognition on both at the substate and state level.

This last theoretical approach leads to multilingual systems in which citizens have room for language choice on both the state and substate level (Morales-Gálvez, 2017). The empirical models that best fit this theoretical line are Luxembourg and the Brussels region in Belgium, where *grosso modo* individuals can choose how to exercise their language rights in the public sphere.

All of these theories, just like any theory of justice, are trying to establish the minimum requirements for justice and to delimit a more or less broad margin for permissible policies within a democracy. For example, the Quebecois philosopher Daniel Weinstock (2003), a defender of linguistic instrumentalism, argues that any theory on linguistic justice must always require a common language among the citizens of a political community in order to make shared democracy possible. In his view, any democracy must allow for deliberation in the public sphere, and this deliberation requires everyone to be able to communicate and be understood. Therefore, from his vantage point, a common language becomes a minimum requisite of justice. Once this minimum has been reached, there is an entire range of permissible possibilities, such as recognising and promoting languages other than the common one. The exposed theoretical lines (and the authors that have fleshed them out) differ on what the minimum requisites of justice are and what is

(or is not) permissible once these minimums have been reached. Weinstock is just one example.

Therefore, what these theoretical lines are doing is setting conceptual points of departure which can allow for many nuances and always require contextual adaptations according to the circumstances in each case. Thus, all three theoretical lines outlined have both strong and weak points and pose dilemmas, such as the ones summarised in Table 2 in reference to multinational and multilingual states:

Table 2. Strong and weak points of the theories of linguistic justice

Theoretical line	Strong points	Weak points
Linguistic instrumentalism Basic application: - A single common national language in the state. - This is the sole language of institutions, education and socioeconomic activity throughout the entire state.	- It can facilitate equal access to the job market, mobility, shared democratic deliberation and the efficiency of public services.	- It is not egalitarian with citizens' language preferences. - It could lead to inequalities among people who express themselves better in other languages. - It leads to the linguistic assimilation of speakers of languages that are restricted to the private sphere.
Linguistic territorialism Basic application: - It reproduces the model above on the substate level. - State institutions are multilingual (different national languages; there is not a single common language).	- It is egalitarian with individuals' language preferences within the state and gives them room for choice at this level. - The public use of a single language in the territory by each group could facilitate the same aspects as the previous model.	- It creates fewer incentives for the existence of shared languages at the state level. If individuals are not bilingual or multilingual, this may hinder mobility and shared democratic deliberation in the state as a whole and make management of the common state institutions more complex. - Each group's territory may have the same weak points as the model above if there are linguistic minorities with less recognition.
Linguistic pluralism Basic application: - The state and substate institutions are multilingual (different national languages; there is not a single common language). - There is a public use of languages following different criteria (proportional to the size of the group, or compensatory).	- It is egalitarian with individuals' language preferences and gives them room for choice at both state and substate level.	- It generates fewer incentives for the existence of shared languages at state and substate level. If individuals are not bilingual or multilingual, it could favour linguistic segregation and hinder equal opportunities, territorial mobility or shared democratic deliberation. - It makes management of state and substate institutions more complex.

Source: Authors

Table 2 shows not only how every theory has strong points (according to their own standards of justice) and weak points (according to the critiques levelled by other theories), but also how theories offer basic conceptual elements for analysing and normatively evaluating reality. However, theories are not reality. Reality is always much more complex than any theory that tries to approximate it.

5. Critical analysis of the theoretical framework of linguistic justice: Three shortcomings

Precisely because of the complexity of the real world—which has increased significantly in the past century in the case of languages—any of the theories outlined herein can be critiqued. In this article, we essentially want to discuss three critiques which affect these theoretical lines. The first refers to the need for a less distributive and more relational approach to dealing with language issues. The second addresses the false dichotomy between communication and identity. And the third raises the—often underestimated—importance of the empirical context when both formulating and implementing a theory.

In our view, all three are deficits in the current theories which should be addressed from an interdisciplinary perspective, especially with the input of sociolinguistics, yet also from other disciplines such as economics.

5.1. The need for a relational approach

First of all, understanding language (and the values stemming therefrom) as an eminently distributive good, as the main theoretical lines of linguistic justice do, obscures the inherently relational dimension of language. That is, the values associated with the use of a language—from equal socioeconomic opportunities to dignity—cannot simply be distributed by institutions without considering how everyday linguistic relations among people unfold. For example, institutions could distribute the recognition of different languages in an egalitarian way by giving them the same official status, degree of use in the educational system or economic resources to promote them. However, even in this situation, there may still be unequal relations among individuals from a linguistic standpoint.

Within normative political theory, there is a vein of thinking called relational egalitarianism which tries to go beyond the distributive paradigm to address this problem. For several political theorists (Arneson, 2008; Cohen, 1989; Dworkin, 1981; Parfit, 1997), justice refers eminently to the distribution of material goods (resources, income, capacities, welfare) and social positions (jobs, for example). However, for the proponents of relational egalitarianism (Anderson, 1999; Miller, 1997; Scheffler, 2003 & 2015; Schemmel, 2011; Wolff, 1998; Young, 1990) justice 'requires the establishment of a society of equals, a society whose members relate to one another on a footing of equality' (Scheffler, 2015, p. 21). Goods that are not strictly material (like respect or dignity) are at the core of this approach. That is, for these authors, being *on a footing of equality* has to do not only with how resources are distributed but 'even more importantly' how we establish relationships between equals who can look each other in the eye and live without domination, as the republican philosophers say (Pettit, 2012). Therefore, it is important to say that the relational dimension of equality implies thinking about not only how the values stemming from a language should be distributed (such as by offering equitable

amounts of resources to two groups to promote the language rights of their members). It also implies thinking about how speakers interact with each other (e.g., there should be no historically established and broadly accepted social rules that make the speakers of a majority language refuse to speak a minority or minoritised language, or that fosters a sense of shame among those who want to use it).

It is surprising that even though languages are eminently relational instruments—perhaps the instruments of human relations *par excellence*—this relational dimension has not been systematically applied to linguistic relationships. Therefore, relational egalitarianism offers us a new perspective of inquiry to further explore the complexity of linguistic justice.

5.2. The false dilemma between communication and identity

The second critique appeals to the need to connect political theory with related disciplines, such as sociolinguistics and economics, when analysing language use. Both are pertinent when examining the relationship between communication and identity and highlight the fact that the dichotomous view that political theorists tend to use is reductionist and biased.

As we said in section 2, political theorists generally assume that the best instruments of communication are the most widely spoken languages, while minority languages have only value -if any- in terms of identity. This association is based on a quantitative assessment of communication (the value of a language increases with the number of potential interactions it favours) more than a qualitative one (communicative effectiveness in terms of interaction results is not considered).

However, from an economic perspective, authors like Michele Gazzola and François Grin (2007 & 2014) highlight the importance of this qualitative dimension by pointing out that *(1)* the expected *benefit* of an interaction is precisely its communicative effectiveness, and *(2)* communication should be viewed not only as a transfer of information but also as cooperation among the speakers and a strategic exercise of power. For example, these authors stress that the possibility for speakers to use their initial language is a key factor because it enables them to achieve higher levels of comfort and security when communicating, which also impacts communicative effectiveness.

When political theorists associate the benefit of communication with majority languages, they underestimate this qualitative facet: they prioritise a limited notion of communication which is purely referential or denotative, constrained to the mere exchange or transfer of information, while setting aside other factors that influence communicative success. However, in practice, speakers are interested in not only exchanging information with a large number of indeterminate people but also, and more importantly, engaging in effective communication with specific people who are important to them in certain contexts, those contexts bringing opportunities for socioeconomic progress or political participation (May, 2003, pp. 137-138; Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012, p. 128).[12]

[12] All of these authors explicitly state that most effective language most effective language for communicating is not always the most widely spoken one but the one that is the most suitable for the speakers' purposes.

Political theory often poses a dilemma between communication and identity, as if these two elements acted separately in human interactions. However, in reality, identity is inextricable from communication because it is part of it, and communicative effectiveness is closely related to the speakers' identities. In the field of sociolinguistics, authors like Gal (1998), Irvine (1989) and Woolard (1998) highlight that language plays an indexical function which is crucial to understanding the effects of its use. The indexical function of language, which is mediated by the speakers' linguistic ideologies, connects individuals' language uses with social and political categories like social class and power. This mechanism affects their legitimacy as communicative agents and their possibilities of cooperation. Woolard (2005, p. 2), for example, calls attention to two ideologies that confer linguistic authority on speakers: first, the ideology of anonymity, associated with the use of universal, majority languages (which are *anonymous*), and second the ideology of authenticity, associated with the use of minority local languages (which are *authentic*).

The ideology of anonimity fosters positive social indexing of the people who speak universal languages, while the ideology of authenticity indexes positively those people who speak local languages. Therefore, wherever linguistic authority is measured by authenticity, speaking suitable *authentic* local languages instead of *anonymous* universal languages is clearly useful in instrumental terms. In these contexts, the choice of local languages could foster communicative effectiveness.

In sum, we highlight the need for an interdisciplinary perspective which would help to understand the qualitative dimension of communication and its consequences for linguistic justice.

5.3. The (not always sufficiently acknowledged) importance of the empirical context

Here, following some political theorists like Joseph Carens (2004) we want to underline the importance of empirical contexts when both formulating and applying theoretical principles.

On the one hand, theories are conceived and developed in given language contexts which encourage certain ways of conceptualising the values, interests and principles of justice. For example, the context in which Mill theorised the importance of having a common language for democracy to work, in 1861, and the contexts in which this idea has gained strength (nation-states with monolingual designs) have been crucial in associating communicative values with majority languages. Likewise, the case of Quebec in Canada (highly influent in recent political teory) has provided a territorialised conception of languages to theories of linguistic justice.

On the other hand, when theories are applied, it should be borne in mind that multiple and complex factors influence language choices. Some authors, such as Patten (2014), suggest that the existence of fair background conditions of choice is key to linguistic justice. But how can we evaluate the fairness of those contextual conditions? Language choices are related to a wide array of incentives and restrictions: direct and indirect; explicit and implicit; conscious and unconscious; social, economic and political; local, state-wide and global. Evaluating holistically all these factors is not an easy task, and it always requires an in-depth exercise of contextualisation. This exercise should be undertaken with a perspective not only

interdisciplinary (by connecting political theory with sociology, sociolinguistics, economics and law) but also transdisciplinary (by engaging political and social stakeholders with different experiences and perspectives).

Our final point highlights that any theoretical proposal needs adaptations to the context. Often, theories need to be reformulated according to the reality at hand. This statement opens the door to our reflection on the case of Catalonia in the next section.

6. Applications to an empirical case: Catalonia in different scenarios of self-government

Normative political theory is useful for establishing principles of justice which seek to be universal (theoretical ideals) and for conducting a normative analysis and evaluation of empirical cases (policy adequacy to what would be desirable in accordance with the principles considered). In the previous section, we presented principles of justice and theoretical models of the political management of language groups within the framework of liberal democracies, which enable us to apply certain elements of normative analysis and evaluation to the case of Catalonia. In this section, we shall actually undertake this exercise by highlighting the relationship between the implementation of language policies and different self-government scenarios.

The models we have identified, namely instrumentalism, territorialism and pluralism, and their proposals for the territorial organisation of linguistic diversity, differ in two ways: at the normative level, they consider different values and distribution principles; at the empirical level, they assume different distribution patterns of language groups.

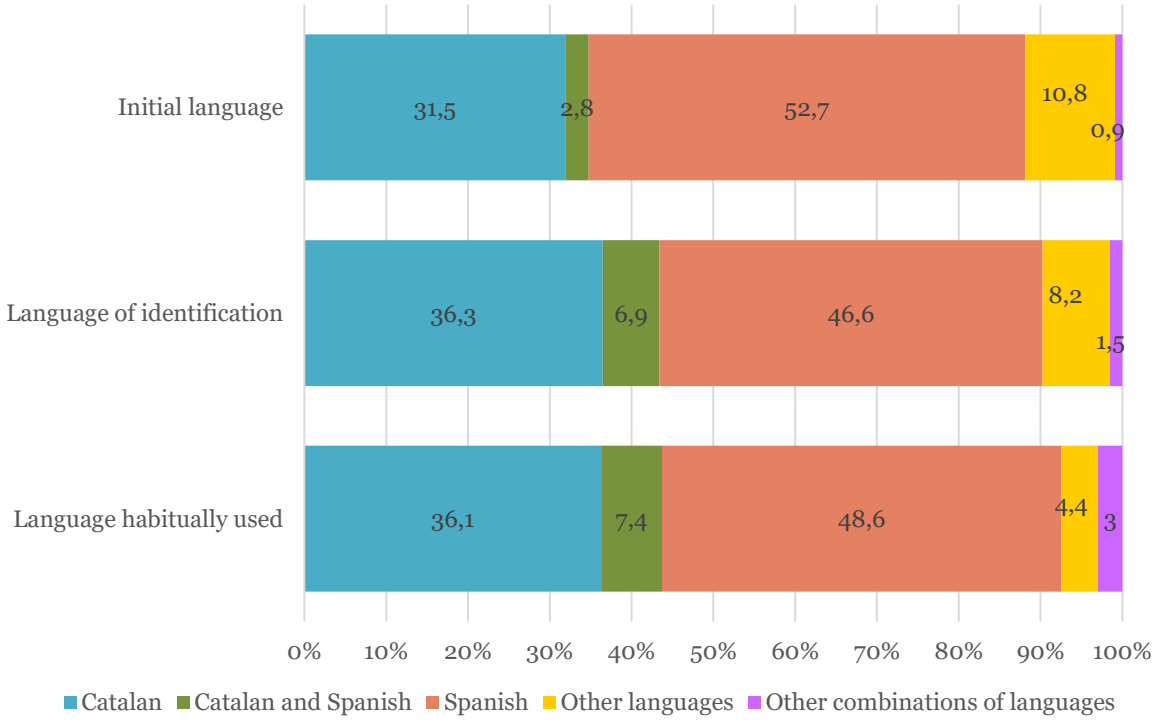
Context matters. And the analysis of the case of Catalonia requires a critical reflection on the possible applications of the conceptual framework we have presented.

The language model of Spain does not correspond to any of the three linguistic approaches described above. Following a typology proposed by Kraus (2008, pp. 94-97), it is a model that we could call *linguistic autonomy*. States with linguistic autonomy regimes have a monolingual nation-building project based on the majority nation. At the same time, they leave room for plurilingual regimes in the substates, often because of the existence of national minorities with competing nation-building projects. According to this model, the state promotes a single common language (the language of the national majority), while the substates additionally promote other languages (the languages of the national minorities). When both promotion policies are successful, the population of these substates tends to be bilingual. In practice, this form of linguistic organisation is the opposite of the linguistic federalism model (with a multilingual system at the federal level and often monolingual systems in the subunits). And its sociolinguistic outcomes are also the opposite: while the linguistic federalism model reinforces linguistic territorialisation (and therefore the dominance of a given language group in each subunit), the linguistic autonomy model fosters language mixing.

In other words, the linguistic autonomy model has assimilatory effects on the linguistic minorities unless these effects are countered by active substate language policies. And this is the case of Catalonia, where the maintenance of language

policies to defend and protect the Catalan language over the past 40 years have achieved very high levels of bilingualism among the population, despite the assimilatory pressure from the Spanish state and the significant demographic growth caused by the arrival of international immigrants. These same factors, coupled with the inclusive approach of language and education policies in Catalonia, have fostered language mixing and the existence of a diverse range of linguistic identifications among the population. Data from the last Survey on Language Use in Catalonia (2018) reveal this trend, as shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2. Initial language, language of identification and language habitually used (%). Catalonia 2018



Source*: Survey on Language Use in Catalonia (2018*). Directorate General for Language Policy. Statistical Institute of Catalonia. Generalitat de Catalunya.

How should this linguistic diversity be managed according to the theories of linguistic justice outlined above?

Given the demographic-linguistic situation, linguistic pluralism seems like the most appropriate theoretical approach as a point of departure. Instrumentalism, which ignores identity interests, is not appropriate according to what we outlined in section 3. And the consideration of identity interests is precisely what leads to pluralistic approaches in a society in which important population groups with different linguistic identifications coexist. In fact, since the devolution of self-government (1979), language policies in Catalonia have been based on pluralistic approaches with the goals of socioeconomic justice and national and cultural justice for all individuals, regardless of their linguistic identification. The non-segregated linguistic model of the educational system is a good example of the combination of

these two types of justice for both people whose initial language is Catalan and those whose initial language is Spanish.

However, the ways pluralistic language policies are implemented can vary significantly depending on the levels and systems of self-government in Catalonia. And it is essential to consider the possibility of different self-government scenarios in the middle term. Thus, Catalonia might maintain a level of self-government similar to what it currently has, as an autonomous community within Spain it might increase its self-government through a state federalisation process or it might become an independent state.

Until now, the language policy has been developed within a framework of shared powers with the state, in which the two governments (state and substate) enact policies that affect the same territory and the same people. Self-government in this area is currently determined by Catalonia's 2006 Statute of Autonomy, whose article 143 states that the Generalitat has the exclusive power over matters related to its *own language*, and it can *determine the scope, uses and legal effects of the official status of Catalan, and the linguistic normalisation of Catalan*.[13] Strictly speaking, the power over the language policy of Spanish and other languages corresponds to the state government. And, in fact, in recent years the heightened political conflict between the Catalan and Spanish governments has translated into increased intervention by the Spanish state to place limits on the use of Catalan in relation to Spanish (e.g., in public institutions, education and socioeconomic activity).

Therefore, Catalonia's status as an autonomous region, marked by conflictive nation-building processes between Catalonia and Spain, has forced the Catalan government to enact defensive language policies focused on identity with a rather monist legitimation to protect Catalan as its own language. In a context in which two agents—the state and the substate—enact language policy simultaneously, each one with different objectives, the substate's monistic approach is essentially a compensatory strategy to counter state policies. Therefore, it is an instrument to sustain linguistic plurality in that it strives to provide a fair background of language choice between Catalan and Spanish, as opposed to a monolingual state in Spanish. In terms of linguistic justice, the continuity of the framework of autonomy—especially bearing in mind the increased levels of conflict in recent years—is pushing the Catalan government to maintain its traditional defensive policies.

We suggest, however, that an increase in self-government which would give the Generalitat full or exclusive power over language policy as a whole—including Catalan, Spanish, Aranese Occitan, English, the initial languages of immigrants, etc.—would enable the Generalitat to enact policies that are less defensive of Catalan versus Spanish (that is, less reactive to the actions of the Spanish state). At the same time, this increase in self-government, which would imply a greater management capacity over the contexts of language choice, would also give the Generalitat more responsibility over the language rights and duties of the entire population of Catalonia.

In a scenario of full sovereignty or a substantial increase in self-government, in which the Catalan government were the sole or main agent in charge of protecting the interests of citizens as members of different language groups, this government

13 And over Occitan (Aranese) in Aran, in conjunction with the General Council of Aran.

would have to accept plurality in terms of both implementation—in accordance with policies of last decades—and legitimation. That is, the emphasis on the status of Catalan as its own language—which is necessary as long as defensive positions are taken—could gradually be replaced by a pluralisation of the collective identity, which also recognises Spanish as a language of Catalonia. The gradualness of this pluralisation would be marked by the evolution in the levels of conflict with the Spanish state and by a complex set of sociolinguistic factors.

We shall conclude with a reflection that is applicable to the implementation of any theoretical approach: the ultimate political solutions have to be agreed upon and put into practice within a democratic framework in which the linguistic preferences expressed by citizens are crucial. For this reason, as we have asserted in previous works (Riera-Gil, 2016) one of the challenges of language policies in a society like Catalonia, where linguistic preferences tend to be ductile and ever-changing, is citizens' capacity to make reflective choices, that is, conscious choices that not only take their own individual communication and identity interests into account but also those of others—of society as a whole.

It is the democratic framework what allows an open debate on the values, interests and distribution principles suggested by linguistic justice theories, while also opening an entire range of possible policy options.

Notes

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The Tordera delta: Tensions, challenges and expectations of a complex rural landscape on the metropolitan periphery of Barcelona

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Abstract

The Tordera River delta is small (it occupies just 8 km2), is located on the far northern end of the Barcelona metropolitan region and was predominated by market gardens in the first half of the twentieth century. Later on industries moved in, the urbanised space was expanded and intense tourist activity cropped up around the beaches. This article presents the key ideas on the current status of the urban uses of a mosaic landscape with ongoing conflicts over water use, spatial occupation and the effects of river surges and the constant erosion of the beaches caused by storms at sea. The main challenges include acceptance of the natural dynamic the way it is and knowing how to place limits on urban consumption, spatial occupation and the economic and social activities conducted there.

Key words: periurban landscape, changes in land use, coastal erosion, market garden, beach tourism.

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1. Introduction

The Tordera River delta is small (it occupies 8 km2). It is located on the Mediterranean coast at the mouth of the 62-km-long Tordera River, which drains into the Mediterranean and has an area of 895 km2, comprised of predominantly silicas (schist, granite and clay). The delta was not urbanised until modern times, but the towns of Blanes, Malgrat de Mar and Palafolls have been settled on its banks, outside the floodplain, for centuries. The area studied contains a vast variety of landscapes which vary over time and space because of both the dynamic of natural processes and the successive resource exploitation strategies used throughout history, especially in the past two centuries. Natural processes are heavily conditioned by the periodic river surges and recurring storms at sea. Human activity has long been favoured by water availability and the fertility of the land, and in recent decades the extension of the beaches has made tourist development possible. Additionally, its proximity to Barcelona has led to the installation of many industries and increasing residential activity associated with people who commute to and from Barcelona or different towns in the Maresme region. The outcome is a mosaic of landscapes in which rivers and beaches that periodically flood coexist alongside highly productive market gardens, population nuclei, urbanisations, campsites, industries and a dense roadway network. The relations among the different uses are complex and cause numerous conflicts (Panareda & Boccio, 2018; Parcerisas et al., 2012).

The purpose of this article is to present a summary of the most significant features of the diverse landscape in this delta region located on the northernmost point of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, and to show its complexity and some of the discourses (on justification/exaltation/glorification/praise/vindication, protection, etc.) to which it has given rise, as well as its prospects at a time of major socioeconomic and natural transformations, in close relation with the variations in the river system and coastline and with climate change. Future articles should outline proposals on how to plan this periurban space with serious problems stemming from the diverse range of uses, the lack of space and the impact of natural phenomena.

2. Barcelona's three metropolitan deltas

There are three delta regions on the coastline of the Barcelona Metropolitan Region: the Tordera River, the Besòs River and the Llobregat River. All three are very distinct in terms of their current landscape and degree of urbanisation (Figure 1).

The Besòs River delta, located on the northernmost edge of the city of Barcelona, is similar in size to the Tordera River delta, but it is now totally urbanised and the riverbanks have been transformed into leisure and free-time spaces. Today the Besòs River corridor is a park, with the water flow controlled and the banks arranged so people can eat, play, run and ride their bicycles there.

Figure 1. Map showing the location of the Tordera River delta betwen the towns of Malgrat de Mar and Blanes.

Source: Made by Maravillas Boccio based on different sources.

The Llobregat River delta, located on the southern edge of the city of Barcelona, has an area measuring 90 km2 and is highly urbanised. The entire town of El Prat de Llobregat is in the delta region, as are parts of other towns such as L'Hospitalet de Llobregat and Sant Boi de Llobregat. Major infrastructures have been built there, such as the airport and the port, a dense network of motorways and railways, many industries and retail and logistics hubs. Agricultural space occupies almost one-fourth of the delta and is specifically managed via the Pla Especial del Parc Agrari del Baix Llobregat (Special Plan of the Agrarian Park of the Baix Llobregat); this encompasses the farmlands in the delta and the floodplains in the lower Llobregat River valley as far upriver as El Papiol, with an area measuring 3,348.02 hectares, 70% of which is in the delta.1 However, some groups view the Agrarian Park more as an urban green zone and

especially a reserve of space set aside for future urban development operations where services and installations can be installed when they become necessary. In fact, the current trend is a gradual decrease in both the farmland and all related activities (Sans & Panareda, 2016; Paül & Panareda, 2018).

The Tordera River delta has an area similar to that of the Besòs River delta, but it is around 60 km from the centre of Barcelona, so the influence exerted by the city is different than in the other two deltas, nor does it have the territorial potential of the Llobregat River delta, all of which should be borne in mind in a comparative study. However, metropolitan pressure has risen considerably in recent decades, and there are numerous conflicts stemming from both the battle over space and natural processes (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2. View of the Tordera River delta from Torre de Montagut

In the foreground is the industrial and residential sector on the northernmost end of Malgrat de Mar. In the background are glimpses of the tall apartment buildings in the Els Pins neighbourhood in Blanes. In the central part of the coast is an elongated strip which is where pine trees have been planted atop former dunes, currently transformed into a campsite. For more information, see the website of the Agrarian Park of the Baix Llobregat https://parcs. diba.cat/web/BaixLlobregat

Source: Author

Figure 3. Orthophotograph of the Tordera River delta showing the boundary of the delta area, where farmland, urban spaces and campsites predominate

Information taken from the Tordera River Delta and Downstream Region Commission (2017).

Source: Image from the Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya. The boundary of the delta is the author's original based on fieldwork.

There is no overall territorial planning and management plan for the Tordera River delta, but several initiatives have emerged to deal with the current situation. At the request of the County Council of the Maresme and the town halls involved, in 1998-1999 there were plans to create a Tordera River delta agrarian park with the goal of preserving, consolidating and developing the agrarian space in the Tordera River delta following sustainable development and territorial rebalancing criteria. However, the initiative never got off the ground (Paül, 2006, 2010).

More recently, the Taula del Delta i la Baixa Tordera (Tordera River Delta and Downstream Region Commission) was created by the town halls of Blanes, Malgrat de Mar, Palafolls and Tordera. This commission is defined as a space of governance needed to restore the ecological and social balances in the territory through integrated planning of the Tordera River delta region and the territory around the Tordera River basin. It is a deliberative body which can create an ongoing space of dialogue with all stakeholders with the goal of informing the planning processes in a participative, transparent way.2 At the same time, a participative process was undertaken for the ISACC TorDelta Project (ISACC is the acronym for Implicant la Societat en l'Adaptació al Canvi Climàtic al Delta de la Tordera [Getting Society Engaged in the Adaptation to Climate Change in the Tordera River Delta]), coordinated by CREAF (Center for Ecological Research and Forestry Applications).

Judging on different statements by the leaders of these initiatives, their overarching strategic goals are to restore the quality and quantity of water in the

Tordera River basin, to restore the geomorphological dynamic of the river and the coastal systems, to guarantee the protection of biodiversity, to promote territorial exploitation models that are compatible with the preservation of the natural space comprising the delta, to lower the risk of natural disasters, to include climate change when planning actions in the territory, to value farmers and the role of agriculture, to reinforce education and dissemination of the problems in the delta to citizens and to guarantee better governance that enables everyone to participate by establishing shared criteria and objectives.

The approaches of both actions reveal a keen concern for the natural conditions as factors limiting both people's everyday lives and economic activities. The main aspects to be examined are water, natural fluvial and marine phenomena, and space.

3. Barcelona's three metropolitan deltas

There are many studies of periurban agrarian landscapes which would be impossible to summarise in this brief article (see Vázquez & Verdaguer, 2010). Some of these studies are now several years old, such as the one by Bryant and Johnston (1992), which makes a distinction between periurban agrarian landscapes that are degenerated, adapted to the urban area and developed (where urban pressures are not intense). We shall only draw from the approaches outlined by Paül (2006, 2010) and Paül and Haslam McKenzie (2013), who have studied metropolitan agriculture in Barcelona. These authors believe that three major landscapes can be described which affect periurban agrarian spaces:

- The first encompasses agrarian realities with little to do with their periurban nature, such as those related to export agriculture or extensive grain agriculture, whose yields supply markets very far from the nearby city.
- The second reflects the Thünian model and is therefore based on agricultural intensification due to proximity to the urban market.
- The third is urban growth in the broad sense, which implies the transformation of the pre-existing agrarian landscape to the point that it disappears.

The last two give rise to strict periurban agrarian landscapes. The second has been deftly analysed by historical agrarian and rural geography studies, and at least in Europe it has generated a longstanding tradition of studying vegetable gardens as the quintessence of intensive Mediterranean irrigated agriculture near cities. The studies by Meeus (1995) and Meeus et al. (1990) contributed to spreading this concept, which was extensively studied in French and Spanish geography throughout the twentieth century to such an extent that it was included in the first European environmental report drafted in 1995, known as the Dobříš Assessment (Stanners & Bourdeau, 1995).

Bryant and Johnston (1992) call the landscapes with the third dynamic degenerate because of the urban encroachment. One classic case is agrarian deintensification, which occurs in contradiction with the previous dynamic due to urban proximity, when fields are no longer cultivated and land is left fallow due

to expected income (Paül, 2010; Paül & Haslam McKenzie, 2013). Lately there has been a great deal of emphasis on the fact that periurban agricultural landscapes are mixed, indecisive and dynamic (Gallent & Andersson, 2007; Gant et al., 2011). These studies examine the land uses of these landscapes which are seldom found elsewhere, such as tyre scrapping or dumps, which are often called *periurban uses* (Paül & Haslam McKenzie, 2013). Also noteworthy is the development of livestock uses which are not strictly geared towards urban consumption but instead towards local leisure, such as *horsification or hobby farming* (Gallent & Andersson, 2007; Paül & Haslam McKenzie, 2013).

4. Methodological considerations

The methodology consisted in three main phases: collecting the data; organising, processing and analysing the data obtained; and developing and disseminating their results. Different techniques were used because of the diversity of information needed, including indicators on the environment (relief, lithology, aquifers, river system and flow, sea tides and storms, flora and fauna) and the different systems for exploiting the resources, which change over time and place (surface water drainage and channelling, groundwater capture, cleaning coastal areas, transforming forests into pastures and crop fields, construction of houses and establishment of industries, service areas and roadway networks).

The data were obtained via fieldwork and examinations of the literature and documents. The fieldwork provided basic information for this study with the support of maps and photograms at a scale of 1:5,000. We primarily used data on land use with evidence of former exploitation. We also obtained references on the Tordera River dynamics and the evolution of the coastline. Comparative analyses of historical photograms enabled us to ascertain details about the recent evolution of land use and changes in the coastline; the oldest photogram dates from 1946. Direct observation and conversations with the local populace enabled us to learn about current land exploitation systems.

We consulted books and local magazines, which contain a range of information on the history of land occupation and historical types of land use (Llobet, 1955). The works of Serra and Pintó on the transformations of the landscape in the downstream Tordera River since the mid-nineteenth century have been essential. We checked statistics on the evolution of the population with global data on a municipal scale, especially the evolution of land occupation by activity. An important part of this information was obtained from the Municipal Archive of Blanes.

The data were stored, organised and analysed primarily using the programmes Access and Excel. The graphic representation was made with the support of the Affinity Designer application.

5. Results

Below is a summary of the ideas regarded as key in interpreting the landscape today. They have been grouped into five sections. The first is water, the main element shaping the landscape on both a geological and human scale, and currently the most important resource. Next, the most significant features of the

Tordera River as a force shaping the landscape, a resource and a risk area are listed. The third section outlines aspects related to surges and floods, phenomena that condition both the structure of the riverbed and the defences to prevent or mitigate the impacts on agriculture and constructions. The fourth section mentions the history of agricultural activity in recent years. And finally we discuss the coastline dynamic due to its retreat caused by the heavy impact of tourist activity, which has become one of the main points in today's economy (Table 1).

Table 1. Main uses and occupations of the Tordera River delta and defence and protection measures taken

Uses and occupation of the territory	— Drying of wetlands and lagoons. — Transformation of the delta floodplain into farmland, first dry farming and later irrigation farming. — Construction of wells for household, industrial and agricultural water supply. — Construction of irrigation channels to water crops, which are currently severely damaged and abandoned. — Installation of greenhouses. — Expansion of the urban nuclei of Blanes and Malgrat de Mar. — Construction of the railway (nineteenth century) and motorways. — Enlargement and subsequent expansion of the port of Blanes. — Installation of industries with heavy water needs. — Installation of seaside campsites, especially on the beach and the dune line. — Extraction of sand from the Tordera River bed for construction. — Extraction of gravel and sand from the sediments on the delta floodplain for construction. — Extraction of sand from the seafloor to regenerate the beaches. — Extraction of sand from the lower stretch of the Tordera River to regenerate Blanes beach. — Construction of desalination plants for the seawater from the lower stretch of the Tordera River.
Defence and protection actions	— Securing the dune line by planting pine trees. — Channelling the Tordera River by installing mounds secured with cane. — Channelling the stream from Burg valley (Blanes). — Regenerating the Blanes and S'Abanell beaches by dredging the nearby seafloor. — Building the seafront promenade in Blanes. — Building jetties on Blanes beach. — Building, rebuilding and expanding the S'Abanell seafront promenade over the beach. — Building a breakwater in the middle of S'Abanell to protect the campsites. — Building breakwaters at the mouth of the Tordera River. — Monitoring the phreatic level to prevent salination. — Studying the process of beach destruction and the retreat of the delta coastline. — Creating the Tordera River Delta and Downstream Region Commission by the four town halls affected.

Source: Author

5.1. Water

The current Tordera River delta was formed during the Holocene. For several millennia, the bottom of the bay where the delta currently lies has been sedimented with different levels of gravel, sand and silt in relation to the river materials and sea level. The outcome is a coastal plain with a subsoil with different levels of aquifers harbouring a prized and intensely exploited hydric resource. This groundwater is used to water highly fertile gardens and supplies several towns and countless industries.

The water used to water crops traditionally comes from the Tordera River or one of its tributaries through irrigation ditches, many of which are now abandoned, while others have been totally engulfed by the landscape. Water has been extracted from aquifers by waterwheels, which are currently unused, or by motors.

The demand for water has risen dramatically in the past few decades, such that during drought phases, even less intense ones, the Tordera River cannot supply enough to offset the water removed, and this has led to very strict control of aquifer levels to stave off an irreversible salinisation process. In order to meet the high water demand, desalination plants have recently been built, which has also raised the price of drinking water, has a high energy cost and generates saline waste that is difficult to manage (Baca, 2013).

5.2. The river and wetlands

The Tordera is a typically Mediterranean river with a system characterised by irregularity in relation to precipitation. The summer baseflow is quite noticeable, even though the natural surface circulation seldom disappears. Currently, the riverbed is totally dry in the last five kilometres, except in periods after intense precipitation (Farguell, 2019).

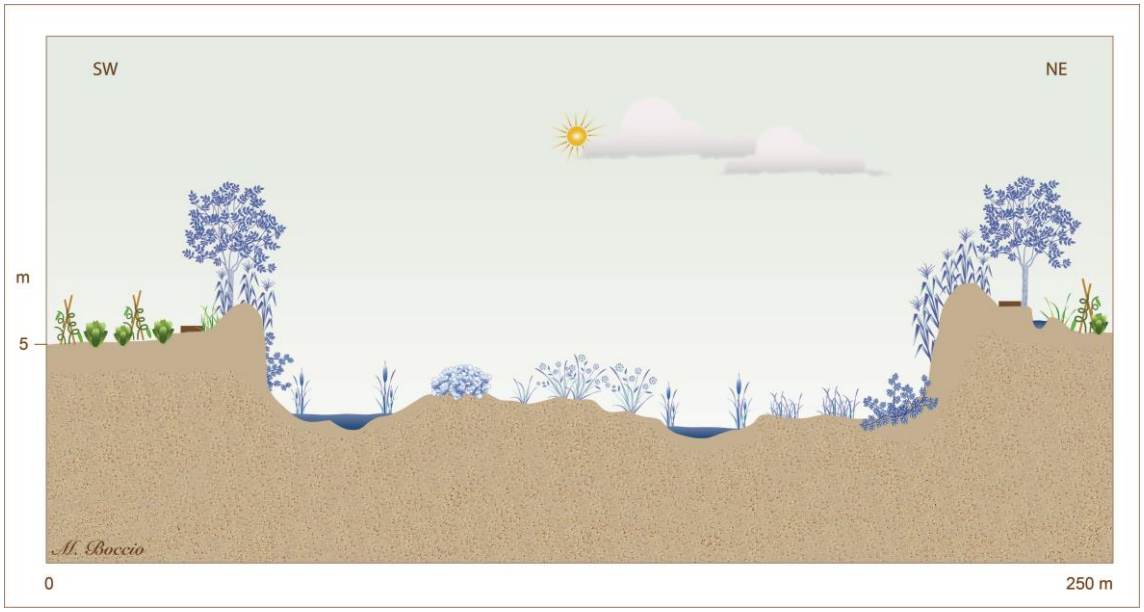
This extreme, lasting baseflow in the lower stretch of the river is caused by the presence of the delta aquifer, which is quite extensive and runs from the edge of the town of Tordera to the mouth of the river. Water extraction from the aquifer is so intense that the surface current of the river filters down totally within a few metres, and all too often the river flow is not enough to offset it. Despite the permanent monitoring of the phreatic level, in drought episodes extractions have to be drastically curtailed in order to prevent salinisation (Figures 4 and 5). At the same time, the surface circulation has been bolstered by the permanent drainage from the purification stations, especially in the middle stretch of the Tordera River. This influx of water into the river system is extremely important in the landscape, as it means that surface water is permanently present, even during the summer months in dry years, at least in a more or less longer stretch after the point where the purified water is drained into it. The most noteworthy consequences are that the aquifer is replenished and vegetation develops that requires moist soil, such as communities of helophytes (cattails, watercress and reeds) (Panareda, 2008).

Figure 4. Anastomosed current on the Tordera River bed in the delta region

The buildings of two dome-shaped desalination plants can be seen over the long row of reeds.

Source: Author

Figure 5. Cross-section of the lowerstretch of the Tordera River in the delta



The riverbed is surrounded by protective mounds that are currently colonised by continues reed beds, at the base of which ash, elm, white poplar and poplar trees are scattered. Further out, market gardens predominate on both banks, and there is a roadway for vehicles between the gardens and the mounds. On the northeast side, next to Blanes, there is an irrigation channel which is currently unused.

Source: original data from Josep M. Panareda and illustration by Maravillas Boccio.

Figure 6. Lagoon at the mouth of the Tordera River

The lagoon is separated from the sea by a sandbar which is broken up every time the river floods and naturally reappears when the flow diminishes. In the background you can see the riparian forest with ash and white poplar and strips of reeds and cane.

Source: Author

Near the mouth, a permanent lagoon often appears, which is closed to the sea by a tall walkable sandbar, which only disappears during episodes of heavy flooding and remains open as long as the water flowing from the river is sufficient to counter the thrust of the seawater. When the river flow diminishes, the sandbar once again appears until a new flood pushes it out to sea again. This lagoon is the only notable wetland in the delta, and it is valuable both for tourists and the environment, especially because of the ornithological diversity. Its size varies according to the amount of time that has elapsed since it was formed and the flow of water reaching it from the mouth of the river. Upstream the river continues in a landscape with an anastomosing current, although surface water still flows there; otherwise, it is a dry sand bed with a microtopographic legacy from the last water that circulated (Panareda, 2018) (Figures 4, 5 and 6).

We can assume that there were more extensive wetlands in the delta centuries ago. However, the current fragments are more related to past uses, such as irrigation or mill reservoirs, or human interventions, such as old sand and rock extractions and drainage recesses or networks, than to the direct remains of natural coastal wetlands or lagoons (Almera, 1913; Serra, 2001).

On the river floodplain and upstream in the delta there are several small, unconnected lagoons and wetlands. They are currently protected areas colonised by riparian forests, especially willow and ash tree stands, and communities of tall grasses including cattails (*Typha* sp.), reeds (*Phragmites australis*), watercress (*Rorippa nasturtium-aquaticum, Apium nodiflorum*) and sedge grass (*Carex* sp.). The dispersion of these environments, the historical agricultural pressure and the current pressure from industrialisation and urbanisation are not helping their conservation. Furthermore, the drop in the phreatic level and the

channelling of the Tordera River will make them disappear almost imperceptibly. Just as in the delta, we can assume that there were more extensive and better developed wetlands not too many centuries ago, and that the current fragments are clearly related to past uses.

5.3. Surges and floods

The document research is still incomplete, but we are aware of texts which report on the existence of surges and floods with catastrophic consequences. For centuries, the delta wetlands have been cleared and dried out to expand the croplands, and river embankments have been built to prevent the floods from spreading. Each major flood has prompted significant changes in the landscape: they severely disrupt the colonise spaces, transform the structure of the existing wetlands and lagoons and create new ones (Baca, 2013; Riba, 1995; Sagristà et al., 2017). Channelling the rectilinear riverbed like the current one and building embankments or mounds to keep the water from leaving the channel has substantially improved the land uses and allowed the area used as irrigated farmland to increase. However, while all of this has been highly effective in controlling the lesser surges, it is insufficient when they are major, and they can still cause considerable destruction.

The mounds have been planted with cane (*Arundo donax*), which forms a dense network of robust rhizomes that protect the artificial dike from surges of river water. Cane is an exotic species with a strong ability to colonise wet open spaces, and for this reason it is currently considered an invasive plant that has to be eradicated and replaced with autochthonous plants from riparian communities. However, this cannot be done efficiently, given that the riverbed would first have to be widened, which can only be done on farm, industrial and residential lands, much to the dislike of the people affected by it. Nonetheless, if the cane were removed without expanding the floodplain, the mounds would vanish with the first surge, even if it were not very intense, so urgent intervention is needed to build cement dikes or large breakwaters on both banks of the river.

5.4. The predominance of agriculture

Until the mid-twentieth century, the dominant land use was agriculture, especially grains and vineyards, until the late nineteenth century. Market gardens increased throughout the nineteenth century, but they dramatically expanded throughout the twentieth century until becoming the predominant type of cropland in the delta (Paül, 2006; Serra, 2001; Serra & Pintó, 2005; Valdunciel, 2005). During its peak, some people, like the architect and urban planner Nicolau Rubió i Tudurí, actually claimed that this 'agricultural river' could become a zone of tourist interest because of its keenly aesthetic landscape value. Rubió (1932, p. 54) said:

> The agricultural landscape of our region is as fine as the wild landscape. For example, if we consider the stretch of the Tordera River valley near the mouth, [...] we will grasp how right we are to suggest the agricultural rivers there as possible tourist reserves.

The area used for farmland has decreased considerably, especially from the mid-twentieth century until today. In the eastern part of the delta, which belongs to the municipality of Blanes, the amount of land used as market gardens has dropped considerably due to urban expansion, the installation of industries and services and more recently the establishment of an extensive area used for campsites between the towns of Blanes and the course of the Tordera River. In contrast, on the western side, which belongs to the town of Malgrat de Mar, market gardens still occupy considerable space, even though the strip near the beach has also been transformed into campsites and the population nucleus has expanded considerably.

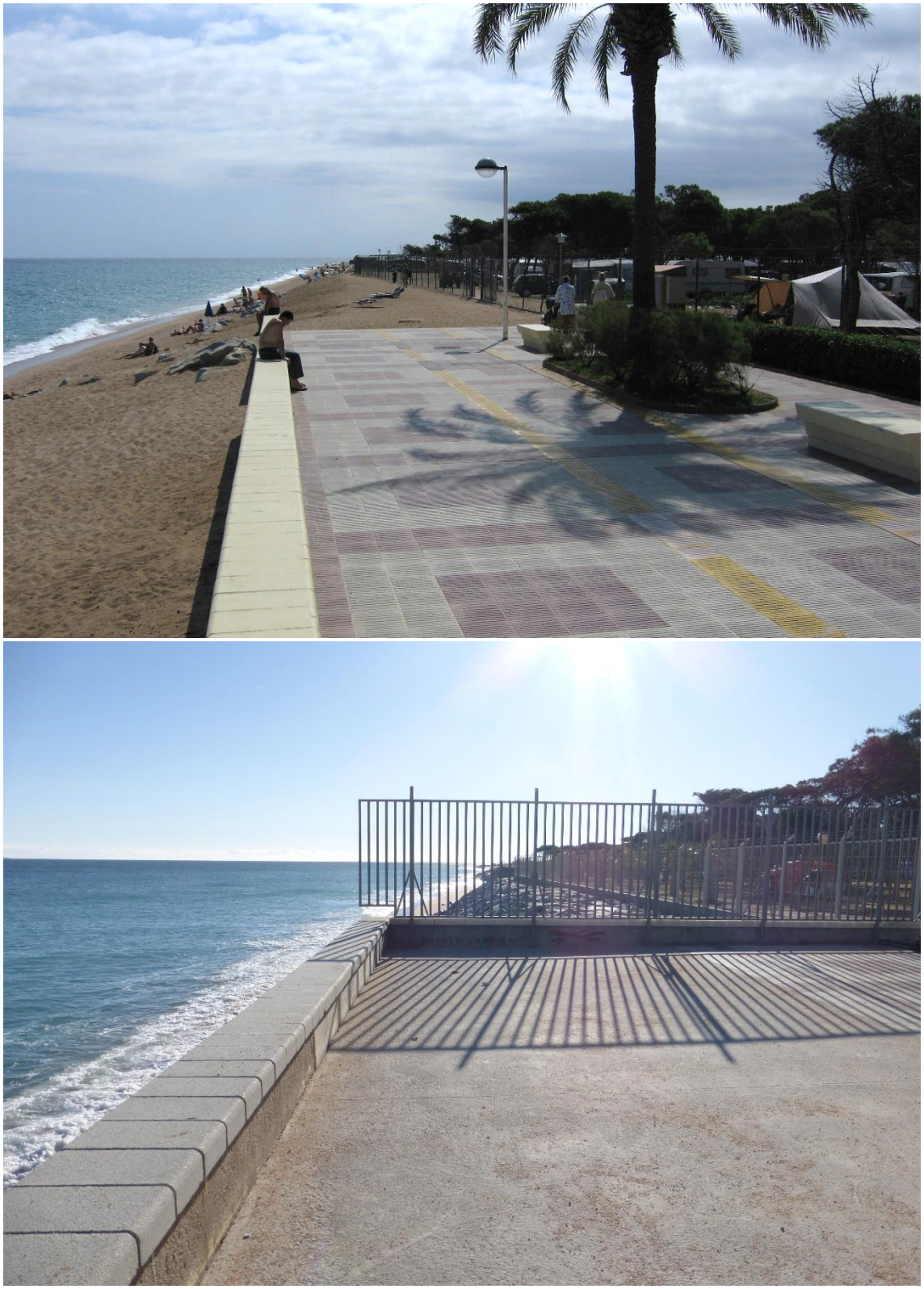
However, market gardens still imprint a specific personality on the delta landscape, even if they employ few workers, most of them immigrants. The produce is distributed in the markets in neighbouring towns and is quite popular as Km-zero produce.

5.5. The coast: Beaches and dunes

The coastline is the sector that has undergone the most transformations in recent years. It has gone from being 100 metres wide in many places, continued with dunes, to dunes repopulated with pine trees, which were later occupied by campsites. More recently, it has suddenly shrunk during storms at sea because of the heavy waves, which have removed sand and swept away much of the beaches and the area now occupied by the campsites (Sagristà et al., 2017; Serra, 1998).

It is essential to have a global view of river and coastal phenomena related to human activity. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the improved climate, much land in the Tordera River basin was broken. The soils without plant protection eroded and were carried downriver in the streams and creeks to the mouth. Once these sediments reached the sea, they were stirred up by the sea tides and currents, creating ever wider beaches. Later, the wind carried away the sand grains to create the dune line. This phenomenon of the formation of new medium-sized dunes has also been observed in other nearby river mouths, such as the Ter and Llobregat Rivers (Ferrer, 1995; Sans & Panareda, 2016; Paül & Panareda, 2018).

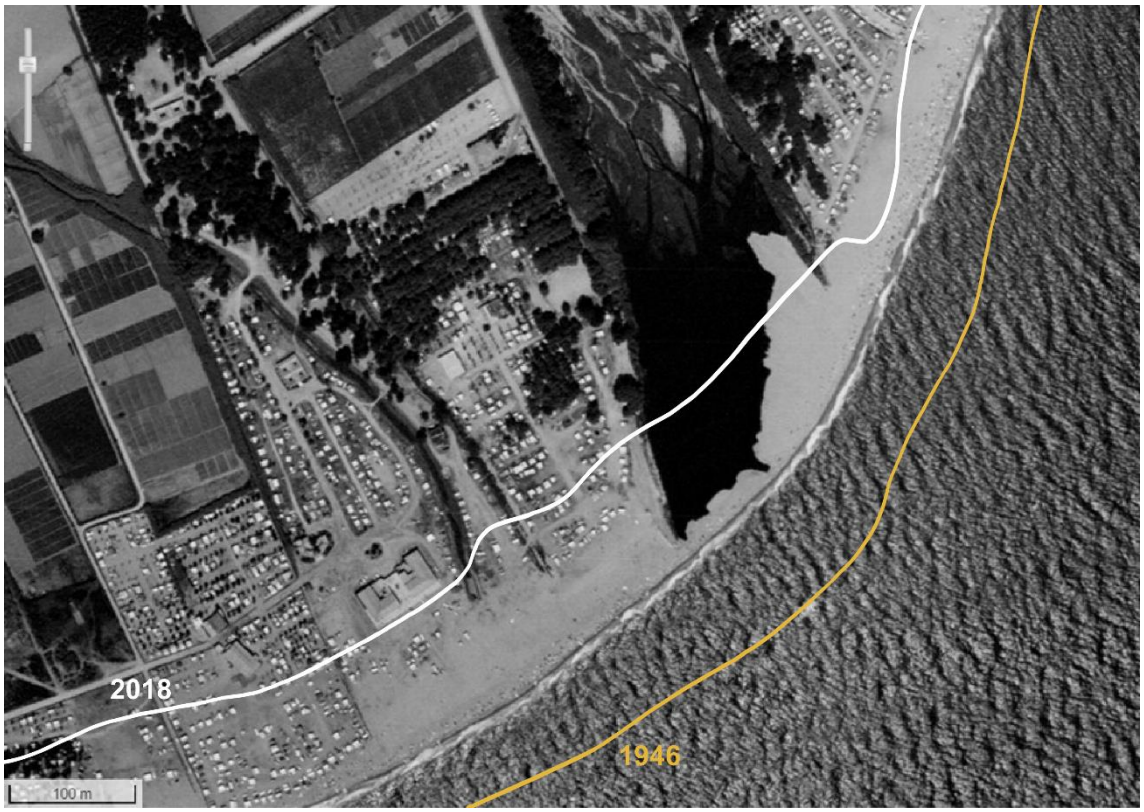
Figure 7. Photographs of the same place, S'Abanell beach, in August 2006 and January 2016



It shows one of the current processes which is causing the most conflicts: the retreat of the coastline with the overall narrowing of the beach and the disappearance of some stretches where a breakwater has had to be built.

Source: Author

Figure 8. Aerial photograph of the mouth of the Tordera River in 1986, when tourist occupancy (campsites) was high



The yellow line shows the coastline in 1946, and the white one shows it in 2018. Note the strip of campsites in 1986 which had been engulfed by the sea by 2018.

Source: Image from the Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya. The coastlines were marked by the author based on a numerous aerial photographs.

The presence of recently formed and more dynamic dunes worried the farmers, who watched as their fields, irrigation channels and paths were being invaded by the movable mass of sand. Starting in the nineteenth century, projects were undertaken to secure the dunes by repopulating them with pine trees. The toponymy printed on maps reveals these historical changes: sand bed or dune, pine grove or campsite, depending on the date when the maps were published.

Throughout the twentieth century, many crop fields in the Tordera River basin were abandoned, so that by the end of the century there were very few cultivated plots on the banks. One of the consequences of regenerating the plant cover is soil protection and a drastic reduction in the amount of sediment heading out to sea, which has prompted a change in the coastal dynamic. During episodes of storms at sea, the waves break the regularity of the beaches and carry part of the sand out to sea, as always. Before, that erosion was later offset during the long periods of calm weather; the regular tides and calm sea currents recomposed the beaches and the coastline with the recovered sediments and new ones transported by the river.

However, today little sediment is available to naturally remake the beach landscape (Sagristà et al., 2017). In each storm at sea, the sandy part of the

beaches becomes narrower and the coastline further encroaches on the buildings, roads, crop fields and campsites. There are no satisfactory solutions, not even artificially adding sand, building a seafront promenade, installing a breakwater with large stone blocks or building a cement wall. Conflict arises when the erosion of the coastline approaches the fence of the campsites and the wall of an apartment building, or when it breaks off part of the seafront promenade and carries it away (Figures 7 and 8).

The sediments brought by the Tordera River led to an advance of the beach in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Now the river doesn't carry enough sediment to offset the sea erosion, and the outcome is a progressive retreat. The process has been inverted.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The Tordera River delta is the home to landscapes in constant flux because of both natural dynamics and human intervention. The main conflicts stem from control over the water and the new occupations of the space.

Of the three landscape dynamics that affect periurban spaces according to Paül (2006, 2010) and Paül and Haslam McKenzie (2013) discussed at the beginning of this article, the last two coexist in the Tordera River delta. On the one hand, market garden farming has intensified alongside a drastic reduction in the cultivation of grains and vineyards. On the other, the installation of highly technical greenhouses makes this highly profitable. All of these factors have been enhanced by a local market that values Km-zero produce. Farm activity is guaranteed in the short and middle term because of this profitability, and because it is an identity factor. Agriculture creates a landscape that is highly prized by both the local population and visitors as a green environment. However, tourist activities are a fierce competitor with the farm landscape, which are also on the rise because of the climate, the beaches, the infrastructures and the proximity to the conurbation of Barcelona. The competition today particularly comes from the constant expansion of campsites, driven not only by their low installation and maintenance costs—especially compared to the initial and ongoing outlays needed with a hotel—but also by the current economic crisis. Campsites occupy a considerable amount of space and are clearly in competition with the market gardens. Scaling down the gardens, especially those that do not use greenhouses, would devalue the landscape, because they are also one of its attractions along with the beaches, leading to the installation of the campsites.

All of this is coupled with the more pressing need for space to meet the expansive demands of the towns and urbanisations, industries and retail and logistics services, as well as the demand for new roadway infrastructures and new services in general. It is important to recall that the delta area is limited and that the consolidation of urban growth is leaving less and less space available to develop for other uses and activities.

The long, wide beaches have been sites of keen social and economic interest. The coastal sector across from Blanes is a bay that has been used to anchor vessels to protect them from sea surges or to repair them or build new ones, as well as to load and unload goods. During the first half of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, the beaches have been shared by fishers and tourists.

Once naval activity disappeared and fishing was concentrated in the port, the beaches in both Blanes and Malgrat de Mar became the main tourist attraction. However, in the late twentieth century, as noted above, the consequences of the decrease in sediments carried by the Tordera River suddenly became noticeable. Sea surges sweep away many sectors of the beach, and some stretches of the beachside promenades have crumbled and collapsed. This more visible image of the change is endangering the future of the campsites. The institutions' response is to once again consolidate the seafront promenade and restore a minimum strip of beach by bringing in sand from the outside. However, this is difficult on some stretches of the coastline, and breakwaters made of large stone blocks have to be built to halt the coastline's retreat. Yet these actions are only temporary solutions because the next storms once again carry away the sand on the beaches and continue to undermine the seafront promenade and other protections. Eventually, even the breakwaters will be rendered useless by the sea surges.

The overall result is a mosaic landscape in constant flux—in terms of both human interests and natural conditions—which is not easy for part of the population and those who economically and politically control the territory to accept. Striking the balance of sustainable use that is acceptable to the majority of the social actors is no easy task, yet it is essential in order to continue making use of the natural resources—water, soil and landscape—that underlie the economic activities.

The Tordera River delta is a peculiar periurban landscape. The farmland is extensive enough to be the predominant feature of the visual landscape, even though farming employs few workers and that number is constantly diminishing. The industrial and logistics activity, in contrast, employs a high percentage of the active population. Tertiary activities, especially tourism-related services, have risen in recent years. Furthermore, much of the population works outside their towns, especially in the city of Barcelona and the area immediately around it.

While the recent changes and current uses of the Tordera River delta are comparable with those of the Besòs and Llobregat River deltas, the differences are considerable, especially in terms of size, distance from Barcelona and degree of urbanisation.

The current landscape of the Tordera River delta resembles that of the Llobregat River, despite all the differences in their areas and distances from the city of Barcelona. In both deltas, the landscape is a mosaic, but they show different trends in terms of types of use. The urbanised residential area is growing in both deltas. Industries have suffered and continue to suffer from dire crises; some have disappeared while others have been renovated, but new ones have not come to either delta. Infrastructures and metropolitan services play a very prominent role in the Llobregat River delta; however, only motorways and one railway line cross the Tordera River delta. The same holds true of commercial services, which are metropolitan, national and international in the Llobregat River delta but only local and regional in the Tordera River delta. Tourist activity has recently declined in the Llobregat River delta, stifled by urban expansion and the growth in commercial services and mobility, whereas it has risen in the Tordera River delta due to the beaches, the range of hotels and campsites available and the survival of the agrarian landscape. It should be borne in mind that Blanes is considered the start of the Costa Brava. Its agricultural space is

proportionally smaller than that of the Llobregat River delta, plus the threats reducing it are constant. Vegetable production is higher, more specialised and higher-tech in the Tordera River delta thanks to the installation of greenhouses; however, the future of agriculture is also uncertain there because of both the urban and industrial expansion and the new tourist demands, as well as the ageing of the rural population.

There is a constant defence of protecting the agricultural space. Examples can be found from Rubió i Tudurí to the current Tordera River Delta and Downstream Region Commission. However, the agrarian space can only be maintained as a strictly agricultural activity if its commercial prospects are guaranteed. The local demand for vegetables is sufficient to absorb all the yields, but suitable commercial channels have to be assured in light of constant competition with the large networks. Likewise, the core problem lies in the fragility of the agrarian structure, and in the agricultural activity itself, which is threatened not only by the decrease in available space because of the expansion of the campsites and the built area but also, as mentioned above, by the ageing of the farmers and the difficulties in replacing them.

The prime challenge facing the Tordera River delta is how to make natural resource use compatible with the maintenance and development of all the expanding activities in a small area with constraints placed by natural phenomena and clearly limited natural resources. Several studies, and the recent approval of the Tordera River Delta and Downstream Region Commission, reveal both the gravity of the situation and the awareness that this is a problem that requires a global response with the engagement of the institutions and the different stakeholder groups in order to find solutions. All of this shows that there are many good intentions, although the actions that seek to harmonise the different activities and diverse uses have not been satisfactory, nor have the interventions to prevent or at least mitigate the impacts of natural phenomena. Instead, they seem like the expression of a collective impotence before a natural and social reality that is beyond their grasp and a failure to accept that not everything is possible.

There is not enough water to meet the increasing demand, especially during episodes with little rain, a phenomenon that happens quite often. Stringent control over the aquifer and water quality is needed, and it is essential to be mindful that this is a renewable but limited resource. The risk that the Tordera River surges over the mounds and floods fields, campsites and urban spaces is high in the short term. The storms at sea will continue to sweep away beaches, campsites, constructions and crop fields, in addition to undermining the seafront promenades virtually every year, and often more than once a year. Dealing with the river and sea surges during a storm at sea is very difficult, so studies are needed to conduct preventive actions and determine how to act when they arise, if that is even possible. Some of the preventive actions include understanding that one of the most efficient ways to attenuate the effects of these extreme phenomena is by offering the space we have historically taken back to the Tordera and the sea, but this alternative will never achieve majority support, and it will be a poor remedy if it is solved with cement and stone walls or with breakwaters.

There is not enough space to maintain an agricultural space that creates a landscape if the towns and the industrial areas, warehouses, campsites and

hotels, not to mention the increasingly dense roadway network, are simultaneously expanding. There aren't enough water resources for everything, nor is there enough space to meet the added needs from the economic activities.

The major challenge is to accept the natural dynamic the way it is and to know how to place limits on consumption, space occupation and the economic and social activities there. Who should place these limits? Will any party agree to give something up?

Therefore, we have to admit that the conflicts will be ongoing. The key is whether society and the people in charge are capable of managing these inevitable conflicts. For the time being, it seems that they are not, especially because it is difficult to accept the stubborn reality, namely that the space is what it is, that it is tending to decrease and that a range of natural phenomena will continue to cause disturbances that will hinder the use and occupation of the territory.

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Logistics, territory and economic activity in Euram

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Abstract

In the past few decades, we have witnessed the emergence of territorial and economic processes with a new dynamic: globalisation, and a new scale: global, resulting in the reorganisation of the usual territorial hierarchy in our geo-economic analyses. This is why we suggest macroregional cooperation and collaboration policies for the Mediterranean Arc Euroregion (Euram), following the examples of three regions in Italy (within the same state) and the Rhine-Alpine Corridor (among different states), specifically in the areas of projecting the Mediterranean port front, the freight railway system and the overall logistics supply. These macroregional visions do not necessary invalidate particular visions but instead complement them and prevent duplication, inefficiencies and wastage in the system of allocating fixed capital by the state and the autonomous communities. We need an overall view of the logistical potentialities of Euram and an in-depth reflection on the paradigm by which we examine our territories' relations in a globalised yet regionalised space.

Key words: logistics, globalisation, infrastructures, regionalisation, macro-region.

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1. The new interregional action scales in Europe: A model

On 24 March 2019, the Italian press reported on the first tangible results of the visit by the President of the Republic of China, Xi Jinping, to Italy. Christened *The Orange Pact* by the newspapers—because, among other things, it allowed Sicilian oranges to be transported to China in two days via air transport—29 far-reaching agreements were signed which the Italian government valued at 20 billion euros. We are interested in three of these agreements: Italy's cooperation with the New Maritime Silk Road Initiative and the two separate agreements between the Ports of Trieste and Genoa and the China Communications Construction Company.

Beyond the specific substance of the agreements, our purpose in this introduction is to show the emergence of territorial and economic processes with a new dynamic: globalisation, and at a new scale: global, which are directly influencing the future of powerful traditional European communication and transport infrastructures like ports, the prime site of logistics activities. China's signing of two private agreements with the Ports of Trieste and Genoa opens up the possibility for China to use these two hubs as touchpoints in its geostrategy in Europe, laying a favourable foundation—and not just metaphorically—for a more active role in logistics operations in the European Union.

The onset of this new dynamic and new scale includes one consequence: the reorganisation of the territorial hierarchies caused by these processes. On the one hand, altering the traditional scale of action and making it global and further-reaching changes the traditional playing field in our geo-economic analyses. With the entry of new actors in global relations, the rankings of the ports, cities, countries, nations, metropolises… are undergoing serious upheaval, and the scenario of competition is being reshuffled. One obvious case is what is happening with the cities in Spain. Professor Oriol Nel·lo has encapsulated how Spanish metropolises have to change their perspective with the subtitle of a recent article: *From the periphery of the centre to a secondary node in a global multipolar urban system.*

Dr Nel·lo's calculations show that while Barcelona was in position 30 in the global ranking of cities in 1950, its position will drop to 89 in 2030, while Madrid will go from 32 to 70, Valencia from 170 to 763, Seville from 241 to 901, Málaga from 336 to 1,091, Zaragoza from 350 to 878 and Bilbao from 400 to 1,609. Thus, from playing in the peripheral division of the global centre, the Spanish urban system will become a secondary node in a global galaxy. If we apply this urban criterion to our infrastructures, factories, ports, intermodal stations and even logistics plans and land planning, we see that we need greater muscle, a larger size and increasing visibility in order to compete.

Therefore, among neighbours, we have shifted from the logic of local competition to the logic of cooperation, because only by pooling territorial strategies and boosting the joint logistics supply will Euram's ports and logistics zones be capable of competing in a global world. However, we are not only witnessing a larger number of actors entering the scene and a shift in scale; as Joan Subirats pointed out regarding another topic, the problem is not just 'pluralism'. Instead, it is also a dynamic of mutual dependency among actors when solving problems, pursuing objectives and achieving certain results. After all, the new dynamics mentioned above are not only pushing for more muscle and a larger size but are also forcing us to deepen a networked structure that benefits

not only from the value of each node but more importantly from sharing ties with other nodes. In this sense, networked, cooperative proximity—neither in competition nor alone—is becoming more and more valuable.

Therefore, to briefly recapitulate, we can conclude that we are faced with a new global scenario with new actors which are upsetting the usual hierarchies to which we were accustomed, and this is pushing us to rescale our actions, following the famous principle of the geographer Neil Brenner.

Precisely what we wish to highlight in this brief article is two examples of the rescaling of territorial and logistical policies in Europe, which could serve as a model for rethinking strategies of this type in Euram. Both share a common feature: a certain institutionalisation of the cooperation, of the pooled efforts and of the focus on their networked structure.

2. *Stati generali della logistica del Nord Ovest*, an institutional interregional cooperation policy within a state

In 2015, the Italian regions of Lombardy, Liguria and Piedmont signed an interregional agreement protocol to create a specific body with the goal of driving strategic coordination and promoting the logistics system of the Nord Ovest, which refers to all three Italian regions under this 'commercial' name. The agreement sought to launch a coordinated effort which could define a supraregional strategy in the logistics, intermodality and freight transport system. After this initial agreement, the institutional, public and private actors met in Novara in 2016 and Genoa in 2017 under the name of Stati Generali della Logistics del Nord Ovest.

The third meeting was held on 15 March 2019, this time in Milan. It is important to note that this interregional initiative is supported by Italy's Ministry of Infrastructures and Transport, which participated actively in the signing of the initial protocol and at the different meetings, along with the Italian railway network manager Rete Ferroviaria Italiana and the regional railway company Ferrovienord. This active participation by the Italian government may reflect the fact that 30% of Italy's GDP comes from exports and that almost 41% of this export activity is concentrated in the three Italian regions participating in the agreement.

In short, the three Italian regions—which are clearly important in the logistics sector, intermodality and freight transport, as they comprise the largest concentration of industrial manufacturing in Italy and have the highest level of infrastructure allocations in the country—decided to reach beyond the administrative boundaries and the logic of local territorial and economic competition and instead plunge into the new reality. The territory of the Nord Ovest (Figure 1) is a functionally interrelated and interdependent reality whose ports, railway network, roadway network, intermodal terminals and other transport infrastructures play a decisive role in its competitiveness.

Figure 1. Example of initiatives associated with the interregional strategy *Stati Generali della Logistica*

1. Actions to take in the sphere of regional competences.
1.1. Recognition, revision and improvement of the procedures regulating air freight.
1.2. Identification of possible company incentives aimed at the current 'CIF' contracts for imports and 'ex works' contracts for exports.
1.3. Incentives, by simplifying procedures as well, for current investments to further the infrastructure of the Cargo City at airports by:
- Creating areas equipped for logistics operations in ground handling or in its immediate vicinity including in lorry parking areas;
- Functionally integrating airport ground handling with other transport terminals (ports, interports, intermodal terminals).

1.4. Promoting better communication among the different actors in the supply chains interested in air freight.
1.5. Creating a Nord Ovest Regions Coordination Committee for air freight open to the participation of all the actors in the supply chain.
1.6. Supplying information to the manufacturing regions, the Chambers of Commerce, industrial and tertiary business associations, the headquarters of international companies and agents on the potential and supply of the air freight logistics system and its modalities of use.
1.7. Providing incentives for industry and commerce to use the logistics chain via air freight.

2. Being systematically in contact with the central administrations to define initiatives to develop air freight which require legislative actions or affect the central state administrations.

Source: Giovanni Constantini (2019). *Il cargo aereo al servizio del sistema logistico del Nord Ovest*.

Logically, all three regions adopted a coordinated logistics and transport development plan which even extends beyond Italy's borders and encompasses connectivity with European vectors, including the Rhine-Alpine Corridor, the Scandinavian-Mediterranean Corridor and the Mediterranean Corridor. Via a coordinating body, all three regions have reached agreements with the Italian state (the ministry holding authorities on these matters and the railway infrastructure manager) to improve the joint connections in the functional region by optimising routes and solving bottlenecks in the system.

In the March 2019 declaration, we can even read that one of the region's objectives is 'to construct shared policies on a macroregional scale', as well as to create standing working committees in areas like intermodality and freight transport, new work logistics, economic development and competitiveness, promoting maritime port activity, port connections and optimising ports' operations and oversight. A technical secretariat to rotate among the three regions was created to coordinate all these initiatives.

3. The interregional alliance of the Rhine-Alpine Corridor: *One corridor, one strategy*. Regional cooperation among states.

The Rhine-Alpine Corridor is one of the new corridors—like its Mediterranean counterpart—comprising the Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T). As outlined in the official presentation of this corridor, the axis connects the main ports in the North Sea, Belgium and the Netherlands with the Mediterranean port

of Genoa. The regions it encompasses are the most populous and economically powerful in Europe: more than 70 million people live, work and consume in the Rhine-Alpine Corridor catchment area, which is also the home to numerous manufacturing and commercialisation companies, manufacturing plants and leading distribution centres. The corridor runs through what used to be known as the Europe's 'Blue Banana', which includes important economic hubs in the EU like Brussels and Antwerp in Belgium, the Randstad region in the Netherlands, the German regions of Rhine-Ruhr and Rhine-Neckar, the regions of Basel and Zurich in Switzerland and the Italian regions of Milan and Genoa. In short, the corridor is a spatial axis coherent with a host of common interests and interrelations that unite the regions through which it runs.

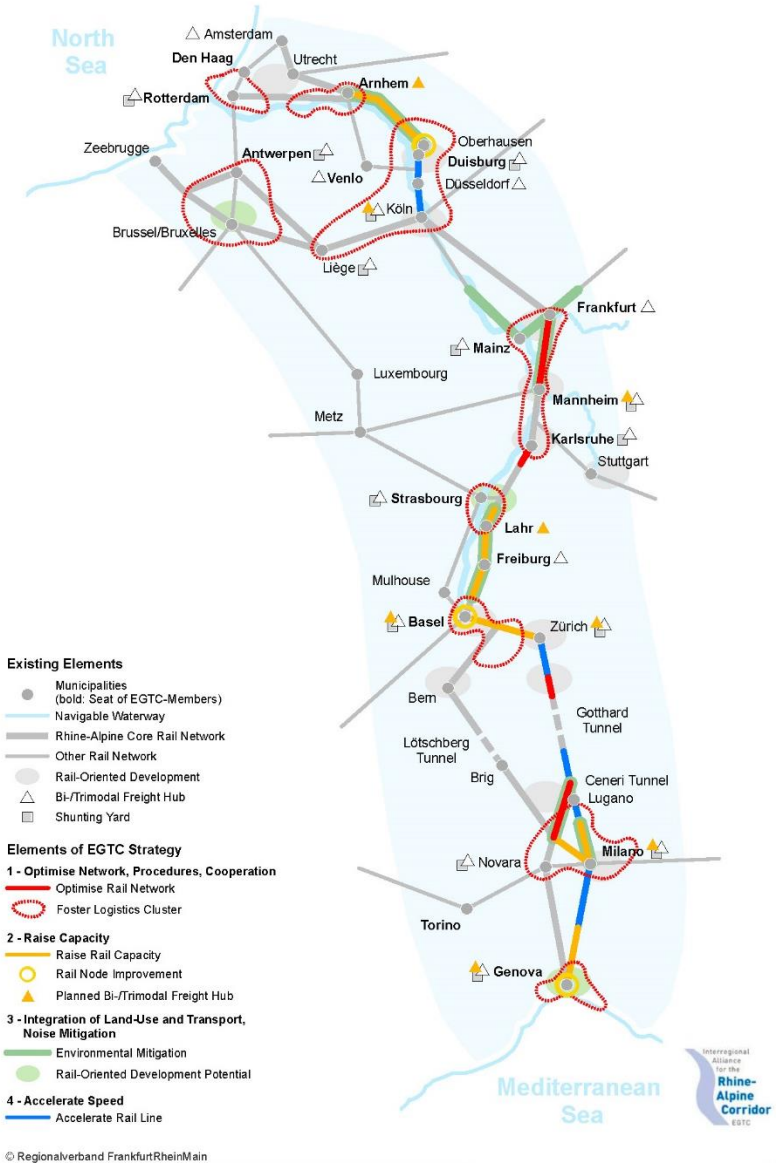
Consequently, in 2015 the EGTC (European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation) was created to represent the voices of the regions, cities and territorial stakeholders associated with the European corridor project. Since then, the EGTC has materialised the regional and local scale of the project with the aim of achieving joint, shared development of territorial and economic strategies.

This is a clear example of how an ambitious infrastructure project like the Rhine-Alpine Corridor (as well as other new ones in TEN-T) can be complemented by the development of a free association of actors that contributes to its territorial coherence. Indeed, in this case an interregional alliance was created (a name which clearly expresses its members' ambitions) which is the continuation of the first efforts developed under the name of CODE24—Corridor 24 Development Rotterdam-Genoa, a strategic initiative under the aegis of the European INTERREG IV initiative which lasted five years (2010-2015).

Therefore, the origin of the current interregional alliance was the creation of a common strategy for the future development of the region through which the Rhine-Alpine Corridor runs. The current consortium—which, as mentioned above, has adopted the European legal form of an EGTC —has 21 partners, more than twice the initial ten in 2015. They include ports, cities, metropolitan areas and provinces in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and even Switzerland. A president assisted by two vice-presidents, a joint office director and the permanent secretariat organise the work of six commissions (cross-border issues, smart mobility, resilience, green corridor, noise reduction and communication). The projects it has launched in recent years include RAISE-IT, which explores high-speed railway integration and saving time on commutes through a focus on accessibility at different scales, with the goal of attending to the exchange of the transport demand with the corridor via TEN-T nodes in the zones around and through the nodes. Coherently, three scales of study were planned: urban and adjacent nodes, larger areas of nodes on a regional scale and connections among nodes along the entire corridor.

However, more than specific projects, here we are interested in highlighting the working philosophy of this interregional alliance that supports the development of the European transport corridor. This philosophy is epitomised in the title of one of its initiatives*: One Corridor – One Strategy!* (Figure 2).

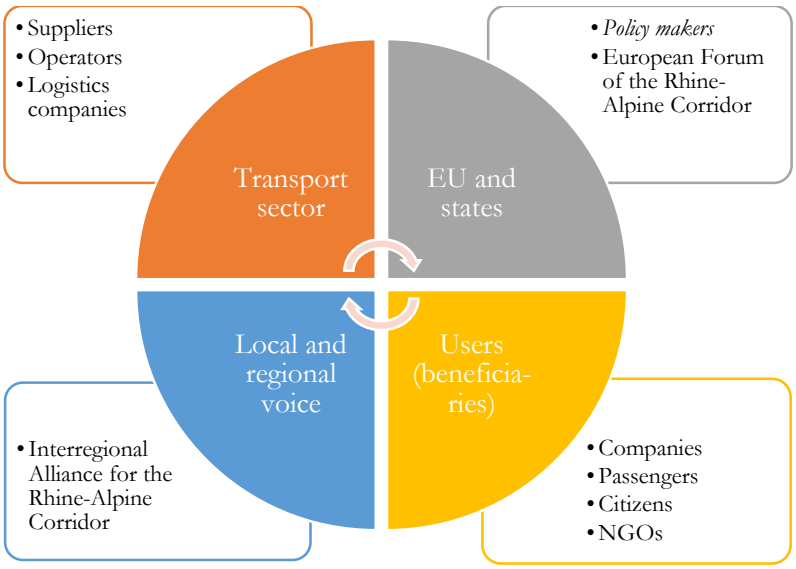
Figure 2. Overview of the region through which the Rhine-Alpine Corridor runs with the essential features of the common strategy



Source: Interregional Alliance for the Rhine-Alpine Corridor EGTC.

One corridor – one strategy focuses on five development priorities for the entire region: optimising the network, procedures and cooperation among the essential stakeholders; increasing the capacity of the transport system; solving territorial and sustainability problems; accelerating the speed; and contributing to societal acceptance of the project. In short, this interregional alliance is the fourth pillar in a joint strategy illustrated in the figure below (the 'interregional' quadrant is coloured to highlight its importance).

Figure 3. Stakeholders in the Rhine-Alpine Corridor



Source: Author based on the figure from the EGTC Interregional Alliance for the Rhine-Alpine Corridor, 2017

As mentioned above, the common strategy that the CODE24 initiative launched has a plan integrated into the landscape, settlements and transport development, which is essential in such a densely populated region with such intense use of the territory. And this vision is materialised by putting three essential dynamics into practice: avoiding the 'bottlenecks' of territorial organisation and transports on the corridor-wide scale, getting all the public and private stakeholders operating in that territory involved, and creating conflict-resolution platforms.

4. Conclusions

We have seen two examples of strategic cooperation among nearby territorial actors, one within the same state, Italy, and another that extends beyond the boundaries of a single state. Both were created to meet the new economic demands of a connected world, and both could serve as the model for a cooperation policy in the Euram territory which should adopt several fundamental principles:

- An increase in the role of logistics in the global scene thanks to the growth of regional and global value chains and new forms of manufacturing and consumption.
- Greater importance of European interregional cooperation, not only in response to Europe's traditional concern for subsidiarity but also as a fundamental principle that is somehow reflected in the development of the European transport corridors in the TEN-T network, which were 'originally' multipolar and networked.

- Increasing attention to decarbonisation processes in passenger and especially freight transport, which drive railway transport in Europe and necessitate the interoperability of private systems and cooperation in managing flows.
- The demand for an integrated vision of the transports and logistics system which uses the European logic of considering the connections, hubs, corridors, cross-border axes and nodes.

With the Spanish government playing a potential leading role, as the Italian government does, Euram must develop cooperation and collaboration policies—while safeguarding free competition among actors—in at least three different spheres: the projection of the Mediterranean port front globally (competing with other European port fronts), the freight railway system (which is partly being done already with the development of the Mediterranean corridor) and the logistics supply and associated connections to create and supply a market to a large cross-border region in southern Europe specialised in freight transport and movement. These macro visions do not necessarily invalidate micro visions but instead merely complement them, and they prevent many duplications, inefficiencies and wastage in the system of investments and allocations of fixed capital. Therefore, we need a joint vision of Euram's logistics potentialities following the example of the three Italian regions. Only in this way will we be able to compete in a global market and gain muscle in a scenario where the size of the network does matter.

Reconfiguring the proximity effect—drawing from the title of the aforementioned book by Joan Subirats—will be one of the challenges in the forthcoming decades, with a paradigm shift in how this relational factor based on short and middle distances and neighbour relations has traditionally been handled. The upheaval introduced into the lives of territories by the global phenomenon should spark an in-depth reflection on the paradigm with which we examine this order relationship in space.

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Mental journeys to Europe from school: Europe through projector slides

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Abstract

Throughout this text the image of Europe transmitted to the pupils of the Serrat Bonastre Secondary School through projector slides is presented. With the background of intuitive pedagogy, projector slides were used to present different images on the basis of which to form a concept of what Europe was, its territory, and its culture. Thereby inviting pupils, through the projections, to come to know distant and not so distant realities, in order to draw them into European culture, through art, nature, urban landscapes, and the main monuments that adorn the cities. This enabled the learners to make mental journeys that led them to know other realities, albeit culturally, geographically, and socially close ones. The following lines are devoted to an analysis of the construction of this European imagery.

Key words: European education, intuitive pedagogy, history of education, active learning, visual learning.

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1. Introduction

This study analyses how the image of Europe was conveyed to the students at the Institut Serrat Bonastre through the slides that are part of the Serrat Bonastre Collection, which dates from the early twentieth century. The projector slides showing Europe were culled from the collection. In order to conduct this analysis systematically, first we shall briefly present intuitive pedagogy, which is the epistemological underpinning of visual learning via projector slides, and then we shall outline how the European imaginary was conveyed at schools. This is followed by a contextualisation of the Institut Serrat Bonastre, the heir to the Escola d'Arts i Oficis (Arts and Crafts School) in Barcelona's Gràcia neighbourhood in the late nineteenth century. Finally, we shall analyse the different photographs used to inspire students' mental journeys around Europe, which enabled them to construct a European imaginary through its cultural, architectural, geographic and natural heritage.

2. Intuitive pedagogy and its reception in Spain and Catalonia

Intuitive pedagogy is rooted in the proposals put forth by the Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), as is obvious from the very name of the projectors, Aparatos Pestalozzi, used by the company that sold them, Esteva Marata (see Illustration 1).[1]

Pestalozzi advocated the principle of *Anschauung*—intuition—in reaction to and condemnation of education that used rote repetition solely through the word. His conception of the principle of intuition—stemming from Komensky's pedagogy of the senses—is based on the fact that all learning must be anchored in the most immediate sensory experience, with the understanding that perception is the first step in capturing an idea or an essence. That is, the senses are the foundation of personal experimentation, and education should begin with the presence of simple yet core elements, that is, familiar, everyday objects that allow children to guess the exterior shape, idea and internal structure that they conceal, in line with Fröbel's proposals. Thus, by integrating the principles of sensorialism and pedagogic idealism, Pestalozzi claimed that children's direct relationship with the world around them is the only guarantee of learning: 'Sensitive intuition in itself is nothing but the presence of the external object before the senses, which rouses a consciousness of the impression it makes […]. Intuition is the supreme principle of instruction, the utter foundation of all knowledge' (Pestalozzi, 1993).

Under the aegis of this principle, both educational practices and pedagogical discourses shifted by making children the point of departure in educational planning. In consequence, there was burgeoning attention to children's perception, movement and interests when designing educational practices.

The intuitive pedagogy promoted by Pestalozzi posits that the presence of objects is what enables us to clarify ideas. Even further, he posited that having the senses actively attuned to things—receiving things actively, we would say today—is what helps us perceive the essence that, as such, is not particular but universal. Therefore, we could say that Pestalozzi saw the direction of learning as

[1] The catalogue we used is: *Esteva Marata S. A. Catálogo general ilustrado de material instructivo moderno para escuelas elementa les, superiores, normales*. Barcelona: Bazar Ibérico de Barcelona, 1914 (revision, 1925), p. 397.

upward: from the thing to the idea, from the senses to the essence—and not downward, as was customary in previous educational practices. For this reason, perception and manipulation were activated first, followed later by reasoning and creativity. Under this umbrella, from all vantage points education is movement and action, initiative and the creative drive of children's intellect.

As a consequence of this new perspective, different educational activities were designed that allowed the students to discover objects for themselves and use their natural power. This leads to curious and even inquisitive activity that spurs their desire to learn more about the objects perceived and ascertain their main features and the principles regulating their composition, shape and appearance.

Thus, as a consequence of this pedagogical principle, three didactic techniques were developed and adopted in Spain and Catalonia from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries: manual labour, school outings and 'lessons on objects or things' (Otero, 1998).

Even though there were some earlier tentative yet determined attempts, the turning point was M. B. Cossío's (1857-1935) venture to instate and direct the Museo Pedagógico Nacional (1882-1936), one of the top disseminators of intuitive pedagogy and the principle of activity in Spanish and Catalan education. In his work 'El maestro, la escuela y el material de enseñanza' (Cossío, 1906), he stressed the need for schools to establish relations with objects to enable the students' activity and thinking develop. This is why manual labour was part of the principle of intuition: mind, head and hand have to work together simultaneously.

On the other hand, the 'lessons on objects or things', another practice stemming from intuitive pedagogy, was quickly assimilated by different teachers and promoted by companies. We should note that originally 'things' were not just an anchor for active perception; learning with things themselves did not exhaust their purpose but was instead used as the point of departure with goal of the children accessing knowledge, the idea. In this sense, Collelldemont states with regard to intuitive pedagogy that 'Essentially the way this attitude [intuition] is acquired is through analytical learning that starts with observing the parts until the whole is grasped' (Collelldemont, 1998, p. 63). Through a Socratic dialogue around the object, the teacher asked the students a series of questions in order to build a debate that would help them deduce the idea it harbours, relate it to other similar objects or to situations which would allow them to gain knowledge and learn. In other words, intuitive pedagogy begins with sensorial perception that captures the child's attention, sparking their interest in knowledge.

The implementation of this latter idea in Catalonia was manifested in three specific ways: 'commercial school museums', which consisted in collections of thematic objects sold commercially; 'school museums', which were created with the contributions of the children themselves; and collections of images and plates, which replaced things, prioritising visual perception over touch, smell and sound. Some of the classrooms used objects that the children could view and possibly handle, things which came from their everyday landscapes or the natural environment. This asked them to activate their natural power until they appropriated the knowledge (see Illustration 2).

Yet images and plates had obvious economic advantages and were easier to use: a single image, plate or projection slide could be used by an entire group of children and did not require prior preparation. Thus, plates and illustrated books began to occupy a prominent place in school materials and would continue to do so until the Second Republic (1931-1939), even though they had previously received clear support from the educational policy during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-1930) (Padrós, 2018).

Compared to lessons from storybooks, 'lessons from things' sought to connect the children's interest to abstract knowledge, capture their attention and activate their thinking. In short, they sought to set their minds in motion using images, representations and things. This meant breaking with the inertia of rote oral or written lessons and introducing a more perceptive, sensory yet complex and abstract process. It also made it possible to bring distant realities closer by creating imaginaries, so it enabled students to relive voyages of exploration (as we see in the collections entitled 'The Conquest of the Poles' and 'TRANSSIBERIA'), travel to the ruins of Rome or peer inside palaces and castles.

The projection slides at the Institut Serrat Bonastre are framed within this context, designed to spark students' thinking, imagination and creativity through images which would allow them to both capture the idea of what was being projected and build a mental imaginary, in this case, of Europe.

3. The European imaginary at schools

Based on the different contents proposed by the lectures promoted by the companies and used at the schools, we can reconstruct the imaginaries that they prompted about such a complex concept as Europe. Grouped together thematically, the lectures contained different subjects that were taught at primary and secondary schools. The company Esteva Marata seized the opportunity; we can read in its catalogue: 'More than 200,000 (two hundred thousand) different views comprise the assortment available from this company, and a special jumbo catalogue would be needed to provide details on all of them. Religion; Arts (Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, etc.); Natural History; Anatomy and Physiology; Physical, Political and Astronomical Geography; Geology; Microscopy; Views of villages, journeys and explanations of Asia and Africa; Physics and Chemistry; Technology; etc' (Esteve Marata, 1914, p. 375)[2]

This advertising was also printed on the boxes in which the slides came, which were often imports (especially Cuyas SC) which the E. Mazo company purchased from French and German companies (as seen by the presence of bilingual titles in German and Catalan or Spanish on some slides) (Goerlich, 2006). However, other times, they were made from reproductions of images and photographs from books.

Regardless of their origin, by combining different lectures and slide series, students constructed a given imaginary which served as their referent for understanding the world in which they lived. However, this imaginary was also

[2] Original quote: 'Más de 200.000 (doscientas mil) vistas diferentes componen el surtido de que dispone esta casa, para detallar las cuales se precisaría un catálogo especial de grandes proporciones. Religión, Artes (Pintura, Escultura, Arquitectura, etc.), Historia Natural, Anatomía y Fisiología, Geografía física, política y astronómica, Geología, Microscopía, Vistas de poblaciones, viajes y explicaciones por Asia y África, Física y Química, Tecnología, etc.'

partly shaped by the school's selection of which slides to buy and which to use in class. Indeed, given the plethora of possibilities offered by the companies, schools decided what type of heritage they explained, what society they showed and what geographic or political features they introduced. Schools could thus tailor the image of Europe's industrial, political, geographic and heritage according to their own interests and curricula. Likewise, they could encourage views of neutral spaces or conflicts, and even a forward-looking or retrospective view.

Here we are interested in discovering the imaginary of Europe that was conveyed, a Europe with diffuse geographic boundaries that spanned from the Ural Mountains to the coasts of Turkey (as seen in the 'Map of Europe' by Josep Paluzie Lucena from 1905)[3] (Illustration 3), with fluctuating borders (although this fluctuation was not always covered in textbooks) and with such dissimilar internal features (political configuration, cultures, languages, ethnography, etc.) that even today European identity is the subject of debates and essays, such as the one by Stefan Zweig (2017).

If we examine the catalogue from the company Radiguet & Massiot (2018), we see that Europe is explained through the countries listed below, which included the colonised territories in Asia, Africa and the Americas: 'Europe: France[4] (pp. 2-34); Colonies Françaises[5] (pp. 35-55); Allemagne (pp. 56-57); Angleterre (p. 57); Balkans (p. 57); Belgique (pp. 58-66); Bosnie, Croatie, Herzégovine (p. 66); Danemark (p. 66); Espagne (pp. 67-68); Grèce (p. 69); Hollande (Pays-Bas) (pp. 69-70); Italie (pp. 71-81): Sicile; Luxembourg (p. 81); Norvège: Voir Scandinavie (p. 81); Portugal (p. 82); Roumanie (p. 82); Russie (pp. 83-86); Scandinavie: Suède et Norvège (pp. 86-88); Suisse (pp. 88-90); Turquie (pp. 90-92)'.[6] Furthermore, the countries were treated quite differently, as gleaned from the number of lectures devoted to each of them. In fact, as seen above, not all the territories were listed, nor were they all represented with the same degree of precision. Therefore, we can assume that countries and territories do or do not appear, and appear at differing intensities, according to first the geopolitics of the period, which explains the presence of the colonies; secondly their natural proximity, as seen in the collections devoted to geology and Alpine

[3] Scale [1:8,000,000], size: 54×67 cm, published by Establecimiento Editorial de Hijos de Paluzíe, conserved by the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (CEC) Collection and deposited in the ICGC. Registry: RC1184. http://cartotecadigital.icgc.cat

[4] Which include images of the following territories: Aim, Aisne, Allier, Basses-Alpes, Hautes-Alpes, Alpes Maritimes, Principauté de Monaco, Ardèche, Ardennes, Aude, Aveyron, Bouches-du-Rhône, Calvados, Cantal, Charente, Charente-Inféreieure, Cher, Corrèze, Corse, Côte d'Or, Côtes-du-Nord, Creuse, Dordogne, Drôme, Eure, Eure-et-Loir, Finistère, Gard, Haute-Garonne, Gironde, Hérault, Ille-et-Vilaine, Indre, Indre-et-Loir, Isère, Loir-et-Cher, Haute-Loire, Loire-Inférieure, Loiret, Lot, Lozère, Maine-et-Loire, Manche, Mayenne, Meurthe et Moselle, Meuse, Morbihan, Nièvre, Nord, Oise, Pas-de-Calais, Puy-de Dôme, Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Rhône, Saône-et-Loire, Sarthe, Savoie, Haute-Savoie, Seine : Paris / Rue de la Seine, Janvier 1910. Inondations / Après les Inondations / Seine-Inférieure / Seine-et Marne / Seine-et-Oise, Somme, Tarn, Var, Vaucluse, Vendée, Haute-Vienne, Vosges, Vues des Gorges du Tarn et des Cévennes.

[5] Algérie, Sahara, Tunisie, Madagascar, Côte française de Çomalis, Sénégal, Ile de la Réunion, Annam, Cambogde, Cochinchine, Indes Françaises, Tonkin, Nouvelle Calédonie, Guadaeoupe et dépendances, Martinique.

[6] On studying catalogues as a source of information, see: MORENO, P.L., SEBASTIÁN, A. (2017). "Imagen, educación y marketing en los catálogos de material de enseñanza de la casa comercial Cultura (1924-1972), in MORENO, P.L., VIÑAO, A. (eds.). *Imagen y* educación. *Marketing, comercialización y didáctica (España, siglo xx)* (pp. 155-175). Morata: Madrid.

landscapes; and thirdly their perceived cultural proximity. For example, the French-speaking countries such as Belgium and Luxembourg receive more attention than others in the French slides in the aforementioned catalogue.

This lack of precision was further accentuated in the transfer of the materials from the companies to the schools. This was ultimately a negotiated solution between the supplies offered by the companies, from which the schools, as the demand, had to choose. One example of this negotiation is the comparison between the geographic focus of the catalogue from the Parisian company Mazo, 1910 edition (Guerin, 2015), and the Serrat Bonastre Collection, many of whose slides come from this company, which we have chosen as an example in this reference (Illustration 4).

One of the direct results of this promotion of a given imaginary about Europe is that a diffuse idea of what Europe was took root in the school-aged population. This idea—or more specifically, this imaginary—contains a strong core, and thus one that is not debatable, comprised of the territories with which there is a shared past and relations of affinity can be established. These affinities are ultimately comprised of similar landscapes, somehow sensed as familiar, the perception of similar lifestyles and the feeling that the legacies of the past are their own; that is, there is a common religious, cultural and/or architecture heritage. Yet it is, in fact, defined by a geographic, social and cultural imaginary.

Understanding the mechanisms by which a geographic, social and cultural imaginary is propagated as a school subject is what leads us to question its specific materialisation in a specific school.[7] In order to take this more detailed approach, which methodologically incorporates elements from the case study and image analysis, we shall use the materials on the projection slides from the Serrat Bonastre Collection housed by the Historical Memory Recovery Programme of the IMEB and now temporarily deposited at the Museu Universitari Virtual de Pedagogia (MUVIP). We should highlight here that this is not a collection with 'Europe' in its name but instead a synthesis of the lectures and series of cities, heritage sites, journeys and landscapes around European territory. Likewise, we should also stress that the collection contains slides from different years and periods, as evidenced by the dates on some of them, as well as the details shown on the slides. Below is a brief introduction to the Institut Serrat Bonastre in order to help contextualise the subsequent analysis of the projection slides from this educational institution.

4. From the Escola d'Arts i Oficis de la vila de Gràcia to the Institut J. Serrat i Bonastre

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the village of Gràcia evolved from being an agrarian, rural economy to an industrial economy of tradesmen and shopkeepers. Its location on the outskirts of the city of Barcelona facilitated its transition from a land of crop fields to a true hub of professional activities. Its proximity to the capital meant that the traditionally peasant population became industrial. In reality, the expansive power of Barcelona meant that the first beneficiary of industrial development and prosperity was the village of Gràcia. In

[7] We located a similar study on the collection of the Lycée Colbert, which can be found at: https://ehne.fr/presentation-du-fonds-colbert; access to the digitalised holdings is provided: https://ehne.fr/ colbert/base-de-donnees-du-fonds-colbert.

1897, not without some opposition from its residents, the village of Gràcia became the neighbourhood of Gràcia, forever more a part of the city of Barcelona as its seventh district. Thus, Gràcia was permanently incorporated into Barcelona. At that time, the Gràcia town hall had 13 schools, nine of which were primary schools, one was a nursery school, one offered higher education, one was a music school and another was a drawing school, in addition to 46 private schools. This extensive network of schools shows the educational and cultural development of this village on the outskirts of the metropolis.

Before it was incorporated into Barcelona, the village of Gràcia had created the first Escola Municipal d'Arts i Oficis (Municipal Arts and Trades School)—currently the Institut J. Serrat i Bonastre—even before the capital did. Following the earlier examples of Joaquim Pereyra workers' school (1872), the Escola Municipal de Dibuix (Municipal Drawing School, 1877-1878), the Escola Municipal de Gimnàstica (Municipal Gymnastics School, 1883-1884) and the Academia Municipal de Corte y Confección (Municipal Fashion School, 1887-1888), Gràcia had clearly revealed its interest in specialised training for the working class in the new society emerging in the late nineteenth century. The Escola Municipal d'Arts i Oficis was founded in 1890within this context. Influenced by the excitement sparked by Barcelona's 1889 Universal Exposition, the Real Sociedad Económica Graciense de Amigos del País asked the Gràcia Town Hall to create a similar school in the village. The press reported on this petition. At its request, the members of the association—highlighting the need for education to be as practical as possible (AHMD, 1980)—recommended that it be similar to its counterpart school in the city of Mataró, which had opened in 1886 (Tarrós, 1999), with sections for Industrial Arts and Construction, Trade and Fine Arts.

Logically, against the backdrop of the late nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution in Barcelona, the goal was to teach and instruct the emerging working class. Thus in September 1890, the Escola d'Arts i Oficis of the village of Gràcia was founded with three sections: Industrial Arts and Construction, Fine Arts and Special Courses. It was located at number 12-14 Carrer de l'Àngel. However, because the buildings that would house the new school still had to be refurbished, its opening was delayed until 18 November. For that first year, the curriculum included classes on Arithmetic, Plane and Spatial Geometry and Line Drawing for the Industrial Arts and Construction section; while the Fine Arts section taught Arithmetic and Figure Drawing and Adornment. Given the influx of students, it should come as no surprise that by the second academic year the original facilities had become too small. Thus, the school moved to Casa Trilla, located at number 177 Carrer Major—currently called Gran de Gràcia—where it started the third academic year (1892-1893) with more than 109 students enrolled. It would remain in this location until 1909.

When the village of Gràcia was incorporated into the municipality of Barcelona in 1897, the school had eight teachers. The boys who enrolled there as students had to be twelve years old, and the girls ten. Likewise, they were required to know how to read and write, to be familiar with the fundamental rules of arithmetic and to submit a certificate of aptitude signed by a primary school teacher, in addition to paying the tuition. The classes were held at night, from seven to nine pm. There was a series of scholarships for the more disadvantaged students who displayed good behaviour and strong academic performance.

The Escola Municipal d'Arts i Oficis de Gràcia came to occupy its current location at number 4 Carrer Marqués de Santa Ana, near Plaça de Lesseps, in 1918. However, throughout 1918 the Municipal Culture Commission of the Barcelona Town Hall was conducting an exhaustive study with the aim of modernising the working-class schools in the city. After analysing the situation of professional education in Barcelona, it decided to convert the city's four arts and trades schools into the Escoles Complementàries d'Oficis (Complementary Trade Schools).[8]

If we look closely, we realise that the new name reflected the fact that the professional schools were to be a 'complement' to the preparation that students would acquire in practical workshops, as well as to the basic general instruction taught at primary schools. Indeed, this school was called the Escola Complementària d'Arts i Oficis Abat Oliva from the time it moved into its new location until 1952. It did not receive its current name of Institut J. Serrat i Bonastre until 1952, in tribute to the famous chemical and mechanical engineer, Josep Serrat i Bonastre (1869-1946), who also translated a great deal of technical literature and was the president of the Association of Industrial Engineers of Catalonia between 1908 and 1910. Today there is a journalism award granted by the Professional Industrial Engineers' Association of Catalonia bearing his name which has been awarded to renowned Catalan journalists like Mònica Terribas.

Regardless, beyond the changes in name and location, throughout its history the Institut J. Serrat i Bonastre has been a benchmark in vocational training in Catalonia which has trained generations of workers and youths in the arts and trades. It currently belongs to the public school network and teaches compulsory secondary education and baccalaureate in three tracks: humanities and social sciences; science and technology; and the fine arts, image and design.[9] It still retains its vocational mission of the past.

5. Europe recovered through the projection slides in the Serrat Bonastre Collection

The projection slides in the Serrat Bonastre Collection encompass a total of 2,187 slides organised into 121 series (created by the companies) and distributed in small thematic boxes on natural history, social history, industry and arts. They are identified with names such as: Fish, Molluscs, Amphibians, Reptiles, Snakes, etc.; Prehistory; The Port of Barcelona, Streets of Barcelona, etc.; Museo del Prado, Museum of Japan, etc.; Aranjuez and its farm; The Farm; Industrial Machines, Paper, etc. (Padrós, 2018).

The names of the slides include titles in Catalan, Spanish and occasionally French (which we have kept in our records for identification purposes). We should also note that these series and lectures contain between 3 and 50 slides,

[8] There were four arts and trades schools in Barcelona in 1918. After the municipal commission's project, the schools were renamed Escoles Complementaries d'Oficis (Complementary Trade Schools). Thus, the school in district 5 was named Escola Complementària d'Oficis Narciso Monturiol; the one in district 7, Sants, was called the Escola Complementària d'Oficis Arnaldo de Vilanova; the one in district 10 was the Escola Complementària d'Oficis Francisco Aragó; and the one in the Gràcia neighbourhood was named the Escola Complementària d'Oficis Abad Oliva. ALBERDI, R. (1980). Op. cit, pp. 510-514.

[9] See: *Institut Serrat i Bonastre* (2021) [Consulted 29 January 2018]. https://www.serratibonastre.cat/index.php/ca/

and that the majority are almost complete and in good condition. In some cases, the themes seem to be repeated; however, the contents of the slides are different, as are the companies from which they come.

If we analyse them, Europe only appears as a topic in the European Cities series. However, we can also trace the presentation of the European imaginary through the lectures and series whose theme is a geographic unit: landscapes, cities or journeys. Specifically, the following groups were chosen from the collection as a sample to conduct the analysis:

Table 1. Distribution of the representations

Total references	Collection	Country	City	Geographical delimitation	Diverse
16	European Cities Series				■
14	Mixed Series. Selection of slides referring to spaces in Europe				■
3	Castles				
5	Palaces and Chapels	■			
23	Versailles		■		
49	Fontainebleau		■		
23	Lourdes and The Pyrenees			■	
29	Parks of Paris		■		
39	Winter in the Alps			■	
7	Italy	■			
6	Italy	■			
8	Venice		■		
13	Florence		■		
12	City of Florence		■		
6	Rome		■		
9	Rome		■		
30	Rome		■		
12	The Roman Forum		■		
12	The Roman Forum		■		
10	Roman Villa		■		
6	Architecture / Sculpture of Greece	■			
8	Greece	■			
6	Greece	■			
10	Russia	■			
10	Russia – The Winter Palace and others	■			
12	Transsiberia			■	
10	Expeditions				■
388					

Source: Authors

As can be seen, we have chosen a geographic delimitation of Europe that reflects the canons found in the school products from the period (that is, its frontier is the Ural Mountains, but it does not encompass the colonies, given that we found no graphic examples in the collection analysed). Not all European states, landscapes and cities are represented in the collection, nor are they represented to the same degree, as clearly seen in Table 1. Likewise, it should be borne in mind that we chose not to include the series showing locations in Catalonia and Spain for this analysis because we believe that they were a familiar, proximate phenomenon and therefore not related to the propagation of an abstract idea of Europe.

5.1. The landscapes represented: The polarisation between urban and natural landscapes

Of the total of 388 slides analysed, 124 show urban landscapes and 98 natural environments, including mountains and rugged landscapes. The remainder are interior views. Even though these are only numbers, it does indicate the vision of Europe conveyed, namely a Europe with large quasi-nuclear urbanisations which contains spots that are almost wilderness nature preserves, as symbolised by the contrast between the two slides in Illustration 8.

We also find the comparison of the frequency of views presented in the different series illustrative of this polarisation:

Table 2. Distribution of the representations of urban/natural/interior places and landscapes

Total references	Collection	Urban landscapes	Natural landscapes	Indoor views
16	European Cities Series	13	3	0
14	Mixed Series. Selection of slides referring to spaces in Europe	2	5	7
3	Castles	1	2	0
5	Palaces and Chapels	2	0	3
23	Versailles	0	0	23
49	Fontainebleau	0	19	30
23	Lourdes and The Pyrenees	2	16	5
29	Parks of Paris	29	0	0
39	Winter in the Alps	0	35	4
7	Italy	2	0	5
6	Italy	4	1	1
8	Venice	0	0	8
13	Florence	11	0	2
12	City of Florence	8	0	4
6	Rome	1	0	5
9	Rome	1	0	8
30	Rome	14	0	16
12	The Roman Forum	7	0	5

12	The Roman Forum	6	0	6
10	Roman Villa	2	0	8
6	Architecture / Sculpture of Greece	0	0	6
8	Greece	0	0	8
6	Greece	0	0	6
10	Russia	7	2	1
10	Russia – The Winter Palace and others	10	0	0
12	Transsiberia	2	10	0
10	Expeditions	0	7	3
388		124	98	166

Source: Authors

In terms of the details, the urban landscapes show views of streets, transports, broad avenues, gardens and clearly urban parks. One example is from the series of European cities that includes views of different cities and towns, four examples of which are shown in Illustration 9.

On the other hand, there is a clear contrast between the main cities from classical culture—especially in Italy (Venice, Florence, Rome)—which are shown through a series of ruins and routes featuring ancient architecture and large Renaissance palaces and other buildings, and modern architecture—especially represented by Paris and different towns and places around France. Illustration 10 shows an example of each.

This urban nature which we can see in some of the series is clearly different from the way nature is represented in the nature series, which show natural settings located in the mountainous regions of the Pyrenees and the Alps, as well as the northern landscapes of Russia and the Arctic Circle reproduced in the series on Transsiberia. Illustration 11 shows four examples of these.

As a final detail, we should point out that despite the attention paid to rivers and glaciers, we have located no marine landscapes in the series. The sea is only represented by maritime ports, views of boats and the close-up of a memorial which is included in several different series. These can be seen in the views in Illustration 12.

In summary, then, this colonised natural space represented by ports, ski resorts and geology denotes the presence of human action in the territory. However, this presence is more hinted at than seen, as shown by the relatively low frequency with which people appear in the different views.

5.2. The population depicted: Travelling around Europe to flee from the crowds

Indeed, when determining the presence of people and the role they play in the slides, what stands out is the scant presence of humans. This holds true in both the urban and natural environments. The numerical breakdown of the slides as a whole and by category reveals this:

Table 3. Distribution of the representations of places and landscapes according to the impact of the human presence

Total references	Collection	Anecdotal presence of people	People as the main focus	No people
16	European Cities Series	7	4	5
14	Mixed Series. Selection of slides referring to spaces in Europe	2	4	8
3	Castles	1	0	2
5	Palaces and Chapels	2	0	3
23	Versailles	2	1	20
49	Fontainebleau	2	0	47
23	Lourdes and The Pyrenees	0	3	20
29	Parks of Paris	10	2	17
39	Winter in the Alps	6	16	17
7	Italy	0	0	7
6	Italy	3	0	3
8	Venice	0	0	8
13	Florence	6	0	7
12	City of Florence	6	0	6
6	Rome	1	0	5
9	Rome	1	0	8
30	Rome	5	0	25
12	The Roman Forum	2	1	9
12	The Roman Forum	3	1	8
10	Roman Villa	3	1	6
6	Architecture / Sculpture of Greece	0	0	6
8	Greece	0	0	8
6	Greece	0	0	6
10	Russia	0	1	9
10	Russia – The Winter Palace and others	3	0	7
12	Transsiberia	6	3	3
10	Expeditions	3	6	1
388		74	43	271

Source: Authors

In this sense, two particular features of the views are surprising: the first is the vast number of urban views taken without the presence of humans. This absence may be understandable—and even expected—in the views of the artistic heritage, which are often taken up close or showing rooms of palaces and castles, but it is certainly more curious in views of representative buildings. Two examples are shown in Illustration 13.

The second is the correlation in the frequency between lectures and series in which people play a prominent role and those showing natural spaces. What particularly stands out are the Winter in the Alps, Transsiberia and Expeditions series, where people are shown engaged in different sports and trades, and the

series on Lourdes and the Pyrenees, which highlights prominent geologists and palaeontologists. Several examples are shown in Illustration 14.

Finally, we detected that there are slides in which people solely appear anecdotally. This could be for two main reasons: they serve as a visual referent to give perspective on the scale of the spaces, and they show the uses and utilities of the spaces. Two examples are shown in Illustration 15.

5.3. The activities represented: Revival of a past world

When we analyse the slides in the series, it becomes clear that they represent an everyday life which is 'uniquely European', biased according to what they seek to propagate. Indeed, the type of society that appears in the images and the customs represented clearly shape this imaginary. Specifically, the activities depicted are:

Table 4. Distribution of the human activities represented

Total references	Collection	Work activities	Commerce	Leisure activities	Science and knowledge	Pedestrians	Others (home, religious activities, etc.)
16	European Cities Series	1	0	0	0	9	0
14	Mixed Series. Selection of slides referring to spaces in Europe	1	0	1	3	1	0
3	Castles. Different collections. Without slides of Spain	0	0	0	0	1	0
5	Palaces and Chapels	0	0	0	1	0	0
23	Versailles	0	0	0	1	1	0
49	Fontainebleau	0	0	1	0	1	0
23	Lourdes and The Pyrenees. It refers to France as a whole. The slides of Messina, Lake Ontario and the Nile were excluded.	0	0	11	3	0	0
29	Parks of Paris	0	0	11	0	0	0
39	Winter in the Alps	1	0	20	0	2	1
7	Italy: buildings, painting and sculpture	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Italy: Venice, Rome, Pompeii	0	1	0	0	1	0
8	Venice: 14th-17th centuries	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	Florence	0	0	0	0	6	0
12	City of Florence	1	0	0	0	4	0
6	Rome	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Rome. The box is from Dr Schleussner's. On the back: EL MOLINO	0	0	0	0	1	0
30	Rome	0	0	0	0	5	0
12	The Roman Forum	0	0	0	3	0	0
12	The Roman Forum	0	0	0	2	2	0
10	Roman Villa	0	1	2	0	1	0
6	Architecture / Sculpture of Greece (with slides from other collections	0	0	0	0	0	0

	mixed in)						
8	Greece. The box is from Dr Schleussner's. On the back: EL MOLINO	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Greece. The box is from Dr Schleussner's. On the back: EL MOLINO	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Russia	1	0	0	0	0	0
10	Russia – The Winter Palace and others	0	0	0	0	3	0
12	Transsiberia	4	0	0	0	2	3
10	Expeditions	3	0	2	2	0	2
388		12	2	48	15	40	6

Source: Authors

Among the different slides, work activities are the most common, with a predominance of activities associated with farming, forestry and fishing, while industrialisation only appears anecdotally. We should note that the images associated with the world of work often represent what we could define as a 'lost world' or the 'world of yesteryear'—as seen in the image from the Winter in the Alps series (no. 8) on delivering the post—than people's everyday lives at the time, although occasionally a factory or an activity in fishing ports is displayed in the series on European cities (see Illustration 16).

Illustration 17 shows two examples of the kinds of jobs shown. The other actions that appear—as either the focal point of the image or a complement—are leisure activities, particularly in sides of landscapes. And conversely, sports are only shown in the Winter in the Alps series, with skiing, sledding and skating, and occasionally in the Expeditions series (see Illustration 18).

Commerce is hardly represented (see Illustration 19). It barely creeps into the scenes of cities, such as the one shown in the Roman Villa series (A Shop, Ref. J. Esteva Marata Barcelona. Lecture 64. no. 2. 132. On the front it reads S.-85-1527).

On the other hand, knowledge-based and scientific activities are represented from the vantage point of exploration and geology (see Illustration 20). In this sense, we should stress that even though they are infrequent, when they do appear, as in the slides shown above, they showcase the scientists more than the activities themselves, as in the Expeditions series (Le bloc de fer metéorique Nordenskjold / The block of meteoric iron in Nordenskjold. Ref. E. Mazo. Paris. No. 15 b. series: 90, 11 / Cuyas S. C. 11- Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. Barcelona. no. 11).

Finally, regarding the activities depicted, we can point out that the slides capture two Europes, the exotic and the common, and that in the latter local customs cannot be distinguished. What is more, identities are symbolised through spaces, not people's acts. Very telling in this regard are the slides on journeys in Illustration 21.

5.4. The heritage represented: Europe constructed through its material heritage

Finally, through the different views we can also glean the elements shaping the heritage during this period. In order to pinpoint the trends, we established six non-exclusive categories which enable us to decipher both what was considered worth conveying and the very notion of heritage itself. In this sense, we should mention that we chose six non-exclusive categories given that it was impossible to choose whether what was being accentuated in the slides was religion or architecture, art or the religion, a memorial—with the consequent glorification of power—or a cultural element. In these cases, we chose to include the slide in both categories in our analysis.

Table 5. Distribution of the types of places represented

Total references	Collection	Heritage, power, memorials	Cultural heritage	Natural heritage	Archaeological - palaeontological heritage	Architectural heritage	Religious heritage
16	European Cities Series	4	0	0	0	3	1
14	Mixed Series. Selection of slides referring to spaces in Europe	1	3	10	1	1	0
3	Castles. Different collections. Without slides of Spain	3	0	0	3	0	0
5	Palaces and Chapels	4	0	0	0	5	2
23	Versailles	23	4	7	0	16	2
49	Fontainebleau	24	2	21	0	23	7
23	Lourdes and The Pyrenees. It refers to France as a whole. The slides of Messina, Lake Ontario and the Nile were excluded.	0	0	23	13	3	1
29	Parks of Paris	9	5	15	0	15	0
39	Winter in the Alps	0	11	12	0	8	0
7	Italy: buildings, painting and sculpture	0	4	0	0	4	3
6	Italy: Venice, Rome, Pompeii	0	0	0	2	5	0
8	Venice: 14th-17th centuries	0	4	2	0	3	4
13	Florence	5	0	0	0	12	5
12	City of Florence	3	2	1	0	9	6
6	Rome	0	3	0	0	2	2
9	Rome. The box is from Dr Schleussner's. On the back: EL MOLINO	0	3	0	4	2	3
30	Rome	9	4	1	1	22	15
12	The Roman Forum	0	0	0	12	0	0
12	The Roman Forum	0	0	0	12	0	0
10	Roman Villa	0	2	1	8	1	0
6	Architecture / Sculpture of Greece (with slides from other collections mixed in)	0	3	0	3	0	2
8	Greece. The box is from Dr Schleussner's. On the back: EL	0	6	0	1	1	1

	MOLINO						
6	Greece. The box is from Dr Schleussner's. On the back: EL MOLINO	0	6	0	0	0	0
10	Russia	5	0	0	3	5	5
10	Russia – The Winter Palace and others	4	0	0	1	8	3
12	Transsiberia	1	6	1	1	4	2
10	Expeditions	0	6	0	1	2	0
388		95	74	94	66	154	64

Source: Authors

The representation of the heritage that emerges from this analysis does not reveal any outstanding trends, as is evident in Table 5, although the architectural heritage—with traditional houses or large buildings, palaces, castles and churches—seems to form the core (see Illustration 22).

In terms of the details of the heritage elements, we see that the slides paint the picture of a Europe brimming with history where different powers (especially political, economic and religious) have left their mark. Both the Fontainebleau and the Versailles series are clear examples of this. We also find the heritagisation of sites of power in the series on Rome, Venice, Florence and Russia. In this sense, we could say that this clearly reveals the construction of 'places of collective memory' (Nora, 1984) which primarily identify sites where 'historical decisions' were taken.

To illustrate this, several slides from the Fontainebleau series are shown in Illustration 23.

However, there is a glaring absence of slides devoted to the different wars and conflicts from the past, which are only occasionally represented. Nonetheless, they are expressed in memorials and monuments, in this case focused on prominent political or military figures or the tangible heritage of war (see Illustration 24).

Closely associated with the heritage related to sites of memory, the religious heritage is also prominent in the series both through panoramic slides and in reproductions of the details of temples and churches. Several of them are shown in Illustration 25.

Also in relation to memorials and the religious heritage, there are different views that reproduce the cultural heritage, especially the artistic heritage in the guise of sculptures. This is particularly represented in the series on Greece and Rome, as well as in the street monuments found in the different series (see Illustration 26).

Conversely, paintings and crafts are shown less frequently, although they do appear in some series (see Illustration 27). Finally, the slides reveal that the concept of natural heritage was beginning to take root, but they still denote a more landscape- than heritage-based conception of it. In this sense, we can detect a burgeoning appreciation of natural settings that were beginning to become sites of interest, although they are not yet represented as interpretation centres. Two examples are shown in Illustration 28.

The industrial heritage is even more incipient, as it is only represented through its products, such as bridges (see Illustration 29). However, as stated at the beginning of this section, we did not analyse the series devoted to industry in this study because they do not specifically focus on European industry or heritage but instead on manufacturing, as the slide from the Transsiberia series illustrates (Du Transibieren: Pont sur le Teneseei / Transsiberia. Bridge over the Tennessee. Ref. E. Mazo. Paris no. 19/ Cuyas. 11-Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. Barcelona. No. 19).

6. To conclude: The European imaginary represented

After the journey we have taken through the slides in the Serrat i Bonastre Collection, we can conclude that there is a range of aspects related to the European imaginary which they sought to teach students. As mentioned above, against the backdrop of intuitive pedagogy, through these projection slides the students constructed a given imaginary which would serve as a referent as they sought to understand the world in which they lived, in this case, a given imaginary of Europe.

The first point to highlight from the selection of slides chosen by the school is that the choice of territory was not arbitrary but instead projected territories that were politically 'central', which shared a common past and relations of affinity. That is, the shared heritage—religious, cultural or architectural—was spotlighted. This means that the imaginary of Europe was constructed based on a shared inheritance: geographic, social and cultural, so we can perceive a certain desire to construct European citizenship within each student. On the other hand, there was a clear intention to show more urban landscapes than rural settings. This was not fortuitous either. It was more important to teach 'shared culture' than the diversity and richness of the rural world. This meant that the Europe transmitted was one of great monuments, grand avenues, gardens and urban walkways. Even when the sea appears, it is represented by maritime ports or images of ships. This attests to man's conquest of nature, Europe conquered by man, which clearly displays the strength of Europe, the colonised territory. Seldom were everyday life or shops portrayed; instead images of palaces and castles stand out. In fact, photographs associated with agriculture, forestry or fisheries were used to show economic activity, once again symbols of mankind's power over nature, which is made to measure by human dominance. Indeed, they sought to show the advance of technology over untamed nature, scientific development serving mankind.

Europe was presented as constructed by material legacies. The religious, artistic and architectural facet was accentuated by glorifying the traditional powers. It was the synthesis of a Europe packed with history, where the different powers had left their mark. There were no images of war, misery or past conflicts. A triumphal Europe was shown, a victorious Europe that concealed its past wars. The image that the slides sought to convey, as we have seen throughout, was more the exaltation of a Europe crowned with a rich heritage than its miseries.

In the European heritage, the penury of the past was not represented; its successes were. The slides sought to forget belligerence to instead highlight military political triumphs, even though this may be the product of violent invasions. In short, Europe sought to showcase its strengths while deliberately concealing its weaknesses and bloody past. The slides show the history and the

territory of the winners, not the vanquished. And yet it was a history and a territory which were soon to become the site of the Second World War.

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Annexes

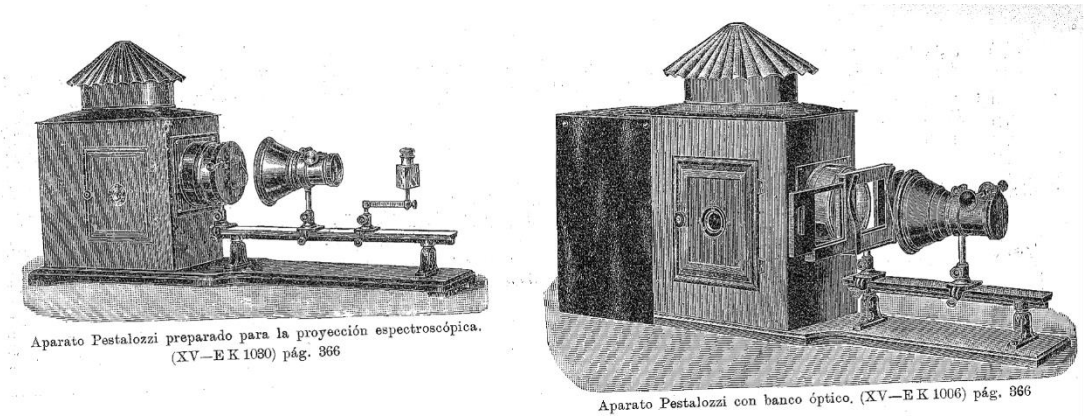


Illustration 1: Pestalozzi projectors advertised by the company Esteve Marata.

Illustration 2: Photograph by Joan Benejam.

Illustration 3: Map of Europe by Josep Paluzie Lucena (1905).

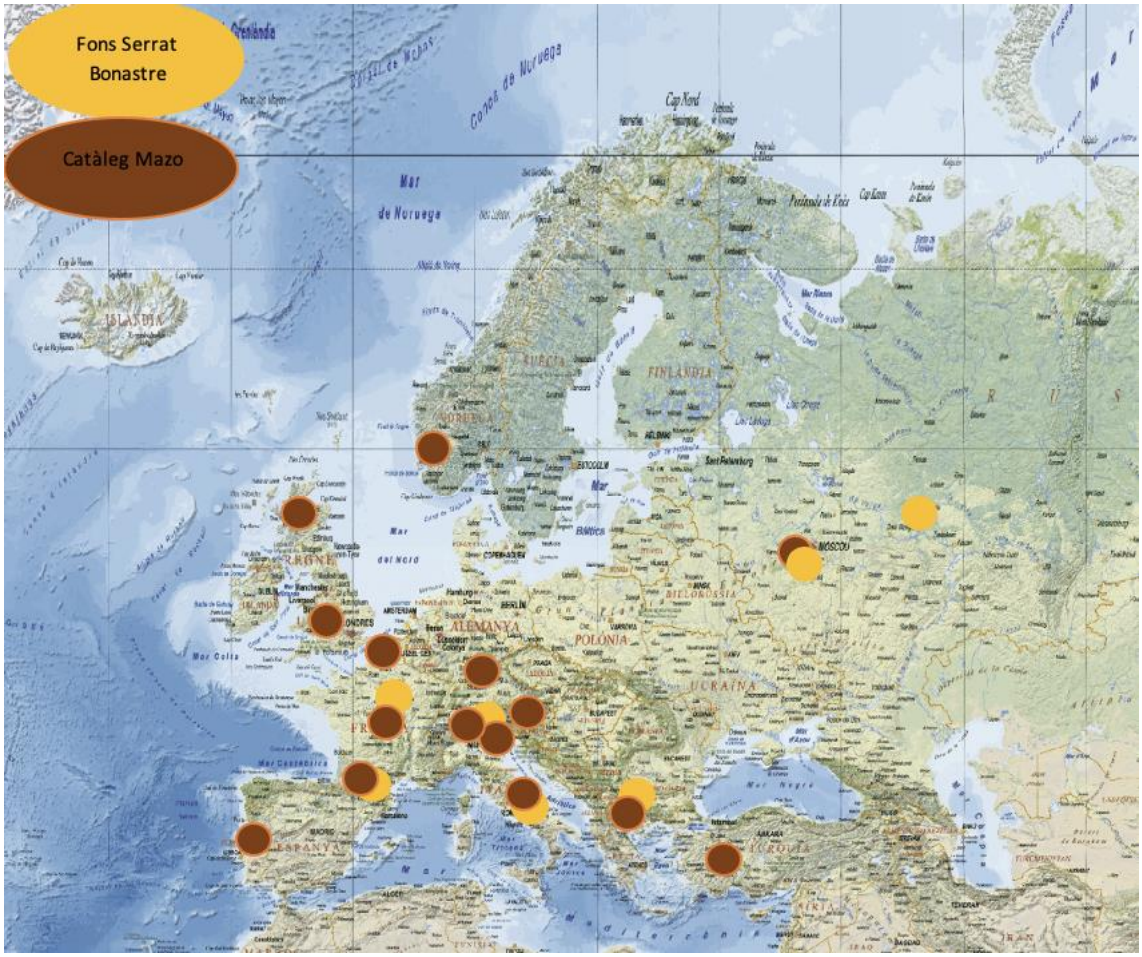


Illustration 4: Comparison between the geographic focal points of the catalogue from the Parisian company Mazo de Paris (1910 edition) and the slides in the Serrat Bonastre Collection.

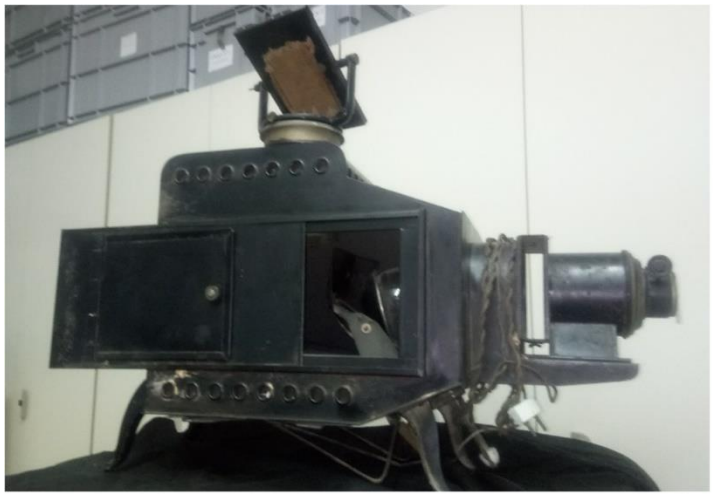
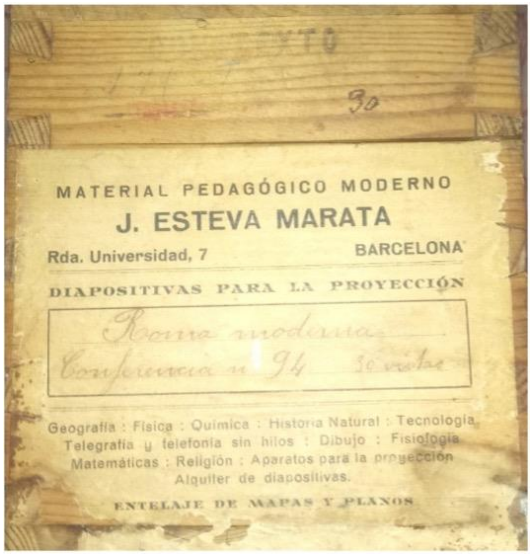
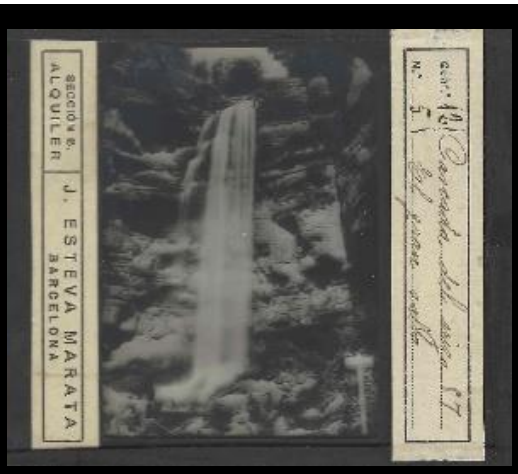


Illustration 5: Photographs of a projector from the Serrat Bonastre Collection, MUVIP.



Illustrations 6 and 7: Photographs of the box of slides, MUVIP.



FLORENCE
'Signora Square and Old Palace'

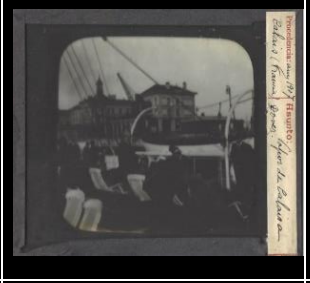
Ref. Cont.: 98, no. 7

On the back: J. ESTEVA MARATA. Barcelona

LOURDES AND THE PYRENEES
'Erizo waterfall. The great leap'

Ref. Cont.: 12, no. 5, 57
SECCIÓN B. ALQUILER. J. ESTEVA MARATA.
Barcelona

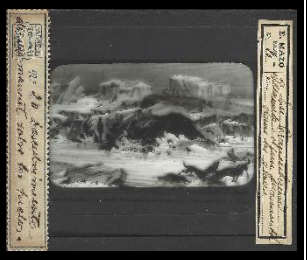
Illustrations 8

Slide Illustration	Reference	Slide Illustration	Reference
	EUROPEAN CITIES Monte Carlo (Italy), 1907: Casino Ref. no. 852-E1 PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona		EUROPEAN CITIES Calais (France), 1907: Steamship from Calais to Dover Ref. no. 882-E1 PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona
	EUROPEAN CITIES Surrey (England), 1907. Trade plaques Badet de Neally Ref. no. 895-E PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona		EUROPEAN CITIES Milan, 1909: Square Ref. no. 956-E1 PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona

Illustrations 9

	ROME Rome. 'Trajan Forum' Ref. no. 1118
PARKS OF PARIS 'Bois de Boulogne. Path around the lake' Ref. Lecture 209. No. 12, 18 J. Esteva Marata. BARCELONA	

Illustrations 10

Slide Illustration	Reference	Slide Illustration	Reference
	LOURDES AND THE PYRENEES 'Bellegarde Viaduct' Ref. Lecture 12, no. 8, 57 Secció B. Alquiler. J. Esteva Marata.		LOURDES AND THE PYRENEES 'Argenterie peak and glacier' Ref. Lecture 12, no. 4, 57 Secció B. Alquiler. J. Esteva Marata
	TRANSSIBERIA Du Transibirenen Descoberte d'un Mamut dans les Glaces 'Discovery of a mammoth under the ice' Ref. E. MAZO. Paris no. 20 CUYAS. 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13 BARCELONA. N. 20		EXPEDITIONS L'éxpedition d'Andrée 'The Andrée expedition' Ref. E. MAZO. Paris. No. 620. Series: 91. no. 17 CUYAS S. C. 11- Ptal. de l'Àngel-13 Barcelona. no. 17 (Colour) [The slide reads 'Andrée, Frænkel and Strindberg'. The expedition was in 1897.]

Illustrations 11

EUROPEAN CITIES	Marsella (França), 1908: Port vaixell Macedònia Ref. no. 1528-E1. PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona (cracked)	
	Calais (France), 1907: Calais steamship. Dover Ref: no. 882-E1. PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona	
	Cette (France). Fishermen, 3 Ref: no. 949-E1. PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS. Barcelona	
RUSSIA	Kronstadt Ref. Lecture 10, no. 30 On the back: J. ESTEVA MARATA. Barcelona	
	'Odessa Bridge' Ref. Lecture 10, no. 25. On the back: J. ESTEVA MARATA. Barcelona	

TRANSSIBERIA	Du Transibieren. La porte de l'Ocean. 'The ocean port' Ref. no. 14. E. MAZO. Paris / CUYAS. 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. BARCELONA	
EXPEDITIONS	Le Pourquoi Pas. 'The ship "Pouquoi pas"' Ref.: series: 90, 12. E. MAZO. Paris. No. 568. / CUYAS S. C. 11 - Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. Barcelona (Colour)	

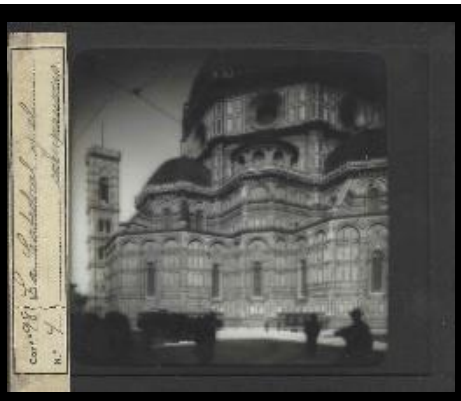
Illustrations 12

	FLORENCE City of Florence. 'Old Palace' s. xiii Ref. Lecture 101. no. 1119
RUSSIA 'Hermitage Palace' Ref. Lecture 101. no. 14 On the back: J. ESTEVA MARATA. Barcelona	

Illustrations 13

Slide Illustration	Reference	Slide Illustration	Reference
	WINTER IN THE ALPS Winter. Official skiers Ref. CUYAS. 11 - Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. BARCELONA. no. 16		TRANSSIBERIA Types Chamans Sibériens. 'Types of Siberian shamans' Ref. E. MAZO. Paris no. 15. CUYAS 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. BARCELONA. No. 15
	EXPEDITIONS Le docteur Charcot en Ski / 'Doctor Charcot on "skis"' Ref. E. MAZO. Paris. Series no.: 14 CUYAS S. C. 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. Barcelona no. 14 (Colour)		LOURDES AND THE PYRENEES Pedro-Simon Marquise of Laplace (1749-1827) Ref. Cont.: 12, no. 21, Secció B. Alquiler. J. Esteva Marata

Illustrations 14

	FLORENCE 'The cathedral and the belltower' Ref. Lecture 98 no. 4 Back: J. ESTEVA MARATA BARCELONA
	PARKS OF PARIS Luxemburg: 'View of the palace complex' Ref. Lecture 209. No. 13, 18 J. Esteva Marata. Barcelona

Illustrations 15

Illustration 16

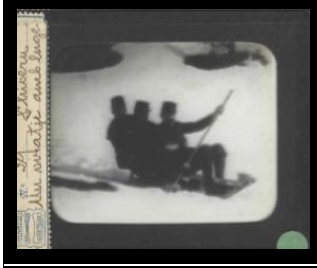
TRANSSIBERIA
Du Transibieren. Un Alure 'A sand washer'

Ref. E. MAZO. Paris no. 21. CUYAS. 11 - Ptal. de l'Àngel-13.
BARCELONA. NO. 21

EUROPEAN CITIES
Leicester (London), 1907, Tailor-Hobson lens manufacturers

Ref. PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. A. MAS.
Barcelona
no. 892-E1

Illustrations 17

Slide Illustration	Reference	Slide Illustration	Reference
	WINTER IN THE ALPS Winter. A luge ride. Ref. CUYAS. 11 - Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. BARCELONA. no. 29. n.29		WINTER IN THE ALPS Winter. Skiers ascending a mountain. Ref. CUYAS. 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13 BARCELONA. no. 20
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EXPEDITIONS 'Igloos. Winter homes of the Eskimos' Ref. E. MAZO. Paris. No. 574. Series: 90. 19 CUYAS S. C. 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. Barcelona. no. 19 (Colour)	

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	CITY OF FLORENCE 'The cloister' Ref. Lecture 98, n. 24 Back: Secció B. Alquiler.		RUSSIA 'The queen of bells' Ref. Lecture 10. no. 23 On the back: J. ESTEVA MARATA. Barcelona

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	CITY OF FLORENCE Michelangelo's 'Pietà' Ref. Lecture 98, no. 18 Back: Secció B. Alquiler. J. Esteva Marata. Barcelona
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	GREECE Myrons Diskuverfer. (The Discobolus) Ref. Cuyas. S. C. 11 – Ptal. de l'Àngel-13. BARCELONA. no. 20, 108

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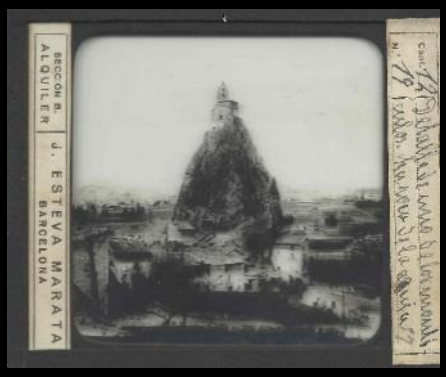

LOURDES AND THE PYRENEES
'Close-up of one of the hills. Eagle rock.'

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(Le Puy-en-Velay)

PARKS OF PARIS
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Ref. Lecture 209. No. 9, 18
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