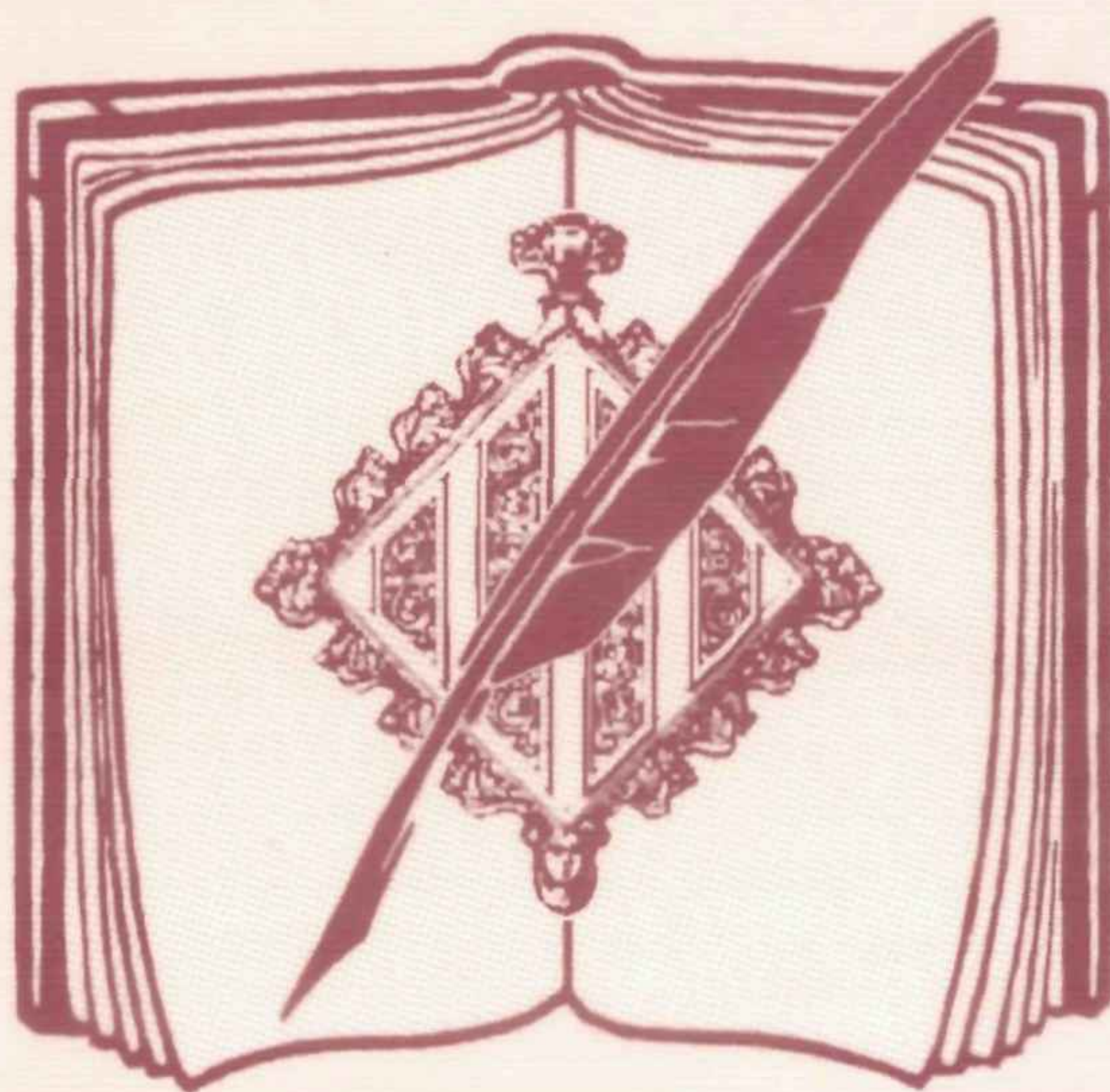


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# **CULTURE IN CATALONIA**

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**Xavier Cubeles i Xavier Fina**  
**(Centre d'Estudis de Planificació)**



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**C Ò PEC**

Catalan Consortium for the  
External Promotion of Culture

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## INDEX

Introduction	7
1. An Introduction to Catalonia	9
1.1. Territory, Population and the Economy	9
1.2. Institutions and Public Administrations	11
1.3. The Catalan Language	13
2. Notes for a History of Catalan Culture	17
2.1. Origins	17
2.2. The Modern Period	19
2.3. From the <i>Renaixença</i> to the Civil War	21
2.4. The Francoist Dictatorship	26
3. Culture and Development in Catalonia	29
4. The Cultural Sectors in Catalonia	37
4.1. Cultural Heritage	37
4.2. Museums	39
4.3. Traditional and Popular Culture	41
4.4. Libraries	43
4.5. Book Publishing	45
4.6. Plastic Arts	47
4.7. Performing Arts	49
4.8. Music	53
4.9. Cinema	55
4.10. The Media	58



## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this document is to provide a brief and highly synthetic presentation of the cultural reality of Catalonia. That is why it is structured into four parts. Firstly, we have sketched out an introduction to the reality of Catalonia touching on certain general questions we consider fundamental to its understanding today: territory, population, the economy, governmental institutions and language. Then, already well within the cultural field, we will follow up with a review of the history of Catalonia from the Middle Ages to the configuration of today's democracy and the restoration of Catalonia's self-governing institutions. Based on this brief historical analysis, and with the introduction of certain general thoughts on the situation of Catalan culture today, we will offer a series of ideas of special relevance in Catalonia on the relationship between culture and development. We conclude with a detailed analysis of the different cultural sectors in Catalonia today: heritage sites, museums, the traditional and popular culture, libraries, literature, the plastic arts, the performing arts, cinema and the media.

The authors are both members of a research and study group at the Cultural Department of the Centre d'Estudis de Planificació (CEP) (Centre for Planning Studies), which is presently celebrating its tenth anniversary in the field of cultural management and economics. The writing of this paper has been made possible to a great degree thanks to the general orientation of the planning group and to the work of the people and institutions who have contributed during these ten years. Finally, we would like to thank Albert Cubeles for his kind advice in the section on the history of Catalan culture.



## 1. AN INTRODUCTION TO CATALONIA

### 1.1. Territory, population and the economy

Catalonia has a surface area of 31,895 square kilometers and represents 6.3% of the total surface area of Spain. The physical geography of Catalonia, from the interior and the Pyrenees to the coastal mountain range, can be characterized as a mountainous territory with a great variety of landscapes. Catalonia has 580 kilometers of Mediterranean coastline divided into three areas, which are, from North to South, the Costa Brava, the Costa del Maresme and the Costa Daurada. The capital of Catalonia is located in Barcelona, situated more or less at the centre of the coastline. Because of its north-west geographical location on the Mediterranean, Catalonia has a temperate climate that rarely reaches extreme temperatures and few days of precipitation per year.

The Catalan population as of 1993 numbered 6,159,677 inhabitants, totalling 15% of the population of the Spanish State. It is organized territorially on three levels: 942 municipalities, 41 counties, and four provinces. Of this high number of municipalities, only 84 have a population over 10,000 inhabitants, accounting for 80% of the total population. Approximately two-thirds of the total population of Catalonia can be found in the city of Barcelona and the surrounding counties within a 30 mile radius of the city.

During the sixties, there was a tremendous spurt in growth in the textile, chemical and construction industries, which attracted a high number of immigrants from the rest of the Spanish State to Catalonia. Thus, today, around 30% of the total population of Catalonia was born outside of Catalonia. The origin of this immigrant population lies mostly in the less developed Autonomous Communities such as Andalusia, Extremadura, Castille and Leon and Castille-La Mancha.

Catalonia is one of the Spanish territories with a highest level of economic development. According to 1992 statistics, Catalonia



accounted for 18.9% of Spain's GDP, slightly higher than the 15% of the total population it represents. Thus, the rate of per capita GDP in market prices in Catalonia is 1.2 million pesetas, which is 20 points higher than the Spanish rate, which is estimated to be about 1.0 million pesetas. The unemployment rate for 1993 was 19.4%, which was slightly lower than for Spain as a whole (22.7%). The unemployment rate in the past few months is considerably higher than it was during the 1989-92 period (around 13%). This evolution shows that Catalonia has been undergoing a period of economic crisis since 1993. In the recovery process underway today, the reduction in the number of jobless is one of the factors demonstrating the difficulties in improving the economy. The lower proportion of jobless in Catalonia in relation to Spain as a whole can be explained to a certain degree by the structure and characteristics of its economic activity. In sectorial terms, we should point out the major importance of services (59.3%) and industry (31.0%), and the lesser importance of construction (8.2%) and agriculture (1.5%). *building*

Agricultural production centres on cereals, fruit, vegetables, and the growing of grapes and olives for the production of wine, sparkling wines and olive oil. In livestock the key sectors are pork, poultry and cattle. As for industry, Catalonia makes up 27.3% of the Spanish industrial structure, especially active in the food industry, chemicals and textiles. As far as the service sector is concerned, the most important feature is the spectacular growth of tourism in the last 30 years, which has made Catalonia one of Europe's most important tourist regions.

This economic dynamism has been made possible thanks to the existence of a good network of motorways, roads and rail lines. Barcelona's harbour has also contributed to economic growth, and in terms of market volume it is one of the Mediterranean's major ports.

The economic upturn in Catalonia after the crisis in the sixties ran parallel to the tertiarization of the economy and a major influx of foreign capital. Joining the European Economic Community in 1986 and the naming of Barcelona as the site of the 1992 Olympics during that same year were the two events that marked the period of expansion during the second half of the eighties. But by the middle of 1992 there were clear indications that the Catalan economy, and the Spanish

economy in general, were entering a downturn in the business cycle. In spite of this, the last few months of 1994 and the beginning of 1995 seem to point towards a certain reactivation, especially in those sectors that have benefited from ~~the~~ increase in foreign demand.

## **1.2. Public Administrations and Institutions**

With the establishment of democracy in Spain and the adoption of the 1978 Constitution, the various parliamentary political forces agreed upon a model of territorial organization that would respond to the cultural and national diversity of Spain. The Catalan Statute of Autonomy was adopted to define the political institutions that could articulate the Catalan Government, specify its jurisdictions and regulate its links with the State. The Statute was ratified in a general referendum in 1979 and constitutes the basis of the autonomous government of Catalonia, which received the historic name of the Generalitat de Catalunya.

The Generalitat was founded during the Middle Ages (1359) as a permanent delegated organism of the Corts Generals Catalanes (the General Estates of Catalonia). The Corts were abolished after the Spanish War of Succession in 1714 when the Bourbon dynasty acceded to the Spanish throne. During the Spanish Republic, between 1931-1939, the autonomous government of Catalonia was established under the name of the Generalitat de Catalunya. This institution was prohibited once again after the Spanish Civil War ended and during the forty years of Francoist dictatorship, which lasted until 1977 and the beginning of the democratization process.

The Generalitat is made up of the Parliament, the President of the Generalitat and the Executive Council or Cabinet. The Parliament is elected for 4 year legislative terms and comprises 135 sitting members with legislative powers. The Parliament votes on the annual budget and controls the actions of the government. The President is chosen by the Parliament from among its members and directs the activity of the Cabinet. The President of the Generalitat is the representative of the Catalan State and is politically responsible to Parliament. The Cabinet is responsible for executive functions and is made up of Ministers



responsible for different departments, which can vary from legislature to legislature and which usually has about 12 members. These institutional bodies have been rounded off with the creation of the Consultative Council, the Auditor General's Office and the Office of the Ombudsman.

According to the Statute of Autonomy, the Catalan Generalitat has exclusive jurisdiction, both in the legislative and executive spheres, over a wide range of matters: the organization of the institutions of self-government; the develop of Catalan Civil Law; culture; historic, artistic, monumental, architectonic, archaeological and scientific heritage, archives, libraries, museums, urbanism, public works, roads, railways, ports and airports, tourism, use of hydraulic resources, chambers of commerce, industry and navegation, social welfare and health, youth, the promotion of women, sports, recreation and performances, etc. Nevertheless, jurisdiction over some of these functions is shared jointly with other levels of government.

A second block of major jurisdiction comprises those areas in which the Generalitat exercises developmental and executive functions within the framework of basic Spanish/State-wide legislation, such as education, credit organization, banking and insurance, mining and energy, and environmental protection.

The structure of the public administration in Catalonia is made complete at the local level with the City Halls, the County Councils and the Provincial Delegations or *Diputacions*. The law has determined that the portioning out of jurisdictions to the municipalities must be based on criteria of decentralization and the maximum proximity of public management to the citizens, the management capacity of the city halls, and the principle of citizen equality in terms of access to public services. The role of the counties, on the ~~other~~ hand, corresponds to the management of supra-municipal services, and, on the ~~other~~, to municipal jurisdictions delegated by the city halls. The Provincial Delegations are basically centred on the coordination, support and municipal cooperation in a given province as a whole, and on providing direct services of supra-county nature.

### 1.3. The Catalan Language

The basis of the Catalan cultural identity is the Catalan language. Catalan is the outcome of a Latin vulgate that spread through part of the territory belonging to the Aragonese monarchy during the Middle Ages. In concrete terms, the map of the Catalan language comprises the territories of Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, Valencia and a small fringe of Aragon in Spain, Andorra, most of the Western Pyrenees in the South of France and the city of Alguer on the Italian island of Sardinia. This linguistic area has a total population of 10 million, 6 million of which speak Catalan today.

Languages are highly charged with symbolic national identity, which is one of the reasons why the history of a language is so closely linked to the political and social evolution of each country. The Catalan language has had a difficult and stormy history, which has to a great degree determined the unevenness in its knowledge and use in the different territories on the Catalan linguistic map. Explicit, radical political obstacles hindered its free development for long periods of time and included prohibition of its use in public and in official administrative activity and its exclusion from the school curricula, etc. Thus, in contrast with other languages that have survived up until today with state support, the process of stabilizing the use of Catalan has fallen noticeably behind. For example, Catalan had no dictionary or orthographic norms until the beginning of the 20th century while other languages had sorted out these questions much earlier. This may also explain the low degree of use and knowledge in certain regions of its linguistic map.

Catalonia's socio-linguistic situation was radically transformed during the Francoist period when there occurred a dramatic influx of immigration from other regions of Spain. This event took place at a time when Catalan had already been prohibited during Francoism, especially in terms of its use in the media and the schools, which meant that conditions for learning Catalan did not exist. This phase came to an end at the moment when, on the one hand, the continuity of Catalan saw itself severely threatened and, on the other hand, when there was a risk of social conflict between the two linguistic collectives in one single territory.



Today, as the table below shows, the proportion of people who understand Catalan already comprises the entire population. Almost two thirds of the population can speak and read it while although one third is capable of writing it. We should point out that the increases that can be seen from one year to the next are concentrated in the youngest age group. Thus, for example, more than half of the population between the ages of 10 and 20 say that they can write in Catalan.

**Table 1. Knowledge of Catalan (1986 and 1991). Percentage of the population of Catalonia from the age of 2 up**

	1986		1991	
	Inhabitants	%	Inhabitants	%
Understand	5,287,200	90.3	5,577,855	93.8
Speak	3,747,813	64.0	4,065,841	68.3
Read	3,542,012	60.5	4,019,276	67.6
Write	1,844,493	31.	2,376,201	39.9

Source: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya. 1986 and 1991 censuses of the population.

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This evolution has for the most part been due <sup>to</sup> the development of the linguistic Catalanization (*normalització*) policy around which a consensus was reached by all the Catalan parliamentary political parties in 1983 with the goal of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence among all the citizens of Catalonia regardless of their language. The Linguistic Catalanization Act is based on the very precariousness of the Catalan language and its main goal was to make Catalan a part of all spheres of life: in the schools, the public administration, the media, etc. This law has constituted the defining framework for the linguistic policy of the Catalan Generalitat and the local administrations as a whole, under the coordination of the Linguistic Catalanization Consortium of Catalonia.

After certain political sectors had questioned the legality of the Act, the Spanish Constitutional Court finally declared it constitutional last year. Thus, in spite of the fact that the situation of Catalan has still not achieved full representation in all spheres of social life - for example, the press, radio and television, and certain areas of the administration, etc. - the above-mentioned law has been consolidated as an effective tool for promoting Catalan and guaranteeing a stable climate of social coexistence.





## 2. NOTES FOR A HISTORY OF CATALAN CULTURE

### 2.1. Origins

Catalonia, with its highly significant substratum of Romanization, was a cross-roads for many cultures and peoples (Greeks, Phoenicians, Iberians, Visigoths, and Moslems). The Carolingians pressed across the Pyrenees at the end of the 8th century and created the so-called Marca Hispanica or Spanish border to mark off their territory from Moslem territory. In 988, the Count of Barcelona broke off relations with the Frankish King and thus began the process of the independent institutional and political configuration of Catalonia, within the framework of a feudal society. The Catalano-Aragonese Confederation, established by the 12th century, would begin the process of major territorial expansion during the following centuries, conquering Mallorca (1229), Valencia (1233-45), Sicily (1282), Sardenia (1323), and Naples (1443). There was enormous growth in commercial trade during the Aragonese domination of the Mediterranean in that period, and this had favourable repercussions on urban life, which was stimulated by the local trades organized into guilds. During the second half of the 12th century, the first public institutions were consolidated, especially at the municipal level, with models of political organization that were exclusively homegrown lasting up until the beginning of the 17th century. At the end of the Middle Ages, Catalonia was affected by a severe demographic, social, economic, political and dynastic crisis with severe consequences for the centuries to follow.

The first extant written texts in Catalan (Forum Judicum, Homilies d'Organyà) date back to the 12th century. The literary history of the Catalan language began in the 13th century with the appearance of poetry and prose (historical chronicles, philosophy, theology, etc.). This important epoch saw the emergence of the internationally renowned Mallorcan writer and thinker Ramon Llull. Nevertheless, it was not until the 14th century that the golden age of Catalan literature imbued the language with a high degree of artistry and perfection. The



city of Valencia, which was the capital of the Confederation during the 15th century, contributed a major number of literary figures during this period.

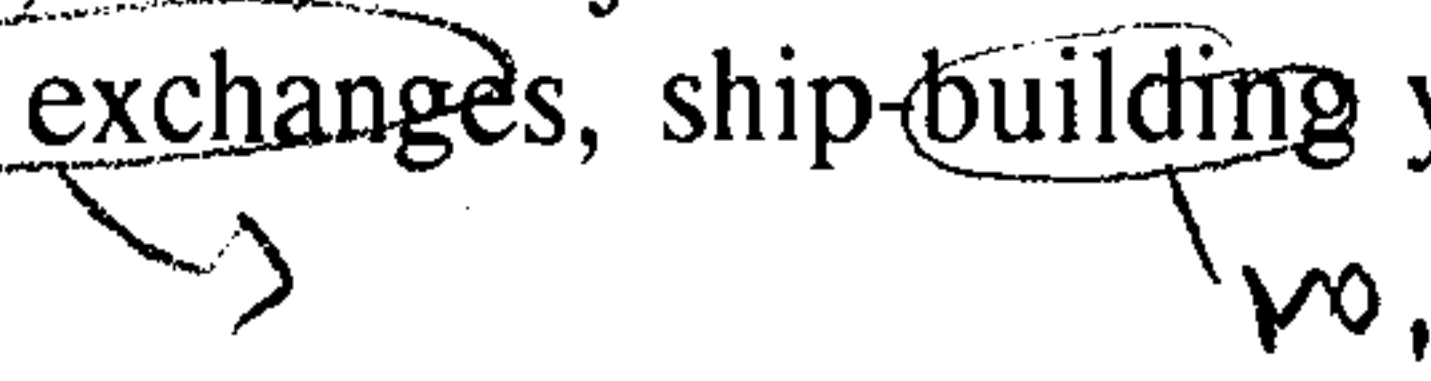
7. The Middle Ages was the epoch in which, with the appearance of the Catalan language and the organization of an autochthonous political and social structure, the basic fundamentals of the national identity of Catalonia were configured. Generally speaking, this was an age of tremendous activity in and growth of culture and art in Catalonia and in the confederation of kingdoms that made up the Aragonese Crown. There were brilliant technical and aesthetic achievements in almost every field of culture which, in certain cases, had an influence on the artistic panorama of Europe at that time. This cultural activity was structured around the large power centres of the period, such as the King and his court; the municipal corporations, such as the Consell de Cent (The Council of One Hundred) in Barcelona or the Paeria in Lleida; the Church and the various guilds.

Thus, for example, Catalan music was developed at the monastic and Cathedral-based schools and at court, grouping together musicians, instrumentalists and "minstrels" from other centres of the peninsula and Europe. At the same time, the troubadours and their poetry and music begin to make headway through the rift between official and ecclesiastical art, although the first theatrical performances with musical accompaniment to make their appearance are intimately linked to the liturgy. These are the "mystery plays" and *consuetes*, or, in short, liturgical dramas. There was also a secular theatre that grew up with companies or troupes doing skits and one act plays and, probably, placing more emphasis on performances in squares and streets. Some of these musical and dramatic pieces are known today, and a good number have been revived as a part of the basic heritage of Catalan cultural tradition.

A large portion of Catalonia's architectonic and artistic heritage has also been conserved. There are large numbers of high quality works representative of romanesque art (11th to 13th centuries) and gothic art (13th and 14th centuries). Most existing romanesque art is religious in nature, basically comprising monasteries and churches, many of which are rural. With regard to the plastic arts, what has been conserved

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shows a veritable richness in every technique (sculpture, illustrated manuscripts, mural and panel painting, etc.) The period of economic and territorial expansion ushered in the gothic period, of which there is also a good sampling of painting, sculpture, religious buildings (Cistercian monasteries, Dominican and Franciscan convents in the cities, Cathedrals, churches, etc.). Major civic structures (palaces and institutional offices, labour exchanges, ship-building yards, etc.) have also been conserved.



Much later, after the middle of the 19th century, the restoration of the vestiges of the Middle Ages in all their cultural manifestations would become the axis on which the cultural and national identity of Catalonia would be rebuilt. The political and economic difficulties that appeared in Catalonia from the end of the Middle Ages until the beginning of the industrial era brought with them the decline of the cultural elite. Nevertheless, the language and cultural tradition survived among the popular classes, for the Catalan language and culture were deeply rooted in the society and, furthermore, the municipal, guild, and ecclesiastical structures of medieval origin managed to remain intact until the beginning of the 18th century.

## 2.2. The Modern Epoch

The modern epoch finds Catalonia in a state of economic and social decline, sunk in the process of the creeping loss of Catalan political power to the benefit of inexorable centralization favouring Castille, which had been chosen by the Spanish monarchy and its court as its capital. This process began to enter into conflict during the middle of the 16th century - especially after the Peasants War (1640-1652) - and culminated with the War of Succession to the Spanish Crown (1701-1714). At the conclusion of the latter, the Nova Planta Decree (1716) proclaimed the loss of Catalan sovereignty and the suppression of Catalonia's institutions, as well as the obligatory use of Spanish at the official level. This marked the beginning of a phase characterized by the absolutism and centralism of the Bourbon monarchy, which caused in turn the collapse of the feudal mode of production and the traditional craft structures. These changes ran parallel, however, to a restoration of economic activity: the Catalan population practically doubled during

the 18th century and there was a consolidation of the restoration of foreign trade, especially with the Americas, which was officially authorized in 1778, although it had been reestablished de facto some years earlier.

With the transfer of the court to Castille, and in the face of the rise in Spanish as the language of culture, we see first the emergence of bilingualism among writers (who begin writing in Spanish as well as Catalan) and then, finally, the consolidation of Spanish monolingualism among the same group. Thus, at the time of the formation of great European literature and the appearance of dictionaries and grammars, the Catalan language was going through years of impoverishment, Spanishization, the practical disappearance of literary creation in the novel genre, etc. Throughout the 18th century, in spite of the existence of the odd literary event, Catalan basically survived among the popular classes while Spanish prevailed in the academic and literary world.

The nuclei of musicians close to the court also disappeared in Catalonia. Catalan musicians were able to develop their talents only inside the territory in centres such as the Montserrat Monastery School or else had to spend part of their lives abroad in courtesan circles attached to the courts of European kings and princes.

The absolute monarchy of the period exercised a limiting and controlling function over many cultural projects. Thus, for example, theatre during these years was strictly confined to the performances at the Santa Creu Theatre (1603), which enjoyed the royal concession granted to the Santa Creu Hospital. During the first phase, the theatre was rented out to acting companies to perform works by Castilian authors. This was Barcelona's only theatre for decades and it was where Barcelona opera had begun by the 18th century with the hiring of Italian companies.

Likewise, the first newspaper, the *Diario de Barcelona* (1792), was published on the same basis, that of royal concession, granted in this case to an individual from the *Dirio de Madrid*. Nevertheless, this was not the first newspaper to be published in Catalonia. As early as 1641 a Barcelona publisher had issued a weekly "Gazette" which was considered a pioneering event in Spain at the time.



In short, Catalonia found itself in a completely peripheral position from the cultural point of view. We need only mention that the capital cities of the major European monarchies were garnering prestige with the creation of grand cultural institutions: The British Museum (1753), The Louvre (1791), The Prado (1819), etc. On the other hand, Catalonia began the 18th century with the prohibition of its institutions and language and with the need to look find a way out of the lengthy social and economic morass of the preceding centuries. In this context, Catalan society absorbed the influences coming from artistic and philosophical movements of the European enlightenment, among others, through those agents or persons engaged in activity abroad (merchants, military officers, etc.)

Within this new panorama, with new coordinates, a new form of activity in the cultural camp arose. The Royal Academy of Letters (1729) and the Royal Academy of Science and the Arts (1764) were founded. The Junta de Comerç (The Commercial Board) (1763) was created in response to the need to stimulate and bring economic activity up to date, especially trade with America. The Junta was a source of long term projects, such as the Escola de Nobles Arts, created as a response to the demand for industrial designers, and the origin of today's Escola de Belles Arts de Barcelona de la Llotja, and the Museum de Pintures de la Junta (The Museum of Painting of the Board), which was the founding basis of the Museu de l'Acadèmia Provincial de Belles Arts. These structures, rising out of the enlightened and commercial classes, constituted, among other things, the platform for the cultural renaissance (the *Renaixença*) that was to take place during the 19th century with the fall of the ancien regime and the process of industrialization.

### 2.3. From the *Renaixença* to the Civil War

The political evolution of Catalonia throughout the 19th century was closely linked to the political and institutional events affecting the Spanish state, which oscillated in time between extreme differences in political ideologies - absolutist, progressive, Carlist, moderate, democratic, republican, federalist, anarchist, socialist, etc. - and visions of the structure of society and the role of the State. Of all these events,

the death of Ferdinand VII posed the end to the absolutist ancien regime and brought with it the disappearance of many royal concessions - in the theatre and the press - and the reopening of the University of Barcelona (1837). The industrialization of Catalonia took place in this framework and involved major transformations, such as a profound demographic change (increase in the population, especially that of the cities); social changes, with the appearance of the first workers' organizations (the first general strike in Barcelona took place in 1855, etc.); and technological changes (the first steam locomotive made its appearance in Catalonia on the Barcelona-Mataró line in 1805).

During the second half of the century, a certain dissatisfaction within Catalan society began to make itself felt with respect to Spanish politics, which seemed far from being able to respond to Catalonia's interests. Catalonia led an optimistic, industrial, bourgeois periphery in opposition to an eminently rural Castille characterized by its pessimism (which had experienced the loss of most of its colonies during the century) and aristocratism. By the middle of the 19th century a movement associated with the romanticism of the *Renaixença*, and whose objective was to rediscover and stimulate Catalan language and culture as a symbol of collective identity, broke vigorously onto the scene. Thus, an autochthonous political project for Catalonia was initiated which was to be the commencement of a political "Catalanism" or Catalan nationalism that would come to fruition by the 20th century with two stints of self-government prior to the present: the union of the four *diputacions* to form the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (1914-1925) and the first reestablishment of the Generalitat de Catalunya (1932-1939).

This is a period in which, on the one hand, the transformations of political governmental structures made the organization of Catalonia's own public cultural service possible, while, on the other hand, private individuals also played a decisive role in Catalan cultural life. Associations and entities were created to give backbone to Catalan society and actively promote infrastructures and artistic events. Important patrons of the arts appeared on the scene to give support to numerous cultural initiatives, and the first companies in the cultural industries and the media (the press, publishing companies, record companies, cinema production) were founded.



The policies of the Catalan Mancomunitat were centred on the idea of putting into practice the *noucentista* idea of building solid structures for the country, many of which still survive to this day (in the media, education, culture, etc.). The activity of the Mancomunitat in the cultural sphere can be considered the first global, coordinated cultural policy project in the history of Spain. From this project sprang the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (1907) (The Institute of Catalan Studies), created to promote scientific research into Catalan culture and establish academic norms for the Catalan language through, for example, the Orthographic Dictionary (1917) and the General Dictionary (1932).

Also during this period there was a structuring of public intervention into libraries and Catalan heritage sites. There had been earlier work down in these areas during the 19th century with the initial steps taken in organizing the first libraries and provincial museums in Spain. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, these services had few resources and but a minimal organizational structure. Given this situation, a two-pronged orientation was launched. The Junta de Museus i Belles Arts de Barcelona (The Museum and Fine Arts Board of Barcelona) was organized in 1902, the Biblioteca de Catalunya (The Library of Catalonia) and the Escola de Bibliotecàries (The School of Library Sciences) were founded in 1915, and, jointly with a finance company, popular libraries were set up and promoted.

The Mancomunitat was suppressed by General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923-28) and it was not until 1931 that self-government and the Catalan Generalitat was reestablished during the Second Spanish Republic. The Statute of Autonomy granted the Generalitat wide-ranging jurisdiction, although, in practice, it was not able to consolidate its activity given the conflictive nature of the period, which involved the suspension of the Generalitat during the *Bienni Negre* (1934-36), and the Civil War (1936-39). Thus, for example, the conflicts of the period threw up obstacles to the application of the Libraries, Archives, Museums, and Heritage Act of Catalonia (1934), and forced the government to adopt extraordinary measures during the Civil War, such as the creation of a Secretariat to conserve and guarantee the safety of Catalonia's historic and artistic heritage. The sensitivity of the Generalitat's policies towards culture can be clearly seen in the creation



of the Ministry of Culture in 1932, which was a pioneering precedent in the organization of cultural ministries in Europe.

Public involvement in culture was rounded off, and on many occasions even led, by the cultural activity promoted by non-profit entities and associations. This activity was especially important in terms of the tremendous effort made in restoring the heritage of traditional culture. As a continuation of the impulse given by the *Renaixença*, intervention was directed in three main areas: conservation (for example, the recopilation of 40,000 songs by the Obra del Cançoner Popular), study and dissemination. That is why a social movement arose which would renew the organizational structures of popular culture through entities, associations, groupings, competitions, etc. with the goal of revitalizing these traditions as a symbol of cultural identity. Beyond this nucleus, the creativity of the associations of the period is seen to be rich and varied. There was a surge of growth in the Patronats and Ateneus (cultural associations), scientific research outings and scouting.

The musical field is also structured in large part around private institutions and initiative. Due to the city's long operatic tradition this process was led by the creation of the Gran Teatre del Liceu (1847), which had kept up to date with the evolution of international ballet and opera. Later on, together with the Liceu, the Orfeó Català inaugurated the Palau de la Música Catalana (the Catalan Music Palace). Both the Liceu and the Palau were the stage-settings for the grand musical performances in Barcelona for years to come. Musical programming was channelled, for the most part, through private entities, such as the Pau Casals Orchestra (1920) while concert programming was the responsibility of the Associació Obrera de Concerts (1926) (Workers' Concert Association).

Industrial and business activity in the cultural field began to develop in normal fashion with the fall of the ancien regime, which meant the suppression of royal concessions, the recognition of freedom to publish, etc., and the process of Catalan industrialization and the growth of the Catalan cities. Thus, for example, with the elimination of exclusive royal concession, limited to the Santa Creu Theatre, there occurred a major increase in the number of theatres in Barcelona. From 1850 to 1930 more than twenty theatres were created, more or less in concert

with the urban expansion of the city itself. This process was accompanied by a progressive presence of Catalan in public life, which can be seen in terms of theatrical performances in Catalan, many of which were popular hits.

This same evolution was equally valid for all sectors of the cultural industry. Thus, by the second half of the 19th century, many publishing companies had been created and were in the process of absorbing a major part of publication in Spanish. Many of these houses still exist and prove the importance of this sector in Catalonia. There were at this time many books published in Catalan, both originals and translations. Thus, by the end of the twenties, a Madrid book fair could display 6,000 books published in Catalan. As for the press, the disappearance of the royal concession granted to *Diario de Barcelona* ushered in the transition from craft to industrial printing. Thus began the publication of new periodicals and numerous cultural, humorous and political publications. Nevertheless, it was not until the end of the 19th century that the first periodical publications in Catalan were consolidated.

The new 20th century cultural industries were quick to establish themselves in Barcelona. Already by the end of the 19th century the cinema had made its appearance, and had gone from an object of scientific curiosity to something that would arouse enthusiasm among the public. From 1910 to 1915 the first movie theatres were created in Barcelona and the cinema could make its escape from the fair grounds. By the thirties we can see the first development of professional production companies and first film studios. The record industry was also present in Barcelona during those years marking the first appearance of phonographic productions in Catalonia. An important multinational company in this sector set up operations in Barcelona in 1915 and was to lead Spanish record production for many years. Radio had been officially present in Catalonia since 1924 with the establishment of *Ràdio Barcelona*. This medium was extremely active during the thirties and was marked by the major presence of the use of Catalan.

In short, the extraordinary dynamism of Catalonia during this period implied the culmination of a long process of social and cultural aperture which achieved two goals simultaneously: firstly, the rediscovery of its

identity and tradition, and secondly, the renewal of its structure and agents of cultural and political action. This fact coincided in time with a phase of tremendous creativity and artistic vitality, which can be clearly seen in terms of the contributions of Gaudí, Picasso, Miró and Dalí, whose international renown in architecture and the plastic arts is indisputable.

## 2.4. The Francoist Dictatorship

The long dictatorship of General Franco (1939-75) meant the loss of democratic freedoms and self-government for Catalonia, for the self-governing institutions of Catalonia were suppressed and the Catalan language prohibited. The first twenty years saw the subjection of Spain to strict international quarantine and a regime of economic autarchy. These were years of maximum repression and the counterpoising organization of clandestine activity. By the sixties there occurred a spurt of economic expansion and a certain liberalization of the regime, which, without becoming democratic, tolerated certain activities theretofore prohibited. Finally, with the death of the dictator, the path was open to the democratization of Spain, which culminated with the adoption of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the establishment of the new Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia in 1979.

The Francoist regime imposed the prohibition of Catalan and strictly limited the right to free association. In the face of this situation, the political and cultural forces of Catalonia entered into a difficult and tenacious period of resistance both clandestinely within the country and abroad, where numerous intellectuals, politicians, and other personalities had sought refuge. This situation had grave consequences for the process of normalizing the use of Catalan and for the structure and renewal of the associative network in Catalonia.

The management of basic public cultural services was the jurisdiction of the city halls - especially that of Barcelona in the management and financing of the museums - and the *Diputació* of Barcelona. During the forties, the museums, archives, and libraries were kept up with but few resources and thanks only to the effort of local Catalan administrations.



Many Catalan cities saw the appearance of museum-based projects that would safeguard the country's heritage.

In the music field there was the creation of the City Orchestra by the Barcelona City Hall. Nevertheless, the musical programming both in operatic and concert terms during this period remained basically in private hands. Jazz, which had made its successful appearance in Barcelona during the thirties, did not recover its normal status until the sixties and the appearance of clubs and certain groups and soloists, and, later, jazz schools. During this time there also appeared the phenomenon known generically as the Nova Cançó (the New Song Movement) comprising folksingers who were clearly out to mobilize the population politically and culturally, and who ultimately found a mass audience. As for pop-rock, the Francoist regime purposely left Spain out of the major international touring circuits, so that the public came to hear this music through Spanish versions on the radio.

The theatre was dominated by the provincial touring circuits coming out of Madrid while many theatres were converted into cinemas, and theatre in Catalan was minimal. There were from time to time one off performances in Catalan, and little by little an amateur or semi-professional independent Catalan theatre began to form which would become the origin of many consolidated companies during the eighties.

The cultural industries that survived the civil war generally recovered, although in some cases, there was a transfer of decision-making to Madrid. Products in Catalan had been prohibited and disappeared from the market until the sixties, at which time the regime relaxed its hold. Thus, for example, the powerful Catalan publishing industry renewed its industrial activity mostly in Spanish, in response to South American export demand. In spite of the sporadic publication of certain books in Catalan, it is not until the end of the fifties that companies giving preferential treatment to books in Catalan were organized.

The pre-Civil War film studios in Barcelona were reestablished until they burnt down in 1961. These studios grouped together a major part of cinematographic activity in Catalonia, although most of the projects involved were produced outside of Catalonia. Thus, there were few major motion pictures made by Catalan production companies and/or

with technical and artistic personnel residing in Catalonia: from 1948 until 1976 there were only 17 movies made in Catalonia. The year 1977 marked a big leap with the production of 21 films that year alone.

An important part of the Spanish record industry, because of the presence of major national and international companies, had been at one time concentrated in Barcelona. This situation lasted until there occurred a major crisis in the national record sector and the decision of the international groups to move their headquarters to Madrid. The press and radio suffered under the control and censorship of the regime, while state television appeared as the great mass media at the end of the fifties. Televisió Espanyola (Spanish Television) created a production and broadcasting centre during the sixties in Barcelona, and it was from this station that the first broadcasts in Catalan were emitted.

Catalan culture saw the end of Francoism with the organization of the *Congrés de Cultura Catalana* (The Congress of Catalan Culture) (1975-77), which came to life a few months before the death of Franco. After almost forty years of dictatorship, a debate was launched and the society as a whole was asked to reflect upon the situation of Catalan culture and its perspectives for the future. In this debate questions were already being posed as to what would be the role and the cultural policy of the Catalan Generalitat.

### 3. CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT IN CATALONIA

The relationship between culture and development can be analyzed from many perspectives that determine which factors are to be considered decisive. Training, public intervention, civil society, industry, identity, diversity, tradition, innovation, creativity, these are just some of the concepts to be taken into account when its come time to analyzing this relationship. Although our study is in no way exhaustive, we think it useful to analyze some of factors of special significance for Catalonia.

The existence of a national reality without a corresponding State is the main conditioning factor when we talk about the relationship between culture and development in Catalonia.

The lack of signs of identity generated by the existence of a State gives rise to the fact that a lot of attention is paid to the promotion and conservation of alternative expressions of identity. In the case of Catalonia, these expression are fundamentally based on culture and language. That is why national consciousness is to a great degree based on a cultural and linguistic specificity and, likewise, is the factor which provokes interest in the conservation of this specificity.

As a consequence of this relationship between culture and national identity, there is a special public and collective sensitivity to culture. Nevertheless, the fact that cultural development depends in great measure on the need to maintain and strengthen certain signs of national identity also implies a need for a specific cultural model. Thus, the tradition/innovation dilemma tends to work itself out to the detriment of the latter and there is the danger that there might occur a certain self-isolation and the adoption of a defensive attitude against whatever is not autochthonous.

This Catalan cultural identity is the result of a combination and evolution of many factors, among which we occult point to the dialectical relationship between this identity and diversity. Identity and



diversity are opposite concepts although they are not necessarily contradictory. The cultural reality of Catalonia is pluralistic, and this diversity is manifest in two basic ways: the coexistence between Catalans of origin and Catalans born outside of Catalonia, and the bilingual reality of Catalonia.

*fact* The migratory influx during the sixties meant an important change in the social and cultural structure of Catalonia. The effect of these changes on Catalonia today is present in many different forms, which is natural in a complex reality involving a myriad of social, economic and cultural ~~factories~~. Although there may have been sectors that were immune to this sort of influence, the coming together of different cultural identities has generated new identities. These new identities are the result of different processes: miscegenation, influence, integration, resistance. All these variants have made their appearance in Catalonia, and apart from highlighting the resulting plurality, we lack the perspective of time to determine what the dominant processes are.

Bilingualism is an important component of the Catalan cultural reality. In a Europe in which the conflict between the utilitarianism of a common language and the maintenance of difference is one of the great debates of today, Catalonia is a good example of linguistic coexistence and mutual respect. Logically, the coexistence between one of the world's major languages and a minority language has historically been the cause of many conflicts. Today, these conflicts have worked themselves out, to a great degree, with the application of public policies that have sought the normal use of both languages along with special protection for Catalan.

Today, cultural initiatives in Catalonia greatly depend on the intervention and financing of the public sector. In spite of the vitality of Catalan civil society and the sensitivity that it has always shown, especially during moments of the loss of national and democratic rights, in relation to culture, it is the public sector which is today financing and providing guarantees for the conservation and dissemination of Catalan culture. In principle, this implies that culture is understood as a service aimed at the population and that it cannot be reduced to market criteria.

This interventionism means a heavy dependence on public support on the part of the cultural agents. A culture which, in spite of a myriad of problems, has been characterized by its capacity for surviving adverse situations and which has enjoyed moments of creativity during the worst of times, depends almost totally today on public financing throughout most of its sectors. Despite conditions of normality which this implies, there is a danger of "bureaucratization" of the culture.

The process of public intervention in culture began during the last few years and has participated in the general creative, democratizing and modernizing effort of the country. During an initial phase, the city halls took on an important leadership role in the renovation and "invention" of cultural services and policies. At the same time, a long process of transformation of the political and administrative structure of the state began with the transfer of jurisdiction from the central government to the autonomous communities. As for culture, this profound political, and not only administrative, decentralization began at the beginning of the eighties with the transfer of certain functions from the Ministry of Culture to the Basque and Catalan governments and was completed in 1986 in the other Communities.

Resulting from this decentralization is the fact that the autonomous governments now design and execute cultural policies in their respective autonomous communities in areas such as heritage sites, museums, libraries, archives, the promotion of the performing arts, the cultural industries, etc. Nevertheless, it is the municipal administration that manages the culture services which are closest to the citizen. The legislation explicitly includes the library in the list of minimum obligatory services to be provided by city halls in cities with more than 5,000 inhabitants. The functions developed by the Ministry of Culture have been basically centred on the management of its own facilities, participation in the promotion of Spain's main institutions and artistic companies, support for cultural industries, basic legislation on certain day to day questions and the development of a policy of cultural cooperation among the autonomous communities, as well as international cooperation. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that this legislation does not clearly define the delimitation of functions between governments. As a result, during the past few years there have been numerous jurisdictional conflicts. The present constitutional system



stipulates that culture cannot be exclusively assigned to any level of government in particular, and that it may therefore be possible for different administrations to be competing within one particular service.

The total public administration expenditure on culture in Spain in 1993 is estimated to run at 333,297.6 million pesetas, divided as follows: 44.9% came from the city halls; 9.3% came from the provincial *diputacions*, 26.2% came from the autonomous governments and 19.6% from the central state administration. The major role played by the subcentral governments in questions of culture is quite evident from these statistics.

National cultural policy in Catalonia is the jurisdiction of the Catalan Generalitat. As is stipulated in the Statute of Autonomy, the Generalitat has jurisdiction in every sector: historic and artistic heritage, archives and libraries, museums, traditional culture, theatre, dance, music, filmmaking and video, publishing, the plastic arts, the press and language promotion. The growing role played by the Department of Culture of the Generalitat in the cultural life of Catalonia can be seen in the growth of its budget from 94 million pesetas in 1980 to 22,910 million pesetas in 1994.

The cultural spending of the territorial administrations of Catalonia in 1993 - not including the central or state administrations - was 8,378 pesetas per inhabitant.



**Table 2. Cultural spending of the territorial administrations of Catalonia (1993) (1)**

	Thousands of Ptas.	%	Ptas/ inhabitant
Catalan Generalitat	18,517.6	36.5	3,056
Provincial <i>Diputacions</i>	3,481.8	6.8	575
City Halls	28,766.6	56.7	4,747
- Barcelona	8,193.7	16.2	4,985
- More than 50,000 inh.	5,425.1	10.7	2,849
- Less than 50,000 inh.	15,147.8	29.8	6,031
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50,766.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8,378</b>

Source: Ministry of Culture/Centre of Planning Studies (1994)

- (1) This data was obtained after the consolidation of the jurisdictional transfers between administrations.  
It does not include the cultural expenditures of the Consells Comarcals (County Councils).  
It does not include the spending on Language promotion.
- (2) The budget for Language spending of the Department of Culture of the Catalan Generalitat in 1993 was 2,967.6 million pesetas.

This data shows, on the one hand, that the Catalan Generalitat contributes 36.5% of the total cultural expenditure paid out by the Catalan administrations, which means the consolidation of the role of this institution in the development of national cultural policy in Catalonia. We should also point out the importance of the Barcelona City Hall with an expenditure of 8,193.7 million pesetas, or 4,985 pesetas per inhabitant. This figure differs greatly with respect to the

Madrid City Hall, which spends 1,477 pesetas per inhabitant. This can be clearly seen in the case of the museums. In Madrid most museums fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, since they have "national-state" connotations of importance, while in Barcelona they are the responsibility of the City Hall. The cost of infrastructure "capitalization" is 43.8% of the Barcelona City Hall's budget for culture, amounting to 3,592.8 million pesetas in 1993.

The imbalance is also due to the cultural imbalances caused by years of dictatorship and the desire to "normalize" the country from the infrastructural point of view, i.e. providing large national facilities. Thus, the following important projects have either been recently inaugurated, or are under construction or in the project phase: Centre de Cultural Contemporània de Barcelona, (The Barcelona Centre of Contemporary Culture), Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (The Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art), Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (The National Museum of Art of Catalonia), Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (The Archive of the Aragonese Crown), Auditori Nacional (The National Auditorium), Teatre Nacional (The National Theatre), Museu d'Història de Catalunya (The Museum of Catalan History), and the new home of the Teatre Lliure. Furthermore, we can add the reconstruction of the Gran Teatre del Liceu, which burned down last year, to the list of these important infrastructural projects.

In addition to wanting to provide Catalonia with national infrastructures, this cultural policy can also be explained in terms of another factor basic to understanding Catalan cultural reality: the role of the city of Barcelona as the capital city and motor force of Catalonia. Barcelona is a pole of attraction and a showcase of Catalan culture. But it can also play a negative role in the development and identity of its surrounding area. The low expenditure per inhabitant on culture on the part of city halls in cities with a population of more than 50,000 inhabitants, most of which are found within the greater metropolitan area of Barcelona, can be explained, among other reasons, by the leading role Barcelona plays in the country.

Historically in Catalonia the private sector has had to make up for the lack of public intervention in culture. This has created a cultural association network and spawned a certain sensitivity on the part of the



"civil society" to culture, which has been one of the main motor forces behind the cultural development of Catalonia. The intervention of civil society today in the cultural field is twofold: association and participation on the one hand, and sponsorship and patronage on the other.

Catalonia is a society with a long tradition of associations. The economic and particularly the historic level of development of its culture has stimulated the search for forms of social organization outside the umbrella of the public administration. Thus, at decisive moments in its history, associations and foundations have brought many cultural initiatives to life. With the arrival of a democratic system, the major intervention of the public sector in the cultural scene represented a strong blow to organizations weakened by forty years of dictatorship. Many of these entities were heavily jeopardized and many even disappeared. Today, it seems that the non-profit sector is emerging from a process of modernization and revitalization within the framework of a new balance between professionalization and volunteer-work.

In 1990 there were a total of 4,766 cultural ~~entities~~ in Catalonia. We should point out that this figure does not permit differentiation between the number of associations in accordance with the degree and importance of their activity and, therefore, include groups with highly uneven levels of activity. In terms of types, there are 2,346 socio-cultural and recreational associations (collectors, amateur radio operators, human rights groups, environmental groups, women's groups, popular fiesta committees, etc.), 1,433 choral associations and associations promoting traditional culture (*Sardana* folk-dancing associations, firework "devil" groups, *castellers* (human castle acrobatics), etc.), 750 neighbourhood associations and 237 hiking centres.

The cultural foundations registered in Catalonia in 1993 reached a total of 297. This figure represents 37.8% of the total number of cultural foundations in Spain, which shows once again the importance of the non-profit private sector in Catalonia. However, not all of these institutions maintain the same level of activity: it is estimated that only about 30% of the Catalan foundations have an annual budget over 50



*Savings banks*

million pesetas. Of these we should point out the importance of the foundations linked to financial companies, especially to the credit unions that have traditionally had, and still have to this day, an important role in Catalan cultural life.

With the adoption of the "Act on Foundations and Fiscal Incentives for Private Participation in Activities of General Interest" in 1994 a series of new possibilities for development in this sector were opened up.

Alongside the role played by public intervention and the importance of the non-profit sector, we should note the role of the cultural industries as a factor of development. In Catalonia, the latter is manifest in two basic ways: the book publishing industry and the audio-visual sector.

The book publishing sector has significant weight in the Catalan economy: it represents 0.59% of the GDP, 0.49% of employment and 1.08% of exports (ninth in the ranking of export products). A high proportion of the large Spanish publishing companies are Catalan. Concretely, Catalan publishing represents 60% of all Spanish production. This is a sector which, in spite of the fact that it receives some public subsidies for publishing in Catalan, functions independently of public intervention. Today it is an industry undergoing modernization, both in terms of the production processes and in terms of the diversification of its products. The publishing sector in Catalonia has adopted and benefited from technological change in order to broaden its supply and incorporate computer-based and audio-visual products. In the face of these changes in demand it has shown itself capable of varying its products and production.

The Catalan audio-visual industry was practically non-existent fifteen years ago. With the creation of autonomous television broadcasting (TV3), the motor force behind this industry, the conditions were established for the development of a sector which is key to the future. Thus, TV3 is a factor of development for all cultural sectors and for cultural identity as a whole. It is a showcase for the cultural manifestations of companies and professionals. Furthermore, it has established a sphere of self-communication for Catalonia and is a basic element in the collective Catalan imagination today.

## **4. CULTURAL SECTORS IN CATALONIA**

### **4.1. Cultural Heritage**

As for cultural heritage, Catalonia is characterized by its richness and variety and by the growing sensitivity on the part of both public administrations and the society in general to the protection of the same. History and culture are signs of Catalan identity, and cultural heritage is eloquent testimony to this identity. The fact that the Church holds title to a very significant part of this heritage gives this area an added specificity.

Cultural heritage is one of the areas in which the intervention of the public administration is the most important. In this sense, we should underline the role of the Catalan Generalitat and the City Halls.

In Catalonia, public spending on heritage and archaeology (excluding the expenditure of the Ministry of Culture) amounts to 3,925.8 million pesetas (7.73% of total public spending on culture). The city halls spend 44.1% of this total, while the Generalitat accounts for 39.5%.

The basic intervention of the Generalitat has been to elaborate legislation for this sector, i.e. the Archive Act, the Museum Act, the Catalan Library System Act, the Law on the Promotion and Conservation of Popular and Traditional Culture and Cultural Associationism, and, as a general frame of reference, the Act of Catalan Cultural Heritage, adopted in 1993.

The heritage concept on which the Act of Catalan Cultural Heritage is based is wide-ranging and includes heritage objects and sites as well as our spiritual heritage. Based on this concept, the law establishes three categories: cultural objects of national interest, catalogued objects, and other objects falling under a wide-ranging concept of heritage objects. Thus, in Catalonia there are 1.784 declared objects within the most-



favoured for protection category (the cultural objects of national interest).

Catalogued objects total 29,872. The Act foresaw that these goods would be protected by the municipalities for the most part, and established the notion of "cultural objects of local interest".

We underline the richness and variety of Catalonia's archaeological heritage. Although a complete archaeological inventory has not yet been completed, there are 6.649 archaeological sites in Catalonia representing each and every culture that has populated the territory. Roman sites dominate with 26.4% of the total.

Another area of cultural heritage in which there has been intervention in terms of legislation and protection is that of the archives. In spite of the fact that there are still many "document warehouses" in need of organization in order to merit the term archive, there are 185 archives in Catalonia, most of which belong to local administrations (61% in fact). These 185 archives store up to 144,000 meters of documents.

The recent construction of a new headquarters for the National Archive and the Archive of the Aragonese Crown has meant that an important change has occurred in this area. The Aragonese Archive is one of the few Catalan cultural infrastructures that is under the jurisdiction of the central administration. Its new premises is an important element in the creation of major cultural infrastructures in Barcelona, which is characteristic of the nineties.

Alongside conservation, we should point to the importance of the dissemination and promotion of our cultural heritage, but without separating it from the former. The collective awareness of the importance of conservation is a basic element for doing so, and this awareness can only be established if the cultural heritage of a country is widely known by its citizens. In this sense, 1993 saw a total of 305,142 visitors to the 14 monuments administered by the Office of Monument Management of the Department of Culture of the Generalitat. Of these monuments, we should highlight the importance of the Monastery of Santes Creus (95,553 visitors) and the Monastery of Sant Pere de Roda (80,911 visitors). Nevertheless, according to a



survey on the cultural habits of Catalans done in 1991, only 7.7% of the people surveyed had visited a monument in the last three months.

Another important feature is private sector participation in the financing of building restoration. In heritage terms, this is the field which is most attractive to patronage financing. The restoration of five national monuments brought together 500 million pesetas from four private companies. This figure represents half of what the Department of Culture of the Generalitat of Catalonia spent in the same area. There is hope that in the near future, once the recession has ended, and with a more favourable tax policy, private participation will increase.

#### 4.2 Museums

*fund raising*

The museum sector in Catalonia stands out for being a sector in the process of restructuring. The large number of museums, their heterogeneity and important lacunae has made this restructuring vitally important.

The great number of museums in Catalonia can best be explained by the vitality of Catalan civil society, which, during Francoism, and as a symptom of cultural resistance and affirmation of our collective identity, gave rise to numerous collections and museums. These initiatives, logically enough, did not respond to any general plan and comprised a rather atomized museum panorama. There are 255 museums in Catalonia today. This is a high number indeed, and it can only be explained in terms of the wealth of the Catalan cultural heritage. Foreseeably, the full application of the Museum Act, with the grouping together of different centres and the distinction drawn between museums and collections, will establish a smaller number of facilities.

The Public Administration plays a fundamental role in the museums. For, on the one hand, the Catalan Generalitat must structure and provide legislation for the sector, and, on the other, most museums in Catalonia are publicly owned.

The public administrations (excluding the Ministry of Culture) spent 7,236.6 million pesetas on the museums of Catalonia in 1993. This

amounted to 14.25% of public spending on culture. In spite of the atomization of this sector, these public monies were spent on the larger museums, basically located in Barcelona. Thus, the Barcelona City Hall spent 3,592.8 million pesetas on museums (almost 50% of the total for Catalonia). The rest of the public spending was basically supra-municipal: 1,989.6 million came from the Generalitat and 585 million from the provincial *Diputacions*. The other city halls account for only 15% of total public spending on museums.

The basic instrument being used to structure the new panorama in this sector is the Museum Act, which the Catalan Parliament adopted in 1990. This law is the basis of the museum system in Catalonia and is structured on one basic axis: the national museums. In addition to these, the act foresaw other types: museums of national interest, county museums, monographic museums, etc.

The national museums are those providing a global vision of Catalonia in the different cultural spheres and whose service has extended throughout all of Catalonia. The intention is to continue to keep the structure of these museums decentralized, which means that they may have various sections spread throughout the territory, which would, in addition to aiding in decentralization, articulate the various thematic areas organized by each national museum. Today there are three national museums: El Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (The National Museum of Art of Catalonia), Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (The National Museum of Archaeology of Catalonia) and the Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica de Catalunya (The Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia).

Even though the survey on cultural habits show that only 13.9% of Catalans visit museums, the figures on the visitors themselves give more positive results: visitors to national museums in Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia totalled 5,218,944 in 1993. A major part of these visitors went to the main museums. Concretely, 54.4% went to the most-visited museums: the Miró Foundation (713,396), the Picasso Museum (693,388), the Dalí Museum (526,791), The Marimutra Botanical Garden (480,000) and the Science Museum of the "Caixa" Foundation (433,000).



The forthcoming inauguration of the Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona, the completion of the National Museum of Art of Catalonia, the creation of the National Museum of History of Catalonia and the full application of the Museum Act, will help to configure a very different reality for this sector.

#### 4.3. Popular and Traditional Culture

Popular and traditional culture in Catalonia has always been made up of varied range of activities, events, forms of associations and social movements that have developed throughout our history. Much of this activity is still alive and even enjoying a period of resurgence, renewal and reelaboration. This heterogenous cluster of cultural manifestations can be divided into three basic ideas: cultural identity, artistic pastimes, and citizen participation. These three ideas or spheres are, in fact, highly interrelated.

Traditional and popular Catalan culture has been and is a manifestation of national identity reflected both in terms of daily life - clothing, gastronomy, tools and crafts, etc., and also in terms of popular celebrations and fiestas, dances and other stage performances, music, etc. Many aspects of traditional daily life have been lost, since changes in the way of life of Catalan society has made them obsolete. Nevertheless, thanks to individual and collective effort and initiative in preserving the historic memory of Catalonia, many vestiges of this ethnological heritage have remained with us. Thus, there has been a major collection of a variety of craft materials, field tools, clothing, games, documents, etc.

In terms of popular fiestas the process of conservation has been even more dynamic, not having been reduced to collection, classification, and safeguarding of various forms of traditional fiestas. In fact, many popular fiestas are still alive thanks to the fact that they have been modified, re-adapted, and even reinvented. Each town has made its fiestas its own and incorporated them into modern social life. These festive cultural manifestations are quite varied: giants, *nans*, bestiaries, *trabucaires*, *moixigangues*, human castle acrobatics, fireworks parades, dances, theatrical performances, *sardana folk-dancing*. Different groups



have also been formed around musical bands, choruses, youth groups, etc. From this list of cultural manifestations we can see some of the identifying features of Catalan popular culture, which basically comprise the elements of fire, the giant, castles, dances, folk dancing, and the *sardana* folk dance. The fiestas take place according to the festive and religious calendars, which establish what event is to be celebrated at a particular time of year. The *Festa Major* which each town or city or even neighbourhood celebrates every year is perhaps the most important of all these urban fiestas.

On a different level, there are volunteer and amateur groups and organizations involved in artistic activities such as cinema, photography, theatre, dance, choir singing, jazz groups, rock and folk music, etc. These associations, structured more or less in accordance with the nature of their activity, and they constitute the initial and practical platform of these artistic activities. In some cases, the forming of larger groups has substantially improved their quality.

We can round off our view of the panorama of popular culture with a wide variety of cultural centres and associations which, from a polyvalent point of view, have encouraged citizen participation in training and involvement in various types of socio-cultural activities. The array of entities comprises groupings such as the *ateneus*, recreation centres, hiking groups, civic centres and cultural centres, the regional centres of other Spanish autonomous communities, and the still undersized associations of foreign worker immigrants, etc. These groups form a horizontal platform that is the backbone of Catalan cultural life. They structure initiatives leading to cultural dynamism; they group together collectives by transmitting identity and cultural values; and they make people aware of and sensitive to a variety of problems, etc.

The Parliament of Catalonia adopted a law on the promotion and protection of popular and traditional culture and cultural associations in 1993. This law set down the parameters of intervention for the public administrations in this area, which, in any case, have tended to conserve, protect, promote, educate and disseminate popular and traditional culture and cultural associations. Thus, there is the possibility of declaring buildings and objects and fiestas forming part

of the Catalan ethnological heritage as part of the national interest. Furthermore, the law has also foreseen the concept of the association of cultural interest.

The Centre for the Promotion of Popular and Traditional Catalan Culture was created as the organism of the Department of Culture of the Generalitat, whose mission it is to work towards and watch over the objectives established in the above-mentioned law.

The celebration of the third annual Expocultura in 1994 - a ten day expo/fair of performances, exhibitions, street fiestas and all kinds of popular cultural manifestations - constituted a palpable demonstration of the vitality and plurality of this sector, and, furthermore, of its extraordinary capacity to draw huge crowds. March 1995 will see the commencement of the II Congress of Traditional and Popular Catalan Culture, where an important debate will be held on its present situation and perspectives for the future.

#### **4.4. Libraries**

Libraries have historically been an area with the greatest degree of intervention on the part of the public administrations. Furthermore, it is the only cultural sector in which legislation obliges the municipalities to fulfil certain minimum requirements (the only cultural obligation within the Local Municipality Act is that all municipalities with more than 5,000 inhabitants must have a library). Thus, libraries are considered, in terms of Spanish legislation, a basic cultural necessity.

There has been a long standing public interest in libraries in Catalonia. Proof of this is the existence of the Library Sciences School which was established 1915. This school, a pioneer of its kind in Spain, has been the axis of the evolution of Catalan libraries and a basic reference point for the functioning and operations of the same.

The library system in Catalonia has been undergoing changes owing to the 1993 adoption of the Libraries Act. This earlier structure of networks (basically the Generalitat Network and the Barcelona *Diputació* Network) have ushered in a new library system that is



divided into county central libraries, urban centrals libraries, local libraries, and branch and mobile libraries. Nevertheless, the data at our disposal on this sector still corresponds to a phase pre-dating the new law.

For a certain period of time the credit unions played a substitutory role with their own network of library branches. These libraries have been undergoing a process of integration within the public branch system.

There are a total of 876 libraries in Catalonia. This means that there are 1.4 libraries for ever 10,000 inhabitants, and a total of 14.5 million books. Nevertheless, we cannot consider that the basic necessities have been covered, especially in terms of the rural zones. We should bear in mind that 45% of these libraries are in municipalities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Almost 40% of these libraries, 33 to be exact, are less than fifteen years old, which can give us an indication of the effort that has been made in this basic cultural service. Nevertheless, visiting a library does not form part of the cultural habits of Catalans. According to a 1991 survey, 80% of those surveyed declared that they had never been to a library in the last three months. Moreover, a good part of those who answered affirmatively were between 15 and 25 years of age (almost 50% of this group answered affirmatively). This may be explained by the fact that an important number of library users are students who use it as a place to study.

The causes of the low degree of library use must be related to the reading index: almost 45% of Catalans, according to the survey on cultural habits, had not read a book in the last three months.,

In addition to the promotion of reading, another function of the libraries is to collect and conserve our bibliographic heritage. In this respect we should point out that the Library of Catalonia has been given power, according to the Library System Act, to conserve, preserve, and disseminate Catalonia's bibliographic heritage.



#### 4.5. Publishing

The publishing sector in Catalonia is a cultural industry with a long historic tradition and a high degree of dynamism, both in terms of creativity and business acumen. This sector is led in an important way by the book publishing sector, which can basically be explained by the major role played by companies set up in Catalonia for the publication of books in both Spanish and Catalan. Thus, in 1993, in the wake of the growing trend of the past few years, the Catalan publishing houses accounted for 214,351 million pesetas (60.9%) of total sales in the Spanish domestic market. In terms of the number of books published, according to statistics from the ISBN Agency, Catalonia produced 16,266 different titles, or 33.0% of the Spanish total that same year.

Book publishing occupied ninth position in the ranking of Catalan exports in 1992. This figure meant 1.08% of total annual exports. This is, therefore, the only cultural industry with a foreign trade surplus: 17,835.8 million pesetas in exports to 4,628.7 million pesetas in imports. The evolution of exports for this sector in the last few years has been positive and it appears that the fall in foreign demand that occurred during the beginning of the eighties, caused by the collapse of the South American market, has reversed itself.

According to 1993 data, the publishing sector represents 0.59% of Catalonia's Gross Domestic Product with a Gross Added Value after cost of 73,167 million pesetas. This meant an increase of 15.9% with regards the previous year, which is a very important figure if you consider the economic recession that affected Catalonia during that period. Industrial activity is the most important part of the Gross Added Value figure: publication accounted for 73.7% of the total and graphic arts 16.5%. As a whole it is estimated that the publishing sector employed 10,000 people in 1993, or 0.49% of the total number of jobs in Catalonia.

Most books, 82.2% of the total, published in Catalan in Spain are printed in Catalonia. The rest are printed in Valencia (7.9%), Madrid (6.1%) and the Balearic Islands (2.6%).

Catalan distribution companies centre a large part of their activity on bookstores, hypermarkets, kiosks and the schools. This is a sector which, despite its slowness and in a less generalized way, is also having to face up to a process of transformation involving changes in logistic and information-based technology, sales promotion, etc. Business concentration has occurred mostly in the distribution sector for kiosks and the schools due to a high level of specialization. Generally speaking, we are dealing with companies that undertake most of their activity in Catalonia, although some of them may be operating throughout Spain as a whole. There are important publishing companies managing this activity directly without having to recur to distributors. The weight of the publishing sector in Catalan in relation to the total turnover of the distributors is around 29.4%, a percentage which is much higher than that of the publishing houses, given that the distributors operate for the most part in Catalonia. This figure can give one a better idea of the importance of book sales in Catalan within Catalonia.

In Spain the book stores constitute the second most important channel of book sales (37.1 %), after direct sales to private individuals (34.0%). The kiosk (13.2%) and the hypermarket (13.2%) are still at a much lower level although they have been tending to increase their share in the past few years. In Catalonia, this sector is characterized by a high degree of atomization and division into small and medium-sized companies that are finding themselves having to change and take up a new position in retail sales. On the one hand, part of the products which have been sold traditionally and almost exclusively at book stores (encyclopedias, school text-books, etc.) have found new marketing channels. These establishments are mostly found in Barcelona, where the number of book stores per inhabitant is higher than in the rest of Catalonia.

The role of the public administrations and institutions in this sector, given the stability of private enterprise here, is proportionately very reduced. On the one hand, the major public institutions of the country and the universities act as editorial agents through the direct production of books. On the other hand, support is provided for companies for certain types of editions, basically by giving generic support to the sector and purchasing books with funds earmarked for libraries and

other public and private institutions. Thus, the total expenditure of the Catalan Generalitat in terms of book subsidies was 662.4 million pesetas in 1993.

There were 78,114 million pesetas worth of books sold in Catalonia in 1993. This figure represented 22.2% of the total sales for the Spanish domestic market. This percentage shows the high proportion of sales in Catalonia if one takes into account the fact that Catalonia makes up 15% of the population. Cultural behaviour surveys indicate that only 37.7% of the population surveyed said that they had bought a book in the last three months. In terms of the number of books in homes, more than half the people surveyed stated that they had between 26 and 200 books in their homes.

Today, the publishing sector in Catalonia has found itself in a process of transformation due to the introduction of new electronic printing systems, the appearance and consolidation of major multi-media groups and the development of new marketing strategies. The regulation of a single price per book and the application of a reduced 4% VAT for the sector are the elements defining a basically favourable regulation policy for the market. Nevertheless, the dynamism of the agents involved and the internationalization of the markets demand constant improvement in the competitiveness of every company. In an environment rife with economic crisis, renovation and change, Catalan publishing companies are making a tremendous effort to adapt themselves in order to create a new series of products that will be competitive on the computer, communications, and cultural markets by means of the optimum combination of the technical resources and support now available.

#### **4.6. The Plastic Arts**

The plastic arts is one of the fields in which Catalonia has traditionally made its presence felt world-wide. Picasso, Dalí, Miró, three of the most important painters of the century, are proof enough of this tradition.



Another important tradition that has configured contemporary Catalan art is that of the "Dau al Set" group, which originated with the founding of the magazine of the same name in 1948.

Today, Catalonia is still fertile ground for whoever wishes to develop his or her creative talents. The most important feature of this is the importance and creativity of its artists. In this sense, one of the keys to the solidity of its artistic tradition has been its art schools: Belles Arts, Llotja, Massana, Eina, etc.

The art scene in Catalonia can be divided into four basic blocks: art centres and foundations set up by important artists; the foundations linked to banks, public institutions and art galleries.

The Picasso Museum of Barcelona (under the jurisdiction of the Barcelona City Hall), the Dalí Museum of Figueres, The Miró Foundation of Barcelona and the Tàpies Foundation of Barcelona are some of the major centres of contemporary art in Catalonia. More than just a permanent collection, these centres are involved in programming exhibitions and activities related to contemporary art. In this sense, we can point to the risk-taking artistic projects of the Miró Foundation or the Tàpies Foundation. The Picasso Museum organizes or programs somewhat more conventional exhibitions.

In 1993 the Picasso Museums had 693,388 visitors, the Dalí Museum 526,791 and the Miró Foundation 713,396. The number of visitors to the Miró Foundation that year may be considered exceptional given the fact that it was the 100th anniversary of the birth of Joan Miró ("the Miró Year") and many different activities were held there to commemorate this event, the most important of which was the Miró retrospective organized by the Foundation itself and attracting a total of 263,000 visitors. For its part, the Antoni Tàpies Foundation had a total of 67,613 visitors that same year.

Another important force in the plastic arts field comprises the foundations linked to financial entities. Thus, the nineteen exhibitions held in 1993 at the four galleries belonging to "La Caixa", had a total of 235,069 visitors, the twenty exhibitions at the Caja Madrid had

41,699 and the seven organized by the Banco Bilbao Vizcaya had 17,773.

The "Caixa" Foundation, in addition to an important exhibitions program, also has a major collection of contemporary art which it is planning to turn over to the Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona.

The other major block of exhibition space is that linked to public institutions, the Catalan Generalitat and the City Hall especially. The most important of these are the Santa Mònica Art Centre of the Generalitat, which attracted 101,594 visitors at its eleven exhibitions, and the Palau de la Virreina of the Barcelona City Hall, attracting 227,598 visitors at its eleven exhibitions. The exhibitions offered by these two institutions can be rounded off by the large number of municipal exhibition halls taking up the task of spreading and promoting artistic creation.

Alongside these institutional and semi-institutional projects, there is major private initiative provided by the art galleries, which, in spite of their massive concentration in Barcelona, are still somewhat spread out throughout Catalonia, dealing in both contemporary art and more traditional realist art.

There will soon be a newcomer onto the art scene which will help to develop the plastic arts in Catalonia: the soon to be inaugurated Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona. In addition to advancing our knowledge of art and promoting contemporary artistic production, the idea is to make this centre into an open, dynamic motor force for the plastic arts in all spheres.

#### **4.7. The Performing Arts**

The performing arts in Catalonia can be characterized by the significant number of high quality companies of international renown. Most of these companies were born during the seventies, during the last years of the dictatorship and the first years of democracy. Today they are the leading force in an extremely important sector and are representative of

one of the most visible and exportable features of present day Catalan culture.

In spite of the vitality of these private companies, the role of the public administrations in the performing arts is critical. The constitution of the democratic system and the autonomous administration has consolidated the theatrical sector, whose creativity and dynamism had already made a name for itself early on. Almost all the productions performed by professional companies receive public economic support. Moreover, the beginning of public intervention into the performing arts field helped to establish public productions in order to complete what was being offered in the private sector.

An example of the importance of public intervention in this area can be seen if we analyze the incomes structure for the theatres with stable programming: less than 30% of the incomes generated come directly from the box office, while public contributions represent almost 60%.

The public administrations earmark an important part of their cultural budget for the performing arts. The Catalan Generalitat gave 3,418 million pesetas to theatre and dance (15% of the budget of the Department of Culture) in 1993. We should realize, however, that a major part of these monies, 33% to be exact, were invested in the construction of the National Theatre.

Another indicator of the situation of the performing arts in Catalonia is the existence of a prestigious school of performing arts: L'Institut del Teatre (Theatre Institute), under the jurisdiction of the Barcelona *Diputació*, whose founding goes back to the beginning of the century.

Theatrical production in Catalonia is structured along four major axes: the productions of stable private companies; the productions of institutional dramatic centres, the productions of private production centres; and, finally, the productions of companies set up for a single work or play.

In spite of the difficulty of determining their exact number, we estimate that there are 30 stable theatre companies in Catalonia. Without wishing to ignore the contributions of other important companies, the most



famous and representative are Els Joglars, Comediants, Dagoll-Dagom, Teatre Lliure, Fura dels Baus, Tricicle, and La Cubana. The presence of these groups goes far beyond the Catalan stage itself. These groups have made their presence felt throughout the Spanish state and around the world, while combining the activity of a stable theatre company with involvement in other media, such as television, cinema, special events, etc.

The major institutional force in theatrical production is the Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat de Catalunya (the Drama Centre of the Catalan Generalitat). Since 1994 the Centre Dramàtic has been operating from two centres: the Teatre Romea and the Teatre Poliorama. Until recently, the Teatre Poliorama, under the direction of Josep Maria Flotats, was independent of the Centre Dramàtic.

The role of the private producer was, until the past few years, almost non-existent in Catalonia. It has lately come farther to the fore, which has meant a boon to the sector. The existence of empresarios willing to invest money and manage theatrical productions has meant an important change not only because the range of production agents has broadened, but also because a more business-like concept has been introduced into a field which has been dominated by other ideas up until now. The result has been a diversification in the range of shows on offer.

Finally, the companies that are set up for the production of a single work are most difficult to quantify. These tend to move in a field that is halfway between the amateur and professional theatre worlds, and, furthermore, the result of their first work usually tends to define whether a company will make it or not.

Taken as a whole, the stable theatrical production companies (excluding companies set up for a single work) put on approximately 45 productions per year. Most of these productions (around 80%) are in Catalan. An interesting thing to point out is that only 20% of these productions have a Spanish version. This second version is prepared only in the event that the troupe goes on tour outside of Catalonia, and in no way are both versions offered when performed within Catalonia.

An important area of the performing arts is dance. A good number of the major dance companies in Spain are found in Catalonia. In spite of the fact that this concentration (and high quality) has not received a favourable reception on the part of programmers and public, the presence of these companies at dance festivals around the world is proof of their importance.

In terms of actual stage productions, the situation in Barcelona differs greatly from the that of the rest of Catalonia. In Barcelona one can choose from both private productions and public productions, which tend to complement each other. This makes for a most diverse array of possibilities: musicals, classical theatre, avant-guard theatre, children's theatre, cabaret, etc. In the last few seasons, moreover, something totally unheard of has occurred in Barcelona: several productions, especially musicals, have been running for more than a year, which has become a major phenomenon for the Barcelona stage.

As for the rest Catalonia, the only theatrical programmers are in fact the city halls themselves. Almost all the city halls provide for a certain continuity in programming through the Network of Public Theatres of Catalonia, comprising 48 municipal theatres.

In any event, Barcelona accounts for half the theatres in Catalonia with stable programming and more than 75% of the number of shows, spectators and box office receipts.

In spite of the fact that from the point of view of the Catalan language the theatre is perhaps the most Catalanized sector of cultural life, only 50% of the shows produced in 1993 were in Catalan. This figure would change if we did not take into account cabaret, which is highly important in terms of shows and the fact that it is mostly done in Spanish.

The next few years will see substantial changes in the theatre scene with the construction of two important facilities: the National Theatre of Catalonia and the new Teatre Lliure. These two theatres will involve changes in supply, distribution of public resources and the role of different public theatres.

#### 4.8. Music

Although music is a sector with many different characteristics in terms of genres, oddly enough we must say that while this sector in Catalonia has shown itself to be tremendously varied and vital in terms of live performance, its record industry is almost non-existent.

There were over 1,243 live contemporary and classical music concerts in Catalonia in 1993. A good part of this activity took place in Barcelona even though the degree of concentration of this sector in the capital is not as high as it is for other cultural sectors.

Public music policy is focused on the major institutions and facilities. The Catalan Generalitat gave 1,672.6 million pesetas (more than 75% for its total budget for music) to four major national music institutions in 1993. These were: the Gran Teatre del Liceu together with its Orchestra and Choir, the Palau de la Música Catalana, the Auditori de Barcelona (under construction) and the Orquestra Ciutat de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya.

The Gran Teatre del Liceu has been the most important operatic centre for Catalonia and Spain in the last few decades. It has been the professional birthplace of prestigious figures in the world of opera, such as Caballé, Carreras and Victòria dels Angels. The Liceu had been a private opera house since its founding, although it received support from the public administrations to maintain itself in the past few years. Its destruction by fire on 31 January 1994 has caused it to go public. The goal now is to get it running again by 1997 to coincide with its 150th anniversary. During its reconstruction programming and production will be maintained by using other theatres in the city.

The Amics de l'Opera of Sabadell is also involved in its own operatic production and the organization of tours throughout Catalonia. Its importance is based on the fact that it is bringing opera closer to towns and cities that have neither the economic nor the technical capacity to program major productions.

The Palau was created by the Orfeó Català association. Since the beginning of the century it has been one of the major concert halls in



Barcelona. In spite of the fact that the building is still the property of the Orfeó Català, the Palau is now managed by a consortium of the major public Catalan administrations.

One of the projects which will make an important impact on the music scene of the future is the National Auditorium, which will be the future home of the Orquestra Ciutat de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya. The National Auditorium will become a production and documentation centre as well. Its establishment will redefine the roles now being played by different programmers and concert halls.

As far as orchestral groups are concerned, in addition to those mentioned above (the orchestra and choir of the Liceu, the Orquestra Ciutat de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya) we would like to make mention of the Orquestra del Teatre Lliure, which with its new home could acquire major importance on the music scene, the Orquestra Simfònica del Vallès, and a significant number of high quality soloists and groups with a certain presence on international circuits, such as, for example, the pianist Alícia de Larrocha, the cellist Lluís Claret and the Capella Reial de Catalunya conducted by Jordi Savall.

Jazz has enjoyed a long tradition in Catalonia. Musicians and singers -led undoubtedly by the emblematic figure of Tete Montoliu -specialized jazz haunts and a faithful public go together to make up a musical sector which is enjoying a significant recovery in the past few years. This recovery has taken place, in good measure, thanks to the private initiatives of clubs and bars that have established a stable offering of high quality jazz that has given many opportunities to local musicians. In 1993 more than 1,187 jazz concerts were held in Catalonia. Most of these, 80% in fact, were held on private premises in Barcelona. We should also not forget to mention the jazz festivals, the most important of which are those held in Barcelona and Terrassa.

After having stood on the sidelines for some years, Barcelona is now included on all the major pop-rock concert tour circuits. There is a certain tradition of rock sung in Spanish and some of the most successful rock groups in Spain are Catalan (El Ultimo de la Fila, Loquillo y los Trogloditas). At the end of the eighties, however, there appeared the phenomenon of "Catalan rock", its identity being based on

the fact that it was sung in Catalan. These Catalan rock groups have been of tremendous importance in terms of the linguistic Catalanization of society.

The frame of reference for folk music in Catalonia is undoubtedly the Nova Cançó movement (New Song Movement) that came out of the sixties with a clearly political and cultural agenda. Today the contributions of folk singers to the Catalan music scene is wide-ranging and goes anywhere from light music to music with a high content of traditional sounds and styles. Almost all of these folk singers use Catalan in their songs. The folk music scene is rounded off with a varied representation of genres: folk, traditional Catalan music, flamenco, salsa, etc., which is proof of Catalonia's cultural diversity.

Musical education in Catalonia is structured by the 21 conservatories of music, two of which are private, and by 54 non-official music schools. During the 1992-93 school year there were a total of 36,444 music students. Because of their importance and historical tradition, the Conservatori del Liceu and the Conservatori Municipal de Música de Barcelona are among the most outstanding music schools.

Although in the past Barcelona played the leading role in the Spanish recording sector, activity in this area is almost non-existent today. This can be explained especially by the transfer of the multinationals to Madrid and the disappearance of national and medium-sized record companies. Nevertheless, the reduction of costs and the lowering of barriers to record production seem to be creating the possibility of setting up small record companies which could operate at the local level, i.e., beyond the control of the major distribution networks.

#### **4.9. Cinema**

The cinema in Catalonia in the last few years can be characterized by the lack of a solid industrial base that could consolidate a sector which, from any point of view, is highly uneven. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that Catalan cinema shares most of the problems affecting European cinema as a whole. The domination of the market by large American companies and the absence of solid European companies that

can compete with the former go a long way to explaining the economic crisis in this sector.

In spite of the general extension of the problem and the difficulty in finding solutions, a certain level of annual production is being maintained, although this in no way means we can speak of a stable sector (but nor can we deny its existence). Approximately fifteen feature length films are produced in Catalonia annually (12 in 1992 and 16 in 1993 to be exact). This represents approximately 25% of films produced in Spain as a whole. Nevertheless, in the audio-visual industry, in which products are more and more international in nature, it is difficult to determine the nationality of a product. This is a problem which every administration is running into when it comes time to deciding which films are to receive subsidization. This decision cannot be made based on a certain content, not can it be made on the basis of the participation of an autochthonous company being involved in production. The first case would introduce a local criterion of exaggerated importance (on top of the difficulty involved in defining what "Catalan" or "European" would mean) while the second would make a film the property of a country in terms of economic participation in production. This gives rise to peculiar situations such as that of the film "Belle Epoque" (1994 Oscar winner for Best Foreign Film), which is listed somewhere as a Catalan production although no one in or outside of Catalonia has identified it as such.

Most productions count on some sort of public support. The Department of Culture of the Catalan Generalitat gave subsidies of 588 million pesetas in 1993 for the production of feature length films, shorts and television series. To these subsidies we should add those of the Ministry of Culture (more than 3,000 million pesetas for Spain as a whole), the broadcasting rights for public television, and indirect aid from the Administration (such as cheap credits). This aid has been rounded off by the intervention of public television. The role to be played by the autonomous television stations is very important in this regard. The production of mini-series and other fictional works has turned this sector into the main film and video producer in the country as well as the motor force of the industry as a whole.



In contrast to this important public aid there has been but a minimal response on the part of spectators. Only 1.1 % of the almost 20 million movie-goers in Catalonia in 1993 went to see a film in Catalan. And to this we should add that a major part of the films produced were never even shown or may not be shown within the next three or four years. This situation can be partly explained by the oligopolistic structure of film distribution under the domination of large American companies. (75 % of the box office receipts of Spanish cinemas went to four major American companies operating in the Spanish market). But there is also the problem in terms of the gap between what Catalan directors and producers are offering and the tastes and preferences of the public.

Moreover, in spite of the fact that we have seen the consolidation of an autonomous television broadcasting corporation (TV3) and the corresponding formation of the habit of watching audio-visual products in Catalan, this situation has not had its counterpart in cinema terms. In spite of the efforts on the part of the Catalan Generalitat, the cinema has not been Catalanized as much as other areas of the society. Thus, 78.2% of Catalans (according to the 1991 survey on the habits of cultural consumption) stated that they had not seen a film in Catalan in the last three months.

With regards to film showings, Catalonia has undergone the same process as the rest of Europe and Spain inasmuch as movie going has fallen off considerably. During the eighties more than 50% of the movie theatres disappeared. In fact, the total number of movie theatres in Catalonia dropped from 738 in 1980 to 358 in 1993. This tendency began to slow in 1989 and the number of cinemas began to stabilize, which can be explained for the most part by the reconversion of the sector in terms of the installation of multiplex cinemas, which now represent 50% of the total.

From the territorial point of view, the importance of the city of Barcelona is unmistakable. Barcelona takes in almost 50% of total box office receipts (10,571 million pesetas). This can only be explained by the greater population since average spending per inhabitant is also considerably higher than for the rest of the territory: 1,738 pesetas per year for Catalonia as opposed to 3,676 pesetas per year for Barcelona.

As in the rest of Spain, public preference leans towards American films. In fact, 77.6% of all movie goers in Catalonia in 1993 went to see an American film. These figures seem to indicate that we have touched bottom and that both audio-visual policy and especially the products of European, Spanish and Catalan filmmakers will have to reorient themselves in order to connect with their own public and boost demand for national and European cinema in the future.

#### **4.10. The Media**

The media plays a basic role in the development of the culture of the territory. Thus, one of the main vias of expression of our collective Catalan identity is the media: television, radio and the press.

The specific characteristic of the Catalan media is the existence of a local and county-wide media alongside the national media. Although in all these forms (television, radio and the press) we are dealing with a rather modest project, the sum total bears some weight on the society. Moreover, the local and country media have an important role to play in terms of local and county identity and the dissemination of cultural events most closely linked to the life of the territory.

Television is the most influential and decisive media for the future. It is in television that the possibility has opened up for the most important event on the Catalan cultural scene to occur in the past few years: the creation of an autonomous television broadcasting corporation. Televisió de Catalunya-TV3 began its first experimental broadcasts on 10 September 1983 and followed with regular daily broadcasts from 16 January 1984. In 1988 TV3 started up a second channel, Canal 33. Both channels are under the jurisdiction of the Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió, a public organism of the Catalan Generalitat. Although some aspects of its programming have been subject to criticism, the fact that Catalonia has its own television corporation is something without which it would be impossible to explain the actual state of Catalan culture. On the one hand, it is key to the process of linguistic Catalanization, and on the other hand, it helps to configure a space for self-communication. This latter aspect is fundamentally manifest on three levels: our own news services; the possibility of



creating our own entertainment fiction; and a means to create a communication "star-system".

On the other hand, we should not forget to mention that Televisió Espanyola a Catalunya (Spanish Television of Catalonia) also has a production centre here. This centre produces some programs for broadcast all over Spain and others only for Catalonia, since the programming of the two channels belonging to Televisió Espanyola a Catalunya are divided into two parts: a common channel for state-wide service and another specifically for broadcasting in Catalan in Catalonia.

The rest of the television scene is made up of the three private state-wide television stations: Antena 3, Canal Plus (pay TV) and Tele 5. In the past, some of these stations offered the possibility of television viewing in Catalan.

A very important phenomenon from the point of view of the democratization of the media is the proliferation of local television stations. In Catalonia, in fact, there are 57 local television stations, many of which operate illegally. There is still no legislation governing the existence or operation of these stations. After a period in which some of these stations were closed down for lack of authorization, a more permissive attitude is now reigning, which does not exclude the need for some type of legislation.

According to 1993 data, the public television stations (Televisió Espanyola and Televisió de Catalunya) and their four channels accounted for 60% of the viewing audience. The most popular channel in Catalonia was TV1 (Televisió Espanyola) with 24.1% of audience share (percentage share of viewers estimated in terms of viewing time for each channel throughout one year). Second place went to TV3 (the Catalan station) while the two private television stations began broadcasting with about 20%. Finally, the three most specialized channels paying more attention to culture -TV2, Canal 33 and Canal Plus- had fewer viewers; in fact, the total of the three reached a little more than 15%.



The world of television has been one of the most affected by technological change. Satellite television and cable television are posing a total transformation of the television scene. Although this has already become a reality in many countries, this is still a future scenario for Catalonia.

Radio is also structured along three axes: public radio, private radio and local radio.

The main public Catalan radio stations are under the jurisdiction of the CCRTV. Catalunya Ràdio, Ràdio Associació, Catalunya Música and Catalunya Informació make up this varied range of radio listening combining a general broadcasting station with three specialized stations (music, classical music, and news).

Ràdio Nacional d'Espanya, a state broadcasting system, has five stations, one of which, Ràdio 4, broadcasts exclusively in Catalan for Catalonia.

The private radio stations are basically state-wide. Almost all of these private radio broadcasting chains have a section of programming specifically aimed at Catalonia. There are two private Catalan stations (Flash FM and RKOR) with a wide audience and 13 commercial stations broadcasting locally.

Mention should be made of the local radio stations. There are 176 municipally owned radio stations in Catalonia. Most of these are broadcasting in Catalan.

The most important feature of the press in Catalonia is the fact that Catalan is hardly present. Together with the cinema, the press is the cultural and media sector in which the linguistic Catalanization process has progressed the least. This is especially obvious if you take a look at the newspapers. If we analyze the number of newspapers published it may appear that there is a balance between the use of Spanish and Catalan. However, if you take a closer look you will see that newspapers in Catalan represent but 12% of the those published in Catalonia. La Vanguardia (with a run of 208,029) and El Periódico de Catalunya (185,337), both of which are in Spanish, are the two most

popular newspapers and account for 78.3% of the newspapers sold daily. The leading Catalan newspaper (and third in the total) is l'Avui (with a run of 33,337).

The situation in the magazine sector is similar. Catalan is barely present, especially if we analyze printing runs. There are six "women's" and "television" magazines, all in Spanish, accounting for a total of 2,264,201 copies, or 52.6% of the 62 magazines published in Catalonia.

Just as in television and radio, one of the basic characteristics of the press is the importance of the county newspaper. It has been estimated that there are 296 publications of this type in Catalonia, most of which are published in Catalan.





