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Docudramas on digital television: Journalism, simulation and lies

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Abstract

The classic docudramas were created from a combination of reality, simulation and fiction. In modern television, some of these programmes try to attract viewers by having them take part in the development of the story by means of any process that has some degree of interactivity. In this way, telephone calls, text messages, e-mails or the possibilities of digital terrestrial television (DTT) have become mechanisms to both enrich the stories and capture audience. Productions of this type continue to veer away from authentic events of journalistic interest, and the showy component is given greater weight than the interests of the informative features. When one resorts thematically to dramatic situations, the temptation to invent information increases and the format becomes distanced from the rigor and precision required by journalism. Any invented actions can be presented as authentic situations by technological innovations like virtual reality. Nevertheless, the problem lies not in the machines or in the software, but in how they are used, and there are, in fact, professionals who use them to increase the quality of their work.

Key words: Docudrama, documentary, journalism, genres, television, DTT, virtual reality, technology, ethics

1. Introduction

Genres and formats occupy an increasingly difficult position to define between the universal (in the case on which this text focuses: audiovisual communication) and the particular (a singular story within this expressive system (Cano Alonso, 1999). The classical formulas provide contextual indicators as to the origins of the stories and add guidelines for interpreting them (Lázaro Carreter, 1986). Despite this, the timeless value of the notion of genre in classical poetics was shattered years ago (Martínez Muñoz, 1989).

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Within contemporary culture, which is characterised by the contamination between forms and the proliferation of hybrids, we can often find audiovisual works which have absorbed properties from diverse models (Pastoriza, 1997). Fiction feeds off of history, biographies are dramatised and journalism borrows elements from fiction until coming full circle[1]. Besides the existence of pure genres, the current situation (especially on television) has witnessed the appearance of mixed formulas[2] such as the "false documentary" which reflect complex patterns and complicate the development of any taxonomy (Monterde, 2004).

The forerunners of docudramas[3], productions that pair fragments of reality with portions of reconstructions or simulations, date from the early days in the history of audiovisual information, as shown by the newsreel *The March of Time*, which premiered in the United States in 1935[4]. Initially, there were spaces of this kind on television which exalted both common folk and prominent personages whose family members and friends paid tribute to them with a string of memories and human-interest curiosities[5]. Likewise, (presumably) informative shows could be found on risqué events into which they shamelessly pried in order to extract the darkest secrets. Tabloid-like productions which subjected real events to a dramatic treatment (performed by the actual people involved or by actors) became quite common in the 1970s[6]. In 1973, the American channel PBS launched *An American Family* (Ruoff, 1996: 270-296), a series in which a production team recorded the daily lives of the Loud family in Santa Ana, California, for six months. The peak moments in this document included when Mrs. Loud requested a divorce from her husband and when the couple's elder son, Lance, revealed his homosexuality.

Two decades later, the popular acceptance of this format was so widespread that the channels openly competed for them. Even today, docudramas and reality shows continue to show many of the peculiar features we have just listed: they examine real, up-to-date events (ultimately, informative contents), but they approach them in such a way that substantially disfigures these purported news stories (Frau-Meigs, 2006). Just like political censure or economic pressure, inappropriate use of the new technologies (Digital Terrestrial Television [DTT], Internet, etc.) can augment these deviations from reality (Holmes and Jeremyn, 2004), as we shall see below.

2. Objectives and methods

The overarching objective of this study is to analyse the validity and properties of the hybrid format of the docudrama, or documentary drama, especially in

[1] This is discussed in further detail in Rosenthal and Corner (2005).

[2] For a richer approach, see Baudrillard (1984).

[3] The name and its meanings are taken from Maqua (1992).

[4] This series was studied with a plethora of examples in Fielding (1978).

[5] Within this vein, a recommendable source worth consulting is Úbeda Carulla (1993).

[6] This approach is updated in Díaz Arias (2006).

programmes with a clear news or journalistic mission, in the era of digital television[7]. This objective will be approached as follows:

— By studying the repercussions that certain technological innovations have had on this kind of production, from their origins in film to DTT today: improvements in technical equipment, increase in narrative agility (Bandrés, García Avilés, Pérez and Pérez, 2000), inclusion of virtual reality in the narration, participation by the public in the news story, etc. (Bucy and Gregson, 2001).

— Through fieldwork, which consists of commentaries on erroneous or improper examples (both technically and ethically or deontologically) and appropriate cases (because of their balance between the journalistic base and the enactment as a complement)[8].

To accomplish this, we have had to enrich the bibliography which supports the underpinnings of the format (Bell, 1997; Plantinga, 1997) with a series of audiovisual and multimedia productions with which we can professionally reinforce, shade or debate everything set forth qualitatively in the theoretical sphere[9].

3. Conceptual delimitation

Simulations often enter into conflict with the reliability attributed to journalists, since they stumble upon the authenticity of genuinely informative contents[10]. Modern television (regardless of whether it is analogical or digital) penetrates into hidden-away corners to reveal all sorts of stories and behaviours[11]. This procedure is hard-pressed to generate surprises any more among either professionals or the audience[12].

Despite this, some of these deeds have been deliberately provoked in order to be televised, while others are simulations of certain situations (a murder, a workplace accident, a birth, etc.) in *free version*. The risk (ethical, deontological) run when manipulating these *realities* is that the audience may decode as neutral news what in reality is nothing more than a performance (Matelski, 1992). At first, broadcasters and viewers accepted these hybrid formats because they were conceived as productions closer to performance than to journalism (González Requena, 1988). However, today they have stopped

[7] This approach falls within the lines posited by Aufderheide (2005) and Dovey and Dungey (1985).

[8] The theoretical framework can be found in Sáez (1999).

[9] A similar combination is applied in Nyre (2006).

[10] Our point of departure is the contrast established between Rosen and Merrit (1994) on the one hand and by Alberich (2004) on the other.

[11] Some of the directors' strategies in both film and television are described in Beattie (2004).

[12] For example, in 2007 five Spanish physicians participated in the recording of *RamBam*, a docudrama in the guise of a series directed and produced by Hervé Hachuel for Televisió Espanyola (TVE) which took place in such a delicate place as a hospital in Israel.

paying this tribute to the percentage of fiction they include and have begun to be part of the larger news family, at least as distant relatives (Fiske and Hartley, 1994).

Therefore, at this point we should define two major audiovisual units around which the analyses and reflections in this study revolve: news shows and fiction productions. We believe that this division is still valid even though, as Jaime Barroso García notes, their validity is grounded upon the denial of genre, as if television's very existence depended on "the capacity to hybridise, to become contaminated, to fuse matters and substances from traditionally distinct expression (*infotainment*, *dramadoc*, *factions*, *dramedies*, etc) in evolved combinations" (Barroso García, 1996: 193).

> — News. Programmes that describe the current events of general interest according to the journalistic formats currently in use: news, reports, interviews, etc. (Tuchman, 1983). This modality encompasses television formulas like news programmes, breaking news, weekly magazines, news magazines, debates, the weather, etc.[13]
>
> — Fiction. Dialogued or dramatised reconstructions and enactments performed by actors that re-create historical deeds or actions that are the product of an author's imagination. Fiction can be divided into sub-genres or formats according to how the subject matter is dealt with (from tragedy to humour), the narrative structure and the kind of production (Bens and Samaele, 2001). Therefore, television features dramatic fiction, comic or light fiction, telefilms and more fictitious sub-genres. Just like in the news, the new technological devices (mobile telephones, DTT, etc.) facilitate audience participation in the development of some of these stories (Thornburn and Jenkins, 2003).

The incorporation of virtual reality into the commentaries on the weather or the staging of most news programmes today may have ushered in a new relationship between the news, fiction and performance (Postigo Gómez, 2000). However, this innovation cannot be considered equivalent to the reconstruction of deeds or the replacement of stages or processes which were impossible to record by mere hypotheses of what probably happened, especially when the author is not certain that the events being told happened in this way. The exaggerated manipulation of elements drawn from journalism (interviews, archival images, etc.) to trick the audience is equally if not more serious.

In 1998, the English newspaper *The Guardian* discovered that a promising journalist from Carlton Television, Marc de Beaufort, had lied in a couple of purportedly exclusive documentaries. The newspaper denounced the fact that in the first production an actor whose face was never seen had replaced a Colombian drug trafficker. According to *The Guardian*, in the second production the writer manipulated material supplied by the Cuban state channel so that what appeared to be public statements by Fidel Castro actually came from a face-to-face interview with the dictator. The conversation with the

[13] Within this section, the complements offered by Golding and Elliot (1979), Gans (1980), Gomis (1989) and Rodrigo (1989) are indispensable.

supposed criminal concealed a lie, an invention behind the guise of news. In contrast, Castro's words were true; the trick was in the presentation, since the words were not obtained as the audience was told they were.

4. The trap of the realistic

Audiovisual treatment that hovers between reality and fiction is very common in historical films[14]. Still, in films of this genre the viewers know in advance that many of the details in the story they are watching are pure invention. They tend to feature realistic scenes, not real ones. In contrast, when we speak about journalism, informative rigour always calls for the authenticity of the event, even though it may not seem realistic a priori. This is why the news has traditionally discarded reconstructions grounded upon fictitious elements, so that when a news item or report wants to point out what might have happened (hypothetically) in a current event, it solicits the vantage point of witnesses, experts and the like[15]. What is more, there are other techniques (interviews, for example, as we shall see below) that make it possible to achieve the same end[16]. It is true that right now we could adduce that the differences between the two methods are minimal. Still, in view of this argument we would have to repeat that the conjectures upon which reconstructions and simulations are based are made by journalists (whose aims are quite different), while in the second formula, the opinions are expressed by qualified subjects since they were involved in the deeds or are experts in the subject.

Productions that re-create newsworthy events show the most important actions through any resource that the authors deem acceptable, even though they may then exceed the tenets of journalism (Jacobs, 1979). In view of the authenticity that the news should guarantee, on these occasions the true-to-life sense that *varnishes* the stories with a sense of reality is considered sufficient. By radicalising the line of this discourse, we should stress that there are individuals (it would not be fair to call them journalists) who have taken these tactics to unacceptable extremes, such as those who have invented scandalous reports to be sold on the television (Sistiaga, 2005: 164).

This is the worst representation of sensationalism: the deeds are invented, but to keep up the appearance of news, the journalistic technique of the report or the documentary is respected (Langer, 2000). To ensure that the product devised can be easily sold, the authors examine issues of keen social interest such as the trafficking in drugs, children and refugees or political controversies. When the programmes are revealed to be hoaxes, the mistrust should encompass their producers as well as the channel that broadcast them for not having checked the authenticity of the stories.

After 24 years at the helm of the CBS news programme *60 Minutes*, veteran anchor Dan Rather resigned in 2005 because of a false news item which

[14] The classic quote by Barnouw (1974) is inexcusable. One example recently broadcast on television is the film *Luther* (2007), aired by the Catalan public television station, TV3, in 2007. It is a biographic drama by director Eric Till based on several moments in the life of Martin Luther, in which Joseph Fiennes plays the role of this decisive figure in the history of religions.

[15] Regarding techniques in the digital era, Baker (2006) is recommended reading.

[16] More details in Manning (2001) and in Grabe, Shuhua and Lang (2000).

stated that the President of the United States, George W. Bush, at that time a candidate for re-election against Democrat John Kerry, had benefited from contacts with the upper military echelons to shorten his military service in Texas. Four other professionals in the channel's news services, three of them in senior positions, also had to leave their jobs. An irregularity of this calibre precipitated the end of the career of such a prestigious journalist as Rather. To some extent, we should recognise that his resignation (and that of his colleagues) was an exception in a business in which others would have insisted on remaining in their jobs. The outcome of the case was used to penalise him both internally and externally, that is, both in his company and professional association and in the public sphere.

The (tentative) conclusion of all that has been discussed so far would be that whenever the promoters of a news programme use simulations, reconstructions and the like, they must clearly state this, and if errors are committed, they must accept the consequences.

Fiction sometimes resorts to journalistic forms to develop a story[17]. Likewise, years ago the news genres started to dress up their contents with a tabloid dimension. That is, many of the classic boundaries have already been erased, and it is unquestionable that mixed formats have huge advantages. Thus, *The Road to Guantanamo*[18] (2006) directed by Michael Winterbottom in conjunction with Matt Whitecross is an example of political cinema that denounces the inhuman conditions in which the prisoners at Guantanamo were subjected by alternating live testimony by the real characters with reconstructions. The producers do not clarify when they are reproducing the opinions of the victims and when they are using actors to re-enact the experiences they suffered from before being arrested and during their stint in prison. One might think that Winterbottom and Whitecross are appealing to the viewers' visual culture so that they understand each passage in their film in the most appropriate way possible. What is evident is that in this production the clear-cut distinction between reality and re-enactment is sacrificed for the sake of narrative coherence. However, these strange alloys and/or blends (Ortega, 2005), which are valid in the realm of creation, should not be used to confuse the audience which only seeks to be informed.

5. Fiction as temptation

There are vast differences between intentionally erroneous inventions and material that has been gotten from honest journalistic effort[19]. Nor can anyone can dispute that the recent events featuring celebrities spurred by satirical programmes (like *Aquí hay tomate* on Tele 5 or *¿Dónde estás, corazón?* on Antena 3 TV) have nothing to do with the (apparent) deception experienced by many of the listeners on the radio version of Orson Welles' *The War of the Worlds* back in 1938 (Coch, 2002).

[17] In the Catalan film *El taxista ful* (2006) by Jo Sol, a story in the guise of a documentary was used to showcase an invented character. There are many similar examples.

[18] The winner of a Silver Bear at the 2006 Berlin Film Festival.

[19] To check this, all you have to do is look at Waugh's compilation (1984).

One production by El Mundo Televisión and broadcast on Tele 5 in 2001 revealed *La gran mentida del cor* (loosely translated as *The Great Lie of Tabloid Journalism*), the title of the documentary on this lucrative business. In this world unto itself, celebrities and aspiring celebrities invent sentimental idylls and ruptures and construct lies on accidents and other misfortunes to get paid by the media which cover them (especially gossip magazines and television programmes). Bearing in mind that without the media's attention this spectacle would not even exist, the responsibility for this corruption of the journalistic endeavour should at least be shared between both parties.

Yet paradoxically, the same strategies that are condemned in the realm of gossip journalism are relativised when they enter the realm of more prestigious journalism (war correspondents, prominent investigators, etc.). The error is extremely serious, since the deception that materialises in celebrity chronicles does not compromise human lives, only bank accounts, while the second kind of deception can even influence the way a war proceeds. In 1998, the media magnate Ted Turner and four CNN executives were forced to apologise for a false report on the use of nerve gas against deserters in the Vietnam War. The former Iraq correspondent with the satellite channel Sky News James Forlong went so far as to commit suicide in the United Kingdom in 2003 after a scandal over a fraudulent journalistic piece on the war against the United States. These two examples are similar to that of Dan Rather. Just like in that case, which was equally extraordinary, honour led the perpetrators of both scandals to admit their guilt. Forlong's unquestionably extreme reaction highlights the importance and transcendence of mistakes in this profession.

Therefore, when reporters are faced with a complex problem, they should deal with it rigorously. If they feel keen curiosity about information they do not know, they should look it up carefully, not invent it (Micó, 2007: 157-166). Just to cite one case of good professional practice, all we have to do is recall a documentary series broadcast by the digital channel Canal de Historia, *Ciudades bajo tierra*, which in 2007 revealed to Spanish viewers the underground wonders of the major cities in the world (Paris, Budapest, Berlin, etc.). Through digital animation, the first episode, which was devoted to Naples, re-created how buildings were made in the ancient Roman empire and the techniques used by the engineers of that period. What is more, the programme also aired the opinions of architects and historians as a way of contextualising the buildings and their artistic and social influence.

Technological advances in virtual reality should be harnessed to enrich stories devised in accordance with the fundamental principles required by journalism, with truth, correctness and neutrality above all. They cannot be used to fill in the gaps in the news story that the media professionals have been unable to decipher. In any event, professionals have the possibility to reconstruct them based on proof; however, this proof should be powerful and not merely hints without any strength of validity. The dialogues that appear in *Hiroshima*, a documentary written and directed by Paul Wilmshurst in 2005 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the fatal bombing, were not fictitious; rather they came from reliable sources. What is more, the latest special-effects technology was used to re-create the flight of the Enola Gay, the bombing mechanism, the explosions and the destruction as realistically as possible. In this case, the director proceeded properly. He reproduced these past episodes as faithfully as possible to what happened in reality. Through exhaustive research,

he had crucial data, complementary information and secondary details to bring conversations that were already a part of history to life and to guide the technicians who made the computer-generated images of the military attack. After it premiered on BBC, TVE's channel La Primera also broadcast the film.

Despite the many varied advantages of interactive television (from DTT to Internet television), there are also some dangers. Due to the need to boost the appeal of journalistic pieces, reporters may fall into the temptation to push past the boundaries of reality and enter into speculation (Ellis, 2000). In 2006, Chile's Televisión Nacional broadcast the documentary by director Fernando Luchsinger entitled *Mayo 1879* on the naval combat of Iquique, on whose bay the important Peruvian port of Tarapacá was located, a centre for exporting saltpetre. In the late 19th century, there was a skirmish there between a Pervuian warship and a Chilean corvette, which ended up sinking after four hours of battle. Instead of merely enlisting the expert advice of historians, the director also used three-dimensional digital simulation to reconstruct the events. Still, there was presumably a lack of truthfulness in certain aspects of the combat, and he was criticised for this. Indeed, digital technology enables us to present certain invented events as if they were authentic, yet we must still stress that journalists must inform themselves with neither digressions nor hypotheses.

6. Modalities and combinations

After mentioning some of the risks of simulations and reconstructions in audiovisual information, the time has come to examine the most important aspects of the hybrid format of the docudrama or dramatic documentary on digital television. First of all, the hosts of these programmes are not always journalists with professional careers that endorse their seriousness and rigour. In the constant quest for the showy, the media have recruited popular individuals (who perhaps did work in journalism in the past but have gradually succumbed to "tele-indignity")[20] to appear before the cameras as conductors, interviewers and even reporters (from Jordi González on Tele 5 to Pocholo Martínez Bordiu on La Sexta). The channels' executives do not even bother to conceal the fact that the most important qualities to them are the subject's ability to fascinate the audience; that is, they are not so much interested in their profile as journalists as in their ability to attract audience[21]. A team of anonymous journalists who remain hidden in the shadows of the celebrity are the ones in charge of planning and developing the programme.

Regardless of the formula chosen, the reporters tend to start with real events and experiences, but they add onto them treatments that highlight the more attention-grabbing details of the story. The experiences of the victims include the full gamut from grief to hope, from love to hatred. These contents have historically occupied privileged spaces in the tabloid section of the press[22], and when they took the leap to television they occupied the time of numerous

[20] This is a highly graphic term coined in Ruiz (2007).

[21] The managing director of Tele 5, Paolo Vasile, has made this clear on more than one occasion: Vertele. "Emma García vuelve el 7 de octubre a Telecinco". [Electronic document]. Available at: http://www.vertele.com/noticias/detail.php?id=16531> [Retrieved: 14 October 2007].

[22] To learn more details about this area, see Herrero Aguado (2003).

docudramas and reality shows like *Gente* (TVE), *Está pasando* (Tele 5) and *Madrid Directo* (Telemadrid).

The format has diversified over time and now appears in multiple variations, some of them quite entertaining[23]. In any event, their common features persist, including references to personal situations (or situations that affect a group of subjects) as a way to probe their emotions. This effort is conducted from a perspective that interleaves the news aspect with the spectacle derived from the fictitious component[24].

Without abandoning this modality, the importance of another kind of production mainly rests upon the idea of documenting a thesis using archive material or excerpts from works of fiction. This concept is quite old; for example, John Grierson used it back in his 1930 film *Conquest*, with scenes from *The Covered Wagon* (1923)[25], as if they were real. Even bolder was the technique used by Andrew Thorndike in *Urlaub auf Sylt* (1957). Heinz Reinefarth appears in the film on an island in the North Sea, specifically in the city of Westerland, where he serves as mayor. He seems relaxed, enjoying a calm luxury, but later, thanks to archival notes and old photographs, the viewer discovers that the main character was a brutal Nazi officer in charge of the executions in Warsaw[26].

Other methods used in this format are the in-depth interview and a kind of story halfway between the standard documentary and the investigative report. There are narrations that could be considered "testimonials" given that their characters explain the events directly, in front of the camera, and the journalists or scriptwriters limit themselves to organising the raw material while adhering to the events as accurately as possible[27].

Investigations should also be taken into account: the authors pursue their inquiry into a case based on a series of clues. The reporters look for sources, relate data and discover what truly happened (Rolland, 2006); the resulting reconstructions are more rigorous than in any other variation. *La noche temática* on TVE's channel La 2 broadcast three documentaries of this kind in 2007 to commemorate the launch of the first artificial satellite in history, Sputnik, an invention with which the Russians outdid the Americans, who in 1957 aimed to celebrate International Geophysical Year in the same way. The pattern followed is reminiscent of the mechanics of *Hiroshima*, one of the productions analysed in this article. A base of proven information legitimises the development of the more complex and technically sophisticated re-creations

[23] For example, in 2007 TV3 premiered the *docu-reality* show *La masia de 1907*, in which two families competed in a setting from the early 20th century. The show had already been a hit with audiences in Galician public television, and prior to that it had also been broadcast in countries like the United States, Great Britain and New Zealand under the title of *History House*.

[24] For example, the docudrama *United 93* (2006) by Paul Greengrass dramatically recounts the last hours of the passengers on one of the 9/11 airplane at the pace of a thriller.

[25] One of the best studies on this author is Hardy (1979).

[26] Such ideological documentaries, like *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004) and *Sicko* (2007), both by Michael Moore, follow this formula, albeit with a heavier hand.

[27] Another useful example: in Spain in 2007, the digital channel Odisea the documentary *Muhammand Yunus, el banquer dels pobres*, which portrayed the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize winner and analysed his actions.

without the fear of violating the truth. While the initial inquiry is rigorous and meticulous, the subsequent dramatisation is so faithful that it could (almost) enter the realm of journalism.

Re-creations to retell events the way they were believed to have happened, even if full certainty is not there, include an element of higher fiction. In fact, they are closer to drama than to documentaries in the two meanings of "dramatic" that can be applied in this context: an expressive formula encompassing works meant to be performed, and a display of painful actions and situations. These works show one of the possible versions of what happened, with either the people who actually experienced them or actors[28].

When the successive technological advances are placed at the service of classic news models, truly interesting findings result, without this meaning that overly complicated formulas must be reached. It should be known that the engine behind some quality journalistic investigations, such as the ones on the programme *Línea 900*, which TVE's La 2 channel stopped broadcasting in November 2007 after 17 years on air, were denouncements, grievances, testimonies or contributions that citizens sent in through an answering machine or an email address. Other shows (popular news, news magazines, magazines, reality shows, etc.) draw from the same mechanisms that allow for direct audience participation through telephone calls, messages, emails and the like. One of them is *La aventura del s@ber*, whose professionals have been making educational television on TVE (specifically on La 2) for 15 years. The programme opened on the Internet in 2007 to make audience participation more accessible and to encourage its use at schools. Since then, the viewers of *La aventura del s@ber*, co-produced by the Ministry of Education, can ask questions in real time via email. What is more, on its website they can browse a library containing the show's archives.

Going even further, on the 21st of January 2007 the Catalan public television programme *30 minuts* broadcast a documentary entitled *Guernica, pintura de guerra* (Guernica, War Painting) directed by Santiago Torres and Ramon Vallès, which could be consider exemplary because of the interactive applications it offered and its advanced conception of what is called "media convergence"[29]. During the broadcast, TV3 viewers were able to see extra content on DTT, on the channel's website and on Media Center, a Windows software application designed for interactive digital entertainment on the television screen. The additional information presented included a range of documents, the full interviews conducted for the show, biographies, an iconographic analysis of Picasso's painting, a question-and-answer game and another game in which viewers could paint over "Guernica".

7. Conclusions

Modern dramatic documentaries continue to draw simultaneously from the peculiar features of reality, simulation and fiction. However, now their authors

[28] Once again we should mention here the pioneering newsreel *The March of Time*.

[29] All the interactive possibilities exploited in this production had already been defined by the Grup de Recerca en Imatge, So i Síntesi (Research Group in Image, Sound and Synthesis – GRISS) (2006).

make more effort than ever to get the viewers involved and to turn them into accomplices and participants. Indeed, the television audience in the digital age can join the story through suggestions sent in writing and via telephone calls, mobile phone messages, emails and other channels. The productions are always based on a real event, news item or something that could be turned into news, but the narration and its audiovisual treatment owe as much to the news as to fictional stories. What is more, many of the subjects that the docudramas began to cover in the 1980s have become part of the news cycle, which also focuses on information from a titillating perspective to win or simply to keep the audience (Buonanno, 1999). The priority in the choice is determined by *extreme* human situations, even if they have to be reconstructed[30]. For the time being, journalists do not invent information, although they do heighten interest in the most sensational events to the extreme of presenting them as the most representative phenomena of modern-day society[31].

There are still professionals interested in investigating the causes and consequences of the cases[32], but the majority invest more time in presenting the events in a vulgar fashion. It is clear that technological innovations are not the problem, yet nor are they the solution[33]. We have seen that the journalists who want to use them to continue to trigger outcry, both artificial and gratuitous, can easily do so. In contrast, those who aim to improve their work responsibly and rigorously find technology to be the perfect ally (Bolter and Grusin, 2000). Still, both of them limit themselves to following the pathway laid down by the direction of their enterprises[34].

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[30] Tele 5 and Antena 3 TV do so in their daily news shows.

[31] The vision presented in Quesada (2007) is very insightful.

[32] As Carles Porta did, first in a report for the programme *30 minuts* (TV3) and later with the book *Tor. Tretze cases i tres morts* (2005). Incidentally, this brave journalistic venture served as the inspiration for a film plot.

[33] As Mauro Wolf (1994) has said.

[34] In the past this was already revealed by Seiter (1999).

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Labour Education in the Balearic Islands

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Abstract

This article describes and documents the facts and most notable experiences in labour education on the Balearic Islands from the 1868 revolution until the end of the Civil War. We highlight the republican and socialist experiences on Mallorca and Ibiza and describe the five secular schools that were opened on the island of Menorca at different points in time. Although Ferrer i Guardia's influence on the emergence and consolidation of these labour initiatives is clear, it is also evident that the free-thinking movement, secularism and republican initiatives and all kinds of progressive communities worked to secularise society before the experience of the Modern School.

Key words: labour movement, rationalist education, Balearic Islands, socialism, republicanism, secular schools, secularisation

1. Introduction

The presence of the labour movement on the Balearic Islands was conditioned by the distinct social, economic and cultural circumstances on each island. While on Mallorca and Menorca there were labour nuclei which were the outcome of a slow process of industrialisation and the consolidation of the petty bourgeoisie, there is no proof of any important labour initiative in the field of education on Ibiza, although we will discuss the scant data available.

The experiments of the *Escola Mercantil* (Mercantile School) and the *Escola Democràtica Republicana* (Democratic Republican School) on Mallorca, the longstanding existence of the *Casino Acadèmia del Poble* (Academic Casino of the People) on Ibiza and the *Escola Propagandística del Club Republicà Federal* (Propagandist School of the Federal Republican Club) on Menorca and the education and culture magazine *El Eco de la Juventud* were the spearheads in educational affairs during the revolutionary six years on the Balearic Islands.

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We cannot describe these initiatives as purely labour themselves; rather they fell under the umbrella of progressive and the republican groups.

The labour movement during the Bourbon Restoration, in a context of weak industrialisation, did not manage to mobilise huge masses, although its voice could be heard on Mallorca and Menorca, where the labour movement was better organised and had a stronger presence. On those islands, where labour education initiatives took root with greater or lesser success through the creation of five secular and workers' schools on the island of Menorca with divergent results, and with the experience of the socialist school in Llucmajor on Mallorca.

The labour movement on the Balearic Islands fluctuated between the early influence of anarchists and republicans and the sway of the socialists. The struggle between socialists and anarchists over control of the labour organisations became a constant feature in the 1920s and 1930s.

The penetration of capitalist forms gradually transformed the islands' economy, which was followed by demographic and social changes, as well as by shifts in mentalities and cultural patterns. Education was supposed to be one of the fundamental cornerstones of the new state, but the state was not changing at the pace needed nor was education meeting the expectations and needs of broad swaths of the population. The working classes, labourers, craftsmen, farmers and many day labourers made up the bulk of the population, and in no way were they able to access the educational, social and healthcare systems of an advanced society. Therefore, the educational and social initiatives meant to fill the serious gaps left by the state were more than justified, although the Catholic Church was the institution which profited the most from this situation.

In one succinct paragraph, Bernat Sureda defined the status of education on the Balearic Islands:

> *"The Balearic Islands entered the 20th century with huge shortcomings and deficiencies in terms of educational possibilities and services. These shortcomings were considered graver as new needs and demands emerged, including the discrediting of the public schools, the lack of appropriate buildings to house schools, insufficient teacher training, the use of rote teaching methods, the requirement to teach in Spanish to children who spoke Catalan, little attention to the cultural reality of the setting, difficulties for women to access levels of education for the working sectors that had no time to spend on entertainment and training, too many children working in conditions that were harmful to their development, a lack of playgrounds in the cities..."* (Sureda, 2006: 6).

While the revolutionary six years paved the way for the emergence of progressive groups of all kinds, during the first three decades of the 20th century there were diverse initiatives that tried to respond to the educational shortcomings on the Balearic Islands. The first was the republican or regionalist bourgeois reform movement which basically drew inspiration from the ideas of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Education Institution) famous back in

the 19th century (Alexandre Roselló, Mateu Obrador and Guillem Cifre de Colonya). The second was the influence of a widespread movement of educational revamping in Europe which proposed an in-depth reform of teaching concept and methods (Miquel Porcel, Gabriel Comas, Joan Benejam, Joan Capó, etc.), and the third were the labour initiatives, with a socialist or anarchist bent, primarily on Menorca. Still, at no time did Catholicism lose its initiative.

Catholicism on the Balearic Islands, which was deeply rooted among broad swaths of society, demonstrated its desire and capacity to keep sway over such an important sphere of influence as elementary education, taking advantage of the shortcomings in the public school system.

The educational efforts of the Church, which, as we have seen, were very important in the field of women's education, also spread among working-class sectors and adult and young labourers through a series of institutions, many created the century before, such as the Sant Josep night schools, which came to have nine centres and around 1,000 students, along with the Sunday schools and the elementary classes taught at Catholic workers' centres (Sureda, 2000: 10-12).

During the 20th century, as Antoni Colom noted, the Catholic Church dictated the events and main avenues of education on the islands: "The Mallorcan church became the main force in the pedagogical events on the island" (Colom Cañellas, 1991: 41).

All the legal provisions fostered the development of the Catholic educational and social initiatives, and the moral supervision of the public schools was also in the hands of the vicarages. Menorca was the island where this overwhelming power was the most hotly questioned by a weak yet conscious societal majority that tended towards progressive ideas (centre republicans, leftist republicans, anarchists and socialists).

The creation and consolidation of a rationalist school in the Church capital, Ciutadella, heralded one of the greatest challenges to the Church's power, which logically countered with the creation and consolidation of two large religious centres with vast societal outreach. Around them, a far-reaching social network was organised which ended up controlling all the cultural, educational, religious and social initiatives in the town.

2. The revolution of September 1868. The Revolutionary Six Years

The triumph of the 1868 revolution, despite its pitfalls, consolidated a new model of state, a liberal state with contradictions, backsliding and hiatuses which was constantly subjected to harsh tests by the more conservative or, conversely, revolutionary sectors. Nonetheless, a return to the monarchical absolutism perennially upheld by some swaths of society seemed impossible.

On Mallorca, the clash was understandably between the bourgeoisie and the more reactionary and conservative core of society, which, as is logical, shared a common cause with the Church's positions, because at that time the bourgeoisie was the biggest enemy. Only the bourgeoisie had the economic might that enabled it to compete for secular power with the old dominant classes, which were themselves threatened by the pushiness that social

education was showing around the state. In this way, the efforts of the Church and Mallorcan conservatism were channelled at making the educational project and preponderance of the island's bourgeoisie fail, which it obviously achieved in no time (Colom Cañellas, 1991: 257).

A similar situation arose on the island of Menorca, although a greater plurality of social collectives and a quite prominent presence of prestigious republican intellectuals opposed the conservative initiatives. Though they did not reap major successes, they did gradually consolidate a new more secular, democratic and open mentality. One of the most important consequences of the revolutionary movement was the creation and consolidation of a broad and extensive network of associations and collectives which tried to supply the basic needs that the state was unable to meet. This associative movement was one of the reasons behind the gradual secularisation of society, the gradual democratisation of access to knowledge and the success of the labour movement.

We should note the important role played by the widespread associative movement that took shape on the Balearic Islands, just as it did in the rest of Spain, and which was particularly important on Menorca and Mallorca, in the dissemination of instruction and culture, particularly after the 1868 revolution. On Menorca, the second half of the century was a period of vast societal dynamism with the appearance of numerous political, culture, religious and free-time groups and associations which engendered new forms of socialisation. This dynamism was also reflected in a surge in written media, especially newspapers, which played a major role in the dissemination of culture, science and political ideas (Sureda, 1998: 43-44).

On Menorca, many progressive groups gradually coalesced during the revolutionary years; although their numbers were not so great, they were active enough and had a strong enough presence to generate a huge reaction from the more conservative sectors:

> *"The republican press waged virulent attacks against the Catholic movements and against the Church hierarchy. However, the Church had other problems, primarily on Menorca, where an evangelical community led by Francesc Tudurí de la Torre opened for worship. Tudurí, who was also a Mason and was politically aligned with the federal republican party on Menorca (which applauded all his initiatives), also opened an elementary school and spread propaganda in all the towns on Menorca, and even on Mallorca. The secular schools or those linked to other religious denominations and the Masonic lodges were the other concerns of Bishop Mateu Jaume"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 33).

Even though it never really took root, this movement signalled a pivotal point in the struggle over the control of education and the secularisation and democratisation of society.

Capital could only be accumulated by transforming the old ways and means of production; factory work, which had become consolidated during this

period through the demographic upswing on the island, led to the appearance of the urban worker and the proletariat. Aware that they were being exploited, the proletariat organised itself to defend its class rights. That is, the appearance of the bourgeoisie on Mallorca in the 1860s was corroborated by the parallel appearance of the first labour organisations. If, on the other hand, we bear in mind the liberality of the 1869 constitution, we shall see how on Mallorca, from this date onward, the labour movement was gradually organised, although, as is logical, its importance would be in line with the economic and social power that the bourgeoisie would amass, since it is a direct consequence of its ability to create jobs and, therefore, its possibilities for investment (Colom Cañellas, 1991: 258).

Parallel to the educational initiatives of the bourgeoisie, such as the Mercantile School (Colom Cañellas and Díaz, 1977), limited workers' initiatives began to appear that were guided by the republican groups which exercised a certain paternalistic stewardship over the frail workers' collectives:

> *"Since the start of the revolution, the republican party tried to attract workers and other popular classes and presented itself as the defender of the fourth state, just as it did in the rest of Spain. This tactic bore fruit, and many workers, craftsmen and day labourers joined a party that was basically led by the petty bourgeoisie and supported it until the end of the Republic. [...] Apparently, in around March 1871, there was at least one AIT cell on Menorca which published releases in the republican newspaper. In the month of October, workers' centres were created in Mahon and Ciutadella. [...] The internationalist movement took off on Menorca that year, since in December the II Congrés de Societats de Sabaters (2nd Congress of Shoemakers Societies) was held in Mahon, which organised the Spanish chapter of the Federació de Sabaters i Enfranquidors (Federation of Shoemakers)"* (Casasnovas Camps, 2001: 46-47).

The process of industrialisation had begun to shape a minority working class that was demobilised and lacking class consciousness.

The *Sociedad Escuela Democràtica Republicana* (Democratic Republican School Society) was founded on Mallorca with an exclusively educational mission. It was the first organised experiment in leftist labour education on the islands, although we have no further references to it:

> *"I think that the reports of these schools fill an important gap in the history of education here, which had been lacking radical educational models until then despite the efforts and questions of many researchers to uncover influences from labour schools in mainland Spain on our local schools. Until now, no labour schools had been found on Mallorca – the case of Menorca is different – and therefore we had no knowledge about Ferrer i Guàrdia's hypothetical influence on the island, an influence which we can now deny, at least on a practical level"* (Colom Cañellas, 1991: 263).

The same holds true with the creation of the Propagandist School of the Federal Republican Club and the free school of the *Societat Evangèlica* (Evangelical Society), which was also opened to the working class, just as the majority of Masonic lodges were.

On Ibiza, in late 1864 there was a single free-time organisation which was called the *Casino Acadèmia del Pueblo* (Academic Casino of the People). This organisation, located in the Marina neighbourhood, was created in January 1856 and was the headquarters of the Progressive Party. It was closed in 1866 and once again opened in May of the same year with the name of the *Casino del Comercio* (Casino of Trade).

The Casino housed a reading room and a music academy for the members, and it hosted plays and public dances (Garcia Ferrer, 1998). The Casino operated with virtually no interruptions from 1856 until 1890, and its results were clearly positive judging from the high number of members, around 100, if we compare it, for example, with the *Liceu Ebusità* (Ebusitan Lycaeum), the headquarters of the moderate party, which only had 60 members:

> *"In consequence, more than a fully labour experience, this is a situation closer to cultural paternalism, with hints of propaganda and political dissemination. The progressives opened a school in the village, and in addition to the regenerative function common to educational and cultural expansion they very likely also sought to plant their ideology in the more working class echelons of the population"* (Garcia Ferrer, 1998: 97).

On Ibiza, as well, the *Centre Republicà Federal* (Republican Federal Centre) was also set up which operated until November 1874, and some of its members ran a republican-leaning weekly, *Les Pitiüses*, which was issued for a little over a year, which they used to defend secular education and the secondary school:

> *"In short, we can state that on educational matters, Ibiza's republicans were characterised by their defence of secular education, in particular the Secondary School, and by ferocious criticism of the Royal Decree issued the 18th of August 1885, which granted immense privileges to the schools run by religious orders"* (Garcia Ferrer, 1998: 100).

This royal decree was truly negative for all the secular, republican, unionist or anarchist educational initiatives. The fight to launch and consolidate small initiatives stumbled upon all possible obstacles, and only cohesive, conscious and large organisations managed to break through the enormous facilities available to create Catholic schools. We shall analyse several cases with these characteristics on the island of Menorca.

However, the labour experiences ended on Mallorca and Ibiza since at the start of the 20th century conservatism and the Church had regained ideological

control of the society that had been questioned during the revolutionary six years. Therefore, we can conclude that the failure of the Mallorcan bourgeoisie and the virtually nonexistent Ibizan bourgeoisie to consolidate an innovative educational project during the 1870s led to a dead-end for the incipient working class, which was lacking leadership and sought refuge in the different republican sensibilities. On Menorca, the presence of important anarchist cells served to mark differences with an also consolidated but small and mainly republican bourgeoisie.

3. The Bourbon Restoration

In 1875, the liberal bourgeoisie was replaced by a conservative bourgeoisie, and any possibility of an in-depth bourgeois revolution capable of turning around traditional society and the influence of the Catholic Church on life and everyday morals was truncated. The system was convenient for the ruling classes on the Balearic Islands (which were corrupt and practised caciquism), which controlled a population in which illiteracy and a lack of education were endemic.

The Republican Party was the home to many of the regime's detractors. It waved the banner of anti-clericalism along with education as a tool for regeneration, it advocated the abolition of the military service and certain taxes and it combated the practices of caciquism and *cunerisme* (a practice consisting of placing candidates to be elected in an electoral district other than their own). Soon local committees emerged in Palma, Manacor, Andratx, Santanyí, Montuïri, Sóller and Felanitx. Menorca's republicans organised around the *Círculo Industrial de Maó* (Industrial Circle of Mahon) and won the race for mayoralty of Mahon in 1883, an unprecedented feat on the Balearic Islands. Mahon may have been one of the few cities where the republicans always had an absolute majority, even though they did not always hold the mayor's office, as it was often appointed by the current government by royal decree.

In 1881, the labour movement was reorganised; a group of federal republicans set out to initiate the task of education and mutual assistance among the workers, creating the *Unió Obrera Balear* (Balearic Labour Union), which mixed anarchism and republicanism. In 1890, the *Ateneu Obrer Mallorquí* (Mallorcan Labour Athenaeum) was founded, and shortly thereafter the socialist group was founded in Palma, even though socialism never had a major impact on society there. The world of labour and republicanism wove a fiercely united front on the Balearic Islands during the early stage of the Bourbon Restoration.

To many people, the Bourbon Restoration meant the resumption of order after the chaos of the revolutionary six years. In this context, the economy stabilised, despite the logical cyclical crises inherent in the capitalist system, and major milestones were achieved:

> *"The Balearic economy in the last quarter of the 19th century was largely characterised by the advance of industrialisation, agricultural transformations, the promotion of communications, the impetus of capitalism and the proliferation of banks"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 340).

Vineyards and foreign demand had a multiplying effect on the economy of Mallorca, with repercussions on the infrastructure, income and retail and financial sectors. The same held true with the cultivation of almonds on Mallorca and Ibiza.

On Ibiza, there was also a rapid rise in salt production, where mechanisation had been introduced, turning it into a capitalist industry that hired salaried workers. On Menorca, the shoe industry laid down deep roots, and the secondary sector showed extraordinary dynamism, as exemplified by the electrification of the city of Mahon in 1892. Mallorcan industry did not achieve the same proportional importance as its Menorcan counterpart, yet it should not be downplayed. Yet despite the advance of industrialisation and improvements in agriculture, heavy emigration continued:

> *"The causes of the emigration were the frequent cycles of industrial crises which led to workshop and factory closures and the failure of agricultural sectors like the vineyards"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 345).

The Menorcan emigrants played an important role in creating, maintaining and consolidating innovative secular school initiatives. Generally speaking, there were many who "*van fer les Amèriques*" ("did the Americas"), as they used to say, and they amassed capital that was reinvested not in the industrial sector but in property. In any event, the role of emigrants in the spread of welfare to more social echelons is clear, and many initiatives were sustained thanks to their constant contributions.

The bourgeois society of early capitalism, the slow but steady education of the population, the spread of the press and other factors meant that people from all strata of society could access different levels of culture. Associations played a key role in this. During the Bourbon Restoration, associations of all sorts sprang up, political, unionist, mutual aid, denominational and recreational, including casinos, which also served an important cultural and educational function (organising talks, plays, lyric evenings, musicals, night schools for workers and schools for the children of their members).

The labour movement received a decisive impetus over the first few decades of the 20th century, even though the process of industrialisation was different on each of the islands: Menorca and Mallorca experienced processes of industrialisation while on Ibiza and Formentera these processes practically did not take place. As a result, we cannot find workers' initiatives on Ibiza during the 20th century, while we can find them on Menorca and Mallorca.

The Mallorcan workers' movement was led by the socialists (through the weekly *El Obrero Balear*), while on Menorca the anarchist element predominated. The leading ideologue of the Menorcan anarchists was Joan Mir i Mir, the director of *El Porvenir del Obrero*, a newspaper with an anarchist bent. Joan Mir participated either directly or indirectly in the creation, consolidation and success of all the labour schools on the island of Menorca during the 20th century, along with the republican collectives:

> *"The common interest in disseminating instruction shared by the republicans and anarchists on Menorca made it possible for progressive sectors of the bourgeoisie to cooperate in creating rationalist and secular schools in a variety of towns*" (González-Agápito, Marquès, Mayordomo and Sureda, 2002: 114).

Even though the republicans' participation in numerous associative initiatives is clear, we should still delve further into the role of the republican majority in cities like Mahon. We are lacking a study which analyses the role of the republicans in the institutions that they controlled, such as the town halls, especially the Mahon Town Hall, apart from the decisive influence they had on the cultural and educational associations of the day, such as the *Ateneu Científic* (Scientific Athenaeum), the *Ateneu Popular* (Popular Athenaeum) and even the *Casa del Poble* (People's House), a meeting place and site of action for all the progressive forces on the island:

> *"We should delve further into the political and educational approaches of Menorcan republicanism beyond the task of cultural development undertaken by the Athenaeum. Studying the influence of reformist bourgeois thinking on municipal policy and the training and educational actions of the web of associations could provide important information on these positions"* (González-Agápito, Marquès, Mayordomo and Sureda, 2002: 114).

The educational efforts promoted by the Mahon Town Hall, in the case of the school camps (Motilla, 2004: 33-56), and the organised campaign against illiteracy in the public schools of Mahon (Alzina Seguí, 2005: 175-190) give us some idea of the fact that the republicans set a clear educational policy in the institutions they controlled.

The Church, in turn, watched the social and economic transformations with a great deal of trepidation as they were *making it lose parcels of influence*:

> *"Protestant denominations were tolerated, and they had followers in Mahon and Es Castell on Menorca and a series of towns on Mallorca (Palma, Inca, Llucmajor, Pollença, Capdepera). On Ibiza, there seemed to be no organised churches, but there is evidence of Protestants. The Masonic lodges were also able to operate freely, and in the late 19th century they achieved their maximum expansion on Menorca (mainly in Mahon, but also in Es Castell and Ciutadella) and on Mallorca (Palma, Llucmajor, Manacor). On Ibiza, the first lodge began operating in 1899, although it must have had a short lifespan, while on Formentera Masonry was not organised until the days of the Republic, in 1933"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 353).

The Catholic Church shifted to the counter-offensive and set up new religious orders devoted to education; it established numerous associations, and unions of Catholic workers (the so-called 'yellow unions') appeared:

> *"Protestants, Masons, free schools and the labour movement – which tended to profess the faith of atheism and anti-clericalism – were regarded as the enemies of the Church"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 353).

Each labour or republican initiative was met with multiple religious initiatives. The fight for control of education became bitter, even though the end results are known to everyone:

> *"The denominational adult training institutions had a great deal of leeway in those years. These institutions include the Patronat Obrer de Palma (Workers' Board of Palma). [...] The Catholic labour circles founded in most towns on Mallorca were also devoted to offering free-time activities, such as plays, films, literary and musical evenings, libraries, etc. On Mallorca, numerous associations were created with close ties to the Catholic centres which were conservative and pro-Mallorcan and offered training or cultural activities, such as Saba Marinenca in Llucmajor, Minerva in Artà and the Joventut Mallorquinista (Mallorcanist Youth) branch in Sóller*" (Sureda, 2000: 17-18).

The creation of the Modern School of Barcelona by Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia and his subsequent death by shooting prompted a broad social support movement and had a huge impact in all the national and international press, phenomena which together magnified his pedagogical efforts and turned him into a martyr on behalf of education.

Likewise, the Catholic Church's intense campaigns against secular school initiatives brought together thousands of people who regarded secularism as the expression of all evil. According to the conservative and clerical sectors of society, the free-thinkers and secularists were responsible for all the evils besieging society.

Ferrer i Guàrdia's influence on the creation, consolidation and growth of secular schools is clear, even though the majority of educational experiments were grounded upon the theoretical corpus of institutionalism. In fact, the majority of rationalist school initiatives were the successors of other schools and other groups – all of them secular – created by the republicans or influenced by free thinking and Masonry, until they came to be founded upon the initiative of labour organisations.

On the Balearic Islands, anarchist educational thinking only had a moderate influence on Menorca; the poor organisation of the workers' movement and the enormous importance of conservative thinking hindered the spread of labour education ideas. The minority anarchism on Mallorca was

limited to theoretical conceptions with no link to everyday life; anarchism spread its ideas via its periodical publications such as *El Rayo* (1912-1914) and *Cultura Obrera* (1919-1936) on Mallorca and *El Porvenir del Obrero* on Menorca (González-Agápito, Marquès, Mayordomo and Sureda, 2002: 63).

The labour press stressed the role of education and culture in workers' emancipation. The working class needed education that was not controlled by the bourgeoisie or the Church: a rational, comprehensive and secular education. Anti-clericalism was one of the most prominent features of the labour collectives on the islands, one of the common denominators among republicans, socialists and anarchists:

> *"One of the most salient features of anarchist thinking is its anti-clericalism, which in education translates into a harsh criticism of teaching catechism and Catholic morality at schools at a time when the Catholic sectors were expressing their rejection of secular schools through rallies and other multitudinous events"* (González-Agápito, Marquès, Mayordomo and Sureda, 2002: 69).

The socialists also presented alternatives to labour education; socialist thinking affirmed the value of education as an instrument of consciousness in the labour movement. We could therefore say that the socialist school model was built upon secularism and rationalism.

The socialist movement had little importance on the islands: on Menorca, anarchosyndicalist thinking predominated until the late 1920s, and after the 1930s the socialist movement also gained ground. On Mallorca, socialism was not organised until 1909-1913, and it had a presence in the capital, Palma de Mallorca, and in the towns of Manacor, Llucmajor and Marratxí, where the socialists had labour associations. The vehicle where the socialists expressed their ideas was the *El Obrero Balear*, created by the *Grup Socialista* (Socialist Group) in Palma in 1900.

The magazine published many texts to show their interest in training workers, which the Balearic socialists regarded as an important key to improve the living conditions of the lower classes. At the same time, it called for more education for women (González-Agápito, Marquès, Mayordomo and Sureda, 2002: 71).

One of the socialist educational experiments took place in Llucmajor, where Joan Montserrat i Parets created a school for the children of the workers of his town, which was called the *Escola dels Socialistes* (Socialists' School). Montserrat upheld a kind of education that was capable of eradicating the ignorance of the working classes, one that was not influenced by Catholic morality and could become an instrument of social progress and the emancipation of the working classes:

> *"Montserrat i Parets defended a neutral school not governed by the Church (even the state school had to be neutral), with purely civic objectives. This stance dates from many years back, became more acute*

> *in the days of the Second Republic and has never stopped being valid all around Spain, even today"* (Oliver, 1977: 141-186).

Also worth special mention is the educational efforts of another public school teacher from Llucmajor, Rufino Carpena, who even managed to publish a school newspaper far before the Freinet methodology:

> *"Of all these educators, one who stood out was Rufino Carpena. On the 20th of July 1909 he took possession of his school in Llucmajor – he was a state teacher – and he left it on the 30th of May 1916. It seems that teaching factors did not play a role precisely rather than his job among the humblest children was not properly interpreted"* (Oliver, 1977: 151).

Rufino Carpena was in favour of active pedagogy that departed from the prevailing rote memorisation. He used outings as a means of education and instruction, and he was concerned with children's moral education and with shaping reflective, aware people with the ability to think for themselves. He also delivered lectures to adults. In 1911, he founded the *Mutualitat Escolar* (School Mutual Aid Society) in Llucmajor, whose mission was to foster savings among youth. In 1912, he founded the bimonthly illustrated magazine *Educacionista*, to which his students contributed.

Menorca was the island where workers' educational initiatives attained the most success, despite the obvious obstacles and problems involved in consolidating them. The struggle among the working class, republicans and anarchists for the secularisation of society had been a constant feature of the last two centuries of history. Many people fought for secularisation, democratisation, freedom of thought and quality education for the most disadvantaged sectors of society through highly diverse and heterogeneous collectives. Anti-clericalism and free thinking were constants during the first three decades of the 20th century and generated multiple cultural, sporting, aid and educational initiatives, including the creation and spread of secular schools around Spain.

The island of Menorca was not foreign to this entire movement, and despite its small territorial and social dimensions it was the home to a variety of groups, collectives and associations that constituted a dense, diverse and heterogeneous network which resulted in the creation of multiple formal and informal educational initiatives whose goal was to get rid of the moral control of the Catholic Church and democratise society, fight against caciquism and foster the welfare of the most disadvantaged classes, especially the workers' collectives, sometimes from paternalistic perspectives and other times through more conscious and organised workers' collectives.

There were five educational initiatives that were founded and grew on Menorca as part of this secularist movement. Joan Mir i Mir and Gabriel Comas i Ribas were the theoreticians and main driving forces behind them. Guided by republicans, anarchists and liberals, a free-thinking and anti-clerical movement gained ground which included individuals and collectives from a broad

ideological spectrum. The movement's extraordinary heterogeneity was simultaneously proof of both its ideological richness and the weakness of each strain separately. This would explain the brief duration of some of these experiences. Masons, moderate republicans, leftists and federalists, socialists, anarchists and anarchosyndicalists, the Germinalist movement, the spiritualist movement and the job of the athenaeums[1] and casinos rounded out a scene of great richness and ideological plurality.[2] Recently, the author of this article defended his doctoral thesis which describes and interprets the labour education movement on the island of Menorca, and this is therefore material that has never before been published.[3]

In 1902, the *Escola Laica de la Societat Progressiva Femenina* (Secular School of the Progressive Female Society) was created, which over time became the *Escola Lliure del Barri 15* (Free School of District 15). It was notably successful among the public even though it was closed after anarchist Mateo Morral's attack against the king. The driving force behind this school was Joan Mir i Mir and its director was the Catalan educator Esteve Guarro. It was built in a working-class neighbourhood, District 15, characterised by the existence of prostitution, which was also the target of harsh criticism from the more conservative elements of society. Despite the difficulties, around a year after it opened more than 200 day students were registered while more than 100 attended the adult classes offered at night.

In 1906, a night school for workers was created at the *Cercle Democràtic i Republicà d'Alaior* (Democratic and Republican Circle of Alaior) under the auspices of Joan Mir, and it soon thereafter became the *Escola Laica d'Alaior* (Secular School of Alaior), the most important and lasting experiment of all the labour schools. The teacher Joan Duran directed the school and achieved major successes in terms of registration numbers and the impressive education of its students. School outings, coeducation of the sexes, reflection on everyday facts and intuition as a teaching method, with a notable presence of mathematical, scientific and manual contents, were the keys to the success and consolidation of Alaior as a private secular educational option using economic and human means to offer quality education. The Secular School of Alaior was sustained jointly by republicans and anarchists until 1930, when this alliance ruptured. Quite a few emigrants to Argentina made major contributions to its financing, and it registered an average of sixty students in the three grades into which it was divided. It was characterised by its duration, its coherent educational projects, its unique methodology and its sound management by the association

[1] About the cultural and educational tasks in Mahon's athenaeums, we should emphasize the unpublished doctoral thesis "Projecció cultural i educativa dels ateneus a Menorca (1905-1939)", by Xavier Motilla Salas. It was submitted in October 2008 at the UIB and it is a magnificent study which allows us to understand the implications of progressive educational and cultural initiatives in Menorca during the first 40 years of the 20th Century.

[2] See the magnificent work by Xavier Motilla Salas (2000), winner of the Francesc Hernández Sanz Prize. See, too, Pere Ballester Pons (2005), introductory study by Xavier Motilla Salas and Bernat Sureda Garcia. Edited by Emília Suàrez Faner.

[3] We are referring to the doctoral thesis submitted on the 21st of July 2009, at the UIB on Menorca, entitled: "Teoria i pràctica educativa obrerista a Menorca. Joan Mir i Mir i les escoles laiques".

that governed it, the *Societat Instrucció Popular* (Popular Instruction Society), which had over 400 members.

In 1908, the *Escola Laica de Sant Lluís* (Sant Lluís Secular School) opened in the quarters of the association *Tertúlia Republicana* under the direction of shoemaker and musician Pere Gornés, a multifaceted person, town councillor and member of the Town Hall and correspondent for the republican newspaper *La Voz de Menorca* who fought to bring literacy to the working-class sectors of the town, first through the secular school and later by creating municipal public schools. The secular school was closed after the events of the Tragic Week in Barcelona, even though Pere Gornés' educational and informational endeavours continued until his death.

Casino 17 de Gener (17th of January Casino) in Ciutadella had opened one of the first literacy schools for its members since 1906; in 1912 this school became known as the *Escola Racionalista de Ciutadella* (Rationalist School of Ciutadella), located on Passeig de Sant Nicolau. It remained open until 1919. In 1930, it reopened its doors under a new director, Àngel Muerza, a militant socialist, and under the patronage of the shoe manufacturer Pons-Menéndez, who offered free registration to his factory workers. The Rationalist School of Ciutadella could be described as one of the most remarkable success stories of Menorca's progressives, who proved that they were capable of building and opening an emblematic building in the Church seat of Menorca. It is difficult to imagine just how counter-current their undertaking was: a collective of anonymous, republican and working-class individuals working against the entire weight of the law and the Catholic hierarchy. We believe that the mere fact that the school was opened made it a huge success. Its subsequent closure and reopening by the entrepreneur Pons-Menéndez along with its new socialist orientation should be regarded as historical milestones on the road towards democratisation, secularisation and the spread of education to all social strata.

Finally, in 1922 the doors to the *Escola Laica des Castell* (Secular School of Es Castell) opened under the auspices of an anarchosyndicalist group in a venue owned by the town athenaeum. The initiative was warmly welcomed, but soon thereafter it was closed by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. The Athenaeum of Es Castell is a model of a pluralistic, democratic association open to all sectors which carried out progressive policies and divulged culture, education and universalistic moral values. The Athenaeum of Es Castell welcomed different social collectives, including theatre troupes and football teams, choirs, and reading and discussion groups. It also hosted lectures and cultural, political, educational and sporting events of all sorts. A study of the internal dynamic of the Athenaeum would shed light on how a social institution managed to bring cohesiveness to the town and build a town identity, which is popularly known by the expression *fer poble* (to build a community).

Even though not all the initiatives managed to become consolidated, nor did they necessarily achieve coherence between theory and practice, they did manage to mobilise major citizen collectives in favour of secular, free and high-quality education and made a decisive contribution to entrenching free thinking and the democratisation of society. The anonymous individuals who contributed to and cooperated with these initiatives believed in education as a means of social regeneration and trusted that a change in the rote methods currently in force would improve the working classes' perceptions of official education and

would boost literacy and access to the world of knowledge by huge swaths of society which were much more concerned with earning more money than with learning how to read and write.

We have been able to analyse a wide range of books, notebooks and school activities from the Secular School of Alaior which enable us to draw conclusions regarding the day-to-day methodology, the kind that avoided sweeping statements of principles. First, we can note that not all the practices were as innovative as the discourse seems to paint them; here we find the always delicate confluence between theory and practice, in which practice comes with patterns and inertias which are difficult to change.

The feature for which the Secular School of Alaior stood out was the importance it attached to mathematics and sciences, and especially to their practical applications: household economics, proportionality, currency exchange, plenty of bookkeeping, equations with problems that resembled everyday life, principles of physics and chemistry that were applicable to the inventions of the day (electricity, radio, communications, etc.). Finally, it preached a universalistic morality with concepts very close to and even resembling the prevailing Catholic morality, yet with no references to God, saints or liturgies. Tolerance was practiced, and students from different walks of life attended the school: children of moderate republican leaders; children of socially-aware workers; children from the most disadvantaged sectors of society whose fees were paid by the association that governed the school, the Popular Instruction Society; children from progressive families whose beliefs were moderate and Christian-based. Perhaps this was the secular and inter-class school that Ferrer i Guàrdia preached yet never managed to bring to fruition. In any event, there was always a distance between the labour experiences on the island of Menorca and the more radical Ferrerist discourse, even though many people admired him after his unfair and absurd death by shooting.

From this perspective, Ferrer i Guàrdia's contribution and that of hundreds of people who believed in education as a tool of social regeneration was decisive for the future of the country.

The system of the Bourbon Restoration was finally broken, driven by three parallel crises: the ailing military in the war with Morocco, the malaise and ongoing political and social crisis, characterised by constant strikes, and the impact of the Russian Revolution:

> *"With the political atmosphere rarefied by the partisan struggles and the failure of successive governments, the economy had not managed to recover after the crisis at the end of the World War. Nor did the central government make things easier, and the Cañal Decree raised the levies for exporting leather and footwear, harming the shoe industry. On the other hand, the demand for silver coin dropped drastically. The workers' malaise became more acute between 1919 and 1923, and this malcontent helped their affirmation as a class. Union membership rose swiftly on Mallorca, from 1,648 members in 1916 to almost 7,000 members by 1919. The class struggle reached unprecedented heights in those years, and Mallorca had a total of 93 strikes in 1919 alone"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 354-355).

In the meantime, on Menorca the Republican Party remained strong, and in 1918 the *Federació Obrera de Menorca* (Workers' Federation of Menorca, FOM) was set up, presided over by Lluc Pons Castell, a socialist and former anarchosyndicalist militant. The FOM eventually forged ties with the UGT, which led to the unit's rupture with the republicans. The socialists spread around Mahon, Ciutadella and Es Castell and were engaged in constant clashes with the anarchosyndicalists and republicans.

General Primo de Rivera's coup d'état calmed the worker upheaval and led to urban growth in the large Balearic cities (Ibiza, Palma, Manacor and Inca), while Mahon stagnated and Ciutadella grew quickly.

During the dictatorship, the socialists and the UGT were generally tolerated, while the anarchists were persecuted. In 1930, the Workers' Federation of Menorca joined the UGT, and this decision motivated a rupture, as the anarchists split off and founded the *Sindicat Únic de Treballadors* (Single Workers' Union), which was allied with the CNT. The educational experiments associated with both factions suffered from the same effects and forged ahead along similar pathways.

Finally, the world economic crisis of 1929 and the ineffectiveness of the governments of the dictatorship triggered a wave of discontent which led to the proclamation of the Second Republic.

4. The Second Republic

The Republic ended in 1931 with a new constitutional text which led to high expectations yet which ultimately did not satisfy the clashing, radicalised factions:

> *"However, while the rightists were in disagreement with a regime that advocated agrarian reform, the separation of Church and State and military reform, among other controversial issues, the more left-leaning parties and unions (mainly communists and anarchists) viewed the Republic as a bourgeois state that ran counter to class interests"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 371).

In its early years, the Second Republic stressed educational policy; more schools were built in two years than in the previous decades, although problems unrelated to education thwarted the enormous efforts to turn around the educational and cultural system that the state had been dragging along for centuries. The Republic promoted innovation, the construction of schools and the massive literacy of all of society:

> *"The Republic also created a climate favourable to the application of the New School methods. Now the methods that attached greater importance to the social dimension received stauncher support, such as the methods of Belgian Ovide Decroly, Frenchman Célestin Freinet and*

> *the project methods developed by W. Kilpatrick inspired by the ideas of American John Dewey, even though others were also present, such as the method devised by M. Montessori, which was quite widespread in the previous period and which focused on the more individual dimensions of education"* (Sureda, 2000: 20).

There was also a significant surge in actions in favour of children, especially for the most disadvantaged strata of society, as well as an incipient consideration of a design for cities that was more appropriate for children.

The associative movement also gained momentum, even though it gradually became radicalised:

> *"In those years, the associative movement, which was already important, along with People's Houses and the like grew even further on the islands. Casinos, athenaeums, instruction centres, music, sports and theatre societies of all kinds and with all purposes proliferated in the towns on the islands and neighbourhoods of the cities, and they offered a wide range of free-time activities: recreational, entertainment, athletic, cultural and educational"* (Sureda, 2000: 22).

However, we already know that this explosion of cultural initiatives ended with the Civil War and the radicalisation of broad swaths of society. The workers' movements also radicalised:

> *"The country had given up on peaceful coexistence, the positions polarised and the atmosphere of tension led to even dimmer prognostications. The clashes between groups of radicals of one stripe or another and the attacks reached the Balearic Islands, too"* (Casasnovas Camps, 1998b: 373).

The Civil War changed the shape of the country's history and ended with a dictatorship that systematically tried to erase any memory of educational innovation, regardless of whether or not it had anything to do with the labour movement or with the progressive movement in general.

5. The Civil War

Mallorca and Ibiza remained under the control of the rebel soldiers who occupied the key points and detained the most prominent political and union leaders who were deemed to be unaffiliated with the uprising. The situation in Menorca was different, and after several uprisings it remained under the control of the republican government.

In educational matters, during the Civil War there were attempts to launch a project dreamt of for many years: a single, unified school, even though the practical expression of this ideal was quite far from the theoretical model.

The single school aimed to achieve education for everyone under equal opportunities, an education that was free of charge and secular and offered all students the chance to enter the university regardless of their social background. In practice, the model consisted of shuttering all the private schools and concentrating all the students in the (free and secular) public school under the tutelage of career teachers, yet with the hiring of helpers affiliated with the government. Children from families regarded as unsympathetic with the Republic were prevented from accessing higher education. In any event, the education of the entire school-aged population was ensured throughout the entire war in highly precarious yet effective conditions.

The Civil War did not put an end to educational initiatives; there were plans to build new school groups, and school camps were organised for a large number of children, yet the war conditioned all events. Menorca under republican control was under constant attacks by the national forces that controlled the other islands. Soon, the blockade began to wreak havoc among the population. Towards the end of the war, the newspapers could not be published because of a lack of paper. The country was destroyed, and years of famine and penury ensued.

In 1936, the *Consell de Cultura de Escola Nova Unificada de l'Illa de Menorca* (Culture Council of the New Unified School of the Island of Menorca)[4] was set up following the model of the Generalitat de Catalunya's *Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada (*Council of the New Unified School, CENU). This involved the closure of all the private and religious schools.[5] All the students were brought together in public schools, and coeducation was imposed.

The experiments with school camps were expanded around the island,[6] and some country estates were decommissioned to bring the school camp experience there.

In 1937, the Mahon Town Hall drew up blueprints to build three large new graduate schools, one rural school on Fornells Road and free classes for all illiterate people, and in 1938 the *Campañas de Difusión Cultural* (Cultural Dissemination Campaigns) were implemented under the control of the *Milicias de la Cultura* (Cultural Militias) in the towns on the island, with few practical manifestations.[7]

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[4] See bundle 1936 60 E/3 on the formation of the *Consell de Cultura de l'Escola Nova Unificada* in the Archive of the Public Library and Casa *de Cultura* of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the government of the Balearic Islands and the Historical Archive of Mahon.

[5] See bundle 1936 60 E/3 on the creation of the new schools to replace the private religious schools in the Archive of the Public Library and *Casa de Cultura* of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the government of the Balearic Islands and the Historical Archive of Mahon.

[6] See bundle 1937 60 E/16 referring to the *Patronat Escola de Colònies Escolars* (School Board of School Camps) in the Archive of the Public Library and *Casa de Cultura* of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the government of the Balearic Islands and the Historical Archive of Mahon.

[7] See bundle 1937 60 E/16 referring to the creation of the graduate schools on Nicolás Salmeron Street, on Cos de Gràcia Street and on Vicente Barrios Street; the creation of the rural school on Fornells Road and the creation of classes for the illiterate in the Archive of the Public Library and *Casa de Cultura* of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the government of the Balearic Islands and the Historical Archive of Mahon.

Despite its scant means, the republican zone was involved in intense educational activity: it fought a steadfast struggle against illiteracy, even on the war front itself, it created an abbreviated baccalaureate for workers and it opened a special school for disabled children.[8] In turn, the libertarian athenaeums led mainly by anarchists from the CNT undertook ambitious cultural dissemination efforts. Indeed, we could aver that, despite all the possible difficulties and obstacles, education on Menorca during the Civil War was controlled by the most radicalised workers' collectives made of up the anarchosyndicalists and socialists.

6. The ideological underpinnings of labour education thinking: Republican thinking and Labour thinking

Republican thinking was one of the kinds of thinking that had the strongest influence on the island, since the majority of educators and prominent intellectuals campaigned in favour of republicanism and felt closely allied with it, including the republicans Joan Benejam, Ferrer Aledo, Francesc Hernández Sanz, Gabriel Comas i Ribas, Joan Mir i Mir and others.

The educational notions of the different republican groups show coherent common denominators that fuelled many of the innovative initiatives, including the following:

— Respect for children's consciousness: The republican notion of education falls within the line of thinking that places the concepts of personality, education and culture at the core of human history. Education sets out to achieve the development of the pupil individually and freely. Children become responsible, active members of the school community.

—Ideological neutrality: Ideological doctrine should be removed from the educational process, since only scholarly subjects have a place at schools. The teacher should adopt a neutral position on political, religious or secular matters and should devote him- or herself to conveying the universal ideas that are the inheritance of all humanity.

—The ideological shift proposed by the republicans attempted to introduce the educational traditions of positivism and advocated the freedom of the teacher grounded upon the democratic values of freedom, tolerance, mutual respect and solidarity.

—Changes in the forms of family education and the defence of coeducation to guarantee women's political and social rights, facilitate their entry into the workplace, create nursery schools and take an interest in sex education. They tried to summon and facilitate families' cooperation with the school, which was entrusted with the civic and moral education of future adults.

[8] See bundles 1938 61 A/4 and 1939 61 A/15 on the educational capacity of Mahon, the documentation on school camps, school statistics and the detailed school census in the Archive of the Public Library and *Casa de Cultura* of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the government of the Balearic Islands and the Historical Archive of Mahon.

—The republicans upheld the dignity of the teaching profession: Teachers were regarded as a kind of spokesperson for republican secular morality, individuals with a strict sense of duty.

The educational policy of the Mahon Town Hall, with a republican majority, stood out for spearheading – to greater or lesser success – the aforementioned educational policy and achieving notable literacy rates and important educational innovations.

The different workers' groups, which were increasingly aware of their importance within society, contributed to the educational debate by supplying a vision more oriented towards the education of the working class, which had traditionally been marginalised from the educational structure. The workers' ideological thinking was characterised by:

—Militant secularism: The social revolution and social change required a revolution of consciousness which would be attained through the propagation of ideas; with this goal in mind, it was necessary to diminish the powers that be and the power of the dominant classes.

—A belief in science: Contrary to religious thinking, the workers were imbued with an almost blind faith in scientific postulates. They wanted to inculcate all their followers and the entire working class with a love of science.

—The anarchist thinkers, followers of the mainstream current of the labour movement, pointed to a new morality, rational morality, which could be summarised in the practice of good for its own sake, that is, for the very pleasure of being good people; in a word: solidarity. Respect for women and the equality of the sexes at home and in society, a love of nature and culture, and the struggle against alcoholism, smoking and gambling were all constant themes in articles and campaigns.

—Anti-authoritarianism and egalitarianism: Human freedom is sacred and cannot be supplanted by any force outside of human life; neither the state nor any kind of social organisation may curtail freedom. In parallel, the idea gained ground of schools with no discrimination on the basis of class or sex.

—Reason, science and culture take on the guise of a new religion.

—Student self-teaching was fostered in order to make lifelong learning possible.

7. Conclusions

Even though it is true that the assassination of Ferrer i Guàrdia triggered a vast movement of almost worldwide support among progressive collectives, some of the most conservative sectors also took advantage of it to blame him and the Modern School for all the evils which were shaking up Spanish society. From that time on, the entire extensive, plural, anti-clerical movement was called Ferrerist and was blamed for causing serious disturbances that led to anarchy,

that is, total societal chaos. There were many experiments with secular and innovative schools prior to the Modern School; many people fought to secularise society and make schools a place that would tolerate all beliefs where students could learn reflectively. The Catholic Church's harsh campaigns against any attempt at secularisation only served to radicalise the positions.

The secularising movement was quite widespread both before and after Ferrer i Guàrdia and served to raise much of society's awareness that education was the key to accessing better welfare and that the leaders of the Catholic Church were essentially a hindrance to all progressive initiatives. Therefore, we can state that secularism, free thinking and the vast plurality of labour and secularist initiatives which were both progressive and innovative had a positive influence on the collective consciousness to build a fairer and more tolerant society, even though years and years may have been needed for it to take root. In the case studied on the island of Menorca, the imprint left on the mindsets of the people was quite evident; many feel like the heirs to those who struggled in situations of disadvantage to achieve the objective that many of us enjoy today.

Perhaps on Menorca, at some point there was a progressive majority yearning for change, yet there were also many collectives, albeit never in the majority, on Mallorca and Ibiza, which trusted in the regenerative ideals of education, in the gradual secularisation of society and in progressive democratisation. This is what was called for by the secular movement: nothing more. And we could still keep calling for the same ideals, which even today could unquestionably still be deepened and reoriented. Ultimately, what the progressive sectors wanted was for religion not to be compulsory and for it not to condition politics and everyday life, for boys and girls to be able to attend school together, for science to be the cornerstone of education and for a tolerant, respectful morality to be practised. Have we not achieved this, to some degree, despite the times and obstacles? This, therefore, was the most important contribution of all the people who struggled anonymously to achieve these ideas at quite different times in history. This is the most important lesson and contribution of everyone who believed that all this was possible.

The thick web of associations on the islands was crucial to the democratisation and secularisation of society, including the more clerical associations. Membership in and a diversity of associations enriches society as a whole and makes it more cohesive.

However, one important fact cannot go unnoticed: very few people, if not no one, got rich creating or maintaining these labour-leaning schools. The economic hardships entailed in maintaining or opening labour schools with progressive leanings were more than evident, and the legal obstacles to maintaining and consolidating them were virtually impossible to overcome. This is the polar opposite of the situation of the Catholic schools, which profited from the incomes of the wealthy classes along with the facilities provided by the legislation in the Bourbon Restoration, with the exception of brief hiatuses from the progressive republican government.

Even though there was no manifest economic interest, we can note how the labour initiatives (educational, cultural and sports centres) tried to convince their most proximate public of the advantages of their ideological proposals. In fact, they acted as recruitment centres. The fight to control education was not motivated by enlisting supporters of the cause, a legitimate activity yet one that

is not bereft of its own pitfalls, since the educational system in a democratic country should ensure freedom of thought and a reflective education capable of educating autonomous individuals with the ability to take decisions using sound judgement.

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Individual Options and Collective Patterns: Mobility and Settlement in Spain in the Second Half of the 20th Century

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Abstract

This article uses documentary evidence on population dispersal in Spain in the second half of the 20th century to attempt to illustrate the general characteristics of the population flows, the factors that influenced their configuration and their structure. It highlights the importance of proximity but also draws attention to other factors, yielding the conclusion that certain routes are preferred in the structure of migratory destinations and starting points, and that these routes show a certain historical continuity. However, mobility is a counterpoint to permanence, and in this sense, this article underscores the strength and stability of settlement in the Spanish population. The criteria of mobility and settlement reflect the complex junctures of society.

Key words: internal migration, Spain, population, settlement, 20th century

1. Internal migration in Spain: Preliminary considerations and reasons for studying it[1]

One of the few theoretical propositions in the study of spatial population mobility that has been somewhat solidly established states that in a territorially defined population, internal displacements are quantitatively more important than displacements abroad except in periods of exceptional upheaval.

Migration abroad is often more visible and apparent than internal migration; however, in many countries the latter is a key factor in the configuration of population settlement over time.

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[1] The article summarises some of the results set forth in the book *Migracions, activitat econòmica i poblament a Espanya* written by various authors (1999). The Jaume Bofill Foundation financed the research.

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In Spain, internal migration is an extremely interesting demographic phenomenon whose volume and characteristics have shifted over the course of this century depending on the different moments in history. After earning a great deal of attention by both population scholars and the media, today internal migration has virtually ceased to be studied. However, it not only continues to be an important component in the evolution of both the population and settlement, it is also a reflection of other highly significant social phenomena.

The purpose of this article is precisely to once again examine this topic, now that the periods with huge flows of internal migration remain at a certain distance in time, which allows us to examine it with a bit of hindsight. Now is also a time when internal migration is not being discussed – except what is called "migration or residential mobility in metropolitan areas", even though mobility is quantitatively more significant now than in other periods, albeit with different features than in more prominent times.

Examining migration using the balance method enables us to estimate the balance of a region in terms of its population exchanges with other regions. This reveals more about the region and the effects of migration on it than about the phenomenon of migration *per se*. Without downplaying the importance of the balance method, flows bring us a little closer to the reality of the phenomenon by showing us the number of people who have moved between two geographic points in a given period of time. By examining the entire region in units, migrations appear as a web of flows among all the units in all directions with differing levels of intensity.

Distance, and therefore physical proximity, is a very important factor to be borne in mind, but it has often been ignored in studies on migration. Greater physical proximity between two regions is usually reflected in a correspondingly larger migratory exchange. In this article, we have examined the system of migratory flows in Spain bearing in mind distance, and this has enabled us to see the primacy of short-distance migratory movements. These movements rarely cross provincial boundaries and often fall within people's life sphere. This means that these moves have seldom been regarded as true migrations, since they do not entail a rupture of people's ties with their points of reference, including work, friends and family, places of free-time activities and shopping, etc.

Still, as noted above, we can observe noticeable long-distance mobility in certain periods which basically reflects times when the Spanish productive system and labour market were undergoing profound transformations, as occurred paradigmatically in the 1960s. In this case, the longer-distance migratory movements attained a significant proportion within mobility as a whole. The formation of migratory networks which join physically distant regions, but between which there are constant exchanges of both emigration and immigration, leads to a relativisation of physical distance and provides more proximity in terms of knowledge. This establishment of social ties and exchanges among regions has given rise to what we have called "preferred migration pathways", pathways which show high stability for decades, although we can notice significant changes when they are analysed in greater detail.

Finally, another of the issues that this article wishes to highlight is the importance of permanence. Migration and settlement are the flip sides of the

same reality, and in the case of Spain, the strength and stability of population settlement is the predominant side, even though the opposite is often thought and said. This heavily conditions the issue of migration to such an extent that much of the mythical discourse on migration – in terms of loss – is implicitly a negative discourse on settlement. In fact, migration is largely a subsidiary phenomenon, a mechanism of the population's adjustment to the social organisation of the space. We should also bear in mind that that migration is a complex social phenomenon which is important for the groups of people involved, and with the added value of bringing to light aspects of the social reality in which they are inserted.

2. Quantification of the phenomenon: Statistics on residential variations

Even though it is important to bear in mind that all forms of spatial mobility are related and that the boundaries between them are often blurred, here we shall only examine the kind of mobility with a significant change in residence which is called "migration". This is a somewhat imprecise definition, as befits the complexity of the concept. To make it operative and also fit it to the data available, we take "migration" to mean all displacements that represent a change in the town of residence, thus adopting the same criterion used by the National Statistical Institute. Since we are discussing internal mobility, this must be limited to changes that fall within the administrative boundaries of Spain.

Thus, by definition, changing one's town of residence does not include moves within the same town, even though these are often equally or more significant than some displacements from one town to another. Nor does it include the blurring of some municipal boundaries, which exist for administrative and political purposes yet which have little social importance, at least near the boundary itself.

As is already known, the primary sources of data for general studies on internal migrations for the migratory flows and stocks are basically statistics on housing changes and population censuses. It is also known that of all the human activities covered by demographics, mobility is one of the most poorly recorded. There is no doubt that it is easier for a country to have good statistics on birth and death and general population tallies than sound figures on the spatial moves of this population.

This study mainly drew from the National Statistical Institute's *Statistics on Residential Variations* (ERV). It should be noted that the quality of the official data has fluctuated and that it generally became more reliable after the 1970s. The data on internal migratory flows comes from the annual rectification of the municipal population censuses derived from the registry of inflows and outflows in the towns in the periods between censuses. This source provides information since 1961 on the moves that entail a change in residence via a move to a different town, which are the moves that fit the operative definition of internal migration. However, the quality of the record harbours several problems, which are compounded by the absorptions on the municipal census.[2]

[2] This explains the declines shown in the statistics in the years when the municipal census was conducted, because it absorbs some of the registrations of changes in residence. The years when

The main problems include under-registration, a certain disjoint between the time when a move is made and the time when it is registered, and undue registrations which do not reflect effective changes. Here we should also bear in mind cases in which individuals have two residences. Each of these problems has its own casuistic.

The chronological disjoint, coupled with the absorptions on the municipal censuses, mean that the data should processed in a clustered fashion without entering into minor annual details. Fictitious records – second residences, for example – should be borne in mind, especially for intraprovincial flows or flows between neighbouring provinces that include large cities, although they can also occur in more distance provinces between which there is a history of previous flows. With regard to the issue of under-registration, in addition to simply bearing it in mind, we can also speculate on its possible differential effect and try to estimate its importance.

With regard to the differential influence, we could consider local variations in the real application of the administrative registration process and data transcription, as well as the fact that the degree of compliance with the theoretical obligation to register one's residence depends on each social echelon's varying need to have residence certificates.

The territorial unit of analysis is the province, not because it is the sociologically most interesting unit but because the data available to us almost always use the province as the point of reference. On certain topics and for some spheres we have been able to work with a more appropriate unit, but taking the entire country into consideration has led us to adopt the option of the province.

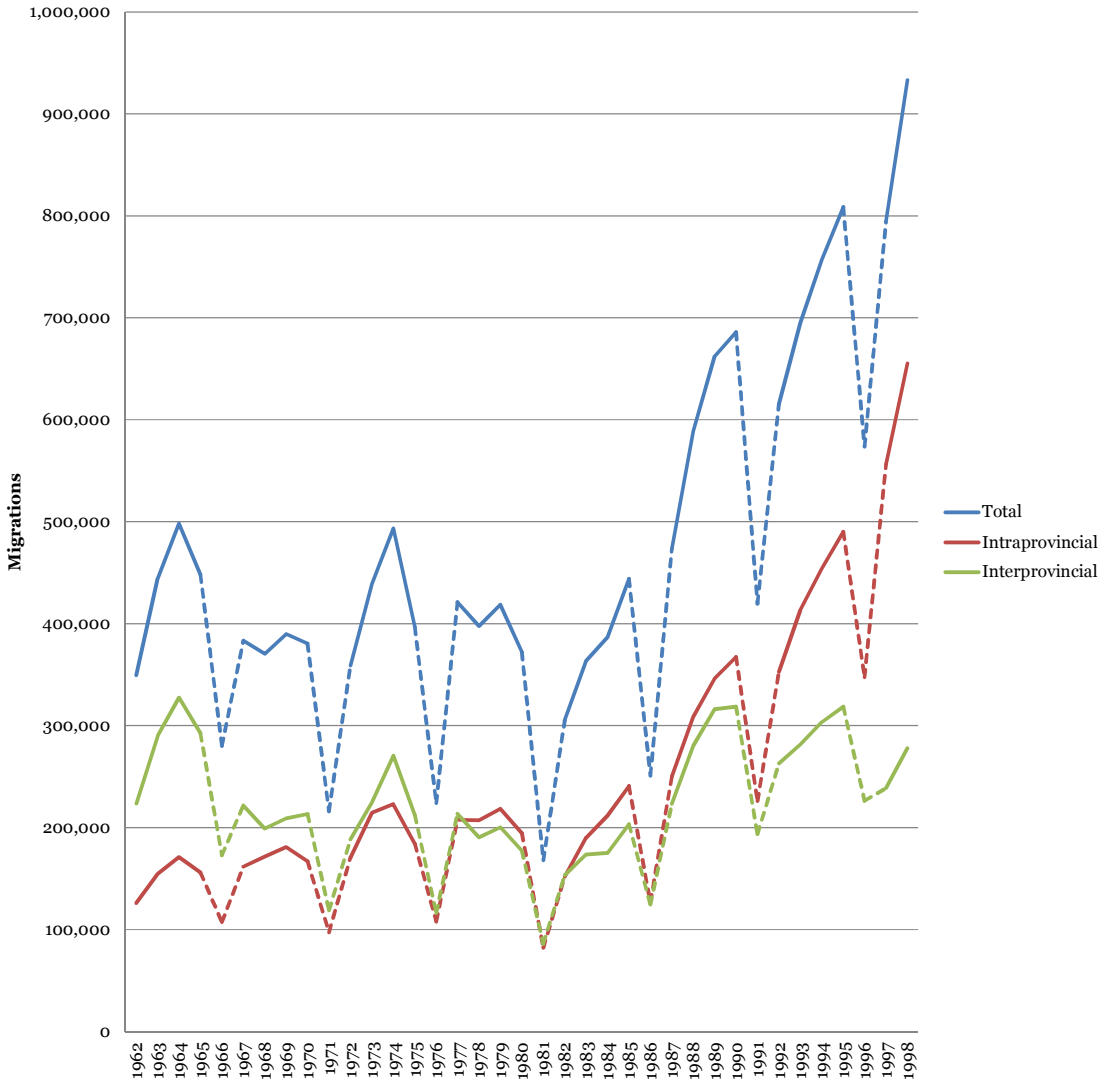
3. The evolution of migratory flows in Spain

3.1. The overall evolution in Spain

The evolution of migratory flows, in absolute values and for Spain as a whole, can be seen in Figure 1. We only have figures since 1962, because even though the EVR began to be published in 1961, the origin/destination matrix is only available starting the following year, rendering it possible to distinguish between interprovincial and intraprovincial migrations.

we can note a decline are the ones ending in 1 and 6, regardless of whether they are from the most recent period or from the time when municipal censuses were conducted in the years ending in 0 and 5, since the effects were seen on the records from the following year because the date of reference was then the 31st of December.

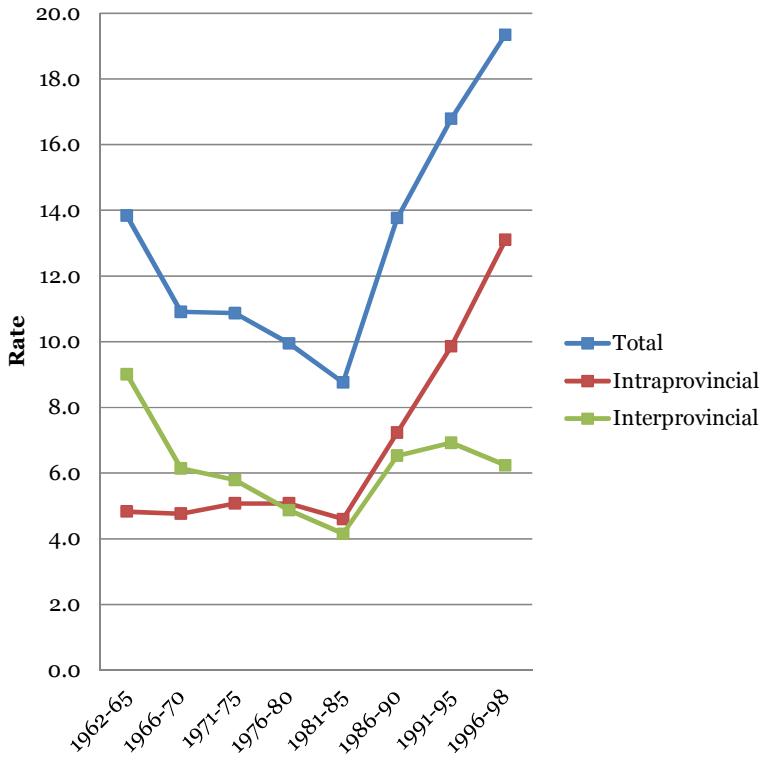
Figure 1. Domestic migrations in Spain. Absolute figures (1962-1998).



Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

Beyond the flows, the mobility rate reveals the moves with a potential collective. They show us the relative importance of the individuals who moved. Here we chose to examine the annual rate on a five-year basis to eliminate fluctuations stemming from the census years. The overall migration rates are shown in Figure 2. What stands out is the relatively higher mobility in the 1960s, especially in the first five years of the decade, and in the three later periods (1986-1990, 1991-1995 and 1996-1998).

Figure 2. Domestic migrations in Spain. Rates (per thousand) (1962-1998).



Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population (except 1965):

— 1960, 1970 and 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965, 1975, 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

— 1996: INE, 1996 census.

At this point we can ask whether mobility has generally increased over time. The answer is not simple. The available data on migratory flows cover a period that is still brief, and only time will tell whether the current upswing, which follows years of decline, will continue. Surely there will be new fluctuations, and it remains to be seen what predominates. What is more, during the period analysed there has been an improvement in the process of developing the statistics.

More important than knowing whether the overall mobility is rising is examining the changes in the composition of the migratory flows. Thus, while in the early five-year periods, migrations between different provinces (interprovincial) were more prominent, recently migrations that do not extend beyond the boundaries of the provinces (intraprovincial) are more common. However, it is also worth noting that interprovincial migration has risen in absolute figures in recent years, even though it has receded in importance

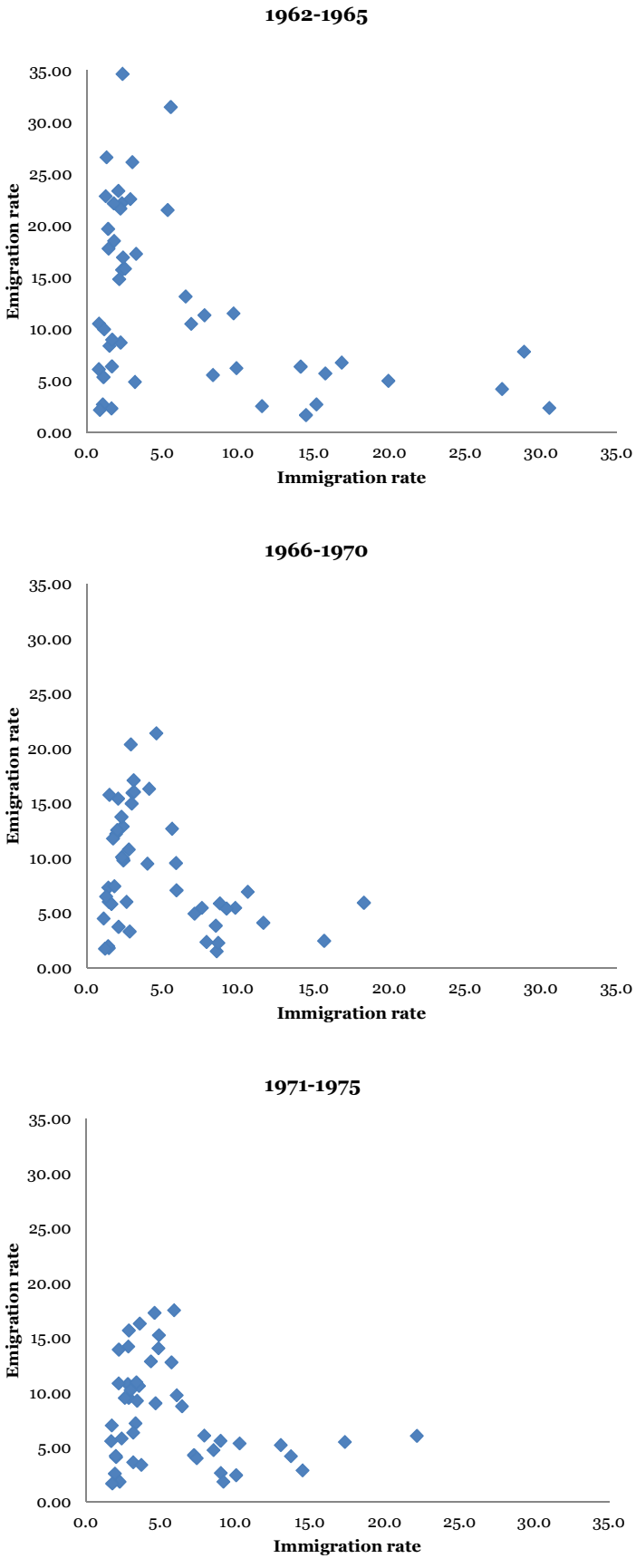
within mobility as a whole. Furthermore, this rise is not only in absolute terms but also in terms of rates, contrary to what is often claimed.

With regard to the steep increase in the rate of intraprovincial migration in the most recent five-year periods, we should wonder to what extent this is a real increase or whether it actually reflects improvements in the statistics, which can differ depending on the kind of migration. Sometimes we may even think that this rate is overstated due to the importance of the ongoing municipal population censuses in many political and economic decisions. Indeed, the last municipal population census in 1996 required quite a few downward adjustments.

3.2. Evolution by province

The overall behaviour of the provinces in terms of their immigration and emigration rates is shown in Figures 3 and 4, where we can note similarities and differences in the five-year periods. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish three periods which are useful for analytical purposes but in fact reflect phases in a gradual process which is especially clear between the second and third periods. In the first period, 1962-1975, the clusters show major distant diagonal dispersion along both axes, in which the majority of points show high emigration and low immigration rates while a smaller number show high immigration and low emigration rates. Starting with the first five-year period, when there were high levels of mobility, there is a gradual drop in these levels. In the second period, 1976-1985, the five-year figures show a somewhat homogeneous and balanced diagonal cluster, especially in the period 1981-1985, and low levels of mobility. In the third period, 1986-1995, there is a strong, homogenous and balanced core, but with minimum levels that are higher than in the previous five-year periods, and at some points the cluster starts to become more imbalanced at the higher levels, although far from the values reached in the 1960s.

Figure 3. Interprovincial immigration and emigration rates in the Spanish provinces (periods 1962-1965, 1966-1970 and 1971-1975).



Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

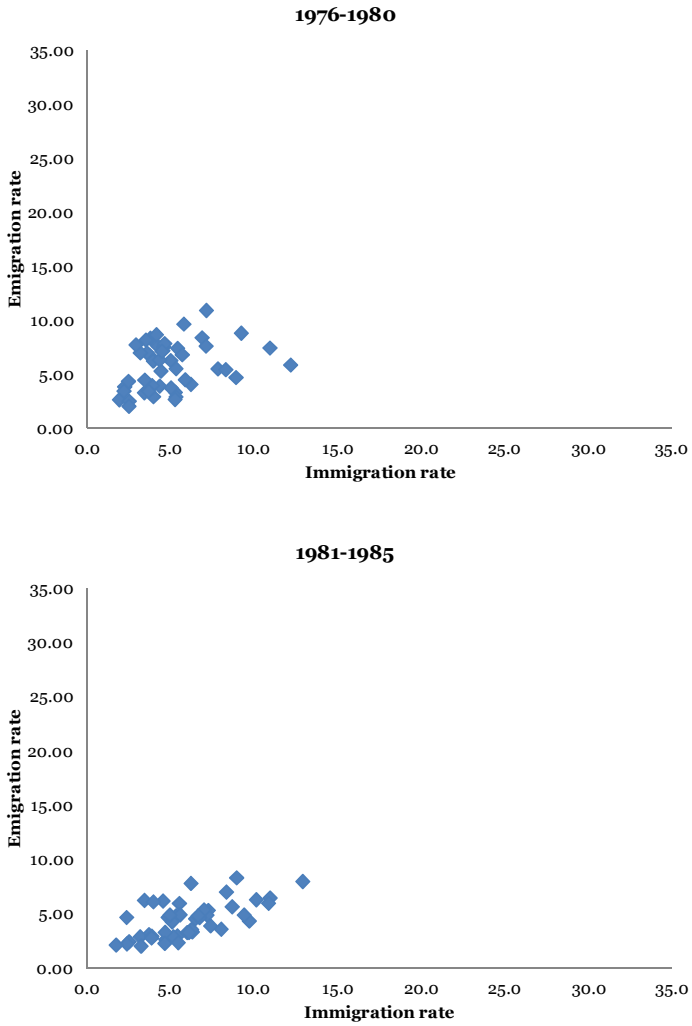
— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

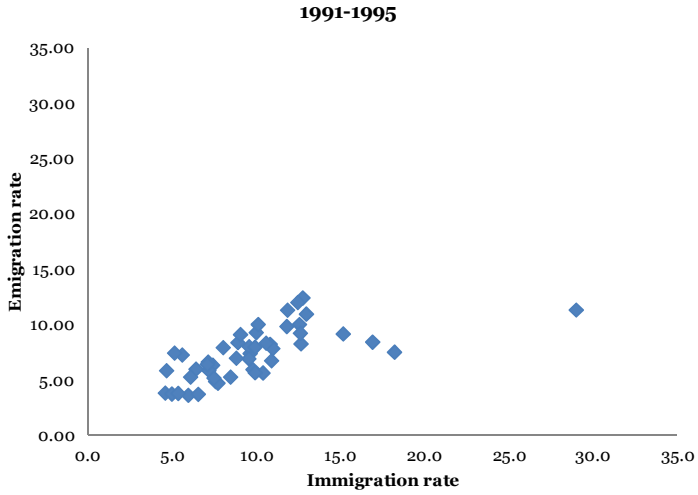
De jure population (except 1965):

— 1960 and 1970: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965 and 1975: INE, municipal censuses.

Figure 4. Interprovincial immigration and emigration rates in the Spanish provinces (periods 1976-1980, 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1995).





Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

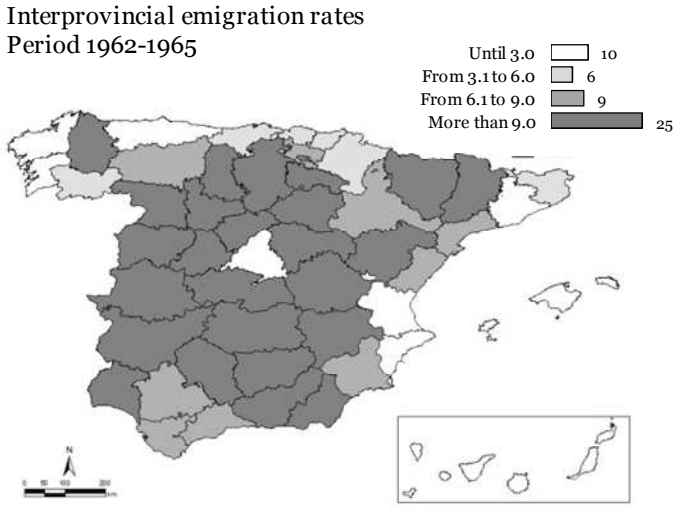
— 1975, 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

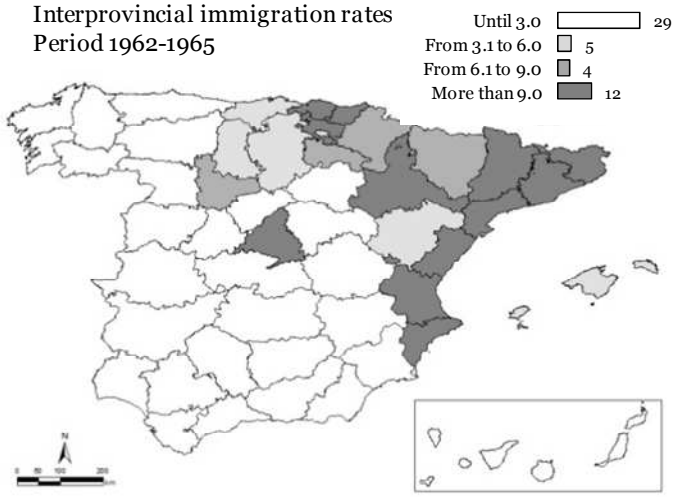
— 1996: *1996 Municipal census*.

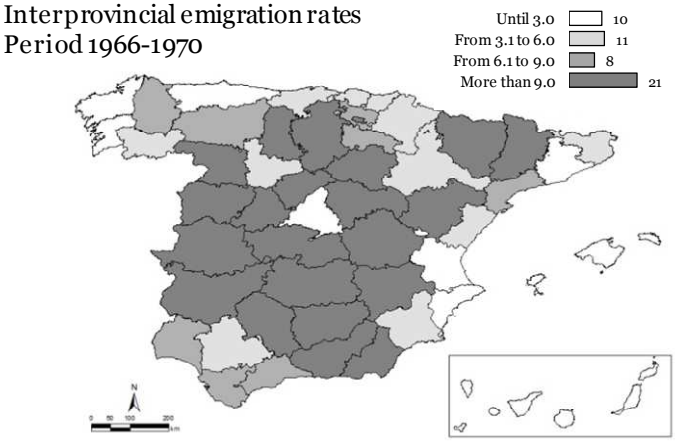
The illustration of the clusters of points highlights the general behaviour of the provinces based on their immigration and emigration rates. However, in Figures 5, 6 and 7, the same evolution is depicted for the same periods identifying the provinces on the maps. We should not forget the values within which each five-year period fluctuated, since the same bracket scale was kept for all the periods, yet at the highest level we can see some values that stand out considerably above the rest. In the first period (1962-1975) there is complementariness between regions of immigration and emigration, with many provinces showing emigration and few showing immigration. In the second period (1976-1985), we can see a predominance of provinces at the mid-point of

the scale, that is, balanced (the first five years, in terms of emigration, somewhat reflects the momentum of the previous period). In the third period (1986-1995), there is a rise in zones in the highest bracket and considerable balance in the majority of provinces.

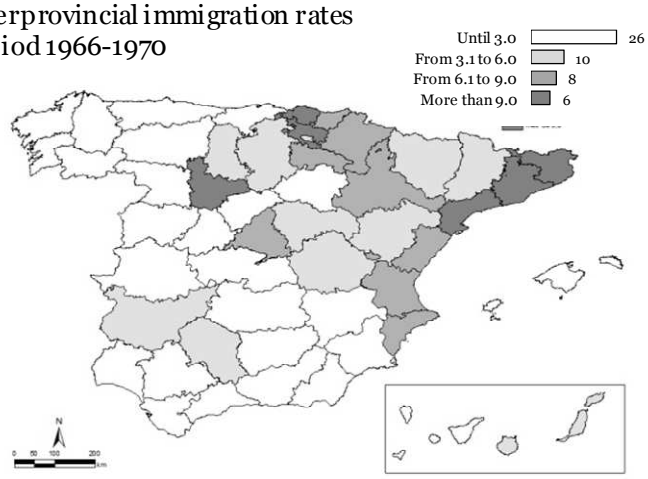
Figure 5. Interprovincial emigration and immigration rates (in thousands) (periods 1962-1965, 1966-1970 and 1971-1975).



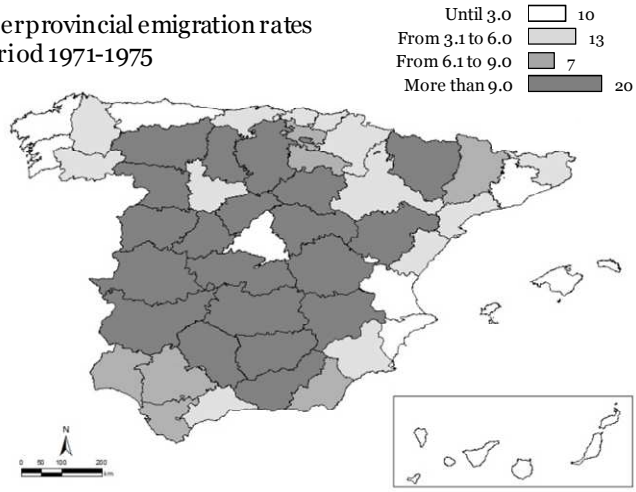




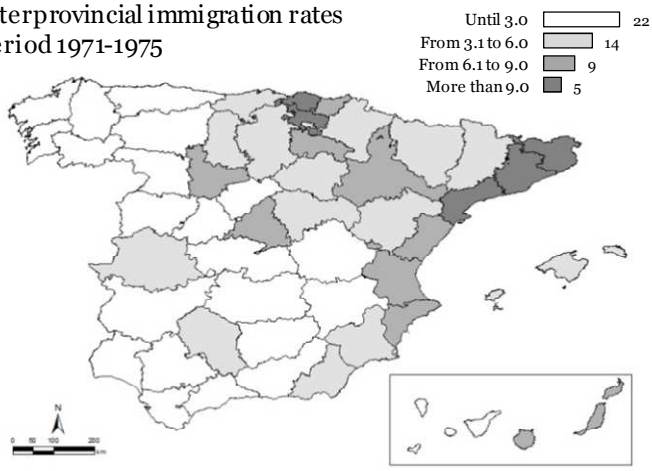
Interprovincial immigration rates
Period 1966-1970



Interprovincial emigration rates
Period 1971-1975



Interprovincial immigration rates
Period 1971-1975



Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

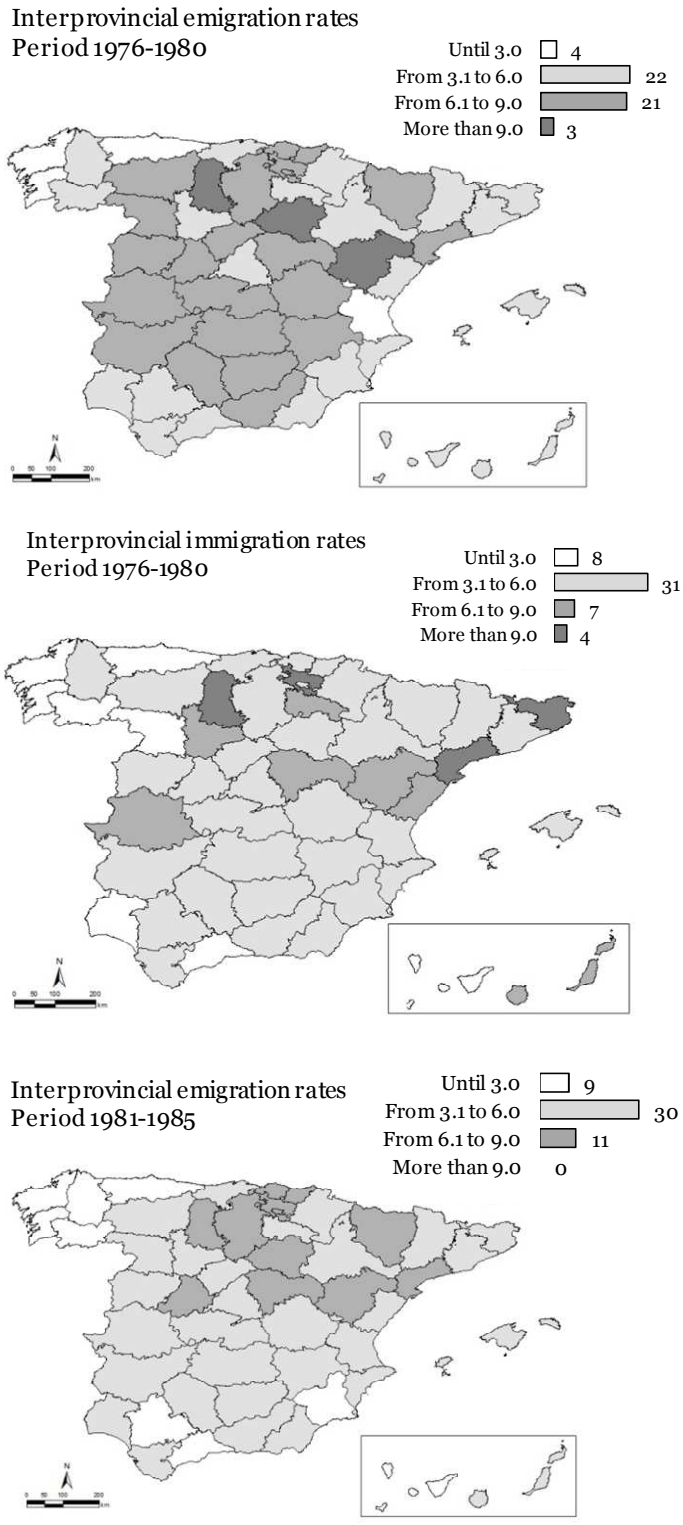
— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

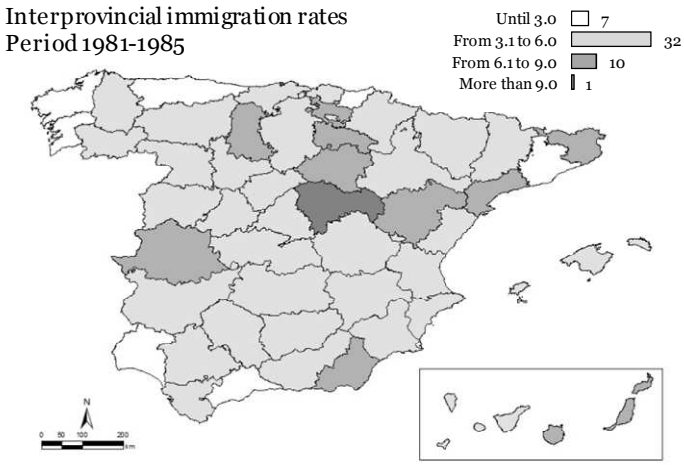
De jure population (except 1965):

— 1960 and 1970: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965 and 1975: INE, municipal censuses.

Figure 6. Interprovincial emigration and immigration rates (in thousands) (periods 1976-1980 and 1981-1985).





Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

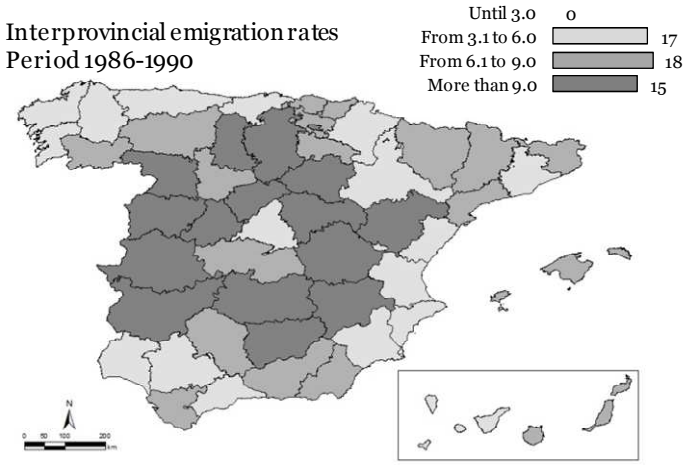
— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

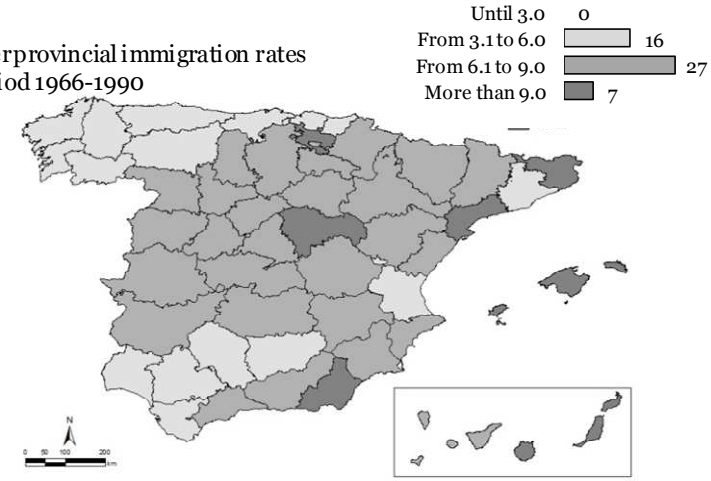
— 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1975 and 1986: INE, municipal censuses.

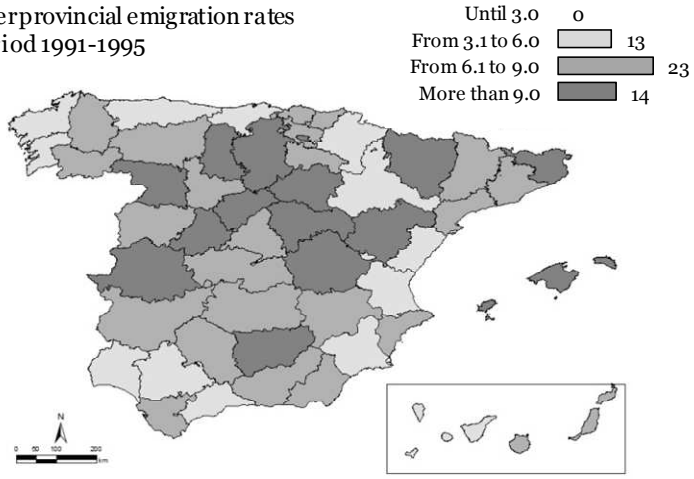
Figure 7. Interprovincial emigration and immigration rates (in thousands) (periods 1986-1990 and 1991-1995).



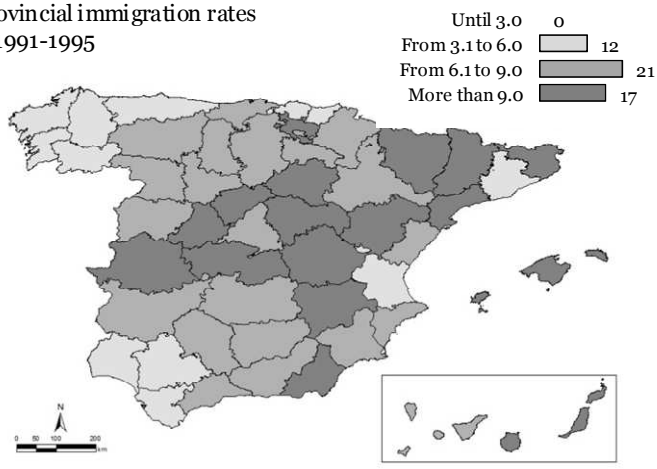
Interprovincial immigration rates
Period 1966-1990



Interprovincial emigration rates
Period 1991-1995



Interprovincial immigration rates
Period 1991-1995



Sources:

Statistics on Residential Variations (ERV):

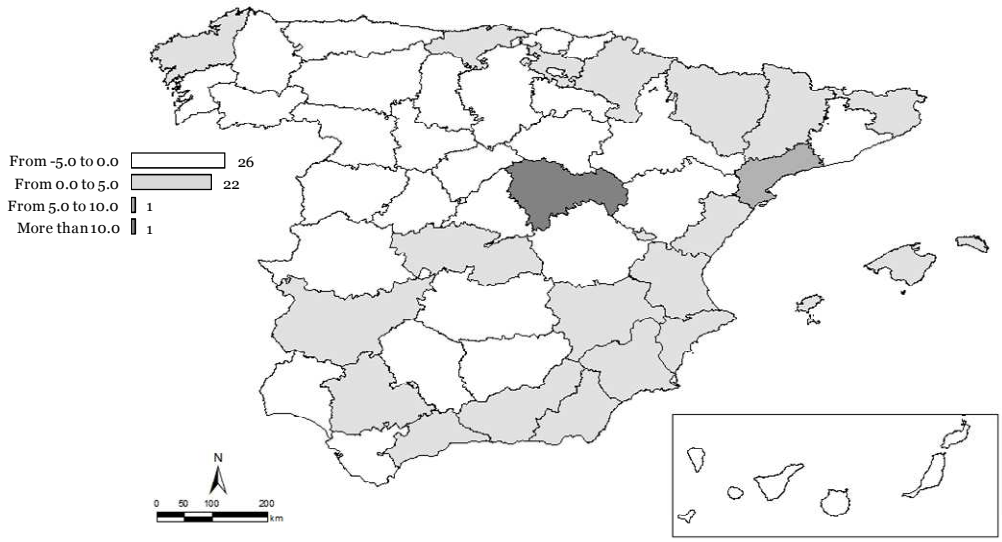
— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

— 1996: *1996* municipal census.

Figure 8. Net migration rate (in thousands). Spain (1991-1995).



The interest in studying flows is that they provide different information than migratory balances, which are calculated using indirect methods and only enable us to know the additions or subtractions that the migratory movements induce on a territorially defined population. One example of the different interpretations and perceptions that can be made using balances and flows can be seen through a comparison between the map in Figure 8 and the corresponding maps for the same period in Figure 7. They paint a radically different picture of the territorial migration scene in Spain.

4. General characteristics of the flows

4.1. The volumes of interprovincial flows

By definition, interprovincial migrations are displacements between two provinces. Going a step further in our examination of the physical reality of migrations, our goal is to analyse the web of displacements that occurred among the 50 provincial units in Spain.

An emigrant in any of the provinces can choose between 49 possible places to go, in addition to the possibility of moving to another municipality within the same province. As a whole, there are 2,450 possible point-to-point routes if we take the direction of the displacement into account. A simple glance at the matrixes of flows (number of migrants who go from one province to another) which appear in the annual statistics reveals that there are instances of practically all the options, so the migrations appear as moves in all directions. It is also clear that the moves are not distributed homogeneously among all the possibilities.

Tables 1 and 2 show the flows classified by the number of individuals. It also shows first how the migrants are distributed and secondly the flows themselves. Broadly speaking, the evolution between the first and last five-year periods studied is quite striking. In the first period, almost half (49.6%) of the migrants were concentrated in flows of more than 5,000 people, while 28.2% of

the flows included between 1,000 and 5,000 people. Together they account for only 7.7% of the total flows, meaning that there was a vast concentration of migrants in just a few flows. In the last period, the flows of more than 5,000 people account for 22.5% of total migrants, and the second level shows the largest volume, with 44.8%, despite a slight rise in the number of flows at these two levels (12.6%).

Table 1. Interprovincial migratory flows. Percentage of migrants according to number of people. Ceuta and Melilla excluded.

Number of migrants	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
More than 5,000	49.67	36.84	30.29	10.97	8.25	16.43	22.47
1,000-4,999	28.20	34.43	38.26	47.46	43.54	48.57	44.80
500-999	8.35	10.62	11.13	15.48	15.67	14.52	13.46
Fewer than 500	13.79	19.11	20.32	26.08	32.53	20.49	19.27
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Base	**1,119,940**	**993,677**	**984,347**	**870,030**	**795,009**	**1,241,870**	**1,335,480**

Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

Table 2. Interprovincial migratory flows. Percentage of flows according to number of people in the flow. Ceuta and Melilla excluded.

Number of people in the flow	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
More than 5,000	1.8	1.4	1.2	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.5
1,000-4,999	5.9	6.7	7.3	8.6	7.2	11.1	11.1
500-999	5.4	6.2	6.3	7.8	7.4	10.2	10.3
Fewer than 500	86.9	85.7	85.1	83.1	85.1	77.5	77.1
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Base	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**	**2,450**

Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

The analysis by volume easily leads us to focus on the most populous provinces. The population concentration in just a few provinces can only be understood through migrations, while the flows of a certain volume must be correlated with a population that can feed these flows.

Generally speaking, we tallied the flows from the provinces that had a population higher than one million people in 1996 (eleven provinces).[3] The number of migrants in the flows involving these large provinces – as either the starting point or the destination of the displacements – fluctuated between 72% and 80% of the population that moved throughout the entire period studied, and they account for 39.5% of the 2,450 possible flows. These eleven provinces captured almost all the largest flows. Still, this should not make us lose sight of the fact that these provinces simultaneously have a significant amount of low-volume flows. Another interesting issue are the flows among these large provinces. They account for 5.5% (110/2.450) of the total possible flows and between 13% (1962-1965) and 18% (1976-1980) of all migrants. The later periods stand at around 17%.

4.2. Displacement and proximity

When making a specific migratory displacement, there tend to be several different destination options. Choosing one or another is usually the outcome of a complex, subtle combination of factors, one of which is proximity. Although proximity is not necessarily decisive, it is an important consideration. Despite a certain taste for exoticism, people tend to seek a certain affinity with their environment when setting up their residence, and they tend not to depart too far from what is familiar to them. Here the role of knowledge distance and geographic distance both play a role. The former is certainly more important than the latter, but it is more difficult to examine in a study of this kind. It would require us to examine the culture, the present contacts and the historical past, sometimes quite remote.

Therefore, here we shall only discuss geographic proximity, although it is clear that not all physical proximity operates as a preferential pathway, as revealed by the very composition of the statistical data available. Taking the distance factor into account enables us to discover the sociographic component of migrations. In fact, the importance of proximity as a factor conditioning displacements is a theoretical proposition set forth more than one century ago by E.G. Ravenstein,[4] although it is not always present in studies of specific migratory systems.

In order to examine migratory flows according to distances, several operative criteria have been adopted. The distance of migrations between provinces has been taken as the distance between the provincial capitals by motorway in kilometres. Migrations inside each province have not been taken

[3] Alicante, Asturias, Barcelona, Vizcaya, Cádiz, La Coruña, Madrid, Málaga, Murcia, Seville and Valencia. In 1996 they accounted for around 55% of the population of Spain.

[4] This British scientist (born in Germany) published two articles (in 1885 and in 1889) entitled "The Laws of Migration" in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* of London, where he set forth a series of regularities on migration which even today are quite relevant.

into account,[5] and the migratory flows with the island provinces have not been taken into account since geographic distance does not have the same meaning when the intermediate space between two points is land, where one can choose to settle, or a body of water, which is not a settlement option.

The distribution of interprovincial migrations according to distance is shown in Table 3. The figures show quite clearly that short-distance displacements predominate, and that the number of migratory flows generally drops as the distance rises. More specifically, we can note that in the first three five-year periods the relative values of displacements across distances greater than 600 kilometres are higher than later on, with a peak of 40.9% in the period 1962-1965. In the last period, 1991-1995, these long-distance migratory flows dropped to 22.8% of the total.

Table 3. Interprovincial migrations by distance. The Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla have been excluded.

Distance (km)	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
Less than 300	36.1	37.5	37.3	40.5	43.4	47.4	51.2
300-600	23.0	24.2	25.3	28.4	28.6	27.5	25.9
600-900	22.5	20.8	20.5	19.5	18.3	16.2	14.5
More than 900	18.4	17.5	16.9	11.6	9.7	9.0	8.3
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Base	**1,097,149**	**963,382**	**933,286**	**794,447**	**685,604**	**1,045,696**	**1,152,178**

Sources:

EVR: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

Distance: *El País Yearbook 1998,* Madrid (with rectifications).

4.3. Migratory flows according to the intensity of migration[6]

So far we have examined interprovincial flows in terms of absolute numbers. However, at the same time we have examined the migratory rates to include the

[5] Intraprovincial migratory flows were left out. In theory, these are the flows that entail a shorter distance between the origin and the destination. These movements have been steadily rising and have become quite important since the 1980s. Today they have clearly exceeded interprovincial migratory flows in terms of volume. However, a detailed analysis of this kind of flow poses significant difficulties. The territorial differences on the municipal map – in the sense of the average size of municipalities among the different provinces – hinders us from making a comparative study of the rates, although they do enable us to note the evolution in these migratory movements for each province.

[6] Just as the previous sub-section, this one does not include all the provinces in Spain, as the island provinces were not included in the calculations.

fact that the possibility of migrating between two points depends upon the population stocks. Another way of capturing this is by examining the migratory intensity index,[7] which weighs interprovincial migrations with the populations on either end of the displacement. This index provides us with a real picture of migratory movements by standardising the populations subject to displacement. The importance of the phenomenon of migration, that is, its incidence, is the weight it has in the populations susceptible to migrating.

The results are compiled in Table 4, where the values of the index are shown in five-year periods. By examining the total distribution of the migratory intensity index, we can see three levels with significant migratory intensities – over 0.001 – and a fourth quite low level with a very small interval where a large number of flows is concentrated. This holds true for all the periods. By examining only the evolution in the number of individuals in the first three levels of intensity, we can see the importance of high-intensity flows in the 1960s, a drop in mobility in the period 1976-1985, and a subsequent upswing, with more flows in the average mobility levels.

Table 4. Interprovincial migrations according to distance. The Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla have been excluded.

	Migratory intensity (per 1,000,000)				
Period	**More than 0.009**	**0.005-0.009**	**0.001-0.005**	**0-0.001**	**Total**
1962-65	3.2	2.9	13.8	80.1	100
1966-70	2.0	2.7	15.8	79.5	100
1971-75	1.6	2.2	16.1	80.1	100
1976-80	0.8	1.5	18.4	79.3	100
1981-85	0.6	1.2	15.3	82.9	100
1986-90	1.2	2.7	21.1	74.9	100
1991-95	1.9	3.0	19.4	75.7	100

* The total number of possible flows is 2,162.

Sources:

EVR:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain.*

De jure population (except 1965):

[7] Migratory intensity index: number of individuals in the flow divided by the product of the populations on either end of the journey. Examining one period, for each place we have taken the average population between the start and end. To make the figures easier to read, the result has been multiplied by 1,000,000.

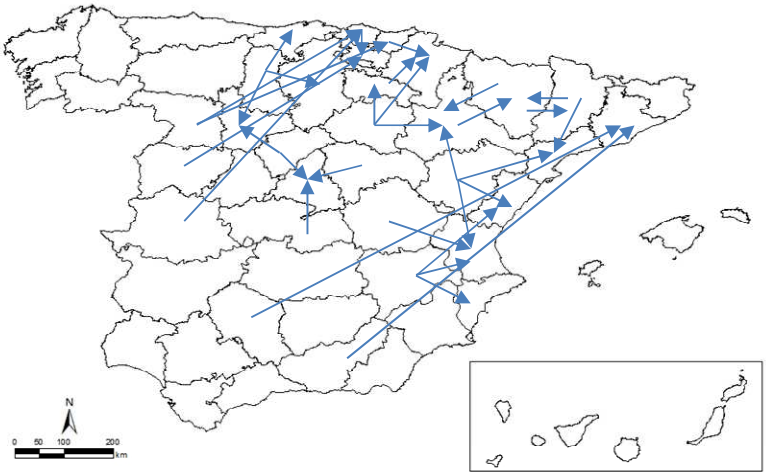
— 1960, 1970 and 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1965, 1975, 1986 and 1991: INE, national and municipal censuses.

— 1996: INE, *Municipal census of 1996*.

To complete this analysis of the web of migratory flows, we plotted on maps the flows at the first and second level of migratory intensity according to the calculations shown in Table 4. In this way, we can see not only how many flows there were but also between which provinces they occurred (Figures 9, 10 and 11).

Figure 9. Main migratory flows according to the migratory intensity index. Spain (1966-1970). In some cases (especially in the flows towards the Basque Country) several lines were joined in a single arrow point to clarify the figure.



Migratory Intensity Index: more than 0.009
Period 1966-1970

Migratory Intensity Index: between 0.005 and 0.009
Period 1966-1970

Sources:

Migrations:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

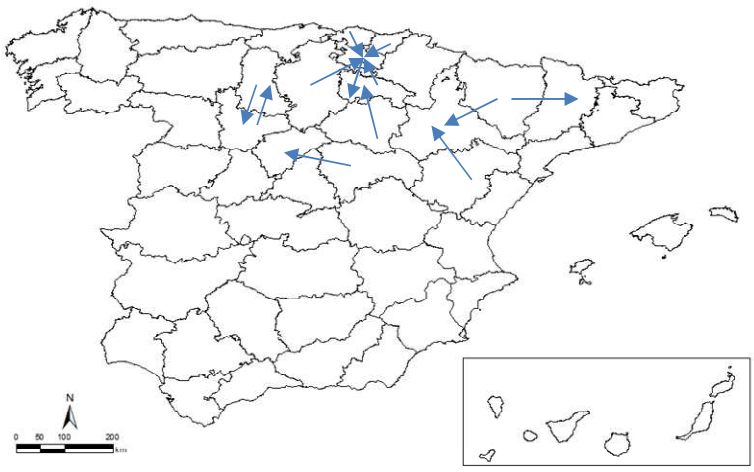
Population*:

— 1965: INE (1969), *Characteristics of the population of Spain deduced from the Municipal Population Census of 1965,* Madrid.

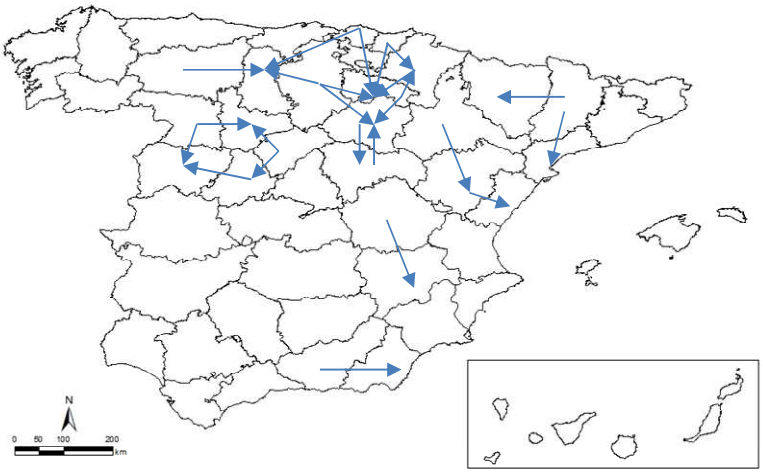
— 1970: INE (1987), *De factor populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

*1965, de facto population; 1970, de jure population.

Figure 10. Main migratory flows according to the migratory intensity index. Spain (1981-1985).



Migratory Intensity Index: more than 0.009
Period 1981-1985



Migratory Intensity Index: between 0.005 and 0.009
Period 1981-1985

Sources:

Migrations:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1981: INE (1987), *De facto populations in Spanish towns according to the official censuses from 1900 to 1981*. Madrid.

— 1986: INE (1989), *Municipal census of inhabitants on the 1st of April 1986. Population characteristics. National results*. Madrid.

Figure 11. Main migratory flows according to the migratory intensity index. Spain (1991-1995).

Migratory Intensity Index: more than 0.009
Period 1991-1995

Migratory Intensity Index: between 0.005 and 0.009
Period 1991-1995

Sources:

Migrations:

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

De jure population:

— 1991: INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National Results*. Madrid.

— 1996: INE, *Municipal census of 1996*.

All three figures together highlight several interesting issues. The first is the clear importance of proximity, as mentioned above. Proximity is so important that for the five-year periods 1981-1985 and 1991-1995, all the high-intensity flows and the vast majority of secondary-intensity flows occurred between adjacent provinces. The period 1966-1970 is different: the map clearly shows long-distance flows at both intensity levels, although we can also discern flows between adjacent provinces or flows that skip over a single province.

Another conclusion is the virtual nonexistence of two-way flows in the period 1966-1970, while they proliferated in 1991-1995. For the latter period, as well, we should stress the spread of short flows southward and westward on the map, especially compared to the previous five-year period.

5. The structure of migration

5.1. The preferred pathways of the provinces

Interprovincial migratory flows do not occur randomly in space, nor do the regularities observed in migratory distances explain the relations established between some provinces and the lack of relations between others. So how do provinces behave in terms of the structure of their destinations and starting points?

To take an initial stab at such a complex question, we proceeded to calculate the correlation between the emigration and immigration structures of

the provinces (percentage-wise distribution of the flows in and out of two provinces) for each of the three periods chosen, on either end and in the middle of the entire period being examined.[8] Likewise, we calculated the correlation between the emigration and immigration structures of each period and those of the following period(s).[9] In this way, we can see first that the structure of destinations and starting points is symmetrical in all the provinces in the five-year periods 1981-1985 and 1991-1995, with very high correlations (Table 5). In the period 1966-1970, this structure is symmetrical in 43 provinces plus Ceuta and Melilla. In all of these cases, the correlation between the immigration and emigration structures is higher than 0.6.

Secondly, the displacement structures are quite stable. Between 1981-1985 and 1991-1995, we can find correlation levels higher than 0.7 in both the emigration and immigration structures in all the provinces. In the comparison between the period 1966-1970 and the other two periods (1981-1985 and 1991-1995), the correlation of the immigration structure is lower than 0.6 in only five provinces in at least one of the two comparisons; these provinces are Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante, Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa. In the case of the emigration structure, the correlation is under 0.6 in one of the comparisons in eleven provinces: eight in Andalusia, two in Galicia (La Coruña and Lugo) and Madrid. The differences noted in the immigration and emigration structures in these provinces reflect the extraordinary nature of the migratory movements that took place in the 1960s. If we examine these provinces more closely, we can see that in the former – the ones with changes in the immigration structure – there was a drop in the importance of the provinces from which a high number of immigrants had come, and conversely, a rise in the importance of migratory exchanges with the surrounding provinces. In the second group of provinces, however, there was a drop in the importance of emigration to the centres that had been the magnets of immigration in the 1960s, with the exception of Madrid, and simultaneously a rise in emigration to the closer provinces, especially provinces in the same autonomous community, and quite notably to the Canary Islands. The province of Madrid, which falls within this second group, shows similar changes: the importance of emigration towards the surrounding provinces along with emigration towards Andalusia and Galicia rose, while outflows towards the provinces that had been the magnets of immigration in the 1960s dropped.

All of these observations follow the same pattern. They indicate a high degree of stability in the migratory behaviour of the majority of provinces over time. These behaviour patterns remain in place beyond short-term junctures, despite the fluctuations. And especially today, the strong similarity between the emigration and immigration structures leads us to posit the existence of common kinds of displacements which reflect established behaviours and are sometimes masked by more extraordinary flows. Some of these usual displacements are short-distance, between neighbouring provinces, which often simply reflects an expansion in the sphere of mobility. Others take place over

[8] The first five-year period was 1966-1970, since the previous period lasted only four years. The other two periods are 1981-1985 and 1991-1995.

[9] The data on the second calculation are not included in this article. Here we shall only discuss the main results. The detailed information can be found in Cardelus, Pascual, Solana (1999), Table 2.12.

longer distances as a result of institutionalised relations – in the sociological sense of the term – and as the continuation of ties from previous migrations.

Table 5. Correlation between the structure of provincial emigration and immigration for the periods 1966-1970, 1981-1985 and 1991-1995.

	1966-70	1981-85	1991-95
Álava	0.778	0.861	0.925
Alicante	**0.471**	0.879	0.871
Albacete	0.939	0.925	0.975
Almería	**0.553**	0.775	0.957
Asturias	**0.426**	0.945	0.972
Ávila	0.832	0.812	0.998
Badajoz	0.746	0.807	0.974
Balearic Islands	0.795	0.864	0.959
Barcelona	**0.473**	0.870	0.939
Vizcaya	**0.372**	0.820	0.949
Burgos	0.752	0.874	0.887
Cáceres	0.720	0.929	0.988
Cádiz	0.608	0.785	0.972
Cantabria	**0.540**	0.943	0.925
Castellón	0.624	0.923	0.986
Ciudad Real	0.902	0.947	0.995
Cuenca	0.949	0.975	0.985
Córdoba	0.797	0.759	0.951
Coruña, La	**0.455**	0.928	0.970
Girona	0.744	0.974	0.992
Granada	0.847	0.668	0.919
Guadalajara	0.868	0.991	0.996
Guipúzcoa	**0.412**	0.912	0.931
Huelva	0.781	0.879	0.981
Jaén	0.911	0.722	0.948
Lleida	0.724	0.948	0.984
León	0.604	0.901	0.970
Lugo	0.885	0.846	0.950
Madrid	**0.225**	0.779	0.853
Málaga	**0.434**	0.856	0.966
Murcia	0.821	0.871	0.989
Navarra	0.760	0.914	0.981
Orense	**0.454**	0.896	0.940

	1966-70	1981-85	1991-95
Huesca	0.840	0.879	0.982
Palencia	0.747	0.905	0.964
Palmas, Las	0.956	0.981	0.960
Pontevedra	**0.534**	0.922	0.948
Rioja, La	0.776	0.880	0.874
Salamanca	0.613	0.875	0.915
Zaragoza	**0.392**	0.881	0.958
Segovia	0.879	0.983	0.995
Seville	**0.576**	0.809	0.971
Soria	0.861	0.861	0.948
Tarragona	0.749	0.946	0.988
Tenerife	0.839	0.875	0.973
Teruel	0.937	0.801	0.966
Toledo	0.788	0.995	0.999
Valencia	**0.470**	0.935	0.966
Valladolid	**0.455**	0.839	0.935
Zamora	0.809	0.828	0.951
Ceuta	0.824	0.971	0.960
Melilla	0.837	0.924	0.984

The numbers in bold indicate the provinces with a correlation coefficient under 0.6.

Source: INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

5.2. Relationship between past and present migrations

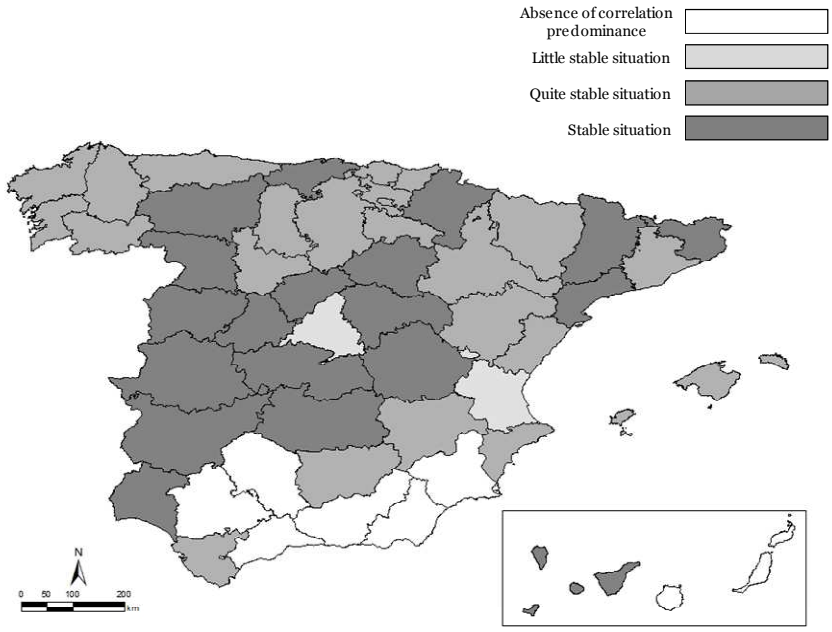
In this section, we shall try to ascertain whether migrations follow the same pathways as the ones that preceded them, a widely accepted fact in the literature on migrations. Migration is a social phenomenon in which communication between those who paved the way and those who remained behind operates much more powerfully than institutional instruments as a way of establishing routes and networks of migration.

While in the previous section we examined the levels of stability of the emigration and immigration flows by comparing the data in three different periods, in this section the goal is to analyse whether the destinations of the current migrations are indeed the same places where the participants in previous flows have gone to live. To study this, we calculated the correlation coefficients between the residence structures of the population born in each province and the structures of the provinces which received emigrants in successive five-year periods. Thus, the residence structures from the 1970 census have been correlated with the structures of the migratory flows in the periods 1971-1975, 1976-1980, 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1995.[10] Likewise,

[10] We have excluded the population that was born and lives in the same province and intraprovincial flows from the structures that are correlated.

we also examined the 1981 and 1991 censuses with regard to the flows in the subsequent five-year periods (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Migratory situations derived from the correlation between residence structures and emigration destination structures.



Source:

— INE (1974), *Census of the population of Spain according to the registration performed on the 31st of December 1970. National total. Characteristics of the population*. Madrid.

— INE (1985), *1981 Population Census. National results. Characteristics of the population*. Madrid.

— INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National results*. Madrid.

— INE (several years), *Statistical Yearbook of Spain*.

This map was based on correlation tables 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 which appear in the book *Migrations, Economic Activity and Population of Spain*.

As an initial interpretation, we can note that in the vast majority of cases there is a significant correlation. In fact, the level and stability of the correlation coefficient of a series of provinces is surprising bearing in mind that in theory we are comparing a structure that has a historical basis and therefore a great deal of momentum derived from the fact that it witnessed movements in different periods, while the five-year flows are much more susceptible to reflecting short-term circumstantial variations. With the correlation coefficients calculated from the 1970 census, we can see that in the first two five-year periods, all the provinces show coefficients higher than 0.7 with the exception of Las Palmas, which is at 0.387, while in the following one, only nine provinces show a coefficient under this level in at least one of the three periods calculated. Of the coefficients calculated based on the 1980 census, we can see that seven of the provinces show coefficients under 0.7 in at least one of the three five-year periods. In this case, these provinces already appeared in the calculations based

on the 1970 census. Of those calculated based on the 1991 census, only three provinces do not reach 0.7 for one five-year period.

Upon closer inspection, we can notice different behaviours, as illustrated in Figure 12. There is significant stability in 19 provinces, with a correlation level close to 0.9 in almost all of them. We can assume that there is a broader sphere of circulation in these provinces and that the displacements are part of a web of relations between the regions, in other words, that the displacements are institutionalised.

There is another large group of provinces (22) which are characterised by correlation levels that fluctuate at around 0.8 with slight variations, yet which never drop under 0.7 and show emigration structures with different minor alternatives, usually with a low volume of emigrations. They can be described as quite stable because all of their displacements are minor, within limits, given the small volume of emigrants.

In the third group, the provinces of Madrid and Valencia stand out and can be described as somewhat unstable because they show more and broader variations than the previous group, even though in the majority of cases the coefficients are at a level regarded as significant. These variations are understandable given their position as first- and second-tier recipients, respectively, in which emigration can fluctuate to a certain extent in terms of the composition of the destinations.

Compared to this, there is a group of seven provinces which show lower correlation levels. One of them is the province of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, which shows an extremely low correlation level in the 1970 census, in the first five-year periods, although it begins to rally starting with the period 1981-1985, and in the correlation of the 1991 census with the subsequent five-year period it is at 0.85. Bearing in mind the volume of migrants, we should seek the explanation in a particular event in the 1970s which is specific to the place. Different, yet still within this group, is the case of Murcia and the Andalusian provinces of Almeria, Córdoba, Granada, Málaga and Seville, which save a few minor differences are generally characterised by showing a high correlation in the periods 1971-1975 and 1976-1980, but later experience a significant drop which holds steady until the last five-year period studied. There are two phenomena that converge and result in a drop in the correlation level: a decline in the volume of emigrants after periods which had many of them, and a different destination structure.

Generally speaking, to summarise this section we can note that the migrations in Spain show a great deal of momentum and stability in their networks of circulation, which is reflected in the population settlement structures.

6. Population settlement

6.1. The importance of permanence

Settlement and mobility are two sides of the same phenomenon. When examining migration expressed in rates, reference is made to a population that is likely to move, and the part that moves is highlighted in relative terms. The possibility of migrating is one alternative to the possibility of remaining in the

same place. In this section, we attempt to focus on population settlement because this enables us to situate and better understand migrations.

Our approach to population settlement is based on an analysis of the birthplace/residence matrix, which reveals the population residing in each province at the time of the census classified according to the province of birth. This source relates two moments in the lives of individuals, the moment of birth and the moment at which the census is taken with the place where they were at birth and where they are at the latter moment. This is an indicator with both potential and limitations. Its simplicity facilitates analysis, yet at the same time it can conceal complex phenomena and very different moments in individuals' personal histories, which requires us to exercise caution when using it. We could say that to some extent, the birth matrix is the crystallised fossil record of past migrations and population settlement.

If we analyse the data from the birthplace/residence matrix, an initial observation we should make is that around 75% of the population in Spain lives in their place of birth, and this holds true in both the 1970 census and in the 1981 and 1991 censuses.[11] This is an average that clearly conceals a wide variety of values. Thus, in the 1991 census the values ranged from a minimum of 44.8% in Soria to a maximum of 95.5% in Tenerife, with the other provinces falling within these two extremes. In successive censuses, the percentages for each province generally remain steady or show only slight variations. We should also note that the 1970 census captures the result of the most important migrations in terms of imbalanced flows.

The steadiness over time of the percentage of residents who remain in the province in which they were born leads us to posit the stability in the behaviour of the provinces, their greater or lesser ability to facilitate permanence and settlement and their migratory flows with other provinces.

6.2. Unequal exchange

The data above show that the provinces have different situations in terms of the permanence of the population that was born there. Somehow we can say that the population of a province has a certain likelihood of continuing to reside there and, should they go to live in another province, they are presented with a range of possibilities which also have rather stable probabilities.

One complementary factor to this is examining the presence of people born elsewhere in each province. Only eight provinces show a percentage higher than 30%, namely the Balearic Islands, the three coastal provinces of Catalonia, Alicante, Vizcaya, Álava, the Basque Country and Madrid. If we add to them the provinces where between 20% and 30% of the population was born elsewhere, we would extend the coastal provinces of Catalonia down to Castellón and Valencia; the Ebro River valley as far as La Rioja, Huesca and Zaragoza; the Basque Country with Guipúzcoa; and the central plateau with Valladolid and Guadalajara; while Málaga would become the only province in Andalusia.

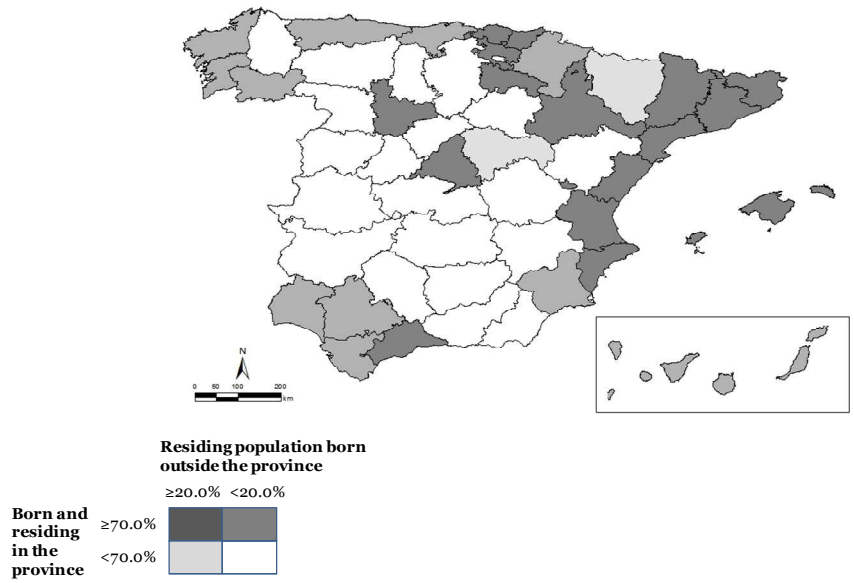
The joint analysis of both variables enables us to note different population dynamics for 1991. We established four categories by dichotomously

[11] Detailed figures in Cardelús, Pascual, Solana (1999).

crossing the variable of the population born and living in the same province, with the threshold at 70%, with the variable of the population living in the province but born outside it, with the threshold set at 20%. Then, as can be seen in Figure 13, we distinguished four different dynamics characterised in this way: provinces with a high level of permanence of those who were born there and a notable presence of people born in other provinces (16); provinces that have a high level of permanence and a low level of people born elsewhere (12); provinces with a low level of permanence and a high level of people born elsewhere (2); and finally, provinces with a low level of permanence and a low level of people born elsewhere (20).

Despite its schematic nature, this classification provides a nuanced picture of the evolution in the population. The first category includes the eight Catalan-speaking provinces and the three provinces in the Basque Country, plus La Rioja and Zaragoza – which join the two regions – and Madrid, Valladolid and Málaga. On the other extreme, the most numerous category, where a major part of the population born there does not remain and very few people go to live there from other birthplaces, includes Extremadura, Castilla-León and Castilla-La Mancha (with the exception of Valladolid and Guadalajara), Lugo, Teruel and the eastern part of Andalusia. Between these two extremes, the category containing twelve provinces in which most of the population born there remains and few people born elsewhere come to live includes Asturias; Cantabria; the Galician provinces except Lugo; the Andalusian provinces of Cádiz, Huelva and Seville; the Canary Islands; Murcia; and Navarra. They are all located on the perimeter and coastal regions of Spain with the exception of Navarra and Orense, which are not coastal. The only two provinces in the last category, which has a low level of permanence and a high presence of people born elsewhere, are Guadalajara and Huesca, both of which happen to border on provinces from the first group, including Madrid, Zaragoza and Lleida.

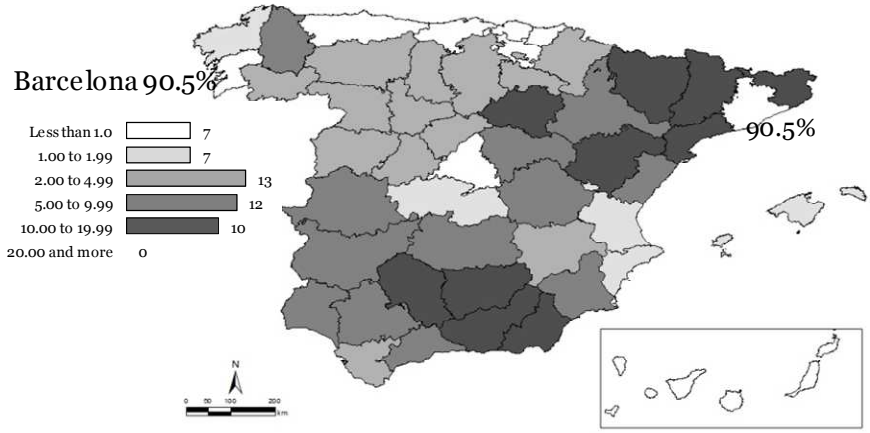
Figure 13. Classification of the nature of the population. Spain (1991).

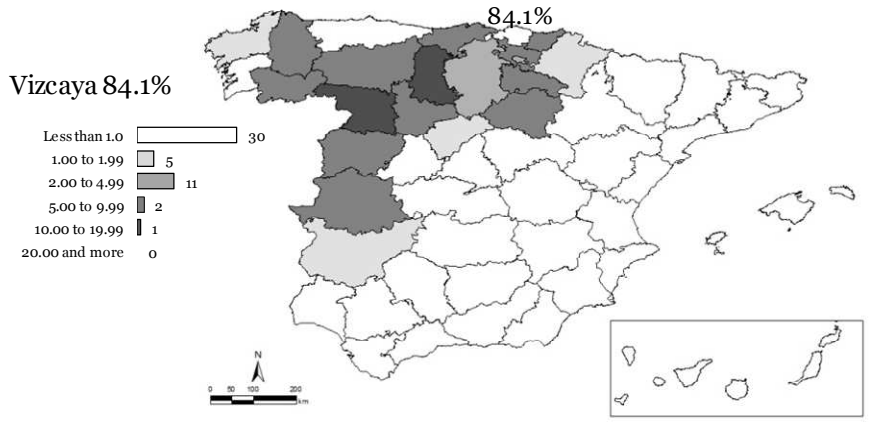


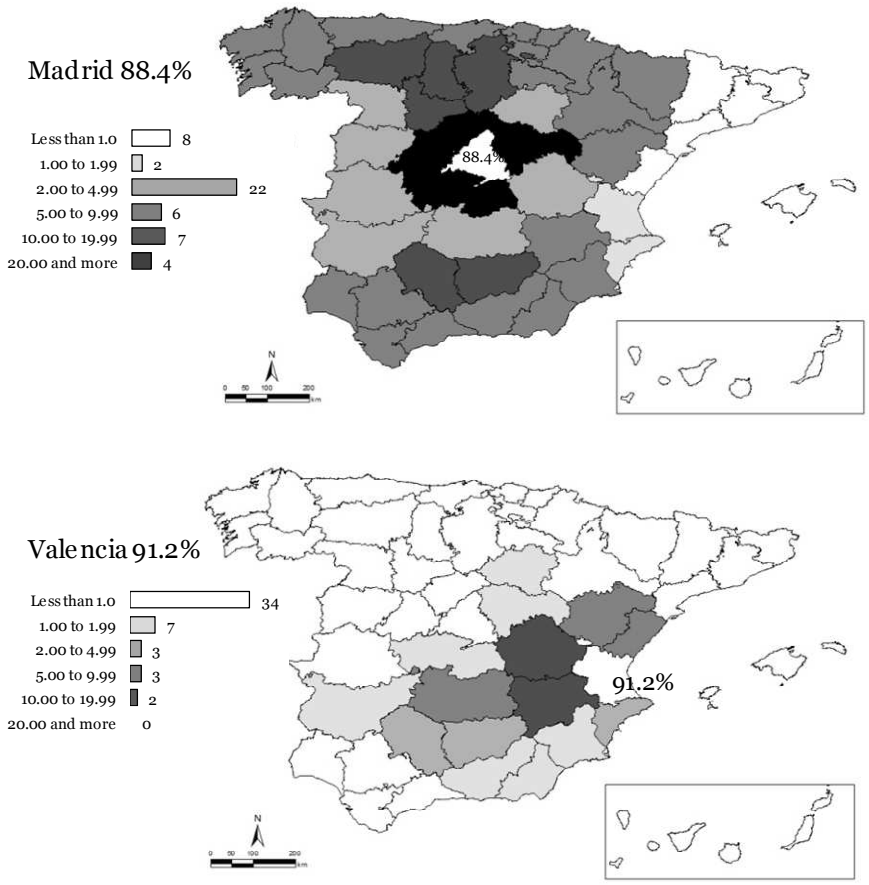
Source: INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National results*. Madrid.

The analysis of the population structure of people born in each province enables us to further understand the complex reality of Spain by revealing the ties, many of them longstanding, which exist among the different regions in the country. A simplified approach to this entails analysing the percentage of the population born in each province and residing – again, according to the 1991 census – in the four provinces which have received the greatest population inflows. These provinces are Barcelona, Vizcaya, Madrid and Valencia (Figure 14). We should bear in mind that this approach ignores second-tier centres, which are also important in the real population dynamic.

Figure 14. Percentage of people born in each province living in Barcelona, Vizcaya, Madrid and Valencia (1991) (the table shows the percentage of the population born in each of these four provinces and still living there).







Source:

INE (1994), *1991 Population Census. National results*. Madrid.

By examining this figure we can reach conclusions,[12] several of which we shall discuss here:

—Around 10-20% of the individuals born in three Catalan provinces around Barcelona live in the province of Barcelona, yet there are no appreciable numbers of individuals (higher than 1%) born in Catalonia and living in Valencia, Madrid or Vizcaya.

— People born in the autonomous community of Valencia can be found in large numbers in the province of Valencia itself (even though the numbers are lower than in Cuenca and Albacete), in Barcelona, especially individuals from Castellón, along with a few in Madrid and a negligible number in Vizcaya. Likewise, fewer than 2% of the people born in Murcia live in nearby Valencia, while the highest proportion of individuals from Murcia can be found living in Barcelona (between 5-10%), followed by Madrid.

[12] Each map shows the proportion of people born in the same province with a number to lend clarity to the map owing to the disparity in numbers, which would make it difficult to categorise the others.

— The majority of natives from Castilla-León and Castilla-La Mancha live in Madrid, especially in the adjacent provinces, with values over 20% - numerically always more than 30%. However, the figures from Cuenca are lower and it and Madrid show values between 10-20% in Valencia and slightly less in Barcelona. There are also people born in these regions living in Barcelona, with the most coming from Soria. Some Castilian provinces, precisely the provinces in Castilla-León and especially Burgos, also have individuals in Vizcaya, and the provinces in Castilla-La Mancha have natives living in Valencia, especially Albacete and Cuenca, as mentioned above.

— Just like Barcelona, there are very few people born in Madrid but living in the other three provinces that have experienced the highest influx of migrants.

— A large percentage (10-20%) of people born in Andalusia, especially the eastern and central parts, lives in Barcelona. The percentages found in Madrid are considerably lower and only exceed 5% among people from the provinces of Córdoba and Jaén, which are closer to Madrid. Even fewer Andalusian natives can be found in Valencia, and in Vizcaya there is no province with a proportion of native Andalusians higher than 1%.

— The largest number of Extremadura natives lives in Madrid, between 10 and 20%. Barcelona is next in importance, between 5 and 10%, and the figures for Vizcaya are lower, but higher than the figures for Valencia.

— Aragón has natives in Barcelona, with proportionally fewer from Zaragoza, and in Madrid as well, to a lesser degree. In contrast, in Valencia there are only Aragón natives from Teruel, while there are no appreciable levels of Aragón natives living in Vizcaya.

—Natives from the Basque Country live in Madrid and Vizcaya, but there are very few in Barcelona and Valencia. Asturias has the same kind of relationship with Madrid and to a somewhat lesser extent with Barcelona, but not with Valencia or even nearby Vizcaya.

— It is curious that the Canary Islands do not appear on any of the four maps showing a number of residents over 1%, while the Balearic Islands only appears with the next lowest value, in Barcelona. The fact that they are islands must have something to do with this.

Finally, as an overall observation, we could say that the effect of the distance factor is fulfilled in the cases of Madrid, Valencia and Vizcaya (with the unique exceptions of Asturias and Zamora), even though they generally head southwest. In the case of Barcelona, the distance factor is fulfilled with the immediate environment, but not with its relationship with Galicia (Lugo), Andalusia and Extremadura. It is also worth noting that the provinces near Barcelona, Vizcaya and Valencia generally show a high level of permanence, while this is not true of Madrid. This, along with the differing intensity of the proportion of natives of the provinces from both regions, shows that in Madrid the proximity effect is more about absorption, while in the other cases the relationship is more two-way.

7. Closing remarks

In this article, we have examined the population displacements within Spain during the second half of the 20th century. Provinces were taken as the unit of analysis, change in municipality was taken as the selection criterion of the displacements analysed and Statistics on Residential Variations and censuses were used as the statistical sources.

Internal migrations on the level of global volumes are a consolidated phenomenon which was present during the entire period in rates that fluctuate between 8.8% and 19.3% annually. They can therefore not be examined occasionally, as if they were an accidental or extraordinary phenomenon; rather they are clearly part of the dynamic of Spanish society. Of all the different kinds, we have examined interprovincial displacements. In terms of global annual rates, they fluctuate between a maximum of 9% in the period 1962-1965 and a minimum of 4.2% in the period 1981-1985, and remained steady over 6% after 1986.

The main general patterns detected in internal migrations in Spain during the entire period studied are:

a) Proximity is an important factor in the choice of alternative displacement possibilities. The most important volumes of migration can be found inside each province, and displacements to adjacent provinces predominate in interprovincial migrations.

b) The provinces show preferential pathways in the emigration of their population, most of which are rather stable.

c) The majority of provinces also show a high correlation between the structures of the pathways of emigration and immigration. This is partly related to territorial spheres that exceed the provincial unit, spheres of mobility in all directions.

d) Capturing the historical event in space, population, is a phenomenon in which migrations also fit. Worth noting is the fact that there is a strong correlation between the structure of the destinations of historical migrations, detected by the place of birth at a given point in time, and the subsequent migrations. In this sense, a series of zones and regions takes shape not only defined by their geographic proximity but also by their social and cultural proximity.

At first it may seem surprising that during the entire period studied the homogeneousness and stability of the phenomenon is stronger than the fluctuations, which exist, albeit as exceptions, in a given number of provinces. Based on this, we can state that the predominant displacements that provide stability to the behaviour of internal migrations are the ones that appear as normal, so much so that the participants themselves seldom regard themselves as migrants. These are displacements along predetermined pathways – which are somehow institutionalised, in the sociological sense of the word – because they are the usual population outflows from many places to the capital of the province or region, or towards the nearest or most similar industrial or services

zone, in a broader setting yet one perceived by the subjects as within reach. This also includes state-wide displacements of employees and civil servants working in companies and public administrations as they perform their jobs and pursue their professional careers.

What is more, the fact that migrations are mainly phenomena of youth, undertaken during the early years of the independent life cycle, leads us to believe that many displacements are not the traumatic outcome of an external deed or an economic situation but an adjustment process that takes place in a dispersed fashion upon young people's emancipation or entry into the job market.

The general features mentioned above are mainly found after 1980, while in the preceding period, especially during the 1970s, there was a long series of exceptions along with the provinces where they are found. Thus, in this period there was a greater presence of long-distance displacements and flows with a significant volume of individuals. These migrations seem to be polarised between a significant number of provinces with an emigration rate significantly higher than the average and a small number of provinces with a heavy immigration rate. Furthermore, there is no correlation between the preferred emigration and immigration pathways in a series of provinces, and in some of them the stability in the preferred pathways of emigration was ruptured after 1980s.

These facts show displacements that exceeded the boundaries of the usual circulation patterns until the 1980s and better fit the usual concept of migrations. In fact, when discussing the 1960s, we only recall this group of internal migrations because they were the most visible displacements, especially because they also dovetailed with major emigration flows abroad.

The internal and external migrations that took place in the 1950s and 1960s are the outcome of the same impetus, and sometimes they are just different periods within the same process. Spain's chronic gap between the population and the number of jobs, aggravated by a post-war situation and the context of the world war and coupled with the autarchic and repressive policies of the day, are the factors at the root of any interpretation of these migrations, without ignoring the needs for labour in Europe's reconstruction and the moderate reconstruction and industrialisation of Spain. So far, these were the last massive migrations that outstripped the usual population dynamics.

In the 1970s, migration abroad was drastically curtailed, while internal migration continued the momentum of the 1960s, albeit at a slower pace. Starting in the 1980s, internal mobility rose to levels even higher than in the 1960s. What changed was that "regional" displacements came to predominate, and intraprovincial displacements even more so. This mobility was more widely spread over the entire country, with a certain balance between the emigration and immigration flows among the provinces.

Behind this evolution are significant changes that we are unable to address in this article. The majority of workers are no longer agricultural, and farming was replaced by services, especially in the retail and public service sub-sectors. The population became predominantly urban, and a significant level of population concentration was attained globally. The gap between the population and the number of jobs remained steady, and in a period when emigration

options abroad were limited, this was alleviated by the extension in the number of years of schooling and the retirement age. At the same time, the administrative status of unemployment with benefits was created or recognised, and the corresponding level became the highest in Europe.

From these analyses, we can glean the first basic conclusion, namely the importance of permanence. Migration and settlement are flip sides of the same reality, and in the case of Spain, the strength and stability of population settlement is the side that prevails. The mere fact of the high percentage of the population living in the same province where they were born is significant in itself, and this percentage would be even higher if we consider zones that are geographically and socially close as units. This is a reality that emerges constantly in the analyses of the preferred pathways of emigration from each province. Their stability and structure shape a series of zones that reflect the complex reality of Spanish society and its history.

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At the Limits of Rhetoric: Political Philosophy and the Media[1]

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Abstract

The principles on which all the operation of the huge informing through the image and the world machine's operation are based are easily made evident. Its logic is that of what has no need to make sense, and the principles on which it is based are three: 1) the gross information has an immediate available sense for everybody; 2) what is important is present and even more, immediacy; and 3) information leads. The race of being the first in breaking the news is a sign of the unhealthy relationship we have with information. The moment breaks up in a cloud of information where everything is mixed without rhyme or reason. In this article, teacher Monserrat studies some of the aspects of the media, going into the limits of the rhetoric and political philosophy and using classical sources from authors like Socrates, Plato or Isocrates.

Key words: Rhetoric, political philosophy, media, Plato, Socrates.

1. The world as an insignificant spectacle: The domain of rhetoric

In a book intentionally written to be controversial, French professor Philippe Bénéton teaches us the effects of what he calls "equality by default". "Equality by default" is the name he has given to the principle that characterises our advanced societies, which have decided to follow a downward levelling of everything that constitutes the actual reality of things. *A priori*, there is no need for them to be equal, but furthermore should they be equal, there is no need for them to be levelled downward. According to Bénéton's analysis, it turns out that the triumph of human rights comes paradoxically at the price of a methodical hollowing out of their substantial content. The processes of radicalisation of the

[1] An initial version of this text was delivered on the 21st of March 2002 in the series "Politics and Communication, at the Limit" at the Institut d'Estudis Polítics Blanquerna. Its reformulation is part of the research project 2009SGR447 "EIDOS: Hermenèutica, platonisme i modernitat".

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claim for rights and the victory of individual autonomy ultimately result in the dispossession of the being, rendering it subjected to intensive watchfulness. As one of our newspaper commentators said recently, former extremist left-wing youths have ended up placing video surveillance on public thoroughfares when they had to exercise the responsibilities of governing. Our commentator found this to be an example of the paradoxical evolution typically found between youthful idealistic fervour and the harsh reality that these youths' conservative principles impose in adulthood. Our critical commentator is toying with our political leaders of today who were the young progressives of yesterday. It does not surprise me that a young defender of revolution ends up installing video surveillance on the street; it seems utterly coherent to me and is clear proof that the fundamental principles of their conception of society remain inalterable: some people are good and some are bad; therefore, "measures must be taken".[2]

For now, however, let us leave this public thoroughfare subjected to the surveillance of the authority, or to the vigilant eye of the police, and let us turn to the effects that Philippe Bénéton attributes to the action of "equality by default" in the mass media. To Bénéton, the principles underlying the entire functioning of the gigantic news machine that provides news via images and words are easily manifest. Their implicit epistemology harbours no mystery. Their logic is the logic of what does not need to make sense, and the three principles upon which it rests are: 1. Raw information has an immediately accessible meaning to everyone. 2. What matters is the current, and even more the immediate. 3. The image rules. The examples he cites are trivial, yet nonetheless effective. Bénéton cites televised news shows, the news on the economy that appears on them, the Dow Jones Index, for example. I quote his description:

> *"Yesterday afternoon, the Dow Jones Index dropped four points or rose three. I'm not sure which one and it actually doesn't matter. What matters more is that ritually, in France, in the United States, in Germany and elsewhere, the anchor of the evening news believes that it is his duty to provide this figure. What exactly does this index reflect? Is a variation of a few points significant? How can it be explained? What should we expect from it? In short, what is the meaning of this information? I confess my ignorance, and I imagine that I'm in good company. It is further doubtful whether the person speaking knows much more. That is, the information probably has very little meaning for both the person providing it and the person receiving it. And yet, judging by his expression when he is speaking, this is serious business. Look at him, the anchor, staring at the teleprompter where his text is scrolling down, and his articulation is perfect. He is a 'professional': he is not quite sure what he's saying, but he says it very well."* (Bénéton, 2001:141).

The subject of the news is usually raw. By this I do not mean that it should not be somehow processed in order to be "communicable", or that it

[2] For a very accurate perspective, see Koselleck (1959).

should not correspond to the "facts" as they happen, but that precisely because of the very need for them to be communicable in a mass medium, they must adopt and take the form – even if it is not what they are – of a raw fact, a datum, an event, a case, a decontextualised proposition, that is, the form that is idealised in the "headline". By the same token, what matters is the current, and even better, the immediate. Knowing is tantamount to immediately knowing what is happening, and the less distanced we are from the news the better. The race to be the first to report on the news, to tell the results of the elections right at an exit poll, is a sign of the unhealthy relationship we have with the news. The instant is shattered into a maelstrom of bits where everything is jumbled with no order or harmony, with no time to digest or even to find the nuance of the differences. The ephemeral and the fleeting are the lords that govern the economy of news broadcasts. The image rules. Wherever there is an image, everything must stop, even if it is a thoroughly insipid image, because the primary image which we are discussing does not reach the heart of things, does not discern, does not read. The primary image we are discussing reveals nothing unknown, hidden or profound. It is the surface of things, their *appearance*. Yet everything shown has been chosen. Using what criteria? The news machine saves itself from providing us with the selection criteria: what it explicitly states is that these criteria correspond to what our interest should be. However, what is implicit is a bit more complicated. On the one hand are the rules of the instrumental logic of the news machine: more information, more quickly, with more images and more spectacle; on the other hand is the law that expresses the spirit of the times: the preference for the epic of the physical man. The news machine prioritises the economy, sports, physical health, sexuality, in short, the wellbeing of the body. What profit does this yield in terms of knowledge? Who remembers what the important news was fifteen days ago, two months ago, one year ago? Bénéton's analysis continues with this implacable critical logic, but we have to leave it now because it would not take us where we want to go. However, before explaining that, we must take yet another small detour.

We shall now cite a text by a slightly earlier author:

> *"So the orator (*rétor*) does not teach (*didaskalikós*) what justice or injustice is before the tribunals and other groups of people (*okhlón*); the only thing he does is convince (*peistikós*). Naturally, he could not teach such important things (*megálaprágmata*) to such a huge mass of people (*dépouokhlón*) in such a short time (*en olígokhróno*)."* (Plato: *Gorgias,* 455a).

This excerpt from Plato comes from a passage in which the character of Socrates is speaking in the dialogue entitled *Gorgias*. In the excerpt cited, rhetoric constructs persuasion. In this he concurs with Isocrates, who believed that the benefits of rhetoric derive from the mastery and subjugation of force via the word. The rhetoric of both Isocrates and Gorgias rightly celebrates the triumph of the word over force:

> *"As it is natural for us to convince each other and to demonstrate what we are deliberating on, not only must we distance ourselves from*

> *the savage life, but we must then gather together, populate cities, establish laws, discover techniques; the word has helped using almost everything that we have invented."* (Isocrates: *Nicocles* III, 6).

However, this celebration of the word over force aims to occupy the entire space of political life. What would obligate us to act on the Socratic question is precisely an effort to counter this desire to occupy the totality of the dimension of human reflection and actions. Professor Jordi Sales has used the term "doxosophies" to refer to the knowledge that after having achieved a successful sphere of effectiveness, attempts to occupy the entire space of political life and become the critical instance or tribunal from which everything is judged. Socrates questioned this aim in every case – although now we are only concerned with rhetoric – and thus managed simultaneously to first reveal the limitation of this *doxosophy* and its subordination to another instance that judges, a critical instance which would yield *philosophy*, and secondly prompt an unintended effect, namely the antagonism of theorator and his brethren since he uncovers the weakness and error in their pretension for everything. Gorgias defines rhetoric as that which builds persuasion (*demiurgospeithous* [Plato: *Gorgias,* 453a]). What kind of persuasion? Socrates asks. Accepting that it is a given kind of persuasion leads to Gorgias' subsequent refutation because he has already accepted the relativisation of the power of rhetoric along with its absolutisation. Rhetorical persuasion is specified with the purpose of what is just and what is unjust (Plato: *Gorgias,* 454b), and as a belief (*pístis*) instead of a teaching (*mathesis*) (Plato: *Gorgias,* 454d). From the latter derives the fact that two forms of persuasion are established: with and without teaching (*mathesis*) or knowledge (*episteme*). Rhetoric produces a persuasion that leads one to believe but that does not teach about what is just and what is unjust (Plato: *Gorgias,* 454e-455a). The orator does not teach (*didaskalein*); rather he leads one to believe (*epistein*). Socrates granted that the orator "could not, naturally, *teach* such important things to such as huge mass of people in such a short time". Therefore, he must be satisfied with *convincing*, persuading as belief without teaching. In this brief excerpt, the model of life grounded upon rhetoric presents three essential features, which, following Jordi Sales, we shall refer to using the following neologisms: a) the okhlogenetic factor; b) the oligochronic factor; and c) the megalopragmatic factor (Sales, 1992:124-127).

> a) The *okhlogenetic* factor: Rhetorical power cannot teach such important things to so many people (*okhlón*) in such a short time, but it can convince them. The persuasive function of rhetoric precisely achieves its efficacy in situations where there are many people. Rhetoric is possible and makes power possible in that it *engenders mass*. Sovereign rhetoric is what engenders the multitude or mass. Literally speaking, a "mass" (*okhlón*) is the mixture that stems from adding a liquid to a powder, yielding a solid, even pasty, substance. Therefore, pulverisation and the addition of a liquid are needed to create a new unit, the homogenous public that depends upon the word of the rhetorician. In his movement through the scene, it is clear that Socrates is not a part of the crowd that rhetoric creates and needs; rather his integration emerges as a

question of the conditions that enable and result from the massive action of civilised rhetoric.

b) The *oligochronic* factor: Rhetorical power has too little time (*oligokhronos*) to be able to teach a multitude such grand affairs, but in little time it can indeed convince. The reason is simple: it has little time because there are many people and what must be explained is too large. However, if we examine it more thoroughly it is not so simple: the orators and experts in the tribunals produce persuasion; they do not teach. However, they do manage to get the audience to say what they want them to say. The orator is the slave of the clock because the time to convince, the time he has to assemble the words to convince about great things is a scarce commodity, one that is vied for by more than one aspirant and which must be managed with the economy of maximal efficacy and celerity of information compared to his competitors. The monopoly on information is not characterised by the celerity of his information. "The free man always has the time to converse. (...) The orator is always speaking against the clock, urged on by the clock (...) because the adversary is above him ready to remind him of the points to which he must limit himself" (Plato: *Theaetetus,* 172d). There is little time, but persuasion, not teaching, takes place, because the act of educating that would disband the crowd and resize the truly attainable affairs via active, free conduits requires dimensions of the *vita activa* which have been violated by the efficacy of rhetorical action. The Socratic proposition is smaller, slower and targeted primarily at the individual conscience. Compared to rhetoric, which deals with large affairs in little time for many people, Socratic philosophy tends to lose in the game of appearances and short-term political expediencies.

c) The *megalopragmatic* factor: The efficacy of Gorgian rhetoric is measured in the text with examples given by Gorgias himself on the way that the truly grand things (*megálaprágmata*) in the city have been achieved, such as the fortifications and walls. They are due to the merit of the rhetoricians, because the rhetoricians, not the doctors, for example, are the ones capable of convincing the ill person to take his medicine or let himself undergo surgery; if he wanted, the orator would even be able to get himself chosen as the doctor before the assembly (Plato: *Gorgias,* 456b). The capacity of rhetoric to fight against the multitude, to fight with the multitude, is so unique and superior to the specific technical skills that come before it that it is capable of overcoming the initially feasible dimensions. The socialised word subordinates and mutes the right word inits apparent inefficacy, which is weak before the whims of the ill person or before the passion of the crowd. This possibility of silencing those who only know about the specific particular compared to the whims of the many is the movement that enables the throngs to gather and be convinced of things that can become truly large, thanks to the number and the capacity of the multitude or mass.

Who would be capable of standing up to the force of the multitude which constitutes political power? Who has no fear of its force? Who does not concede

and bow to their opinions? And even worse, who would be capable of raising their voice amidst such noise?

2. A possible adaptation of the discourse that seeks the truth. Persecution and the Art of Writing. The indispensable memory of the difficulty of seeking the truth. Reticent writing

The question of the effects of the influence of philosophical questioning becomes particularly dramatic in relation to the legal system of the city. Let us recall the case of Socrates, who was accused, judged, sentenced, executed and later rehabilitated, by democratic Athens (Luri Medrano, 1998; Strauss, 1989). Philosophy has often been aware of this founding circumstance, and we should listen to what the philosophers have said about this awareness. However, much later, especially the movement that has been called the Enlightenment tried to demonstrate that in addition to undermining and diminishing the fundamental beliefs and institutions of democracy, the quest for knowledge and its popular dissemination supply the only solid basis for a given kind of *free* governance. Leo Strauss was persuaded by Nietzsche, Heidegger and Carl Schmitt's critiques of "modern rationalism", devastating critiques of the liberal political philosophy. These critiques blamed the spiritual decline of the West on the liberal and democratic principles that had ultimately triumphed after a longer or shorter gestation. The depth and rigour of Strauss' analysis, however, led him to transcend these anti-liberal and anti-democratic struggles that were shaking up Europe and to reconsider the appropriateness and the status of modern philosophical criticism in light of its ancient counterpart. Strauss reopened the grievance among ancients and moderns alike in the quest for an ancient liberalism that could be associated with the entity that became its refuge: philosophy. Strauss avoided the perils of Nietzsche, Schmitt and Heidegger, giving an even more profoundly conservative response to their conservative criticisms of tradition, and since he was even more profoundly conservative he was even more radical. Back in his earliest philosophical formulations, Strauss stated the following: we have fallen into a *second cave* because of our polemic against tradition: this is why we need a *history of philosophy* to mend the cave – from the second to the first cave or natural situation (Strauss, 1934:13). The "discovery of nature" is Strauss' attempt to achieve a source of inquiry for human actions that is not reduced to the will, arbitrariness or subjectivity of modernity, and that can sustain the comparison with the Torah or traditional Jewish law. However, Strauss, following Lucretius, always prompts thoughts of *De rerumnatura*, the poem of uprootedness, of recognition of the despairing nature of the truth, as well as the reluctance to reveal this unredeemable absence of divinity or meaning or order in the world outside philosophical circles.

> "*The recognition of this truth, of this fundamental exile, according to which man lacks roots or the possibility of regret and reintegration into the community of faith that Maimonides had defended, of which religion specifically consists, is the result of philosophy*". (Lastra, 2000:231)

If not Strauss' main contribution, at least his most famous one is the revival of a forgotten way of interpreting and understanding the relationship among philosophy, politics and communication. In *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, he outlines the principles of his hermeneutics, which earn him contradictory praise from H.G. Gadamer.[3] Strauss gave a working plan that he prepared at the beginning of his sojourn in the United States this tentative title: *Philosophy and the Law: Historical Essays*. The title was the translation of a work of his published in Germany in 1935, *Philosophie und Gesetz*, but with the contents changed and expanded.[4] Among the contents there is an essay entitled "Persecution and the Art of Writing", and he notes the planned outline of the subject: "What we can observe in the totalitarian societies of our day – that is, societies which eliminate the freedom of speech via a manifest policy – provides us with important guidelines for understanding the conditions under which numerous free spirits of centuries past have thought, expressed themselves and written. This subject will be dealt with in: (X) 'Persecution and the Art of Writing' (already published in *Social Research*, 8 [1941]). / I will include in this essay the observations on the controversy over the writings of Maimonides in the early 13th century. / In essay X, I should mention the question of knowledge as the emergence of the modern liberal society, which is characterised by recognition of every person's right to freedom of speech and has radically changed the condition of the literary production of heterodox or not entirely orthodox thinkers. It would seem desirable to discuss one example taken from the transitional period, from the period during which both ways of seeing freedom of speech, the old way and the modern or liberal way, were still at odds with one another. The most interesting example in today's context would be the controversy between Moses Mendelssohn and F.H. Jacobi over the Spinozism of Lessing. While preparing the edition of Mendelssohn's metaphysical writings for the *edició de jubileu*, I discovered unknown documents which shed new light on this controversy. A discussion of this controversy would enable me to examine Spinoza's philosophy in its relationship with mediaeval Jewish philosophy."

Leo Strauss never wrote this book; instead, in 1952 he published a book that revisited some of these contents with the title of the essay we are discussing. In the study of certain thinkers from the past (Maimonides, Halevi, Spinoza and others) Leo Strauss discovered a following way of envisioning the relations between the quest for truth and society: philosophy and science, as the supreme expressions of man's activity, consist of an attempt to replace a simple opinion about things with knowledge of this "whole". Despite this, the world of opinion is the element in which society develops; hence philosophy and science themselves entail an attempt to dissolve the element in which society develops. Thus it follows that philosophy and science should be limited to a minority, and that philosophers and scientists should respect the opinions upon which society is grounded. This limitation to a minority stems from the very difficulty of the

[3] H.G. Gadamer dedicated controversial pages of his famous work starting in the second edition to L. Strauss (Gadamer, 1989:493ss). Upon the publication of the first edition, both authors engaged in correspondence that continued the acquaintance they had made back in Germany when they were still students. The epistolary relationship has been published (Gadamer and Strauss, 1978:5-11).

[4] This project ("Plan of a book tentatively entitled *Philosophy and the Law: Historical Essays*"), which comes from the Strauss archives conserved in the library of the University of Chicago, was published by K.H. Green (1997:467-470).

matter, while respect for opinion stems from the difficulty or impossibility of exchanging it for knowledge. These authors developed a particular expository method which enabled them to reveal what they considered the truth to a few without endangering the majority's unconditional acceptance of opinions. They would clearly differentiate between a truthful, esoteric doctrine and a socially useful, exoteric one. The crucial premise of this argument is the position which asserts that the world of opinion is the element in which society develops. And the idea that Strauss set forth has two implicit notions. One of them is historical: knowing whether there were ever great thinkers who held the view on the relations between philosophy and society as we have described them now and used it to guide their communicative activity; and a philosophical one: knowing whether this point of view is completely false, completely true or conditionally true (for example, "the world of opinion is the element on which non-liberal societies are developed".

In the brief compendium in which Al-Farabi synthesises Plato's *Laws*, there is a story in the prologue to illustrate a general principle (Al-Farabi, 1952). This principle says that learned men, when behaving repeatedly in a certain way, induce people to falsely believe that they will always behave in the same way. The story goes as follows. Once upon a time there lived a pious ascetic, a man who lived in isolation and abstinence in his love of mortification and humiliation, who habitually and consciously preferred pain over pleasure. He was known for being a man of probity, self-mastery, abstinence and devotion to the gods. Despite all this, or perhaps precisely because of it, he attracted the ire of the tyrant of the city. Overcome by fear of the tyrant, he wanted to flee, but the tyrant ordered him imprisoned, and to ensure that he could not escape, he ordered that all the guards keep careful watch over the city gates. The pious ascetic managed to get appropriate clothing for his purposes and donned it, although the story does not explain how he got it. He also got some cymbals, and faking drunkenness while singing along with the clashing of the cymbals he drew near one of the city gates at sundown. When the guard said, "Who goes there?" he answered jokingly: "I am the pious ascetic you're looking for". The guard thought that the man was teasing and let him pass. The pious ascetic thus managed to save himself without ever having told a lie (Strauss, 1988:135ss).

To Gadamer, Strauss' indications are "largely obvious on the surface", but not so obviously deep-down, which would prevent any certainty in their interpretation:

> *"Are not conscious displacement, masking and concealment of one's own opinion actually the extreme and rare case of a much more frequent situation, and even of the usual, common situation? Persecution (by superiors, the Church, the Inquisition, etc.) is nothing other than an extreme case compared to the deliberate pressure exerted or not by society and advertising on human thinking."* (Gadamer, 1989)[5]

[5] This is an opinion also shared in a wonderful article introducing the hermeneutics of Leo Strauss by Professor J. Blanco Echauri (1996:89-108).

Strauss' position is radical: it expands to the entire history of philosophy (always truly opposed by religious or political power) against the ingenuous enlightened thesis of saying everything and explaining everything. And both persecution and the quest for a reader who could be a potential disciple come into play in this concealment. Gadamer refuses to accept this because it is extremely difficult to find criteria that unequivocally establish this dissimulation:

> *"I do not see very clearly that when contradictory propositions are found in an author, the concealed and occasional ones should be taken as the expression of their real opinion (...). Contradictory points are indeed a prime criterion for truth, but unfortunately they are not an unequivocal criterion for hermeneutic thinking. (...). It seems totally certain to me that this sentence of Strauss', so enlightening at first, cannot be applied to the so-called Platonic errors in Socrates' argumentation, the sentence that when an author shows contradictions that any schoolchild today could easily identify, then we should suppose that not only are they deliberate but they are meant to be discovered."* (Gadamer, 1989).

Leo Strauss responds to this criticism of the weakness of his premises with by supplying proof, such as this:

> *"If a society bans its writers from freely discussing the principles upon which it is grounded, we are legitimated to pose the question of whether a writer who belongs to such a society and stands up in defence of his principles is defending those principles because he is convinced of their validity or because he is giving way to a superior force. The question becomes even more acute if it is a writer of great intelligence who explicitly says that it is not wrong to teach doctrines that people know are erroneous. And even more important is the problem of whether his writings are full of enigmatic details that would easily be imperceptible if someone does not pay enough attention to them"* (Strauss, 1959:224).

The influence of persecution on literature consists precisely of the fact that it requires all writers who hold heterodox points of view to develop a peculiar writing technique. However, what kind of writing can be protected from persecution and yet serve as philosophical communication? How is this feat possible at the limits of communication?

"Everyone whose thinking does not follow *equine logic* or, in other words, everyone capable of independent, honest thinking, cannot condescend to accept the points of view sponsored by the government. Persecution cannot prevent independent thought," said Leo Strauss (Strauss, 1952:23). When he speaks about "equine logic", he is referring to Parmenidean logic, and especially to the logic that characteristics the inhabitants of the country of the Houyhnhnms according to the narrator of *Gulliver's Travels*. In equine logic, it is impossible

to say "what is not" because lies have no place in their world. Gulliver recounts that the horses "do not have a word in their language that means lie or falsehood".[6]Absolute frankness is not a characteristic of human creatures. For this reason, we must write and read "between the lines".

> *"This literature is not meant for all readers, but only for faithful and intelligent readers. It has all the advantages of private communication without sharing its most important disadvantage – that it only reaches the writer's acquaintances. It has all the advantages of public communication without sharing its most important disadvantage – capital punishment for the author. However, how can a man work the miracle of speaking in a publication for a minority and silencing himself for the majority of his readers? What makes this literature possible can be expressed through the axiom that unreflective men are careless readers, and that only thinking men are careful readers."* (Strauss, 1952:25).
>
> *"Another axiom that is meaningful, however only as long as persecution remains at the limits of legal procedure, is when a careful writer of average intelligence is more intelligent than the most intelligent censor".* (Strauss, 1952:25-26).

The reassessment of the technical resources of this reticent, elusive or esoteric writing is Strauss' most renowned contribution. Let us recall, for example, the latent significance of repetitions, of meaningful silences, of important contradictions. The caution that the writer imposes on himself must also be imposed on the interpreter in order not to assume more than what is insinuated: this method should only be applied in the certainty of a clarification more evident than what in *historicist* texts were nothing other than errors or symptoms of decline or weakness. Writing can then become the refuge of philosophical communication veiled in a textual tapestry where mirages are woven. However, is this description of a situation of persecution valid for our times? Strauss tempered his argumentation with the following reflection, which would also have the virtue of distracting us from the prejudice which claims that by being the latest we are also better than the ones before us, and making our situation the general norm: "The attitude that people adopt towards freedom of public discussion decisively depends on what they think about popular education and its limits. Generally speaking, the pre-modern philosophers were less bold on this point than modern philosophers are." (Strauss, 1952:33). The possibility of formulating the distinction between two kinds of esoteric writing, that of those who believe that the distance separating the "sages" from the "masses" cannot be spanned, and that of those who believe that it can be modified by progress in popular education, therefore results from what we think about the redemptive value of the scope of education. "Esoteric literature assumes that there are basic truths that would not be uttered in public by any decent man because they could harm many people who, after being injured, would naturally tend to injure the one who uttered the unpleasant truths. In

[6]J. Swift: *Gulliver's Travels*. From another perspective, we have also used Gulliver's travels in the perennial discussion between *idealists* and *realists* in politics (Monserrat Molas, 2007).

other words, it assumes that the freedom of research and the freedom to publish all of the results of research are not guaranteed as basic facts. This literature is essentially related to a society which is not liberal." Strauss continued to set out to resolve this issue, but the simplicity of his response is nonetheless surprising. Strauss had adopted the esoteric way of writing. He continues the text thus:

> *"The answer is simple. In Plato's Symposium, Alcibiades – that renowned son of Athens – compares Socrates and his speeches with certain sculptures that are truly ugly outside, but that contain the most precious images of divine bodies. The works of the great writers of the past are lovely even on the outside, yet their visible beauty is manifest ugliness compared to the beauty of those hidden treasures which are revealed to one only through an arduous, never simple and always pleasant endeavour. This always difficult though always pleasant effort is, I believe, what philosophers have in mind when they recommend education. They feel that education is the only answer to the always disturbing question, to the political question par excellence, of how to reconcile an order that is not oppression with a freedom that is not license.*" (Strauss, 1952:37).

The "simplicity" of Strauss' response is not so simple if we notice that, in order to respond to "our" liberal society, Strauss utilises Plato's device, and if we furthermore notice the irony concealed in the even more specific reference to Alcibiades. The frankness or outspokenness of Alcibiades and Athens should be considered bearing in mind first the tragic reality of the three-fold traitorous fate of Alcibiades which came with the defeat of Athens, and secondly the fact that Strauss warned that the difficulty in understanding the classics comes from the contemporary reader's exposure to the "brutal and sentimental literature of the last five generations". "We need a second education to accustom our eyes to the noble reserve and the tranquil serenity of the classics". This ethics of literature is eminently idealistic and consists of "the preference for recalling the good before the bad".[7] Carlo Altini comments on Strauss' response in this way: the problem of esotericism and reticent writing corresponds not only to tyrannical and totalitarian societies in which the right to the freedom of research and the public dissemination of its results is not guaranteed; rather it is also characteristic of liberal societies, especially in response to *conformism*. The recipients of the esoteric philosophical works may still be not philosophers but potential young philosophers who must be guided towards the truth through popular opinions. The text, or writing, is the philosopher's act of love towards the young of his own species.[8] We would further add to Strauss's ethics of literature and the usefulness of esotericism against conformism its necessity in

[7] See Soleràs' comment in the Joan Sales novel *Incerta glòria*: "la serenitat dels classics consisteix en no llegir-los" (the serenity of the classics consists of not reading them).

[8] Altini (1998:227), paraphrasing Strauss. To study Strauss today, not only is the essay by Lastra cited necessary, so is the work by Altini (2000).

an order that seems increasingly more subjugated to the expression "politically correct".[9]

3. Communication and transmission: From Aristophanes to Plato. Analysis of Plato's Symposium

Strauss suggests that persecution fails wherever caution is the guiding principle in one's mission as a dissident writer whose intelligence enables him to guarantee his personal safety without diminishing the efficacy of his undertaking. The effect of persecution forces writers to use a particular writing technique. Strauss illustrates this with an extreme example where persecution shows its most brutal face. It is easy to imagine, he says, a writer who, free from all suspicion and respected by the only political party existing in a totalitarian state, is guided by his studies to question the rectitude of the official interpretation of the history of religion. Surely no one would prevent him from publishing a virulent criticism of liberal opinion. To this end, he would have to first outline this opinion in order to later criticise it. In the course of his exposition, which is brimming with numerous literal citations and a host of technical terms, using the characteristic resources of official propaganda, he would confer unjustified importance on insignificant details, omitting some of the most important questions. And only when he has reached the core of his argumentation "would he write three or four sentences in this vivid, concise style susceptible to drawing the attention of the youth who love thinking" (Strauss, 1952:24). This central passage would outline the position of the adversaries more clearly, more irresistibly and more implacably than in the best times of liberalism, abandoning "all the absurd excrescences of the liberal credo which had the chance to proliferate in the heyday of liberalism, in the times therefore that were approaching stupidity", in such a way that "his young and reasonable reader would have a fleeting vision of the forbidden fruit for the first time" (Strauss, 1952:25). The crux of the work, its critical part, would consist of

[9] The book by Lastra (2000) reaches the core of Strauss' philosophy. However, from Lucretius on, with Lessing as one of the cores of Strauss' thinking according to A. Lastra, is it not difficult to explain Strauss' mission to exert *political* influence – or was it merely *political philosophy*? And was Stanley Rosen right when he provocatively claimed that Strauss was even more radical than those who thought that philosophy was over, because he thought that philosophy had never existed? The light that Lastra sheds on Lucretius and Strauss has give us yet another clue for explaining a lack of Plato in Strauss: Strauss rarely cites the Letters. Strauss disdains the Academy. Yet again I am using a provocative formula: Strauss never understood Plato because he thought that Plato was ancient; yet Plato, and in this we are with Stanley Rosen, is modern, not ancient. What is the nature of human nature? Ultimately, Lastra's study of Strauss leads us to this fundamental problem. Strauss argues that history does not necessarily have a direction or character. Human beings can never control their fate because the world is never totally intelligible or rational. There is always something that escapes human understanding. This limitation means that there can never be a perfect political order, the repository of the truth. Strauss claims that the preservation of humanity relies on recognition of the limited or determined nature of human life. He suggests that human beings do not remain human if they do not recognize the existence of something that is more than them – what has traditionally been called god or gods. As a philosopher, he leaves the question clearly posed. As an epicurean, suggests Lastra, gods are distant and have no relationship with human beings. As a Jew, Strauss resides in the mystery of the presence and absence of Yahweh. As a politician, suggests Rosen, Strausswould do with Plato but the same as Kojèvedid with Hegel (see Rosen [1987a], especially the third and central chapter which lends its name to the title of the book and which is devoted to his teachers Kojève and Strauss).

the deployment of the most virulent theses from the official books of the governing party. After his passionate and joyous reading of the brief central passages, the intelligent youth would find these pages particularly dense and distressing, thus discriminating the true meaning and scope of the expository part, especially after successive readings. The example seems forced, but recent history yields surprising examples: in the past decades we have witnessed the discovery of works that had remained closeted in the secret archives of the Soviet political police, along with works that were published in the purest reticent or esoteric style that we have discussed, such as the texts on the philosophy of language in Plato which are dealt with from the standpoint of orthodox theology (Maristany, 2002). Having all the advantages of communication, both public and private, but none of its disadvantages (personal safety is never seriously threatened), esoteric literature is targeted exclusively to intelligent, trustworthy readers: the circumstances require and determine their minority status.

The term "persecution" encompasses a variety of phenomena, which range from the Inquisition to ostracism. Its multiform condition explains why examples can be found even in periods that can be considered relatively liberal, such as Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, certain Muslim countries in the Middle Ages, Holland and England in the 17th century or France and Germany in the 18th century. Philosophers' biographies illustrate how they have suffered from persecution at some point in their life. However, the nature of esoteric or reticent literature is determined not exclusively by persecution but also by the diversity of perspectives on the limits of popular education that characterise the ancient and modern philosophers. Thus, starting in the mid-17th century, a certain number of heterodox philosophers who had suffered from persecution published their books not only to communicate their thinking but also because they thought they were contributing to the abolition of persecution:

> *"They assumed that the suppression of freedom of thought and the publication of the results of free thinking were accidental, an excrescence from the mistaken construction of the state, and that the realm of general darkness would be replaced by the republic of universal light"* (Strauss, 1952:33).

They thought that there would be a time when practically total freedom of speech would be possible thanks to popular education. The attitude of the pre-modern philosophers was fundamentally different. They believe that a profound abyss separates the sages from the vulgar folk. Philosophy or science was an affair of the few, this would not be changed by any progress in education, and furthermore, philosophy was suspicious and odious to the majority of people. Therefore, their opinions needed to be concealed from the non-philosophers and limited to the oral instruction of a group of disciples or writings about the most important matters with only brief indications.[10] Their writings, therefore, are generally more esoteric, and thus what predominates in

[10] See Strauss (1952:34). Strauss was thinking about Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, II, 4, and especially about Plato: *Phaedrus*, 64b; *Republic*, 520b2-3 and 494a1-10;*Timaeus*, 28c3-5; *Letter VII*, 332d6-7, 341c4-e3, 344d4-e2. See Strauss (1946:326-367).

them are the most convenient opinions held by the vulgar folk, while they surreptitiously reveal indications on the philosopher's true opinion on the crucial questions. These books, therefore, contain two lessons, one exoteric, popular and edifying, and the other esoteric, philosophical, between the lines, targeted not so much at the philosophers as to "those youth who love the truth" or those intelligent enough to become the chosen few who know the truth of things. These youngsters must be led step by step from the popular opinions, which are practically and politically expedient, towards the pure and simple theoretical truth. The esoteric texts are "written speeches caused by love" (Strauss, 1952:36).

Let us close with another story, this one true. It is a story about the limits of communication and politics. One of the culminating moments in the Peloponnesian War was Athens' expedition to Sicily, an impressive military enterprise which could have marked a pivotal point in the war. Democratic Athens decided to embark upon the expedition, investing its utmost in terms of money, supplies and men. The excitement over the expedition was at its peak when an irreverent deed, which at first seemed irrelevant, put the entire venture in jeopardy. It happened that the majority of stone Hermes sculptures which peppered the city of Athens –blocks with a quadrangular structure showing figures of the god; custom dictated that many of them be built in the city – appeared decapitated one night. No one knew who had done it, but the deed struck the superstitious souls of the Athenians and they promised a generous reward for whoever would reveal the masterminds. They furthermore handed down a decree which stated that if anyone knew of another act of impiety, he should openly denounce it under the guarantee of impunity, regardless of whether he was a citizen, outsider or slave. Thucydides, whom we are following in this story, added that the utmost importance was attached to this affair because it was interpreted as an omen for the expedition and at the same time as a revolutionary plot with the purpose of overthrowing democracy. The occasion was seized upon by foreigners and slaves to denounce the fact that there had been other mutilations of divine statues performed by certain young men on drunken sprees, as well as parodies of mysterious celebrations held in private homes. These accusations also involved Alcibiades, who was supposed to lead the military expedition. His enemies wished him ill, but they avoided judgement until the expedition had departed. They wanted his friends gone, and thus they started the summary judgements with capital punishments after the expedition had already left. They commanded that Alcibiades return to Athens, leaving the expedition. The fact that Alcibiades ended up going to the enemy side and that the expedition ended up failing resulted precisely from this lack of unity.[11]

Hermes was the son of Zeus and Maia, born in Arcadia. He was the messenger of the gods, a kind of herald who oversaw peace and war, the battles and loves of the gods, the internal system of Olympus and the link between the world and Heaven, land and Hell. He was charged with carrying the souls of the dead to Hell; he was the god who presided over games and assemblies, the god of eloquence and rhetoric and of all messengers, merchants and communicators, always alert and always vigilant. Among the many inventions and stories attributed to him (precise language, writing, wrestling, dancing, the

[11] Thucydides: *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, VI, 27, 28, 53, 60. See Strauss (1964).

lyre, etc.), he was the most famous for decapitating Argos, who was watching over one of Zeus' lovers on assignment by his jealous wife. In the city, stone statues of Hermes were placed at intersections as the patron god of communication. The attack against the stone Hermes, their decapitation or castration, was readily interpreted as an attack against the city's most intimate ties, and as such, the ties that united the city into an integrated unit with the word, which made everyday life possible. It was also an attack against democracy, because this communication was open to all citizens and even outsiders in the guise of trade and exchange. Attacking Hermes meant attacking communication; it meant placing limits on it.

Leo Strauss suggests that Plato's *Symposium* took place precisely that night. Towards the end of the *symposium*, which had transpired so far without drink extraordinarily – because they were still hung over from drink the previous night – and without a flautist – so they could talk like educated people – after the succession of laudatory speeches of the new deity, *Eros*, and after Alcibiades' speech praising Socrates, who had interrupted the *symposium* by arriving totally drunk and occupying the stage and taking the floor, the order was definitively lost:

> *"Then Agathon got up to sit next to Socrates, but suddenly a throng of people in the midst of a binge showed up at the door of the house, and since they found it open because someone was leaving, they directly entered where we were and laid down on the beds. A huge uproar ensued, the order that had been now vanished, and people were forced to drink wine abundantly"* (Plato: *Symposium,* 223b).

After the upheaval, the symposium resumed. Eryximachus, Phaedrus and several others got up and left. Eryximachus and Phaedrus, temperate and notorious abstainers, were accused of mutiliating the Hermes along with Alcibiades and his friends, notorious drunks and pranksters. Plato does not say this, but all these names were known by his readers as having been accused of violating the Eleusinian mysteries and mutilating the Hermes statues.[12] What was discussed that night at the party at Agathon's house?

The *symposium* was a celebration of the award that the playwright Agathon had received. According to Phaedrus' opinion, they had decided to celebrate it with a series of speeches in praise of a new deity, *Eros*, which joined gods and men together with new bonds, instead of speeches in praise of Aphrodite, which would have been more common. The dinner was tinged with a clearly erotic, political charge with the praise of the god that is human-deity more than the traditional gods. Among the participants were recognised lovers, and their praise of Eros was very circumscribed to their private relations. What is more, all the speakers in the *Symposium*, with the exception of Aristophanes,[13]were presented in the *Protagoras* as disciples of their masters.[14]

[12] This was Leo Strauss' opinion according to Rosen (1987b:285).

[13] Aristophanes took an increasingly prominent role in the economy of the dialogue. Plato treats him with special deference and introduces him as one of those elements that ultimately brings something to the final resolution of the dialogue, when Aristophanes and Agathon fall asleep while listening to Socrates. The fact that one of Aristophanes' early texts, which has not

The *Symposium* ended up being the second part of the *Protagoras*, where we are shown the result of the different sophisticated educations in wealthy Athens: transmission and communication have ended up a notorious failure at a peak in the city's greatest success, which precedes its greatest failure, the defeat to Sparta and the civil war. To Jordi Sales, the accomplishment of Platonic teaching is that is shows us where philosophical effort as a possible *symposium* lies, that is, dealing with it with more or less "hardened" spirits and the difficult knowledge of its possible "flexibilities" or rejuvenations.

> *"For this reason, it is primarily known as a difficult opportunity of lost occasions of the previous* symposiums *as preparations for flawed destructions or transmissions.* Avoidable destructions? Improvable or correctible transmissions? From where? *Perhaps from a game, one that is even more difficult than the previous ones, between the Academy as an institution and dialogue as tragic-comic-philosophical writing."* (Sales, 1996:13)

Let us conclude: It is often forgotten that without politics the conditions for communication cannot arise, that without communication there is no possibility of a real politics, that the limits that allow communication are political: the city wall is the protected area where Hermes could find a place. However, attacking Hermes, or attacking communication, is tantamount toslaying the city from the inside. It is often forgotten that those who attack the Hermes can be individuals or the state itself, and in both cases it is a process of self-destruction. It is often forgotten that the city must exist in order to guarantee the possibility of a rudimentary elementary communication, that of the common citizen, the kind that can only guarantee the kind of education that gives meaning to the universal right to vote. Nor should we forget the ever-present possibility of losing the conditions that make freedom of expression possible. The fact that the conservatives frame the battle for education and the university in these terms should lead us to think about how we can change the argumentative disguises. "Education is the only answer to the always disturbing question, to the political question *par excellence*, of how to reconcile an order that is not oppression with a freedom that is not license" (Strauss, 1952:37), that we think about the possibility of an education that situates us with respect to the definition of the contemporary political enterprise.

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survived, is precisely entitled *Banqueters*, and that its subject was education, is still worthy of a study.

[14] See Sales (1996). We are following this study subtitled precisely "El *Convit* platònic, filosofia de la transmissió" (Plato's Symposium, philosophy of transmission).

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On Elective Affinities: Pentecostalism and Immigration. The case of Pentecostal African churches in Catalonia

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Abstract

Protestantism is the most widespread minority religion in Catalonia. There are more than 430 Protestant churches in the country, more than a half of which belong to the Pentecostal vein. The growing importance of immigration is a key to understanding both the rise in Protestantism and the predominance of Pentecostalism. The worshippers at the new Protestant churches in Catalonia are mainly from Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe, regions where Pentecostalism is growing considerably. This article seeks to explore the emergence and success of the so-called "ethnic churches" based on an analysis of African Pentecostal churches in Catalonia. It is based on the fieldwork carried out by the project El mapa religiós de Catalunya *(ISOR) ("The Religious Map of Catalonia") and on the ethnographic work performed at African churches in Catalonia.*

Key words: sociology of religion, Pentecostalism, immigration, ethnic churches.

1. Introduction

In recent years, the surge in migratory flows to Catalonia has led to a notable rise in religious diversity and its visibility. One of the religious minorities whose ranks of followers have grown the most steeply in Catalonia is Protestantism. Countless individuals from Latin America, Africa and other parts of the world have joined Catalonia's Protestant churches and have boosted both the numerical importance and social prominence of these churches. According to the results of the study *El mapa religiós de Catalunya* (ISOR) ("The Religious Map of Catalonia"), today in Catalonia there are more than 430 Protestant churches,[1] making Protestantism the most important religious minority in the

[1] Figures from March 2007.

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country. Also worth noting is the fact that more than half of the Protestant churches in Catalonia, a total of approximately 238 churches, belong to the Pentecostal vein.

Another fact worthy of our attention is the emergence and growth of what are called *ethnic churches* in Catalonia. In the sociological literature, *ethnic churches* refers to churches that are mainly made up of individuals from a certain ethnic group or geographic region, which are also led by pastors from this same geographic region or ethnicity. In this sense, Catalonia is the home to many churches with members from Latin America, Asia – especially the Philippines – and Africa. In this article, we shall mainly focus on African churches,[2] despite the fact that many of the conclusions are also applicable to the Latin American and Asian churches.

This article first presents a field study conducted when carrying out the research for the *El mapa religiós de Catalunya* project;[3] this fieldwork led us to visit almost all the Protestant churches in Catalonia and interview their members.[4] It also presents the fieldwork performed in African Pentecostal churches in Catalonia between 2002 and 2004. The fieldwork in this case consisted of an in-depth ethnography[5] of one African church and an exploratory field study on the other African churches in Catalonia.

The article sprang from the desire to understand the elective affinity between Pentecostalism and the migratory processes observed in Catalonia, which has also been noted in other contexts by a variety of researchers (Aubré, Hunt, Cantón Delgado, etc.). These authors share the hypothesis that the characteristics of Pentecostalism make it a highly attractive religious movement for people who have undergone migratory processes. Thus, based on studies that use both qualitative (Hunt, Aubré, Bastian, etc.) and quantitative (Odgers) methodologies, Pentecostalism has been revealed to have a greater influence among people who have undergone migratory processes. The majority of studies have centred on Latin America (Odgers, Bastian, Martin), although studies that take Europe as the point of reference have also become more common in recent years (Hunt, Aubré, Adogame, etc.). However, despite the rising proliferation of studies in this field, our understanding of the nature of the relationship between

[2] Despite this, in this case we can see the paradox of wanting to label churches which sometimes are comprised of individuals from different African ethnic minorities as "ethic", as well as churches that often avoid the label "African" because they have chosen an "expansionist" mission or one in which they aim to attract other groups (even though they seldom achieve this objective).

[3] *El mapa religiós de Catalunya* is a study performed in the ISOR research centre (UAB), supervised by Joan Estruch. The preliminary conclusions were published in the book *Les altres religions. Minories religioses a Catalunya* (2004). The updated version of the research was recently (March 2007) presented in public.

[4] The fieldwork for *El mapa religiós de Catalunya* was supervised by Joan Estruch and conducted by the author of this article in conjunction with other members of the ISOR-UAB research team, including Agustí Iglesias, Joan Gómez, Maria Forteza, Jordi Puig, Eloi Moya, Glòria García-Romeral and Anna Massallé, Clara Fons and Blanca Luque.

[5] The ethnography consisted of two visits per week to the church (Bible study and Sunday service) for one year, as well as a life history of one member of the church, numerous interviews with the pastor and informal conversations with all the members. Likewise, it also included attendance at or meetings with numerous members of the community at special church festivals and other occasions.

these two issues (Pentecostalism and immigration) still has numerous gaps. Ethnographic studies located in specific places, such as this one, offer new clues to understanding the idiosyncrasy of this elective affinity, while they also pose new questions that pave the way for new avenues of research. However, before analysing this elective affinity, we should clarify a series of more generic considerations on the analysis of religious phenomena in our society which will help us to more thoroughly understand the subject at hand.

1.1. Preliminary considerations

Dealing with religion in migratory contexts has become the paradigm when ethnifying – reifying – the cultural distances between the mythical personages of "secularised locals" and "fanatical immigrants". These two conceptual constructs are in opposition, namely a rationalised, enlightened Western individual and a "peripheral", fundamentalist and culturally delayed immigrant. Examining the importance of religion in contexts of migration entails first dismantling these two analytical perspectives which, though quite tempting because of the totalising explanatory capacity of their theories, entail a series of misunderstandings and errors which could very easily lead us to simplistic and simplifying explanations.

First of all, it is important to unmask the tendency to perceive religions as an archaic feature of the past which continue to survive in times that are not theirs "by accident". This vision, as noted by Joan Estruch (1996), is the result of an ideologised interpretation of the theories of secularisation which identify the advent of modernity with the emergence of an "unalienated" man free of "irrational beliefs". It is a paradigm where religion has no place except in museums. "Immigrants", then, would be part of these collectible art objects; since they come from a Third World where the magical and irrational forces of the gods of nature prevail, they carry with them a religious tradition worthy of being part of folkloric festivals and cultural reports yet without any importance other than becoming museum culture. A certain condescension leads us to state that "they should be forgiven the audacity" of wanting to maintain their religion in a Europe that has become the paradigm of secularisation because "as they integrate they will cease being religious". Two key questions oppose this reasoning. First, theories of secularisation are in no way contradictory with a religious reformulation in our societies, as Estruch says: "ours is an age of religious crisis, but crisis in the sense that a metamorphosis of religion is underway, and not in the sense that religion is being abolished".[6] Furthermore, there is no guarantee that the newcomers to our society forcefully abandon their religious beliefs and practices once they are settled here. Perhaps their beliefs and practices are reformulated, perhaps certain elements shed importance and others come to the fore, perhaps the regulatory side of these beliefs becomes more flexible (or not) and perhaps their religious adhesion can diminish in importance at first and then rally. What is certain is that it would be well-nigh impossible to establish a homogenous pattern for everyone who has undergone a migratory process, while we also have to bear in mind that substantial changes

[6] I have examined this question in depth in other places (Griera and Urgell, 2002) and therefore will not dwell on it here. For a more detailed analysis of the process of secularisation and its consequences on today's society, see Estruch (1996).

can occur within what has been called the *migratory cycle* itself. In no way, however, can we clearly state that arrival in a secularised society means leaving behind religious beliefs and practices.

Secondly, this is an analytical perspective that identifies religious resurgence as a defensive refuge against the advent of what was been called the *society of risk*, *post-modern society* and other names. This is a discourse which does not interpret the new religious realities as vestiges of a collapsing past but instead associates them with the "need for security" in a world in perennial crisis. Even though these attempts at analysis offer very powerful conceptual tools for understanding the role of the new religions in the 21st century, we cannot fall into the ingenuousness of stating that the survival of the religious *only* reflects alienating and alienated defensive qualities. This is once again an interpretation of the religious world under the bias of enlightened Voltarian ideals. It is what some have called the *emergence of an identity of resistance* (Castells, 2003), which rises up in reaction to the material vulnerability and emotional weakness suffered by individuals in the face of the changes of the new "network society". It is also what Berger would call *cognitive retrenchment* against the effects of what he calls the *pluralistic society*.[7] These theories are very useful in understanding certain changes in our society, but we have to apply them cautiously and critically to avoid "victimising" anyone with a religious affiliation.

In short, when thinking about religion and immigration in today's context, we have to be cautious before making certain statements and placing on diverse "implicit assumptions" that tend to operate in theorisations on these issues "under quarantine". In some ways, as Cantón Delgado (1998) says, "it would be much more useful to approach the analysis of these organisations from the perspective of strategy instead of rule and from symbolic appropriation instead of imposition".

2. Elective affinity? Ethnic churches and Pentecostalism

The analysis of the religious map of Catalonia reveals that Protestantism has grown considerably in recent years, mainly due to the surge in churches that fall within the Pentecostal vein. It is also important to note that many of the churches that have been founded in recent years are mainly composed of people who have undergone a migratory process, and many of them have even been founded by these newcomers. Despite the fact that the figures are approximate, we can say that there are around fourteen Pentecostal churches led by pastors from Asia, around twenty churches led by pastors from Latin America and around seventeen churches led by pastors from Africa.[8] These are obviously in addition to the churches where the pastor was born in Catalonia but the majority of followers were born in other geographic regions.

[7] This is another issue which, as Estruch (1996) has demonstrated, we have to watch carefully when applying, given that it was created in American society, which is quite different than ours in terms of religion.

[8] The figures are from March 2007. It should be borne in mind that the religious map is dynamic and ever-changing, especially in the case of Pentecostal churches, which are characterised by being extremely mobile and dynamic. Therefore, the figures should be taken as approximate.

Within the African churches scattered about Catalonia, we can distinguish four main groups: Ghanian churches (the majority of which belong to the evangelical multinational The Church of Pentecost), Nigerian churches, French-speaking churches and mixed churches.[9] The majority of these churches were founded between 1995 and 2000, and they all adhere to the Pentecostal vein of Protestantism.

One of the first sociological observations noted when analysing the effects of migrations on religious minorities in the country, and especially on Protestantism, is the fact that almost all the so-called *ethnic churches* belong to the Pentecostal vein. Indeed, all the African churches are Pentecostal. From this fact there arise a series of questions such as: Why are there no churches from other denominations? Likewise, why can we not find large communities of Africans in the Catholic Church? What is more, this mystery is heightened when, after a period of fieldwork in the churches, I came to the realisation that many of their members did not originally come from the Pentecostal tradition. The vast majority were already Christians in their home country (even though I found a few converted Muslims and people with no defined affiliation), but only a minority had been practising Pentecostals. Despite this, when they reached Catalonia, instead of finding a church in their own denomination or maintaining a loose sense of belonging, they ended up joining Pentecostal churches, and many of them became fervent practitioners. The importance of this fact is accentuated when we take into consideration that more than half of the African pastors in Catalonia were originally either members of another denomination (Methodist, Catholic, etc.) or were not particularly faithful or had no clear denomination in their homelands.

If we examine the sociological literature on this issue, we realise that this is a behaviour that can also be found in African churches in the United Kingdom (Hunt, 2002a; Hunt, 2002b; Hunt, 2002c) and Germany (Adogame, 1999; Adogame 2004). It is also one of the reasons wielded to defend the existence of an elective affinity between the condition of being a migrant and the creation of and participation in Pentecostal churches. Below we shall further analyse this relationship and explore the factors that have led to the existence of this elective affinity.[10]

3. The Pentecostal movement: Doctrinal and organisational flexibility

Pentecostalism is the Christian denomination which has shown the steepest and steadiest growth in recent years. This Protestant vein, which has been in existence a little over a century, has shifted from being a redoubt of the more

[9] A *mixed church* generally means that the pastor is from a country with a minority presence in Catalonia, such as Sierra Leone or Liberia, and that they therefore have the ability to attract all the English-speaking believers who do not feel "comfortable" in the Nigerian or Ghanian churches (the services in the latter are in Ashanti, so individuals who do not speak Ashanti have a hard time accessing them).

[10] The concept of *elective affinity* was introduced into sociology by Max Weber, who extracted it from Geothe's novel *Elective Affinities*. In Goethe's own words, it can be defined as "those natures that, when they meet, immediately grasp onto each other and reciprocally affect each other" (Goethe, 1997, ch. IV).

marginal classes in the USA to becoming one of the branches of Christianity with the strongest capacity for mobilisation and expansion around the world. In Europe, it began to expand in around 1920 through the preaching of a Norwegian pastor. In Catalonia, it had a minor presence in the 1930s but did not become an important vein until the 1970s. Pentecostalism was mainly located in the outskirts of Catalan cities, and numerous American missionaries were working in Catalonia between the 1970s and 1980s. Most of them were Spanish-speaking churches, and during the 1990s they joined forces through the organisation of pastors, COMEC. Today some of them have considerable number of worshippers from abroad. However, as we have noted above, the newcomers often decide to create their own Pentecostal church.

One of the factors that explains this elective affinity – between migrants and Pentecostalism – is both the doctrinal and organisational flexibility that characterises the Pentecostal vein. In fact, as many authors have noted, flexibility is a crucial factor in understanding how Pentecostalism has grown and flourished.

In this vein, British sociologist Stephen Hunt (2002*b*, p. 22) states: "What is unique about Pentecostalism, at least through a reading of the academic literature, is its ability to do so in numerous different contexts and this is permitted by its emphasis on the charismata and its theological flexibility". The flexibility of Pentecostalism becomes clear in two important issues: organisation and doctrine.

First of all, Pentecostalism is characterised by its enormous organisational flexibility. That is, there are neither structures nor hierarchies that condition its development. Pentecostalism is a movement that has spread like a web and has no explicit mechanisms for membership. That is, no institution and/or body has the power to grant or remove the label of Pentecostal to or from any church or organisation that defines itself as such.

Therefore, the fact that there are no regulated mechanisms to define who can be a pastor, as well as the fact that there is no entity with enough worldwide legitimacy to identify who can and who cannot use this label, means that the mechanism for joining Pentecostalism consists of one's own self-adscription to the movement coupled with abstract identification with the worldwide Pentecostal community. Consequently, it is relatively easy for anyone who wants to create their own church to call it Pentecostal. No one can question their use of this label or call them to account for their activities. Therefore, in the cases studied, when a person has "felt the calling"[11] to become a pastor, they have organised their own church without having to follow a given procedure, pursue certain studies or adhere to any statement of principles. The majority of Pentecostal churches in existence in Catalonia today have emerged from the desire of one person (who, in the majority of cases, has no training as a pastor), and they have been considered Pentecostal churches as soon as they had at least one worshipper (regardless of whether they had an established place of worship, of their regularity and of their commitment to certain organisations). The effects of this organisational flexibility on the expansion of Pentecostal churches becomes clearer when we attempt to make the analogy of what it would entail

[11] "To feel the calling" is part of the usual language within the Pentecostal community. "Feeling the calling" can involve visions, dreams, prophecies, etc.

for these pastors to create a Catholic church (which would be impossible under their current conditions) or a church belonging to certain Protestant denominations (they would have to reach an agreement with their Catalan and international counterparts, adopt a predetermined structure, identify with specific doctrinal principles, etc.). Somehow, the creation of Pentecostal churches operates according to a free-market model quite different to the "functionarial" model of Catholicism and the semi-regulated model of traditional Protestantism. This free-market model is what creates the conditions needed for the swift expansion of this kind of church.

Secondly, the doctrinal flexibility of Pentecostalism also fosters the creation of individual churches and their swift expansion. In some ways the only thing that doctrinally identifies Pentecostals is their belief in the baptism of the Holy Spirit (they are not the only Protestant denomination that believes this) and the corporalisation of relations with the Holy Spirit (such as through speaking in tongues or states of ecstasy, emotional climax – crying or laughing or both at the same time – etc.). This doctrinal minimalism makes it easy for Pentecostalism to absorb the elements and particularities of each setting where it is established, which render it liable to taking root quickly and becoming a sounding board for the demands of the community that gathers around it. In some ways, what all these churches share is the expressiveness and emotion of the worship services, but in order for this to flow as "naturally" as possible among the members, the channels of this expressiveness must be culturally appropriate. These channels are what have led the African churches to be perceived as "warmer" and "more accessible" by their members. The doctrinal adaptation materialises in such different ways as including songs and musical styles from their own tradition, using their own language (Ashanti, English or French) and adapting the cultural traditions of the home countries to the church, including variations in the ritual of baptism and the wearing of traditional garb for important events.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) highlight the sociological importance of perceiving the spontaneity linked to cultural and social patterns and the need to frame this within the parameters of the social construction of reality. From this standpoint, it is easy to understand that in churches where the contextual elements of worship (language used, music, atmosphere, members, etc.) are culturally familiar to the participants, "the Holy Spirit will be welcomed the most readily". Thus, for example, when the members of an African church in Catalonia were asked why they had built their own church instead of going to the local churches, they always referred to the lack of warmth in the other churches and the difficulty of "finding the Holy Spirit in such a cold atmosphere". The warm/cold perceptions reflect "feeling out of place" versus "feeling at home".[12] This is similar to the responses offered by the members of the Church of Philadelphia when they were asked the reasons for the existence of specifically Gypsy churches.

The organisational flexibility of Pentecostalism offers us clues for understanding the advantages of this vein compared to more "regulated" models of Christianity (Catholicism and historical or established Protestantism) when new churches are founded. However, this is a sterile argument when attempting

[12] See Schutz's distinctions between the two concepts.

to extricate the motives that explain the growth and success of Pentecostalism among migrants. The other argument wielded, the doctrinal and ritual flexibility of the churches, offers more clues for understanding their success among migrants, especially since this flexibility is what offers the possibility of creating what Stephen Hunt in his analysis of British African churches calls a *homogenous club* (Hunt, 2002a; Hunt, 2002b; Hunt, 2002c), places where certain conditions are re-created that enable the migrants to momentarily experience the feeling of "being at home", and also enable them to socialise and share their experiences in the process of adapting to Catalan society.[13]

3.1. Pentecostalism and migratory processes

Another key element that can help us to understand the elective affinity between immigration and the founding of ethnic churches is the role played by these churches in the care of their flocks. From this perspective, we can notice the importance of churches as "protective" social institutions that act as a buffer against marginality and precariousness. Membership in an established community lays down networks that can mobilise resources which become useful in solving the most pragmatic issues that newcomers may face at the beginning of their migratory cycle. What is more, in the majority of African churches in Catalonia, these networks are institutionalised and included as part of the church structure. Thus, the majority of times there is a church commission, often called the welfare commission, whose purpose is to ensure that people in need are given shelter, work and basic foodstuffs. At the church's Sunday services, it is common to set aside time for announcements on job offers and requests and room rentals. Any information of this sort that might be relevant is shared in this way. What is more, generally speaking the church keeps up a network of ties with groups of lawyers, other churches, associations, NGOs and other groups that can help the welfare committee in its job and expand the church's capacity to deal with the precarious situations of its members. From this standpoint, we can identify the role of the church as a "defensive mechanism" to ensure the "survival" of the newcomers in the host society. The church's role in this sense is crucially important early in the migratory cycle.[14]

However, the establishment of "protective networks" parallels the mission of many of the "ethnic associations" that already exist. So from this vantage point, it is relevant to wonder what distinguishes an "ethnic association" from an "ethnic church" in terms of the roles they play in migrants' adaptive processes.

[13] When entering and leaving services, there are many conversations on the difficulties of adapting to Catalan society, advice from those who are further along in the migratory cycle to those who have just arrived, etc.

[14] For example, one pastor at the church told me: "If there are anybody who need food, flat, job… they help them. This is very necessary here… For example, when somebody arrives here and doesn't have a place to sleep or a job… then this group organize the things…"

3.2. Community and association: Revisiting the classics

To answer this question it is useful to revisit Tönnies' conceptualisation of "community" and "association", which were later fleshed out by Max Weber. The latter defined *Vergemeinschaftung* and *Vergesellschaftung* "as different kinds of social relations, the former stressing the subjective feeling of shared belonging, and the latter the match of rationally motivated interests through values and/or purposes" (De Marinis, 2005, p. 5). The difference between belonging to an ethnic association and a Pentecostal church clearly emerges when we take this classical dichotomy as a point of reference. Indeed, this classification enables us to understand the fact that the social ties established in both kinds of organisations are qualitatively different. In an association, the link is contractual, and this weakens the strength of the emotional tie and lends a temporary, feeble feel to this membership. In the latter, the tie appears naturally, which makes it possible for a sense of security, continuity and permanence to emerge.[15] Consequently, the community is a much more effective venue for constructing universes of meaning with enough robustness to halt crises of meaning. This is the comparative advantage of belonging to a Pentecostal church compared to an association when conferring meaning on life.

Revisiting Weber, however, it would be even more useful to take into consideration his distinction between the "sectarian model"[16] and the "church model". The author stresses two criteria for distinguishing between the former and the latter: the degree of commitment required and the prevailing kind of domination. In the former, the degree of commitment required is quite high, and whoever is a member must constantly demonstrate that they have the qualities required to be a member, while in the latter, no special commitment is required to be a member; merely the fact of having been born would be a sufficient ingredient. Likewise, in the former, there is a system of charismatic domination in which the leader appears to be the "natural representative" chosen to guide the community, while in the latter the domination is bureaucratic – the leader does not need to have any quality perceived as natural; rather they must only follow the proper, established channels to become a representative.

Pentecostal churches follow the sect model, and this has countless consequences that help us to understand the central role they play the everyday lives of their members. Below we shall highlight the most important features.

First, the need for "moral quality" leads to fulfilment of strict life discipline that can encompass issues like abstaining from alcohol, not gambling, not smoking, not having sexual relations outside of marriage, fulfilling church obligations and not committing any sin, either venal or mortal. The prominence of this kind of ascetic behaviour is what led Wilson and Poblete to note Pentecostalism's potential to spur upward social mobility. There is not yet enough research to confidently assert these conclusions, but it is important to make it clear that in the stories of the church members a prominent role was

[15] Somehow, we can point out a parallelism between what Berger calls the strength of what is "taken for granted" and the weakness of what is perceived as constructed.

[16] We shall use the concept of sect in its sociological sense, disassociating it from the negative connotations entailed in its colloquial use.

assigned to the "moral and attitudinal discipline" of the members as a guarantee of their social success and adaptation. This was also the most often repeated point of difference with their lives prior to conversion, which was identified with anomic dynamics. Based on this demand for ethical and moral commitment in day-to-day life, the members distinguished between the "good immigrants" (them) and the "bad immigrants", whom they identified with perdition (prostitution, drug dealing, mafias, etc.). According to their stories, these "bad new citizens" were the ones who thwarted the adaptation strategies of the "good new citizens" (them), since they created a negative image of immigrants in Catalan society.

Secondly, the "moral qualities" of the members of the "sect" were also identified with the level of commitment they had taken on with the group. Because of its nature, the sect requires a high degree of commitment, which translates into strict control of compliance with the norms as well as into high levels of participation. Thus, monitoring of compliance with the norms is what Cantón Delgado (1998) calls *warm vigilance*, referring to the kind of social control that exists in these Pentecostal churches. Rarely is the pastor granted the exclusive authority to track the members' compliance with Christian ideals or to check whether they attend Sunday service; instead, everyone keeps watch over everyone else. Everyone ensures that it works this way. However, this vigilance tends to be soft, and failure to comply with any of the norms yields nothing more than admonishment. Still, if the error is considered very serious, it can lead the followers to be expelled from the church through an institutionalised mechanism.[17] Yet it is uncommon for these situations to arise. The members perceive themselves as a community of chosen ones which was founded on a mission and constantly receives "signs" that reiterate the fact that they are a "chosen community". For this reason, it is essential that no one breaks the rules. Cantón Delgado (1998) reveals that in communities of migrants and people who live in relative precariousness, this social control can be comforting in that it replaces the role of the family. In this vein, as one interviewee told me, "now I know that if something happens to me I'll be missed." On the other hand, this commitment is materialised by fostering a high level of participation in the church. Thus, despite the fact that the pace of activities is slower than in their home countries (in Africa, Pentecostal churches are usually open 24 hours a day), this does not invalidate the idea that being part of a Pentecostal church has many more repercussions on the everyday lives of the members than being part of a traditional Protestant or Catholic church. Pentecostal churches, especially the smaller ones, steadfastly promote their members' participation in the life of the community, either through participation in worship services or by taking on responsibilities in a given area. The pastor leads the church, but its day-to-day operation is the responsibility of all the members and the pastors' desire is for all the members of the church to play a role or take on some responsibility in the functioning of the organisation. Participation in the church's activities serves a twofold purpose: encouraging the members to get more involved in the church, while also serving as the point of departure for improving their personal self-esteem. To some extent, the way

[17] In the majority of churches, there is a "justice committee" or a "council of elders" which has the authority to "impose punishment" on the members who break the rules. This punishment can range from simple admonishment to expulsion from the church.

Pentecostal churches are managed is not so different to what the new management theories in business uphold.

Thirdly, the "moral quality" certified by being a "chosen community" also materialises in Pentecostal churches through "signs" received from the Holy Spirit. This belief in God and the certainty of the baptism of the Holy Spirit – demonstrated in each service, where the participants "feel" the presence of the Holy Spirit by speaking in tongues, prayers, cleansings, etc. – infuse the worshippers with confidence and foster the construction of the personal destiny of a halo of "divine grace". That is, the important thing is to have a mission, to follow a pathway; after that, "God will provide". When something does not meet expectations, this will be interpreted as "obstacles" in the pathway which are either the work of the devil or must be avoided to demonstrate the solidity of one's personal faith. This confidence or optimism in one's destiny contributes to easing the burden that might come from the usual penury that tends to characterise the migratory process.

The believer's confidence of their destiny is closely related to the role played by salvation in the Pentecostal doctrine. Unlike the ascetic sects that Weber studied, salvation in Pentecostalism is not based on the "doctrine of predestination". Thus, salvation is not something that will be attained in another life, nor is it something that is inevitable; rather everyone who has been born again through the baptism of the Holy Spirit is *saved*. And they will continue to be saved if they do not break the ethical precepts or the Christian discipline which the church promotes. Regardless, after the baptism by the Holy Spirit, the believer is convinced of being saved, and week after week, the baptism by the Holy Spirit is recalled at the worship services and this belief is reinforced. The sanctification of everyday life – driven by this conviction of salvation and by the warm vigilance of the other converts – will instil optimism in the believer. Their participation in the community will reinforce their beliefs, the study services will offer them to tools to adapt this belief in everyday life, and testifying at church will infuse their beliefs with credibility, based on the fact that publicly admitting to previous sins and asking for forgiveness is a highly liberating experience for believers.

Thus far, we have discussed the elements in the functioning of the church that help us to understand the role that it plays in the adaptation strategies of its members and in the construction of a meaning of life. We must clearly stress the church's emphasis on conversion (Wilson, 1970), the authority granted to the Bible, the role of the pastor and other considerations. That is, what we have explained so far helps us to get an idea of what it means for a newcomer to join a Pentecostal church. Yet before concluding this article it would be interesting to focus our sights on what distinguishes African Pentecostal churches from Catalan Pentecostal churches and from African churches from Africa.

3.3. The transcendence of the migratory process: "Saving Europe"

The story of the creation of the church adopts a perspective that stresses the "disorder" and chaos in the lives of its members before it was established and the results once it was founded. This somehow reflects the shift from chaos to *nomos*. Catalan society is perceived by the pastors and church members as a decadent, anomic and fragmented society where the people who come from

other countries fall into "perdition". The churches are given the mission of getting these people "on the right pathway" and also of helping to restore Christianity in the West.

That is, first there is the discourse that stresses the fact that Westerners spread Christianity to African but that today Western society has fallen into "sin" and has turned its back on Christianity. This is often repeated in the discourse of both the pastors and the church members, with the stress on the desire to re-Christianise Western society. This is not exclusive to African churches in Catalonia: Afe Adogame stresses this same phenomenon in his analysis of African churches in Germany. In this sense, it is common to hear statements like: "Europe brought Christianity to Africa and now the Africans have to bring it back because nobody here believes anymore".

This story is what makes the personal migratory trajectory transcendent, since through participation in the church the individual feels like they are contributing to the restoration of Christianity on a worldwide scale and thus playing a key role in the "fight against evil".[18]

However, in parallel, their very membership in the church and the job that it performs is perceived as a mechanism of solidarity with people who have also undergone a migratory process but have "fallen into the traps of a decadent society". That is, while one aim is to "save" Europe – the place of arrival – another is to "save" those who come from the same homeland, Africa. The story goes as follows: the decline of Western society, coupled with the fraught situation that migrants face (no legal papers, no jobs, etc.), leads them to stray far from the Christian ideal of life and to "sin" (alcohol, drugs, sex, etc.).

This is a story which paints Western society as being at a far remove from God, and this, along with the difficulties experienced by the migrants, leads people who used to be practising Christians in their homelands to a life of disorder and sin. According to the stories of the interviewees, the church's actions can change this situation, as if they are endowing the migratory project and its role in Catalan society with a new transcendence. That is, their participation in the church attributes transcendental meaning to their migratory project: they must save Europe and the immigrants who have fallen into "perdition". For this reason, in some studies they have been described as "migrants with a mission".

4. Conclusions

Throughout this article we have discussed the elements which help us to understand the purported elective affinity between Pentecostalism and immigration. Our analysis of the fieldwork performed in the African churches in Catalonia reveals that the relationship between both variables (Pentecostalism and immigration) is mediated by the following elements: organisational and doctrinal flexibility, the role of the church as the promoter of networks that mobilise resources and sociability, the creation of community, the effects of becoming a "sectarian" organisation and the cosmogony underlying the creation of the church. The relationship between both variables is therefore a complex

[18] The use of this kind of language in Pentecostal services is common. That is, the "fight against evil" or "against the devil" is something that appears repeatedly in Pentecostal discourses.

one that has been restructured by a variety of factors. For this reason, it would be interesting to bolster the results yielded in this study with further results from future studies performed in other settings with other communities of migrants and from different perspectives. In this way, we could gain a deeper understanding of the roles played by religion in the migratory process and the specificities of Pentecostalism within this issue.

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