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

The objectives of CSSR are:

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

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



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Antonius Andreae, Catalan disciple of Duns Scotus¹

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1. Revindication of Antonius Andreae

The works of Antonius Andreae († ante 1333) played a very prominent role in the formation and dissemination of Scotism. Proof of this is the more than 100 manuscripts conserved in libraries around Europe, along with around 30 editions issued between 1471 and 1520 by the best printers in Naples, Bologna, Venice, Strasbourg, Paris and London, for example. It is difficult to find a minimally important university library from that period that does not have at least one copy of **some incunable by this Catalan author. Without Andreae's** clarity, capacity for synthesis, methodological rigour and systematising mindset, Scotism would not have become one of the great mediaeval schools of philosophy, or at least it would have been quite different. Therefore, Andreae **has accurately been regarded as the “second founder of Scotism”** (C. Bérubé 1979: 387).

The purpose of this article is to sketch the intellectual profile of Antonius Andreae within the context of Scotist thinking and to present his contribution to the history of philosophy.

2. The master: John Duns Scotus

In a heavily commented *Syllabus* from 1277, Bishop S. Tempier of Paris condemned 219 philosophical theses. Ultimately, this sentence questioned to what extent the **Christian faith could accept Aristotle's thinking (interpreted by the Muslim commentators Averroes and Avicenna)**. Philosophically, the 13th century signalled the full recovery of the Aristotelian corpus, while theologically, it heralded the development of sweeping syntheses between Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology. The main exponent of this line of thinking is **Thomas Aquinas (†1274)**. **Following the Aristotelian model of science, the so-called *Doctor Communis*** turned the traditional sapiential theology into a fully-

¹ This article is the outcome of the research projects entitled “Corpus Digital de la Ciència a la Corona d'Aragó i el seu context llatí i romànic: Arnau de Vilanova”, MCI, FFI2011-29117-C02-02 (FILO); and “Corpus Digital d'Arnau de Vilanova: Filosofia i ciència a la Corona d'Aragó (segles XIII-XIV)”, MEC, FFI2014-53050-C5-2-P.

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fledged scholastic, academic *scientia*, that is, into a kind of knowledge grounded upon primary principles (the science of God and the saints) known by faith, based on which the theologian used human reason to deductively draw conclusions. The pathway of (Aristotelian) philosophy lead to the doorway of faith.

After the 1277 Syllabus, the theologians clearly understood that **Aristotle's first unmoved mover was not unequivocally the trinitarian God** revealed in the Bible. A chasm opened between the two that only faith could cross. **In this context, John Duns Scotus (†1308) redefined the meaning of** theology and reviewed the possibility of knowing God through human reason. To Scotus, theology was no longer that deductive, eminently theoretic and abstract *scientia* which operated following the laws of Aristotelian logic but instead a reflection on the revelation, that is, on historical – and therefore contingent – events, such as the creation and the incarnation. Theology, Scotus claims in *Lectura*, **“is properly called wisdom, not science” (J. D. Escot 2000: 148)**. It is a historical theology, one that is more experiential and focused on the Gospel, Christ-centric. Human reason, metaphysics, cannot know God: the first object of metaphysics is no longer God (Thomas Aquinas) but the being and its properties. Philosophy cannot demonstrate any supernatural truth.

The thinking of Scotus, the *Doctor Subtilis*, is acute, penetrating and insightful. Yet it is also complex, difficult and intricate. In reality, Scotus died when he was relatively young (around 40 years old) and his work and thinking were still working towards ever more successful formulations. His writings seem **unfinished and fragmentary (J. A. Merino 1993: 181)**. **Scotus' first disciples** (William of Alnwick, Alfred Gonter, Francis of Mayrone, John of Bassolis, Francis of Marchia and Antonius Andreae) undertook the task of turning the **master's fertile, promising intuitions into a real systematic, organised, well-rounded body of thinking**. And prominent among them is the name of Antonius Andreae, rightly nicknamed *Doctor Scotellus*. **Viewed as a whole, Andreae's work is a complete course in philosophy (logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics) *ad mentem Scoti***. Andreae did not set out to write a work that was original and genuine in the modern sense of the word; instead, as he himself **often said at the end of some books, “I am following the doctrine of the subtle Doctor, whose fame and memory is blessed, inasmuch as he, by his sacred and profound doctrine, has filled and made resound the whole world, namely John Duns Scotus, who was of the Scottish nation, and of the Minorite religion. [...]** Reader, if you find something well said in this work, you will know that it emanates from the profundity of his doctrine and of his knowledge. But if you find something less well said, or in any way contradicting his doctrine, put it **down to my inexperience.” (A. Andreae 1892: 600)**.

Therefore, it should come as no surprise that from the very start, **Andreae's treatises have been confused with Scotus', and that they have often been published together**. One century ago, critics took invaluable steps to discern each of their works; however, much remains to be done. Establishing a list of their unquestionably authentic writings is not only a necessary step to faithfully reconstruct his thinking; it is also indirectly essential in order to know **the master's thinking by contrast**.

3. Antonius Andreae: Biographical information

There is little known biographical information on Antonius Andreae. The main source of information is the colophons of the oldest manuscripts. We are sure that he was a Franciscan from the Province of Catalonia and the Custody of Lleida. This is stated in numerous codices, such as one of the oldest ones from the Library of the Archive of the Cathedral of Pamplona: ms. 6, fs. 20 and 59 (1333-1335). Andreae taught within the geographic area of the Custody of Lleida. Some manuscripts, such as the one from the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin: ms. Theol. lat. qu. 32, f. 244 (15th century) reports that Andreae was a lecturer of natural philosophy in the Montsó convent. This information fits perfectly with the fact that Andreae was from the Custody of Lleida, because according to a list from 1334, this Custody was comprised of the convents of Lleida, Tarragona, Tortosa, Montblanc, Montsó, Cervera, Tàrrrega and Morella (P. Sanahuja 1959: 65). Some manuscripts call him a doctor or doctor in theology. He was eventually nicknamed *Doctor Dulcissimus*, *Dulcifluus* and *Fundatissimus* (F. Ehrle 1919: 48 and 55). Based on some of Andreae's own statements, one can deduce that he was a disciple of Scotus: "These are from the sayings of master brother John Duns, of the Scottish nation, occupying the master's chair, as far as I have been able to collect them into one [work]" (Library of the Archive of the Cathedral of Pamplona, codex 6, f. 87). Therefore, he was an *auditor Scoti* (Ambrosian Library of Milan, ms. A, 69 Inf). Based on the way he is recalled by the copyist of the manuscript of Pamplona, which dates from 1333, he seems to have been recently deceased. Besides these known dates, all kinds of speculations, deductions and assumptions have been made which shall not be mentioned in this article.

Andreae is the author of the *Scriptum in artem veterem*, the *Tractatus quaestionum de principiis naturae* and more importantly the *Scriptum super Metaphysicam Aristotelis* (although a careful examination of the textual tradition of the latter title is needed). He is also plausibly attributed authorship of a *Quaestio de subiecto totius logicae* and several *Quaestiones extraordinariae novae logicae*. His authorship of the following works is more problematic: the *Commentarium in IV libros Sententiarum*, the *Compendiosum principium in libros Sententiarum*, several *Sermons*, the *Tractatus de syllogismo demonstrativo et topico*, the *Quaestiones super libros de anima* and even other texts (M. Gensler 1992).

4. Native of Tauste?

Regarding his specific place of birth, scholars have suggested two cities: Barcelona and Tauste. Following a chronicle by Àngel Vidal accredited by "ancient manuscripts" (now lost), the 18th-century historian Jaume Coll (1738: 161) claimed that Antonius Andreae came from Barcelona's Sant Francesc convent. In this case, he would be a Barcelona native. Martí de Barcelona (1929: 325) revisited and accepted this explanation, but since then it has not gained any more followers. The weak point of what we can call the Barcelona hypothesis is that there is no documentation to back it, and it does not justify why a friar from Barcelona would end up in the Custody of Lleida.

The Tauste hypothesis gained ground in the 20th century, even among Catalan historians and reference works. The fact that the famous *Répertoire des*

sources historiques du moyen âge. Bio-Bibliographie (U. Chevalier 1905), which has been published several times, claims him clearly contributed significantly to this shift. So where does this hypothesis come from? On what documentary evidence is it grounded? The Aragonese historian F. de Latassa (1796) reported on it back in the 17th century, but the origin of the information can be found in books by two scholars from Tauste, the Jesuit Juan López de Arbizu and the Franciscan Basilio Iturri de Roncal. The former, in an *Aprobación* from a book by the latter, from 1722, listed the important men of Tauste, among them Antonius Andreae. Juan López de Arbizu also wrote a monograph, unpublished and currently lost, entitled *Compendio de los ilustres hijos de la villa de Tauste y otros recuerdos de esta antigua, noble y leal población*. Two years later, in 1724, in a monograph dedicated to the Virgin of Sancho Abarca, Iturri de Roncal recalls the “sons” of this Virgin. One of the prominent ones was Andreae, “Taustian from the old houses of the Andreses” (1729 and 1864: 53). However, they provide no documentation or proof but instead base their statements merely on matching surnames. Before these two authors from Tauste had done so, we can find no other scholar who associated the name of Andreae with Tauste. When talking about Antonius Andreae, Blasco de Lanuza, José Ximénez Samaniego, José Antonio de Hebrera and Juan de S. Antonio or the *Cronista Andrés* never mention the name of Tauste. If the case for Barcelona is lacking documentation (even though Àngel Vidal claims to have seen it), so is the case for Tauste. If it is difficult to explain why a Franciscan from Barcelona would end up in the Custody of Lleida (even though relations between the two custodies was common), it is even more of a stretch to justify his coming from Tauste, a village which had no Franciscan convent during Andreae’s lifetime.

Today there is still no documentary or critical basis for continuing to assert that Andreae hailed from Tauste. What we know for sure, both actively and passively, is that Antonius Andreae was from the Custody of Lleida. The fact that the known documentation presents him as a Franciscan from the Province of Aragon (which at that time covered the entire Crown of Aragon) or as a lecturer from the Montsó convent (which belonged to the Custody of Lleida) should confuse no one. And yet they seem to have been the source of many mistakes.

5. Antonius Andreae and “Scotist Aristotelianism”

More than anything else, Duns Scotus was a theologian. His main treatises are commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the book used as a text in theology faculties. His strictly philosophical writings either date from his youth or are unfinished or minor. What is more, from a formal standpoint, Scotus’ style requires constant effort from the reader; it contains long and sometimes rather unclear sentences with reiterations, leaps in argumentation, constant reformulations of theses, subtle distinctions and a fluctuating lexis. In contrast, thanks to the clear, precise, rigorous language of Andreae, the *Doctor Dulciffuus*, Duns Scotus’ acute intuitions and solid philosophical principles take on a well-structured organisation which is expressed in the guise of a commentary on the works – especially on *Metaphysics* – of the philosopher par excellence, Aristotle. Andreae is the father of what is called “Scotist Aristotelianism” (G. Pini 1995a: 387).

Indeed, Antonius Andreae wrote three philosophical treatises devoted to logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics, respectively; Duns Scotus had not written any complete work on these topics, especially the first two. The *Scriptum in artem veterem* is a set of commentaries related to the “old” logic, that is, to the treatises on Aristotelian logic known back in Boethius’ era: the *Categoriae* or *Praedicamenta* and the *De interpretatione* or *Perihermeneias*; the *Isagoge* or the introduction by Porphyry (translated into Latin by Boethius) to Aristotle’s *Categoriae*; Gilbert de la Porrée’s *Liber sex principiorum*, a book which is also a commentary on the Aristotelian categories; and finally Boethius’ *De divisionibus*, which is also a kind of commentary on the Aristotelian categories. We also know that Andreae intended to gloss the “new” logic; the *Tractatus de syllogismo demonstrativo et topico* or the *Quaestiones ordinariae de logica* are most likely related to this project. The *Tractatus quaestionum de principiis naturae* does not follow the lines of any of Aristotle’s works but instead exclusively reflects on the three principles of nature: matter, form and privation. Andreae particularly bore in mind Scotus’ *Quaestiones subtilissimae in Metaphysicam* and *Ordinatio*.

Andreae’s most emblematic work is the *Scriptum super Metaphysicam Aristotelis*, his *opus magnum* (M. Gensler 1997; W.O. Duba 2014). It is an *expositio textualis* of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* with 91 questions interspersed over the most relevant topics. Only one manuscript of it in this form has been conserved (Oriel College, Oxford: ms. 65). The remaining manuscripts, around 50 of them, along with the 17 incunables and the subsequent printings, only reproduce the literal commentary (*Expositio in XII libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis*) or the questions (*Quaestiones super XII libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis*). Therefore, it is an extensive, ambitious work. On the one hand, the literary exposition bears in mind the work of the same name by Thomas Aquinas and draws from it, to such an extent that Andreae was accused by his adversaries of being an *imitator Aquinatis*. The treatise by Thomas Aquinas, the *expositor par excellence* of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, is the model that Andreae followed and the milestone he set out to surpass. In the essential passages, without naming him and using generic yet unequivocal formulas such as the *quidam expositor*, Andreae disputes Thomas Aquinas’ interpretation and offers the Scotist alternative. It is indeed a much more comprehensive commentary than Thomas Aquinas’. On the other hand, Andreae surveyed Scotus’ *Quaestiones subtilissimae in Metaphysicam*; he eliminated some questions, wrote new ones, completed existing ones and polished them and inserted them in the right place within the commentary. As a general rule, Andreae adapted the *Quaestiones* (which is an early work) to the more mature theses of *Ordinatio* and *Quodlibet*.

Andreae used the doctrine of univocity (real and consistent unity which avoids any contradiction) formulated by Scotus in the *Ordinatio* not only to interpret Aristotle’s classical expression of the *ens multis modis dicitur* (being is said in many ways) but also to convert metaphysics into a unique, organic, structured *scientia transcendens* (science of the being as being and the transcendental or common properties of the being) thanks precisely to this univocity of the concept of being. Univocity replaces the analogy (or relationship of similarity) proposed by Thomas Aquinas. When interpreting Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, the Doctor Angelicus – always according to Andreae – confuses *praedicatio* (predication) or the relationship between the concept of the being

and its referents, with *attributio* (attribution), that is, real dependence among the same referents. Predication entails a *primum analogatum* (first principle): there is a relationship of proportionality between it and its referents. In contrast, attribution consists in the proportional relationship among different referents (without *primum analogatum*). When Aristotle speaks about “analogy” in his *Metaphysics*, he is referring to *attributio* but not *praedicatio* (G. Pini 1991: 551-561; and 1995b). To Andreae, the purpose of metaphysical science is simply the being as being (*ens in quantum ens*), the common being (*ens commune*) in God and creatures. However, God per se, with his godliness and attributes, is beyond metaphysical knowledge and inaccessible to human reason. Natural theology, which Thomas Aquinas believed dealt specifically with God, no longer made any sense to Antonius Andreae: the reflection on God, or more accurately on the principle of being, is part of the general ontology. Therefore, regarding Thomas Aquinas, “**Scotist Aristotelianism**”, which is more pessimistic about the natural capacities of human reasoning, provides a **reductionist interpretation of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics***: the metaphysics coincides with the ontology, but conversely, and thanks to the univocity of being, it is more “scientific”.

6. The fate of the works of Antonius Andreae

If Andreae’s objective was to outline the different philosophical disciplines *ad mentem Scoti*, he seemed to have successfully achieved this. His works were more popular than those of Scotus himself and became a basic text in Scotist teaching in late medieval and Renaissance universities. The fact that 25 manuscripts of Andreae’s treatises are conserved at Oxford and Cambridge alone is telling. Andreae built the truly philosophical Scotism and made it an alternative system to Thomism. If Duns Scotus’ main philosophical rival was Henry of Ghent, after Andreae’s work perhaps the adversary of Scotism became Thomas Aquinas, or Thomism. It is no coincidence that afterward, Bartolommeo Spina, a prominent Thomist, wrote his *Defensiones* (Venice, 1517) of Thomas Aquinas’s theses against Andreae’s attacks, and that all 30 were later integrated in Thomas Aquinas’s *In Metaphysicam Aristotelis commentaria* (Thomas Aquinas 1562). Therefore, in the same book, the reader had not only Thomas’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* but also its “apparent impugnation” by Andreae (summarised by Spina) and the consequent “refutation” (also by Spina). Andreae had never mentioned Thomas Aquinas by name, but Spina repeated Andreae’s name a thousand times, turning him into the arch-critic of Thomas Aquinas and Thomism.

Antonius Andreae may not be an ‘author/author’ according to the etymological meaning of the Greek word (*authéntes*), that is, “person who acts by himself”; however, without any doubt, he was an ‘author/auctor’, in the sense of the Latin word (*auctor* comes from *augere*, ‘augment’), namely a “person who grows, expands or completes another’s work”. And from this vantage point, Antonius Andreae’s work as a whole is a *magnum opus*, a masterpiece by a *fundatissimus* author worth knowing.

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Pau Casals: Music and commitment in the journalism of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

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Abstract

In this paper, we present the public programme of action carried out by Pau Casals during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), especially through the study of the daily press, as well as archival sources, in order to clarify his public behaviour. We should bear in mind that Pau Casals was linked to the political action of the Generalitat and the Second Republic, and that he held three concerts in Barcelona (as well as engaging in international tours and recordings) during the war.

Key words: music, press, journalism, Pau Casals, Spanish Civil War, Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain.

1. 1936: War and social revolution

The Spanish Civil War signalled a **turning point in Casals' life**. Even though he was both at his peak musically – the recording of the famous Bach *Suites* – and at his nadir – during the war he only performed three concerts in Barcelona and held a few tours – it was a crucial stage in shaping his thinking which would determine his future until his death.

The first news of the conflict came on Friday the 18th of July, and the next day there were skirmishes in Barcelona. Casals was in the midst of **rehearsing Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*** at the Palau de la Música Catalana. **The conductor and orchestra were preparing for the opening of the People's Olympics** – a leftist version of the Olympics being held in Berlin – on Sunday, when they were going to perform the symphony at the Grec Theatre on Montjuïc. **In the official programme of the People's Olympics (Santacana i Pujadas, 1990: 235)**, the concert was scheduled for Sunday the 19th at 10 pm at the Palau Nacional. As Josep M. Corredor (1974) reported, the concert was interrupted just as the choir intoned **“Be embraced, ye millions!”**

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The episode signalled not only the beginning of the war in Catalonia but **also a shift in Casals' career. We have numerous in-person witnesses.** Casals told Albert Khan about the episode with a precision that only comes with **key episodes in one's life. The rehearsal was important, it had been planned, and** now it was finally being held, five years after the great concert to celebrate the **proclamation of the Republic. He conducted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony** at the Fine Arts Palace on Montjuic. And now he was doing it again for the worldwide celebration. Casals said that he would never forget that day, which played out in his memory time and time again (Khan, 2011: 222-223).

The scene, which is imbued with emotion, illustrates the steadfastness of a musician, as well as a people, rising to the defence of their beliefs and ideals. He subsequently recalled it, and it became a key scene in his life:

“What a thrilling moment! And what a contrast! We were singing the immortal anthem to brotherhood, while on the streets on Barcelona and many other cities a fratricidal struggle was taking shape which would lead to so much bloodshed. A resident of Sant Salvador, a Barcelona businessman, Francesc Renom, was detained by the roving gangs. In the search of the Casals house by two armed militiamen, they did not find him but after a while, they returned with the arrested man. Casals prevailed over the group and phoned the leader of the local Anti-Fascist Committee, known as **‘El Maño’**, who received the order to set him free, and the **neighbour threatened that he may flee Barcelona the next day...**”

His brother Lluís lived at the beach house. Casals told him that he could destroy anything that he believed might compromise them in the new situation. He burned the letters from Queen Maria Cristina and Count Morphy, and portraits of monarchs and aristocrats and those who had had to flee the chaos. He sacrificed them for the safety of his loved ones. Casals took a clear stance of engagement with the Republic, while he obviously also condemned and fought against disorder and chaos. He stated:

“To me – and let everyone judge me according to their own conscience – there was one main issue: my adhesion to the institutions endorsed by the vote. With regard to regimes and institutions, I will always respect the people's will, regardless of what it expresses.” (Corredor, 1974: 376)

Casals tried to assist in that complex moment. He made two major donations to the victims of the siege of Madrid and to the needy of Catalonia. According to *La Batalla*, on the 19th of August 1936 he gave the Antifascist Committee of El Vendrell two checks for ten thousand pesetas each for the victims of Madrid and Barcelona.¹ This was a huge sum at the time, and the

¹ “*El músico Pablo Casals hace donación de 20.000 pesetas para las víctimas de la sublevación*”, *La Batalla*, 19-VIII-1936. The same day in *La Publicitat*: “*Donatius per a les*

militiamen of El Vendrell, a village in the Baix Penedès region, gave the check to the mayor of Barcelona, Pi i Sunyer, to be used for those with war injuries in the hospitals of Barcelona. Casals was one of the first to offer economic support to **the city's Revolutionary Committee** (Vidiella, 2002: 17-18).

This donation, which we explain in detail in the biography, yet another **display of Casals' customary generosity, stemmed from motivations which were** unknown until now and would have repercussions. The news appeared in the press,² as Casals wished, as a defence mechanism against a threat which at that time was not only an opinion but could be dangerous given the fact that in August terrorist persecution against prominent conservatives or Catholics reached its peak. Just a few days before, a direct threat against Casals had been published. On the 14th of August, the official newspaper of the PSUC published an article by the music critic of *Meridià* and the chief theoretician of what was considered revolutionary music, Otto Mayer, the delegate to the Propaganda Committee of the Generalitat, the author of an international songbook and a **music critic. In the article, the Marxist commentator criticised Casals' passivity** towards the revolution and called for mobilisation. The music journalist, famous for his articles in *Mirador*, where he wrote several on Casals about the homages that Barcelona paid to Pau Casals and Fernández Arbós, praised both of them.³

He mentioned how Madrid had joined the anti-fascist struggle, while Catalonia had not, and the barb was targeted at Casals. Soli was not the only one to **"finger" those considered dissidents or traitors; so did Treball**.⁴ Mayer bared his sharp claws and thought that Catalan musicians:

"...so far have shown no signs of life, as if they were truly repelled at the thought of standing by the public's side at these times. Among them, there are half a dozen who have amassed fabulous fortunes in a triumphal race around the world."

The coincidence of the dates between the accusation by this orthodox Marxist newspaper, faithful to Moscow and politically dangerous, a newspaper that represented the unified powerful of the Socialist and Communist parties, namely *Treball*, **on the 14th, and the publication of Casals' donation on the 19th**, reveals that the donation was made during this interval. There is no doubt about it. Pau Casals made the donation motivated by the public outcry, not because of his generosity, as other times; there is a cause-effect relationship. Obviously he was pleased to do it, but the coincidence of the dates between the outcry (with its implicit threat) and the donation, just three days, speaks volumes. Given this public threat, he had to make a move and he did so with a donation of a significant sum, which he made public.

víctimes de l'alçament feixista. El mestre Pau Casals dóna 10.000 pessetes per als Hospitals de la ciutat. En dóna 10.000 més per a la ciutat de Madrid"; and in La Veu de Catalunya: "L'eminent mestre Pau Casals fa un donatiu de 10.000 pessetes", etc.

² *Las Noticias*, 19-VIII-1936

³ MAYER, O.: "La vida musical a Barcelona. Dos homenatges: Arbós i Casals", *Mirador*, 281 (21-VI-1934).

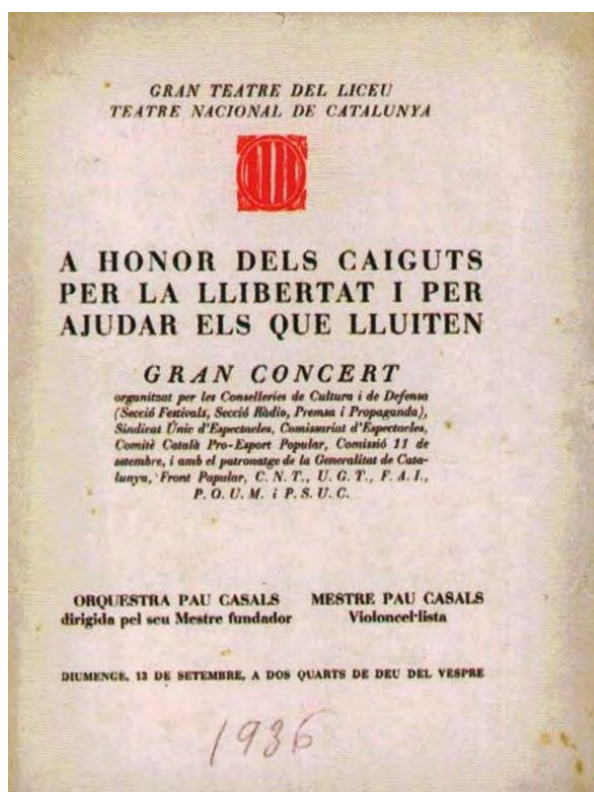
⁴ For an overview of journalism during that period: Figueres (2010b).

Casals did not want to go abroad. We should also notice that even Mayer noted the target of the donations – those with war injuries, widows and orphans – and that detail is not gratuitous. Casals donated the checks for the victims of the uprising, as the newspapers reported, even though he primarily earmarked the donations he made during the war to children.

Throughout the 30 months of the war, Casals held three major charitable concerts in Barcelona, one per year, to benefit the victims of the bombardments, with whom he sympathised and wanted to help in any way he could. The three concerts were held at the Liceu opera house, and all were for charitable causes. They were on the 13th of September 1936 for those injured in the uprising and its victims, the 12th of July 1937 for the **International Writers' Congress in Defence of Culture (AIDC)**, and the 19th of October 1938 for children who were war victims. The first two were organised by the Generalitat de Catalunya and the third by the central government.

From the very beginning, Casals expressed his support for the Republic, and during the war he kept expressing it. He repeated it in the concert held in homage to the 5th anniversary of the Republic. This homage, held on the 13th of April 1936, the eve of the mythical 14th, when the new regime was proclaimed, was held at what was then then Gran Teatre del Liceu opera house, today the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya, as the gala festival organised by the Barcelona Town Hall and the Generalitat de Catalunya with the government of both institutions in attendance. The Orfeó Català participated in the first half.

Figure 1. Handbill of the concert in Barcelona (1936)



When Companys arrived, Millet started *Els Segadors*, which he had harmonised, and immediately thereafter *El Cant de la Senyera*, which also received a warm applause. They also played popular Catalan songs like *El Cant dels Ocells* and *La Sardana de les Monges* by the master Morera, who was in the concert hall. The first half of the concert ended with another rendition of *Els Segadors*. The second half featured Casals and the Pau Casals Orchestra, conducted by his brother Enric. They performed Haydn's Concert in D Major. The magazine put out by the Orfeó Català reported the following:⁵ "At the end of the lovely concert, Pau Casals listened to endless ovations which propelled him back onstage several times". The session closed with Beethoven's *Ninth* featuring numerous soloists, including Emili Vendrell and Conxita Badia with the Orfeó Gracienc, leaving Casals with a fond memory of this moving event.

Figure 2. Illustration by Francesc Fontanals, Soka, in *La Publicitat* (15-IX-1936)



The first of the concerts in which he participated during the war was on the 13th of September 1936. It was the concert for the victims – the wounded, orphans, etc. – of the fighting in Barcelona on the 19th and 20th of July. Regarding this concert, *Catalunya* reported: "There is no one as prestigious as him to bring class to an official event". Casals' name was fully associated with an evening brimming with profound resonances in the art of music, with the historical moment of the defence of a society under attack.

The concert was organised by the Catalan public institutions, but the initiative seemed to have come from Casals.

The slogan of the concert says it all: "In honour of the fallen, for freedom and to help those fighting". It was organised by the parties in charge: POUM, PSUC and the government of the Generalitat, with the ERC and the UGT and

⁵ M. P.: "Concert al Gran Teatre del Liceu", *Revista Musical Catalana*, 389 (May 1936), pp. 209-210.

CNT-FAI unions also playing a prominent role. It started with the funeral march from the *Götterdämmerung* and ended with Beethoven's *Eroica* symphony conducted, according to *La Publicitat* on the 15th,⁶ with “fitting character and passionate expression”. Companys, Ventura Gassol, Espanya, Rouret, Pi i Sunyer, General Aranguren and others were all in attendance. It was the Haydn concert.

In the vibrant prose of times of war, the concert sought the following: to value culture as harmony and an act of awareness in unity against the desire to destroy shared democratic values – and civilisation. It also confirmed Casals as the standard-bearer of the country.

The concert programme was appropriate for the audience and the time: **the first half featured Wagner's *Funeral March* from the *Götterdämmerung* and the overture from Beethoven's *Egmont*, an emblematic piece in tribute to the count who was decapitated by the Duke of Alba's regiment, which was very appropriate for that moment because of its vibrant tone. The second half, which was reserved for Casals' cello with the orchestra and conducted by his brother Enric, included the soloist part of Bacherini's *Concert in B-Flat Major*, the adagio from Bach's *Toccatà in F Major* and the middle of Granados' *Goyescas*, which garnered an encore. The concert closed with Beethoven's *Third Symphony* and the magnificent *Eroica* which, B. Samper wrote in *La Publicitat*, “Master Casals conducted with perfectly befitting character and passionate expressions”. The journalist and musician waxed enthusiastic about this masterful concert with his referents to Casals: Bach's *Suites*, Beethoven with his exemplary *Eroica* and the stirring *Goyescas* by Granados, which had premiered in Barcelona in 1911 and been composed by the friend who had died 20 years earlier. In this critique, Samper wrote:**

“It is unnecessary to ponder the supreme quality of these performances, which one can imagine just by mentioning the name of Pau Casals”.

In his memoirs (Miravittles, 1982: 238) and an article,⁷ the journalist and politician Jaume Miravittles i Navarra, the director of the Propaganda Commission of the Generalitat de Catalunya, sketched the episode of this concert. Casals returned to his Barcelona in this epic climate. He was able to travel wherever he wanted, and he did. But he returned to his homeland to comfort it with his baton.

In 1936, he took inspiration from a text by Ventura i Gassol to compose the *Balada de la Nova Solveig*, which he dedicated to the soprano Conxita Badia i Casals, in which he tells her (Albet, 1985: 33):

“Thank you for your words, which the amiable Miss Davis has conveyed to me. She sang *La Nova Solveig* and I immediately

⁶ The news item was report thus in El Vendrell in *El Baix Penedès* on 13 September, etc.

⁷ Jaume MIRAVILLES commented on “Gent que he conegut. Pau Casals”, *La Vanguardia*, 15-III-1983.

felt your presence...! Everything I have written for the soprano voice, I have done thinking of you. Therefore, everything belongs to you, and if one day they record it for gramophone, no one other than you should sing it.”

The second piece he composed during the war is *La Cançó dels Elefants* in 1938 based on a text by Palmira Jaquetti.⁸

In November, he made his usual concert tour, this time to replenish his coffers, which had been depleted by the losses in European bank accounts affected by World War II. He stressed his opinion with an emphatic conclusion:

“...my people are innocently suffering, because no one in Catalonia wanted to wage a civil war.

In this interview, he does not mention what was surely the most important musical activity of his lifetime, which took place during wartime. The famous Bach *Suites* which he had discovered in a music shop on Barcelona's Carrer Ample early in the century were now being immortalised in recordings he made throughout the war. He recorded the six suites out of sequence. The first session was in London on the 25th of November in the famous Abbey Road Studios (second and third suites).⁹ Later the second and sixth suites were recorded in Paris on the 2nd and 3rd of June 1938, respectively. The last two were also recorded in Paris, the fourth on the 13th and 16th of June 1939 and the fifth on the 14th and 15th of June in the year of the defeat. These suites had an incredible discographic projection and even today, remastered, they have been reissued a total of 20 times.

The moral position of refusing to perform in states he considered unjust or unworthy, which he drew attention to, appeared notably during these years when European totalitarianism was gaining notoriety for its ways. Hitler had been issuing discriminatory regulations for three years, and Germany was **therefore the target of Casals' moral condemnation via declarations and by refusing to go there to play.** When *L'Oeuvre* asked him if he would visit this country on his European tour, he said no, and the Barcelona-based *La Rambla* reported on this refusal.¹⁰

This interview, published in *L'Oeuvre* and *Le Peuple*, was one of the more popular ones that Barcelona's *La Noche* and other papers reproduced,¹¹ but let us consider the first one in *La Publicitat*, published in early November, before

⁸ Ossa Martínez (2011: 59) mentioned that he composed these two pieces as well as *Roda de Nadal* for piano (1939).

⁹ Although Baldock cites the 26th and 27th of November for the recording of Beethoven's Sonata no. 4 (opus 102 no. 1). He also insists on these dates for the recording of Bach's *Suites*.

¹⁰ V. G., A.: "Homes de la nostra terra. Pau Casals parla de la seva fidelitat al poble Espanyol", *La Rambla*, 10-XII-1936.

¹¹ "Pablo Casals, ejemplo de patriotismo", *La Noche*, 12-I-1937.

the tour, the most reliable one. Casals held a large number of interviews. Without aiming to be exhaustive, we have examined many of them.

The journalistic interviews during the Civil War of which we are aware are:

1936: 3

La Publicitat: “El mestre Pau Casals comença la seva tournée annual”. 12-XI-1936

La Rambla: “Homes de la nostra terra. Pau Casals”. [Rep. *Le Peuple* (Paris)]. 10-XII-1936

El Baix Penedès: “Homes de la nostra terra. Pau Casals”. [Rep. *Le Peuple* (Paris)]. 12-XII-1936

1937: 8

La Noche: “Pablo Casals, ejemplo de patriotism”. [Rep. *L’Oeuvre* (Paris)]. 12-I-1937

La Rambla: “Pau Casals, al costat del poble català”. [Rep. *L’Oeuvre* (Paris)]. 6-II-1937

La Humanitat: “Pau Casals, gran artista i patriota exemplar” [Rep. *L’Oeuvre* (Paris)] 7-II-1937

Catalunya: “Diu Pau Casals: No aniré mai més a Alemanya” [Rep. *Moment* (Bucharest)] 23-VII-1937

Claridad (Madrid): Declaracions [Rep. *Moment* (Bucharest) via Febus agency]. 24-VII-1937

Mi revista: “Pablo Casals. Embajadores de España en el mundo”. 1-VIII-1937

Caras y Caretas (Buenos Aires): “Pablo Casals: propago por el mundo la bella religión de la música”. 21-VIII-1937

Ressorgiment: “Artistes de casa nostra: Pau Casals”. 1937

1938: 4

El Día Gráfico: “Pablo Casals en Barcelona”. 14-X-1938

La Vanguardia: “Pablo Casals, ha vuelto. Breve charla con el ilustre artista”. 14-X-1938

La Publicitat: “Pau Casals home de cor”. 16-X-1938

Front (Girona): “L’ambaixada artística de Pau Casals”. 19-X-1938

Figure 3. Cover of *La Vanguardia* on Casals' pro-Republican stance



We have located around a dozen interviews during the war period, three from 1936, five from 1937 and four from 1938, reproduced in 14 media outlets. These statements were projected near and far, and some of the local press reproduced them while magnifying his loyalty to the Republican cause. In his hometown, it was claimed¹² that **“One of Pau Casals’ best accomplishments in his career is being the son of the village and identifying with the noble cause”**. However, this interview did not say that it came from Paris, from *Le Peuple*, when it was copied from there.

Let us view this episode as representative of the work of journalism in the 1930s, that is, copying without citing. It was an interview that made an impact. The author, in a Barcelona newspaper, was F. Oliver-Brachefeld: **“El mestre Pau Casals comença la seva tournée anual”** (Master Pau Casals commences his annual tour) in *La Publicitat* (12-XI-1936), and from there it was reproduced in *Le Peuple* in Paris, and from this newspaper it was once again published in Barcelona¹³ and elsewhere.¹⁴ The newspapers at the time reproduced whatever they wanted without asking for permission or citing sources. Its author explains this in **“Trajectòria curiosa d’un article de *La Publicitat*”** (Curious trajectory of an article from *La Publicitat*) (16-II-1937). The interview was signed by A.V.G. in *Le Peuple* and reproduced in Barcelona newspapers such as *La Rambla* (10-XII-1936) and the regional newspapers *Diari de Tarragona* (17-XII-1936) and

¹² EDITORIAL: **“Pau Casals. Un nom, un home: tot un home”**, *El Baix Penedès*, 1,605 (23-I-1937).

¹³ *La Rambla*, 10-XII-1936.

¹⁴ **“Homes de la nostra terra. Pau Casals”**, *Baix Penedès*, 1,600 (El Vendrell, 17-XII-1936).

El Baix Penedés (El Vendrell, 17-XII-1936) (Figueres, 2007: 323-348). Oliver-Brachefeld explained it in the mess that comes with so many reproductions.

2. 1937: The effort to defend the Republic

On the 16th of January 1937, Casals was in Paris. He wrote to Pena from Porte de Champerret at Galvani 68-18. They spoke about the translation of *Egmont* which they were preparing to offer to the musician, conducted by Casals. On the 23rd of the same month, he was in Prada, writes to his agent in London, Ibbs and Tillet (Baldock, 1994: 186) telling him that he was resting in the Pyrenees for a few days. He stayed with La Frasquita in the Grand Hotel and went to Perpignan to see Doctor René Puig. Eisenberg wrote to them inviting them to Paris after the concert in Prague in April, and they stayed there until the 13th of May and then returned to Prada. From there they went to the Liceu on the 12th of July, and on the 17th they embarked on the tour through the Americas, two months in South America, the first time there since 1904. After the tour around Europe, the tour around North Africa and after it through Rabat, Casablanca, **Tunis... he repaired to Prada. His association with Prada was constant, more than Perpignan, a major city.** In Prada, he was close to the traditional Catalan world, the underlying *Canigó* and a landscape that was clearly similar, along with a peace and quiet that was more difficult to find in Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon.

That year, he took two major tours, at the beginning and end of the year, and he recorded records. He told Gerhard this when he returned to Barcelona, where he was interviewed¹⁵ for *El Día Gráfico*. In addition to the Suites, it mentioned several recordings of **Antonin Dvorák's Concert for Cello and Orchestra in B Minor, Opus 104**, for the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by George Szell in Prague on the 28th of April 1937.

In another letter dated the 30th of April 1937, Pena told him that a joint assembly of the AOC and OPC was held in his home. The president, secretary and treasurer of both entities were there, and even though the Union forbade holding concerts, he said, the mistrust between them was dispelled. We know that on the 25th of May, Casals was at the Grand Hotel, where he sent a letter to Pena and expressed his joy that the misunderstandings with the AOC were dissolved because of their susceptibility.

On the 12th of July 1937, a concert was held in honour of the intellectuals who expressed solidarity with Spain in the struggle. Then back to the Liceu. The Pau Casals Orchestra performed, made up of the teachers of the Single Entertainment Union and conducted by Casals himself. He offered a concert for the Alliance of Intellectuals for the Defence of Culture, the popular AIDC, as **part of the Second International Writers' Conference. It was organised by the Propaganda Committee and the Entertainment Committee of the Generalitat with the involvement of the Barcelona Town Hall.** The programme of this second concert sought to be an overview of Catalan music. Participants included composers and directors of their own works: Eduard Toldrà (*Scherzo* from *La*

¹⁵ GÓNGORA, L.: "Pau Casals ha cumplido sesenta años", *El Día Gráfico*, 23-I-1937. The clipping was included in the brief filed against him. Archive of the Higher Court of Justice of Catalonia. Tarragona collection. TRRP, File *Causa 2.443 contra Pablo Casals*, pp. 82-83.

Filla del Marxant), Jaume Pahissa (*A les Costes Mediterrànies*), Enric Morera (*Tassarba*), Baltasar Samper (*Suite Mallorquina*) and Joan Lamote de Grignon (*Scherzo sobre un Tema Popular*). Casals conducted the *Eroica*. In the intermission, *Goyescas* and the *sardana* by Juli Garreta entitled *A en Pau Casals* were played. On the 21st of this month, *Catalunya*, put out by the CNT, published a news item on the cover with a photograph and comment reporting on the association. *La Humanitat*, which was put out by the ERC, showed photographs of Companys, who was in attendance, and Casals enjoying an ovation. From this concert, there is a comment on the artist's suffering written by the journalist Aguirre in *El Día Gráfico* which discusses the incredible heat inside the Liceu and how Casals took pains to ensure that the sweat falling on the strings did not make him out of tune. He changed his underwear on the break, but as soon as the concert began again he was soaked... It also recounts how in Prague the Nazis were preparing a demonstration hostile to Casals, but Jiménez de Asúa, a diplomat and military officer, was able to stop it. But let us get back to the concert. The press covered it and *La Vanguardia* devoted an entire page to it with photographs by Agustí Centelles:

Figure 4. *La Vanguardia* (15-VII-1937)



After this concert, he went to Paris again, to the house of his friends Maurice and Paula Eisenberg, and to Prada. This visit was very important in setting his proximity, after the war ended in Catalonia, and to establish his permanent residence in this village. He returned to Barcelona in October. The concert was widely reported in the Barcelona press and even in the newspapers of the Franco regime.¹⁶

¹⁶ "Homenaje a los escritores marxistas", *Imperio* (Toledo, 15-VII-1937).

In an interview¹⁷ in the Romanian magazine *Moment*, he explained that he was withdrawing money from the Bank of Madrid and giving it to the Republic. In *Catalunya*, he stated that he was staying put and had not moved:

“As you must know, the government of Catalonia has asked me to make my art available to its propaganda services. I think that before the war, without anyone inviting me to, I made outstanding material and moral propaganda for my country. I made this propaganda through honest artistic work. It is important to remember that I am an artist, not a propagandist.”

Casals composed no piece – besides the two compositions mentioned above – and in steadfast, striking, profound words he repeated: **“I want to be faithful to my people right now, just as I was in the good times”**.¹⁸ Alavedra reported on his cool reception in Switzerland and the half-empty concert halls in other parts of Europe. As an example of his consistent stance, the biographers (Alavedra, 1975; Vives de Fàbregas, 1966) state that when travelling around turbulent Europe, he did not want to get off the ship in Lisbon so he would not have to greet the dictator Salazar.

He was interviewed and portrayed with great fanfare on the 1st of August 1937 in the anarchist monthly *Mi Revista*, with writer Leopoldo Cardona illustrating a far-ranging conversation on two pages. We can find this interview in 1940 in the brief of the Regional Tribunal of Political Responsibilities (TRRP),¹⁹ **where it became yet further documentary evidence of the musician’s stance against a law which had all the legal faults possible, not moral or civic, rather strictly incorrect regulations, the main law issued to judge past deeds...**

The appearances of interviews in the anarchist press were a safe-conduct, and the death threats alluded to by his biographer Baldock seem unfounded, although they were not entirely groundless. The writer from the important illustrated publication said that Casals soon left **for America and wrote “he is our ambassador to the world”**. **Furthermore, he repeated that Casals was one of the most prominent glories of Spain who would not die, and that Casals considered himself a friend of the new Spain that was being shaped. The title of the interview is illustrative: “Embajadores de España en el mundo” (Spain’s ambassadors in the world)**.²⁰ In mid-July, the Barcelona newspaper *Las Noticias*, put out by the socialist union UGT, announced²¹ his departure abroad to hold 14 concerts, and his return in October. This interview would be used in

¹⁷ Figueres (2007: 331 and forward.). We have reproduced it in its entirety. The interview was also published widely, so excerpts appeared in *El Luchador* (Alicante, 24-VII-1937), *Justicia Social*, 367 (Mahon, 18-VII-1937), etc. It appeared the most extensively in *La Humanitat* (23-VII-1937) with the title “Pau Casals i la guerra. ‘Neutral en aquesta lluita? Impossible!’”.

¹⁸ “Diu Pau Casals: completament del poble que m’estima. Mai no el trairé. No aniré mai més a Alemanya”, *Catalunya*, 23-VII-1937.

¹⁹ It can be read in Figueres (2007: 336-338).

²⁰ CARDONA, L.: “Embajadores de España en el mundo: Pablo Casals”, *Mi Revista*, 20 (1-VIII-1937).

²¹ REDACCIÓ: [Nota informativa], *Las Noticias*, 17-VII-1937.

his defence, albeit with little success because he was condemned by the TRRP anyway. It was alleged that Casals only spoke about art. It should be said that the title was devised by the magazine, not Casals.

Figure 5. Programme of the concert on the 12th of July 1937 at the Liceu organised by the AIDC



These concerts had been scheduled in advance. Casals requested permission to be absent. During the war, Casals went abroad several times without any problems. We only have one file authorising departures. It is the file of the Generalitat processed by Pompeu Fabra as the president of the Board of Cultural Relations, which on the 25th of June unanimously requested its chief, the Minister of Culture, to authorise the departure. The regional minister, Carles Pi i Sunyer, immediately authorised it on the 2nd of July, and informed the Ministries of Governance and the Interior.²² No state body appears; the Generalitat acted as a veritable state in some matters, even though the central government was subordinating its autonomy by imposing recentralisation to “restore” the public order, justice and the war industries.

In August 1937, he returned from Argentina, where he performed at the Teatre Colón in Buenos Aires. In 1904, he had gone to the Prince George Hall. Now he performed two concerts in this theatre with its symphony orchestra conducted by Juan José Castro. He would become familiar with the theatre and return there in 1973 with *El Pessebre*. As was customary, the press reported it

²² Pau Casals file no. 218 (crossed out), 18, (Barcelona, 1937). Folder 86. Q-279. Archive of the Barcelona Provincial Council.

avidly. Leandro R. Reynés from the popular *Carasiy Caretas* asked him about music. Casals answered that he viewed himself as a priest of propaganda from the religion of music.²³ The journalist did not ask him about the conflict, but he clearly showed his sympathy with the popular yearnings. He delivered a beautiful response in a general tone. Wherever he went, the impact of good feelings and social and cultural values reached audiences via the media. Casals always, always welcomed them and intensely poured himself into it. Hence the importance of his word.

The Catalan entities in Buenos Aires paid tribute to Casals with a banquet. The photographs show a room presided over by a Catalan flag with a picture of the maestro in the centre. The concert had been advertised since July²⁴ and the ground was laid to ensure that the visit was a major social event, not just a musical one:

“The arrival of the eminent concert cellist is unquestionably the most important event in the current music season in Buenos Aires.”

In September 1937, *Ressorgiment*, a Catalan magazine published in Argentina, with the same title as the working-class newsletter published in Barcelona which also reported on Casals, published an entire page with an illustration by Ramon Subirats, who visited him at the hotel and captured the **rigour of Casals’ work ethic**.

On the 7th a delegation of Catalan Argentines who sought and accompanied him arrived in Buenos Aires from Montevideo. The same day as their arrival, he held a concert in the Teatre Colón, and the Argentine newspapers proclaimed him the best cellist in the world. One of the newspapers in Catalan for the Catalans of Buenos Aires, *Ressorgiment*, shared²⁵ an anthology which culled from *La Prensa* and *Crítica*. The correspondent from *Última Hora*, Riera i Puntí, reported on it²⁶ and wrote that the entire press corps of Buenos Aires was prolific in its biographical articles, praise and positive comments.

On Saturday, Casals visited the headquarters of the Casal Català, signed the book of honour, attended a rehearsal of its choir and held a meeting with the Board of Directors. Many members and their families attended. On Sunday with 29th there was a meal in his honour, according to the report²⁷ in *Ressorgiment*, the Catalan magazine from Argentina, with more than 200 diners at the centre including the following Catalan entities: the magazine *Catalunya*; the weekly radio programme in Catalan broadcast in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Cuba; *L’Hora Catalana*; and the Freedom Committee, even though the bulk of the

²³ REYNÉS, L. R.: “Propago por el mundo la bella religión de la música, dice el maestro Pablo Casals”, *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires, 21-VIII-1937).

²⁴ “Pau Casals a Buenos Aires”, *Ressorgiment*, 252 (Buenos Aires, July 1937).

²⁵ “Pau Casals a Buenos Aires”, *Ressorgiment*, 253 (Buenos Aires, August 1937).

²⁶ RIERA PUNTI, J.: “Els catalans d’Amèrica”, *Última Hora*, 16-X-1937.

²⁷ “Homenatge de la col·lectivitat a Pau Casals”, *Ressorgiment*, 254 (September 1937).

organisation was from the Casal Català. The concerts in Colón which caused a sensation were praised. He was given an homage plaque as a memento of the event. Casals, moved by the speeches by Ramon de Fortuny, president of the Casal Català, and by Ramon Escarrà, on behalf of the Homage Committee, said that he would be the messenger of their manifestations to the fatherland and **that “he should trust that with the assistance of its good sons, Catalonia will overcome all adversities”**.

The socialist and Marxist *Treball* announced: **“After 33 years of Pau Casals’ absence, he has once again triumphed in Buenos Aires”,** and it reproduced a Catalan translation²⁸ of the article from *Crítica* by the prestigious music and theatre commentator Edmundo Guibourg, from which we have **gotten visions about two key factors in Casals’ personality which are** extraordinarily descriptive when viewed by a foreigner.

He then flew to Brazil, where he starred in the 54th Artistic Culture Concert at the Teatre Municipal on the 19th of September. On the 9th of October, he set sail for Barcelona. The reverberations of his trip lasted until the following year when the magazine *Nosotros* published a long article that *Ressorgiment* reproduced after translating it into Catalan, and the illustrator Subirats reproduced from memory an atmospheric interview recalling two days he spent with Casals in 1937 at the hotel as he was making the charcoal portrait we have discussed.

He returned to Barcelona and the news appeared in the media. *La Humanitat* published several reports²⁹ **which repeated Casals’ commitment to** the Republican cause. On the 2nd of October, the first one appeared, which noted his honorary presidency of the new committee of musicians from the United States to help the Republic. The next day there came a second one, in which we can read:

“Pau Casals’ work abroad, naturally, has not solely been limited to his artistic work. The great cellist is the most effective ambassador of Catalonia and the Republic.”

On the 16th, a third article³⁰ appeared with a photograph and a simple **but effective caption underneath: “Our Pau Casals”**.

The journalists showed their support of Casals’ positions. In the language of the era, it was significant. Camil Oliveras, who was a close acquaintance of the musician and major fan, had created and conducted a musical revue in the early 1930s. On the 2nd of October, he wrote in the newspaper *La Humanitat*:³¹

²⁸ “Després de 33 anys d’absència. Pau Casals ha triomfat novament a Buenos Aires”, *Treball*, 5-X-1937.

²⁹ “Pau Casals torna”, *La Humanitat*, 3-X-1937, “Pablo Casals. Triunfador en sus conciertos por la América del Sud (sic), regresa a Barcelona”, *El Día Gráfico* (2-X-1937).

³⁰ “El nostre Pau Casals”, *La Humanitat*, 16-X-1937.

³¹ OLIVERAS, C.: “La Musica. Els nostres artistes a l’estranger. El mestre Pau Casals, president honorari del nou Comitè de Músics de Nord-amèrica, pro ajut a la Democràcia Espanyola”, *La Humanitat*, 2-X-1937.

“It is truly encouraging to see the brilliant job that our musical artists have been doing abroad for a while now by showcasing the high artistic quality of anti-fascist Europe.”

On the 16th, *Última Hora*, the evening newspaper of the ERC, reproduced journalist Navarro Costabella’s text which appeared in the magazine *Ràdio Barcelona* where he covered the musician’s ties. Navarro, who wrote a long interview which is actually his first biography, projects an image of Casals as a revolutionary at a time when nuances were important.

Figure 6. Interview in *Mi Revista*, an anarchist publication with an innovative design and large readership in wartime Barcelona and Spain



The impact of the success of the tour, the fact that he returned even though he was able to remain abroad undisturbed and with the perfect excuse, **his social commitment... led the Barcelona Town Hall** to adopt an agreement to pay tribute to him in a big way. On behalf of the radical nationalists in the newspaper *Diari de Catalunya*, Joaquim Casamitjana suggested that it become a grassroots homage, not just a mere act of protocol, and that it should be a municipal homage all over Catalonia.³² *Agence Espagne*, the agency specialising

³² CASAMITJANA, J.: Pau Casals, ambaiador de Catalunya al món, *Diari de Catalunya*, 7-X-1937).

in breaking news only reported by telephone and telegraph, spread the word³³ on his return.

Pena saw him and on the 4th of September said that they were going to see each other on the 6th in El Vendrell, where Casals was. They spoke about Forns, Dini and current affairs, now that the payments of the rehearsals complicated by the military coup were resolved. Ventura Gassol told Pena that they would be resolved, and they apparently were.

This return from America was reported in the anarchist newspaper ***Catalunya on the 21st of October with extreme overstatement in its title: "Pau Casals is back. Our great musician, after a brilliant tour abroad, has come back to his place of struggle"***. Casals also appeared in the newsletter ***Comunicat de Premsa***, published by the Propaganda Committee of the Generalitat de Catalunya which supplied dispatches on the developments in the war for journalists that were in the Barcelona information centre. He appeared as a positive reference of moral victory: intellectuals and artists stand by the Republic. When people loyal to the rebels started to trickle out of Spain, albeit in small numbers given the fact that the majority of Catalan intellectuals were Republican, **Casals always went back on his tours. The Catalan government's newsletter for journalists reported on it.**

The Propaganda Committee of the Generalitat de Catalunya worked actively. It added Casals to the cover of the ***Comunicat***³⁴ dated October 1937 about the musician's return to Barcelona with an image that is quite unique: **"Pau Casals is the best propagandist of Catalonia"**.

On the 17th of November, he recorded Donald Francis Tovey's *Concert for Cello and Orchestra in D Major Opus 40* with the Symphony Orchestra of the BBC in London. The letters that the two musicians exchanged still survive, including three letters from Casals, two from 1936 and one from 1937. During the war, Casals was a strong presence on the Catalan collectivist scene, as illustrated by two examples. First, Rafael Moragas, a contributor to ***El Día Gráfico***, devoted a lecture to him³⁵ in the unique association called Practical Idealists, and the newspaper published the summary. Secondly, the Committee organised an exhibition of caricatures by Andreu Dameson of at the Galeria Syra **on Barcelona's Passeig de Gràcia on the 17th of December of 1937. The event** took on a political tone because of the nature of the portraits exhibited, caricatures of Catalan and Spanish political leaders, around 20 of which were published in a portfolio of postcards. They included Artemi Aiguader, J. A. Aguirre, Álvarez del Vayo, M. Azaña, Joan Comorera, Lluís Companys, Durruti, J. Garcia Oliver, Dolores Ibárruri, Largo Caballero, Francesc Macià, José Miaja, Jaume Miravittles, Juan Negrín, Ángel Ossorio, Carles Pi i Suñer, A. M. Sbert, Josep Tarradellas and Casals, the only non-political figure. Dameson used a new

³³ "Le violoncelliste Pablo Casals a refusé de donner des concerts au Japon", *Agence Espagne*, 273 (16-X-1937). Service 24 h. (12).

³⁴ EDITORIAL: "Pau Casals", *Comunicat de Premsa*, Comissariat de Propaganda, 5 (30-X-1937).

³⁵ "En los Idealistas prácticos. Rafael Moragas disertó ayer sobre 'La vida de Pablo Casals, el artista que tiene el mundo en la mano'", *El Día Gráfico*, 25-XII-1937. In 1938, he went back to the Ateneu Barcelonès in the culture lecture series organised by the Committee of Recruitment Centres and Military Instruction (CRIM).

drawing technique, a geometric one which was astonishing for its originality. The 20 effigies rendered in rectilinear geometric strokes over a black background are a unique artefact. Casals was the only one who was not a politician. The portrait is highly angular, perhaps like a metal sculpture. **However, Casals' face was rounded and little given to Dameson's dry, angular style.**³⁶

Figure 7. Meal in honour of Pau Casals at the headquarters of the Casal Català in Buenos Aires in 1937



In December 1937, Casals found himself in Paris several times with Robert Gerhard. He had just turned sixty. The musician was there as a jury member for the International Society of Contemporary Music in its working sessions to choose the pieces that would appear in the programmes of the festival held in Paris in June. The event was particularly important because it dovetailed with the World Fair, a major gathering in which states strove to display their power via large stands. The Republic sent the best it had: Picasso, Sert, Gerhard, with two successful works by Catalan authors, Josep Valls and Joaquim Homs. Casals spent a few restful days in Paris after the recordings in London and the tours.³⁷

Casals' exhaustion after world travels all year round is obvious. He worked tirelessly, and he and Horzowski, also in London, finished Beethoven's *Sonatas for Cello* series and recorded the first, second and fifth. With the *Suites* ready, Casals was at a peak, in emotional turmoil, and thought about Baldolck because of the war, and his activity was intense. The opportunities to perform declined because of the war: only the three charitable concerts in Barcelona. Yet the tours were still active, although Italy and Germany were impossible as they were led by dictators and Casals opposed them with deeds: by refusing to perform.

That December, he performed a concert in the Salle Pleyel in Paris whose **proceed were earmarked to the public subscription for the winter campaign "for the brave soldiers", said *La Humanitat*, "who are fighting against the invaders of our country on all fronts". The concert, organised by the Spanish Embassy in France and the World Fair Committee in Paris, welcomed a select audience.**

³⁶ They can be seen in Solà i Capdevila (2011).

³⁷ Statements to Luis Góngora in *El Día Gráfico* (23-I-1937).

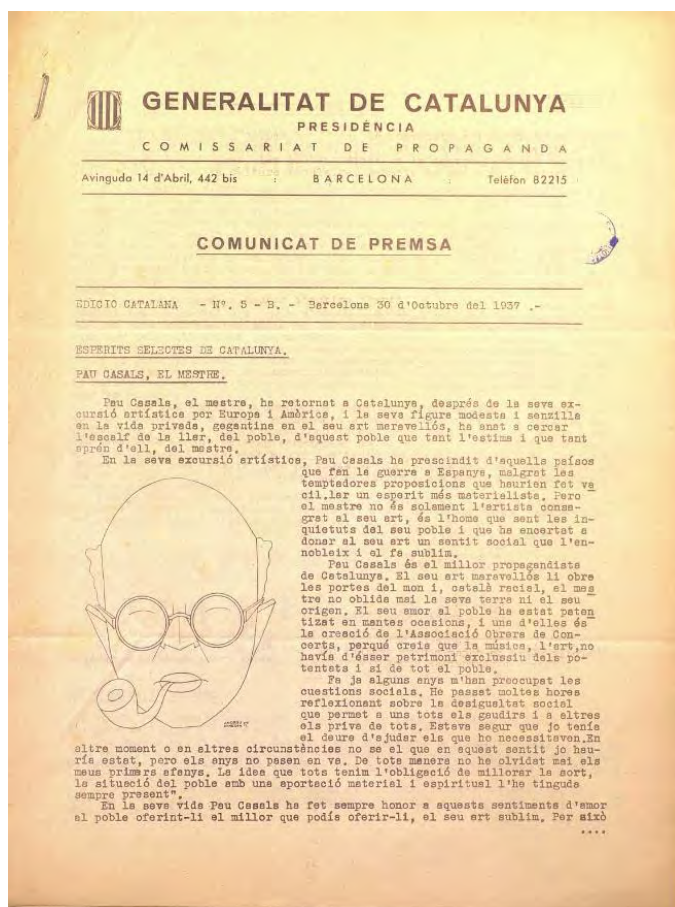
Casals had not performed in the capital of France for ten years. The programme, which featured Bocherini, Schumann and Haydn, was splendid and earned warm applause from the audience, including the eminences in the presidential boxes with the secretaries of foreign affairs Henry Laugier and Rochart. Other audience members were French ministers such as Pierre Cot, Jean Zay and Leo Lagrange, the presidents of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, the Minister of State Violette, ambassadors from a dozen European and American powers like Mexico and the United States, along with a considerable retinue of intellectuals and artists (Cocteau, Tzara, Le Courbousier, Nyzan, Aragon, etc.), lawyers like Henry Torres, etc. From Catalonia, the audience included Antoni M. Sbert as the president of the Catalan Committee for the World Fair and the poet Josep Carner, in his diplomat capacity as the minister councillor. Other Barcelona newspapers also reported on it. G. Sánchez-Boxa in *El Día Gráfico*³⁸ described Casals' performance as a "proper statement, calmly launching the Republican cause in bloody Spain to the countries in attendance".

3. 1938: The defeat of the Ebro River, the eve of the end

We know that in January 1938, he was in Prada in the Grand Hotel. He sent a letter to Pena on the 29th in which he mentioned the difficulties he was having purchasing the supplies Pena had requested and then getting them to him. He suggested that Pena get in touch with the offices of the Generalitat in Paris and **said that "they will have a direct way to make these shipments"**. We should highlight from the letter the comment on the bombardments, although the terrible ones that led to huge numbers of mortalities were yet to come. In this letter on the 29th of January, he wrote an extraordinary paragraph, as honest as a private letter can be, where he expressed his personal suffering and sense of political responsibility for the attacks since Hilari Raguer exhumed a telegram from Mussolini. He also stated that the acts were meant to terrorise the people.

³⁸ SÁNCHEZ- BOXA: "Pablo Casals", *El Día Gráfico*, (24-XII-1937).

Figure 8. Press release. It was published in Catalan, Swedish, German, Spanish, French, English...



He made another tour, this time around North Africa – Rabat, Casablanca, Oran, Algiers – with great enthusiasm. In Rabat, he held a concert on the 17th of February organised by the Friends of Music of Rabat. In Tunisia, he held a concert organised by the Society of Friends of music on the 28th of February at the Teatre Municipal. He enjoyed the journey, the colours, the people. In a letter (Dalmau, Mora & Cortés, 2012: 165-166) to his good friend Joaquim Pena, he wrote:

“For me it was a revelation of beauty and authenticity across the centuries. The artistic movement is at its inception, but thanks to the French it is interesting. I would really love to return to these countries, and if I never return I’ll think about them forevermore.”

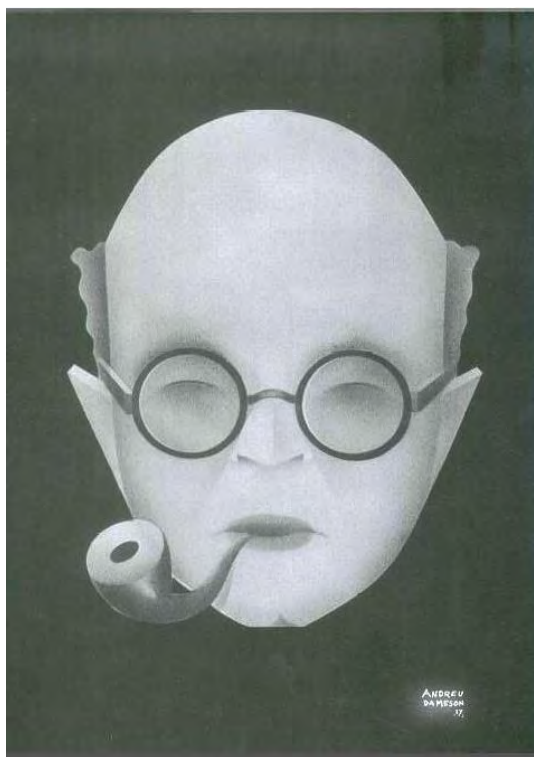
The Franco radio reported the news that Casals had fled from the Republic. Even though **he did not go to Franco’s Spain, the mere act of putting distance between him and the Republic was good news in the propaganda war.** Casals denied it and told the Spanish Consulate in Perpignan that his departures

from the state were authorised by the authorities. The newspaper *La Libertad*, with close ties to the Republican authorities, reported this.³⁹

Casals returned. In this atmosphere of fighting, silence and courage, Casals returned to Catalonia. In *La Vanguardia* on the 19th of March, there was an extensive article entitled “El regreso de Pablo Casals” (The Return of Pau Casals) which stressed his social concerns with the Concert Workers’ Association, which was revealed as a new development at a complex time:

“From a very young age, I have been concerned with social issues. I have spent many hours reflecting on social inequality, which gives some people all the rewards and deprives others of any.”

Figure 9. Pau Casals in a caricature by Dameson (1937)



Other newspapers also reported on his arrival. We can highlight the laudatory article in the newspaper *Treball* from the influential PSUC, by S. Roca i Roca, a minor storyteller and staunch defender of the working-class cause, where he expressed a position quite distant from Otto Mayer’s reservations, as we have seen, and therefore Casals was fully “rehabilitated”. Roca⁴⁰ offered a

³⁹ “Pablo Casals desmiente una insidia de las radios facciosas”, *La Libertad* (Madrid, 6-II-1938). The news item appears in the press: “Pablo Casals huye de los rojos” in *Diario de Córdoba* (Córdoba, 30- I-1938). The disinformation and intoxication were obvious, as is clear given that the concerts lasted until late February.

⁴⁰ ROCA i ROCA, S: “Tot un ciutadà. La fidelitat de Pau Casals”, *Treball* (22-III-1938).

spectacular headline: “Tot un ciutadà. La fidelitat de Pau Casals” (A real citizen. The loyalty of Pau Casals). Meantime, the harsh bombardments besieging the city of Barcelona were crushing spirits:

“At this time, precisely this time of scathing dramatics and the utmost tragedy, Pau Casals, by returning among his fighting people, provides a fine example of fortitude, honesty and loyalty to this heroic people who today is writing one of the most beautiful, most admirable and most thrilling pages in modern history. And especially, before the entire world, he provides an example of trust in the working masses and the triumph of popular arms, and with his attitude he affirms how his glory as a citizen runs parallel to what he enjoys as an artist who is proudly admired in all civilised peoples.”

On the 23rd of March, *Justicia Social*⁴¹ published the news that a major instrumental concert was being planned in Madrid. It said that of the twelve instruments conserved, seven were at the National Palace of Madrid and would be played in this concert. The other information provided by the socialist newspaper was that Pau Casals would participate in the concert.

Anarchist or socialist, nationalist or Marxist mouthpieces: Casals appeared in all of them.⁴² In early September, he donated a thousand jugs of milk to the children of El Vendrell and 30 more boxes of milk for the ill and the children of Tarragona.⁴³ On the 10th of September 1938, the mayor of Tarragona showed journalists a letter written to him by Casals in which he announced the shipment of 30 boxes of jugs of milk for the ill and the children. The mayor reminded journalists that an avenue was about to open in Tarragona which would bear **the musician’s name**.⁴⁴

On the 12th of October, he went back to Barcelona on tour. News appeared of his arrival there. Zanni, a journalist with *La Vanguardia* whom he knew well after going with him to El Vendrell in the homage from 1927, interviewed him, and Casals repeated his stance.⁴⁵

U. F. Zanni, the public name of Urbano Fernández Zanni, a music critic for *La Vanguardia*, who joined the newspaper in 1926 and would stay there for many years, reported in the *Revista Musical Hispano* in 1915: **“In this regard, Casals expresses his satisfaction with the better understanding of the Republican cause which he has recently found in foreign nations”**.

⁴¹ “Un gran concierto”, *Justicia Social*, 511 (23-III-1938).

⁴² MORI, A.: “Arte leal. El violoncello de Casals”, *La Noche*, 6-IX-1938.

⁴³ “Un gest de Pau Casals”, *La Publicitat*. 3-IX-1938.

⁴⁴ “Pablo Casals envia 30 cajas de botes de leche a los niños y enfermos de Tarragona”, *La Vanguardia*, 11-IX-1938.

⁴⁵ ZANNI: “Pablo Casals ha vuelto. Breve charla con el ilustre artista”, *La Vanguardia*, 14-X-1938.

He welcomed other journalists as well. Thus, a unique interview appeared in the working-class newspaper *Front*, the organ of the PSUC in Girona and the mouthpiece of the UGT.⁴⁶ The newspaper published it on the front page. The journalist visited Casals in his flat on Rambla de Catalunya where he usually welcomed journalists; for example, he welcomed Irene Polo and others there prior to 1936.

The questionnaire he was administered offered a very sincere picture. Vallespinós was not a conventional journalist but instead a kind of regular citizen who loved music, and the conversation flowed quite naturally, with Casals sharing his honest opinions on Republican propaganda which he could make and on the conflict. These opinions, just like the other statements from the period, were not known or mentioned in the brief of the lawsuit filed against him in 1940, and nor were they mentioned (Figueres, 2007) in previous biographies.

The question arises of the propaganda that he and his music could make on his tours, which the journalist considered propaganda on the content and spiritual essence of the Catalan people, on which Vallespinós wrote: **“The fervent audiences have been able to appreciate Catalonia’s degree of culture and civilisation, on behalf of which the most successful men spoke the language of cordiality and peace”.** Casals responded to this question and discussed the presence of Republican propaganda internationally:

“Without leaving my orbit, I have glorified Catalonia and our democratic institutions. I have propagated the postulates of free people and have accomplished with my music what could not be accomplished by oral or written propaganda.”

Casals was about to leave Barcelona. The interview was published on the 19th of October. He announced the concert at the Liceu and said that he would leave Barcelona for his tour around Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Angora. We have a very illustrative report⁴⁷ on the concert in Cairo which tells about the type of international concerts he scheduled. It appeared in the Barcelona press:

“The Egyptian press is all aflutter about the artistic journey taken around this country by the eminent cellist Pablo Casals. The journalists are devoting extensive, complimentary articles to the Catalan maestro’s incomparable art.”

Regarding the concert planned for the Liceu, he stated: “It will be a small yet sincere homage to my compatriots who are handling the privations of war with such courage”.

⁴⁶ VALLESPINÓS, J.: “L’ambaixada artística de Pau Casals”, *Front*, 19-X-1938.

⁴⁷ “El viaje artístico de Pablo Casals, exponente de la cultura española”, 226 *Nostra Paraula* (Mahon, 3-I-1939).

Casals' position was unequivocally on the side of the Generalitat, the Republic and the values they upheld. As the conflict advanced, his position solidified and he fearlessly shared it in public. He was thanked not only in the nationalist newspapers *La Humanitat*, *Diari de Catalunya* and *Última Hora*, as we shall see, but also in the Marxist papers like *Treball*, anarchist ones like *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Catalunya* and socialist ones like *El Día Gráfico* and *El Diluvio*.⁴⁸

The Republican press spoiled him with praise and a long commentary, as in *La Noche*, a caricature by Bagaria, who also illustrated for *La Vanguardia*.

On the 23rd of October 1938, *La Vanguardia* published an entire page with images of the concert and a horribly explicit headline which joins the constant expressions of Casals' support for the cause. Even in late 1938, he publicly said:

“I want nothing to do with fascist countries – the same ones that murder from the air and carry out their war of extermination and barbarism’, maestro Casals uttered these last words with an energy that is not customary in him.”⁴⁹

On the 11th of October, the press reported that on his return from his tour he met with the Minister of Governance and Social Assistance, Antoni M. Sbert. It was most likely to plan a new concert to assist children on the 19th of October of that year.⁵⁰

Casals told Khan that he received the request from the Minister of Culture, Gassol (although the minister then was actually Pi i Sunyer) but the poet from *La Selva del Camp* was the musician's friend, hence the lapse. Regardless, the concert, which was held at the Liceu, was to benefit children who were war victims. The National Concert Orchestra was conducted by B. Pérez Casas. It was the last concert on Catalan and Spanish soil before he went into exile. In statements⁵¹ to his friend the journalist Moragas, now in *El Día Gráfico*, he said:

“I'm going back to Barcelona, to the loyal Catalonia and the heroic Republican Spain. I am here, and you can count on me as long as I can.”

It was attended by members of the government of the Republic, the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Barcelona Town Hall, such as M. Azaña, Negrín, Josep Moix, Álvarez del Vayo, Paulino Gómez, González Peña, Tomás

⁴⁸ AGUIRRE (Francisco?): “Pablo Casals”, *EL Día Gráfico*, 19-X-1938, etc.

⁴⁹ VALLESPINÓS, op. cit.

⁵⁰ “De regreso del extranjero, el maestro Pablo Casals, visita el señor Sbert”, *La Vanguardia*, 12-X-1938.

⁵¹ MORAGAS, R.: “Pablo Casals en Barcelona”, *El Día Gráfico*, 14-X-1938.

Bilbao, Segundo Blanco, as well as authorities from the government of the Generalitat and the Barcelona Town Hall: J. Tarradellas, A. M. Sbert, R. Vidiella, J. Bosch Gimpera, M. Santaló, Hilari Salvadó, J. Irla, J. Lluhí Vallescà, Martí Rouret and others, a variety of personalities from La Pasionària to Margarita Nelken, as well as General Rojo, along with a fervent, faithful audience.⁵² The military committee from the Society of Nations was also there, **presided over by General Jalander, and Casals' performance sparked a passionate editorial⁵³ in *El Diluvio*.**

This concert also had a heavy symbolic value because of the atmosphere caused by the famous fracas of the battle of the Ebro River in October and its overall repercussions. The war was lost, and because of the consequences of that same concert, there was a desire to morally resist. One critic who followed him closely over time, Zanni from *La Vanguardia*, described the atmosphere, which **is fascinating because of the concert's consequences on the subsequent action of the TRRP**; during the intermission in the middle of the concert, or according to other newspapers at the end of it, Casals offered a message to the peoples of America in English, Spanish and Catalan which was broadcast by radio:

“I am permitting myself to ask for your cooperation, your assistance in the task I have undertaken in order to supply food, clothing and medicine to children and the elderly, as well as to evacuate the children who run such dire risks because of the war and the bombardments...”⁵⁴

He explicitly asked for cheques and mentioned the name of Midland Bank, Charing Cross Branch, in London. The speech was followed by the anthem *Himne de Riego*, not *Els Segadors*, the official Catalan anthem. **The programme was only in Spanish, and the musician's name was printed as Pablo.** It is clear that the Spanish government organised it, after turning Barcelona into the capital of the Republic by officially residing there since the 31st of October 1937 after the then-predicted imminent fall of Madrid. The presence of Spanish music in Barcelona was so strong that it virtually nullified Catalan music. **Only because of the “energetic insistence of the public”⁵⁵ did the orchestra perform *Els Segadors*,** which was not programmed by the central authority. If we pay attention to the reports in the Barcelona newspapers – *Treball*, *La Vanguardia* – the event was a consummate social and patriotic affair, in addition to a musical one, of course. *El Socialista*, then published in Barcelona, devoted an entire page to a long laudatory article **by Subirà; it reproduced Casals' message** and different notes on the meeting he held with Negrín after the concert. He performed Haydn, whose music became even more grandiose when performed by Casals, says *La Humanitat*.

⁵² ZANNI, U. F.: “Éxito del gran Pablo Casals y de la Orquesta Nacional de Conciertos. Asisten el jefe del Estado y el presidente del Gobierno”, *La Vanguardia*, 20-X-1938.

⁵³ “Reflejos. Jalander y Casals”, *El Diluvio*, 20-X-1938.

⁵⁴ PADILLA, R. M.: “Un concert que esdevindrà historic”, *La Rambla*, 20-X-1938. Reproduced in FIGUERES: *Entrevista a la guerra*, p. 325.

⁵⁵ WRITING STAFF: “Pau Casals rep l'homenatge del poble català”, *La Humanitat*, 20-X-1938.

After the concert, Negrín and General Rojo, among others, welcomed him in a small private event in the Cercle del Liceu where they praised his efforts. Negrín asked him if he would stay in Barcelona for a while and Casals told him only a few days since he had committed to concerts abroad.⁵⁶ And he gave him a donation.⁵⁷

The concert had a huge impact in the media. The Marxist weekly *Meridià*, **“Tribunal of the Intellectual Anti-Fascist Front”, reported on Casals’ return and after the concert in Catalonia.**⁵⁸

The cover of the CNT newspaper reported that Casals was offering his glory to serve the Republic, and that his concerts had a noteworthy mission **given that with his work “he mitigated the troubles and hunger of children and the elderly”.**⁵⁹ The working class’s reaction was important. Just two examples: on the 21st the National Committee of Anti-Fascist Women of Spain publicised a message in which they showed their adhesion to the musician and thanked him for his actions. They said:⁶⁰

“We know that you have voluntarily refused to hold concerts in the countries where you would have garnered many laurels and profits, but where your presence would have seemed like tacit approval of the conduct of the leaders of these countries, which runs counter to all the postulates of progress and culture.”

A few days after the concert, the Entertainment Industry Union of the CNT, which encompassed authors, composers and orchestra conductors, sent him a message, the press reported, **“of adhesion and warm praise for the work undertaken by the illustrious cellist, in both artistic terms and in social and charitable terms.”**⁶¹ In his home on Diagonal, he gave an interview to the workers’ magazine *Ressorgiment*, from the collectivised company Vilardell, where he stated that the very next day he was leaving for a tour of Brussels and Liege, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, Athens, Istanbul, Cairo and Alexandria. *La Vanguardia* also reported on it⁶² and said **“today”** – it was published on the 21st. Casals’ calendar was full to brimming.

⁵⁶ “El presidente del Consejo felicita a Pablo Casals”, *La Vanguardia*, 20-X-1938; “En el Liceo. Pablo Casals, junto con la Orquesta Nacional de Conciertos, obtiene uno de sus más resonantes triunfos”, *El Diluvio*, 20-X-1938.

⁵⁷ “Contestant al requeriment de Pau Casals. Un donatiu del president de la República”, *La Humanitat*, 21-X-1938.

⁵⁸ L. G.: “L’alta exemplaritat de Pau Casals”, *Meridià*, 43 (28-X-1938).

⁵⁹ “Gesto Casals”, *CNT*, 20-X-1938.

⁶⁰ “Las Mujeres Antifascistas a Pablo Casals”, *La Vanguardia*, 21-X-1938.

⁶¹ “El Sindicato de la Industria del Espectáculo a Pablo Casals”, *La Vanguardia*, 23-X-1938.

⁶² “La jira [sic]de Pablo Casals. Antes de salir de Barcelona un americano le ofrece 200 toneladas de trigo para los niños y los viejos”, *La Vanguardia*, 21-X-1938.

In late December, a news item was published reporting on his concert in Bucharest, where he was given a parchment signed by the most prominent intellectuals, led by maestro Georgescu, professor Radulescu, the president of the Romanian Academy, and the conductor of the Bucharest Symphony, which stated, among other words of praise:⁶³

“For the entire art world, for everyone who appreciates Beauty and the artistic Truth, the presence of the great musician becomes a veritable feast for the spirit.”

Casals went back to France. In Perpignan, he offered packages with gifts for children now that the holidays were drawing near; it was euphemistically called **Children’s Week in the forced secularisation of the names, if not the events... and a cheque, which he gave to the Spanish consul**. And on the 1st of January 1939, he sent 10,000 jugs of milk to the mayor of Barcelona meant for the weakest.

Figure 11. Concert programme



⁶³ “La estancia del maestro Casals en Bucarest”, *La Vanguardia*, 24-XII-1938.

He goes went to Barcelona in January and was given an honorary degree from the University of Barcelona. There is no time to print it. He was given it handwritten; a doctor *honoris causa* signed by the rector, Pere Bosch Gimpera, a quickly scrawled document with the official seal. He explained his excitement: **“Can a man find the right words to express his gratitude for an honour like this?”** He went back to Sant Salvador a few days later to bid his family farewell and begin a long exile, an international pilgrimage, first in France, later in Puerto Rico, lasting more than 30 years, packed with occasional journeys all over the world in the ensuing decades. Many exiles did not want to return until **Franco’s death as an act of protest. Casals didn’t either. He was yet another exile** who did not want to return to the person who was sullied with innocent blood and kept his grip on a fierce dictatorship for four decades.

The idea had been floating around the social milieu. Two years before, a journalist from the prestigious *Mirador*, Oliver Brachfeld, published a long, sensible article⁶⁴ where he called on the new Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona to bestow this award on Casals.

Figure 12. Cover of *La Humanitat* (20-X-1938)



⁶⁴ BRACHFELD, O: “En homenatge a Pau Casals. Doctor ‘honoris causa’”. *Mirador*, (8-11-1934).

Figure 13. Cover of *La Vanguardia* (23-X-1938)

We know the backstory. First came a request from the Professional Athenaeum of Journalists to the Spanish Minister of Public Instruction, then in Barcelona, who determined the appointments and deemed it pertinent. *La Vanguardia* published a note⁶⁵ which was reproduced the next day in Madrid's *La Libertad*,⁶⁶ but it was not until near the end that the award would come to fruition. We have seen no news reports other than a brief note⁶⁷ in the Madrid newspaper *La Libertad* which indicated that the award was also being given to four other foreign personalities at the proposal of the university faculties,

⁶⁵ "Homenaje a Pablo Casals. Se pide que sea nombrado Doctor 'honoris causa' de la Universidad de Barcelona y el Ministro de Instrucción Pública apoya la petición", *La Vanguardia*, 26-XI-1938.

⁶⁶ "En honor del gran artista Pablo Casals", *La Libertad* (Madrid, 27-XI-1938).

⁶⁷ "Pablo Casals y otros personajes, doctores 'honoris causa' de la Universidad barcelonesa"; *La Libertad*, (Madrid, 21-I-1939).

including the North American physiologist Walter Brandon Cannon. The news items appeared on the 20th, which gives us some sense as to the date when Casals left Barcelona, which was on the verge of falling.

4. 1939. Finale. Exile

The war was over and he appeared in Prada, in exile, but during the conflict. In May 1937, he was with Joaquim Pena in the Grand Hotel of Prada, as we know from the date on a letter.⁶⁸ He was there for a week, returning from Paris, and he hoped to get back to regular life. His health had its ups and downs. He lived there at least from January to September 1938, as we know from several letters. The somewhat imprecise vision of what he experienced there comes from his friend Lluís Guarro. Guarro and his children took refuge there, as they explained to Baldock, but Casals was very familiar with the village from his previous sojourns. The reality is that Casals was a traveller used to going around **Europe and being in two, three or four cities within one week... In his last letter** to Pena, dated 9 January 1939 – there are still some publicists who say that Casals left with the withdrawal in late January and early February – he wrote (Dalmau, Mora and Cortés, 2012: 168):

“I thought I might be able to make it to Barcelona, but I have so much unexpected work here that there’s nothing to do but wait. I am with you heart and soul, with my people, with my friends, with all Catalans. I feel inside me the suffering of all and the idea that I can do something for them helps me survive.”

Musically, during the conflict Robert Baldock (1994: 184) reported that **this was the most active period of Casals’ recordings. Between November 1936 and June 1939**, the English biographer says that the main cello works recorded, **beyond Bach’s unaccompanied Suites**, were four of the five sonatas for cello by **Beethoven, Dvorák’s Concert for Cello in B Minor, Boccherini’s Concert in B-Flat Major, Bruch’s Kol Nidrei and Tovey’s Concert**. Fred Gaisberg, who oversaw the policy of the very important recording label EMI, once again invited him; he had previously promoted the trio of Cortot-Thibaud-Casals in 1926-28 and the OPC in 1932. He did so in London on the 26th and 27th of November 1936 in the Abbey Road Studios of HMV (which had merged with EMI), and he repeated it in Prague in April 1937 with the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra the day after the concert. Gaisberg, reports Baldock, had flown from Barcelona and was exhausted from the effort. In 1938, he recorded two more Bach **Suites** and completed the set on the 13th of June 1939.

From Prada, he watched as Catalonia fell. The French radio and newspaper reports were up in arms. He took refuge in Paris, where he remained until the spring, when he returned to Prada to stay for 17 years. His reflection on the tragedy magnified his desire to change the unfair reality of the world which he saw in the general situation prior to the war. His commitment, as indicated,

⁶⁸ There are letters from Casals to Prada on 29 January, 7 March, 11 May, 22 June and 1 September 1938 and 9 January 1939.

to refuse to play in Germany was not just an empty gesture. Wilhelm Furtwängler enthusiastically invited him, but Casals told him that despite his explanation of the differences between art and politics, he did not share this **perspective and therefore would not perform in Germany. Casals' commitment** was unwavering, and he shared it internationally. His vision of the war, bombardments, hunger and penury, which were particularly grave for children and the elderly, gave him a sense of pain that he unabashedly expressed to Khan when he told him about the suffering he felt being outside Catalonia as it was being bombarded.

“I would read in the newspapers about the struggle that was besieging my land, about burned cities, about hunger among the children in the places under siege. As I played, I knew that the **bombs were falling, and in the evenings, I couldn't sleep. Often,** when I spoke with people, I had the impression that someone else **was speaking and I wasn't there. After the concerts, I walked through the streets alone, tormented.”**

5. The defeat of the Republic reinforces his decision

His house by the sea was respected by the occupying army; General Yagüe, a lover of music and admirer of Casals, protected it. However, it was sealed off and embargoed as a guarantee of the fine it was charged. The Franco regime was instated all over Catalonia, and with it lawsuits, the defamation campaign against Casals and his family, and repression.

In conclusion, during the Civil War, Casals upheld a steadfast, individual position in support of the Republic. There was no need to find fault with his initial occasional errors, despite their terrible human consequences, and instead he generally supported the popular cause. He confirmed this to Khan in 1970 (2011: 227-228), saying that his only weapons were his cello and baton:

“In the course of the Civil War, I used them as well as I knew how to in support of the cause in which I believed: the cause of freedom and democracy”.

Enric, his younger brother, stated that Casals would never return to Spain (Casals, 1979: 93).

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Institutionalised elderly people in Catalonia: How many are they and how are they?

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Abstract

The institutionalised population aged 65 and over in Catalonia has been on the constant upswing in recent decades because of both improved survival and the expansion of institutionalisation. Although in relative terms it only comprised 4% of population aged 65 and over in 2011, its prevalence increases dramatically beyond age 80. Because this population is systematically not taken into account in surveys addressed to the population living in households, nor is it used in sociological analyses, it is essential to ascertain its composition in order to correct biases.

We use data for Catalonia from the last four editions of the census (1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011) with a twofold objective: to quantify the population aged 65 or older not living in private households in Catalonia and to study its evolution during the last three decades. To complement this data, we analyse the Health Survey of the Institutionalized Population in Catalonia (ESPI, 2006) with the aim of developing a profile of the population living in residential care facilities. People living in institutions cannot be considered homogeneous, although there is a high presence of very old women. A large share of them fits the profile of widows over the age of 80, with low education and income levels, who previously lived alone and are dependent for functional activity or have deteriorated mental health, and who state that they entered the institution because of issues related to health or autonomy. However, a cluster analysis has identified other groups that show quite different situations. These results reveal the importance not only of deteriorating health in the process of institutionalisation but also the presence or absence of a family network, which is an important resource in dealing with the ageing process at home, because of either the need for assistance or the company and wellbeing it can provide.

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Key words: elderly, functional dependency, living arrangements, institutionalisation, family network.

1. Introduction

We know little about the institutionalised population in Spain in general and in Catalonia in particular, first, because surveys are generally taken of population samples living in private homes, and secondly because censuses gather very little information on this population, hindering an in-depth analysis. Likewise, the fact that they constitute a small share of the total population contributes to their invisibility. According to the last round of censuses from 2011 (Eurostat, 2017), in the European countries where this residential option is more common – Ireland, Holland, Sweden, France and Belgium – 14% of people aged 80 and over is institutionalised. Broadly speaking, in other countries in northern and western Europe, this percentage stands at around 10%, while it is around 8% for Eastern European countries, and its lowest prevalence is in Mediterranean countries (5% in Spain). According to data from the National Statistical Institute (INE) for the same period and ages, institutionalisation in Catalonia is slightly above the Spanish mean but below the mean found in other autonomous communities such as the two Castiles, Aragon, Navarra and Madrid.

This article aims to shed light on this population in Catalonia. It should be borne in mind that studies on the ageing of the population and the elderly are becoming more common in the social and healthcare fields, and though the prevalence of institutionalisation is quite low for the population as a whole, it increases steeply at the oldest ages. What is more, all signs point to the fact that in recent years there has been an increase in this population, which makes it even more important to ascertain its characteristics to both correct this bias to the extent possible and to plan social and healthcare services.

This twofold facet, qualitative and quantitative, is at the core of this **article's objectives, as it strives to observe the evolution in the past three decades as well as to quantify and describe the population over the age of 65 institutionalised in Catalonia.** Even though much of the research has been carried out based on census data – from 1981 until 2011 – we also used the 2006 Health Survey of the Institutionalized Population in Catalonia (ESPI), which is targeted at individuals aged 65 and older living in residences or long-term residential centres.

2. Background

The notable increase in the proportion of people aged 65 and older and the increasing share of individuals over the age of 80, the outcome of improvements in life expectancy and the decrease in the fertility rate, has sparked a great deal of sociological research on the elderly, which is often exclusively focused on people living in private homes. This, however, can give rise to biases because it does not include the institutionalised population (Peeters, Debels & Verpoorten, 2013).

In Catalonia, the number of people living in collective residences is only tallied every ten years as part of the census taken all over Spain. As the censuses show, these residences are varied in nature, from religious centres, hostels or pensions to centres that provide care like hospitals, long-term centres or residences. Likewise, few surveys have been conducted targeted at the population living in group homes, and those that have been conducted have focused exclusively on long-term centres or residences, that is, care-providing institutions.¹

Senior citizens living in residences is an option that is not widely accepted in Spain, especially compared to in other European countries (Fernández Carro, 2013; Eurostat, 2017). Sixty-eight percent of Spanish citizens over the age of 65 prefer to be cared for by their families in case of need, while in Norway this figure is just 18%. Furthermore, 50% believe that the family is responsible for providing them economic support, either totally or along with the State, and 68% believe the same with regard to providing the elderly with personal care. In contrast, in Norway only 22% assign these responsibilities to the family (Bazo, 2004).

When we analyse the reasons people enter residences, deterioration in their health and death of their spouse are the most common reasons; the rupture of family relations because of conflict or the fact that the residence offers care at an affordable price are other reasons cited (Bazo, 1991). However, according to the ECVMR, the most often-cited reason for entering a residence – not a long-term hospital centre – is the desire for company (34.5%), followed by a deterioration in health or loss of functional autonomy (25.7%) and family reasons (22.2%), among other reasons (Pérez Ortiz, 2005).

Previous studies reveal that going to live in a residence or long-term assisted care centre is the outcome not only of physical or mental dependency but also of the lack of a family network capable of providing the elderly person with the care and support that allows them to maintain their residential autonomy (Freedman, 1996; Grundy & Jital, 2007). In this sense, several studies have stressed the role of the available family network (partner, children, grandchildren, etc.). Thus, becoming widowed seems to be an event that prompts institutionalisation, especially for men who lose their partners at an advanced age (Pérez Ortiz, 2005). The care needs of the elderly are often provided by family members via residential proximity or cohabitation (Renaut, 2001). Even in the case of severe health deterioration which lowers the elderly **person's autonomy, having a partner and children makes it more likely for them** to remain living in their own home (Désesquelles & Brouard, 2003). Likewise, grandchildren are an important factor in the family network that lowers the risk of institutionalisation, which leads us to believe that the presence of grandchildren strengthens the bonds between elderly parents and their adult children (Renaut, 2001).

¹ Spain-wide, in 2004 the *Observatory of the Elderly* administered the *Survey of Living Conditions of the Elderly in Residences* (ECVMR); while in 2008 the INE administered the *Survey on Disabilities, Personal Autonomy and Situations of Dependency* in two versions, one targeted to households and the other targeted to centres. Likewise, in 2006 the Department of Health of the Generalitat administered the *Survey of Health of the Institutionalised Population in Catalonia*.

The data were analysed bearing in mind the two aforementioned dimensions: state of health and family network. In state of health, we considered both physical dependency, measured in dependency in basic daily life activities (BDLAs), and mental dependency, considering mild cognitive deficits and dementia. Regarding family networks, we considered marital status as an indicator of the network developed during the life cycle, as well as the presence of a partner, children and other family members in the household. We also analysed other variables which provide information on events in the early years of life and in adulthood and are related to the biographical arcs and forms of cohabitation in old age: educational level attained, participation in the job market, home ownership or rental, and previous situations of cohabitation (George & Hays, 2002).

3. Sources and methodology

The most common definition of the institutionalised population is directly associated with their place of residence: collective establishments. In this article, we use the term **“institutionalised population”** to refer to the population that lives in these establishments, without necessarily assuming that the person who is **“institutionalised”** played a passive role in deciding to live there.

To estimate the number of institutionalised persons, we used the Spanish censuses for the Autonomous Community of Catalonia from the years 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011. We worked with the micro-data form the 1981 census provided by the INE, which correspond to a sample of 25% of the family homes and the total population living in collective establishments. For the 1991, 2002 and 2011 censuses, we obtained the data from the detailed results available on the INE's website (www.ine.es).

Broadly speaking, we should distinguish between two kinds of institutionalisation: the kind related to the ageing process, which can be motivated by the deterioration of health, fragility, solitude or a combination of **factors associated with ageing; and the kind more closely tied to the residents' life course** (religious, military, etc.). We use the term *assisted care centres* to speak of the former, which include both residences like hospital centres, and *non-caregiving centres* to refer to those which have been grouped into the category of religious and others.²

Initially, we performed a descriptive analysis of the institutionalised population aged 65 and older considering the variables of sex, age and marital status, and later we focused on the collective which interested us the most, residents of *assisted care centres*.

We should particularly mention the 2001 census, which does not report **on this population's marital status**. Apart from this problem, which leads to a break in the series, this tally seriously underestimates the number of people living in collective establishments and especially in senior citizen centres. For example, in Catalonia there were 43,945 places available in senior citizen homes

² The diversity of collective establishments has not always been handled the same way in the census tallies. In order to standardise the information, they have been categorised into four groups, two of them that provide care – residence and hospitals - and two of them that do not provide care – religious and others (Appendix 1).

in January 2001, while according to the census there were only 24,199 people this age living in all the collective establishments (Díaz et al., 2009).

This circumstance means that we partly did without the 2001 census, so we only show the data to illustrate the incongruence or when we have described the characteristics by age and sex, not marital status, because nothing leads us to believe that the underestimate seriously biases these two factors.

The analysis was complemented with data from the *Health Survey of the Institutionalised Population* carried out by the Department of Health of the Generalitat de Catalunya and administered to the population aged 65 and older who lives in assisted care centres, within which it distinguishes between residences and long-term centres with more than 15 places.³ The final sample was comprised of 1,379 people, 1,042 of whom live in residences and 337 in long-term centres. Of all the interviewees, 674 were interviewed via an indirect questionnaire with the main caregiver because the person chosen was unable to respond (Department of Health, 2006).

To further explore the population living in assisted care centres, we examined both their sociodemographic profile and the profiles that reflect their personal situation. In this sense, even though many of the individuals who enter residences do so based on care needs due to physical or mental deterioration, we expect the effect of the family network or cohabitation situation prior to the entry to also bear an influence. In short, although the worsening of health status determines the forms of cohabitation as long as the family network can come up with alternatives to residential care, the absence of a family network may promote entry into an assisted care centre even when there are no major healthcare needs.

In order to examine the different casuistics and find the characteristic features of the residents of assisted care centres, we thought it would be worthwhile to generate categories with profiles that were as homogeneous as possible. To do so, we used the variables sex, age, health (degree of dependency in basic everyday activities and mental health), age at the time of entry, reason for entry, cohabitation prior to entry, type of home and some indicator on the family network (having a partner, children and other family members or not). Since these are nominal or ordinal variables, we first performed a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which allowed us to summarise all the variables into a smaller number of quantitative factors. Based on this analysis, we retained eight dimensions which accounted for 64.1% of the inertia,⁴ which were used to carry out a hierarchical conglomerate analysis in which all the individuals in the sample were divided into seven categories.⁵ Later, we

³ For complete information on the survey, see:

http://salutweb.gencat.cat/ca/el_departament/estadistiques_sanitaries/enquestes/enquesta_poblacioinstitucionalitzada_catalunya/

⁴ The criterion for determining the number of dimensions was to retain the minimum number of **factors which had a Cronbach's alpha no lower than 0.8** after a reliability analysis (Navarro et al., 2004).

⁵ Several tests were conducted based on diverse analyses of non-hierarchical conglomerates, and the characteristics of the resulting groups were analysed. The fact that some clusters appear repeatedly in some of the results was one of the criteria for establishing the definitive number of classes.

examined the distribution of these variables within the group, as well as other variables considered to be of interest: marital status, usual place of residence, educational level attained, having participated in the job market and income level. This methodology has previously been used by Désesquelles and Brouard (2003).

4. Results

4.1. Evolution of the institutionalised population in Catalonia

4.1.1. Evolution and structure by sex and age of the institutionalised population

Since 1981, the institutionalised population age 65 and older has not stopped growing. As a whole, from 1981 to 1991 it increased 50%, while if we only consider individuals aged 75 and older it has almost doubled. Even though the proportions by sex and age only rose slightly as a result of the ageing of the population as a whole, the strong expansion in both the institutionalised population and the number of senior citizen residences in these years is unquestionable: from 1979 to 1988 the number of residences in Barcelona multiplied by three, going from 64 to 208 (Barenys, 1992).

As mentioned above, the 2001 data were significantly under-recorded. If we omit the information from this year, we can conclude that the increase that occurred in the 1980s has continued unabated until now: according to the 2011 census, there are 51,299 people aged 65 and older who are institutionalised, more than double the number in 1991 (Table 1). Similar to what happened in the 1980s, part of this increase can be attributed to the evolution of the elderly as a whole in Catalonia, such that the prevalence did not rise as steeply as the numbers, from 2.8% in 1991 to 4.0% twenty years later.

This increase has been accompanied by a major change in the age structure of the institutionalised population (Graph 1). The pyramids first show the heavy female component of this group, and secondly the important ageing process, especially among women, which in 2011 prevails in individuals age 80 and older.

Table 1. Evolution of the institutionalised population Catalonia by sex and age. Catalonia 1981-2011

		1981		1991		2001		2011	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
65 and older	Total	3,917	11,348	5,973	17,756	5,946	18,225	13,504	37,795
	Prevalence	1.5%	2.9%	1.7%	3.5%	1.3%	2.8%	2.5%	5.0%
	Mean age	76.8	77.7	78.3	80.2	79.4	82.7	82.4	85.6
75 and older	Total	2,241	7,103	3,830	13,151	3,965	14,827	10,981	34,696
	Prevalence	2.5%	4.5%	3.0%	5.8%	2.2%	4.8%	4.2%	8.2%
	Mean age	81.6	82.1	82.9	83.6	83.9	85.4	85.2	86.9

Source: Authors based on figures from the INE: Microdata (1981) and detailed results (1991, 2001 and 2011)

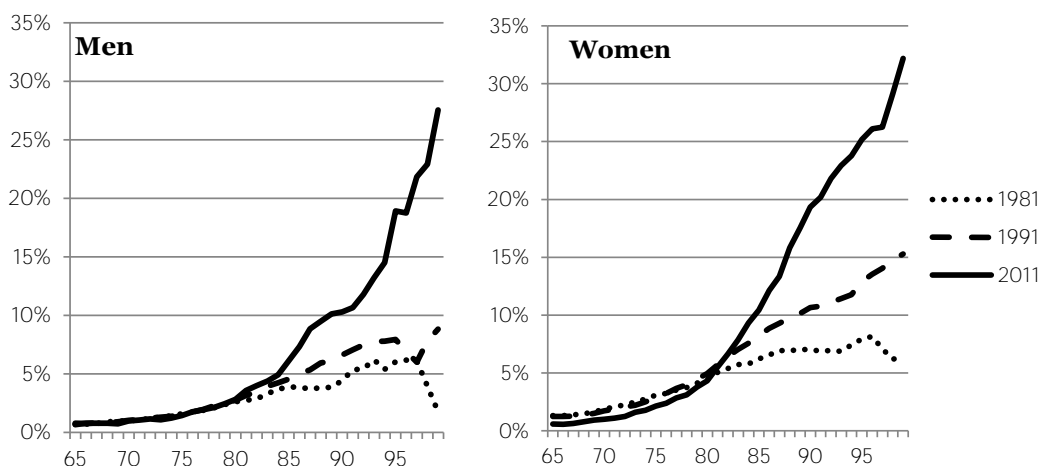
Graph 1. Structure of the institutionalised population by sex and age. Catalonia 1981-2011



Source: Authors based on figures from the INE: Microdata (1981) and detailed results (1991, 2001 and 2011)

Changes between periods in the prevalence of institutionalisation by sex and age (Graph 2) show that between 1981 and 1991, the increase came exclusively over the age of 80 for both men and women. Even though the pattern in recent years is similar, we can see a more important cut-off at the same age. Until the age of 80, the prevalence for men has not changed, while for women it has even experienced a slight drop. After this age, however, the prevalence rises spectacularly, with increases of more than 100% at the most advanced ages. The steady figures, and even slight drop, in the prevalence in the under-80 population may be explained by two complementary factors. On the one hand, the improvement in survival postpones the time of widowhood, and it has been shown that living as a couple facilitates residential independence even in situations of deteriorating health (Désesquelles & Brouard, 2003; Festy & Rychtarikova, 2008; Zueras & Ajenjo, 2010). Likewise, improvements in the living conditions of the elderly, in terms of both their health status and material wellbeing, make it possible for them to live at home even when their partner is no longer with them (Zueras & Miret, 2013), thus increasing the proportion of elderly people who live alone. What is more, the increase in institutionalisation after the age of 80 seen in 2011 may be due to a lower survival rate of more traditional forms of intergenerational cohabitation among the members of the more recent cohorts who are reaching old age (Zueras, 2014).

Graph 2. Prevalence of institutionalisation by sex and age. Catalonia (1981, 1991 and 2011)



All the curves were softened using the mobile means of three ages.

Source: Authors based on figures from the INE: microdata (1981) and detailed results (1991 and 2011)

4.1.2. Marital status of the institutionalised population by sex and age

For both men and women, in all three periods analysed, the predominance of single persons and widows among the institutionalised population is counterbalanced at different ages (Graph 3).

The high presence of single persons, which is especially noteworthy at the younger ages, is the outcome of a clear over-representation of single persons in the institutionalised population, in that in the population as a whole over the age of 64 the proportion of single persons is approximately from 6% to 11% for men and women, respectively. However, the proportion of single persons lowers at more advanced ages in favour of the rise in widows and widowers, who become the clear majority by age 85 and above.

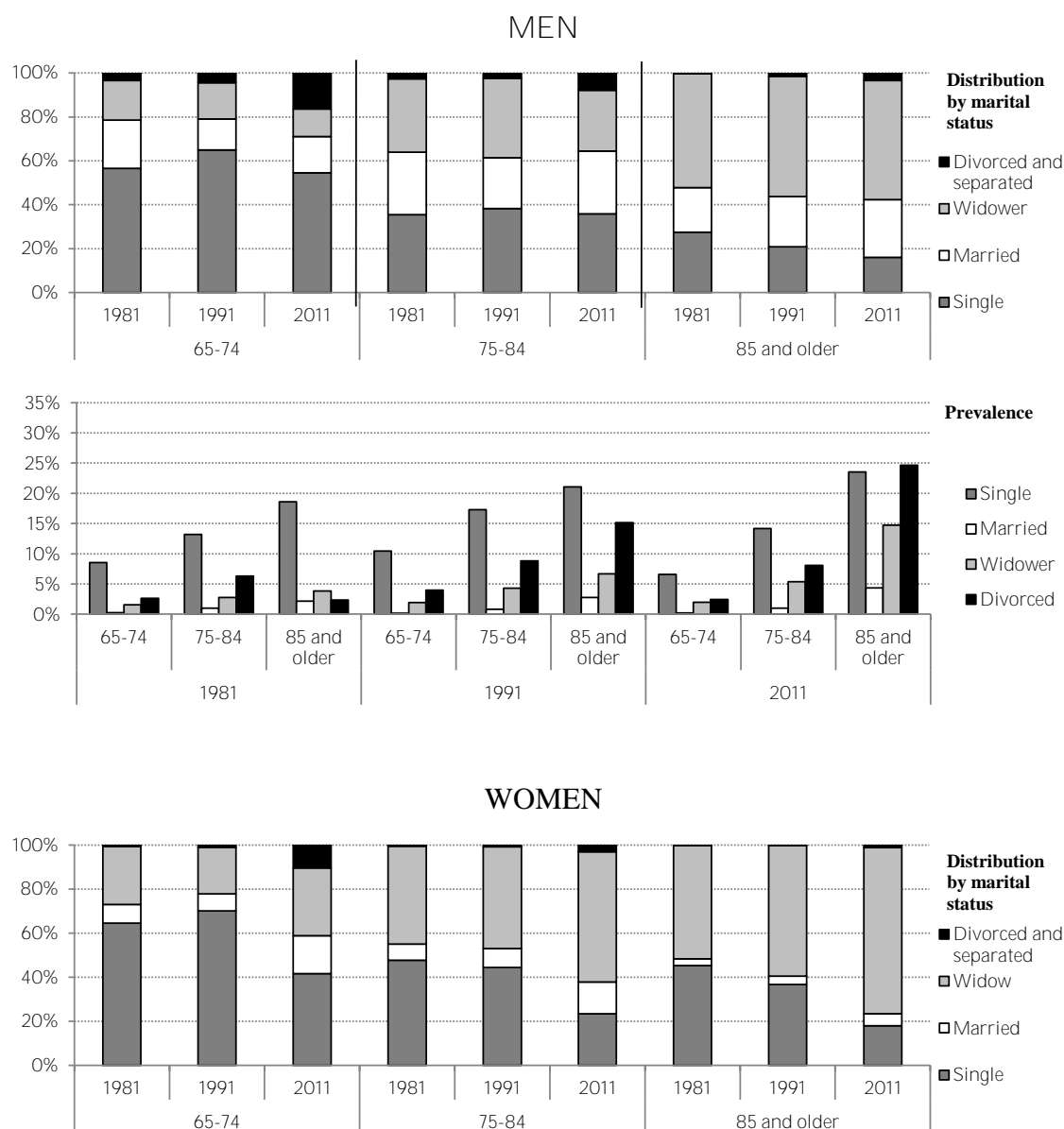
Even though divorced or separated persons are in the minority, their evolution is showing a clear upswing, especially among the younger age groups: in 2011, 16% of men and 10% of women aged 65 to 74 were divorced or separated, a figure that in 1991 was practically negligible. Regarding married persons, especially men, there is significant stability at all ages and in all three periods. This stability is lower in women, as the number of married women drops after a certain age **because of their partners' lower life expectancy**.

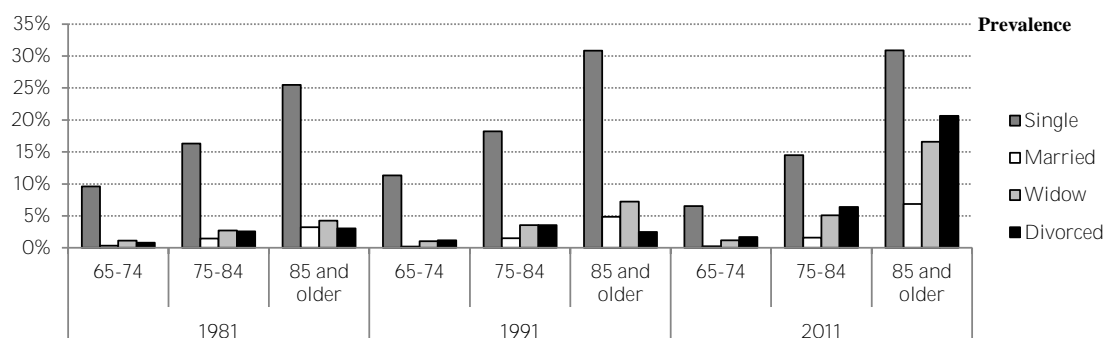
Regarding the prevalence of institutionalisation, the results are quite clear. For married persons, for example, the prevalence is quite low, with some increase in the most recent period and for the older ages, and a slightly higher figure for women. The group that shows the highest prevalence is single persons, which increase significantly with age, most importantly among women: in 2011, 31% of single men and 45% of single women aged 85 or older lived in a collective establishment. We can assume that this phenomenon is directly associated with age or the ageing process, such as deterioration in health or solitude because of the loss of family members.

Regarding widows and widowers, we should highlight the fact that their presence increases with age, especially at the most advanced ages, and that there are slightly more widows than widowers. Thus, in 2011, the figures in the oldest age bracket are close to that of single persons. Even though the number of separated or divorced persons is quite small, especially at the oldest ages, it is one of the groups that has increased the most: their prevalence is now higher than widows and even than single men at the oldest ages.

Generally speaking, we can see that among persons aged 85 or less, the prevalence of institutionalisation has been quite stable since 1981. However, at the most advanced ages there has been a steep increase among both men and women for all marital statuses; this spike could be seen in 1991 but became quite noticeable by 2011.

Graph 3. Marital status of the institutionalised population by sex and age. Distribution and prevalence. Catalonia, 1981, 1991 and 2011





Source: Authors based on figures from the INE: Microdata (1981) and detailed results (1991 and 2011).

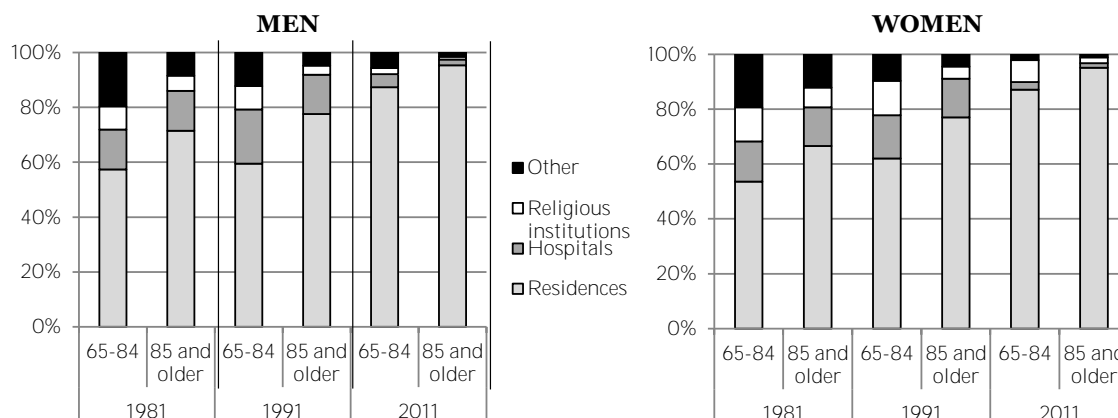
4.1.3. Type of collective establishment of the institutionalised population by sex and age

The vast majority of individuals aged 65 and older who live in collective establishments reside in assisted care centres, either residences or hospitals (Graph 4). Specifically, for any age group, more than half the men and women live in residences, between 10% and 20% in hospital centres, while less than 10% of men and 15% of women live in religious institutions.

As expected, the proportion of people who live in non-caregiving centres drops in the oldest age groups, while the proportion living in hospitals or residences rises; this is associated with the changes inherent in ageing. Between 1981 and 2011, there was a clear increase in the number of residents of assisted care centres, especially among those aged 85 or older, until currently only 5.6% of the institutionalised men and 6.2% of the institutionalised women do not live in an assisted care centres. These values in 1981 were 26% and 30%, respectively. This evolution is also determined by the virtual disappearance of those who state that they live in a religious centre.

Along the same lines is the prevalence analysed by type of centre (Graph 5). Thus, compared to the entire population, virtually no senior citizens live in non-caregiving centres, to such an extent that in 2011 they accounted for less than 0.5% of the total population in almost all age groups studied. On the other hand, that same year, more than 20% of the oldest women lived in assisted care centres.

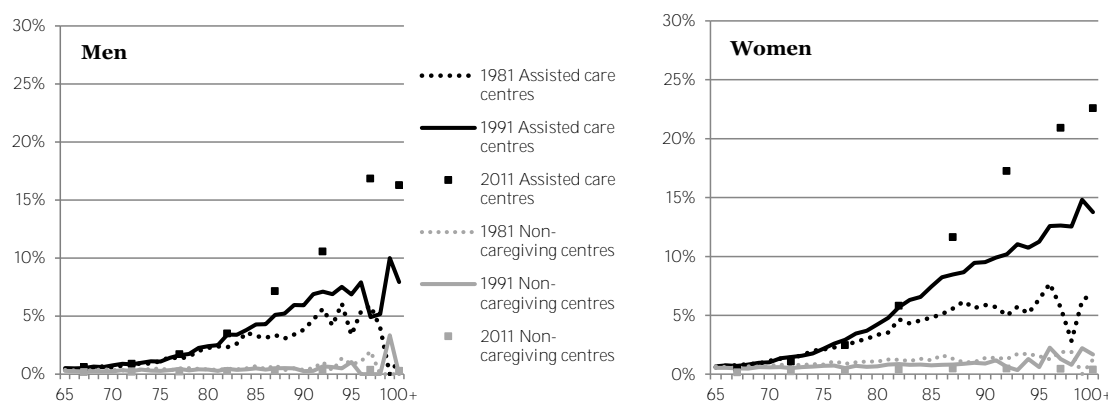
Graph 4. Institutionalised population by age group and type of collective establishment. Catalonia, 1981, 1991 and 2011



Note: For 2011, estimates were made by sex and age group based on the data available for Spain, assuming equal distribution by type of centre in Catalonia.

Source: Authors based on figures from the INE: Microdata (1981) and detailed results (1991 and 2011).

Graph 5. Prevalence of institutionalisation by sex and age according to type of collective establishment. Catalonia, 1981, 1991 and 2011



Note: For 2011, estimates were made by sex and five-year age group based on the data available for Spain, assuming equal distribution by type of centre in Catalonia.

Source: Authors based on figures from the INE: Microdata (1981) and detailed results (1991 and 2011).

4.2. The population living in assisted care centres in Catalonia (2006)

4.2.1. How many are there and what are they like?

The estimate made by the Health Survey of the Institutionalised Population (ESPI)⁶ is 34,545 people over the age of 65 living in assisted care centres in

⁶ It should be borne in mind that this population is only part of the population living in collective establishments and therefore it is not exactly equivalent to the population considered in the censuses. The population examined by the ESPI is those living a long-term centres and residences, which approximately corresponds to the population which we previously categorised

Catalonia in 2006, an estimate which matches the figures from the 1991 and 2011 censuses and reflects the steady rise of this population.

As we have seen, this increase can be partly attributed to the ageing of the population as a whole, as well as by the increase in the prevalence of institutionalisation.

Table 2. Population living in assisted care centres. Catalonia, 1981, 1991, 2006 and 2011

		65 and older			75 and older		
		Total	Prevalence	Mean age	Total	Prevalence	Mean age
1981	Men	2,887	1.1%	77.7	1,830	2.0%	81.9
	Women	7,972	2.0%	78.6	5,390	3.5%	82.3
	Total	10,859	1.6%	78.3	7,220	2.9%	82.2
1991	Men	4,892	1.4%	79.1	3,351	2.8%	83.2
	Women	14,463	2.8%	81.1	11,449	5.2%	83.8
	Total	19,355	2.2%	80.6	14,800	4.4%	83.7
2006	Men	9,684	2.0%	81.3	7,435	3.5%	84.5
	Women	24,861	3.6%	85.0	22,597	6.3%	86.4
	Total	34,545	2.9%	84.0	30,032	5.2%	85.9
2011*	Men	12,381	2.2%	82.9	10,356	3.9%	85.4
	Women	35,491	4.6%	85.9	32,991	7.4%	87.1
	Total	47,872	3.6%	85.2	43,347	6.1%	86.7

* For 2011, estimates were made by sex and age based on the figures available for Spain and assuming equal distribution by type of centre in Catalonia.

Source: Authors based on figures from the IDESCAT (2006) and the INE (1981, 1991 and 2011).

The ESPI report describes the characteristics of the population living in assisted care centres. Broadly speaking, it is primarily comprised of widows aged 80 or older with a primary education and income lower than 600 euros per month. The institutionalised population has an older structure than the population of these ages, and we can detect an over-representation of women, especially those aged 80 and older: the mean age is 84.0 and 72% are women, while in the general population aged 65 and older the mean age is 75.8 and women account for 58% of the total. The majority are widows (62.2%), with a higher proportion among the older age groups. Single people account for 18.3% of the institutionalised population, with differences between men and women, since the proportion of men is higher in the younger age groups, while for women it is the opposite (Department of Health, 2010).

The main reason cited for going to live in an assisted care centre is problems with health or autonomy, reasons which were cited by 57.9% of the

as living in assisted-care centres. Although this population only accounted for 71% of the total institutionalised population in 1981, by 2011 this figure was 94%.

interviewees. Regardless of their marital status, a large number of interviewees, 36.3%, lived alone before entering the centre, while 31.1% lived in the homes of close family members and 19.1% lived with their partner. However, the population living in long-term centres, compared to the population living in residences, more often comes from social-health or hospital centres and cite health and autonomy problems as the main reason for their entry, while those living in residences more often cite family reasons or company. Likewise, a higher proportion of the residents of long-term centres are married and lived with their partner or close family members before entering (Department of Health, 2010).

There are different factors which favour the entry into an assisted care centre, either a residence or a long-term centre, primarily health status and/or dependency for basic life activities, as well as the availability of a family network that makes it possible for them to live at home despite their deteriorating health.

Forty-two percent of the institutionalised population fit the majority profile: widows over the age of 80 (Table 3). Despite the fact that widowhood is the predominant marital status among men, the differences are minor: one out of every four institutionalised men is single, while one out of every three is married. Beyond their legal marital status, when they are asked about their partner, 24.5% of the men and only 0.8% of the women state that they have a partner. On the other hand, 41.8% of men and 31.6% of women state that they have no children. Likewise, 42.1% state that they did not enter because of health or autonomy problems but for other reasons (company, family reasons, to live more comfortably or economic reasons).

Therefore, it is a heterogeneous problem with profiles that reflect divergent situations and family lives, given that the family network, especially the partner and children, is one of the resources used to deal with ageing process at home in terms of both care and assistance in case of need, and of company and personal wellbeing.

Table 3. Distribution of the population living in assisted care centres by sex, age group and marital status. Catalonia 2006

The population living in assisted care centres					Each sex separately				
		< 80	80 +	Total			< 80	80 +	Total
Men	Single	3.9%	2.8%	6.7%	Men	Single	13.9%	9.8%	23.8%
	Married	3.9%	4.9%	8.9%		Married	13.9%	17.5%	31.4%
	Widower	2.3%	8.5%	10.8%		Widower	8.2%	30.1%	38.3%
	Sep/Div.	1.3%	0.5%	1.8%		Sep/Div.	4.6%	1.9%	6.6%
	Total	11.5%	16.7%	28.2%		Total	40.7%	59.3%	100.0%
Women	Single	2.3%	9.2%	11.6%	Women	Single	3.2%	12.9%	16.1%
	Married	2.8%	4.5%	7.3%		Married	3.9%	6.3%	10.2%
	Widow	8.9%	42.6%	51.5%		Widow	12.3%	59.3%	71.7%
	Sep/Div.	0.9%	0.5%	1.5%		Sep/Div.	1.3%	0.8%	2.0%
	Total	14.9%	56.9%	71.8%		Total	20.7%	79.3%	100.0%
Total		26.3%	73.7%	100.0%					

Source: Authors based on figures from the Health Survey of the Institutionalised Population (2006).

4.2.2. Different profiles of the population living in assisted care centres

As mentioned in the section on methodology, in order to define the profiles of this population we carried out a multiple correspondence analyses from which eight factors were extracted; these eight factors were then used in a cluster analysis following the hierarchical conglomerates method, which resulted in a total of seven profiles. While we considered demographic variables, family network and cohabitation prior to entry, health status, age at the time of entry and reason for entry to identify them, we also included other socioeconomic variables such as educational level, participation in the job market and income level when describing the resulting categories.

Within the hierarchical classification into seven groups, there is one variable which discriminates the most: the reason for entry. Of the five categories within this variable, there are two that are closely related, at least in **terms of the residents' current situation in assisted care centres**: health or autonomy problems, and proxy, which corresponds to individuals who were unable to directly answer the survey but instead had to do so via a proxy informant.⁷ Of the persons interviewed with an indirect questionnaire, 95% show dementia, so it is reasonable to assume that the main reason for their entry was the degree of deterioration of their mental health, and we can consider that both categories refer to a major deterioration in their health status.

Therefore, we can see that of the seven clusters (Table 4), four of them comprise people who entered for health reasons, namely health or autonomy or

⁷ Even though the proxy informant responded to a briefer questionnaire, of all the variables used in this study the only one not included in the indirect questionnaire is the main reason for entry into the centre.

proxy, while the other three contain the people who cited other reasons (company, family or other reasons such as living more comfortably, economic or other reasons).

Of the four categories of people living in assisted care centres for health reasons, one is in the majority, **group 1**, which accounts for up to 36.2% of the population living in residences and long-term centres (Table 4). Despite the fact that as the largest group, they do not have any relevant features in hardly any of the variables, we can see that this group is primarily comprised of widows with a mean age of 86.4 with no partner but with children and other family members, who lived alone in their own home before entering the centre. Most of them had participated in the job market and had medium incomes and a low educational level, similar to the overall profile of the population living in these centres. The vast majority has some dependency in BDLA's and/or a deterioration in their mental health, and their mean entry age was 83.3 years for health or autonomy reasons or proxy.

Group 2 (14.2%) is characterised by being younger and having a higher percentage of married persons or individuals with partners. It concentrates younger men with a mean age of 74.6 who had lived with their partner in their own home before entering. They have secondary or primary education and income over 600 euros per month. They show major dependency for the basic functions of everyday life, and they entered at a young age – 71.2 on average – for health or autonomy reasons or proxy. In summary, this group encompasses many institutionalised men who had health problems at younger ages which made them heavily dependent and who had to enter an assisted care centre despite having family and even a partner.

Group 3 (9.2%) is the other extreme: they are much older, with a mean age of 88.4. This group stands out for encompassing a high number of women over the age of 85, widows with children who lived with close family members in a rental house before entering the residence. They entered at advanced ages, a mean of 85.4, for health reasons, possibly mental health (100% proxy). In 98% of the cases, they are affected by dementia, and many of them are also dependent in the six BDLA functions. Therefore, these are women who aged at home with their family, but at advanced ages, despite their family network, they had to enter a centre because of deterioration in their mental health and a high degree of functional dependency.

Group 4 (18.5%) is made up of single and divorced people of both sexes and all ages who have no children or other family members. Before entering the centre, they lived in other situations, coming from social-health centres or residences, with a relative presence of individuals with dependency in the six BDLA and dementia. Therefore, this group encompasses people with health problems and no family network.

The next three groups stand out because the respondents stated that they went to live in an assisted care centres for reasons other than health problems; they account for 22% of the population living in these centres.

Group 5 (8.3%) is mostly men with no serious mental health or functional problems. This group stands out because they entered for family reasons, even though they have children and other family members with whom they lived previously. It encompasses people with opposite educational levels,

from illiterate to secondary school, along with individuals with high income levels.

Group 6 (9.8%) primarily includes single people regardless of their sex or age, who lived alone or in the house of a family member before entering the centre. They have no serious health problems; in terms of their functionality, they are independent or have some dependency in BDLA, and they have sound mental health or a slight cognitive deficit. Therefore, these are single people with no major health problems and without a close family network who stated that they went to live in the assisted care centre for company.

Finally, **group 7** (3.8%) includes widowers of any age with a high educational level and income who have a relatively sound functional and cognitive status and have a primary or secondary family network. Prior to entering, they lived with their partner and went to live at the residency between the ages of 75 and 84 in order to live more comfortably, or for economic or other reasons.

Table 4. Distribution of the variables among the seven groups identified with the cluster analysis

Group number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Population distribution among the groups	36.2%	14.2%	9.2%	18.5%	8.3%	9.8%	3.8%	100.0%
Sex								
Men	20.3%	43.9%	16.3%	27.6%	38.2%	28.7%	50.0%	28.0%
Women	79.7%	56.1%	83.7%	72.4%	61.8%	71.3%	50.0%	72.0%
Age								
Young (<80)	5.8%	95.2%	4.9%	29.0%	27.3%	21.7%	12.0%	26.3%
Old	45.5%	3.7%	27.9%	26.5%	25.5%	37.2%	44.0%	32.0%
Very old (86 +)	48.4%	1.1%	67.2%	44.5%	47.3%	41.1%	44.0%	41.7%
Mean age	86.4	74.6	88.4	83.8	84.3	84.3	84.8	84.0
Marital status								
Single	13.9%	22.3%	5.0%	27.4%	17.3%	28.7%	12.0%	18.3%
Married	20.2%	29.8%	3.3%	11.7%	10.9%	7.0%	16.0%	16.3%
Widower/widow	5.1%	42.0%	90.1%	55.2%	68.2%	58.9%	70.0%	62.2%
Separated, Divorced	0.8%	5.9%	1.7%	5.8%	3.6%	5.4%	2.0%	3.2%
Partner								
No	84.2%	75.5%	97.5%	91.4%	91.7%	95.3%	90.2%	87.5%
Yes	15.8%	24.5%	2.5%	8.6%	8.3%	4.7%	9.8%	12.5%
Children								
No	29.1%	41.7%	11.4%	44.1%	29.1%	53.8%	29.4%	34.4%
Yes	70.9%	58.3%	88.6%	55.9%	70.9%	46.2%	70.6%	65.6%
Other family members								
No	21.9%	23.4%	23.8%	33.9%	9.2%	20.2%	17.6%	23.1%
Yes	78.1%	76.6%	76.2%	66.1%	90.8%	79.8%	82.4%	76.9%

Group number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Prior living status								
Alone	48.2%	39.9%	0.0%	18.8%	23.6%	67.4%	31.4%	36.3%
With partner, with/without close family members	26.9%	33.0%	0.0%	4.9%	23.6%	7.0%	29.4%	19.1%
With close family members, WITHOUT partner	24.8%	27.1%	100.0%	5.7%	43.6%	20.2%	19.6%	29.5%
Other situations/ Unknown	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	70.6%	9.1%	5.4%	19.6%	15.1%
Prior home								
Own home	73.3%	68.4%	0.0%	10.7%	42.7%	59.2%	60.8%	49.9%
Rental home	9.8%	11.2%	100.0%	6.1%	31.8%	10.8%	11.8%	19.7%
Home of child or other family member	14.8%	19.8%	0.0%	3.3%	15.5%	23.1%	7.8%	12.6%
Other (social-health centre, residence or assisted flat)	2.1%	0.5%	0.0%	79.9%	10.0%	6.9%	19.6%	17.8%
BDLA dependency								
Independent	15.9%	25.0%	9.0%	13.9%	39.1%	44.2%	43.1%	21.9%
Some dependency	68.1%	50.0%	51.6%	61.2%	60.9%	53.5%	56.9%	60.3%
Dependent in all 6 basic functions	16.1%	25.0%	39.3%	24.9%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	17.8%
Mental health								
Normal	9.8%	23.3%	1.0%	10.5%	14.8%	25.6%	23.5%	13.7%
Slight cognitive deficiency	19.5%	15.9%	1.0%	10.5%	27.8%	31.2%	31.4%	18.2%
Dementia	70.7%	60.8%	98.0%	79.0%	57.4%	43.2%	45.1%	68.0%
Perceived health								
Average	5.3	5.7	-	5.4	5.7	5.4	6.0	5.5
Age at entry								
< 75	2.3%	83.0%	3.3%	23.6%	24.8%	28.3%	9.8%	22.5%
75-84	63.5%	17.0%	38.5%	42.1%	35.8%	39.4%	62.7%	46.0%
85 +	34.2%	0.0%	58.2%	34.3%	39.4%	32.3%	27.5%	31.5%
Mean age at entry	83.3	71.2	85.4	80.5	81.0	80.3	82.2	80.7
Reason for entry								
Company/not being alone	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	9.8%
Family reasons	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%
Health or autonomy problems	49.6%	50.0%	0.0%	26.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%
Others	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	3.9%
Proxy	50.4%	50.0%	100.0%	73.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	48.1%
Educational level								
Cannot read or write	11.1%	13.3%	15.6%	10.9%	15.5%	8.7%	6.0%	11.7%
No education, can read and write	50.1%	44.1%	36.1%	32.8%	50.0%	54.3%	46.0%	45.0%
Primary school	21.9%	25.5%	13.9%	19.8%	27.3%	32.3%	32.0%	23.1%
Secondary school	5.0%	5.9%	3.3%	3.6%	6.4%	3.1%	6.0%	4.7%
University	2.5%	1.1%	1.6%	2.4%	0.9%	0.8%	6.0%	2.0%
Unknown/No answer	9.4%	10.1%	29.5%	30.4%	0.0%	0.8%	4.0%	13.5%

Group number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Work								
No	19.7%	9.5%	21.4%	14.9%	11.0%	8.6%	4.2%	14.8%
Yes	80.3%	90.5%	78.6%	85.1%	89.0%	91.4%	95.8%	85.2%
Monthly income								
No income	6.2%	3.1%	5.9%	5.8%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	4.4%
Less than €300	6.2%	3.1%	3.9%	7.0%	7.9%	9.4%	0.0%	5.7%
From €301 to 600	66.3%	55.1%	68.6%	60.5%	60.5%	60.4%	50.0%	61.8%
From €601 to 900	13.5%	24.5%	11.8%	17.4%	7.9%	22.6%	35.0%	17.4%
More than €900	7.9%	14.2%	9.8%	9.3%	23.7%	7.6%	10.0%	10.7%

Source: authors based on figures from the Health Survey of the Institutionalised Population (2006).

5. Conclusions and discussion

Institutionalisation is still a minority form of residence among the elderly in Catalonia: in relative terms, in 2011 it affected only 4.0% of the population over the age of 64, but in absolute terms it has undergone a major increase by more than tripling since 1981, so it now encompasses more than 51,000 people. The increase is due to both the higher survival rates at advanced ages and a considerable increase in institutionalisation in the past three decades, especially among people aged 80 and older. It is essential to measure this population and spotlight the fact that their absence in surveys addressed exclusively to residents of private households could lead to an important bias, especially in terms of the analysis of the elderly.

Even though the institutionalised population is primarily comprised of widows over the age of 80, we also noted a major presence of single persons of both sexes, primarily at younger ages, the least affected by widowhood. Bearing in mind the small proportion of these generations who never married, the prevalence of singles in the institutionalised population is quite high, especially among women, and it increases with age. This stresses the importance of the family network, given that not only do single persons have no partner, but most of them have no children either; that is, they have no close family network to assist them in case of need.

The 2011 census shows that almost 95% of the elderly who reside in collective establishments live in assisted care centres, which include both residences and hospital and long-term centres. It has become clear that despite the existence of a majority profile among the institutionalised population, it is nonetheless not a homogeneous population but instead encompasses different profiles which reflect different family situations and health statuses.

Seven profiles of institutionalised persons were identified, which were classified into two major groups: those who entered for health or autonomy reasons and those who cited other reasons. Among the former there are four profiles which reveal different previous family or cohabitation situations which led the person to enter an institution: 1) widows who lived alone and some dependency in BDLA; 2) younger people, primarily men, who have a family network but had to enter at younger ages because of serious functional **dependency problems**; 3) widows who aged in their own or their children's homes and entered at advanced ages with significant mental deterioration; and 4) persons with health problems without a family network, primarily single and divorced persons.

On the other hand, even though only 6.2% of the institutionalised population has no health problems – no cognitive deterioration and independence in the six BDLA – 22% of the population claims to have gone to live in an assisted care facility for other reasons. Among them are three different profiles with a relatively good functional and cognitive status: 1) people who have a family network yet have entered for family reasons; 2) people, especially single people, who do not want to be alone and are looking for company; and 3) widowers with higher educational levels and incomes who state that they entered in order to live more comfortably or for economic reasons.

Despite the elderly's explicit preference for living alone as long as they can and with children if needed, the profiles suggest a shift in mindset towards residences, as other studies have also found (Fernández Carro, 2013). Only 9.2% of the residents of assisted care centres fit the institutionalisation profile that existed in the past: as a last resort when the family could not properly tend to **the elderly's care needs after they** have aged in the family setting (Bazo, 1991). On the other hand, the largest group, which accounts for 36.2% of the institutionalised population, primarily encompasses widows who lived in their own home, many of them alone despite having a family network, before entering because of health or autonomy problems. Even though this survey did not ask them, it is quite possible that these women preferred to go to live in a residence **instead of living in their children's homes in order not to be a burden or upset** the privacy of family life (López Doblas et al., 2013). When asked, 60% of people who live in residence (in Spain) state that they themselves had taken this decision (Fernández Carro, 2013). Likewise, having a home of their own in addition to income for supporting themselves could mean the difference between being able to pay for the cost of entering a residence or having to depend on other family members. This possible incipient change can also be seen in the minority profile (3.8%) which includes widowers with a high educational level and income, and who state that they went to live in the centre for practical reasons (comfort, economic or other reasons), as well as the fact that people without a close family network, primarily single persons with relatively high functional and mental health statuses, went to live in a residence for company.

The results point to the fact that institutionalisation will most likely continue to increase in the near future, especially among the most advanced ages, since the generations that will join the population aged 65 and older will supposedly have enjoyed the best health conditions throughout their lifetimes. However, it remains to be seen whether in the current socioeconomic context of cutbacks in social welfare, which is having significant effects on both the level of material wellbeing and the provision of healthcare services, the cohorts currently at older ages and their health in old age will be affected. On the other hand, there may also be an increase in institutionalisation due to the greater willingness of the elderly with no major health problems to seek a residential option that provides them with support, comfort, services, company and the ease of mind of being near someone who can care for them in case of need or emergency.

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Appendix. Classification of collective establishments by typology and census. Censuses from 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011

1981	1991	2001	2011
Residences			
Social assistance (homes, orphanages, social care for children, youth, adults, the disabled or socially marginalised people, etc.)	Shelters for the destitute, marginalised, etc.	Shelters for the socially marginalised	Residences for the elderly
	Homes or residences for the elderly	Homes or residences for the elderly	Institutions for persons with disabilities or institutions to provide children and youth with social assistance
	Institutions to provide social assistance	Institutions for persons with disabilities	
	Institutions for persons with disabilities	Other institutions to provide children and youth with social assistance...	
	Orphanages		
Hospital centres			
Hospital centres (hospitals, clinics, hospital-homes, establishments for the mentally ill, convalescent homes, etc.)	Long-term hospitals	Long-term hospitals	Healthcare institutions
	General hospitals	General and specialised short-term hospitals	
	Psychiatric hospitals	Psychiatric hospitals	
Religious			
Religious	Religious institutions	Religious institutions (monasteries, abbeys, etc.)	Religious institutions
Other			
Military	Military establishments	Military establishments (barracks, etc.)	Military institutions
Educational (boarding schools, military academies and schools, seminaries, etc.)	University residences	University residences, student residences	Penitentiary institutions
Other	Educational institutions	Penitentiary institutions (prisons, reformatories, etc.)	Other kinds of collective establishments
Penitentiaries	Others	Boarding schools, military academies and schools, seminaries, etc	
Non-hotel residences (university residences, student or employee residences, etc.)	Employee residences	Other kinds of groups Employee residences	
Hotels (hotels, pensions, hostels, homes, etc.)	Hotels	Hotels, pensions, hostels, etc.	

Democracy and national pluralism: Ethical and institutional features

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1. Factual and normative elements in the analyses of plurinational democracies

The debate that began in the 1980s between the liberal and communitarian perspectives and, subsequently from the early 1990s onwards between what have been called Liberalism 1 and Liberalism 2,¹ has highlighted the importance **that empirical cultural and national collectivities have in individuals' self-understanding and self-esteem**. Some of these entities are groups that do not always coincide with the group that comprises the polity which defines citizenship. This debate has also revealed the inability of the liberal, democratic and social rights included in constitutions to regulate an egalitarian and equitable treatment of individuals belonging to national minorities. Moreover, it has revealed the fact that it is impossible for states to play a culturally and nationally neutral role, the way they can regarding other phenomena, such as religion. Consequently, in many cases, national groups have an important moral role to play in not exhausting the individual components and dimensions of the basic values of liberty, pluralism and political equality.

The construction of increasingly refined liberal democracies in terms of ***cultural and national pluralism*** is one of the biggest challenges in the normative and institutional revision of contemporary democratic systems. In the last two decades, analyses in political science, political theory and constitutionalism have revealed several factors that come into play in a political and moral refinement in plurinational federal democracies. The following is a list of factual and normative elements that, I think, they must be taking into account in the analyses of these kind of democracies.

¹ Taylor 1992.

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1.1. *Factual-analytical elements*

1. In practical terms, most human beings are culturally and nationally rooted.
2. Classical liberal and federal political theories were created in much simpler contexts than present-day societies.
3. Nation-building processes exist in all states, including liberal-democratic ones. All states are agents of nationalism and nationalisation. There are at least partially competitive values, interests and identities within plurinational democracies. There are different narrations and reconstructions of history and collective memories.
4. States usually treat the internal national differences within democracies as “**particularist deviations**”. A practical response has been to promote the cultural and national assimilation of minorities in order to achieve their “**political integration**”. The practical consequence has been marginalisation of the internal national minorities in the name of “**citizenship**” and “**popular sovereignty**” (of the state).
5. The abstract and universalist language that underlies the liberal values of liberty, equality and pluralism has contrasted, in practical terms, with the exclusion of a number of *voices* with regard to the regulation of specific liberties, equalities and pluralisms in contemporary societies (those who do not own property, women, indigenous people, ethnic, linguistic and national minorities).
6. Each of these movements gives rise to specific questions regarding *recognition* and *political accommodation* (group rights, self-government, defence of particular cultural values, presence in the international arena, etc.). There are insufficient liberal, democratic and social rights to protect and develop the cultural and national features of minorities.
7. Nation-building and state-building processes have conditioned the conception (theory) and evolution (practices) of federalism.

1.2. *Normative-analytical elements*

8. Cultural and national liberties are elements in the quality of a democracy. **Individuals’** self-understanding and self-esteem is important (United Nations, *Human Development Report 2004*).
9. Normative importance of historical events. The political contexts in which individuals are socialised are often the result of historical processes that usually include violent features – wars of annexation, exterminations, mass deportations, etc. – which are **sometimes at the root of minority nations’** modern-day struggles for recognition and self-governance.
10. There are two general theoretical attitudes in policy-making when dealing with national pluralism: *pragmatic* (to avoid conflicts in the least costly way possible) and *moral* (to approach it as a question of “**justice**” – fair relations between *permanent majorities and minorities*).
11. There are two general theoretical paradigms in relation to questions of socioeconomic or cultural/national justice in pluralist societies: the paradigm of

equality (distribution) versus the paradigm of difference (recognition and political accommodation)

12. The theory of *demos* or *demoi* is missing in traditional theories of democracy (whether they be of a more liberal or a more republican nature), as is a liberal theory of legitimised borders

13. The state as a “culturally neutral” entity is a myth of traditional liberalism.

14. Individual and collective identities are not fixed, but we make choices based on them. The belief that **we are “autonomous individuals” who choose our national, ethnic, linguistic, religious, etc, identities** is, to a great extent, another myth of traditional liberalism.

15. There are flaws in traditional liberalism based on its individualist, universalist and statist elements when they are applied to plurinational societies (**“deviations”, “conceptions of citizenship” and “popular sovereignty”, etc**)

2. “Classical” Institutional Responses

It would appear that the first condition for solving a problem is to try to define or describe it correctly, and defining and describing a problem correctly involves establishing at least three aspects. The first is knowing how to identify what the basic issue is, that is, identifying the decisive question that needs to be considered. Secondly, defining a problem also involves knowing how to describe it with the maximum precision possible. This implies both a careful conceptualisation and the inclusion of historical elements, along with the most important empirical data related to the problem. Thirdly, defining a problem means knowing where to look for possible solutions, in the spheres of both political theory and comparative politics. When we have a question and do not know where to go to find the answers, this usually means that from an epistemological perspective we are not on the right track.

One of the most important questions with regard to the case of plurinational democracies is the *recognition* and *political accommodation* of the national pluralism of these democracies. Obviously, in addition to this question there are probably a whole series of interrelated aspects: economic development, income inequalities, multiculturalism and membership in supra-state organisations, such as the European Union, etc. But it is methodologically improper to mix all these elements from the outset. In this case, the key point is not to establish how the *demos* becomes *kratos* – this would be the traditional vision of democracy – but how the different national *demoi* which coexist within the same democracy are politically and constitutionally recognised and accommodated in terms of equality (between the national majorities and minorities) in the *kratos* of the polity. This involves dealing with and **introducing aspects of both a “democratic” nature – participation by majorities and minorities in “shared governance” – and, above all, of a “liberal” nature – the protection and development of minority nations confronting the “tyranny of the (national) majority”, both in the internal sphere of this democracy and in the international arena. It is, therefore, a matter of determining the “checks and balances” in a collective dimension which have received little or no attention from traditional political conceptions but which constitute specific dimensions**

of core questions of liberal political theory, such as the “negative theory” of the “tyranny of the majority”.

Whatever the most suitable liberal-democratic solution or solutions may be will obviously depend on matters like the context of each specific case (its history, international situation, types of actors, political culture, etc.). But it seems clear that in contexts of national pluralism it is essential to establish a much more refined interpretation than what is offered by the basic values of traditional liberal-democratic constitutionalism: liberty, equality, individual dignity and pluralism. This complexity demands theories that are more sensitive and attuned to the variations in empirical realities when attempting to clearly identify its basic legitimising values. Moreover, it demands above all practical, institutional and procedural solutions that are much more suitable for the type of pluralism to be accommodated. These are two aspects of the liberal-democratic agenda that have yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

The three “classic” institutional responses for societies with a strong component of national diversity² have been:

1. **Federalism** (in a broad sense, including federations, associated states, federacies, confederations and regional states)

2. **Consociationalism: institutions and processes of a “consociational”** nature (based on consensus between the majorities and permanent national minorities). Examples of these institutions and processes can be found in the democracies of Switzerland and Belgium, in both cases in conjunction with federal solutions

3. **Secession.**

Let us now look at some elements offered by political theory and comparative politics with regard to federalism. The generic question is whether federalism offers a suitable framework for establishing the recognition and accommodation of plurinational democracies and, if so, which federal models are most suitable and which are not.

3. Federalism and plurinational federations. Some theoretical and historical remarks

The fundamental challenge facing plurinational federations nowadays can be synthesised as a liberal, democratic and national challenge of polity-building. The main question, in essence, is whether it is possible to combine within the same federation the political perspective of the construction of a **federal unit** that usually predominates among the majority national groups in the state and the perspective of a **confederal union** that usually predominates among the minority national entities in the federation. Both kinds of realities are usually based on different legitimising concepts and values, although the same terms are often used. This difference is expressed in the diverse conceptions regarding which rights, duties, institutions and political collective decision-making processes are legitimate in liberal-democratic terms when applied to realities

² See Norman 2006, Amoretti-Bermeo 2004; McGarry 2002, Gagnon-Tully 2001; Watts 1999; Lijphart 1999.

characterised by strong components of national pluralism. The question regarding the probability of combining these two perspectives, that is, the probability of establishing a political and constitutional accommodation of *de facto* national pluralism, cannot be answered in abstract terms but must involve the institutional practices of comparative politics and case analysis.

Broadly speaking, federalism is a notion that has been neither historically nor normatively related to national pluralism until quite recently. In fact, it is evident that both classic institutional analyses and those of a normative nature regarding federalism have been heavily influenced by the historical example of the United States, the first contemporary federation.³ And this is an empirical case that is not related to national pluralism. If we remain in the orbit of the **Unites States' federalism, the response to the question concerning the possibilities of political accommodation of plurinational societies by means of federal formulas is basically negative. The fundamental reasons for this are both historical and organisational. This is essentially a uninational model that avoids, yet implicitly responds to, a fundamental question that democratic theories have paradoxically failed answer: what is "the people", the *demos*, and who decides what "the people" refers to. If we take empirical data into account, it would appear practically impossible to politically empower the different *demoi* in a plurinational society within the uninational rules of the game in the United States' federal model.**

Similarly, the fact that the first contemporary federation was the influential case of the United States – which was built using strong uninational and symmetric components, and a strong Supreme Court that acted as a polity-maker during its practical development – has not been unrelated to the evolution of federations and federal thought that was dominant until recently (J. Madison, *Federalist Papers*, 10, 51). This is an evolution that is very different **from the more "confederal" logic that characterises the political systems and the political thought of the classic form of federalism prior to the American federation (Althusius, *Politica Methodice Digesta* VIII) – a conception that survived into the modern era in Switzerland and the Netherlands, albeit not for long in the latter.**

On other hand, the American federalist tradition associated with the creation of the first federal state in the contemporary era based its approach to federalism on much more federal than confederal foundations. Here, the centre of gravity is located in the governance of a modern nation-state and the subsequent supremacy of the central power over the federated powers. One of the explicit objectives is to avoid the instability that confederations have repeatedly shown at an empirical level. In contrast to the school of thought represented by Althusius and Montesquieu, the establishment of the federation should not involve existing social and territorial divisions but should attempt to construct a new polity that subsumes the old divisions by establishing new processes of state-building and nation-building. Here, the union is more important than the units. Depending on the federal conception we locate

³ See Requejo 2011, Burgess 2006, Karmis-Norman 2005, Hueglin 2003, Neremberg-Griffiths 2002.

ourselves within, we will reach different conclusions in all the spheres of territorial accommodation.

In contemporary federations and regional states, the tension between liberal, democratic, national and functional logics has been resolved in **“national” terms, usually in the federation’s favour. However, the interpretation** of the values of liberty, equality and pluralism will be different depending on whether one is dealing with uninational or plurinational liberal democracies, especially with regard to collective or group liberties and rights, the subjects of equality or the type of pluralism to be protected or guaranteed. Let us look at **the present, for example. The classical questions “equality, of what?” or “who are the equals?” will receive different “federal” responses depending on whether** we situate ourselves in the Althusian or Madisonian tradition of federalism, and depending on whether we situate ourselves in a conception that is linked to Liberalism 1 or Liberalism 2 from the analytical and normative debate on liberal democracies.

On the other hand, the history of federalism, or to be more precise, the history of federations, has mainly been characterised by the development of models that are basically symmetric. Comparative politics shows in what way symmetric models have not been a particularly propitious option when there are coexistent or juxtaposed nation-building processes within the same political system. Symmetry stimulates uniformity in the political system’s **“entrance requirements”**. **And that makes achieving real political accommodation difficult,** when the pluralism of national minorities constitutes a form of *de facto asymmetry* which requires that the plurinationality be recognised using the same **“entrance requirements” of the constitutional system.**

To sum up, the symbolic and institutional challenges, as well as the challenges related to the rules of decision-making, which plurinational societies pose for federalism are usually more complex than those posed by uninational societies. And it seems clear that the Madisonian and Liberalism 1 approaches show difficulties and flaws in plurinational democracies. Both miss the aforementioned real target in this kind of polities. In addition to the search for **“common ground” in the federation, the issue which most concerns minority nations** is the establishment of institutions and *protection* mechanisms of a **“liberal” nature in the constitutional sphere that protects them from the** decisions taken by the majorities. This political accommodation involves the establishment of broad forms of self-government and participation in the shared government of the federation that is based on their own national characteristics. Let us take a comparative look at the empirical world of federal democracies.

4. Plurinational federalism. A comparative approach

Broadly speaking, current analyses of states that display a clear territorial division of federal or regional powers can be situated along five basic axes, depending on the research questions that one is attempting to answer:

- a) the uninational-plurinational axis
- b) the unitarianism-federalism axis
- c) the centralisation-decentralisation axis

- d) the symmetry-asymmetry axis
- e) the competitiveness-cooperation axis

These analytical axes require a diverse battery of variables and indicators which can be used to carry out a comparative approach. The universe of the analysis below is comprised of democratic federations –excluding cases based on archipelagic federations such as Micronesia, the Comoros and St Kitts and Nevis, as well as federations which are far from the liberal-democratic logic (the United Arab Emirates, Nigeria, Pakistan, etc.).⁴ Associated states/federacies and supra-state entities such as the European Union have been also excluded. On the other hand, we include three Western European democratic regional states which display a clear territorial division of powers: the United Kingdom, Spain and Italy. Altogether, there are 20 federations or regional states in the following analysis.

1. The uninational-plurinational axis is applied according to the theoretical and double empirical criterion – party systems/effective number of parties, and secessionist parties within them – which I have developed elsewhere.⁵

2. The unitarianism-federalism axis focuses on how federal a federation (or a regional state) is. It is established using constitutional regulations which are more or less favourable to a federal institutional logic from the perspective of the federated units.⁶

3. The centralisation-decentralisation axis refers to the degree of constitutional self-governance of the units with political autonomy.⁷

⁴ Here, I follow the same methodology that I used in previous comparative works, this time introducing updated empirical data and some changes in the cases considered. See Requejo 2010, sec 2-4.

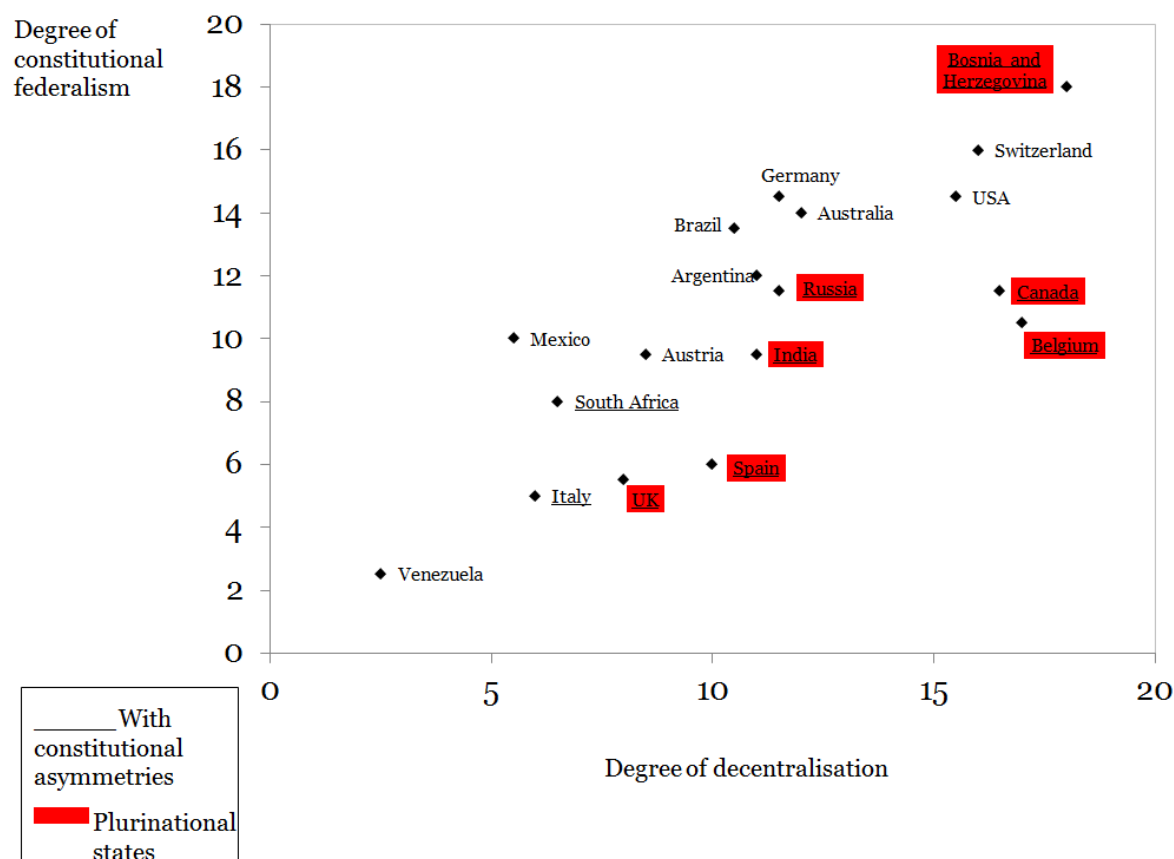
⁵ See Requejo 2010, sec 2

⁶ The indicators will include the existence or not of: federated polities as constituent units (1); constitutional guarantee of their self-governance (1); agreement for constitutional reform (1); an institutional dualism in relation to the three classic powers: the executive and legislative (2) and the judicial (1); a model of fiscal federalism (2); an upper chamber with representatives appointed by the institutions of the federated entities (1), and with seats distributed along territorial lines (not proportional to the population) (1); powers of the upper chamber within the institutional system (2); the allocation of unallocated powers to the federated units (2); a court to arbitrate in disputes (2), with the sub-state entities having a say on who is appointed to it (2); and the regulation or not of a right of secession of (some) the federated units (2). The numbers in brackets refer to the score given to each indicator. Altogether, the global scale of each case is situated between 0 (absence of a federal logic) and 20 (maximum degree of constitutional **federalism**). **See Annexe 1. We do not consider in this axis “para-institutional” indicators**, those which have an effect on federalism as a process (e.g., political-party systems; intergovernmental relations). An analysis applied to a group of 11 federal and regional countries using a number of slightly different indicators, in Baldi 2003 (2nd ed. 2005).

⁷ Here, the degree of decentralisation (or lack of centralisation) is also measured on a global scale which ranges from a score of 0 (maximum centralisation) to 20 (maximum decentralisation). It is also measured using different indicators: a) the kind of legislative powers held by these sub-units (8) -subdivided in specific areas of government as follows: economy/infrastructures/communication (2), education and culture (2), welfare (2), internal affairs/penal/civil codes and others (2); b) the executive/administrative powers (2); c) whether or not the federated entities have the right to conduct their own foreign policy, taking into account both the scope of the matters and agreements with federal support (2); and d) their

4. The symmetry-asymmetry axis includes the cases with *de jure* institutional regulations or competencies for specific territorial sub-units.⁸

Figure 1. Degree of constitutional federalism and degree of decentralisation in the cases studied⁹



The following are general comparative remarks regarding the feasibility of federations accommodating plurinational societies. We will consider five different aspects: the constitutional recognition of the national pluralism of these kinds of polities, the degree of decentralization, the degree of constitutional federalism, the inclusion of *de jure* asymmetries in plurinational polities and, finally, whether or not a right of secession for national minorities is included in the constitutional rules.

economic decentralization (8), calculated according to a single average index obtained taking into account the distribution of the public revenues and the public expenditures (GFS/IMF indexes) in each country. See Annexe 2. Data from <http://www.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/fiscalindicators.htm>. See also Rodden 2004

⁸ See Watts 2005, Requejo 2011, Agranoff 1999. We exclude federal capitals from asymmetry criteria; in the following calculations, Quebec, Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders are the reference for the cases of Canada, Spain, the UK and Belgium.

⁹ The cases of Ethiopia and Malaysia are not included in the degree of decentralisation due to the lack of reliable economic data.

1. ***Political recognition of national pluralism in plurinational federations.*** Ethiopia and Russia formally recognise their plurinational nature. However, all other federations and regional states are reluctant to permit explicit recognition of national pluralism in their constitutional agreements.

2. ***Degree of federalism, decentralisation and asymmetries.*** Broadly speaking, the group of plurinational federations paradoxically show a degree of federalism which is more uniform and lower than the group of uninational federations (except for the special case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which shows some confederal characteristics). That is, there is a ***federalist deficit*** in plurinational federations. However, these polities are more constitutionally asymmetrical than uninational federations. In fact, there are no cases of clearly symmetrical plurinational federations. Not surprisingly, the two regional plurinational cases – Spain and the United Kingdom – receive the lowest scores on their degree of federalism within the plurinational states. These trends prompt questions on whether federations/regional states are suitable for properly managing plurinational polities when accommodating politically minority nations is not only a question of decentralization but also of political recognition of their national status, and of regulation of their collective constitutional negative and positive liberties.

3. The elements of asymmetry in plurinational federations is sometimes regulated within general symmetrical guidelines in the territorial division of powers (with the presence of pressure in favour of the symmetry of the system). This mainly occurs when the number of federated units is not small (at least nine: Canada, India, Russia, Ethiopia and Spain, in contrast to Belgium, the United Kingdom and Bosnia-Herzegovina).¹⁰

4. **The construction of “federal trust” in plurinational federations/regional states** requires the existence of at least two factors: a) clear mechanisms that allow the minority nations to participate in the shared governance of the federation based on their uniqueness, instead of diluting them to become just another entity within the federation (presence in the upper chamber, bilateral inter-governmental relations between these entities and the federation, consociational institutions, etc.); and b) rules which protect national minorities from the actions of the majorities. This is an issue that is more **“liberal” than “democratic” in nature (related to the collective “tyranny of the majority”)**.¹¹ If specific participation and protection mechanisms are absent (Spain), or if they are insufficiently regulated (Russia), the perception of a ***federalism of distrust*** by the minorities (and the majorities in reaction) will

¹⁰ An analysis of the evolution of ten European multilevel cases which started their process of decentralization asymmetrically, in Requejo-Nagel 2011. It is currently an open question **whether the federations’ reluctance to introduce more asymmetric regulations**, especially when the number of subunits is not small, will or will not reinforce territorial tensions and secessionist positions.

¹¹ **It favours the inclusion of institutional procedures such as veto powers, “alarm bell” and opting-in/opting-out policies** (which do not require constitutional reforms), the appointment of some of the judges on the Supreme or Constitutional Courts, distinct participation in constitutional reform processes, asymmetrical intergovernmental relations, etc. Most of these procedures, which point to models of ***plurinational federalism*** or ***partnership***, are absent or have a low profile in the constitutions of most plurinational democracies. See Watts 1999, Requejo 2005, ch. 4-5.

increase. From a normative perspective, this misrepresents the interpretation of collective liberal negative freedom in plurinational federal democracies. Moreover, it would seem advisable to develop a kind of political culture for the entire federation in order to develop a stable *federal trust*: a “**plurinational culture**” which makes the plurality of the internal *demoi* a feature of the “political union”.

5. *Right of secession*. In conceptual terms, there is nothing to prevent the issue of where borders should be established from being part of the democratic debate. But on an empirical level, it is clear that states are jealous of their own territories. The introduction of a right of secession for the minority nations represents a clear break with the dominant logic of federations, although not with the tradition of federalism. This logic only accepts the right to self-determination for the federation. But it is an interpretation which a number of federations have begun to question. Recent examples include Canada (through the “**federal pattern**” of the 1998 **Secession Reference by the Supreme Court**) and Ethiopia (or the more specific cases of the former Serbia-Montenegro and St Kitts and Nevis) (see Table 1).¹² This table summarises the right of secession in current plurinational countries.

Table 1. Right of secession in plurinational democracies

Plurinational Federations	Bosnia and Herzegovina	No
	Belgium	No
	Canada	Yes ^A
	Ethiopia	Yes
	India	No
	Russia	No
	(Serbia and Montenegro)	Yes ^B
Plurinational Regional States	Spain ^C	No
	United Kingdom	Yes ^D

^A Right of Secession according federal (non unilateral) rules

^B Federation broken by unilateral referendum in Montenegro (2006)

^C State with some federal trends

^D According to negotiated rules (2014)

¹² In contrast to what the anti-symmetric argument of the stepping-stone towards secession suggests, the states which went through secession processes in the 20th century were not asymmetrical federations but unitarian states (United Kingdom, Ethiopia, Indonesia) or socialist pseudo-federations (USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia). See McGarry 2002; Norman 2006.

It is probable that the 21st century will witness political movements in **favour of the “right to decide” by the citizens of minority nations**¹³ who wish to preserve as much collective negative liberty as possible in an increasingly globalised world. These are movements which democratic federal theory and practice, and they deserve more attention than they have gotten in the contemporary era.

¹³ In recent years, there have been examples of such movements in Quebec, Flanders, Scotland, the Basque Country and Catalonia.

The Parliament of Catalonia, representing a millenary people

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Abstract

Catalonia is a millenary nation, which the current Spanish constitutional order frames as an “autonomous community”. However, Catalonia as a nation was not born with the Spanish Constitution in 1978, nor has any possibility for the future been democratically barred. The most important contribution to Catalonia made by the 1978 Constitution was to make it possible for the Catalan Statute to create the Catalan Parliament, an institution that democratically represents the people of Catalonia and legally structures and channels the people’s voice. The Parliament’s agreement at the end of the Ninth Legislature, which declares the need for the people of Catalonia to exercise the right of self-determination, opens up a new stage in the history of Catalonia.

Key words: Parliament, representative function, Catalonia, Constitution, people, self-determination, democracy.

Catalonia is a millenary nation, which the current Spanish constitutional order frames as an “autonomous community”. However, Catalonia as a nation was not born with the Spanish Constitution (SC) in 1978, nor has any possibility for the future been democratically barred. It seems obvious, but I believe it needs to be said, because some voices seem to have forgotten this, while others stubbornly deny it time and time again. Catalonia as a nation was not born in either 1978 or 1931, but instead has a millenary history and has been governed by a range of different institutions, some of which are exemplary and highly advanced for their time, although there have also been episodes of corruption (as is inevitable with so many years of history).

The Generalitat de Catalunya was founded in the 20th century during the Second Republic with the same basic characteristics that it has today. It revived the name of a mediaeval institution that emerged from the Courts or the General Court, the remote ancestor of the Parliament, whose roots date back to

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the early days of the formation of Catalonia as a nation. Just like in other aspects of our history, the most distant origins of the parliamentary institutions can be found around a thousand years ago, in the course of feudalisation, with the division of the Court of the Countship – after the 12th century – into two different bodies (the Council, which dealt with political considerations, and the Curia, which primarily covered the administration of justice) and with the birth and spread of the Assemblies of Peace and Truce, an institution which appeared in Catalonia in the first third of the 11th century. Not too many assemblies were called in the 12th century, but the majority of peace and truce agreements were **reached in the prince’s own court (Count of Barcelona and King of Aragon since 1137)**. In this way, the two institutions dovetailed. Many peace and truce provisions were codified in the Usatges of Barcelona, the first Catalan legislative text enacted by Count Ramon Berenguer I, and they were incorporated into Catalan civil and constitutional law during the late Middle Ages and modern age. Some even survive today in our current civil law. With the count-kings, and especially with Jaume I the Conqueror (1213-1276), the Constitutions of Peace and Truce, along with the Usatges de Barcelona, were the country’s legislative support, and their assemblies became the embryo of the Catalan courts during the reign of Jaume I.

During the reign of Jaume I, the Court of the Countship became the General Courts of Catalonia as the number of members summoned gradually increased, and especially as it gained ground with the incorporation of the bourgeois estate represented by the leaders of the villages and cities. However, the decisive step was taken during the reign of his son, Pere II the Great (1276-1285), in the Courts of Barcelona in 1283, through the constitution *Volem, estatuim*, when the pact-based system of sovereignty was established, a characteristic of mediaeval and modern Catalan constitutional law. According to this system, only the norms issued from the Courts through agreement between the sovereign and the local estates were valid, either on the initiative of the former (constitutions) or on the initiative of the latter (court chapters). Provisions enacted by the king during the interval when the Courts were not in session could be sanctioned by the Courts (Acts of Court, privileges, pragmatics and other rights). In fact, the king ceased being the exclusive legislative power.

The origin of modern parliamentarianism and constitutionalism lies in this gradual trimming of power. These Courts were obviously not a democratic parliament, as was no other parliament in the world during that period. But I **think that we should feel proud that the forerunner of today’s Parliament was one of the most advanced in its era, if not the single most advanced.** Pau Casals recalled this in his celebrated speech to the United Nations (UN).

This is why I stress that Catalonia is a millenary nation which the current Spanish constitutional system frames as an autonomous community. But Catalonia as a nation was not born with the 1978 Spanish Constitution nor has any possibility for the future been democratically barred. The people of Catalonia already existed far before this norm, and it existed before any of the Spanish constitutions did simply because the people of Catalonia were a reality far before the first Spanish State was established. In fact, if we carefully read the articles of the 1978 Spanish Constitution, we will see that it is crystal clear that the Constitution recognises that there are national realities that predate it. **Article 2 says that the Constitution “recognises” the nationalities’ and regions’ right to autonomy; it does not say that it “establishes” this right but logically**

that it “recognises” a reality which predates it: the existence of nationalities within Spain. And the second transitory provision refers to the territories where there had been plebiscites on draft statutes of autonomy in the past. The text subjected to plebiscite with the people of Catalonia was not the 1932 Statute but the 1931 Draft Statute, called the *Statute of Núria*. Sometimes this is forgotten, but I think that it is worth recalling that the vast majority of citizens of Catalonia who were able to vote, in accordance with the rules at the time, did so (99% of the votes and 78% voter turnout) in favour of a text which declared the people of **Catalonia’s right to self-determination** and sought to make Catalonia a State.

In my opinion, its most important thing that the 1978 Constitution did for Catalonia was make it possible for the Statute to create the Parliament of Catalonia, that is, equipped it with a body, an institution, which democratically represents the people of Catalonia, which legally structures and channels the voice of the people of Catalonia. And this is essential because from then on there is a subject, there is a people, who can legitimately express their will. And therein lies democracy, whereupon anything is possible. Democracy, understood properly, cannot ignore the will of the people; to the contrary, it must provide the people with the legal means to express themselves freely.

“**The Parliament represents the people of Catalonia**”. This is the clear, concise way the current Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (SAC) expresses it, the 2006 statute (art. 55.1), precisely in the same terms that the 1979 Statute said it (art. 30.1). We cannot find an expression like this in either the 1932 Statute or what is called the Interior Statute of 1933.

The representative function is the first of the Parliament’s functions, and all the others emanate from it. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution (art. 152.1) and the Statute (art. 55 and 61), the functions of the Parliament of Catalonia can be distinguished as follows: the representative function, the legislative function (traditionally the most important one), the function of spearheading and controlling political and governing action (the most important one today), the elective function (which has become more important) and what we call the *function of the defence and expansion of self-government*. Within the latter we can include numerous attributions, such as the authority to file lawsuits on unconstitutionality and to appear before the Constitutional Court and other constitutional processes (art. 61e SAC), the possibility to request the State to transfer or delegate authorities (as in art. 150.2 SC) and the possibility of requesting legislative powers be attributed to it under the terms of art. 150.1 SC, as well as to propose the reform of the Statute and even the approval of resolutions which go beyond the reform of the Statute, such as the one approved on 27 September 2012 in the last session of the ninth legislature.

Of all of these functions, the representative one is unquestionably the most basic and important. The Parliament is the only body that is institutionally charged with the direct political representation of the Catalan people. The Parliament is the only body where all the people are represented, not just the majority, where society is conceived and viewed not as a homogeneous unit but as a heterogeneous unity made up of a variety of ideals, positions and interests, all of which must be represented and respected.

The Parliament is the organ of pluralism. This characteristic is predictable in any parliament. In a democratic state, the government expresses the unity of the majority, the constitutional court (where there is one) and the judicial authority express the unity of the legal system, and the head of state expresses the unity of the state. In contrast, by means of dialogue and majority decisions, the Parliament synthesises the will of the people and publicises the **agreements of and dissensions with the people's will. This procedure is what** gives its material decisions legitimacy (Molas, 1994: 8). Its representation of the people is legitimate because the people participate (or can participate) in electing their representatives through universal, free, equal and direct suffrage. This origin in democratic, direct elections is what makes the Parliament the prime institution of the Generalitat from which the other institutions comprising it emanate.

The representative nature of the Parliament has consequences on its organisation and functioning. The organic structure of the Parliament should integrate the pluralism reflected in the election results: the parliamentarians from the same party have the right to assemble into a parliamentary group, and the composition of all the bodies of the Parliament should proportionally integrate the parliamentary groups. The functioning of the Parliament should also respect the plurality of this representation: all the parliamentary groups (as **well as individual parliamentarians, even though today's parliamentarism is** comprised of groups) are guaranteed the right to present initiatives and to take part in the deliberations and decisions of all the acts of Parliament. Likewise, in order to ensure the permanence of the representation, the Statute provides for the Permanent Deputation for cases in which the legislature has ended and the new chamber has not yet been constituted. This is because the Parliament is a permanent institution, but its parliamentarians have a temporary mandate; therefore, this gap is bridged by the parliamentarians who belong to the Permanent Deputation. Another consequence of the representative nature of the Parliament is the guarantee of its organic and functional autonomy. After all, given the fact that the democratic system consists in the organisation of the self-governance of the people, and that the Parliament is the institution that represents them, it is logical that the Statute sets out to guarantee the independence of the Parliament and endow it with autonomy in order to prevent it from being subordinated to other powers. Finally, the Statute guarantees the Parliament, as the body that represents the people, the utmost freedom to reach agreements and frames it as an inviolable institution (that is, not responsible for the actions performed or agreements adopted), and this inviolability extends to its members regarding their opinions and votes cast in the exercise of their duty. Therefore, with the desire to officially state the importance of the Parliament and its functions (which should not be altered by any outside element), article 55.3 of the Statute proclaims the inviolability of the Parliament; in consequence, the violent entry into the Parliament or entry with the goal of intimidation or to attack or disturb parliamentary work are framed as crimes.

On the other hand, from a more sociological perspective, we could also analyse to what extent the composition of the Parliament does or does not represent the people, that is, whether the characteristics of its members are similar or different from Catalan society as a whole. According to some studies

performed,¹ the Parliament represents the cross-section of society that it should represent in an elitist and often biased way. The bias comes from educational level, economic level, age structure and, even though it has improved recently, the presence of women in the seats as well. One particular sign of this improved gender representation is the presidency of the Parliament, which for the first time in the history of Catalonia is held by a woman. There had never been a female president of the Parliament in the 1930s, or in exile, or from 1980 until this legislature that just concluded. It must have had a dozen presidents until the Parliament finally elected a female president. This relative bias or difference between the representatives and the represented is not a characteristic exclusive to the Parliament of Catalonia but is present to a greater or lesser extent in all countries. But this should not make us complacent, and I believe that improving the representation of the people in all their diversity is one aspect in which the Parliament of Catalonia could still improve. And one of the instruments that could qualitatively improve this representation and thereby increase the quality of democracy in Catalonia would be by having our own election law which would not only be more applicable to our local situation but would also be better than the additional election law we apply today. Not having approved a Catalan election law is clearly one of the most obvious glaring assignments that the Parliament has failed to do in the nine legislatures that have been held since 1980. The future Catalan election law should not only establish criteria of parity between men and women when drawing up the election lists (because this is a mandate of the Statute, art. 56.3 SAC), it should also determine such important issues as the election formula, the form of voting, the electoral threshold or barrier, the composition of the Election Board of Catalonia, the number of deputies in the Parliament (between the range established by the Statute, between 100 and 150) and the election districts (this latter issue is one of the factors that has caused the biggest breach of consensus among the different political forces).

However, despite the obvious shortcomings mentioned above, others that are not so obvious that have also existed, along with aspects that can always use improvement, I believe that the overall outcome of these 32 years of the Parliament in terms of its performance of all its functions has been more than acceptable, a B+, if I dared to give it a mark. The job of the Parliament of Catalonia during the years of the Second Republic was also quite admirable, even though, as we know, it existed in a state of normality when it was able to carry out its mandate for just a brief time, because not only did the war radically alter the context in which it had to work starting in July 1936, but from 1932 to 1936 the Parliament was unconstitutionally suspended for a year and a half (from October 1934 until March 1936). During all of those years and more recently, the Parliament has approved laws and adopted very important **agreements in many spheres which affect the life of Catalonia's citizenry, even though**, and I wish to underscore this, the Parliament of Catalonia can legislate on very few matters (because the majority of the authorities are currently executive or shared) and because furthermore, among the matters on which it does hold legislative authorities, there are few that are actually important. Thus,

¹ See, for example, Argelaguet & Argemí (1999); Calvet & Crespo (1999); Pitarch & Subirats (1982). Along similar lines, see Coller (2008); Alís & Pujol (2012).

of all the legislative and non-legislative acts approved, the most important act to date is one of the acts taken the last day of the last session.² And I view it as important because the agreement that states the need for the Catalan people to exercise their right to self-determination opens up a new stage in the history of Catalonia, along with the demonstration this past 11th of September (the largest one in the history of Catalonia) and the president of the Generalitat accepting the claims for independence which were heard there as his own. If the people so wish, this new era could mean embarking on the road to its own state. Certainly, on previous occasions the Parliament had already expressed that the people of Catalonia did not give up their right to self-determination, but now, by a very large majority of almost two-thirds,³ the Parliament has approved the proposal that demands the exercise of this right, the demand that a consultation be held, prioritarily during the next legislature, to determine the future of Catalonia. In this resolution, **the Parliament states that “throughout these past 30 years, a very large part of the Catalanist movement has been sincerely committed to transforming the Spanish State in order for Catalonia to fit within it without having to give up our legitimate national aspirations, our desire for self-governance, or our continuity as a nation. However, Catalonia’s attempts to fit within the Spanish State and the State’s repeated responses are a dead end today. Catalonia must embark upon a new stage based on the right to decide.”**

Some people have countered this new position of the body that represents the people of Catalonia with democracy and the Constitution, using this latter term as a limit which closes the doors to certain political options, even if they reflect the will of the majority of the people. Given this, perhaps it is worth recalling that there are fully democratic options which are outside the Spanish Constitution at this point but nonetheless are still fully democratic options, such as the republican option or a more effective concept of certain social rights which the SC merely views as guiding principles.

Legally speaking, the Constitution is what defines the people, the **community of people who share the legal bond called ‘nationality’ with a given state**; however, previous to this legal or regulatory act, there should be another act in the birth of any democratic state, an act of sovereignty, which is pre-judicial, to determine the subjects to whom that Constitution is applicable. Who the people are must be determined, or whether there is more than one. This is what is expressed in the first three words of the Constitution of the **United States of America: “We the people”**.

Defining the *demos*, the people, is a pre-judicial act, a materially constituent act. Catalonia within the Spanish state is neither a minority within a people nor a national minority. Catalonia is a minority nation within a state in which there are other nations, and one of these is more numerous than the others. The general interests of Catalonia may be not only different to but contradictory with those of the majority nation; it is a permanent minority. **Using Pizzorusso’s (1993) terminology, a minority nation is not an occasional minority but a tendentially permanent minority.** Therefore, the guarantee of a minority nation within a plurinational state is not determined by the fact of

² 27 September 2012 (*Diari de Sessions del Parlament de Catalunya*, session no. 39.3, pp. 23-24).

³ 84 votes in favour, 21 against and 25 abstentions.

being a minority that could one day become a majority. After all, what makes minorities accept the legitimacy of majority decisions? Is the majority always **right? Are ten right more often than one? I don't believe that this is the right** interpretation, and it is not just an issue of the likelihood of being right. In order for minorities to accept the legitimacy of the majority decision, they must be guaranteed not only the right to exist (the guarantee of not being annihilated) but also the right to have opinions, and therefore the right to become the majority by the means used in democracy: by convincing. In democracy, the idea is not to win but to convince. The minority should be guaranteed its participation in the deliberations before the decision is taken so it has the chance to convince and become the majority. Here is a key factor: some minorities will never accept the decision of the majority because they do not consider themselves a minority within a people but instead another people that is permanently in the minority within a state that is plurinational, whether it wants to be or not.

Nowadays, the physical (territorial and populational) aspects of states and the social and political pluralism inherent to free societies prevent unanimity from being reached in the majority of cases, if ever. Therefore, in order to adopt legitimate decisions in a democracy, a substitutional criterion should be adopted: if there is no unanimity after the proper deliberation (debate), the majority decides. This is majority rule. Therefore, democracy is based on two main guidelines: the quest for government by consensus and, if there is no consensus, the organisation of the government by the majority. Therefore, from both guidelines we can deduce that the previous deliberation, the debate, must be held not only to attempt to achieve a unanimous decision, if possible, but to guarantee that the minority can become the majority.

Therefore, I once again stress that herein lies a fundamental factor which precedes the fact that majority rule can be valid. Before organised democracy can be exercised, there must be awareness that one is part of a community, a people, and that one wishes this community to continue.

Summarising, a democratic state accepts the tenets of the rule of law (supremacy of the law, meant as the expression of the general will, the division of powers as the organisational principle of the state, and the proclamation and guarantee of rights and freedoms that everyone enjoys equally), and adds three new elements: popular sovereignty (which implies universal suffrage), political participation (exercised either directly via mechanisms like referenda or grassroots legislative initiative, or via the free, periodic election of **representatives**) and finally the recognition and expression of the society's pluralism, especially political pluralism, primarily but not exclusively channelled by the political parties. These are the three main cornerstones upon which the democratic state is grounded, the three main elements that define it. They are the requirements of democracy, but not the only requirements. There must be one people or more than one people who have freely decided to live together under the same state. Without this precondition, the very foundation of that democracy is flawed. Minority nations are a problem that is difficult to solve in plurinational states, especially when they are based on the conception of a single sovereign people, such that the democracy is founded upon an assumed national homogeneity and the principle of equality and freedom is built upon that. If the legal system does not recognise these minority nations and does not establish mechanisms to articulate this plurinational reality, then perhaps what

we should consider is whether, in the 21st century, these systems can truly be described as democratic, even if they operate via majority rule.

Democracy is a concept which has evolved. In classical Greece or in the early years after the United States was founded, what was called *democracy* was compatible with slavery for part of the population. Likewise, until just a few decades ago, democracy was based on universal suffrage among men, but it excluded women from the right to vote, just as it had previously excluded the majority of men in limited suffrage (only men who had the economic wherewithal or a certain educational level). By the late 20th century, these conditions on the democratic ideal seemed unworthy of this name. However, this evolution must continue. Democracy in the 21st century is still very perfectible.

In the purely legal sphere, what could guarantee the existence and accommodation of a minority nation (especially when it is a majority in its territorial sub-unit) within a plurinational state is a combination of three factors: 1) ensuring that the state is based on a policy that recognises its plurinationality by regulating its effects in the symbolic, linguistic, representational and institutional spheres; 2) ensuring that full national self-governance is defined (that is, the most important decisions for that nation are taken by local political institutions, with the exception of those that have to be delegated by the latter); and 3) establishing effective participation mechanisms in the bodies that determine the general will of the state, which allow the running of the state to be shared.⁴ All of this is theoretically possible if all the parties honestly and faithfully accept it. However, in the case of Catalonia, at the end of this last legislature the Parliament already made it clear in that agreement (adopted by a very broad majority) that it believes that this is a path that has been thoroughly explored already and is now a blind alley; it literally stated that the attempts to fit Catalonia within the Spanish state and its **repeated responses are today “a dead-end”. Now a new path must be taken.** I believe that this is what we are beginning to do, and the Parliament of Catalonia will continue to play a crucial role on this new path.

The day Catalonia has a state of its own will be a happy day for me and **for many Catalans. It will put an end to one stage in Catalonia’s history and** another one will begin, a stage in which all the people of Catalonia and their representatives will be faced with an even more important and interminable task: to make Catalan society a state with a high democratic quality and enormous social sensibility, striving to make it a state better than any other, with the Parliament of Catalonia constantly improving its representation of this millenary people.

⁴ See Requejo (1998: 129 and forward). This author could be an example of those who have shifted their position, who used to defend a model they called *plurinational federalism* and now **advocate the route of independence for Catalonia** (see, for example, F. Requejo, “Espanya és el passat”, *La Vanguardia* [2 July 2012], or F. Requejo, “Camins de democràcia. De l’autonomia a la independència”, *L’Avenç*, no. 361 [2010]).

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