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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.

The objectives of CSSR are:

1. To promote, foster and spur on Catalan academic scientific production related to Philosophy and Social Sciences
2. To coordinate an international diffusion platform on Catalan scientific production related to the various disciplines under the generic category of "social sciences"
3. To participate in the initiatives for the international diffusion of Catalan science in English through the IEC on line publications catalog
4. To guarantee the access to Catalan high quality research on social sciences to the world scientific community, emphasizing the fact that the results have been originally drawn in Catalan
5. To contribute to create a shared supportive cultural membership feeling among philosophy and social sciences researchers from all Catalan speaking countries and territories

Catalan is a language spoken mainly in four Autonomous Regions of East Spain (Catalonia, Valencian Country, Balearic Islands and part of Aragon) and also in Andorra, Rosselló (South East France) and the city of l'Alguer (Sardinia, Italy).



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The concept of nation, today

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NOTUS-Applied Social Research

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Translated from Catalan by Mary Black

1. Introduction

The events in Catalonia today are unquestionably serious and unique. They are calling on us to make an effort to understand them in all their complexity. We have developed these reflections with the intention of being impartial and even-keeled, as they follow neither the line nor the ideology of any party or political movement. We want to expand on and deepen what we said in our book *Raó de Catalunya, La societat catalana al segle XXI* (Giner and Homs, 2016), a compilation of different authors' contributions which we co-edited, and to which we also contributed. An entire roster of the top domestic experts in economics, demographics, anthropology, history, urban geography, communication and sociology contributed with their own chapters. It would simply make no sense to ignore it as we flesh out the observations below.

It is quite unique that in the midst of the 21st century, Spain, a liberal democratic European state, is trying to resolve the conflict in Catalonia with the police and the courts. It is also striking that in the midst of the era of globalisation, Catalan society is capable of persistently mobilising peacefully and in large numbers, the vast majority calling for the right to decide, which all the peoples in the world have, through the citizens' will.

Both phenomena are related to the way we humans live together in society, that is, with what we understand today as nations. The recent history of the relations between Spain and Catalonia is sufficiently evocative of a poorly-resolved conflict that in the best of cases it leads to frustrated attempts to regenerate the state, then runs through eras of "tolerance" (Ortega), while in the worst of cases it explodes into periods of upheaval. This cyclical temporal fluctuation of the relations between the two societies, Catalan and Spanish, should be a sufficient reason to attempt to lay the groundwork for building a stable era of fruitful, fraternal relations.

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The political scientist Josep M. Colomer (2016) states that the problem is longstanding. Spain has always suffered from weak national cohesion. Spain had an early, vast and extremely costly empire, which left the modern Spanish State relatively enfeebled. The subsequent construction of a culturally unified Spanish nation remained unfinished business. In particular, the Spanish state and nation were too weak to integrate into unitary, centralised structures and to bring major swaths of the Catalan and Basque people into a single cultural pattern dominated by Castile. The Catalans and Basques were then strengthened by early industrialisation. In fact, as we ourselves have stated, in contrast to other European countries, industrialisation only magnified the interregional differences on the Iberian Peninsula: neither centralism nor Jacobinism diminished them.

The Spanish State was strong enough to prevent Catalonia and the Basque Country from building alternative nations and states. Or from another angle, the Catalan and Basque societies were cohesive enough to resist Spain's unilateral assimilation, but too weak to construct their own unified nations.

2. Nation, state, and society

In just a few lines, we have drawn from concepts like society, nation and state to describe phenomena whose distinctions are not obvious. If we wanted to complicate matters even further and add country, people, fatherland, citizenry, nationalism, Catalanism, Spanishism and Jacobinism, our argument would not be as neat as we would like. They are concepts which are usually used for the same purpose. Any attempt to clarify them would require entire lengthy books which would extend far beyond the scope of this modest article and bore the reader. Let us stick with the concepts of state, nation and society.

University of London professor Montserrat Guibernau (1999) reminds us that the concept of nation can never be considered in isolation, and she distinguishes between state, nation and nationalism. We would like to add society from a more sociological perspective.

The easiest concept to define is the state, which is clearly delimited by its authority over law and order; a state has clear frontiers and a known and (more or less efficient) organisation. Everyone knows what state they belong to, and their affiliation is regulated. Since the French Revolution, the democratic state exists by and for its citizenry, which holds sovereignty. The state does not hold the sovereignty but instead the citizenry owns the state.

In contrast, nation is the hypostasis of the tribe. And so it was a thousand years ago, when it had to share this quality, which uplifted the people to a high level where it was confused with the sacred. It is today, as well, even where the march of secularisation has marginalised religion to the space reserved for its believers. The fact is that no matter how much we want to view the nation in secular or secularising terms, it always belongs to the universe of the transcendental or at least the sacred for its members. This is why one of the best treatises on nations and nationalism in the late 20th century, the one by the deceased University of London professor Josep Ramon Llobera (2006), bears the accurate title, *The God of Modernity*.

The quasi-religious features of any nation are obvious, even if we do not believe them; at least in our own nation, we should consider ourselves openly faithful to a supernatural faith. Worshipping one's own nation, or at least expressing love and devotion towards it, are praiseworthy and respectable around the world, albeit with the clear understanding that nationalistic fanaticism is something else which quashes the feelings of joyful fealty to the fatherland. However, it is impossible to reduce a nation to the most empirical, material sphere since nations are made of rituals, declarations of loyalty and emotions that motivate our behaviour and push our reactions.

The concept of nation has evolved over time, and so has the way individuals interact with it. Thus, the Valencian anthropologist Joan Francesc Mira (1985) views a nation as a process which is comprised of both tragic and heroic stories, just like everything that refers to human behaviour. A nation adapts to the circumstances of each era, under the influence of internal factors (the value individuals have attached to collective identity) or external factors (relations with other nations). In any case, what we can see countless times and universally is the persistence over time of the human need to establish meaningful relations among individuals who share feelings, territories, ideas and cultural traits. Denying this is deliberately failing to recognise the most elementary scholarly contributions by sociology and ethnology in their bid to explain our societies.

Here is where we must entertain the concept of society, meant from a sociological perspective as the social order grounded upon the specific relations among people who live together in a given space and evolve over time. The concept of society refers to the more relational and consolidated aspects of human coexistence. Humans are precisely the living beings who are capable of organising societies beyond filial, kinship and tribal relations, such that we have been capable of colonising the entire planet. "We human organise ourselves around whom to care for and why we should care for them" (Bestard, 2017).

In contrast, the concept of nation refers to the cultural dimension of societies. The idea of nation began to emerge in the transitional period between mediaeval and modern societies during the Renaissance, when vassals and subjects became citizens and the separation between private and public spaces began (Sennett, 2011). The new citizenry recognised themselves as a nation in order to make their new political status meaningful and justify the basis of their sovereignty. The concept of nation that reached its classical formulation in 19th-century Romanticism was constructed in this historical process. The concept was soon co-opted by the power relations of the new states which emerged during this period in order to secure cohesiveness and subjugate the citizenry to the interests of the new ruling classes and elites with the construction of the nation-states. Thus, nations are the battlefields where the power relations of modern societies are expressed. They have given rise to execrable attitudes and behaviours, such as the countless struggles among nations over control of the planet, or the Fascist and Nazi tendencies that Europe experienced in the first half of the 20th century. Yet at the same time, they have contributed reams of heroism and grandiosity through the liberation of societies that were enslaved or subjugated to stronger powers.

Today there are still some people who deny the existence of nations, as if humans could live aseptically as isolated individuals interacting with other

individuals, governed by the norms and rules of states. Some of them are perceived as artificial and alien.

The relations between the concepts of state, nation and society have given rise to confusion, and some authors (Álvarez Junco, 2016) find it difficult to discern the distinctness of each notion and their usefulness in understanding humans' behaviour in society. The state encompasses the political aspects of managing the common good; the nation covers the cultural aspects of the collective consciousness, that is, identity; society encompasses the relational and organisational aspects of a single phenomenon associated with the social coexistence of humans. Reducing the independence of each concept and subjugating it to the concept of the state by claiming that the state covers the entire perimeter of social relations, that is, that there is no nation or society outside the state and that all three are confused or subjugated to the power of the state, is a totalitarian conception of state which breaks with the entire democratic and liberal tradition since the French Revolution and leads to the technocratic and bureaucratic sense that Ray Bradbury so aptly reflected in his dystopian novel *Fahrenheit 451*, which François Truffaut translated so masterfully into cinema. Each dystopia that appears in the world of culture negates and subverts a utopia.

3. Catalonia

We can establish the real nature of the conflicts which are being rekindled all over the world among societies, nations and states precisely because these three concepts are useful for analysing the social reality.

In the case of Catalonia, the concepts of Catalanism and nationalism have been used somewhat ambiguously to describe the historical process of collective identification among a large portion of citizens who inhabit Catalonia. Sometimes this is because of a lack of sufficient conceptualisation of nation, and others times it is to avoid a certain conceptualisation of nationalism which led to the worst moments in the recent history of humanity, and yet others times it is precisely to avoid recognition of the very concept of nation.

Today, people usually talk about Catalanism to describe the collective identification with the language and the country, while in contrast they speak of nationalism as identity with the desire to achieve sovereignty. On the other hand, some who support sovereignty do not want to be confused with a certain restricted interpretation of nationalism. Today they define themselves as sovereignists to distinguish themselves from those who call for independence as a form of political interaction with Spain. Catalanists, sovereignists, nationalists and independentists comprise the richness of the different ways our collective identity can be captured. These nuances do not conform to a linear evolution, nor a historical one leading towards a preestablished concept of nation; instead, they are the outcome of different forms of expression at any given time depending on the circumstances, the fluctuations and the times in which we live.

It has always been difficult to come up with a definition of what a nation is that is satisfactory to everyone, and now, well into the 21st century, it is still difficult. No nation fits a single empirical, objective definition. There is no perfect sociological model of nation: neither language, nor territory, nor

collective psychology, nor public worship, nor the number in favour of or against it define it solidly. Despite this, radical scepticism is not called for either. Thus, well into the 21st century, there are citizens – indeed, the majority of them in Catalonia – willing to give their nation all the loyalty and civic worship it needs.

Regardless of the way we choose to define the concept of nation, the stubborn persistence over time of the Catalans' expression of their desire to be a nation in the sense proffered by Vicens Vives (1956) should suffice to recognise the existence of a collective national identity that is striving for political recognition. Collective identity is a human need to go beyond the family group and organise broader societies, a capacity that has been and still is one of the most fundamental expressions of the grandeur of humanity. We must recognise this, yet without forgetting the possible excesses of any politics that is overly grounded in identity. They can be dire and devastating, as we well know. Identity as awareness of belonging and shared nature does not harm: however, other identities should never be condemned. We are not contradicting ourselves by saying this: we know that we are Catalans, or as the popular adage says, 'we are and ever will be' ('som i serem'). However, other peoples, too – Basques, Portuguese, Spanish, Cubans, Russians, Polish, Czech – are also aware of their own respective identities. We are not free of prejudice and never have been, but we have to acknowledge that the ethnic exclusion of other peoples has always been low in Catalonia, a crossroads, a land of inclusion, a place of ethnic mixing. This is not a gratuitous statement. Studies of the Catalan nation's integration and incorporation of peoples from elsewhere throughout history confirm it time and time again.

The transversality of the contributions of nationalism or Catalanism over time serves as yet further evidence of the existence of the nation. The contributions by Valentí Almirall and Prat de la Riba; those by Bishop Torres i Bages, Rovira i Virgili and Macià; and the more recent ones by Jordi Pujol exemplify the heterogeneity of a plural society bisected by economic class and social interests, and they make it difficult to uphold the subordination of the concept of nation to specific economic or political interests. This evidence is further bolstered by sociological studies that have never turned a blind eye to studying the social inequality in Catalonia: its bourgeoisie, working classes, peasants, poor, immigrants and excluded members of society. Nothing justifies ignoring these elements, which some rightfully call the 'social reality'. We ourselves, as sociologists and the authors of these reflections, have studied and drawn attention to them. However, we always go back to notions of a collective consciousness which is shared by the vast majority of our compatriots. We always go back to Catalonia as an essential part of our shared imaginary.

Surely the way the defenders of the Catalan lands in 1713 or 1714 experienced the nation, or those in the turbulent 1930s, or during the Franco regime, or the experiences of the current generations who have grown up in freedom and democracy, have little to do with each other. Yet they all claim a common identity.

However, just as we vehemently assert the existence of a Catalan society comprised as a nation for many years, we also have to admit the existence in Catalonia of a Spanish society recognised as a nation, which has managed to construct a state. History illustrates that when a nation does manage to

construct a state, the notion of nation shrinks in order to bring cohesion to its citizenry and not recognise other national realities that may coexist within its territory. Yet when this state is not capable of diluting the other national identities that it encompasses, or of recognising the existence of internal plurinationality, the unrecognised nations can be expected to demand recognition. This, then, generates serious territorial conflicts, and this is the story of the evolution in relations between Spain and Catalonia. It has characterised the history of the last three centuries, and it is also what defines the uniqueness of the situation in Catalonia. Thus, there are two societies, two nations in the same territory, and the government of one state which systematically refuses to recognise the two nations.

The relations between the two societies-nations have been scarcely studied and are not known in depth. Yet an understanding of the relations between these two realities is and will be crucial to understanding what is happening and to help find the right solutions. They are two nations which we could describe as Siamese twins. Having reached a certain point in their development, one of the two aspires to more freedom of movement, and therefore the option of trying to separate them seems legitimate, but it must be done with a great deal of care and an extremely fine scalpel so that both can survive.

4. Identities in the era of globalisation

The experience of collective identities in the era of the Internet and globalisation is very different to those expressed in the 20th century. At a time when a planetary collective identity is being constructed which is shared with many identities in an ever-smaller geographic scope, the West, Europe, Spain, Catalonia and one's own village or city, one finds oneself sharing one's identity with other similar identities through family affiliation, friendships, sports relationships, religious beliefs and other factors. Therefore, identities become diluted, are shared hierarchically and become superimposed upon each other, but they never completely disappear.

Just as secularism has diluted religious identity but has not eliminated or replaced it, social classes, as an expression of the identity shared by people who have the same socioeconomic status, has also been diluted but not vanished. Similarly, internationalisation, tourism, the Internet, migratory flows and frequent travel abroad have diluted national identity but neither eliminated nor replaced it. And let us not forget the relative erosion that each social entity experiences because of these powerful external influences.

In the age of increasing secularism, religious identity is more needed than ever, and in the age of globalisation, class interests still shape economic activity. In the era of difficult global governability, national identities are more needed than ever as a way to develop humanity's expanding capacity beyond the tribe that characterises human beings. The family, religion, social classes and the nation will continue to be the fundamental phenomena of human coexistence and sociability and are part of the human DNA (Chopra, Atran et al., 2015; Arbós and Giner, 1999).

National identity is evolving towards a situation of voluntary affiliation (Tresserras, 2016) with a collective space, and this will only be further

heightened in the future as the dimensions of time and space are swiftly changing apace with technological innovations and the accelerating dynamics of globalisation. The challenge is to organise states to manage the common goods in which people with different identities with which they are voluntarily affiliated coexist in the same territory. Striving to homogenise states into exclusionary, homogeneous nationalities is merely a chimera of the past. The nation-state model is in crisis and has no future. National sentiment is also evolving towards a more secular and less sacred conception, as revealed in the low-grade epic of the current process in Catalonia.

The heterogeneity of the ways states can be organised should not be confused with the relative homogeneity in the forms of collective identification. Religions only encompass those who believe in a given god; classes do not accept members of other social strata; families are governed by rules of consanguinity or cohabitation; the followers of a sports club only cheer their own club. The state is responsible for laying out the rules so that all forms of expression of shared identities can coexist together peaceably and in a civilised fashion in the same territory. This is also the main challenge when planning the construction of new states.

For these reasons, the evolution in the concept of nation is shifting in order to make it more compatible with the vast dispersion of shared identities, that is, in relation to “others”, permanently abandoning the exclusionary conceptions that prevailed in the past. What Catalonia has experienced in recent years is a vast and extraordinarily intense social and political movement that cannot be pigeonholed within the classical features of a nationalist movement and instead points to new forms of 21st-century “democratic revolt”. It extends beyond the Catalan space to fit within the movements on behalf of change which are being manifested in many different countries around problems that mobilise people, such as the environmental crisis, endangered peace and resistance to the inequalities and ills of capitalism.

The breadth of the grassroots outcry, the extraordinary civility of the Catalan civic movement, the total absence of political violence, the serene and often festive nature of the street demonstrations, the pro-European spirit, the absence of ethnic confrontation, and the polite and respectful messages make it difficult to narrowly funnel the way forward into the classical coordinates of ethnic-based nationalist movements or those that reject the Other, such as the more recent ones in Eastern Europe.

The messages and discourses underway now around the way forward should be more extensively analysed. However, what stands out at first glance is a set of values that have nothing to do with the underlying burden of the traditional nationalistic discourse:

- The extremely broad consensus around the right to decide as an expression of democratic quality, proximity and the yearning to better control the external factors that conditions one’s personal life.
- The absence of an ethnic, exclusionary debate that looks down on non-Catalans.

- The inclusive affirmation of a single county not separated by backgrounds. Respect for the Spanish-speaking people.
- The intense pro-European feeling, even though it may be critical of some European Union policies.
- The recourse to history, often geared towards undergirding plans for a shared future, without major drama or patriotic exaltation. The word “fatherland” is seldom used, perhaps in reaction to its inflationary use by the more reactionary forces on the Spanish Right.
- The infrequent recourse to the subordination of the individual to the group, to the nation that is both imagined and beloved by the Catalan people.

In any event, this is a reformulation of the debate – essentially moral and not just sociological – on how human communities should be organised and what the best level of governance is within the framework of intensified globalisation. Inasmuch as states grant competences to more global levels and do not hold some of the keys to governing the people’s wellbeing, local solidarities gain ground, often around cities, and the demand for a greater capacity to control the decision that affect people’s everyday lives is surging everywhere.

Those of us who cultivate the social sciences should be bold enough to confront these conceptual, theoretical and, of course, also practical difficulties. It is a difficult job, but we accept it. There is no facile formula to define our weary tribe, the one that we have fearlessly yet somewhat ruefully defined as the hypostasis of the tribe in the modern age. Which we have also defined, despite our commitment to scientific reason and reliable factors, as a sacred entity in the people’s social imaginary. It is fairly unlikely that the evils chasing us today will compel us to change our opinion.

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Journalism and history in a change of era

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Abstract

The effects of the digital technologies and the Internet on the social media system offer a change of perspective on the history of journalism, which is now at the end of an evolutionary era. After four centuries, the press and journalism have been replaced in their role as drivers of the media industry by the increasingly dominant audiovisual media, websites and social networks. Consequently, researchers are faced with a new dimension of historical time that affects our most recent past. This study suggests several factors to be considered in connection with the crisis in journalism, the nature of the media and the specific era of Catalan journalism today.

Key words: journalism, history, change of era, crisis, nature of the media, Catalan journalism.

1. Introduction

Rarely do we historians have the extraordinary opportunity to witness a change of era on the issues that are the target of our attention, research and analysis, a time when history is marching towards drawing a demarcation line before the most recent experience, in which the living past suddenly becomes a subject worth studying.

Teaching often requires the researcher to use different criteria to delimit the historical subject matter. When students request it, the time period that should be used for a given research exercise on the immediate past occasionally forces the professor into an exercise in flexibility. The time perspective of facts varies with age and experience. Given a group of Bachelor's or post-graduate students born in around 1990, there are many personal memories that the professor simply cannot share. For example, the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, such a vivid recollection for their parents and grandparents, is pure past to the students. For this reason, one response that I use in such cases is that history begins where memory ends.

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However, at times historical matter which is being examined may penetrate into the researcher's living memory. The notes in this article pose several factors on the repercussions of this fact on research in the history of journalism.

2. The crisis in journalism

The major changes in the information and communication technologies in recent years and their effects on journalism have sparked an unforeseen acceleration in the consideration of historical time. Within this context, when we speak about the possibility of printed newspapers disappearing in the short term, given the unquashable competition from the Internet, and when there are warnings of the consequent irreversible crisis in journalism as a form of news intermediation, suddenly an abyss opens up in the forms of communication and culture which have matured over the course of four centuries. The unease created by the breakneck, unbridled development of the digital network is coupled with consternation over the effects of a financial crisis which is seriously aggravating the capacity of the means of social communication, particularly journalism, to survive. It highlights what could seem like an intrinsic weakness in what has been the major phenomenon in social communication in the contemporary age.

The use of the Internet by the traditional media tends to be dated from the years 1994-1995, the time when the first digital newspapers and news portals appeared, but the impact of their novelty on journalism was not immediately perceptible. In 2002, in the first history of the media that takes this juncture as a boundary comparable to the original milestone of the invention of the printing press, the British Asa Briggs (2002: 347-348) did not yet consider the traumatic effects that the Internet could have on journalism. This should come as no surprise, even though just a few years later those effects became visible and irreversible, with the inestimable magnification by the decline in advertising due to the financial crisis that detonated in 2008.

Not even twenty years have elapsed since the advent of the Internet, and its effects have spread far and wide with extraordinary speed, to such an extent that it has even modified many aspects of our forms of social life.¹ Barely 24 years have gone by since the British Tim Berners-Lee dreamt up the worldwide web (www) at the CERN (European Organisation for Nuclear Research) particle accelerator under the Swiss Alps in 1989. In *Time Magazine*, Briggs compared the open-access, free, global web which he conceived and defended – which would have been impossible without the previous contributions by the Americans Robert Kahn and Vinton Cerf for the TCP/IP protocols and Lawrence G. Roberts for server localisation and routing techniques in data networks – with Gutenberg.

The spread of the printing press dreamt up by that coin-minting German artisan (in around 1450) took place in a fairly brief period in post-mediaeval Europe, but a full century and a half elapsed until the advent of the first weekly

¹ The magazine *Le Temps des Médias* has published a dossier on “Histoire de l’Internet. L’Internet dans l’histoire”, coordinated by Jérôme Bourdon and Valérie Schafer, in its issue 18, spring 2012.

newspapers (in around 1605). The acceleration of historical processes brought about by the Industrial Revolution could already be clearly seen in the late 19th century. Barely a quarter of a century passed from the wireless telegraph invented by the Italian Guglielmo Marconi (1897) to the broadcast of the American Lee de Forest (1906) and the first radio stations (1920). The first television stations, the first mechanical television by the British John Baird (1926) and later the first electronic television by the Russian Vladimir Zworykin (1936) quickly ensued as logical next steps. Comparative studies of these three major processes in printed communication, via Hertzian waves and via the digital network, are of immense interest to researchers.

To journalism, the advent of the Internet signalled the end of a third major historical period, the period of 20th-century industrial or contemporary journalism, which itself was the culmination of the process that had gotten underway with artisan or old journalism from the 17th and 18th centuries and the liberal or modern journalism of the 19th century. The concepts of *eras* and *cycles* are theoretical constructs used to study and understand historical processes by considering technological, political, social and professional factors. This model of the three major epochs,² which correspond respectively to the successive prominence of the circulation of news, the initiative of journalists and the hegemony of the media, has inevitably exhausted itself in the early years of the 21st century.

At all the previous times of change, both those perceived at the time by contemporaries and those established after the fact by historians, there was always the sense of a step forward, an evolution based on improving the ways of publishing, printing, distributing, issuing, commercialising and financing. It was the outlook of the process of unveiling new possibilities which fostered and multiplied the ones that already existed. The defensive reactions of newspapers and theatres, concert halls and cinemas to the new developments of the radio and television, and even radio's defensive reaction to television, nonetheless reflected reasonable concerns over the immediate effects of an adjustment and division of the business.

Today the outlook is different, especially for newspapers and journalism, whose very survival is threatened. In a climate of defeat for the large journalism industry, it is not certain that the disappearance of print newspapers in the United States, augured for 2043 (Meyer, 2004)³ on the cover of *The Economist* on the 24th of August 2004 with the question: "Who killed the newspaper?", will actually occur. Yet even if it does not happen and the press retains its own niches in the market thanks to the survival of minority audiences who are

² I presented this model in Guillaumet, 2002, and in Guillaumet, 2003b. I also used it when writing Guillaumet, 2003a. Regarding the impact of the Internet, in this work, pp. 211-212, I limit myself to pointing out the uncertainty regarding the profound change that the very concept of *journalism* is facing.

³ Beyond the misleading title, *The Vanishing Newspaper*, Meyer's title is actually a bid for editors to reinforce the quality and social influence as newspapers' way forward. The reference to the year 2043, on pp. 15-16, corresponds to the calculation of the time when readership of newspapers will drop to zero in the United States in a statistical calculation of a mean pace of decline of 0.95 per year recorded since 1960. Nonetheless, the idea of the imminent demise of paper newspapers has gained fans in Spain, even within the major journalism companies, as shown by the frequent statements by the president of Prisa Group, Juan Luis Cebrián, and the recent book by Lluís Bassets (2013), deputy editor of *El País*.

willing to pay very high retail prices, the end of the major historical cycle of the press seems inexorable. And perhaps the same holds true of journalism as we have known it, even though the Internet is not the sole factor that comes into play in an ancient process of the dissolution of journalism in the media industry (Guillamet, 2009a, 2009b, 2011 & 2012). The development of the informative side of audiovisuals since World War II is also playing a key role, with a thematic and stylistic mimesis that ended up generating newspapers that clearly lost hegemony over the public space and the news market towards the end of the 1970s.

Perhaps we should also reach back to the time when the yellow press erupted, identified with the manipulation of the news by William Randolph Hearst and his contribution to getting the United States embroiled in the 1898 Spanish-American War. However, the most visible moment in the historical perspective is the introduction of the audiovisual. Here is quite a provocative question for researchers: at what point did journalism shift the course of its evolution as a historical phenomenon inspired to serve the public to instead bow to strictly commercial interests? Edwin Godkin's pained reaction in the *New York Evening Post* (Pizarroso, 1994: 442-445) to the excesses of the editor of the *Journal* anticipates the tone of what we heard in the 1990s when we saw the first glimpses of trash TV: "It is a shame that men can do so much evil with the goal of selling more newspapers".

Could we consider the sensationalist drift of the popular press at the turn of the 20th century as the starting point of the crisis in values of journalism? Godkin's description of journalistic practices based on the "improper representation of acts, the deliberate invention of stories calculated to excite the public, and unbridled recklessness in the composition of headlines" is perfectly applicable to the tabloids that have been the source of information and socialisation for the British working class for an entire century. These popular newspapers have come to the brink of and often crossed the red line that separates the public interest from mere commercial interests, a line that reaches down to the *News of the World* and Murdoch Group scandal in the summer of 2011. It is a less visible phenomenon in the journalistic traditions of Spain and Catalonia, which did not have the possibility of expanding the press to reach the working classes, not even after the transition to democracy. Because of the different planes of analysis in the history of journalism according to national traditions, the question that opens this paragraph may not seem very pertinent here at home, yet it is no less essential for gaining a general grasp of the changes.

3. The nature of the media

The Spanish perception of the journalism crisis is associated with the advent of the Internet and digital newspapers, but to analyse and understand it we must stretch back to the revamping of the press after the death of Franco and the democratisation and liberalisation of radio and television in the late years of the transition to democracy, once the Spanish Constitution was approved (Guillamet, 2011b). The four previous decades had been a paralysing hiatus, precisely when audiovisuals were becoming increasingly hegemonic in the international media system, displacing newspapers from the prime role they had historically played. The successive displacement of newspapers that took

place in New York in the years after the 114-day printers' strike in the winter of 1962-1963 already had to do with other factors, with competition from audiovisuals in news and advertising.⁴ Since 1936, Spain had remained on the sidelines of the general evolution in journalism because of the three years of Civil War and the subsequent hibernation of the media system under the utter control and censure of the dictatorship. This had devastating effects during the thaw.

The expectations of the freedom and expansion of the daily and weekly press upon liberation from the Franco regime were frustrated by a sudden shift in perspective, without the newspapers having the chance to experience the great era as they had in other countries after the end of World War II. In 1976, the only problems may have seemed to be the reorganisation of the market in view of the appearance of new titles and the increased competitiveness stemming from the attainment of full freedom of the press. The liberalisation of the radio and television airwaves in the early 1980s and the premiere of private television stations ten years later had substantial effects on the public's attention and advertising contracts, and consequently, too, on the financing of a product which had to be sold under cost price. The successive waves of business concentration in the press and the formation of multimedia groups ended up leading to a situation which in some respects may be seen as an oligopoly, in which the newspapers are merely one part of the business, and not always the most important part.

A historical look at this universal process, with the corresponding nuances for each national and local situation, should detect a factor which is not always taken into sufficient consideration since it is not evident: the different nature of the different media. First of all, we should recall that neither radio nor television are truly journalistic media and that news is not where the most space and resources are invested. Nor is news the purpose for which the sound and audiovisual media were created. Furthermore, of the three traditional acknowledged purposes of journalism, entertainment has ended up coming to the fore, eclipsing the other two: news and education. It has even ended up penetrating them with an increasing sense of performance.

One consequence is the dissolution of journalism into the media industry. With the exception of strictly news programmes and documentaries, the vast majority of radio and TV news programmes have been permeated by the forms of entertainment. The exceptions are the public channels, which are no longer the ones with the largest viewership, and it is not certain that this phenomenon will not encroach there either. What is already happening on some private stations is that news programmes, especially on television, are shifting towards light or dramatic topics, which are regarded as more popular, at the expense of political information in the broader sense. This is the last aftereffect of prime

⁴ Of the sixteen newspapers that New York had in 1900 and the twelve in 1920, only three remain, *The New York Times* and the tabloids *The New York Daily News* and *The New York Post* (Talese, 1969: 302-303). In a series of appearances before the Foreign Relations Committee in 1966, *The New York Times* journalist James Reston outlined newspapers' difficulties in retaining their advertising investment given the competition from radio and television (Reston, 1966: 79-98). In his memoirs, Reston (1991: 46-47) evokes the impact of radio news on the newspapers of New York back in the 1930s, which reacted by even further highlighting the reasons behind the news rather than simply recounting events which had already been reported by the broadcasters.

time, since the 1950s when US television stations moved news and political debate programmes to the times with a lower viewership.

Newspapers' mimicry of television has gone from initially adopting eye-catching, bright designs and topics capable of drawing more attention to subsequently incorporating television stars and other celebrities as regular contributors, at the expense of the traditional figure of the journalist. This is further accentuated in newspapers which have business ties to radio and television stations, which also play at exploiting the most prominent journalists in non-news activities associated with entertainment, showbusiness and advertising. In relation to the different nature of the media, we should consider the structural factors which situate journalism in a position of weakness and inferiority.

The first is making it free of charge. We should not forget that the issue of free pricing dates from far before the onset of the free press around the turn of the century, and that as long as the advertising bubble did not deflate after 2008, it seemed destined to do great harm to what since then has been known as the paid press. The first free media were radio and television, thanks to the advertising and/or public subsidies which have been used since the 1920s as the sole forms of financing programmes which the public may pick up free of charge without the intermediation of a point of sale or a subscription. And since almost one century before that, the press was also largely free inasmuch as advertising partly financed its cost, a possibility perceived and applied by the Frenchmen Émile de Girardin and Armand Dutacq in *La Presse* and *Le Siècle* in 1836.

The entire history of journalism revolves around the possibility of making newspapers available to the broadest public possible, with the most interesting contents possible, and just like in any industrial competition, at the lowest price possible. The fact that this equation was very difficult to fulfil was reflected by the young Walter Lippmann (2003: 259-263) in his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, during newspapers' peak era, which was also so well described by Georges Weill (1934, 1994) in his history of the newspaper, which even today is the best account of the field. Lippmann, who viewed journalism as the investigation that should feed public opinion, bemoaned the fact that the public was not willing to pay much to be well informed, since they considered the news a free good comparable to the air they breathe.

The question of costs is common in printed, sound and audiovisual journalism. Developing in-house news, different to what the wholesale agencies and press offices of governments and companies or other outside representatives provide, comes at a high cost, primarily because of the cost of maintaining correspondents abroad and sending special envoys. Yet it is also expensive due to the salaries of the writing and editorial teams made up of expert journalists who are capable of examining the news independently and critically, looking beyond the agenda of governments, companies and other actors in the public sphere. Due to the very nature of each medium, these costs are the highest and the most difficult for newspapers to earn back.

The second is accessibility. The nature of audiovisuals allows for direct, universal access to the audience without any complication other than simply changing the channel from the ease and comfort of wherever they are. Radio has a simpler machinery and logistics, and television has more technical and human requirements, but they are both media that are easy to access, simultaneous and

changeable, which give the audience multiple, continuous possibilities, in addition to the variety of contents, vivid communication, and personal and household companionship. The press is a distant, cumbersome medium which requires the act of buying each of its products, with the added cost of time and transport and the additional effort of reading it, which leads to a smaller and more selective audience.

The third is the relationship with advertising. The press' dependence on advertising revenues is even further accentuated when it ceases being the main support or space where this advertising is inserted. Not only is it a quantitative factor, given its smaller share of what is called the advertising "pie"; the audiovisual media also offer advertisers registers that are more vivid, creative and appealing to the audience. The accentuation of the competition to attract advertising revenues is speeding up the drift towards showmanship in both style and content. Advertising had never before so heavily conditioned the media's editorial orientation by demanding the largest audiences possible, the maximum audiences, leading to the increasing impoverishment of the quality of the programmes, which is also contaminating the pages of newspapers.

This phenomenon is nothing new for the press; it had already been glimpsed with the yellow press running from Hearst to Murdoch, but it has ended up penetrating the pages of most newspapers. In the past, success of a given publication translated into certain figures on print runs and readership that assured a sufficient advertising portfolio to guarantee the profitability of a newspaper; today, the process is the inverse. The goal is now to adapt the editorial contents to ensure that they attain the readership required to earn the advertising revenues needed. Advertising has replaced journalism as the engine of the media industry in the last quarter of the 20th century. The dissolution of journalism, like a sugar cube in coffee, which would be the media industry in our metaphor, permeated the taste for news with new formats and genres inspired by entertainment and showbusiness, in accordance with the nature of the hegemonic media. As an old medium based on reading on paper, the press is facing an uncertain future in which the question of whether it can survive is asked less than how and to what extent it can survive.

The considerations on the historical cycle which has come to a close do not exclude but instead demand some kind of outlook on the cycle that is now starting. A historian always has something to say about the future; the study of the past helps us understand the present while offering information that helps us interpret future trends. The experience of the early years of the Internet, in the almost two decades which have elapsed since 1994-1995, tells us some significant things, some advantages and disadvantages for journalism that seem quite clear. The disadvantages are along the lines of accentuating some of the problems already outlined, the most obvious one being the contraction in the market for printed newspapers, along with the clear difficulty of making digital newspapers profitable because of the culture of freeness inherent in the Web.

The advantages are along the lines of overcoming some of the historical limitations of the press, such as reader participation, the ease of getting news from afar, and access to publishing, which has been direly stifled in the past few decades because of the heavy concentration. Even though it is nothing new, because of the history of the local and associative press, the ease of private creating blocks and web spaces opens up intriguing possibilities for what is

called citizen or participative journalism. It is not always easy to distinguish a journalist by vocation from an occasional interested or spontaneous communicator. Nonetheless, there is an immense possibility of issuing news which journalists should later be able to run through its filter of evaluations, checks and comparisons. Beyond the financing difficulties which strictly condition the possibility of digital journalism with added value, the Web offers the possibility of testing out new cross-cutting formats with the simultaneous, ongoing inclusion of text documents, graphics and audiovisuals.

4. The historical cycle of Catalan journalism

During this context of crisis and change, we have witnessed the culmination of a particular historical cycle: the full attainment of the regular use of the Catalan language in the press. Until 2011, not all the Catalan national newspapers had addressed their audiences in Catalan, although even now the two main ones continue to do so in Spanish as well.

The version of *El Periódico de Catalunya* translated into Catalan since 1997 had heralded the fact that computers could reach the goal of translation that the major newspaper publishers had not considered via other means. *La Vanguardia* ended up taking the same step 14 years later, in May 2011. Even though the two sports newspapers associated with the aforementioned two newspapers have not done the same, and even though four of the eight regional newspapers in Lleida, Tarragona, Sabadell and Terrassa are still published primarily in Spanish, the step that was finally taken by the oldest newspaper with the largest readership and the most political and social influence in Catalonia is extraordinarily important. It signals the possible endpoint of a historical process that has been very long and bumpy. Given the circumstances analysed above, it seems like a fairly positive end result 36 years after the instatement of democracy and 33 after the autonomous regions were created.

The *La Vanguardia*'s delay in opening itself up to using Catalan in order to issue simultaneous editions in different languages, one decade and a half after the technical possibility of automatic translation was revealed, is highly telling of the complexity of the process. It also reveals the importance of this newspaper, which has had a clearly dominant position in the Catalan press market since the early 20th century – more than the *Diario de Barcelona* in the 19th century – despite its distant if not hostile attitude towards political Catalanism. Its major shift in the 1980s, when it was already a century old, brought it closer to the moderate nationalism governing the Generalitat for 24 years, with an accidentalist stance towards support of the central governments – centrist, socialist, right-wing popular party – very similar to the newspaper's traditional stance.

It does not seem to be a coincidence that the intention to publish the edition in Catalan, which was announced during the second leftist government of Catalonia, did not come to fruition until *Convergència i Unió* won back power in the Generalitat. Meantime, the Godó Group's attempts to situate itself in the audiovisual space, which date back in Spanish to the liberalisation of radio and the appearance of private television stations, has taken shape in Catalonia via the attraction of personal and professional resources generated by *Televisió de Catalunya* and *Catalunya Ràdio*. For the time being, the success of RAC1 is a

noteworthy new development after the failed attempts of previous private broadcasters in Catalan, such Ràdio Avui's Cadena 13 and Ona Catalana, in view of the major difficulties faced by the 8TV project. The fears which have been aired about the potential weakening of the broadcasters of the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals – created in 1983 as the Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió – are not irrelevant to these developments, although the most crucial factor is the effects of the recession through the twofold blow of a decline in advertising revenues and cutbacks in public budgets.

There is a transitional journalistic cycle which also ended in 2011 with *El Punt*'s purchase of *Avui* and the consequent merger of the two titles. The fact that the newspaper founded in Girona in 1978 purchased its former elder sibling from Barcelona is a good sign of the direction of the evolution of the Catalan press since the 23rd of April 1976, the date that the first Catalan-language newspaper authorised since the end of the Civil War appeared.⁵ Until the Second Republic, the creation of newspapers in Catalan was the handiwork of personalities associated with the political and cultural forces of Catalanism, such as Valentí Almirall in *Diari Català*, Enric Prat de la Riba in *La Veu de Catalunya*, Amadeu Hurtado in *La Publicitat*, Antoni Rovira i Virgili in *La Nau* and Lluís Companys in *La Humanitat*. Thus, they were all the direct or indirect mouthpieces of the parties, with the sole exception of *La Renaixensa*, which advocated promoting Catalanism without ties to political action.

The first two newspapers in Catalan after the fall of the Franco regime stemmed from initiatives with popular participation, albeit with uneven results, while Jordi Pujol preferred to take charge of *El Correo Catalán* and the weekly *Destino*.⁶ The initially modest *Punt Diari* took off through a Girona-based company, while the merger project of *Avui* ended up in the hands of a foundation controlled by Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya and the Generalitat. Nonetheless, it had to be rescued by the first leftist government in operation from three sides: the Institut Català de Finances, the Godó Group and the Planeta Group. Along with *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico de Catalunya*, created in 1978, it is one of the three survivors of the eleven newspapers that were published in Barcelona during the transition.

Therefore, the rise of the Catalan-language press was not the hallmark of the democratic transition, unlike in the Second Republic. Instead, the new feature was the creation of regional public radio and television stations, instead of merely adapting the decentralised structures of Radiotelevisión Española, which had modestly taken shape in Ràdio 4 and the Catalan circuit of Televisión Española. Regarding newspapers, the new development at this time is the official support that they receive from governments, in the midst of the crisis in traditional print media and their replacement by computers, just a few years after the previous replacement of typographic printing by offset printing. It is a historical novelty which has no precedent other than the so-called “reptile

⁵ Since the approval of the Constitution on the 6th of December 1978, the creation of newspapers no longer requires the authorisation of the public administration.

⁶ Jordi Pujol only devoted five paragraphs to *El Correo Catalán* in one chapter of his memoirs entitled “Massa handicaps per portar un diari” (Pujol, 2007: 252-261). There are numerous versions of the case in the monograph “Adéu Correu” from the journal *Annals del Periodisme Català*, 8-9 and 12, 1986-1987, as well as in Guillaumet, 1996 (159-167), Novoa, 1998, and Saura, 1998.

funds” created by numerous European governments – including the Spanish government – in the late 19th century; in reality, they are in no way comparable, although there is no dearth of suspicions of private assistance lacking complete transparency. They are the political parallels to those actions undertaken by the Spanish government to help finance the technological reconversion and promotion of the press at school, which is complemented in Catalonia with support for linguistic normalisation. A less apparent new development, which is nonetheless structurally important, was the unexpected expansion of the local press, in which the Catalan language is in majority use, although it is exclusive only in the daily press in Girona and Manresa.

Now that the media’s use of the Catalan language must be considered within the broader context that includes audiovisuals and the Internet, it is time to evaluate the qualitative aspects of its historical process of incorporation, advance, retreat and its latest rally in printed journalism, all of which has lasted approximately a century and a half, since 1865. Nor should we forget the distant forerunner: the gazettes translated from French in 1641, the most similar of the two newspapers under French domination from 1810 and the magazines from 1842 and 1844. The process now underway without interruptions in humorous, literary and political newspapers, the successive newspapers of Catalanism, and a wide variety of magazines are also the history of the quality and innovation of journalism in Catalonia.

Without deflecting interest from the leading newspapers and magazines in Spanish, which are otherwise barely studied, there are three prominent aspects in the innovation of journalism in Catalan which the research has brought to light. The first is the popular openness of the newspaper market in the last third of the 19th century through the large Republican weeklies filled with humour and drawings, comparable to the British working-class’ Sunday newspapers, with equal or even higher readership than the leading dailies. Beyond the popular, anticlerical legend which accompanies their memory, *La Campana de Gràcia* (1870-1934) and *L’Esquella de la Torratxa* (1874-1939),⁷ with more than 60 years of parallel stories, were the means of socialisation and access to reading of broad swaths of the working class, just as *News of the World* (recently defunct because of the poor practices of the Murdoch Group) and other British tabloids were on a larger scale.

The second is the quality of the texts and images in the satirical, literary, sports and political magazines from the first third of the 20th century, most of which drew from French inspiration. *Cu-cut!* (1902-1912), *En Patufet* (1904-1938), *Papitu* (1908-1937), *D’Ací i d’Allà* (1918-1936), *Xut!* (1922-1936), *Mirador* (1929-1936) and *El Be Negre* (1931-1936), the majority of which have been studied considerably,⁸ correspond to the intense deployment of themes and genres at a time which more in-depth studies would reveal to be a golden age of Catalan journalism. Within this same framework, there is a third aspect worth noting, namely the power of the generation of journalists and newspaper

⁷ There is an extensive description of the humoristic and satirical press prior to the Civil War in Torrent i Tasis, 1966, and Solà Dachs, 1973, 1978 and 1979. For an analysis of its role in the 19th century, see Guillaumet, 2010 (229-248).

⁸ The most recent contributions are by Capdevila, 2012; Singla, 2006; Geli i Huertas, 2000, and Tresserras, 1993.

writers in the first third of the 20th century, especially the 1920s and 1930s, before the outbreak of the Civil War, when the leading correspondents were also abroad, including names like Joan Estelrich, Josep Pla, Irene Polo, Josep Maria de Sagarra, Carles Sentís and Eugeni Xammar.⁹ This generation, which pops up occasionally in Spanish after the Civil War, had already proven themselves in this language in the major Spanish newspapers. After the 1960s, the Catalan writers' impossible contribution to a press that did not exist in their language gave rise to their presence in the Spanish press, which had been much less usual before the war.

The Catalanist rectification of *La Vanguardia* in the late 20th century includes a complete approach to the more dynamic sectors of Catalan culture, and its most advanced and prominent writers appear on its pages the way they had not in the first third of its history. The so-called Gaziell doctrine (Casasús, 1987: 87-118) refers to "Catalanism in Spanish" as preached by the editor-in-chief during the Republican years as a defence against the manifest hostility of the Catalanist world. The merciless portrait of the newspaper and first Count of Godó in the novel *Servitud* by Joan Puig i Ferrer was quite vivid, and Josep Pla repeated it well into the Franco regime in an "homenot" (important man) and Gaziell himself in the bitter pages of his *Història de 'La Vanguardia'* (Puig i Ferrer, 1973; Pla, 1982; Gaziell, 1971).¹⁰ During the transition to democracy, the emergence of a kind of indiscriminate professionalisation of writers and journalists in Catalan and Spanish came from both the liberalising role played by newspapers since 1966 and the weakness of the new Catalan-language newspapers.

The end result of the cycle was the publication of two Spanish-language – with both editions translated into Catalan- and two Catalan-language newspapers in Barcelona, with the presence of *Ara* since November 2010, although not exactly... *El Punt Avui* is a unique case which can cause headaches in researchers into the administration and interpretation of records, which is always so sensitive. It is the absorption of a newspaper from Barcelona by another from Girona, where the company is headquartered, although it has kept the numeration of the former, such that it can be considered the second longest-standing Catalan-language newspaper. On the 23rd of April 2013, *Avui* turned 37 years old, compared to the 38 years and seven months that *La Veu de Catalunya* lasted from the 1st of January 1899 to the 27th of July 1937, one year after the start of the Civil War, when it was appropriated by the CNT-FAI.

The existence of an equal number of national newspapers in Spanish and Catalan – from Barcelona and Girona – is unprecedented, despite the gulf

⁹ For this issue, the anthology by Casasús (1996) is still essential.

¹⁰ Despite this unfavourable presence in the literature, *La Vanguardia* is still hesitant towards historiographic contributions about the newspaper. There are three corporate histories by in-house authors—Rafael Abella, Pedro Voltes and Josep M. Casasús— none of which has been published, so the only recent work available is the one by Huertas, 2006, in addition to an authorised biography of the Godó family (Molina, 2005). The publication of scholarly books – Nogué & Barrera, 2006, and Nogué & Borja, 2011— was welcomed with the usual discretion in the corporate news. The publication of corporate histories is quite common among the major newspapers in the world, such as *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *Le Monde*, among others. Other Spanish newspapers like *El País* (Seoane & Sueiro, 2004) and *ABC* (Olmos, 2002) have them, too.

between their readerships. Ara is also a modest business initiative, with two telling features of the change in cycle: the presence of journalists and writers from the Catalan audiovisual 'star system' among its shareholders, and the combination of paper and online editions. A third feature, which it shares with *El Punt Avui*, is its pro-independence political orientation. This is also a sign of the times, not only because of the increase in this ideology as an important option among the Catalan electorate but also because of the tendency towards greater political commitment among newspapers. This is not limited, as it was in the past, to expressing positions in editorials and opinion columns but instead extends to the selection of topics, the presentation and treatment of the news and the mix of information and opinions, and even the cover headlines, that have been clearly delimited until now.

This phenomenon is not exclusive to Catalan-language newspapers or the Barcelona press but is currently much more accentuated in the majority of newspapers in Madrid as well, principles in some cases verging on the violation of professional. Otherwise, we cannot fail to consider and analyse the specific editions of the five Madrid newspapers in the newspaper market in Catalonia since the transition. Even though the three leading Spanish newspapers in terms of readership - *El País*, *El Mundo* and *ABC*, in addition to *La Razón* and *La Gaceta* - are sold in Catalonia, only the first has a major readership in Catalonia, coming in third after *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico de Catalunya*. The result is an extensive range of options, with even more titles at regional points of sale, revealing the enormous fracture in the supply and the demand in a context of sustained market contraction. This leads us to new considerations about the heavy politicisation of the press as yet another symptom of its crisis and the crisis in journalism itself. Duly noted.

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Intergenerational transmission of gender roles in the household¹

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Abstract

This paper studies parent-child transmission of gender roles in Spain using the 2009-2010 Time-Use Survey (National Statistical Institute). Drawing from an indicator based on differences in unpaid work between siblings of different genders, we analyse the effects of parent characteristics – such as the mother's occupation, the father's participation in household chores, household income and parents' education – on the extent to which gender roles are transmitted. These variables are shown to explain much of the variation in child gender roles, supporting an important child-parent mimicry effect in gendered behaviour.

Key words: time allocation, gender roles, intergenerational transmission, Spain.

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1. Introduction

Until quite recently, the traditional family model predominated. Specifically, the gender roles were highly compartmentalised between the members of the couple, such that the man was the sole breadwinner while women were in charge of unpaid work. The revolution brought about by the massive influx of women into the job market shattered this clear distinction, and the model of dual-income couples in which both members participate actively in the paid job market is now in the majority today. Despite this change, in many couples the man is still primarily in charge of paid work, while the woman still bears most of the burden of unpaid work. Indeed, while the influx of women into the job market has been massive, men's participation in household chores has grown at a much slower pace. Some authors have called this fast pace of women's emergence in the public sphere coupled with the slow influx of men in the private sphere 'adaptive delay' (Hochschild, 1989; Gershuny et al., 1994; Gershuny, 2000), a name that clearly exudes optimism.

Household work is a symbolic sphere where gender roles are reproduced, such that the division of labour at home has often been regarded as a solid barometer of equality within the couple (West & Zimmerman, 1987). In this article, we use household work in a similar sense, in that we evaluate the different behaviour of sons and daughters as an indicator of the transmission of traditional gender roles. The behaviour of sons and daughters at home will also provide us with a glimpse of the future organisation of households; that is, with due caution, it will allow us to predict whether couples of the future will be more egalitarian than couples today.

As we shall see below, even though the transmission of gender roles via time allocation has been studied by different authors in countries characterised by greater male-female equality (Blair, 1992; Cunningham, 2001a & 2001b; Gupta, 2006; Evertsson, 2006), there are many fewer studies performed in places like Spain or Italy, where the male-female differences are the most pronounced on the European continent (Aliaga, 2006). However, we should mention the study by Álvarez and Miles-Touya (2011) with information from the Time-Use Survey of the National Statistical Institute (INE) from 2002-2003. The new version of this survey, from 2009-2010, offers an opportunity to examine the issue with more recent data.

2. Background

The household is the first place where the individual's process of gender identity takes place. The family is the place where children are first exposed to gender differences (Berk, 1985) and where, by observing and imitating their parents, they learn and develop behaviours relative to their own gender (Bandura, 1977). The formation of gender identity and the behaviours typical of each sex takes place during early childhood, when the family setting exerts a vital influence on individuals (Bem, 1993; Fagot & Leinbach, 1993; McHale et al., 2003). Nonetheless, we cannot ignore the influences received during puberty, which are also important and play a part in an individual's forming attitudes on their own gender (Cunningham, 2001a).

According to socialisation theories, gender roles are learned at quite a young age and become fixed and inalterable (Wight, 2008). In the opinion of

Cunningham (2001b), by observing some behaviours that their parents demonstrate, sons and daughters learn a series of gender symbols which they will later reproduce to represent themselves as male or female in similar contexts. That is, the behaviours are learned in childhood and reproduced when adulthood is reached, specifically when a new couple is formed.

Yet contrary to socialisation theory, some authors cite the existence of changing times and the general tendency towards gender equality to show that the newer generations are tending to be more egalitarian than previous ones, and that there are indeed changes in individuals' attitudes over time (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). From this vantage point, it is argued that if roles are learned in childhood and are fixed and inalterable, they should be reproduced throughout the entire life cycle, and that this does not always happen; instead, major changes can be seen depending on the family context and circumstances at any given time (Gupta, 2006). For example, just as single men and women show similar behaviours in terms of the division of household chores, when they enter into a union this behaviour changes and inequalities increase (South & Spitze, 1994; Gupta, 1999), just as behaviour changes suddenly upon the arrival of the first child (Ajenjo & García, 2011). Nonetheless, there is plentiful empirical evidence showing that gender roles are transmitted (Blair, 1992; Cunningham, 2001a & 2001b; Wight, 2008; Weinshenker, 2005; Carriero & Todesco, 2011; Álvarez & Miles-Touya, 2011) and households can actually be considered 'gender factories' (Berk, 1985).

The division of household chores has been regarded as one of the symbolic fields where gender differences are reproduced (West & Zimmerman, 1987), and the family is where the individual learns the symbolic value of gender behaviour related to household chores (Berk, 1985). Likewise, the division of household chores is where children observe how their parents negotiate and divide the tasks following certain gender roles (Wight, 2008; West & Zimmerman, 1987). As mentioned above, there are many studies that show how more traditional attitudes in parents serve as predictors of more traditional behaviour in children. And in this sense, the division of unpaid labour within the household is often used as an indicator of more or less traditional behaviour. If the parents show more egalitarian attitudes in the division of household chores, this means a less asymmetrical division of these chores between sons and daughters (Cunningham, 2001a; Weinshenker, 2005; Álvarez & Miles-Touya, 2011).

Parents with more traditional gender attitudes are associated with an increase in household chores for daughters and a decrease for sons (Blair, 1992). But it does not end there, as not only do the daughters have a higher burden of household chores but they also tend to be responsible for different chores (Blair, 1992; Wight, 2008). Evertsson (2006) found in Sweden, one of the countries considered the most egalitarian, that girls did more chores inside the home as well as providing more family and personal care, while boys did more chores outdoors. This unequal division in the kinds of chores reproduces the unequal division in adults (Ajenjo & García, 2011).

In this sense, more participation by the father in household chores during his children's childhood is accompanied by more participation in household chores when the man reaches adulthood (Cunningham, 2001b; Evertsson, 2006; Weinshenker, 2005; Álvarez & Miles-Touya, 2011). Previous studies also

show that the greatest influence comes from the parent of the same sex (Cunningham, 2001a; Blair, 1992; Evertsson, 2006).

Working mothers frequently appear as a determining factor in equality in the transmission of gender roles. The fact that the female partner is involved in the job market is already an initial indicator of equality within the couple (Stephan & Corder, 1985; Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Ajenjo & García, 2011). This leads to the transmission of more egalitarian values, first because working women spend less time on unpaid work than unemployed women do, which means that the children see their mother spend less time on stereotypical household chores (Wight, 2008). Secondly, closely tied to the first factor, the woman's employment necessitates the participation of other family members in the household chores, which means more participation by both the father and the children. In the sense, household chores lose some of their association with a given gender and become perceived as a family affair to which all members must contribute. In consequence, working mothers lower – either directly or indirectly – the children's view of paid work as the man's domain and unpaid work as the woman's (Wight, 2008).

However, we should bear in mind that there are two effects whose interconnection leads them to be confused as the underpinnings of the transmission of roles. Women's influx into the job market and men's greater participation in unpaid household chores are phenomena that tend to go hand-in-hand, a circumstance which can confuse their net effects (Gupta, 2006).

The parents' educational level, especially the mother's, is another factor that the literature cites as important in the transmission of more egalitarian attitudes (Wight, 2008). Generally speaking, more education exposes one to more egalitarian ideas and encourages one to question oneself and to engage in more critical evaluation, and therefore distance oneself from gender stereotypes (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Consequently, higher education lowers the amount of time women spend on unpaid work and increases the amount that men spend on it (Bianchi et al., 2006; Brines, 1994).

However, education is also related to a variety of factors which all run in the same direction, so it is difficult to extricate their separate effects. A higher educational level in women is closely related to employment, and both have a similar effect on attitudes towards gender roles. Likewise, it is difficult to disentangle educational level from income; higher income allows services to be purchased from outside the home, which makes it possible to disassociate the family members from unpaid household chores (González & Jurado, 2009).

3. Objectives and hypothesis

The purpose of this article is to draw from the information from the Time-Use Survey to evaluate the transmission of gender roles from parents to their sons and daughters. If this transmission is found, it seeks to analyse under what conditions it is stronger and what factors lead more traditional values to be transmitted.

We start from the hypothesis that from a young age, children reproduce their parents' roles. In this sense, and since today the majority of adult couples

show traditional behaviours, especially in relation to household chores, children will imitate these behaviours and show highly distinct gender roles.

As mentioned above, the greatest difference within couples today comes from participation in unpaid work and specifically the amount of time that men and women spend on it. Thus, we have considered that a couple shows traditional behaviour when the difference in the amount of time that the two partners spend on unpaid work is very high and the woman spends more hours on it. Likewise, the traditional or egalitarian transmission of gender roles shall refer to the amount of time that daughters and sons spend on these chores.

It is taken for granted that, just as in many countries in central and northern Europe, the transmission of roles depends on both the characteristics of the couple and the characteristics of the partners individually, and that equality within the couple is what more strongly determines the more egalitarian transmission of roles. Along the same lines, the woman's active participation in paid employment and the man's in unpaid work should be associated with a more egalitarian line of transmission, as should couples with similar educational levels. Likewise, as the literature shows, other variables such as the children's educational levels or income level should also point in the same direction.

However, we should not forget that all of these variables are closely tied together. A higher educational level in the woman tends to mean higher participation in the job market; in consequence, the higher the income level in the couple, the more time the father spends on unpaid work, and so on. What we shall examine in this article is which of these variables are the most important, and we shall attempt to evaluate their net effect.

4. Source and methodology

This study was carried out using the new edition of the INE's Time-Use Survey (2009- 2010). The main purpose of this survey is to obtain primary information on the dimension of unpaid work, the distribution of family responsibilities within the household, the population's participation in cultural and free-time activities and the use of time (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2011).²

The survey gathers information on the population's routine activities through personal logs and individual and household questionnaires, and an activity diary is the core element. It is used by all members of the household aged 10 and over on a given day, the same day for everyone. And this is the major advantage of this source: that it provides comparable information on all the members of the household. The diary encompasses all 24 consecutive hours in a given day, from six in the morning until six am the following day, in ten-minute stretches. In each of the intervals, the interviewee must jot down the main activity they are performing at that time, along with other information.

The activities are codified according to the harmonised list developed by Eurostat, which consists of up to ten major groups. In this article, we are

² Between 1998 and 2004, under the directives of Eurostat, the first set of time-use surveys were administered in different European countries, among them Spain (Harmonized European Time Use Surveys). Recently, the second edition of this survey was administered. Specifically in Spain, the data were gathered between October 2009 and October 2010.

analysing unpaid work, which appears under the section “Household and family” and encompasses culinary activities, household maintenance, making and caring for clothing, gardening and care of household pets, household construction and repairs, shopping and services, household management, care of the children in the household and assistance of adult members of the household.

In order to evaluate differences in the transmission of gender roles between sons and daughters, we chose households made up of a couple consisting in one man and one woman and at least two children between the ages of 10 and 19, one of each sex, both of whom stated that their main activity is studying. Even though these requirements led to a steep drop in the sample size, it was deemed that analysing this kind of household, where the boys and girls share the same environment, would enrich the analysis.³

Thus, despite the fact that the sample as a whole consists in 25,895 individuals from 9,541 households, 2,163 of which are made up of a father, a mother and at least one son and one daughter, the sample was considerably diminished, in that only 674 provided information on both children and have at least two children. What is more, in approximately half the households, is there at least one child of each sex, and only 126 households are they both students between the ages of 10 and 19. Indeed, the final sample size was 126 families. As we shall see below, this circumstance will condition how some variables were processed.

The design of the analysis allowed us to work with a single dependent variable, namely the difference in the amount of time that girls and boys spend on unpaid household chores. Since this is a quantitative metric variable, it was analysed based on fixed effects variance analysis models. Since the independent variables are qualitative, they determine a series of groups in the dependent variable. The model measures the statistical significance of the difference between the means of the groups determined in the dependent variable by the values of the independent variables. The specification of the model is the following:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * X_1 + \beta_2 * X_2 + \dots + \beta_p * X_p$$

In which y_i is the difference in the amount of time spent on unpaid chores between the daughter and son of a given couple with the characteristics X_{i1}, \dots, X_{ip} . Given that the explanatory variables are categorical, for each of the p variables introduced into the model, a reference category was determined. The terms β_j correspond to a vector with $k-1$ elements, k being the number of categories of the explanatory variable X_j , which has a value of 0 if the couple does not fulfil the characteristic and 1 if it does. Thus, each element in the β_j vectors corresponds to the effect of the characteristic j on the dependent variable.

³ Much of the loss in the sample size was because in many households one member did not fill out the entire questionnaire, especially the children, who did not fill out the most time-consuming part, the activity log. Because of the characteristics of the analysis we wish to undertake, if any member did not fill out the diary, the household could not be analysed.

The tables show the estimated coefficients for the model, which are interpreted in the same way as the coefficients obtained in a regression that uses categorical variables, given that this analysis is simply a specific case of general linear models. For example, the information we get if we examine the variable “Kind of couple” in the one-variable model (Table 2) is twofold. The first is the constant (0.339), which corresponds to the difference between the amount of time daughters and sons spend on unpaid work when the parents are a dual-income couple (reference category), while the second is the value corresponding to traditional couples (0.632), which indicates the increase in the difference because of this characteristic. In the case of the multivariable model (model A on Table 2), the constant should be read as the difference in those couples that show the characteristics established as reference (dual-income couples, high income level, woman’s educational level equal to or higher than the man’s, etc.), while the coefficient corresponding to the traditional couples (0.612) should be interpreted as the difference from dual-income couples, with the remaining variables the same.

Specifically, different kinds of analyses were performed. The first were two-variable models, by incorporating each of the independent variables separately (see the one-variable model in Table 2). Secondly, in order to evaluate the contribution of each variable by eliminating the effect of the others, we added the set of variables (see Model A on Table 2). Finally, with the goal of estimating the influence of other variables, we created different models which could also provide clues as to why some variables were more or less important (see Models B and C in Table 2).

The small sample size led to a loss of detail in the information provided by the independent variables, which we had to reduce to only two categories in the majority of cases. In order to carry out this reduction, we took two criteria into account: there should be no category with too few cases, and the categories where the differences between boys and girls was the most pronounced should not be lost.

The independent variables used in the models were: educational level of the mother and father, educational homogeneity, income level of the household, kind of couple according to their employment status, and amount of time the father spent on unpaid work. In addition to these variables, we added the time when the information was gathered, that is, the day of the week when the activity log was filled out, as a control variable.⁴

For the educational level of either the father or mother, we were left with two categories: having university studies or not. On the other hand, to define educational homogeneity, we bore in mind the variable’s nine initial categories and evaluated whether the father and mother had the same or different educational level. Ultimately, these three categories were reduced to two: couples in which the man has a higher educational level than the woman, and couples in which the woman has the same or a higher educational level than the

⁴ In this sense, in the sample design we considered that the days of the week with the most variability in activities carried out by the population should be overrepresented, which were considered to be Friday, Saturday and Sunday. This criterion was maintained in the article, such that when we speak about workday (or school day), we are talking about Monday to Thursday, while when we speak about weekend we are referring to the other three days mentioned above.

man.⁵ As can be deduced, this homogamy is closely tied to the children's educational level, such that both variables are never included in the models.

The variable "household income" was initially found in four valid categories, plus one for those who did not answer it. The cut-off was set at 2,000 net euros per month, such that two categories are analysed, above and below this amount, plus a third one with no response.⁶

Based on the couple's work status, four kinds of couples can be defined: traditional couples, in which only the man works; dual-income couples, in which both work; couples in which only the woman works; and couples in which neither member works. Because of the characteristics of the sample, the last category was non-existent. Of the other three, we chose to consider dual-income couples and couples in which only the woman works within a single category due to the similarity of their behaviour, while traditional couples were in a second group.

The last variable taken into account is the amount of time the father spends on unpaid work. Just as in the other variables, in this one we only had two categories: fathers who do no unpaid work or do less than one hour per day, and fathers who do an hour or more of unpaid work per day.

Even though the literature shows that there are other variables which may be important, they were discarded, among other reasons because of the sample size. However, let us examine them in further detail.

Even though previous studies show that cohabitation has a positive effect on gender equality (Baxter, 2005; Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Ajenjo & García, 2011), it was impossible to add it to the model not only because there are very few cases of cohabitation, but also and more importantly because they were not adequately reported in this sample, which is the reason for the lack of cohabitants in the sample.⁷

One of the variables which is often presented as the most important in grasping the differences between the members of the couple is the presence of small children in the household. Thus, while in some specific groups the difference between the man and the woman is practically non-existent, when a small child is around this logic is completely ruptured, and the mother starts to spend much more time on unpaid work than her partner (Gershuny et al., 2005; Dribe & Stanfors, 2009; Ajenjo & García, 2011). However, despite the interest in analysing this variable, in all the households in the final sample there was a scant presence of children under the age of 10. The same holds true with the availability of domestic help in the household, which tends to lead to a reduction

⁵ This grouping was made after constructing the models with the three most logical categories of this variable and concluding that there were never significant differences between couples in which the woman had a higher educational level and couples in which both partners had an equal educational level.

⁶ A brief exercise was conducted with the goal of evaluating those who did not respond. We found that generally speaking, their behaviour is more similar to those who earn more than 2,000 euros per month than to those who earn less.

⁷ People who cohabit but are not registered as such had to mark the marital status question as married.

in the differences between men and women (González & Jurado, 2009); however, we were also unable to analyse this variable.

The literature also shows that the mother's age is important, in that younger couples are more egalitarian than older ones (Macinnes, 2005; González & Jurado, 2009; Ajenjo & García, 2011). In this case, the problem was not the sample size but the fact that the mothers in the sample analysed all had very similar ages: almost 90% were between the ages of 40 and 49.

5. Results

The fact that the unit of analysis is siblings ensures that many of the characteristics of the boys and girls are the same in terms of the characteristics of both their parents and the children themselves. In this sense, we shall make a brief note on age: although a homogeneous group was chosen, we found certain differences in the age difference at which boys and girls leave school. They are minimal, yet they do exist: the mean age for boys is 15.0 and for girls it is 14.5 ($\alpha = 0.074$).⁸ In contrast, the difference in the kind of studies they pursue is negligible.

Regarding the first results and the hypothesis that sons and daughters usually show different behaviour, we can see that this is indeed true: the girls in the sample spend more time on unpaid work than the boys. Specifically, the girls spend an average of one hour per day, while the boys spend a little over half an hour (see Table 1). This difference is almost entirely found at weekends (Friday to Sunday), while on workdays it is virtually unnoticeable: the difference is only two minutes on workdays, while it is almost one hour from Friday to Sunday. In this sense, and except for the distances, the behaviour of sons and daughters resembles the behaviour of men and women in a dual-income couple, in that the differences in what some authors call the workload (Ramos, 1990), that is, the amount of time spent on both paid and unpaid work, is relatively similar on workdays but quite different at weekends (Ajenjo & García, 2011).

This difference between the two kinds of days means that the variable "Day of the week" was used as a control variable in all the models constructed: it was significant in all cases, and always in the sense of the most important differences being found at weekends.

Table 1. Amount of time spent on unpaid work by each member of the family. Workdays and weekends (in mean hours)

	Mother	Father	Mother-father	Daughter	Son	Daughter-son	Daughter/son
Mon-Th	5.27	2.27	3.00	0.33	0.30	0.03	1.11
Fri-Sun	5.06	2.36	2.30	1.37	0.44	0.53	2.22
Total	5.18	2.31	2.47	1.01	0.36	0.25	1.69

Source: Authors based on data from the Time-Use Survey 2009-2010.

⁸ This difference most likely comes because girls study long than boys, so some boys aged 16 to 19 have already joined the job market and have disappeared from the sample.

Regarding the variables analysed, we should stress that the majority show significant differences in transmission, meaning that what was found in other countries in Europe is also confirmed in Spain: transmission depends on the characteristics of the couple.

First of all, we should highlight the clear relationship between the transmission of roles and the educational level of the mother, a conclusion which cannot be drawn when analysing the father's educational level. Thus, the children of mothers with university degrees show significantly more egalitarian behaviours than the children of mothers without university degrees ($\alpha = 0.010$), such that we could posit total equality between boys and girls in the former ($\alpha = 0.856$). In contrast, the father having a university degree is not a guarantee of more equality ($\alpha = 0.530$).

Likewise, educational homogamy generates major differences, such that couples in which the woman has the same or a higher educational level as the man transmit more equality to their children than couples in which the man has a higher educational level ($\alpha = 0.006$). In the sample, we observed that the children of the former are about 55 minutes (0.914 hours) more egalitarian than the children of the latter, and that the former are verging on equality ($\alpha = 0.111$).

The relationship between household income level and the transmission of gender roles to the children is also quite clear ($\alpha = 0.008$): in the higher-income households, the transmission of traditional roles is lower. When the income is higher than 2,000 net euros per month, there are virtually no differences in the amount of time the sons and daughters spend on unpaid work ($\alpha = 0.699$), while in households under this threshold, the daughters spend almost one hour more per day on these chores than the sons do.

While the literature shows that dual-income couples are more egalitarian in terms of the amount of time that the men and women spend on unpaid work (Stephan & Corder, 1985; Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Ajenjo & García, 2011), we can see that they are also more egalitarian in the transmission of this work to their children. Thus, the children of traditional couples show a larger gap than the children of other couples ($\alpha = 0.054$). However, this does not mean that there are no differences between the sons and daughters of dual-income families ($\alpha = 0.054$), similar to in other circumstances, such as in the children of women with a university education and those of couples with an income over 2,000 euros.

The model of father who occasionally does household chores is also important in terms of the transmission of gender roles, even though it is the variable in which the two-variable models have the least explanatory power ($\alpha = 0.097$).

6. Discussion

Both educational homogamy and household income, the kind of couple and the father's involvement in unpaid work explain a higher or lower transmission of traditional gender roles in the children. These four variables, which are significant when analysed separately, are also significant when analysed as a whole (see Model A on Table 2), such that regardless of the remaining characteristics, there is a lower transmission of traditional roles in households

with higher income, when the woman has the same educational level as her husband or higher, when both couples earn an income and when the father spends at least one hour per day on unpaid work at home.

Thus, all the variables that the literature shows as crucial in greater or lesser equality between the father and mother are also important in the transmission of gender roles, and always in the expected direction; that is, those characteristics which lend themselves to greater equality in the couple also lead to the lower transmission of traditional gender roles.

The only variable which leads to a change in transmission of traditional gender roles when analysed separately, but does not when analysing the net effect, is the mother's educational level, and therefore it was not included in the model (see Model A on Table 2). The reason is its strong correlation with other variables, primarily income level. Thus, mothers with a university education end up living in households with higher incomes, which are also the households where more equality is transmitted to the children. However, if there is income parity, the mother's educational level loses most of its explanatory power (Model B).⁹ In fact, in a model that includes both income and the mother's educational level, not only is this second variable insignificant ($\alpha = 0.457$) but income level also loses its significance ($\alpha = 0.152$); indeed, both variables supply very similar information, so the presence of both detracts from it. Thus, both income and educational level (Model A and Model C) separately lead to changes in the transmission of traditional roles, but together they do not. We could say that income level acts as an intermediate variable, such that mothers with university studies achieve a higher income level for the household, which leads to a more egalitarian transmission of gender roles.¹⁰

Something similar holds true with educational homogamy, and even with the kind of couple. Regarding the former, we can see that educational homogamy loses part of its explanatory power ($\alpha = 0.092$) if it is evaluated along with income level (Model A), so if we generate a model without income, it once again gains predictive capacity. Indeed, couples in which the woman's educational level is equal to or higher than the man's also have the highest incomes, so if incomes are equal, the influence of homogamy dips slightly. Likewise, two salaries tend to mean a higher income, so including both variables somehow detracts from each other.

However, what does stand out more than this influence exerted by income level on the other variables, which partly lessens its influence, is that except in the case of educational level, the relationship remains in the other variables. Thus, we can conclude that if there is income equality, traditional couples transmit gender roles much more than other couples, since if there is equal income and equal types of couples, the woman having an educational level equal to or higher than the man leads to the transmission of more egalitarian gender roles.

⁹ As mentioned in the section on methodology, this variable cannot be kept with homogamy, such that it was analysed by generating a new model.

¹⁰ It is possible that what lies behind this last statement is the possibility of outsourcing some services which a higher income level allows; this is an effect which, as stated above, we were unable to evaluate.

Table 2. Different models of each variable's contribution to the different amount of time that sons and daughters spend on unpaid work

	One-variable		Model A		Model B		Model C	
	$\beta\beta$	Sig.	$\beta\beta$	Sig.	$\beta\beta$	Sig.	$\beta\beta$	Sig.
Weekday		0.006		0.001		0.000		0.001
Weekend (F-Su)	0.832	0.006	0.992	0.001	1.079	0.000	1.009	0.001
Workday (M-Th)		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.
Constant	0.027	0.905						
Educational homogamy		0.006		0.092				
Man's educational level > Woman's educational level	0.914	0.006	0.534	0.092				
Woman's educational level > Man's educational level		Ref.		Ref.				
Constant	0.273	0.111						
Household income		0.008		0.037		0.152		
Don't know/No answer	0.152	0.743	0.147	0.740	0.145	0.747		
€2,000 per month or less	0.955	0.002	0.814	0.012	0.754	0.053		
More than €2,000 per month		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		
Constant	0.093	0.669						
Type of couple		0.054		0.068		0.075		0.013
Traditional couple	0.632	0.054	0.612	0.068	0.601	0.075	0.808	0.013
Dual-income couple		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.
Constant	0.339	0.054						
Unpaid work by the father		0.097		0.026		0.024		0.013
Less than one hour a day	0.518	0.097	0.674	0.026	0.699	0.024	0.750	0.013
One hour a day or more		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.
Constant	0.359	0.046						
Mother's educational level		0.010				0.457		0.020
No university	0.784	0.020			0.270	0.457	0.684	0.020
University		Ref.				Ref.		Ref.
Constant	0.043	0.856						
Father's educational level		0.530						
No university	-0.192	0.530						
University		Ref.						

	One-variable		Model A		Model B		Model C	
	$\beta\beta$	Sig.	$\beta\beta$	Sig.	$\beta\beta$	Sig.	$\beta\beta$	Sig.
Constant	0.636	0.008						
Constant			-0.971	0.002	-1.020	0.002	-0.966	0.003
R ²			0.237	0.000	0.221	0.000	0.195	0.000

Source: Authors based on data from the 2009-2010 Time-Use Survey.

This is a conclusion which can also be reached in the case of couples in which the father regularly performs household chores ($\alpha = 0.026$). The fact that the father's unpaid work leads to significant differences confirms the transmission of roles based on observation and example more than the other variables, and this is true for a variety of reasons.

First, as the literature states, the influx of women into the job market is viewed by the majority of the population as something entirely normal, such that the kind of relationship that is valued the most is when both members work (Dema, 2005; Macinnes, 2005). In this sense, dual-income couples are no longer the exception but the rule. In contrast, men's involvement in unpaid work is still far from widespread, such that men have not started working at home to the same extent that women have gone to work outside the home, so we can predict that a major swath of society still has the domestic role internalised as pertaining to females.

Secondly, the fact that this less traditional gender role transmission has not only a gross effect but also an important net effect is unquestionably an added value which can be interpreted in terms of mimicry. That is, if we consider that there is a series of factors which comprise a more egalitarian whole – and that they are income and woman's educational level and participation in the job market – the fact that if there is equality in this whole the man's unpaid work still contributes significantly to the transmission of less traditional gender roles is because of the model that the children adopt from their parents.

7. Conclusions

The influence that the model of couple exerts on their children has been measured by the former's transmission of traditional gender roles, evaluated from the perspective of the amount of time that the sons and daughters spend on unpaid work. Generally speaking, we should first stress that gender differences appear at very young ages, in that in the period between pre-adolescence and young adulthood the amount of time girls spend on household chores is significantly higher than the time spent by their brothers, and the most important differences occur at weekends more than on workdays: from Monday to Thursday neither boys nor girls participate very actively in unpaid chores at home, while at weekends they contribute more, and this contribution is much less equal.

However, despite this behaviour clearly marked by traditional gender roles, the characteristics of the couple – either the individual members or both

together – lead to some differences worth noting, because in some cases the differences between the son and daughter are negligible. The characteristics that lead to greater equality, in the sense of a lower transmission of the traditional roles, are having a higher income, both members of the couple working, the woman having university studies or an education level equal to or higher than the man, and the husband making a considerable contribution to unpaid work.

In fact, these variables – more than the others which we were unable to analyse here – are mentioned in the literature as closely associated with each other: much of men's involvement in household chores can be explained precisely by women's educational level, homogamy, the income level and the kind of couple according to the employment status of both members. Thus, everything seems to point to the fact that these four variables yield more egalitarian behaviour in couples, in this case measured by the amount of unpaid work done by the man.

If this unpaid work by the man is significant in itself but if the other variables are not the same, we would conclude that their significance is conditioned by the fact that it is yet another indicator of this equality within couples. However, the fact that the man's unpaid work is an important factor in explaining the lower transmission of traditional gender roles if the other variables that entail more egalitarian behaviour are equal, this leads us to posit that it signals an added factor, a new element that could be interpreted as mimicry, which would fall along the lines suggested by Cunningham (2001b). Thus, the attitude that the parents take is essential in a more egalitarian transmission of gender roles in that much of what is transmitted comes from 'practising what you preach'.

Do these results enable us to predict more egalitarian behaviour of couples in the future? If we pay attention to the theories of socialisation, yes, in that more egalitarian values are being transmitted to the new generations which they will presumably reproduce in the future. Therefore, when they enter a partnership, the division of labour will be less stereotyped by gender. However, there are other factors that are more difficult to predict which could counteract the positive effect of more egalitarian values. In this sense, one phenomenon that creates the most inequalities within the couple is the birth of a child (Ajenjo & García, 2011), and this happens largely because of the lack of work-family balance policies and measures, which affects equality. Thus, even though the transmission of more egalitarian values to children is important to the greater future equality of couples, it must be accompanied by other factors that facilitate this equality.

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The use of international private law as a criterion for the application of Catalan civil law in Catalonia

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Abstract

The system of conflict of laws and the principle of unity of jurisdiction are under the influence of the plural composition of the Spanish legal system in civil law matters. The aim of this article is to examine cases in which the rules on conflict of laws should be applicable in order to determine the application of Catalan civil law.

Key words: private international law, interregional law, rules on conflict of laws.

1. Brief introduction

The goal of this article is quite modest: we might even say that it is lacking in ambition. It is modest first because it simply aims to shed light on when it is appropriate to apply the rules on conflict of laws in order to establish that a given de facto affair is governed by Catalan civil law. This is a question which I believe is accepted and known by both practitioners and courts, but it is worth noting that the peculiarities stemming from the unity of jurisdiction in the legislative plurality that comprises the Spanish legal system hinders a highly precise delimitation. Therefore, we should say that this text does not aspire to definitely close such a delicate issue as the legal basis or underpinning for the application of Catalan civil law, which until recently was completely open and, as we shall see, still presents doubts in some doctrinal spheres.

Consequently, the goal is simply to state when it is appropriate to apply the rules on conflict of laws to determine the application of Catalan civil law, and when, therefore, it is not appropriate to apply them.

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2. The applicability of Catalan civil law

One might think that wondering about the condition of applicability of Catalan civil law is almost absurd, especially for a merely internal affair. Indeed, in a domestic affair which has no link other than with Catalan civil law, is it necessary to justify the application of this law? Perhaps the question becomes clearer and even stranger if we ask it and project it onto the applicability of French law by a French judge, for example. In this sense, it almost goes without saying that a French judge is not obligated to justify the application of the French Civil Code. To the contrary, this same judge would be obligated to argue why he or she is applying a foreign law, the Spanish Civil Code (CC) or the Catalan Civil Code, in the event that the affair is linked with any of these civil laws coexisting in Spain.

The counterpoint that I just mentioned therefore puts us on alert because – unlike what might happen in unitary systems, such as in France – in Spain the constitutional system protects civil plurilegislation. Thus, the question asked – “Is it necessary to justify the application of Catalan civil law?” – becomes more meaningful in this context. Indeed, the question we should ask is whether a Spanish judge must justify the application of Spanish civil law the way a French judge could. However, as the reader must have already guessed, the question is much more complex here because even though we could posit a Spanish judge – that is, one belonging to a particular jurisdiction, the Spanish jurisdiction – we cannot truly speak about the application of Spanish civil law but should instead speak about the application of one of the civil laws coexisting in Spain.

Therefore, the question is sharper-edged and more ridden with different angles that must be taken into account. In reality, the content of the question is so complicated that it must be adapted in order to mould it to the plurality that shapes the legal system on civil matters in Spain. This is why the question that should be asked is: Should a Spanish judge have to justify the application of any of the civil laws coexisting in Spain, and more particularly Catalan civil law?

The answer is neither facile nor immediate. Thus, we could say that if the question is more complex, as we have seen, so is the answer.

The unity upon which the exercise of jurisdiction is built means we have to talk about just a single jurisdiction, Spain, even though this jurisdiction applies different civil laws depending on the matter at hand. However, precisely this plurilegislation situation is what forces a question which would be completely incongruous in other circumstances and other places.

For this reason, it should come as no surprise that numerous resolutions justify the application of Catalan civil law with article 14.1 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (SAC), article 111-3.1 of the Civil Code of Catalonia (CCCat) and quite often with rules on conflict of laws as well. This is almost always a clause that would affect any material sphere, including family, successions or inheritances.¹

The feature that makes these cases common is not that they are heterogeneous affairs in which one must determine which of the civil laws coexisting in Spain is applicable, but instead they are internal affairs, solely

¹ See the plentiful jurisprudence mentioned in Ginebra Molins (2012).

associated with the Catalan system, and yet the court nonetheless feels obligated to justify the application of this law. Therefore, the question should be framed within the plurilegislative nature that defines the Spanish system. However, it is known that this note of plurality that characterises the Spanish system does not in itself mean a conflict of laws. Despite this, the justification reproduced appears in multiple judicial resolutions without the need for the legal matter to show any degree of heterogeneity, and yet the rules to resolve conflicts of laws are nonetheless invoked. In any event, what stands out is the fact that the courts need to vindicate the application of Catalan civil law.

Despite this, the challenge which should theoretically be posed by any judge from the Spanish jurisdiction is not always dealt with in the same way. Therefore, we could wonder whether the Spanish courts justify the application of one Spanish civil law or another at all times and all over Spain, and more specifically, whether this approach can be insisted upon even with regard to legal matters which could be considered purely domestic, homogeneous or internal.

The question is pertinent again because a sampling of the jurisprudence, no matter how painstaking it is, reveals that this kind of reasoning never occurs when the judicial resolution was handed down by a judge belonging to the Spanish legislation but headquartered in Ávila, Seville or Ciudad Real, that is, in the territory of what is poorly called common civil law. If the affair is purely internal, not only is there no doubt regarding the applicability of the Civil Law, but there is also no need to justify its application. Consequently, we must determine the motives that lead the same jurisdiction, the Spanish jurisdiction, to justify the application of some of the civil laws coexisting in Spain in some cases, while directly applying another of the civil laws coexisting in Spain in others, without anyone questioning the grounds upon which this application rests.

3. The reasons leading to the justification of the applicability of Catalan civil law

The differences in the treatment or, if you will, in the condition of applicability of a given Spanish civil law is based on different considerations which are somewhat intertwined.

Perhaps the factor that plays the most prominent role in this issue is the completeness of the state law, its suppletory nature and the diminishment to which Catalan civil law has been subjected historically. Therefore, plurilegislation has been alien to the shaping of the very structures that make up the state in Spain. The goal was to eradicate this circumstance with the Spanish Constitution (SC), but the inertia, resistance and – in the sphere we are examining – the principle of unity of jurisdiction have made that extraordinarily difficult. This is a peculiar yet crucial piece of information in the Spanish system that does not occur in any other country within our cultural milieu. Usually, plurilegislative regionally-based systems – obviously, I am referring to plurilegislative private law systems – entail a plurality of jurisdictions such that each territorial unit has its own law and its own jurisdiction (such as in the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States and Australia). A plurilegislative system in which there is simultaneously a plurality of jurisdictions does not

require this – shall we say – previous question. Indeed, when faced with a circumstance associated solely with system X, the courts belonging to jurisdiction X would apply their own law without having to consider or justify the application of their own law.

We should not forget that historically, the jurisdictional function in the different territories in the Iberian Peninsula was exercised in a sovereign way. However, the unification of the jurisdiction and the existence of an unequal, imbalanced plurilegislative system has led to the clear supremacy of state civil law. In this sense, the application of state law is assumed to be a natural consequence, while to the contrary, the application of a Spanish civil law that is not state law occurs in a fragmentary, infrequent way and is only reserved for certain clearly determined spheres. In short, it is viewed as an anomaly. However, this conception in a plurilegislative system such as the one currently in force in Spain – which nonetheless continues to have a single jurisdiction – is difficult to sustain. It should be obvious that none of the civil laws coexisting in Spain is inherent to the jurisdiction or, perhaps more accurately, that they are all “inherent” there, since all Spanish laws are inherent to the only competent Spanish jurisdiction and in consequence there is no need to equate it with only one of the civil laws. Equating the Spanish jurisdiction with one law or the other is tantamount to distorting the structural plurilegislation with which the Spanish system was envisioned in the SC. Although it is true that the jurisdiction serves a state function, this does not equate it with state law per se but with the Spanish system, meant as the simultaneous presence of the laws produced by both the central state and the regional lawmakers.²

Overcoming the pre-constitutional system, which temporarily remained in place in the immediate post-constitutional period (not because of a lack of justification but simply as the consequence of an obviously temporary process of adapting to the changes made) was manifested in Catalonia with the positivisation of the completeness of Catalan civil law. This completeness itself does not alter the suppletory nature of state law as a principle, but naturally it reveals that in order to resolve legal matters that are purely internal, in the sense that they have no association with any civil law other than Catalan civil law, the jurisdiction should apply this law without having to resort to state civil law, or perhaps by applying it in a suppletory fashion, but not as an effect of the remission from a rule of conflict. The presence of plurilegislation, and in particular of the suppletory nature of state law, forces a justification that could not be understood otherwise.

This complexity must be accepted, yet the inertia of the Spanish jurisdiction in the exclusive application of state civil law cannot be accepted. This explains why, for example, the Ruling by the Provincial Court of Barcelona dated 22 October 2010 (Aranzadi Westlaw, JUR/2010/382952) quite appropriately added the following: “The appealed ruling applies State civil law without justifying it”. This reveals that in appeals even today it is essential to recall the plurilegislative nature of the Spanish system and the necessary application of the corresponding regional civil law, in this case Catalan civil law, given its completeness in the aspects that fall within this legal matter and

² Regarding the difficulty of fitting regulatory plurality into unity of jurisdiction, see Arenas García (2010 and 2011).

inasmuch as the matter is a purely domestic affair without any elements of heterogeneity.

This does not mean that both state civil law and the regional civil law with which the affair is connected should be applied in the same legal matter. In these cases, the simultaneous application of state civil law and a regional civil law is not the result of a conflict of laws but of the simultaneous existence of the unity of the system with regard to a given matter and the plurality of the system regarding other matters, or the failure to exercise the regional competences in this matter. This is the case of rulings in which the application of the recommendation provided for in the first book of the Civil Code of Catalonia is at stake.

The exclusive competence of state lawmakers in some of the aspects of the legal matter, or the failure to exercise the regional competence, thus sometimes generates a scenario in which even though there is no heterogeneity, pieces from different Spanish civil laws must be cobbled together: state civil law on the one hand and one of the regional civil laws on the other.

However, simultaneous application does not mean cumulative application. The cumulative application of state civil law and a regional civil law on a given legal matter is inadmissible when either of the two bodies of law is applicable, regardless of whether the matter is heterogeneous or homogenous. This claim must be maintained even if the content of the rules of both bodies of law is similar or even identical. This explains why even though it has been stated that Catalan civil law should be applied, after the justification reproduced, which we have alluded to several times already, the Ruling by the Provisional Court of Barcelona on 7 October 2010 (Aranzadi Westlaw, JUR/2010/384472) declares the following: “Therefore, the cumulative allegation of precepts of Catalan civil law and state civil law is baseless.”

Thus, when the affair is homogeneous, it prompts no conflict of laws, such that it makes no sense to turn to the rules of conflict. It is probably not quite accurate to say that the jurisdiction applies the law of its territory. In reality, the law of the place where the court is located is applied, or perhaps even more accurately, the law whose sphere of application typically includes the situations which are “inherent” to it is applied, because they are exclusively linked. The criterion of territoriality contained in articles 14.1 SAC and 111.3 CCCat expresses the sphere of application of Catalan civil law in homogeneous affairs while also introducing a factor of proximity or immediacy between the jurisdiction and the affair being judged, even, as we shall see, if it is a heterogeneous affair. Citing these precepts is then appropriate,³ yet it should not be necessary, at least if we contrast it with the way the Spanish jurisdiction operates in homogenous affairs linked solely to what is inaccurately called common civil law, in which no legitimising precept to apply state civil law is cited. However, it turns out that the underlying presence of state law as the suppletory law and potentially, if I may, the law that is applicable vocationally, explains the invocation of articles 14.1 SAC and 111.3 CCCat.

In any case, what is inadmissible, albeit understandable, given the precedents outlined above, is that the rules on conflict of laws serve the purpose

³ See the plentiful jurisprudence on this issue, such as Ginebra Molins (2012), pp. 75-76.

of delimiting the scope of application of Catalan civil law only when the affair is associated with this law (Ginebra Molins, 2012:92). This erroneous solution was noted by the Higher Court of Justice of Catalonia in its rulings dated 26 May 2011 (ROJ: STSJ CAT 6728/2011) and 12 September 2011.⁴ In these cases, which are homogeneous and exclusively linked to Catalan civil law, it is applied naturally or immediately (Badosa Coll, 2007:32-33; Ginebra Molins, 2012:82 and forward).

Finally, we should recall that Catalan civil law, in its capacity as common law, can be supplementary to state mercantile law (Font i Segura, 2002; Font i Segura and Oró Martínez, 2013).

4. The application of Catalan civil law as the law designated by the rule of conflict

Having clarified this point, if we notice an element of heterogeneity – either international or interregional – then the system of conflict of laws is activated, and the rules of this system are the ones that will determine the applicable law. In theory, the territoriality expressed in article 14.1 SAC and in other statutes of autonomy, and in article 111/3.1 CCCat, add nothing and do not entail any determination of the applicable civil law. In heterogeneous affairs, the rule of conflict is what determines the application of Catalan civil law, or the law that has been determined by the rule itself (Álvarez González, 2012).

When dealing with a heterogeneous affair linked to different legal systems, the court is obligated to determine which law is applicable by the imperative application of the rule of conflict provided for in article 12.6 CC. All it must do is cite facts which include elements that are foreign or heterogeneous for the *ex-officio* application of the rule of conflict to be imposed and therefore for it to be unnecessary to cite the application of foreign legislation.⁵ In interregional affairs, this is even less true, since all the laws present are Spanish and therefore should be known by the Spanish jurisdiction.

Consequently, *prima facie* the problem is not so much determining the applicability of Catalan civil law in a heterogeneous affair but determining the law applicable to the affair. Even if one of the bodies of law present is Catalan law, in order to establish that it is the applicable law, a pathway must be followed that is not always reflected in Spanish jurisprudence. Often a leap is taken into the void that neither provides clarity or fits the principle of legal security.

In terms of prescription, in interregional affairs it has been claimed – erroneously, in my opinion – that article 1010. CC, on the effect of remission provided for in article 16.1 CC, does not allow a regulation to be applied of the prescription contained in a different law than the one provided by the regulation of the requirements for compliance and the consequences of noncompliance.

⁴ As Alegret Burgués (2012) emphasises. See too the considerations of Lamarca i Marquès (2012).

⁵ See the rulings of the Supreme Court dated 1 April 2011 (ROJ: STS 1805/2011), 23 March 2010 (ROJ: STS 3313/2010) and 10 June 2005 (ROJ: STS 3760/2005). The actual accreditation of the designated foreign law is another matter.

Therefore, article 10.10 CC would lead to complete application of the law regulating the obligation (contractual or extra-contractual).

This has been upheld, for example, in the ruling by the Provincial Court of Barcelona dated 10 March 2010 (ROJ: SAP B 2052/2010):

THREE.- The conflict of laws which exists between the two civil bodies of law (state and regional) must be resolved according to the provisions of section 10 of article 10 of the Civil Code, through express remission of article 16 of the same text when it says that “Conflicts of laws that may emerge because of the coexistence of different civil bodies of law in the national territory shall be resolved following the rules contained in chapter IV”, a chapter found within the aforementioned article 10.

The aforementioned article 10.10 CC provides that “the law regulating an obligation extends to the requirements of compliance and to the consequences of noncompliance, as well as to its termination”. As stated by doctrine, this provision is projected onto a wide range of obligations, both contractual and extra-contractual. Despite this, the designation made by articles 10.5 and 10.9 CC (no regulatory instrument of the European Union nor conventional instrument is applicable in interregional affairs) can deem Catalan civil law applicable when the case at hand is, respectively, contractual obligations and extra-contractual obligations (Abril Campoy, 2011). The incomplete nature of Catalan civil law in matters involving obligations and contracts, and the fact that it only calls for a complete, systematic regulation of the prescription, require hetero-integration to be considered without ceasing to apply Catalan regulations in relation to the prescription. The justification of this argumentation is the preferential nature of Catalan civil law provided for in article 111-5 CCCat. However, we should note that the state’s exclusive competence could compromise this scenario inasmuch as there would no longer be an inherent, unique regulation in Catalan civil law and therefore the pluri-legislative nature of the system would disappear. This is what happened in the two rulings handed down by the Supreme Court on 6 September 2013 (ROJ: STS 4494/2013; ROJ: STS 4495/2013), in which it describes the action as direct action against the insurer of the vehicle driven by the person who caused the accident, in this case the Consortium of Insurance Compensation, an action regulated in article 7.1 of Royal Decree 8/2004 dated 29 October 2004 which approves the recast text of the Law on Civil Responsibility and Insurance in the Circulation of Motor Vehicles.⁶ The arguments cited by the Supreme Court are grounded upon the “unique and extraordinary” (that is, special) nature of direct action and on the norm from which the possibility of exercising this action arises, which is none other than the aforementioned Royal Decree 8/2004, not Catalan law. On the other hand, the Supreme Court states that the constitutional underpinning –

⁶ Alegret Burgués (2012) noted that this controversy was not resolved and that now there are doubts precisely regarding Royal Decree 8/2004.

article 149.1.6 SC – on which the state is given the exclusive competence on matters of mercantile law hinders the application of Catalan law.⁷

The question would be different in international affairs. In these affairs, Catalan civil law would eventually be designated as a legal system which contains its own regulatory framework on specifically regulated matters. Indeed, the different instruments that would determine the applicable law would lead to the application of Catalan civil law, even though the doubt could arise as to whether this is really so when we consider that the remission to a plurilegislative system takes place whenever each of the territorial units has its own legal rules on the matter (in contractual matters, in accordance with article 22.1 of the Rome I Regulation on the applicable law in contractual obligations; in extra-contractual matters, in accordance with article 25.1 of the Rome II Regulation on the law applicable to extra-contractual matters; in relation to the extra-contractual responsibility on matters involving road accidents in accordance with article 12 of the 1917 Hague Convention on the law applicable to traffic accidents; and on matters of responsibility for products in accordance with article 12 of the 1973 Hague Convention on the law applicable to the responsibility for products). Therefore, one could claim that the direct remission called for in the aforementioned provisions is operative only if Catalan civil law, as a system for a territorial unit that is part of the plurilegislation of the Spanish system, contains its own regulation on the matter. If, however, this is a sphere in which the state lawmakers hold exclusive competences, plurilegislation would not be manifested and the determination shall be for the only law that regulates the matter at hand.

5. Application of Catalan civil law as a law substituting the law designated by the rule of conflict

Finally, I wanted to make one last point without seeking to delve too exhaustively into it. The application of a rule of conflict can obviously refer to a foreign law, and it is impossible for its content and validity not to be accredited. This situation has generated a major doctrinal and jurisprudential controversy which we shall not examine now. Broadly speaking, we shall only say that in Spanish jurisprudence, three positions have been upheld: the application of the *lex fori*, the rejection of the legal matter, and the judge ascertaining the content of the foreign law *ex-officio*. The position that has been upheld in the jurisprudence the most often, regardless of how much it has been criticised, is the application of Spanish law for the purposes of *lex fori*. However, it is not clear what this law is if we bear in mind that jurisdiction is unitary but the material regulation is plural, just as in the Spanish legal system.

If one upholds that the law of the forum is applicable as a substitutive solution – and, I stress, regardless of the goodness of this solution – we must determine which Spanish civil law is applicable as long as there is regulatory plurality in the Spanish legal system to regulate the purpose of the lawsuit. The territoriality and Catalan civil law's nature as common law – art. 111.3 and 111.4 CCCat – contribute to the application of Catalan civil law, since under these circumstances what is sought is not so much a solution that reflects the logic of

⁷ Regarding the difficulties in delimiting between the competence in civil law and the competence in business law, see Font i Segura and Oró Martínez (2013).

the conflict of laws as a determination of the law applicable as the consequence of a trial necessity. Thus, the criterion of territoriality introduces a factor of proximity which explains why the application of the civil law of the place where the court hearing the case is located is upheld.⁸

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⁸ This solution is not wholly satisfactory, and this means that there is a debate on this issue. See Álvarez González (2002 and 2011), Arenas García (2011), Badosa Coll (2007), Font i Segura (2007), Forner Delaygua (2011).

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Ramon Llull, inspirer and pedagogue of civil religion

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Abstract

The article presents the new place of the figure of Ramon Llull in the modern civic and religious universe. Llullism has had a clear impact on Mallorcan society since the 14th century, in parallel to the knowledge and the university-centred and political debates he generated in the past. Llull was the Blessed Brother par excellence and the originator of the Fatherland, and he continues to be so in contemporary times. This article is divided into two main sections: first, one in which the changes and adaptations of Llull in the 19th century are presented, and secondly, one which addresses the dual role –religious and civic– of the figure of Llull within the framework of the commemoration of the 6th centennial of his death, promoted by the diocese based on the initiatives of Bishop Pere Joan Campins, and by Palma City Hall with the creation of the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona [Institute of Higher Studies for Women].

Key words: religion, Catholicism, feminism, Llullism, modernity, education, Mallorca.

1. Introduction

In her article in this monograph dedicated to women's education and women's role in social reform, professor Maribel Ripoll introduces us to the pedagogical treatises of Ramon Llull and situates us clearly within this vein of Llullian thinking. She reminds us that Joan Tusquets (1954) considered Llull the "pedagogue of Christianity", while Lola Badia and Albert Soler define him as a "chair-less pedagogue". All of them explain Llull based on his pedagogical vocation. Obviously, we are referring to two different pedagogical proposals with complementary perspectives and views. From the standpoint of the history of education, and especially based on a dynamic of social education, we can consider Llull a propagandist and activist whose methods and practices were

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imbued with originality, in some cases as the outcome of his personal circumstances and academic limitations, while in others as the result of his commitment to the world of his era. Indeed, from this standpoint, a touch of excellence can be detected in Llull's works.

From this realm, we shall pose several questions which are more closely related to the use of the figure and work of Llull in schools and education in general, especially as a civic referent and a major cultural fulcrum around whom there were attempts to construct a regional, national or patriotic story. This narration is essentially grounded upon social pedagogies meant in the broad sense. We shall primarily discuss two points in time. The first is the transformation that Llull and Lullism underwent after the liberal revolutions and, in consequence, the disappearance of a religious, political and cultural universe characteristic of absolutist, royalist regimes. Llull is associated with power, yet at the same time he is connected to Franciscanism and traditional grassroots Catholicism. Secondly, we shall analyse some of the essential features of the celebration of the sixth centennial of the death of Ramon Llull on Mallorca (1915-16). This is an extraordinarily momentous event from the civic and political standpoint, a key moment in shaping the cultural driving forces (teachers, professors, writers, journalists, etc.) who played a prime role in it, albeit not always with sufficient visibility.¹ Since the last third of the 19th century, Ramon Llull has been an essential constituent element in the cultural, historical and educational story of the Catholic movement and bourgeois reformist thinking, an honour shared with other icons from both the Catholic tradition and reformist culture.

We shall focus on one of these symbolic moments when, as Fèlix Riera recently reminded us, stories act as instruments of control.² The social and cultural circumstances in which the sixth centennial of his death was commemorated (1915) adapted Llull and interpreted the scope of his figure in a way that was conditioned by the timely issues in the country and in Europe. Obviously, these two features can only be understood globally based on the myth of Llull, the way the Church of Mallorca had used the figure from the 13th century until mainly the 19th century, and the influence and depth of everything that was touched by this great "miracle worker" of the word, thought and faith. The civil story and the intangible space that Llull occupies in the story of modernity clearly extends beyond the religious sphere and, as it moved forward and secularisation was consolidated, Llull primarily became a cultural icon.

2. Overall approach to the topic

Ramon Llull was a citizen of Mallorca, an atypical thinker in the 13th to 14th centuries who crossed the slippery boundary of critical orthodoxies and posited alternatives to conventional, standardised Christianity as it had traditionally been presented. He was the forerunner of an alternative model of the Church

¹ See issue 28 of *El Magisterio Balear* (3 July 1915), pp. 2-16, which is wholly devoted to Ramon Llull.

² Riera, Fèlix, "La hegemonía de lo social", *La Vanguardia* (12 January 2016). Riera primarily cites Salmon (2008). In another story model complementary to this one, we shall ask the same underlying question: Fullana, Peñarrubia and Quintana (1996).

within the framework of Franciscanism, the penitential movements and the pauperist and bourgeois modes of the 13th century. Llull's apologetic drive, which was quite vivid in Catalonia, can be understood within the framework of the unique coexistence among Christians, Saracens and Jews. Citing Tomàs Carreras Artau, Salvador Galmés states: "but that tendency was purely circumstantial and accessory and sought solely to satisfy the peremptory needs of the era" (Galmés, 1932: 50). This facet of beliefs is interesting from the vantage point of the dynamic of modern spiritualities, but it is not what is the most attractive about Llull from the standpoint of the citizenry or the cultural world.

Llull is associated with the national culture understood within the conceptual framework of the European nationalisms which were coalescing all over the continent, dovetailing with the liberal revolutions. Ramon Llull fits the profile of the originator of the moderate liberal fatherland as a synthesis between the intellectual and the man of action. From this standpoint, he is the inspirer of the Catalan language and holds a specific weight within the history of this language and literature. However, Llull is essentially a reference in the history of thinking and most importantly a link in the history of ideas. Yet this is not the view of Llull we wish to spotlight. In this case, we are interested in the relationship between Ramon Llull and education not so much in the Middle Ages or based on his oeuvre but through the Lullian narrative on Mallorca in the second half of the 19th and first third of the 20th centuries. We could add even more facets to this multifaceted personality that Llull has been and still is. Llull the scientist, diplomat, ambassador, pedagogue, mediator and preacher render him a cultural, civic and pedagogical franchise. Likewise, understandably, we are not providing a comprehensive literature review on Llull and pedagogy as Miquel Deyà Palerm (1987) and others have already done, which would be impossible at this juncture.

Llull's pedagogical component appears in the bulk of his works; it serves as a basic, cross-cutting referent; and it enables us to view the Doctor Illuminatus as an alternative to the scholar. Science is neither the exclusive work nor exclusive outcome of academia, nor is wisdom grounded solely in experience or voluntarism. In this sense, Llull's entire life is an exercise that does not clearly fit within these conventional models; his practices and cultural and religious commitments can only be sustained within a comprehensive view of his thinking, of what comprises the essence of his personality, works, ideals, chimeras and analysis of reality. For all of these reasons, we empathise with Llull in the way that canon Carles Cardó did. This democratic, anti-fascist canon situated Llull as an individual who prepared a new time, tested new ways and ushered in a methodology and system to explain the world and the symbolic universe poised at the forefront of new developments in Europe. In reality, Ramon Llull was a harbinger of new movements within Christianity; he elevated the popular tongues – in this case Catalan – to scientific dignity, he advanced the novel and the great navigations; he presented new paradigms of thought; and most importantly he introduced and advanced new pedagogies. Some members of the reformist currents of modern pedagogy in Catalonia saw Llull as a genius, the bearer of meaning and the illuminator of a unique pedagogical project. In consequence, the creators, thinkers, educated men and women, intellectuals and popularisers of political Catalanism and Mallorcanism have drawn inspiration from Llull directly or indirectly.

We shall divide our article into two sections. The first one focuses on the articulation of the figure of Ramon Llull in the modern age and the Llull that liberal society inherited after the defeat of the Old Regime, along with the way he was restored within the new liberal citizenry. The second section focuses – as mentioned above – on commemorating the sixth centennial, and we shall do so through the work of Paula Canyellas and the Institut Superior de la Dona, an attempt to elevate the figure of women to the peak of civic sovereignty. We shall complement this experience within the framework of the contributions and image that *El Magisterio Balear* – a weekly targeted at teachers – offered of Ramon Llull and the projects promoted by bishop Pere Joan Campins in 1915. This examination is grounded on a historical, diachronic interpretation, yet each section enables us to gain a rather in-depth view of the pedagogical and socialising projection of the era, obviously bearing in mind the historical juncture, the currents of thinking and opinion, and the sparks of pedagogical reform from those chosen moments.

3. Ramon Llull: The step from religious devotion to civil religion, a pre-modern solution

From the start of his missionary and civil actions, Ramon Llull had followers, and he himself moved in circles that acted outside the core of the conventional institutions (bishoprics, monarchies, universities and religious orders). He soon became a referent and a known and highly regarded leader who moved and acted on the fringes of what the sentinels of orthodoxy considered the common spaces of faith. Llull, Arnau de Vilanova, Angelo Clareno and other contemporaries made a name for themselves because they championed proposals and views that harboured claims that were highly critical of and debatable in the Church and mediaeval society. From a uniquely Catalan-Mallorcan vantage point, Llull synthesised the thinking of the most critical individuals and groups circulating around southern Europe. This thinking came from the most disgruntled and critical currents of Franciscanism and the other mendicant orders, and the mission of this movement was to integrate the more outlying trends from Christian mediaeval society into the Church (Meerseman, 1982; Redondo, 2010). Llull's milieu was plural, and his sphere of influence was broad, equally projected onto the upper and lower classes. From then until the 21st century, no one has had an exclusive hold on Lullian thinking or on his image. The iconography of Llull is not exclusively ecclesiastic; there has also been a civil iconography around him from the Middle Ages until the 20th century. The persecution that Llull suffered from, particularly from the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and the persecution of his direct followers, primarily in the 14th and 15th centuries, is yet further proof of Llull's power and the unease and shadow of heterodoxy that hovered over the land. The iconography of Ramon Llull, just as with other religious figures in other urban and cultural spaces, was consolidated as a timeless, permanent, consensual iconography, and it symbolically went beyond the exclusively religious realm (Muñoz, 1997).

With the political victory of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance in Castile, with Isabel of Castile and cardinal Cisneros, the figure of Llull was partly folded into the system, and we can find a chair of Lullian philosophy and theology at Alcalá de Henares soon thereafter. Yet Llull's legitimisation by the

powers-that-be did not eradicate the peripheral, profound version of Llull, which was developed primarily in European universities and also on Mallorca in particular. Llull's work and the projection of his figure illuminated or clashed with academic thinking, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, it also inspired the action of prominent humanists, and not only regionally. Without Ramon Llull, it would be difficult to properly interpret both the architecture of the thinking and the political/social praxis (educational, social and political initiatives on Mallorca inspired by Llull) (Botinas Montero, Cabaleiro Manzanedo and Duran Vinyeta, 2002; Barceló and Ensenyat, 2013). In the 18th century, we can only properly explain the controversies between the Llullists and anti-Llullists if we realise the symbolic and political value of the figure of Llull. The political designs of the Bourbon dynasty had its own icons and referents, and Llull did not fit into them. Everything that explains Llull within the framework of the Enlightenment and enlightened despotism, religious royalism and the actions of certain theology and philosophy chairs on Mallorca cannot be interpreted based exclusively on the debate of ideas but instead on the new symbols of power, with dominant models of society which the Llullists viewed quite differently in light of Llull's own modern interpretation. During the 16th and 17th centuries, several initiatives related to social education and training were inspired by Llull, from the Col·legi Lul·lià de Nostra Dona de la Sapiència (1633) to the Hospital de Minyones (1628), and from the Col·legi de la Criança (1510) to the Casa i Piscina Espiritual de Nostra Dona de la Pietat (1703). Most of these proposals included and educated women, who deserved consideration in the sphere of education, and some of them still survive in the 21st century.

By the end of the 18th century, it had clearly become difficult to assess the projection of Llull's figure among the working classes, to ascertain how they welcomed the structural changes that were taking place inside the political and economic elites, and to observe who participated actively in the pro- and anti-Llullian brouhaha. There is some consensus that Ramon Llull remained important in the popular imagination and devotion. Wills, pious bequests and baptisms provide us with documentary information which provides a glimpse into Llull's emotional and devotional penetration. Altogether, today we may have an exaggerated or stereotyped idea, one which – with few exceptions (Ramis Barceló, 2012) – has been barely studied using a rigorous methodology. Perhaps when speaking about devotion, we are confusing religious discourse and power with devotional practices, dedications and all the different ways piety was expressed until the 18th century. Generally speaking, in the descriptions of Llullian devotion, we are referring to elitist culture and power, even when appealing to the Causa Pia Lul·liana, an estate-driven, curial instrument controlled by the juries of the City and the Church institution. A significant swath of Mallorca's dominant class considered themselves the defenders and disseminators of the Llullian soul, but we are unaware of the real impact on the lower classes, who were affected by pietism and preferred emotional religiosity.

Major confusion arose around the figure of Ramon Llull during the last third of the 18th and first third of the 19th centuries. Upheaval and academic schisms had monopolised much of the knowledge about Llull, when these divisions most likely concealed clashing social and pedagogical models in the power struggles both inside and outside the Church. At the same time, symptoms of and desires for change were being expressed in a preliberal society

in which those who sought to lead the future society were beginning to be defined (Calvo Maturana, 2013). Knowledge, the image of Lull and the articulation of the Lullian discourse may have also become increasingly cultural and civic. Indeed, everything surrounding Lullian devotion and commemorations depended on the public administrations, and we should not lose sight of the fact that with the loss of the Gran i General Consell and the Nueva Planta decrees, its symbols and cultural references were also impaired. On the other hand, specific sectors, either educated or involved in political or economic resistance, began to coalesce around the figure of Lull at a time marked by royalism, Jansenism and the Enlightenment. In this new social map, Lull could represent uniqueness, and the world aspired to create a model of peaceful coexistence in another direction. Eighteenth-century Franciscanism fought back, and the jurors/councillors of the Palma Town Hall seemed to as well. Despite everything, and it was a juncture when the most important wave of Mallorcan missionaries in history got underway, an experiment led by Juníper Serra and dozens of Mallorcan Franciscans trained in the school of Ramon Lull, moved by the spirit of Franciscan-Lullian inspiration (Amengual, 2015). On the other hand, prominent members of the Enlightenment and Spanish royalism, such as bishop Bernat Nadal, stood out for their Lullian commitment (Fullana Puigserver, 2014).

The model of coexistence between the Church and the monarchy clearly shifted after 1812, except for the periods of absolutist restoration led by Ferdinand VII. With its secularisation and disentanglement, liberalism was an unstoppable phenomenon in Europe as a whole and in Spain in particular. Obviously, these trends affected the way Lull was presented in classrooms, at least in the first third of the 19th century. Furthermore, the traditional university chairs and the Universitat de Mallorca disappeared, the civic-religious rituals of the Old Regime were abolished, and many of the cornerstones of traditional society were being questioned. Yet references to Ramon Lull remained alive on Mallorca. The Church lost much of its presence and economic power. The new liberal system put an end to the traditional estates and affected the Church's economics and power structure. Lull was probably not the patrimony of power or even exclusive to the people; however, everything leads us to believe that he was completely or partially associated with the Church imaginary which needed to undergo an in-depth renovation. Many of the elements sustaining the Lullian architecture on Mallorca supposedly disappeared. However, the four cruxes or symbols of popular devotion in Palma survived. The visit by a group of French bishops to Palma in 1842 to see the relics of Saint Catherine of Palma, Ramon Lull and Alonso Rodríguez at the Palma Cathedral leads us to believe that they were the most universal symbolic sites in the Mallorcan Church and the identity markers where it was best recognised. Lull's memory remained particularly vivid within the orders of sanctity and exemplariness of the venerable and blessed brothers of the Third Order of Saint Francis, the focal point of a certain grassroots devotion on Mallorca, as Father Gabriel Marià Ribas de Pina (1862: 282-286) reminds us.

Concord, consensus and agreements between the winners and losers came with the consolidation of the liberal state, the First Carlist War and the proclamation of Isabel II as queen. Moderate Catholics played a particularly prominent role in the articulation of the new liberal state, and Ramon Lull became a referent of consensus among the different dominant political cultures.

The official religious discourse was imbued with anti-liberalism, but the civic and political practices were characterised by possibilism and the need for concord (Veiga, 2014). As far as we can deduce, Ramon Llull did not seem to fit into the Carlist mythology, that is, into the symbolism and political culture of traditionalism. In fact, neither the Carlist press nor the main ideological referents within Carlism claimed him excessively, even though they pretended to have an exclusive claim on the Catholic discourse and kept up particularly vivid ties with rural and working-class sectors.

In contrast, the cultural, civic and religious claims are evident, and this process can be clearly traced during the period from 1843 to 1874. It was led by moderate Catholics, liberals and republicans, when, revealing some degree of harmony, they set out to restore the figure of Llull by reviving his festival. This endeavour had the support of the periodicals on the island, both the conservative publications (*Diario de Palma*) and the liberal ones (*El Genio de la Libertad*). The Palma Town Hall regained its role as the promoter of the events that the councillors had overseen in the past, with the support of the excommunicated Franciscans and a group of scholarly, grassroots clergy, all of them the promoters of the festivals devoted to Ramon Llull. The spirit of this time is expressed in this twofold facet: on the one hand religious (panegyrics, devotionaries, etc.) and on the other civic, meaning the sense of citizenship spawned by the new liberal institutions. The map of those in charge of these public interventions reveals the intentions of an open, liberal society because, among many other motives, this assignment was given to open-minded clergymen (the most liberal and progressive ones, like Jeroni Bibiloni [1846; Ferrer Flórez, 1995] and Miquel Moragues). All the liberal currents, each with its own nuances and political and cultural profiles, were present in the official story of Llull. The dominant current is related to moderantism and what could be called the current of “conciliation” led by Jaume Balmes, Josep Maria Quadrado and the neo-Catholics. This current had a clear connection with “Jovellanism”, the name by which the liberal conservative core from the 1830s and 1840s was known on Mallorca.

It is clear that Llull fit within the new romantic, patriotic, institutional and symbolic piety. Ramon Llull was invoked at times of collective hardship, especially in prayers during drought. We can see how his figure was used as a political vehicle during the most critical junctures prior to the Revolution of 1868, such as in the Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859. Academies, athenaeums, the bourgeoisie and innovative circles also kept some degree of commitment to Llull. This bourgeois and grassroots divulgation can be found in plays, intermezzos and comedies about Ramon Llull (in 1848, *El Genio de la Libertad* announced a performance of this sort). Romantic writers and travellers took an interest in the figure of Llull (in 1848, Henry Feuilleret travelled to Mallorca searching for information on Llull). We even know that the Acadèmia de Belles Arts, created in 1849, spearheaded a new Lullian iconography, which included the works by the painters Gabriel Juan Marroig (1863), Ricard Anckermann and Antoni Ribas (1867), among others. In 1868, the Ateneu Balear announced the Ramon Llull Monument Design Prize. Francisco Civera signed the request in which the Athenaeum awarded the best design of a monument to Ramon Llull (6 July 1868), according to that entity’s minutes dated the 14th of December 1868 (Mas i Vives, 2008).

Within this same sphere, Lull appears among the main characters in the new historical narrative, the start of which was marked by the conquest in 1229 (Alcover, 1951). It is clear that the story of Lull remained closely tied to religion, especially the Causa Pia Lul·liana, the Col·legi de la Sapiència and the Seminari Conciliar, and to the most secular intellectuals. An in-depth study should be performed of the attitude of the most anticlerical groups in the publications of the Sexenni Democràtic (Six Years of Democracy, 1868-1874), given that Joanot Colom became the popular cultural icon of bourgeois and working-class republicanism. However, the same neo-Catholics, such as Josep Maria Quadrado (1870), highlighted the importance of being familiar with and divulging the life and work of Lull. During the Palma Town Hall's push in favour of Colom, liberals and Catholics defended Lull as the main symbol of consensus in the country.³ On the 3rd of July 1870, Palma continued celebrating the "religious festival in honour of the illustrious martyred Blessed Brother Raimundo Lulio",⁴ but the newly emerging cultural policies viewed Lull as a concession to the religious reaction, and doubts were cast on Lull's religious exclusivity. This is precisely the framework surrounding Lull's figure as an essential religious referent in the construction of a secular, free citizenry, apart from Church beliefs and conventions. Lull's religious ceremonial become an integral part of the civil liturgy as a component of the social pact.

In the context of the modern era (1875 to 1915-16), there seems to have been better entente between reformist-minded intellectuals and Catholic intellectuals. On the one hand was mysticism, poetry and religious literature; on the other, grassroots devotion; and on yet another, the commitment of the Catholic intellectuals, among them Josep Maria Quadrado, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and Joan Maura. This hybrid Lullism is related to the creation of Lullian Societies (the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana and the Societat Lul·liana de Porreres) and schools associated with Lull's name. A series of painters, sculptors and intellectuals are associated with the cultural projection of Lull (Ricard Anckermann, Joan Bauzà, Jeroni Rosselló and Mateu Obrador, just to cite a few examples). Lull inspired a kind of consensus. It is worth noting how Lull made the cultural, civic and political fabric possible, and even strengthened it, as an element of consensus among the cultural elites (the Institució Mallorquina d'Ensenyament and the Seminari Conciliar de Sant Pere), without neglecting the role of the more traditionalist and integrationist academies (La Joventut Catòlica, the Seglars Catòlics and the commitment which Sardà Salvany and Antoni Maria Alcover showed to the figure of Lull as they led the integrism side until 1896). This is the context within which the focus on restoring the legacy of Ramon Lull gained solid ground: Bartomeu Ferrà claimed that his grave in Sant Francesc should be finished (1876); Archduke Lluís Salvador restored Miramar and summoned the Lullists to the former Lullian school as part of the centennial of the founding of the site (1876-77); the sculpture of Lull was placed on the façade of the cathedral (1879); the erection of a monument in Palma devoted to Lull was planned and the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana was designed; the plaque was installed on the house in the historical centre of Palma where legend has it Lull was born; and the Societat itself asked the town halls of Mallorca to dedicate a street to Ramon

³ *El Juez de Paz* (7 July 1870), p. 7.

⁴ *Calendario para las Islas Baleares 1870*. Palma: Imprenta P. J. Gelabert, 1870, p. 4.

Llull in each village and urban nucleus. Ramon Llull was definitively added to the civic imaginary. The Fairs and Festivals of Palma in 1881 were, in fact, dedicated to Ramon Llull and St Catherine of Palma. By the end of the 19th century, Ramon Llull was the great validating patron and the cornerstone of the civil religion, apart from the way each social subgroup used and interpreted him, most notably the Church, although it no longer had an exclusive claim on Llull.

4. The 6th centennial of the death of Ramon Llull: The utopia of the spiritual and civic pedagogy (1915)

Damià Pons (2015) has conducted an in-depth study of the impact of the 6th centennial of the death of Ramon Llull. Maria Antònia Roig has published extraordinary studies on the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona (IESD), and yours truly has recently spoken about bishop Pere Joan Campins' commitment to Ramon Llull. The year 1915 became a major turning point in the transformation of Ramon Llull into the leading symbol and referent of the civil religion (Bell, 2007).⁵ For the first time, Llull inspired initiatives and became an identity referent, on equal footing in both religious and civil sainthood. The educational debate arose and was generated because Mallorcan society was being shaped and articulated with plural elements, without either the uniformity or unanimity that the Church or certain traditional power groups wished. Early on, as Damià Pons (2015) stresses, bishop Campins envisioned that the goal of the centennial should be the institutional, civil and religious recognition of the figure of Llull.

4.1. Pere Joan Campins and the Llullian dream on Mallorca

With Antoni Maria Alcover, Miquel Costa i Llobera and Salvador Galmés by his side, bishop Pere Joan Campins wanted to associate his pastoral project with the figure of Llull. He imagined the Church of Mallorca grounded upon the modern Llullian ideas which he had learned from his teacher, Joan Maura Gelabert. Campins, as described above, was not a theoretician of Llullism, nor was he a member of the intellectual elite on Mallorca; however, he was familiar with and understood Llull (Fullana Puigserver, 2015). Campins also grasped that Llull was a figure shared by both civil society and institutional liberalism. Campins somehow felt like the mitred heir to the modern Catholic tradition of Llullism. As the rector of Porreres, he had promoted the Societat Lul·liana with Master Joan Feliu; as a canon, he intensified the relationship with Bartomeu Ferrà, looked into the status of the Causa Pia Lul·liana and masterminded the restoration of the cathedral façade with the addition of sculptures of the beatified Catherine of Palma and the Blessed Brother Ramon Llull. Just like the majority of men of the cloth during his lifetime, canon Campins subscribed to the current in support of the Provisional Battalion of Cuba, the conscripted soldiers who were sent to the battle front, in what would become the Crown's last push for dominance over that colony. Bishop Cervera, the Church Curia and the Cathedral Chapterhouse even further reinforced the symbolic component of the local saints. The relics of the beatified Catherine of Palma, Saint Alonso

⁵ Cortina, Adela. "¿Religión civil o justicia social?", *El País* (27 December 2014).

Rodríguez and Ramon Llull were associated with the flag at the helm of that battalion (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 518-519) and the prayers and appeals for victory over the Cuban insurrection. When he became the bishop of Mallorca in 1898, Campins witnessed the colonial defeat firsthand and once again appealed to the figure of Llull. His secretary, father Bartomeu Pascual (1922: 10-11), justified why Llull became an essential force to Campins: “Mr Campins wanted the many who were unaware of him to know him, and for everyone to plea for the intercession of that originator of the small fatherland when the large fatherland was in danger. This is how Mr Campins educated his people piously and civically”.

Bishop Pere Joan Campins sustained a dream of a harmonious, balanced Lullian utopia, two facets grounded upon the foundation of pedagogy. The bishop of Mallorca was keenly aware of the modern mechanisms of communication and boosted the didactic and symbolic actions around Ramon Llull. The centennial of his death in 1915 was framed as an opportunity to further and deepen both the religious and the civic facets of Ramon Llull. Alongside Bartomeu Ferrà and the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, Campins had learned the value of the artistic and monumental heritage related to the figure of Llull. He therefore calculated the projection of this heritage and engaged in a sweeping future plan whose point of departure was the commemoration of the centennial. Since the 14th century, the Franciscan order had historically taken on this role, but given that there were no chances of having Mallorcan Franciscans, in 1906 it gave Sant Francesc convent to the diocesan congregation of the Third Order Regular (TOR) (Fullana Puigserver, 2013). Without Franciscanism there would be no Lullism. Franciscanism was the bulwark and essential framework of reference for the apostolic projection of Ramon Llull and the link needed to restore and sustain a Lullism which would not be constrained to intellectual circles, even though at that time Mallorca had prominent names and leading figures of unquestionable value. At the same time, Campins’ milieu, influenced by the new role of teaching and education in general, aspired to celebrate a centennial which sought to signal the definitive end of an era. The bishop was confident of rekindling the dormant fire around the figure of Llull, perhaps without accurately noticing that this emotional drive did not come hand in hand with symptoms of recovery. The essential crux of the Llull memorial was to dignify his grave, relics and worship (Alcover, 1915a).

Secondly, Campins introduced the seminary students to the study of Llull’s life and work. The Certamen Científic-Literari, created in 1899, was the first Lullian learning workshop. He also sent some seminary students to Rome to be trained, and he pushed for the publication of the works of Ramon Llull. The Lullian movement on Mallorca in the first third of the 20th century cannot be understood without Campins. Likewise, the bishop participated in and supported the civic project of raising a public monument to the Blessed Brother Ramon Llull (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 522). In 1904 (Dols Salas, 2013), Campins most likely imagined that the universal worship of Ramon Llull would be confirmed and consecrated by 1915. Unfortunately, Campins’ milieu found that the Lullian cause did not mobilise the most devout practitioners in the diocese, especially between 1907 and 1910, and instead only extended to the educated sectors, beginning with the scholarly members of the clergy. The religious agents did not identify with Llull other than superficially, and the range of associations related to Llull was rather limited and fragile, as was the

enlightened, elitist ranks of Catholics on the island (the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, the Col·legi de la Sapiència, the Orfeó Mallorquí, etc.). Even though the calendar of Lullian worship expanded with the incorporation of events like the festival of conversion, the symptoms did not improve (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 522-523). Nonetheless, Campins had credibility and legitimacy in the local culture, and his power was grounded upon the prestige he earned from the Christian cultural project he had undertaken.

Campins and his milieu believed that Llull held an essential symbolic power for the pastoral and civic project they were undertaking. The construction of a conscientious, educated Catholic citizenry who was emotionally engaged in a common, socially charitable endeavour and open to modernity needed identity and cohesion. Ramon Llull had all the ingredients required for this project. For this reason, not only did Campins believe in and promote actions that were clearly favourable to improving the dissemination of Ramon Llull and bringing him into the schools and catechism, not only did he promote the publication of popular books and foster school visits, he also undertook two major projects which were executed within the framework of the commemoration of the sixth centennial of Llull's death: the first was the restoration of the sanctuary in Cura, where he was planning on building a Lullian temple, and the second was the construction of the new sepulchral crypt for the Blessed Brother in Sant Francesc. The bishop's premature death on the 23rd of February 1915 meant that only the first stones were laid in both projects. The bishop died unable to celebrate the Lullian centennial.

4.1.1. *Cura, a Lullian sanctuary for Mallorca*

The hermitage at the peak of Puig de Randa, near where Llull must have been illuminated, had been in a state of semi-abandonment since 1868. At the beginning of the 20th century, the provisor and vicar-general, Antoni Maria Alcover, ensured that worship was held at the Marian and Lullian sanctuary and that some clergyman looked after that religious site. However, since the closure of the Escola de Gramàtica (Tumba Colom, 2004) in around 1830, the Palma Town Hall had been staking its claim on that educational space which had historically depended on the juries of Mallorca. In 1906, Campins visited the sanctuary as part of his pastoral visit to Randa, and shortly thereafter he engaged in talks with the Franciscans of the TOR to discuss the future of that sanctuary lying in a ruinous state. The negotiation process of the cession from the bishopric to the TOR was long, lasting from 1908 until 1913, but it finally bore fruit. The diocesan archivist and canon, Mateu Rotger (1915), researched the history and published a monograph which provided empirical evidence to support the story of this site that the Church upheld.

However, Father Rafel Ginard Amorós TOR was the person who best defined bishop Campins' project: "Bishop Campins, who has made major reforms in the Sanctuary of Lluch, the main centre of devotion on the island, is now setting out to restore the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Cura, which was famous and oft-visited in the past but is currently closed to worship and has turned into a pile of ruins, a source of shame for Mallorcans [...], he wants to build a large temple to house permanent spiritual and material services for pilgrims. To fulfil these dreams of a Lullian utopia, the Diocesan Prelate is requesting the cooperation of Father Salvá, who, as Mateu Rotger reported in his *Historia de*

Cura, not only serves the bishop's orders, as always, but also assures that he and his flock are willing to sacrifice whatever efforts are needed to carry out his restoration projects" (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 529-530). The bishop let the Franciscans use the sanctuary, he promoted the road construction, he restored the traditional commemorations, and the pilgrimages began in that same year, 1913, with the idea of "restoring the piety on high". Thus, in 1914, Campins commissioned architect Guillem Reynés and Antoni Giménez to draw up the blueprints for what was supposed to be the Lullian sanctuary on Mallorca, the second diocesan sanctuary, a place with symbolic ties to the idea of the Mallorca and its guiding spirit, Ramon Lull. The design was agreed upon by the end of that year. Campins imagined the site as a centre of Lullian pilgrimage, with a road designed for cars, a large esplanade for pilgrims and a monumental basilica which was to integrate the former chapel of Our Lady of Cura. The death of the bishop on the 23rd of February 1915 did not thwart those expectations, and on the 25th of October 1915 the first stone in the project was laid in a ceremony in which Miquel Costa i Llobera, the poet and canon from Pollença, participated. Costa i Llobera was the one who defined the Puig de Randa as the "crater of a mystical volcano" (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 535).

However, without its promoter, the project was never further developed. That same year, thousands of Mallorcans – members of parishes and religious associations – made the pilgrimage to Puig de Randa, but the project of transforming the Lullian hermitage and the chapel of Our Lady of Cura into the Lullian sanctuary par excellence was paralysed (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 536-537).

4.1.2. *The sepulchral crypt of Ramon Lull, "like a large open book where anyone could read and more clearly grasp who the Blessed Brother Ramon was"*

The bishop of Mallorca presented the refurbishment of the crypt of Sant Francesc convent church in Palma as the new venue of Lullian veneration par excellence (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 539-541). In his Pastoral Letter dated the 25th of January 1915, the feast day of the Conversion of Saint Paul and of Ramon Lull, Campins invited the people of Mallorca to celebrate the sixth centennial of the martyrdom of Ramon Lull. The commemoration became a clarion call on behalf of the martyr and, in consequence, the chance to dignify the sepulchral space of the Blessed Brother Ramon Lull. The bishop thought that the time had come to better venerate the corpse of the martyr from Bugia by "placing it in a beautiful urn built in a sumptuous setting where, to put it one way, the autobiography of the Blessed Brother Ramon Lull could be read in allegorical mosaics boasting splendid richness, and especially in texts sculpted of the works by the great polygraph" (Campins, 1915: 2). Campins published that letter only in Spanish, an indication that he did not associate Lull with Mallorcan culture but instead with the Catholic faith, and in consequence he was solely interested in implementing the devotional component, consolidating the autobiographical story of the blessed brother and enhancing the mystical and religious facet of Ramon Lull.

On the other hand, Campins' intention was to participate in the institutional events and to erect a civil and public monument dedicated to Ramon Lull. For this reason, on the 17th of June 1914 he took part in the

institutional gathering in which the project was supposed to be determined. There, the monumental project was agreed upon among the local public institutions, but the outbreak of the Great War in the summer of that same year, 1914, prevented the European universities from participating and neutralised the possibility of designing the commemoration on the level that they had imagined. Local economic instability and the uncertainty of gaining economic support from elsewhere prevented the initial project from being brought to fruition. Campins must have known that he could not trust the assistance from the state. All of Campins' aspirations had been frustrated. For the time being, he insisted, the mausoleum would remain unfinished, just as the enthusiasts who had begun the unfinished project of the sarcophagus and reliquary had left theirs. Campins died one month after having signed that Pastoral Letter. Despite this setback, as part of the festival of the Blessed Brother, on the 4th of July 1915, Antoni Maria Alcover, the chapterhouse vicar, laid and blessed the first stone of the new Lullian mausoleum in Sant Francesc. In the sermon, the chapterhouse vicar sought to clearly convey bishop Campins' wish. He defended it in the speech targeted at the public in attendance by stating that the sepulchre became an educational component, like an open book: "This is how bishop Campins wanted to arrange this crypt; at the same time, he wanted it to represent the symbol of the Most Holy Trinity that the Blessed Ramon Llull painted within his books, and he wanted the symbol to be surrounded by seraphim, cherubim and angels with long wings and floaty gowns; and on the walls, amidst branches and garlands of flowers, he wanted to engrave phrases flickering with the love of God taken from the works of Ramon Llull which could express his entire life, all his plans. The bishop's idea was for this crypt to become a large open book where anyone could read and more clearly grasp who the Blessed Brother Ramon Llull was" (Dols Salas, 2013: 198).

The reports on the centennial events and Father Antoni Maria Alcover's overall assessment of the commemoration were highly positive, but he solely highlighted the devotional and religious facet of it. In reality, the juncture had been a chance to test the Mallorcan Church's ability to modernise. Alcover recognised that "the religious functions, solemn offices, pilgrimages and communions have comprised the entire centennial and have made thousands of Mallorcans who previously never knew that such a man existed aware of the Blessed Ramon" (Alcover, 1915b). There were also 32 pilgrimages to Cura with 4,000 participants, and Sant Francesc was visited by 22 groups with a total of more than 10,000 people involved. Prominent among these participants were students of schools and religious congregations along with visits promoted by the largest religious associations with the greatest capacity to mobilise their members (Filles de Maria, Joventut Seràfica, Joventut Antoniana, Escoles Catòlico-obreres and Congregacions Marianes de Joves).

4.2. *Llull: Politics, education and civic virtue. Benet Pons Fàbregues and Paula Cañellas*

The world of education had entered a phase of active confrontation between 1910 and 1913, a clash among different hegemonic models which was projected onto politics. And Mallorca was no exception within Spain. Especially during those years, the major ideological and political debates had taken a turn in favour of liberal regenerationism, represented by the *Institució Lliure*

d'Ensenyament, which set itself apart from the religious educational model. Maria Antònia Roig (2005) has performed an in-depth study of the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona (Institute of Higher Studies for Women, IESD), an ambitious project with civic projection created under the aegis of the Llullian centennial and promoted by the Palma Town Hall. In her study, she reflects the general opinion on the status of women on the Balearic Islands and the determination to create public projects aimed at transforming a social reality which required a stronger commitment to education. The social and political culture was in the hands of men representing the social and economic elites, and only tenuously by intellectuals. In professional publications in the field of education such as *El Magisterio Balear*, other voices were aired that aspired to create an open, cosmopolitan, egalitarian model of society and to give educators a more important role and women more spaces. The commemoration of the sixth centennial of the death of Llull gave the Palma Town Hall the opportunity to explore new initiatives. Palma was experiencing a time of growth and expansion, which meant that new public services had to be created while also spearheading somewhat ambitious projects. The new building of the Institut Balear, which opened in January 1916 and has been known as the Institut Ramon Llull since the Republican period, the new Slaughterhouse and the Escola Graduada are just some examples of the initiatives undertaken during this period. The IESD had occupied the venue in Montision that had been left vacant by the Institut General i Tècnic, the former residence of the Company of Jesus. The Jesuits may have been the ones who fought the project the most fiercely because, among other objectives, they saw the chance to definitively win back this space.

5. Llullian social reformism: The Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona (1915)

The sixth centennial of the death of Llull became the right occasion to promote initiatives involving social, civic and cultural education. The Partit Reformista initially acted as the mouthpiece of a proposal spearheaded by the republican Benet Bons Fàbregues⁶ – the municipal archivist and renowned intellectual – to create the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona. The project was backed by the different sensibilities represented in the town council, and the Palma Town Hall once again showed some leadership in the Llullian initiative by clearly adopting female issues and education. Three figures appear prominently in this project: Benet Pons Fàbregues, Paula Cañellas and Rosa Estaràs Valeri. They provided visibility to and prioritised the Palma Town Hall's vocation and commitment to civic education with a new project that implemented its commitment to school and informal education, which, it is assumed, extended beyond the official school system and was planned under political circumstances characterised by a profound overhaul in the local power. That same year, 1915, signalled the entry and political bid of Joan March over the backdrop of the divisions and conflicts within the conservative Maurist network which had controlled the town council since 1875.

Palma was updating its network of public schools for females; just three years earlier, it had opened the Escola Normal Femenina, now separate from the

⁶ About Benet Pons Fàbregues: Serra Busquets (1999).

Real Col·legi de la Puresa. It was articulating a new feminism, especially in places where women had had access to some higher education, and it aspired to further extend those aspirations to more female citizens. In this sense, Palma was on par with other cities like Barcelona and Madrid, although Maria Antònia Roig (2005: 89) asserts that the IESD was the first project of its kind in Spain. This claim should be compared to other similar situations, and even to several tentative initiatives promoted by bourgeois Catholic feminists, and the spirit of Llull should be more directly linked to the spirit of the IESD. Benet Pons Fàbregues uniquely examined this idea in some depth in his book *Ramon Llull, apòstol de l'amor* (1915), which was also related to his thesis on women in modern society, as he outlined at a lecture in the Sociedad Ibèrica on Carrer de Fàbrica presided over by the oculist Gabriel Comas, whose wife was also associated with teaching at the Escola Normal Femenina de les Balears (Pons Fàbregues, 1919).

The Palma Town Hall's proposal took root in fertile ground for the new feminisms and the new educational concerns of modernity. In this case, Ramon Llull served to shape an experimental, innovative endeavour, one which would soon spark not only a profound debate on the contrast among the different feminist models but also, and more importantly, a debate on ideology and power.

The IESD project would reveal the existence of different kinds of feminisms. Among them, the Town Hall chose to offer the project to Paula Cañellas, a woman who led the prototype of "intellectual woman", a woman with cultural prestige, and a referent in the new "feminine culture", a civic leader with social and cultural clout. An educated, open intellectual minority considered this institution an opportunity to create spaces of greater visibility for women who could have certainly brought a new outlook and built a social musculature which would enable the educational modernisation to be democratised and brought to the grassroots while fostering the cultural growth of women. Professor Paula Cañellas had been educated by Alberta Giménez at the Escola Normal Femenina de les Illes Balears, but professionally she stood out as a referent in public schools. Benet Pons Fàbregues had come up with the idea of the IESD as a female athenaeum, as an institution that sought to generate consensus and rise to the challenges of women's education. However, the bylaws stipulated the creation of a Junta Protectora de Dones (Board to Protect Women) – an ideologically plural board (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 76) – and there were attempts to remain in complete harmony with the female teachers in the schools of Palma, especially the public schools, including the female dean of the Col·legi de la Criança and the teachers of the other schools dependent on the Palma Town Hall. On the other hand, the creation of the IESD would help provide greater visibility to other female and feminist profiles on Mallorca in the first third of the 20th century, including most prominently Severa Madariaga and Alberta Giménez, the latter the restorer of the Reial Col·legi de la Puresa, an institution created by Bernat Nadal with Llullian inspiration.

The Bylaws⁷ and the content of the IESD project (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 76) were bold, and we believe that it had an extremely high symbolic value in

⁷ *Reglamento del Instituto de Estudios Superiores para la Mujer*, Palma: J. Tous, 1915.

illustrating what we mean by civil religion. Thus, an institution was founded under the aegis of Ramon Llull which was characterised by religious freedom and tolerance, and it was clearly nondenominational which ended up sparking a degree of mistrust among some traditional local sectors. Since 1910, women had been able to enrol in all state schools and sit for the examinations to secure jobs in the Ministry of Public Instruction under equal conditions as men. As a result of this new professional scene, female educators had to be prepared for all careers available to women and equipped with the resources that made this equality dictated by the circumstances of modernity possible (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 80). In his lecture on Llull as part of the opening events of the IESD, Benet Pons Fàbregues highlighted the project's connection to Llull and its innovative nature: "Thus, the Municipal Corporation was following the illustrious example of the Illuminated Doctor who had founded the first schools of which we are specifically aware in this capital, precisely next to the Synagogue in the Jewish Quarter, today Montesion church, which is the site that the Town Hall has petitioned from the central government to house its new Institution" (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 79). The project was presented in the spring of 1915 over the backdrop of the launch of the sixth centennial, and the proposed opening date was in June of that same year. However, what had begun with some degree of institutional consensus soon raised a huge ruckus, with a profound debate which revealed the mood, fears and positions of the different groups who sought to lead Mallorcan society.

Unfortunately, the project was never brought to fruition and remained one of the greatest civic utopias of the sixth centennial. The religious projects did not find their footing because of Campins' death, international circumstances and the fragile capacity and clout of grassroots Catholicism on the island. In parallel, the civic proposals did not advance either, largely affected by the indolence and timorousness of the country's leading class, but in this case also because of the opposition from conservative and religious sectors. In fact, we are primarily aware of the resistance and thwarting of the project that took place. Maria Antònia Roig has thoroughly studied the press campaign against it, the opposition, persecution and defeat of the idea. The entities we can spotlight as the main opponents include the Centre de Defensa Social and Foment del Civisme; one of the main social Catholic leaders, Father Guillem Vives; the political parties whose main objective was to control the Catholic discourse, such as the Jaumists; and politicians such as Francesc Barceló Caimari, a town councillor who upheld the spirit of the Col·legi de la Criança and on behalf of the Conservative Party asked it to be merged with the IESD in August 1915. The newspapers *La Vanguardia Balear* and *Correo de Mallorca* engaged in a campaign against the proposal, led by both harsher voices like Jeroni Massanet, who openly clashed with Benet Pons Fàbregues, and by Francesc Sureda Blanes, a defender of a clearly religious project and therefore also critical of the IESD. The arguments against the IESD revolved precisely around the fact that it did not have an academic mission and did not fit within the educational system, and that it was reduced to being an extraordinarily costly instrument of training with little immediate utility. The groups and individuals affected the most by denominationalism did not agree with funding a modern educational institute which could question the mission of Catholic entities like the Patronat Obrer, the Escoles de Sant Josep and the Escoles Dominicals de la Criança. The most

radical clerical sectors and religious groups mobilised quite quickly and effectively.

6. Conclusions

In this article, we have sought to outline all the religious and civic symbolism around the figure of Ramon Llull in the modern era. The liberal revolutions toppled the model of piety and devotion of the Old Regime, a model that affected the figure of Llull much more than others precisely because the entire ritual around the celebrations and liturgical acts also had an institutional bent. For centuries, Llullism also inspired school and academic initiatives, as well as institutions that sought to educate women (the Criança and the Puresa) and social education centres, such as some institutions for orphans. This history features figures whose focus was on education, including a number of women (Elisabet Cifre, Agnès de Pacs, etc.).

We have chosen the concept of civil religion precisely because after the mid-19th century, Mallorcan society clearly sought to turn Ramon Llull into an icon of integration and identity. Numerous attempts to erect a civil monument to Ramon Llull are the best indicator of this vision, a model of citizen education that is compatible with the annual commemorations, the religious celebrations and the determination to share Llull's works with the public at large, while the scholars and intelligentsia on the island launched the publication of Llull's oeuvre. In this process, teachers sought to occupy his place and were committed to having a presence there.⁸

We have presented the projects spearheaded by bishop Pere Joan Campins, an ideal which was never brought to fruition largely as a consequence not only of his premature death but also of the difficulties that the leading sectors of Mallorcan society had in reaching consensus. The sixth centennial of the death of Ramon Llull should have been a pivotal, multifaceted occasion. Campins imagined that Mallorca would ensconce Llull in the highest place that a civilisation could place its inspirational forces and fathers. We have seen his main proposals and ideals. Without a doubt, the Palma Town Hall's initiative to create the IESD was extraordinarily novel and placed Palma on the cutting edge of feminism. Professor Paula Cañellas had been identified to lead this project. She was an integrative teacher who did not represent a rupture with denominationalism, participated in Catholic religious culture, partly reproduced the moral and pedagogical schemas of Catholicism, yet at the same time advocated the need for women to become more professional and imagined more spaces for women, more contributions from them to the social economy and more social professionalization (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 84-87).

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⁸ “El Magisterio Balear a Ramon Llull en el sexto centenario de su gloriosa muerte”, *El Magisterio Balear*, 28 (3 July 1915), pp. 203-218.

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Innovation and evaluation in the context of a changing paradigm in education

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Abstract

Evaluation involves a specific form of educational research and aims primarily at developing and improving the reality in which it operates. It is a transforming practice that requires the activation of the most relevant cultural, social and political wherewithal of the context in which it works in order to have a deep impact. From the methodological standpoint, modern evaluation incorporates new logics that enable it to adapt to changing needs and addresses emerging spaces, such as educational innovation.

Thus, evaluative thinking contributes to new learning by providing evidence to map and monitor the progress, successes, failures and roadblocks in innovation as it unfolds. It involves thinking about what evidence will be useful during the course of innovative activities and establishing the range of objectives and targets that allow its progress to be determined. It is also considered one of the best strategies to develop a new form of teacher training and professional development.

Here we provide a description of and a reflection on the different stages in the evaluative cycle of educational innovation from a dynamic viewpoint.

Key words: educational innovation, evaluation, research, transformative practice, training, professional development.

1. Educational innovation

The 2013 report by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) entitled *Innovative Learning Environments* cited innovation as a key factor in today's societies and economies and added that within the conceptual framework of the modern view of innovation, we must simultaneously analyse what we learn and how we learn.

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In its most modern conception, education is viewed as the major underpinning of educated, prosperous societies. At the same time, there is a growing sense that educational practice at the start of the 21st century does not match the real needs of students who have to plan for the future and prepare for the transition to a complex, ever-changing society. It seems as though education were persisting in keeping alive a kind of school that prepares students more for academia than for real life. In this context, innovation is the most powerful emerging element in the story of modern education. A new educational perspective is perceived as thoroughly necessary in order to make students capable of meeting both their own needs and those of the contemporary world and of being able to successfully deal with the new challenges.

Innovation is the cornerstone of the process of rethinking how educational systems and pedagogical practices should evolve in the future and establishing what students and society should truly be offered in order to ensure their full realisation (Barber, Donnelly & Rizvi, 2012).

Nonetheless, we should not confuse the character of educational innovation in the 21st century with it in other innovative moments in the past. This time, innovation is a global systemic action which is committed to the system as a whole and the entire educational community. Or, as Lyn (1997, p. 47) quite accurately put it when trying to establish the intimate nature of the new approach: "Innovation implies a fundamental, original and disruptive transformation of the core tasks of an organisation. Innovation profoundly shakes up the structures and permanently changes them."

This perspective means accepting that innovation cannot be an isolated phenomenon disconnected from the environment or one that simply entails introducing mere methodological or technological changes. We cannot stay with the mere liturgy of innovation but instead must be ambitious and change the overarching objectives of the educational system and consequently the very worldview of education. In short, innovation strives to profoundly transform educational systems and with them the nature of schooling and school practice itself.

In teaching practice, educational innovation includes everything from simple – but not simplistic – school improvements, often carried out in vulnerable contexts, to profoundly transformative approaches which break schemas on how education is managed or how learning takes place. Even though it is an emerging practice at this point, it is obvious that innovation is not a new phenomenon. Education has always been surrounded by cyclical processes in which a great deal of effort has been invested to try to improve the efficiency of the school world or introduce new narratives into it. What signals the difference between today and previous cycles is the holistic nature today, which necessarily implies generating synergies among all the factors operating in an educational system, enlists the commitment of all the agents participating and constructs and guides its action based on the absolutely intrinsic and necessary association between the innovation processes and evaluation.

Modern innovation can under no circumstances be the simple linear application of ideas on previously defined educational problems. Instead, innovation processes in the 21st century have to be closely tied to processes of social, personal, institutional and cultural change. As Hannon points out (2009, p. 1): "The reforms in schools today and the efforts at improvement are wholly

inadequate on the scale of what young people need to prepare to live properly and sustainably on our planet within the new century. Any new paradigm for education has to deal with the holistic transformation of all the institutions at all their levels.”

2. Educational evaluation

In its most up-to-date definition, educational evaluation is a specific way of ascertaining and relating to reality, in our case the educational reality, in order to learn about it in-depth and try to guide its construction process while favouring changes and improvements. In short, it is a transformative praxis which, in order to have a profound impact, has to activate – just as with innovation – the cultural, personal, social, institutional and political triggers in the context in which it acts. We have commonly defined it as a process of information collection geared at issuing merit or value judgements on a subject, object or intervention which is relevant in education (Mateo, 1998). We could also add that this practice should necessarily be associated with another decision-making process aimed at improving or optimising the object, subject or intervention being evaluated. Nonetheless, this definition has become insufficient today; it is eminently descriptive, technical and clearly static. It must be further fleshed out if we want to capture the dynamism of the realities and relations implied in educational phenomena.

Examining knowledge and evaluative practice in the world of education means doing it based on a reality which encompasses the same uncertainties, changes and schisms that are found in the science of education. This confers a highly complex nature on evaluation in that it must be carried out simultaneously in its theoretical and practical dimensions, in the unstable, multi-faceted terrain of educational action and social change.

From the methodological perspective, evaluation entails the principles of researching, constructing instruments, collecting data and educational measurement. Nonetheless, evaluation goes beyond each of these activities and ends up constituting a universe unto itself; it acts with its own logic and performs one of the most transcendent and influential activities in social and educational life.

Its development is essential for improvement and innovation of all spheres of education: systems, programmes, services, teachers, students, etc. And evaluation is what makes educational measurement, information collection and the kind of scientific construction sought significant and meaningful, not the opposite. If these processes are to be truly relevant, all of them have to be immersed in the logic of education and become conceptually indebted to it. By this we simply want to highlight the instrumental, subsidiary nature of these activities with regard to the core of this universe to which we are referring, the universe of evaluation, and the fact that all of these elements must revolve around a process with a personality of its own: the process of constructing evaluative knowledge. The profound ties between the nature of evaluation and the specific technical characteristics must be stressed within this conceptual framework; they must then be applied to construct a specific kind of knowledge derived from evaluation: axiological knowledge (Rul, 1992).

From this vantage point, evaluating always means the act of establishing the value of something, and in order to do this, it is not enough simply to collect evaluative information or statistically analyse it based fundamentally on numerical dissection. Instead, the information must be interpreted, critical action must be exercised, referents must be sought, it must be contextualised, alternatives must be analysed, non-simplified visions of the innovations evaluated must be offered, etc. More than anything else, evaluation will entail creating an evaluative culture where this new form of knowledge can be properly located.

With everything discussed thus far, we have not forgotten the act of power that is involved in assigning a value to things, acts or interventions. Evaluation legitimises the value of certain kinds of educational practices over others, and it consequently discriminates what has social and educational value versus what will not receive any kind of consideration in the immediate future. Evaluation guides the educational activity in such a way that if it is not undertaken responsibly, it can pervert the basic objective of evaluation and thus, more than guiding what we are doing, it is conditioning the educational community as a whole. Without the shadow of a doubt, evaluation exerts its influence from the very moment when the elements and objectives to be evaluated are pinpointed and determined.

Consequently, the complexity of evaluative action is coupled with the important share of responsibility associated with the exercise of evaluation and, as Kvale (1990) pointed out, it irremediably takes on connotations of an act of power. There is a kind of parallelism with Yuval Noah in *Homo deus. Una breu història del demà* (2016), where he speaks about the drama that may occur in the future because of the fact that intelligence and consciousness may definitively be developed separately with the onset of artificial intelligence. Evaluative and axiological knowledge have also gone through periods when their evolution has been viewed separately. Axiology is the consciousness of evaluation; it is the beacon that should illuminate it. It is also what legitimises the overall design of any of its processes.

3. New trends in evaluation

Evaluation has traditionally been conceptualised as a linear process, and within this process, the very definition of the programme to be evaluated is what essentially determines the design and methodology to be used. All of this entails a static, predetermined view of the phenomenon of education which is in no way aligned with emerging innovative processes and has clearly dimmed their possibility of being applied.

Having reached this point, I believe that we should include reflections on the new emerging approaches to evaluation and the fundamental theories behind them. From these new perspectives, new ways of viewing evaluation are emerging, especially when applied to innovation, whose unique and dynamic nature requires the application of new logics in the execution and analysis of its processes. In this context, what is called *evaluation of development* appears as a new approach to studying educational practice in situations of change and innovation.

3.1. *Evaluation of development*

Development-oriented evaluation has appeared in the context described above; it is a new approach to evaluation particularly designed when acting in innovative projects. Patton (2011, p. 28) describes evaluation of development as “intentionally targeted at innovation projects and defined as an extension of the summative/formative repertoire that is focused on using evaluation within the innovation process, such that both the pathway and the destination are considered simultaneously, and it analyses the situation as it develops through rigorous research processes, yet with the clear intention of using the data in a comprehensive way in order to report on the innovation within the context of its own process.”

From this perspective, evaluation is envisioned as a process which is itself dynamic and flexible, specific to each context and actively involving all the stakeholders operating in the system. The new nature of the process necessarily implies that it must be iterative and cyclical, which allows it to gradually determine the nature of the evaluation in the specific innovation at hand.

3.2. *Evaluation of development and evaluative thinking*

The concept of *evaluation of development* is closely tied to the concept of *evaluative thinking*. This latter concept is expressed masterfully in a publication of the International Development Research Center (Bennet & Jessani, 2011, p. 24), which states: “Evaluative thinking is a way of thinking, of seeing the world dynamically, by questioning, reflecting, learning and modifying. Evaluating thinking is an inherently reflective process which strives to resolve the creative tension between the quality of an action as it happened compared to the quality expected of it. It allows us to precisely define what we should learn, how to collect the information that allows us to analyse the quality of learning and the means we have to change and improve. In short, evaluative thinking is essentially learning for change.”

4. **The innovation-evaluation binomial**

Innovation and evaluation are an indissoluble binomial within the context of modern education. Innovation’s credibility is grounded upon its ability to create parameters of successful action within the context of a society that is not only complex but also unpredictable. The very lack of knowledge of future needs forces us to modify and constantly redirect innovative projects as the design and implementation of their processes moves forward.

The worst scenario for innovation is generating the sense of a lack of referents, that it is a one-off product not associated with a global movement, that the goal is to justify oneself, that there is no need to check to what extent it is properly geared at a specific, important objective and failing to justify any of its achievements. Blind and bereft of credibility, innovation is utterly sterile.

This situation sparks the need to symbiotically associate the binomial of innovation and evaluation. As we have seen, evaluation meant as evaluating thinking is no longer justified essentially as an instrument of control. The crux

of its action is generated by proving its ability to properly guide the construction of educational knowledge.

On the other hand, any innovation must show that it properly achieved its objectives, as Bernholz (2011, p. 1) quite succinctly states: “Give something new and prove that it works”. In today’s societies, change is spurred through two kinds of drives: trust in the stakeholders who are supposed to carry it out, and their need to show results that brook no doubts and are comparable.

All of this obligates us to encourage the combined use of innovation and evaluation. Working on both in a simultaneous, coordinated fashion leads to two highly desirable effects: first, evaluation guides innovation and endows it with credibility, and secondly, innovation substantiates and brings visibility and meaning to evaluation. This joint, coordinated use requires new logics in its application; we can no longer refer to existing manuals or previously established guidelines on how to execute an innovation programme or an evaluative action.

In this new context, evaluation should merge with innovation from the very start. Evaluation’s potential is notably increased when it is positioned as an integral part of the innovation process and thus substantially contributes to its development and evolution.

Without the shadow of a doubt, evaluation is the cornerstone upon which innovation is built from a systemic perspective. Its action should be constantly negotiated and provide well-reasoned reflection to the system as a whole. As Drucker (1985, p. 8) notes: “Innovation implies more hard work than brilliance. It requires knowledge and sometimes a certain ingenuity. It requires the ability to focus on facts and to manage innovation. More than anything, it requires dedication and the acquisition of systematic practice in the innovation processes.”

We concur with Earl and Timperley (2015, p. 7) when they argue that: “A successful innovation can force its parameters to change quickly in response to the uncertainty and complexity of the context in which they act, but these changes will never be random. The leaders of any innovation act by intelligently combining creativity and discipline, which allows them to effectively react in highly diverse, changing conditions. More than acting in a disorderly way, disciplined innovation means constantly defining the problems, scanning the horizon, analysing situations, monitoring progress, creating contingency plans and providing constant feedback to the innovation process in order to achieve the sought-after improvement.”

If we frame innovation and evaluation within a powerful, shared, iterative process, we will manage to organise and reorganise the new ideas once they have been subjected to evaluative analysis, and with this mutual enrichment the innovators will be better poised to interpret them properly and transfer them in an utterly rational way to the intervention processes. Once again, Earl and Timperley (2015, p. 16) shed light on the nature of what we are presenting here when they say: “The power of the joint work between innovation and evaluation comes precisely from the depth of thought that emerges from the interface of evidence-based generative ideas on the deliberate process of learning for change. We should view action as work based on not separate processes but ones that are connected through strong relations of shared work which involves all the key stakeholders (innovators, administrators, participants, facilitators

and evaluators), the only way to understand and influence innovation as it unfolds.”

5. The innovation/evaluation process: Prior factors

If we want to establish the innovation/evaluation process understood as a strategic action that should be designed jointly, not as if they were two separate elements, we will logically be forced to focus and refocus educational action iteratively and constantly. This requires us to previously outline certain factors which should be clarified before designing the process associated with evaluation of innovation:

a) To define innovation.

One of the first tasks we have to deal with is to describe in a detailed, comprehensive way everything that the innovators are trying to do, which necessarily and firstly entails clearly establishing the theoretical framework within which the innovation is situated. In order to be effective, this framework has to allow the evaluation to be properly formulated and must meet the corresponding need for responsibilities.

We will know whether the description is complete if it clearly helps establish the pathway forward, if it describes the expected progress and if it mentions the truly important evidence that must be collected in order to support the quality of the innovation and be able to evaluate it. Because of its very nature, innovation does not follow a predetermined path (it would not be innovation if it did). We have to view it more as a flow which has to be continuously adapted and readapted as the associated evaluation provides us with information that advises continuing in the same direction or making changes.

An initial theory of action should be formulated which brings meaning and significance to the overall innovation. This theory, which will logically be tentative, should at least allow us to interpret the entire set of elements involved in the innovation in the specific context in which it should take shape and gain solidity as a theory, such that it should allow us to construct a comprehensive educational narrative in line with the nature and purposes of the innovation.

In this stage, the evaluation can help clarify the description of the innovation; assist in identify its objectives; participate in explaining the theory of the action; capture powerful, relevant evidence in order to evaluate the gradually emerging results; and enrich the strategic thinking which is so essential for the constant adaptation and re-adaptation of the innovation process.

b) To determine the stakeholders involved and their degree of participation/involvement.

In the new conception of innovation, the agents who are interested in/affected by the innovation with different levels of participation/involvement cannot play a secondary role as mere spectators. All the groups involved should participate in the innovation without any kind of excuse or underestimation.

It is fully evident that their commitment, expressed by participating actively in the innovation, provides a much deeper, more diverse and richer

view of the innovation. And we are no longer referring to the importance of their participation in the evaluation processes; instead, their contribution to them is utterly essential because they considerably expand such a necessary factor as the degree of authenticity of the innovation. Generally speaking, we know that guaranteeing the agents' participation – in both the innovation and the evaluation – increases their commitment with regard to what they can contribute, which obviously affects them and is essential to securing their support in all decisions, especially in the most compromising ones which have to be taken stemming from the implementation of the innovation.

In today's world, involving the key agents in the milieu in the innovation and evaluation processes is an absolutely essential step if we truly aspire to implement any kind of innovation. These agents' intervention gives it credibility and sustainability in the most immediate future.

c) To acknowledge the contexts.

The difficulty of interpreting texts without their contexts is clear. Educational innovation moves in contexts that are extremely complex, broad, diverse and ever-changing. All of this forces us to think about innovation in the sense that those in charge of the innovation cannot be divorced from what is happening in the educational systems around them. They have to remain aware of the key referents in the system, which can provide relevant information on the local and international systems in order to properly interpret their needs and especially determine the movements that characterise the axes of the change. None of this is possible without generating synergies among all the agents operating in the system. Thinking about the actual innovation as an isolated action circumscribed to a single school without the pooled efforts of other innovative schools (with which to exchange experiences), the public administration or the broader setting (local, international, etc.) is tantamount to condemning the innovation to superficiality and irrelevancy.

Modern innovation needs to generate intervention designs that are flexible and capable of adapting to dynamic, emerging educational realities on which a wide range of forces act which are not easy to interpret without cooperating with other more informed agents.

All of this forces us to modify the logics applied to the processes and those that guide them. These modifications particularly affect the role of the different agents involved in the innovative process. Thus, the evaluators have to permanently leave behind their classic "role" as controllers in order to become agents who essentially help interpret the information in complex systems instead of measuring specific results. In this new framework, interpretation becomes a core factor for the success of the innovation and essentially consists in an iterative process of gathering all the participants' points of view and deciding jointly on the data needed to truly make the change and improvement processes meaningful.

d) To identify the purpose of the evaluation within the context of innovation.

Finally, we should clearly establish the purpose of the evaluation within the framework of innovation. First, the innovators have to accept the importance of evaluation in innovation. As Gates (2013, p. 1) asserts: "Without the feedback provided by precise measurement, innovation is condemned to be

an alien, erratic product". Evaluative thinking, as a new principle inspiring evaluation, has an inherent, fundamental value in the development of innovation, but it is clear that the evaluation should abandon obsolete traditional practices in order to focus its main purpose on providing evidence that can lay the groundwork for the required feedback on the innovative processes, which thereafter should be recurring.

Negotiating this new territory is no easy task. It means forcing the key agents to spend a great deal of their time clarifying the production conditions of the process, establishing and sharing the evaluation purposes, especially in the aspects of innovation where there are discrepancies among the different agents. Nonetheless, it is clear that if the evaluative ingredient is not brought into the innovation, it will lose credibility.

We could summarise the contribution of these factors in terms of the quality of the innovation as follows:

- Defining the evaluation precisely will give the innovation relevancy.
- Determining the key agents and enlisting their involvement will give it sustainability.
- Properly recognising the contexts will bring interpretative capacity.
- Integrating the evaluation into the innovative process will guarantee its credibility.

Resolving all of these factors in advance will facilitate the evaluative action, which will take shape in the process we present below. Even though we are presenting it sequentially here for purely expository reasons, it is obvious from all the elements outlined so far that the process must be iterative.

6. Stages in the evaluative cycle of educational innovation

Having defended flexible, adaptative evaluative models to analyse the innovation does not mean that they are not properly planned processes. In reality, this means applying systematic, iterative models that move back and forth in a clearly intentional fashion. In our explanation, we shall follow the model of Earl and Timperley (2015, p. 23-33). Because of its simplicity and clarity, it can serve as a guide to establish the basic stages in the evaluative process:

6.1. Identifying the evaluative questions

Identifying the questions that can best help us get the most relevant information produced at any given time for a specific context is perhaps one of the most difficult yet important challenges for the evaluators to solve. Two kinds of questions which we should be capable of formulating and specifying were traditionally considered. These questions are directly related to the short and long term:

- What do we need to know about what is happening in order to take the best decisions in the short term?
- Are the questions specific enough?

– Are they focused on the matters which the key agents consider the most important and most relevant in the long term, in order to detect whether the innovation is moving forward in the right direction?

Given the unpredictability of the innovation (because of its very nature), the two kinds of questions should include the possibility of adding questions on the unintentional consequences of the innovation.

Deciding on the best questions, in the opinion of the experts, is an art in itself, even a science. It requires them to be considered carefully and even negotiated with the key participants both to ensure that they point towards the most explicit needs of the innovation and so that the objectives stemming from them are likely to be achieved within the timeframe allotted. Failing to consider these factors can render the evidence which we eventually decide to collect meaningless, such that it does not contribute to guiding the innovation in the best direction.

6.2. Collecting the evidence

Systematically collecting evidence provides the basic platform from which the evaluative questions can be answered. Over time, experts have developed many technical information-collection mechanisms: document analyses, narratives, standardised tests, questionnaires, discussion groups, digital technologies and, more recently, all the possibilities derived from big-data analysis.

These processes generally call for some technical knowledge within the field of evaluation. However, in essence, what must be required is that the evidence should be high enough quality so that a precise, adequate representation can be made from it that helps yield a profound understanding of the facts within broad explanatory frameworks and that properly guides decision-making.

6.3. Organising and analysing the evidence

Once the evidence has been collected, the next step is to decide how to organise and analyse the information collected according to the evaluative needs of the innovation. There are quantitative statistical techniques or standard qualitative analytical techniques which we can use, but there are no standard evaluative models that can serve universally for any evaluation.

The evaluation of innovation will be a bespoke process which must be designed for every situation; after formalising the evaluative model, the analysis techniques that we deem the most appropriate will be applied.

Evaluative questions are seldom simple (if they are, there is no need to apply a systematic, ambitious evaluation); they are generally complex and require far-reaching, in-depth analyses in order to grasp the nature of the phenomena evaluated.

6.4. Internalising the interpretation of the information in the process of constructing knowledge

The next step is a truly enormous leap within the evaluative process. It entails going from the comfort zone of the empirical to constructing the abstract. This leap forces us to become aware that all the observations that emerge from the analysis of the evidence have virtually no value unless we are capable of transforming them into useful knowledge to properly guide the innovation and endow the innovative actions with meaning and significance.

As Senge (1990, p. 14) notes: “Working with data and information implies heavy mental lifting which leads to personal viewpoints, yet it also means capturing and organising ideas systematically, such that they transform the information into actions full of meaning and facilitate its public, transparent interpretation”.

In this section, we have introduced and developed the familiar notion of “knowledge construction”. Nonetheless, in our milieu, it is still an emerging, sophisticated idea. As is common, here we relate it to the analysis of how learning takes place within individuals, but we also set our sights on how this learning is simultaneously transformed in the social context, where it develops into shared culture thanks to the internalising action of the evaluation. This is one of the essential objectives of innovative approaches.

6.5. Mobilising the new knowledge

The knowledge generated by the innovation should be used both extensively and intensively. Sharing and mobilising the knowledge essentially means creating new learning environments with the mission of projecting them both locally and universally so that others feel intrigued – and implicated – by our ideas.

By this we are not saying that the goal is simply to share what we have done or tout our achievements. Mobilising knowledge means getting more people involved in broader innovative processes that are offshoots of the original one and developing new proposals in order to activate the existing knowledge and transform it into new socially shared innovations.

6.6. Sustainability

One of the problems that innovation has had to address is determining its sustainability, that is, our ability to retain it over time with the right quality level. From our particular vantage point, we believe that an innovation can be considered fully sustainable when we are capable of incorporating it into an institution’s usual routines and when its agents fully internalise it as a new yet sufficiently consolidated mental habit. However, if we expand the concept, we should also consider sustainability in terms of our ability to ensure that it remains faithful to the program as it was originally defined, as well as the real possibility of guaranteeing the resources needed for it to continue in the future.

Finally, at a higher level, we can also conceptualise sustainability as the capacity to integrate the innovation into the set of theoretical principles that not only provide us with the possibility of constructing a story but also pave the way

for transferring its principles to other contexts. Designing an innovation in new and different developments means guaranteeing that it will survive over time.

7. Epilogue

I wanted to conclude this article with several final considerations. No one can avoid the resistance sparked in innovators to the mere idea of subjecting their projects to evaluative processes.

Many innovators consider evaluation more a formal straitjacket than an active ingredient that helps the development of the innovation.

Likewise, evaluators do not always have the capacity to act synergistically with innovators. They are mainly concerned with working in contexts with no constraints and feel more secure applying previously formalised evaluative models than in open-ended, uncertain situations, as innovative processes frequently are.

Working together means sharing belief systems, values and working styles. Generating a relationship that leads to this situation is a proactive process which incorporates actions such as asking, listening and trying to understand the different perspectives in order to better take advantage of the knowledge and expert views contributed by others.

In this sense, Earl and Timperley (2015, pp. 34-37) recommend applying three overarching principles, which will serve as the closure to our reflection:

1. *Being open to ideas for improvement.*

As Preskill and Beer (2012) note: “Those who are interested in experimenting with social innovations have to be ready to take risks and accept problems and mistakes. They have to accept that they will have to live with uncertainty and that even if they were wonderfully thought out, their plans will have to be tinkered with as the circumstances around them change.”

2. *Being pragmatic.*

This means knowing how to create teams and consolidate them over time, pushing them to develop the capacity to work together and direct their efforts towards the most ambitious objectives of the innovation, yet without losing the capacity to exploit the minor discoveries that emerge in the course of implementing the innovation.

3. *Being capable of negotiating.*

This means being able to negotiate and renegotiate, as many times as needed, with everyone involved, given the vital importance of collective, interdisciplinary work in innovation.

As Blackwell et al. (2009, p. 1) state: “Interdisciplinary innovation emerges from the positive effects that result from leaping over the narrow, rigid boundaries into which we organise knowledge. [...] Oftentimes it is the case that the right knowledge we need to solve a problem lies outside the scope of the conceptual framework where the problem itself is situated, and this is why interdisciplinary innovation is one of the essential instruments of the future.”

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