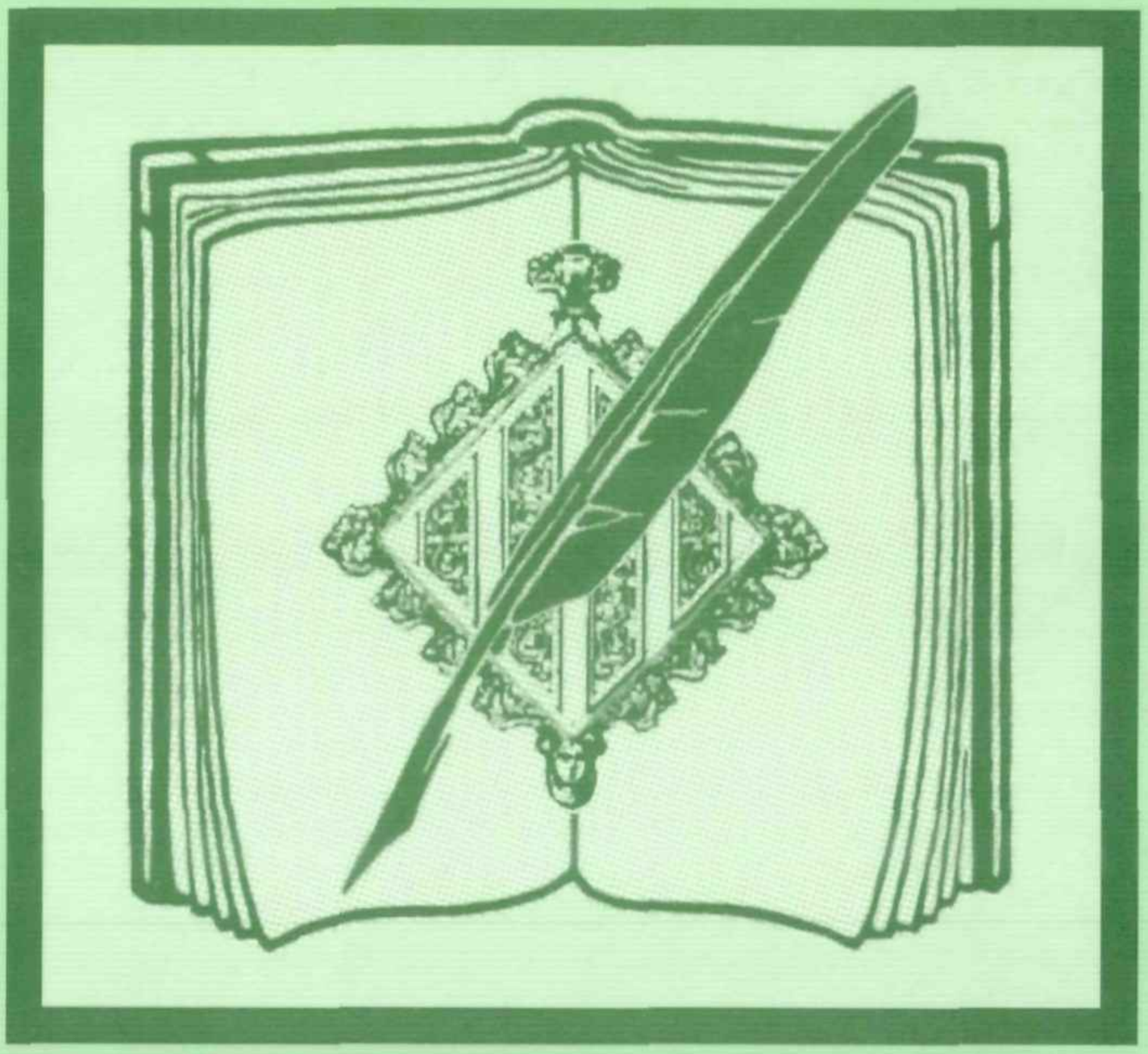
CULTURE IN CATALONIA

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



COPEC
Catalan Consortium for the
External Promotion of Culture

FundacióJaumeBofill

CULTURE IN CATALONIA

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

COPEC
Catalan Consortium for the
External Promotion of Culture

FundacióJaumeBofill

Barcelona **1998**

© by Fundació Jaume Bofill

Propietat d'aquesta publicació (incloent-hi la coberta):

Publicacions de la Fundació Jaume Bofill. Provença 324, 1r. 08037 Barcelona

Disseny de la coberta: Cristina Tomàs

Dipòsit legal: B-28786/98

Impressió: F&P Institut Gràfic. Dr. M. Riera 30, 1r.1a. 08950 Esplugues de Llobregat (Barcelona)

Prohibida la reproducció total o parcial, per qualsevol mitjà, sense l'autorització escrita de la Fundació Jaume Bofill.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 7

1. An introduction to Catalonia 9

   1.1. The territory, population and economy 9
   1.2. Government and Institutions 11
   1.3. The Catalan language 13

2. Notes for a history of Catalan culture 17

   2.1. The origins 17
   2.2. The modern age 19
   2.3. From the *Renaixença* to the Civil War 22
   2.4. The Franco Dictatorship 27
   2.5. The democracy 29

3. Culture and development in Catalonia 33

   3.1 Introduction 33
   3.2 Culture and the public sector 35
   3.3 Culture and civil society 38
   3.4 Cultural industries 40

4.	Cultural sectors in Catalonia		43
	4.1.	The Cultural Heritage	43
	4.2.	Museums	45
	4.3.	Popular and Traditional Culture	47
	4.4.	Libraries	50
	4.5.	Publishing	52
	4.6.	The Arts	56
	4.7.	The Performing Arts	58
	4.8.	Music	62
	4.9.	The cinema	65
	4.10.	The Media	68
5.	Sources of statistical information used		73

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this work is to provide a brief and highly synthetic account of culture in Catalonia. It is divided into four main parts. It begins with a general introduction describing certain features of Catalonia which are considered fundamental to the understanding of its present situation: territory, population, the economy, government institutions and language. Turning then to specifically cultural matters, it reviews the history of culture in Catalonia from the Middle Ages to the time at which the present democratic regime was taking shape and Catalonia's self-governing institutions were recovered. On the basis of this brief historical analysis, and of certain general considerations on the situation of culture in present-day Catalonia, a series of reflections are made on the relationship between culture and development which are of special relevance to Catalonia. The work concludes with a detailed analysis of the different cultural sectors in Catalonia today: the cultural heritage, museums, traditional and popular culture, libraries, publishing, the arts, the performing arts, music, the cinema and the media.

This edition is the result of an update of the work originally published in 1995. We have modified data for which more recent information has become available. Similarly, some results of studies and research work carried out from that date up to the present have been included.

1. AN INTRODUCTION TO CATALONIA

1.1. The territory, population and economy

Catalonia has a surface area of 31,895 square kilometers and represents 6.3% of the total surface area of Spain. From the hinterland and the Pyrenees to the coastal range, it is essentially a mountainous country with a wide variety of landscapes. Catalonia has 580 kilometers of Mediterranean coastline which can be divided, from North to South, into three main sections: the Costa Brava, the Costa del Maresme and the Costa Daurada. The capital, Barcelona, is located approximately half way down the coast. Because of its location, in the north-western Mediterranean, Catalonia enjoys a temperate climate with temperatures that are rarely very high or very low and only a few days of rainfall every year.

With 6,090,040 inhabitants in 1996, Catalonia accounted for approximately 15% of the population of Spain. There are three levels of territorial divisions: 944 boroughs, 41 *comarques* (natural regions), and four provinces. Only 90 of this large number of municipalities have over 10,000 inhabitants, and these together make up about 80% of the total population. Close to two-thirds of the inhabitants of Catalonia live in the city of Barcelona or in the *comarques* located within a 30 mile radius of the capital.

During the sixties, the considerable growth experienced by the textile, chemical and construction industries attracted large numbers of immigrants to Catalonia from the rest of Spain. Thus today around 30% of the total population was born outside of Catalonia. Most of the immigrants came from the less developed regions of Spain such as Andalusia, Extremadura, Castile and Leon, Aragon, and Castile-La Mancha.

In economic terms, Catalonia is one of the most highly developed parts of Spain. According to 1996 statistics, Catalonia accounted for 19.0% of Spain's GDP, a figure slightly higher than its share of the population (15%). Thus in Catalonia per capita GDP is 2.3 million pesetas, higher than the rate for Spain as a whole, which is estimated at 1.9 million pesetas. The unemployment rate for 1997 was around 16.0%, slightly lower than the overall figure for Spain the same year (approximately 20%). The evolution of the jobless figure in the past few months shows a downward tendency, which reflects the positive trend of the country's economy since 1994. The lower proportion of unemployed than in Spain as a whole is due to a large extent to the structure and characteristics of economic activity in Catalonia. The distribution of economic activity by sectors reveals that the service sector (60.0%) and industry (30.6%) are of considerable importance, in comparison to construction (7.5%) and agriculture (1.4%).

The main agricultural products are cereals, fruit, and vegetables. Particularly characteristic features are the vineyards and olive groves for the manufacture of still and sparkling wines *(cava)* and olive oil. Pigs, poultry and cattle are the chief forms of livestock. Catalonia accounts for approximately 25% of Spanish industrial output, the food, chemical and textile sectors being of particular note. Tourism is of importance within the service sector and has undergone spectacular growth in the last 30 years, making Catalonia into one of Europe's foremost tourist regions.

This economic vitality owes much to the existence of a good motorway and road network and of rail services. The Port of Barcelona has also contributed to economic growth and is one of the most important on the Mediterranean for general freight.

After the crisis of the 1970s, Catalonia's economic recovery, the tertiarization of her economy, and a major influx of foreign capital were three concurrent trends. Two major events marked the period of expansion that occurred in the late 1980s: Spain's entry into the European Economic Community and the nomination of Barcelona as the site of the 1992 Olympics, both of which took place in 1986. But by the

middle of 1992 there were clear indications that the economies of Catalonia and the whole of Spain were very rapidly entering a downward trend. During the last few months of 1994 and at the beginning of 1995 there was a reactivation of the economy, especially in those sectors that have benefited from the increase in foreign demand.

1.2. Government and Institutions

When democracy was established in Spain and the 1978 Constitution came into effect, the various political forces with parliamentary representation agreed upon a model of territorial organization that would respond to the cultural and national diversity of Spain. This led to the adoption of the Catalan Statute of Autonomy which defined the political institutions that were to make up the Catalan Government, specified its spheres of jurisdiction and regulated its relationship with the State. The Statute, which was ratified by referendum in 1979, is the foundation upon which the autonomous government of Catalonia rests. This government bears the historic name of "Generalitat de Catalunya".

The Generalitat was founded during the Middle Ages (1359) as a permanent delegation of the Catalan parliament or Corts Generals. It was abolished after the Spanish War of Succession in 1714 when the Bourbon dynasty acceded to the Spanish throne. Under the second Spanish Republic, which lasted from 1931 to 1939, an autonomous government, also known as the Generalitat, was set up in Catalonia. It was again abolished at the end of the Spanish Civil War, and the prohibition lasted throughout the forty years of the Franco dictatorship until the democratization of Spain got underway in 1977.

The Generalitat consists of a Parliament, a President and an Executive Council or cabinet. The Parliament, is elected for four-year legislative terms and comprises 135 members who exercise legislative powers, approve the annual budget and control the action of the government. The President, who is chosen by Parliament from among its members, is in charge of the action of the executive. The President of the Generalitat is the ordinary representative of the Spanish State in Catalonia and is

politically responsible to Parliament. The cabinet performs executive functions and is made up of ministers in charge of different departments or ministries. There are normally about twelve of these though the number can vary from one legislature to another. The other bodies which make up of the Generalitat include the Consell Consultiu (consultative council), the Sindicatura de Comptes (auditor general's office) and the Síndic de Greuges or ombudsman's office.

The Statute of Autonomy grants the Catalan Generalitat both legislative and executive jurisdiction over a wide range of fields: organization of the institutions of self-government; development of Catalan civil law; culture; the historic, artistic, monumental, architectural, archaeological and scientific heritage; archives, libraries, and museums; city planning, public works, roads, railways, ports and airports; tourism; use of water resources; landowners associations, chambers of commerce, industry and navigation; social welfare, health, youth affairs, women's rights, sports, recreation, the performing arts, and many others. Jurisdiction in some of these areas, however, is shared with other levels of government. Also of great importance are those areas of jurisdiction in which the function of the Generalitat is to develop and implement the basic legislation of the central government. These include education, credit, banking and insurance, mining, energy, and environmental protection.

The lower levels of the public administration in Catalonia are made up of *ajuntaments* (boroughs), *consells comarcals* (regional councils operating at the level of *comarques*), and *diputacions* or provincial authorities. The law lays down the following criteria on the basis of which jurisdiction is to be assigned to the boroughs: decentralization, the greatest possible proximity of management to the citizen, the management capacity of municipal administrations, and the principle of the equal access of citizens to public services. The *comarques*, on the other hand, are responsible for services which are supra-municipal in nature and for areas of municipal jurisdiction delegated to them by the boroughs. The provincial *diputacions* are basically concerned with intermunicipal coordination, support and cooperation throughout the province, and with the direct provision of certain services at a level above that of the *comarques*.

1.3. The Catalan Language

The basis of the Catalan cultural identity is the Catalan language which evolved from vulgar Latin and spread, during the Middle Ages, through part of the territory ruled by the Crown of Aragon. The map of the Catalan language is made up of Catalonia itself, the Balearic Islands, Valencia and a small strip of Aragon (all in Spain), as well as Andorra, the greater part of the Pyrénées Orientales in southern France and the town of L'Alguer on the Italian island of Sardinia. The area has a total population of 10 million, of whom it is estimated that approximately 6 million speak Catalan.

Languages have a high symbolic content related to national identity, which is why the history of languages is so closely linked to the political and social evolution of their respective countries. The Catalan language has had a difficult and stormy history, and this accounts, to a large degree, for the different extents to which it is known and used in various parts of the area defined above. Explicit radical political obstacles, including prohibition of its use in public communications and official activities and its exclusion from school curricula, hindered its free development for long periods. Thus, in contrast to other languages which have remained alive to the present day thanks to state support, considerable delays occurred in the process of establishing the normal use of Catalan. For example, Catalan had no dictionary or rules of spelling until the beginning of the 20th century whereas in other languages such matters had been settled much earlier. This may also explain the low degree of use and knowledge of the language in certain parts of the Catalan linguistic area.

The sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia underwent sweeping changes during the Franco régime as a result a large influx of immigrants from other regions of Spain. Since this occurred at a time when the Catalan language was prohibited by the dictatorship, especially in the media and the schools, opportunities to learn Catalan were non existent. By the end of this period the survival of Catalan was severely threatened and the

risk of social strife between the two language groups who shared the same territory was being discussed.

Today, as the table below shows, virtually the entire population understands Catalan. About three-quarters of the inhabitants of Catalonia can speak and read it, while almost half can write it. It should be noted that the increases that are observed from year to year mainly affect the youngest age groups. Thus, for example, more than half the population between the ages of 10 and 20 say they are able to write Catalan.

Table 1. Knowledge of Catalan (1986, 1991 and 1996). Population of Catalonia aged two years and over.

	1986		1991		1996	
	Inhabitants	%	Inhabitants	%	Inhabitants	%
Understand	5,287,200	90.3	5,577,855	93.8	**5,583,237**	**93.3**
Speak	3,747,813	64.0	4,065,841	68.3	**4,506,512**	**75.3**
Read	3,542,012	60.5	4,019,276	67.6	**4,330,251**	**72.4**
Write	1,844,493	31.5	2,376,201	39.9	**2,743,326**	**45.8**

Source: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya. 1986, 1991 and 1996 population censuses.

This evolution has for the most part been due the development of the linguistic *normalization*[1] policy which was unanimously endorsed in 1983 by all Catalan political parties with parliamentary representation with a view to guaranteeing harmonious relations between all the citizens of Catalonia regardless of language. The Llei de Normalització Lingüística (Linguistic Normalization Act) was updated at the beginning of 1998, following intensive social and political debate, and was passed by a clear majority in the Parliament of Catalonia. This Act, which takes as its point of departure the precarious situation in

[1]. Translator's note. The term *normalization* in Catalan sociolinguistics refers to the restoration of Catalan to all spheres of normal use and not to the standardization of grammar, spelling etc.

which the Catalan language found itself, aims primarily at ensuring the full presence of Catalan in all spheres of life: schools, government, the media, etc. This law has been the framework of reference for the language policy followed by the Catalan Generalitat and by the local authorities, coordinated by the Consorci de Normalització Lingüística de Catalunya (Linguistic Normalization Consortium of Catalonia). Thus, as the situation of Catalan has not yet reached total normality in fields such as the press, radio and television, and in certain areas of the administration, the Linguistic Normalization Act is still founded on two basic principles reached by consensus in 1983: to promote the Catalan language and to guarantee a climate of social harmony.

2. NOTES FOR A HISTORY OF CATALAN CULTURE

2.1. The origins

Catalonia is a country with an important Roman substratum, a land through which many cultures and peoples -Greeks, Phoenicians, Iberians, Visigoths, and Moslems- have passed and where they have intermingled. At the end of the 8th century, the Carolingians began to cross the Pyrenees to create the so-called Marca Hispanica or Spanish March which marked the borderline of the territory dominated by the Moslems. In 988, when the Count of Barcelona broke off relations with the Frankish King, Catalonia began to emerge as an independent political and institutional unit within feudal society. The 12th century saw the establishment of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation which was to launch a major territorial expansion during the following centuries, conquering territories including Majorca (1229), the kingdom of Valencia (1233-45), Sicily (1282), Sardinia (1323), and Naples (1443). During this period the power of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean facilitated the growth of trade and this in turn had favourable repercussions on urban life which derived vitality from the activity of craftsmen organized in guilds. During the second half of the 13th century, the first public institutions took shape, especially at municipal level, taking on distinctive forms of political organization which were to last till the early 18th century. In the late Middle Ages, Catalonia was affected by a severe demographic, social, economic, political and dynastic crisis which had grave consequences during the following centuries.

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 when important works of poetry and prose were written (historical chronicles, philosophy,

theology, and so on). An outstanding figure of this period was the Majorcan writer and thinker Ramon Llull who won considerable international renown. Nevertheless, it was in the 14th century that the golden age of Catalan literature began. During this time the language attained a high degree of perfection and works of great artistic quality were produced. The city of Valencia, which was the capital of the Confederation during the 15th century, contributed many of the most outstanding literary figures of the century.

It was during the Middle Ages, thanks to the development of the Catalan language and the organization of an autochthonous political and social structure, that the foundations of Catalan national identity took shape. It was an age of great activity and cultural and artistic growth both in Catalonia and in the other confederated kingdoms that made up the Crown of Aragon. High technical and aesthetic standards were achieved in almost every field of culture, and some works achieved fame in artistic circles throughout Europe. This cultural activity revolved around the major power centres of the period: the King and his court; the municipal corporations -known as the Consell de Cent, or Council of One Hundred, in Barcelona, or the Paeria in Lleida-; the Church; and the guilds.

Thus, for example, musical events in Catalonia took place at the monastery and cathedral schools and at the royal Court, which drew musicians and instrumentalists from other major centres in the Iberian peninsula and from Europe. At the same time, the musical and poetic creations of the troubadours begin to make a place for themselves alongside official and ecclesiastical art. The first dramatic performances with a musical accompaniment, such as mystery plays and *consuetes*, were closely linked to the liturgy. There was also secular drama with itinerant troupes of minstrels putting on shows and short comedies, probably mostly in streets and squares. Some of these and other musical and dramatic pieces, which constitute a basic feature of Catalonia's cultural heritage, have now been recovered and revived.

A large number of works of architecture and art which are representative of the period have also been preserved. These include examples of

Romanesque and Gothic art of great interest and quality from the 11 to 13th and 13 to 15th centuries respectively. Most of the surviving Romanesque art is religious in nature, consisting basically of monasteries and churches, many of which are in the countryside. A rich and diverse artistic heritage has also been preserved, including sculptures, illuminated manuscripts, murals and paintings on wooden panels, etc. Economic and territorial expansion brought with it the advent of the Gothic period from which numerous works have also survived: paintings, sculptures and religious buildings (Cistercian monasteries, Dominican and Franciscan convents in the cities, cathedrals, churches, etc.). Major civic constructions (palaces, the homes of government institutions, trade exchanges, shipyards, etc.) have also been conserved.

Much later, from the mid-19th century onwards, the recovery of the entire cultural heritage of the Middle Ages would become the cornerstone on which the cultural and national identity of Catalonia would be rebuilt. The political and economic setbacks which Catalonia suffered from the end of the Middle Ages until the beginning of the industrial era resulted in the decadence of elite culture. But among the popular classes, the language and cultural tradition survived, both because they were deeply rooted in society and because the medieval municipal, guild, and ecclesiastical structures remained intact until the beginning of the 18th century.

2.2. The modern age

The dawn of the modern age found Catalonia in a state of economic and social decadence. Its political power was gradually being eroded by the growing centralization which favoured Castile, the region chosen by the Spanish monarchy and its court. This process started to become a bone of contention from the mid-16th century onwards, a prime example being the Guerra dels Segadors (War of the Reapers) (1640-1652). It culminated in the Spanish War of Succession (1701-1714). When the war ended, the Nova Planta Decree (1716) was approved, entailing the loss of Catalonia's sovereignty and the suppression of its institutions, as

well as the obligatory use of the Spanish language at official level. A phase marked by the absolutism and centralism of the Bourbon monarchy had begun, and this in turn caused the collapse of the feudal modes of production and the traditional craft structures. At the same time, however, there was a revival of economic activity: the Catalan population practically doubled during the 18th century and the upward swing in foreign trade was consolidated, particularly in the form of commerce with the American colonies which was officially authorized in 1778, although it had been re-established de facto some years earlier.
With the transfer of the court to Castile and the rise of Spanish as the language of culture, Catalan writers began to write in Spanish as well as in Catalan and even exclusively in Spanish. Thus, at a time when the great European literatures were developing and dictionaries and grammars were appearing, the Catalan language was immersed in a period of decline during which the influence of Spanish was strong and works of literary creation, such as novels, had virtually disappeared. Throughout the 18th century, though certain literary events still took place, Catalan survived mainly among the popular classes while Spanish became the predominant language in the academic and literary worlds.

Catalonia also lost the centres of musical creation that had formed around the court. Catalan musicians had the choice between pursuing their activities in Catalonia at places such as the school run by the monastery of Montserrat or spending part of their lives abroad at the courts of European kings and princes.

The absolute monarchy exercised a limiting and controlling function over many cultural initiatives. Thus theatrical performances in Barcelona during these years were strictly confined to the Teatre de la Santa Creu (1603) which held a royal patent granted to the Hospital of the same name. Initially the theatre was hired out to companies whose repertoire consisted almost exclusively of works by Castilian authors. However it was also in this theatre, the only one Barcelona possessed for decades, that the city's opera tradition was born in the 18th century when Italian companies were engaged to perform there.

The newspaper, *Diario de Barcelona*, was also published for the first time in 1792 by virtue of a royal patent, this time granted to a person from the *Diario de Madrid*. This, however, was not the first initiative to take place in Catalonia in the field of the press: as early as 1641 a Barcelona printer had issued a weekly *Gazeta* which is considered the first such publication in Spain.

In short, Catalonia at this period was a mere backwater, in cultural terms. Suffice it to recall that the capitals which were the cradles of the foremost European monarchies were acquiring prestige at the time through the creation of great cultural institutions such as the British Museum (1753), the Louvre (1791), or the Prado (1819). For Catalonia, in contrast, the beginning of the 18th century was marked by the prohibition of the country's own institutions and language and by the quest for a solution to the long drawn out social and economic crisis of the preceding centuries. It was against this background that Catalan society absorbed the keynotes and influences of the artistic and philosophical movements of the European enlightenment, many of which were introduced by all those agents and other persons who pursued activities related to foreign countries (merchants, military officers, etc.)

From this new situation, with a new set of references, new forms of action in the cultural sphere also arose. The Reial Acadèmia de les Bones Lletres (Royal Academy of Letters) and the Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts (Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts) were founded in 1729 and 1764 respectively. Also of great importance were the activities of the Junta de Comerç (Board of Trade), set up in 1763 in response to the need to stimulate and restore normality to economic life, especially trade with America. The Junta was a source of initiatives with important long-term effects. One was the creation of the Escola de Nobles Arts to meet the demand for industrial designers (this school gave rise to today's Escola de Belles Arts de Barcelona de la Llotja). Another was the Museu de Pintures de la Junta, from which the Museu de l'Acadèmia Provincial de Belles Arts evolved. These structures, which originated in enlightened and business circles, constituted, among other things, the platform from which the cultural renaissance (or Renaixença) would

arise in the 19th century following the fall of the old régime 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 political and institutional events in Spain which oscillated, as time went by, between quite different conceptions of the structure of society and the role of the state: absolutist, liberal, progressive, Carlist, moderate, democratic, republican, federalist, anarchist, socialist, etc. When the absolutist old regime came to an end on the death of Ferdinand VII, many royal privileges disappeared, including those associated with the theatre and the press, and the university returned to Barcelona (1837). Against this background, the process of industrialization advanced in Catalonia, bringing in its wake important demographic changes (an increase in the population, especially that of the cities), social innovations (the appearance of the first workers' societies, the first general strike in Barcelona in 1855, etc.); technological developments (the installation of the first steam engine in 1805, the opening of the Barcelona to Mataró railway line).

During the second half of the century, Catalan society began to express some dissatisfaction with Spanish politics, which seemed to fail to respond to Catalonia's needs. Catalonia was the leader of an optimistic, industrial, bourgeois periphery which contrasted with an eminently rural Castile characterized by pessimism (over the loss of most of Spain's colonies in the course of the century) and an aristocratic outlook. The mid-19th century saw the blossoming of the Catalan cultural rebirth, or *Renaixença*, a movement associated with Romanticism whose objective was to rediscover and stimulate the Catalan language and culture as symbols of collective identity. Thus a specifically Catalan political project began to evolve, the seed of the political "Catalanism" which, in the 20th century, would come to fruition in the shape of two experiments in self-government prior to the present one: the union of the four Catalan provincial *diputacions* to form the Mancomunitat de Catalunya

(1914-1925) and the reestablishment of the Generalitat de Catalunya (1932-1939).

The early 20th century was a period during which the new political structures made it possible for Catalonia to organize its own public cultural services, while at the same time the private sector was also playing a decisive role in Catalan cultural life. Associations and organizations were set up, providing Catalan society with a solid base and actively promoting artistic infrastructures and events. Many cultural initiatives received support from important patrons and the first companies were founded in the cultural industry sector and the media (the press, publishing, records, film production).

The policies of the Catalan Mancomunitat focused on putting into practice the ideal of the *noucentista* movement: that of endowing with country with firm structures, many of which (in the fields of communications, education, culture, etc.) survive to this day. The action of the Mancomunitat in the cultural sphere is considered the first instance of an overall, coordinated cultural policy in the history of Spain. One noteworthy outcome of this project was the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Institute of Catalan Studies), created in 1907 to promote high-level scientific research into Catalan culture and to achieve a situation of academic normality for the Catalan language through the publication of the *Diccionari Ortogràfic* (1917) and the *Diccionari General* (1932).

It was also during this period that public action in the fields of the cultural heritage and libraries took shape. There had been precedents in the mid-19th century when the first steps were taken towards organizing the first provincial libraries and museums in Spain. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, the situation in which these services found themselves was marked by insufficient resources and a minimal organizational structure. The reaction was aimed in two directions. In the field of museums and the heritage, the Junta de Museus i Belles Arts de Barcelona (Board of Museums and Fine Arts of Barcelona was set up in 1902. In the field of libraries, the Biblioteca de Catalunya (Library of Catalonia) and Escola de Bibliotecàries (School of Librarians) were

founded in 1915, and steps were taken, in collaboration with social department of a savings bank, to set up and organize a network of popular libraries.

The Mancomunitat was abolished by General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923-28) and it was not until 1931, during the Second Spanish Republic, that self-government returned with the re-establishment of the Catalan Generalitat. The Statute of Autonomy granted the Generalitat wide-ranging powers, although, in practice, it was prevented from consolidating its activity by the widespread social unrest of the period, which culminated in its suspension during the *Bienni Negre* ("two black years", 1934-36) and the Civil War (1936-39). This unrest, for instance, hindered implementation of the Llei del Servei de Biblioteques, Arxius, Museus i Patrimoni Històric. This law, governing the Libraries, Archives, Museums, and Historical Heritage Service, was passed in 1934 and forced the authorities to adopt extraordinary measures during the Civil War, such as the creation of a Commissariat in charge of preserving and safeguarding Catalonia's historic and artistic heritage. Clear evidence of the sensitivity of the Generalitat's policies towards culture lies in the creation of a Ministry of Culture in 1932, the first instance of the organization of such a ministry anywhere in Europe.

Cultural activity fostered by associations and non-profit organizations complemented, and frequently even led, this work in the public interest. Of particular note were the considerable efforts devoted to recovering the heritage of traditional culture. The impulse given by the *Renaixença* was continued by action in three main directions: conservation (for example, the compilation of 40,000 songs by the Obra del Cançoner Popular), study and dissemination. To this end a social movement arose which endowed the area of popular culture with new structures based on organizations, associations, festive gatherings, contests, etc, with the ultimate goal of revitalizing these traditions as a symbol of cultural identity. The activity of the associations of the period proved both fruitful and varied in other fields too and groups such as athenaeums,

Patronats[2], rambling groups with scientific goals, and the scout movement, underwent considerable growth.

Musical activity took place mainly around private institutions and initiatives. A event of prime importance, in view the city's long-standing operatic tradition, was the creation of the opera house, the Gran Teatre del Liceu (1847), which kept pace with the latest developments on the international ballet and opera scene. Later on, in 1908, the Orfeó Català choral society built a concert hall, the Palau de la Música Catalana. The Liceu and the Palau were to be the main settings for musical performances in Barcelona in the following years. Private organizations such as the Orquestra Pau Casals (1920) played a leading part in developing the musical repertory while many concerts were organized by the Associació Obrera de Concerts (1926) (Workers' Concert Association).

The activity of businessmen and industrialists in the field of culture began to develop in the normal way following the fall of the old régime -an event which brought about the abolition of royal privileges, the recognition of the freedom of publishers, etc.-, the industrialization of Catalonia, and the growth of Catalan cities. Thus, for example, after the Teatre de la Santa Creu lost its monopoly, the number of theatres in Barcelona rose sharply. Between 1850 and 1930, as the city itself expanded, more than twenty theatres were founded. This process was accompanied by a gradual increase in the presence of the Catalan language in public life, as is shown by the number of theatrical performances in Catalan, many of which were extremely successful.

This same evolution was fairly widespread in all sectors of the cultural industries. Thus, many publishing companies were founded in the second half of the 19th century and took over much of the publishing activity in the Spanish language. Many of these firms still exist and bear witness to the importance of the publishing sector in Catalonia. A large number of books, both original works and translations, were also

---

[2]. Translator's note. Literally "boards" (in this case set up to protect or foster some cultural activity or aspect of the cultural heritage).

published in Catalan, to such an extent that by the end of the 1920s a Catalan book fair was held in Madrid at which 6,000 volumes were on show. In the field of the press, the change-over from manual to industrial printing also took place following the abolition of the royal patent granted to the *Diario de Barcelona*. New periodicals, as well a numerous cultural, humorous and political publications, began to appear. It was not until the end of the 19th century, however, that the first periodical publications in Catalan were consolidated.

The new cultural industries of the 20th century were quick to establish themselves in Barcelona. The cinema made its appearance at the end of the 19th century, causing veritable excitement among the public instead of being a mere object of scientific curiosity, as at first. Between 1910 and 1915, as the first movie theatres were created in Barcelona, the cinema became something more than a fair ground attraction. In the thirties the first professional production companies and film studios were established. The recording industry was also present in Barcelona in these early years when the first gramophone records were produced in Catalonia. An important multinational record company, which set up operations in Barcelona in 1915, would remain the leading Spanish record producer for many years. The official presence of the radio in Catalonia began in 1924 with the establishment of Ràdio Barcelona. This medium was extremely active during the thirties when numerous programmes in Catalan were broadcast.

In short, the extraordinary dynamism of Catalonia at this time represented the culmination of a long process during which Catalonia became increasingly open to the outside world, both socially and culturally. This process made it possible, simultaneously, to fulfil two goals: on the one hand, Catalonia was reunited with its identity and tradition, and on the other, the structure and the agents of cultural and political action were renewed. This trend coincided with a phase of remarkable artistic creativity and vitality, which is clearly revealed in the achievements of Gaudí, Picasso, Miró and Dalí, all artists of undisputed international renown in the fields of architecture and the fine arts.

2.4. The Franco Dictatorship

The long dictatorship of General Franco (1939-75) entailed the loss of Catalonia's democratic rights and political autonomy: the Catalan self-governing institutions were abolished and the use of the Catalan language prohibited. During the first twenty years of the regime Spain was subjected to strict international isolation and economic autarchy. Repression was at its harshest and clandestine activity was rife. In the sixties an economic revival took place and, though the regime was not democratic, it became somewhat less rigid and certain activities and events were tolerated. Finally, with the death of the dictator, the path was open to the democratization of Spain, a process which materialized in the adoption of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the establishment of the new Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia in 1979.

The Franco regime prohibited the Catalan language and severely limited the right of association. The political and cultural forces of Catalonia reacted to this situation by entering a period of fierce, stubborn resistance both in clandestinity, from within the country, and abroad, where numerous intellectuals, politicians, and other personalities were living in exile. The consequences, both for the continuation of the task of restoring the Catalan language to normal use and for the survival and renewal of the numerous associations, were grave.

Basic public services in the field of culture were managed by the local authorities, especially Barcelona city council, which was responsible for running and financing the museums, and by the *diputació* of the province of Barcelona. For forty years, the museums, archives, and libraries were maintained with very limited resources, largely thanks to the efforts of the Catalan local administrations. In many Catalan towns and villages, initiatives aimed at the creation of museums were launched in an attempt to safeguard the country's heritage.

A new development in the music field was the creation of the Orquestra Ciutat de Barcelona by Barcelona city council. Despite this, the organization of musical events, both concerts and operatic performances, remained basically in private hands during this period. Jazz, which had

enjoyed considerable popularity in Barcelona during the thirties, did not return to normal until the sixties when new venues were created, certain outstanding groups and soloists emerged, and, later on, schools where jazz could be studied were set up. Another phenomenon was the appearance of the Nova Cançó (New Song) movement. Made up of singers who wrote their own songs and whose aim was clearly to mobilize the population politically and culturally, it drew mass audiences. As for pop and rock music, the Franco regime kept the whole of Spain outside the major international tour circuits and the general public got to know this type of music through Spanish versions mostly promoted by radio stations.

Most of the theatrical works staged were by commercial provincial touring companies from Madrid and many theatres were converted into cinemas. Drama in Catalan was virtually non existent. From time to time one-off performances took place, and an independent amateur or semi-professional Catalan theatre began gradually to take shape which was to be the origin of many of the companies that would become established in the eighties.

Most of the cultural industries which survived the Civil War resumed their activities though in some cases the commercial decision-making centres shifted to Madrid. Products in Catalan were prohibited and disappeared from the market until the sixties, at which time a very limited liberalization of the regime occurred. Thus, for example, the powerful Catalan publishing industry began to produce again in Spanish, largely in response to export demand from Latin America. Though a few books in Catalan were published from time to time, it was not until the end of the fifties that publishers specializing mainly in Catalan books began to get organized.

The pre-Civil War film studios in Barcelona resumed their activities until they were destroyed by fire in 1961. It was here that most of Catalonia's film-making activity took place, though most of the projects were initiated outside Catalonia. Few feature films were made by Catalan production companies and/or mainly by technical and artistic personnel residing in Catalonia. Between 1948 and 1976, 17 movies

were made. In 1977 a great leap forward took place with the production of 21 films.

The greater part of the Spanish record industry was located in Barcelona where major national and international companies were based. This situation lasted until Spanish record producers were hit by a major crisis and those dependent on the major international groups who controlled the greater part of the market moved to Madrid. The press and radio were subject to the control and censorship of the regime. Government owned television appeared as the great medium of the masses at the end of the fifties. During the following decade Televisión Española created a production and broadcasting centre in Barcelona and it was from here that first programmes in Catalan would be made.

For Catalan culture the event which marked the end of the Franco régime was the Congrés de Cultura Catalana (1975-77) which got underway a few months before the death of the dictator. Its purpose, after almost forty years of dictatorship, was to provide the opportunity for society to discuss and reflect openly upon the situation of Catalan culture and its future prospects. Already consideration was being given to the cultural role and policy to be played, in that future, by the government of the Generalitat de Catalunya whose formation was being called for.

2.5. Democracy

Following the death of the dictator at the end of 1975, the way to the articulation of the democratic, social and constitutional State currently in force was open: the Spanish Constitution was enacted in 1978 and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy in 1979. As concerns culture, the challenge lay in designing and deploying public policies of intervention in this field.

The gradual increase in government intervention in the different cultural sectors has been an important contribution to the effort aimed at creativity, democratization and modernization. During an initial

phase, local government provided key leadership in the renewal and "invention" of cultural services and policies. At the same time, the lengthy transformation of the political and administrative structures of the state got underway with the transfer of jurisdiction from the central government to the autonomous communities. Thus, the Catalan government's Department of Culture and the Media was created in May 1980. This far-reaching political, and not merely administrative, process of decentralization commenced in the early eighties with the transfer of certain responsibilities from the Spanish Ministry of Culture to the Basque and Catalan governments and was completed in 1986 in the other regions.

As a result of this decentralization, the autonomous governments now draw up and implement cultural policies in their respective territories in areas such as the heritage, museums, libraries, archives, promotion of the performing arts, and cultural industries. The cultural services closest to the citizen, on the other hand, are managed by the local authorities. The legislation explicitly includes libraries in the list of the minimum services which boroughs are obliged to provide in localities with more than 5000 inhabitants. The functions exercised by the Ministry of Culture have focused basically on managing its own facilities, helping to support Spain's leading artistic institutions and companies and its cultural industries, passing basic legislation on special issues, and developing a policy of cultural cooperation between autonomous communities and with foreign countries. It should be remembered, however, that the legislation does not draw a clear line between the functions of the different levels of government. As a result, numerous jurisdictional conflicts have arisen during the past few years. Since the present constitutional system stipulates that culture cannot be exclusively assigned to any particular level of government, it is possible for the different administrations to compete to provide the same services. During the past few years, the cultural policy of Catalonia has focused to a great extent on the construction of the basic cultural facilities of the country. This priority aims to overcome the lack of cultural investment during the years of the dictatorship and to the desire to endow Catalonia with "normal" cultural infrastructures and major national facilities. A considerable number of major facilities have either been recently

opened, are under construction or are currently in the pipeline: Centre de Cultural Contemporània de Barcelona, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Arxiu Nacional (National Archive), Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Archive of the Crown of Aragon), Auditori Nacional, Teatre Nacional, Museu d'Història de Catalunya, and the new home of the Teatre Lliure. A further major project now to be added to the list is the reconstruction of the Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcelona's opera house, which burned down 1994.

The idea of the reconstruction and modernization of the production and dissemination structures in the different cultural sectors affected all cultural activities in Catalonia in the 1980s: improved availability of training centres, professionalization of company managers and cultural institutions, renovation of their technical and material resources, etc. Generally speaking, there has been a very broad consensus as to the goal of "normalizing" cultural activities, while correcting shortfalls inherited from the past, and getting ready to face up to the challenges of the future.

3. CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT IN CATALONIA

3.1. Introduction

There are many factors which can have a decisive effect on the relationship between culture and development: training, government action, civil society, industry, identity, diversity, tradition, innovation, creativity, etc. Analysis of the cultural scene in Catalonia highlights the importance of some of these factors.

The existence of a national reality without a corresponding State is the main conditioning factor to be borne in mind when studying the relationship between culture and development in Catalonia.

The lack of signs of identity arising from the non-existence of a State causes greater attention to be paid to the promotion and conservation of alternative expressions of identity. In the case of Catalonia, these expressions are basically the culture and the language. This is why national consciousness is to a large extent based on a cultural and linguistic specificity and is likewise the factor which arouses interest in the conservation of this specificity.

As a result of this relationship between culture and national identity, there is a special public and collective sensitivity to autochthonous culture in Catalonia. Nevertheless, the strong relationship between cultural development and the need to maintain and strengthen certain signs of national identity also gives rise to a particular cultural model. Thus, in the dilemma between tradition and innovation, tradition usually comes out on top and there is a danger of a certain exclusiveness, of prejudice towards anything not native to the country.

Catalan cultural identity is the result of the convergence and evolution of many factors. At the present time there is a dialectical relationship

between this cultural identity, shaped in the course of many centuries, and diversity. Identity and diversity are contrary, though not necessarily contradictory, notions. Today, Catalonia is culturally pluralistic, and this diversity is manifested in two basic ways: in the coexistence between native Catalans and Catalans born outside of Catalonia (which makes up the bilingual reality of Catalonia), and the gradual introduction of foreign cultural products, as a result of the present globalization process. The migrations of the sixties brought about important changes in the social and cultural structure of Catalonia. These changes affect present-day Catalonia in many different ways, language being the most important. Bilingualism is an important component of the Catalan cultural situation. In a Europe where one of the great current topics of debate is the opposition between the usefulness of a common language and the preservation of diversity, Catalonia is a good example of harmonious social relations and mutual respect between language groups. Not surprisingly, the coexistence between one of the world's most widely spoken tongues and a minority language has been the cause of much strife over the centuries. Today, these conflicts are being steadily overcome thanks to the civically-minded determination of the majority to avoid splitting Catalan society on the basis of language and also to the implementation of government policies which aim to ensure the normal use of both languages while providing special protection for Catalan.

On the other hand, the growing presence of products from large multinational cultural industries (mostly in the field of audiovisuals and music) is causing widespread changes in the cultural practices of Catalans and results in a steady inflow of forms of expression from other cultures. This process, in turn, results -as in other countries- in the emergence of new signs of identity of a "glocal" ("global + local") nature. These arise, on the one hand, from the gradual "localization" of everything "global" and, on the other, from the wish to endow all elements of the "local" identity with global status.

The effects of all these changes on present-day Catalonia are numerous, as is to be expected of such a complex reality. The coexistence of different identities generates new identities which take

shape as a result of different processes -creativity, innovation, interbreeding, influence, integration, resistance, etc. All these variants are to be found in Catalonia but, apart from observing the ensuing plurality, we as yet lack the necessary perspective to determine which are the dominant processes.

3.2. Culture and the public sector

In spite of the vitality of Catalan civil society and the sensitivity it has always shown towards culture, especially during periods when national and democratic rights had been lost, today it is the public sector which is financing and guaranteeing the conservation and dissemination of numerous expressions of Catalan culture.

Increased government internventionism is one of the most striking changes to take place in Catalonia in recent years in the field of cultural action. A culture which, despite countless problems, has distinguished itself, in the past, by its ability to survive in situations of adversity - and indeed has known some of its most creative periods under the most unfavourable conditions - today relies to a remarkable extent on public financing. This applies to most sectors, but more especially to those concerned with conservation of the cultural heritage, providing sociocultural services and reading materials, producing and disseminating the performing arts and music, and movie production. Though such a model may be a sign of "normality", it also implies, as in other countries, a serious danger of "politicization" and "bureaucratization" of culture.

Total public expenditure on culture in Spain increased considerably during the eighties. The estimated figure for 1993 was 333,297.6 million pesetas which can be broken down as follows: 44.9% was spent by local authorities, 9.3% by provincial *diputaciones*, 26.2% by the governments of autonomous communities, and 19.6% by the central government. The major role played by subcentral governments in questions of culture is quite evident from these statistics.

National cultural policy in Catalonia is under the jurisdiction of the Catalan Generalitat which has taken on responsibility in all areas, as laid down by the Statute of Autonomy: the historical and artistic heritage, archives and libraries, museums, traditional culture, drama, dance, music, films and videos, publishing, the arts, the press and language policy. The growing importance of the role played by the Generalitat's Department of Culture in the cultural life of Catalonia can be seen in the rise in its expenditure from 94 million pesetas in 1980 to 22,866.3 million pesetas in 1996.

The total amount spent by the different levels of government in Catalonia in 1995 –including local governments and the Generalitat, but excluding the central government- was 8.831 pesetas per inhabitant.

Table 2. Cultural expenditure of the different levels of government in Catalonia (1995) (1)

	Thousands of Ptas.	**%**	**Ptas/ inhabitant**
Catalan Generalitat (2)	17,262.2	32.3	2,849
Provincial *Diputaciones*	5,566.8	10.4	919
Municipalities	30,678.0	57.3	5,064
- Localities with over 50,000 inh.	15,093.0	28.2	4,323
- Localities with less than 50,000 inh.	15,585.0	29.1	6,069
TOTAL	**53,505.0**	**100.0**	**8,831**

Source: Departament de Cultura. Generalitat de Catalunya (1997), *Estadístiques culturals de Catalunya. 1995.*

(1) These data refer to expenditure following transfers between the different administrations.
They do not include the cultural expenditure of the *Consells Comarcals*.
They do not include expenditure on language policy.

(2) The budget for language policy of the Department of Culture of the Catalan Generalitat in 1995 was 2,275.5 million pesetas.

In 1995, the Catalan Generalitat contributed 32.3% of the total cultural expenditure of the Catalan administrations. This figure shows the consolidation of its role in the development of national cultural policy in Catalonia. However, it is the municipalities who spend the largest amount of public funds on culture: 5,064 pesetas per inhabitant.

The overall picture of public outlay on culture in Catalonia is completed by the expenditure of the Ministry of Culture, whose role today is complementary to that of regional and local government. Thus, the average annual cultural expenditure of the central government in Catalonia (excluding music, the performing arts and the cinema) amounts to approximately 1,250 million pesetas. This represents an average of about 200 pesetas per inhabitant / year.

Table 3. Territorial breakdown of the cultural expenditure of the Ministry of Culture (cumulative expenditure for the period 1993-1996) (1)

	Million Ptas.	**%**	**Ptas/ inhab.**
Catalonia	5,207.3	2.8	860
Madrid	95,422.3	51.2	19,287
Other autonomous communities	29,179.1	15.6	1,047
Central services	28,098.0	15.1	723
Non-territorialized expenditure (2)	20,209.0	10.8	520
Abroad	8,297.6	4.5	213
TOTAL	**186,413.3**	**100.0**	**4,795**

Source: Intervención General de la Administración del Estado (Office of the comptroller of the State administration)

(1) Excluding expenditure on music, performing arts and cinema.

(2) "Non-territorialized expenditure" includes items that corresponding to several autonomous communities or which cannot be territorialized because of their purpose.

The gap between the contribution of the Ministry of Culture to the autonomous communities of Catalonia and Madrid respectively is one of the most controversial issues in cultural policy. The central government allocates over half of its budget in the community of Madrid, where the capital of Spain is located. Catalonia, like the other autonomous communities, occupies a subsidiary position in terms of the Ministry's allocation of funds. This unequal treatment is particularly detrimental to the city of Barcelona, the second most highly populated city in Spain, which receives much less funding than Madrid from the central government budget to meet the costs inherent to its status as a cultural capital. Thus, approximately 80% of the funding for public cultural facilities in Madrid (museums, libraries, theatres and concert halls) comes from the Ministry of Culture. In Barcelona, the percentage is between 10% and 15%, which means that the local and regional administrations have to make a comparatively greater effort to cover the costs.

3.3. Culture and civil society

The private sector has traditionally been called upon in Catalonia to compensate for the lack of public involvement in the field of culture. This has given rise to a widespread network of cultural associations and created a certain sensitivity to culture on the part of civil society, which has been one of the mainsprings of the cultural development of Catalonia. The participation of civil society in culture today takes two main forms: associations and participation on the one hand, and sponsorship and patronage on the other.

Catalonia is a society with a long tradition of associations. Its level of economic development and the specific history of Catalan culture have stimulated the quest for forms of social organization outside the umbrella of government. Thus, at decisive moments in Catalan history, associations and foundations have enabled numerous cultural initiatives to take place. The sudden irruption of government into the field of culture following the arrival of democracy dealt a hard blow to cultural

organizations still weakened by forty years of dictatorship. As a result, many were severely disrupted and some even disappeared. Today, it seems that, thanks to a new balance between professional and volunteer work, the non-profit sector is undergoing a process of modernization and revitalization.

In 1990 there were a total of 4766 cultural organizations in Catalonia. It should be pointed out that it is not possible to differentiate between the different associations on the basis of the extent and scope of their activity and that the total therefore includes groups with very different degrees of vitality. In terms of fields of activity, there are 2346 sociocultural and recreational associations (collectors, amateur radio hams, human rights groups, environmental groups, women's groups, festival organizing committees, etc.), 1433 choral societies and associations devoted to traditional culture (dance troupes, *sardana* -dancing associations, groups of "devils", *castellers*, etc.)[3], 750 neighbourhood associations and 237 rambling clubs.

The number of cultural foundations officially registered in Catalonia in 1994 was 435. This figure represents more than one third of the total number of cultural foundations in Spain, a further sign of the importance of the non-profit private sector in Catalonia. However, not all these bodies are equally active: it is estimated that only about 30% of Catalan foundations have an annual budget for day-to-day activities exceeding 50 million pesetas. It should be noted that some of the most important are the foundations linked to banking organizations, particularly savings banks, whose have played a key role in Catalan cultural life in the past and down to the present day.

The adoption in 1994 of the new foundations act (Llei de fundacions i incentius fiscals a la participació privada en activitats d'interès general) offers fresh possibilities for development in this sector, as is reflected by the increase in the number of cultural activities sponsored by private companies.

---

[3]. Translator's note. For an explanation of these and other terms referring to Catalan popular culture, see note on page 48.

3.4. Cultural industries

In addition to the leading role played by government and the importance of the non-profit sector, another factor of cultural development warrants attention: the role of cultural industries. In 1994, the value added of the cultural and communication industries in Catalonia was estimated at 132,868.5 million pesetas, or 1.1% of the total gross value added of the Catalan economy for that year.

Table 4. Gross value added of the Catalan cultural and communication industries (1994)

	Production		Wholesale Distribution		Retail Trade		TOTAL	
	Million Ptas	%	Million Ptas	%	Million Ptas	%	Million Ptas	%
Books	49,260.0	85.5	2,858.0	5.0	5,508.0	9.5	**57,626.0**	**100.0**
Press	25,253.0	67.3	2,250.4	6.0	10,000.0	26.7	**37,503.4**	**100.0**
Records	1,748.4	38.9	750.6	16.7	2,000.0	44.4	**4,499.0**	**100.0**
Cinema and video	3,879.7	28.6	3,349.1	24.9	6,296.6	46.5	**13,545.4**	**100.0**
Public TV channels	14,847.0	100.0	(*)		(*)		**14,847.0**	**100.0**
Public radio stations	3,376.0	100.0	(*)		(*)		**3376.0**	**100.0**
Private radio stations	1,471.7	100.0	(*)		(*)		**1,471.7**	**100.0**
TOTAL	**99.835.8**	**75.1**	**9,228.1**	**6.9**	**23,804.6**	**17.9**	**132,868.5**	**100.0**

Note: (*) In the radio and television sectors, production and broadcasting are carried out by the same company. They have therefore been included under the "Production" heading, since it is not possible to differentiate between them.
Source: Departament de Cultura. Generalitat de Catalunya (1997), *Estadístiques culturals de Catalunya. 1995.*

This table shows that the most relevant feature of the structure of the culture and communications industries in Catalonia is the contrast between the strength of publishing (books and the press) and the

weakness of film and record production (sectors where wholesale distribution and retail sales prevail).

Generally speaking Catalonia has been, over the years, the gateway into Spain for cultural industries in their initial development phase. However, as time goes by these activities have become largely centralized in Madrid. The reasons for this evolution are diverse and complex, although several factors have had a decisive influence.

On the one hand, it must be borne in mind that record and audio-visual production and distribution are mainly in the hands of large multinational corporations all over the world. Most of these large corporations set up their headquarters for Spain in Madrid, the capital of the State. This is further reinforced, to a great extent, by the fact that many television channels are also located in Madrid, so that the city becomes the platform from which audiovisual products are launched onto the market.

On the other hand, publishing industries (including books and the press) are not so concentrated at international level as the audiovisual and record industries. This makes for a greater decentralization of production centres. In addition, marketing strategies for publications are less dependent on major television channels than in other cultural industries.

In the coming years, the culture and communications industries will have to face up to the dynamic restructuring process brought about by the new digital information technology. In the case of Catalonia, two prime factors will play a major part in meeting this challenge: on the one hand, the publishing sector (books and the press), which forms the core of the business fabric of the country's cultural industry and, on the other, Catalan public television, which is fundamental to the development of audiovisual activities.

4. CULTURAL SECTORS IN CATALONIA

4.1. The Cultural Heritage

A prime feature of Catalonia is the wealth and variety of its cultural heritage and the growing sensitivity of both government and society as a whole towards its protection. History and culture are signs of Catalan identity, and the cultural heritage is one of its most basic manifestations. Another characteristic trait is that a very significant part of the heritage belongs to the Church.

The cultural heritage is one of the areas in which government has been most active, the role played by the Generalitat and the local councils being of particular importance. Not to be overlooked, however, is, the role of civil society which takes the form of campaigns to heighten awareness about certain elements of the cultural heritage which are close to its immediate environment.

Public spending in Catalonia on the heritage and archaeology (excluding that of the Spanish Ministry of Culture) amounts to 2,744.5 million pesetas (4.81% of total public expenditure on culture).

The Generalitat's role has consisted primarily in drawing up legislation in this area: the Llei d'arxius (Archives Act), Llei de museus (Museums Act) and Llei del sistema bibliotecari de Catalunya (Library System Act), Llei de foment i protecció de la cultura popular i tradicional i de l'associacionisme cultural (Act for the promotion and protection of popular and traditional culture and cultural associations). An overall framework is provided by the Llei del Patrimoni Cultural Català (Catalan Cultural Heritage Act) passed in 1993.

This law is based on a broad conception of heritage which embraces moveable, immoveable and intangible features. On the basis of this concept, the law establishes three categories warranting protection: cultural objects of national interest (BCIN), registered objects, and other objects which form part of the broad conception of heritage.

A total of 1,846 objects have placed in the category receiving most protection (cultural objects of national interest).
Registered objects total 29,872. The Act provides that most of these are to be protected by local authorities and accordingly establishes the notion of "cultural objects of local interest".

The richness and variety of Catalonia's archaeological heritage deserves mention. Although a complete inventory has not yet been drawn up (three out of the 41 *comarques* remain to be covered), there are a total of 7,688 archaeological sites in Catalonia representing the cultures of all the peoples who have settled in the area. The most numerous are Roman sites, with 24.9% of the total.

Archives are another aspect of the cultural heritage in which action has been taken in recent years by means of legislation and other protective measures. Though there remain many "document warehouses" which need cataloguing in order to qualify as archives, Catalonia has 228 archives (based on a definition which includes only those where there is someone specifically in charge and where access and consultation are duly controlled and regulated). Almost half of these archives (46%) belong to local authorities. A total of 269,000 linear meters of documents are stored in all 228.

A major and relatively recent development has been the construction of new headquarters for the Arxiu Nacional (national archive) and the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (archive of the Crown of Aragon). The Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó is one of the few Catalan cultural infrastructures that is under the jurisdiction of the central government and its new premises represent an important step in the creation of major cultural facilities in Barcelona which is characteristic of the nineties.

The dissemination and promotion of the cultural heritage is another topic which should be highlighted, and which indeed is inseparable from its conservation. Collective awareness of the importance of conservation is basic to its success, and such awareness can only be awakened if citizens are familiar with the heritage through the dissemination of information about it. Evidence of this are the 337,649 visitors who in 1996 visited the 15 buildings administered by the Oficina de Gestió de Monuments (Historic Monuments Management Office) belonging to the Generalitat's Department of Culture. Foremost among these are the Royal Monastery of Santes Creus (88,985 visitors) and the Monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes (87,561 visitors). Nevertheless, according to a survey on the cultural habits of Catalans carried out in 1991, only 7.7% of those interviewed had visited a historic building in the last three months.

An all-embracing conception of the cultural heritage is gaining ground, whereby its protection and dissemination are linked to the general development of a territory, with special emphasis on its relationship with quality tourism. One of the expressions of this link is the growing, albeit insufficient, relevance of private funding for the restoration and recovery of the heritage: in 1994, the restoration of five national monuments raised 500 million pesetas from four private companies.

4.2. Museums

The museum sector in Catalonia is undergoing a process of decisive change characterized by the gradual application of the Llei de Museus (Museums Act) and by the opening and reopening of certain important museums.

The Museums Act of 1990 is shaping the new structure of the sector. Under this law the national museums will be the backbone of Catalonia's museum system. The law also provides for other types of museums: museums of national interest, local museums (at the level of *comarques* and municipalities), museums specializing in particular themes, and others.

The national museums are those which provide an overall view of Catalonia in some particular cultural sphere and whose services cover the entire country. The intention is to give these museums a decentralized structure so that they may have sections throughout Catalonia. This system, in addition to ensuring decentralization, would also meet the objective of coordinating various themes under the leadership of a national museum. Today there are three national museums: the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya and Museu de la Ciència i de la Tècnica de Catalunya.

The situation of large museums has undergone significant changes in the past few years. The Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC) and the Museu Nacional de la Ciència i la Tècnica reopened their most important sections in December 1995 and February 1996, respectively. In the case of the MNAC this meant that the general public had access to one of the most important collections of Romanesque art. In addition to these reopenings, which in practice resulted in two new museums, two other museums were opened in the same period: the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA) in December 1995, and the Museu d'Història de Catalunya in February 1996.

Catalonia has many museums. This is largely due to the vitality of Catalan civil society which, during the Franco era, created numerous collections and museums as a sign of cultural resistance and a way of asserting the Catalan collective identity. These initiatives were not, of course, part of any overall plan, and this resulted in a multiplicity of small, widely scattered museums. In Catalonia there are currently 255 museums, a very large number which cannot be attributed entirely to the wealth of the Catalan cultural heritage. In order to comprehend such an abundance, we must understand what is meant by museum. The Llei de Museus (Museums Act), of 1990, defines a highly restrictive concept whereby a clear distinction is drawn between a museum (a body which complies with the relevant legislation and is catalogued in the Registry of Museums) and a collection (which does not comply

with any of the requirements of the relevant legislation). Nevertheless, the Act has yet to be fully enforced, with only 49 museums catalogued in the Registry.

Government plays a fundamental role in the field of museums. For one thing, the Catalan Generalitat is in charge of organizing and legislating in this area, and for another, the great majority of museums in Catalonia are publicly owned.

The various levels of government (not counting the Spanish Ministry of Culture) spent 11,043.6 million pesetas on the museums of Catalonia in 1995. This amounted to 19,37% of public spending on culture. Despite the large number of small museums, most of the funding (over 50%) went to the larger institutions, basically those located in Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, Museu d'Història de Catalunya, Museu Picasso, etc.

Though a survey on cultural consumer habits and behaviour reveals that only 13.9% of Catalans visit museums, the figures reflecting the number of visitors are more encouraging: in 1996 a total of 7,967,259 people visited the museums of Catalonia. On the other hand, 50% went to the ten most frequently visited museums -Museu Picasso (822,647), Museu del Futbol Club Barcelona (721,451) and Museu Dalí (633.028).

4.3. Popular and Traditional Culture

Popular and traditional culture in Catalonia comprises a wide range of activities, events, and types of association and social movement which have evolved over the centuries. Many of them are not only alive but are acquiring fresh prestige, or undergoing renewal or reorganization. This varied assortment of cultural activities revolves around three basic ideas which are in fact closely interrelated: cultural identity, amateur artistic activity, and citizen participation.

Catalan traditional and popular culture has been, and remains today, a manifestation of national identity which is reflected both in aspects of

daily life -clothing, cookery, tools, crafts, etc.- and in popular festivals -dances and other types of performance, music, and so on. Many of the practices of traditional everyday life, made obsolete as a result of changes in the way of life of Catalan society, have been lost. Nevertheless, thanks to the effort and determination of individual and collective initiatives aimed at keeping the historic memory alive, many vestiges of this ethnological heritage have been preserved. Thus a wide range of craft-related materials, agricultural implements, clothing, games, and documents have been collected. For this purpose, the Department of Culture of the Catalan Generalitat started working on the Inventari Etnològic de Catalunya (Ethnological Inventory of Catalonia) in 1994.

In the field of popular festivals, the conservation process has been even more dynamic. Not only has information about various forms of traditional celebrations been compiled, classified and preserved but many of the festivals are still alive today, having being modified, readapted and in some case even reinvented. Each locality sees these festivals as its own and has absorbed them into its modern social life. These festive events are highly varied, featuring giants, dwarfs and mythical beasts, *trabucaires, moixigangues, falcons, castellers, correfocs,* dances, theatrical performances, and *sardana*-dancing[4]. Other

---

[4]. Translator's note. The different forms of Catalan traditional culture referred to can be described as follows.

Giants, dwarfs and *mythical beasts:* a reference to figures which are a traditional feature of many parades in Catalan popular festivals.
Trabucaires : characters in traditional costume armed with blunderbusses who take part in popular festivals in certain Catalan localities.
Moixigangues : groups of dancers accompanied by loud music who are a feature of certain traditional parades.
Falcons : groups of gymnasts who build graceful figures at festivals in certain regions of Catalonia. The custom was imported to Catalonia from Czechoslovakia.
Castells : human towers and pyramids built by groups of *castellers* at many traditional Catalan festivals. A traditional Catalan activity.
Correfoc : part of a traditional parade in which groups of participants, disguised as devils, run through the streets letting of fireworks.
Sardana: danse in which the dancers hold hands to form a circle. Considered the Catalan national dance.

festivals are organized around groups such as traditional dance troupes, bands, choirs, and groups devoted to other activities. From this multiplicity of cultural manifestations certain identifying features of Catalan popular culture can be singled out: fire, giants, *castells*, stick dances, *sardanes* and other dances. Festivals take place at different times of the year, as determined by the festive and religious calendar. Of special importance is the *Festa Major*, or main festival, which is celebrated in each town and village, however large or small, and even in the different neighbourhoods of large urban areas. A point worthy of mention is the increasing popularity of *castells*. Both in terms of participation (there are 57 groups of *castellers* at present) and of appeal to the general public and media coverage (news coverage and prime-time television broadcasts), the popularity of *castells* has increased more than any other festive activity in the past few years.

On a different level are the volunteer and amateur groups and organizations who practise various artistic activities such as film making, photography, drama, dancing, choral singing, jazz, rock and folk music, etc. These associations, some of which have clear structures while others are not, constitute the basis which enables amateurs to be initiated into these artistic activities and subsequently to practise them. In some cases, interest in the formation of such groups has resulted in a substantial rise in quality.

A further feature of popular culture in Catalonia is the range of cultural centres and associations which encourage citizen involvement and training in a wide variety of sociocultural activities. Such organizations include athenaeums, recreation centres, rambling groups, civic and cultural centres, the regional centres belonging to groups from other regions of Spain, and the still small associations of foreign immigrants. These groups form a broad, basic structure on which Catalan cultural life rests: they give rise to initiatives for fostering cultural vitality, they lend cohesion to organizations while ensuring the transmission of values related to culture and identity, they enable a variety of aspirations to find expression and produce results, and so on.

In 1993 the Parliament of Catalonia adopted the Llei de foment i protecció de la cultura popular i tradicional i de l'associacionisme cultural (Act for the promotion and protection of popular and traditional culture and cultural associations). This law lays down guidelines for the action of the authorities which, basically, must aim to preserve, protect, encourage, teach and disseminate popular and traditional culture and cultural associations. It provides for the possibility of declaring buildings, moveable objects and festivals which are part of the Catalan ethnological heritage to be of national interest. It also establishes the concept of associations which are in the cultural interest.

The Law also creates the Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana, an organization belonging to the Department of Culture of the Generalitat whose mission is to work towards and watch over the fulfilment of the Law's objectives.
The Second Congrés de Cultura Popular i Tradicional de Catalunya was held in March 1995 and April 1996. Its goal was to discuss the present situation and future prospects. The large number of visitors (15,400) and the lively debates bear witness to the vitality of the sector. Very briefly, the main conclusions were: the scope, significance and diversity of popular culture and the ethnological heritage of Catalonia and the need to improve training, research and communication in this area.

4.4. Libraries

The field of libraries has always been one of those in which government has been most active. Furthermore, it is the only area of culture in which the legislation compels municipalities to provide certain minimum services: the only cultural requirement of the Llei de Bases de Règim Local (the law regulating local government) is that all boroughs with a population over 5,000 must have a library. Thus the Spanish legislation considers libraries the only basic cultural need.

Public interest in libraries in Catalonia dates a long way back. Proof of this is the existence of the Escola de Biblioteconomia (school of library

science) as early as 1915. This school, a pioneer of its kind in Spain, has played a fundamental role in developing Catalan libraries and stimulating reflection on their functions and operation.

The library system in Catalonia is undergoing changes as a result of the 1993 adoption of the Llei de Biblioteques (Libraries Act). The former structure of library networks (basically one was run by the Generalitat and another by the *Diputació* of the province of Barcelona) is to be replaced by a single system which will operate at different levels: *comarques* (natural regions), urban, local, branch, and mobile. Likewise, the Library Map is an essential tool for planning needs in each part of the country.

For many years the savings banks played a complementary role by running library networks of their own. Recently these libraries have been gradually absorbed into the public library system.

There are a total of 891 libraries in Catalonia which together possess 18.9 million books and other materials. This amounts to 1.46 libraries for every 10,000 inhabitants. This does not mean that the basic necessities are covered, especially in country areas. A factor to bear in mind is that 44% of these libraries are in municipalities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

The fact that over 40% of these libraries began to operate after 1980, is an indication of the close relationship existing between the restoration of democratic institutions and the improvement of this basic cultural service. Even so, visiting libraries does not form part of the cultural habits of Catalans. According to a 1996 survey, only 27.4% of those interviewed declared going to libraries as one of their cultural practices. Moreover, a good number of those who answered in the affirmative were between 15 and 25 years of age (63% of this group had been to a library). This may be explained, among other things, by the fact that a considerable portion of library users are students who use them as places in which to study. Not all the data are negative, however: if we compare the results of the 1996 survey on cultural habits with those of the 1991 survey, we find a twelve-point increase in visits to libraries.

The causes of the low rate of visits to libraries can be associated with reading rates: almost 36% of Catalans, according to the 1996 survey on cultural habits and practices, had not read a book in the last three months. However this figure also represents a significant improvement (nine percentage points) over the 1991 survey.

Besides encouraging reading, another function of libraries is to collect and preserve the bibliographic heritage. A prime role in this respect is played by the Biblioteca de Catalunya (Library of Catalonia) to which the Llei del Sistema Bibliotecari (Library System Act) attributes the function of conserving, preserving and disseminating Catalonia's bibliographic heritage.

In terms of future perspectives, two aspects must be stressed: the need to adapt Catalan libraries (both in technical and conceptual terms) to the requirements imposed by the information society; and the beginning of the construction of the Biblioteca Provincial de Barcelona (Provincial Library of Barcelona) which will eventually have its premises in one of the city's emblematic buildings: the Antic Mercat del Born (Old "El Born" Market).

4.5. Publishing

Publishing in Catalonia is a cultural industry with a long tradition and a considerable degree of vitality, both in terms of creativity and of business acumen. Within this sector, book publishing companies play an important leadership role, owing basically to the prominence of firms with headquarters in Catalonia in the publication of books in both Spanish and Catalan. Thus, in 1993, sales by Catalan publishing houses amounted to 214,351 million pesetas or 60.9% of the total for the Spanish domestic market, a figure in line with the upward trend that has marked the past few years. In terms of titles, according to statistics issued by the ISBN Agency, Catalonia produced 16,266 different titles, or 33.0% of the Spanish total, that same year.

The publishing sector occupied the seventh position in the Catalan export ranking in 1994, making up 1.7% of the total exports for the year. Thus publishing is the only cultural industry with a foreign trade surplus: 41,839 million pesetas in exports as against 15,597 million pesetas in imports. The evolution of exports in this sector over the past few years has been positive and hence the decline in foreign demand during the early eighties caused by the fall of Latin American markets seems to have been overcome.

This extraordinary vitality has been achieved in the wake of the far-reaching transformation and modernization of the publishing sector carried out in recent years which has taken various directions. First there was a marked trend towards concentration: of a total of 245 Catalan publishers, as few as 12 (4.9%) account for two-thirds of the overall sales worth 147.593 million pesetas. These leading groups and firms include: Planeta, Plaza&Janés, Círculo de Lectores, Ediciones Océano, Salvat Editores, Ediciones Orbis, RBA Editores, etc. Among these companies, Planeta is one of the 10 most important publishing houses in the world and the largest publisher in the Spanish language. We must also bear in mind that major international groups have financial interests in, or agreements with, some of these big Catalam-based publishing houses. Examples include the German group Bertelsmann (Plaza&Janés and Círculo de Lectores), the French company Hachette (Salvat), and the Italian firms De Agostini (Planeta), Fabbri (Orbis), and Mondadori (Mondadori-Grijalbo).

Currently these firms have developed a complex and varied system of marketing through a wide range of outlets, mainly direct sales to private individuals (door-to-door, credit sale, book clubs) and sales through kiosks. The leading firms in Spain for these types of marketing are Catalan. If the output of Catalonia's publishing houses is analyzed in terms of theme and overall sales, a certain specialization can be observed in encyclopaedic dictionaries (29.0%), works of general information (25.2%), literature (16.8%) and books for children and young people (9.4%).

The publication of books in Catalan constitutes a fairly significant part of the market which has undergone considerable expansion over the past few years. In 1995, 4,498 titles were published in Catalan in Catalonia, that is, slightly less than one third of the output of the firms concerned. Since publications in Catalan respond to a more limited demand and a quantitatively much smaller market, the proportion of overall sales is of course also lower, being estimated at around 5.8% of total turnover. The production of books in Catalan is also concentrated to a considerable extent among companies of the size of Edicions 62 and Enciclopèdia Catalana.

Of all the titles published in Catalan in Spain, the majority are produced in Catalonia (77.8%, in 1995). The rest are nearly all published in the region of Valencia (12.1%) and the Balearic Islands (3.1%). 7.2% are published elsewhere in Spain.

Catalan distribution companies centre much of their activity on bookstores, hypermarkets, kiosks and schools. This is another sector engaged in a transformation process which, though slower and less generalized, affects logistics and information techniques, sales promotion, etc. Most mergers have occurred in highly specialized forms of distribution which operate through kiosks and schools. Most of these companies, though they may operate throughout Spain, are mostly active in Catalonia. Some large publishing companies handle their own distribution instead of resorting to outside distributors. Books in Catalan represent about 29.4% of the total turnover of the distributors, a much higher percentage than that calculated on the turnover of the publishers because the distributors operate mostly in Catalonia. Thus this figure gives a more accurate idea of the importance of book sales in Catalan within Catalonia.

In Spain book stores are once again the most important sales outlet for books (34.4%), after direct sales to private individuals (31.9%). Street stalls (12.7%) and hypermarkets (10.4%) still rank considerably lower although the share of the latter type of outlet has been on the rise in the past few years. In Catalonia, the sector is characterized by a large number of small and medium-sized companies which have to reconvert

and occupy a new slot in retail sales. One reason is that some of the products which were traditionally sold almost exclusively by book stores (encyclopaedias, school text books, etc.) have found new outlets. The greatest abundance of book stores is in Barcelona where the number per inhabitant is higher than elsewhere in Catalonia.

Government and public institutions play a relatively small role in this sector on account of the stability of private enterprise. The major public institutions of Catalonia and the universities themselves act as publishers by producing their own books and aid is also given to companies publishing certain types of works, basically by providing generic support to the sector and by purchasing basic works for libraries and other public and private institutions. Thus, the Catalan Generalitat's total expenditure on book subsidies in 1993 was 662.4 million pesetas.

In 1996, 79,604 million pesetas worth of books were sold in Catalonia. This figure represented 22.2% of total sales on the Spanish domestic market, a percentage which shows the high proportion of sales in Catalonia if one takes into account the fact that Catalonia represents only 15% of the population of Spain. Surveys on cultural behaviour reveal that only 37.7% of the persons interviewed said they had bought a book in the past three months and more than half stated that they had between 26 and 200 books in their home.

The publishing sector in Catalonia today is being transformed by the introduction of new electronic techniques, the appearance and consolidation of major multi-media groups and the development of new marketing strategies. The regulation of uniform prices for books and the application of Value Added Tax at the reduced rate of 4% are measures which constitute a basically favourable market regulation policy. Nevertheless, the dynamism of the agents in the publishing sector and the internationalization of the markets require firms to become more and more competitive. In an environment marked by economic crisis, renewal and change, Catalan publishing companies are making a tremendous effort to adapt in order to create a range of sufficiently competitive products in the information, communications, and cultural

markets by means of optimum combinations of available technical resources and supports.

4.6. The Arts

Art is one of the fields in which Catalonia has traditionally distinguished itself most. Picasso, Dalí, and Miró, three of the most important creative figures of the present century, are both evidence of this tradition and the driving force behind it.

The other great tradition that has shaped contemporary Catalan art is that established by the "Dau al Set" group of artists, which originated with the founding of the magazine of the same name in 1948.

Today, Catalonia is still fertile ground for the development of creative talent and the country's most outstanding feature is the importance and creativity of its artists. The high standard of its public and privately run art schools -Escola de Belles Arts de Barcelona, also known as La Llotja, Escola Massana, Eina, etc.- have contributed greatly to this.

The art scene in Catalonia can be divided into four basic areas: art centres and foundations associated with major artists; public institutions; foundations set up by banks, and art galleries.

The Museu Picasso in Barcelona (run by the City Council), the Museu Dalí in Figueres, the Fundació Miró and the Fundació Tàpies (also both in Barcelona) are among the foremost centres of contemporary art in Catalonia. Besides possessing permanent collections, these museums organize exhibitions and activities related to contemporary art. The audacious projects emanating from the Fundació Miró and the Fundació Tàpies are noteworthy examples. The Museu Picasso organizes and plans exhibitions devoted to more widely recognized artistic talents.

In 1996 the Museu Picasso received 822,647 visitors, the Museu Dalí 633,028, the Fundació Miró 345,732, and the Fundació Antoni Tàpies 73,643.

Since December 1995, Catalonia's foremost contemporary art centre has been the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA). This is one of the museums built as part of the strategy for the construction of national facilities undertaken by government in the 1980s in order to "normalize" Catalan culture. The MACBA is a consortium formed by public institutions and a private foundation. Despite the fact that it has not yet consolidated its position, the number of visitors -although lower than that of the aforementioned centres- is by no way negligible: 240,059 in 1996 and 226,240 in 1997.

Other institutional venues are the Centre d'Art de Santa Mònica, belonging to the Generalitat, which drew 88,795 visitors to its ten exhibitions, and the Palau de la Virreina, run by Barcelona City Council, which held nine exhibitions attended by 74,558 visitors. The government sector is completed by a wide range of municipal exhibition halls which play an important part in the dissemination and promotion of creative works.

An important role in the arts field is also played by the foundations and social affairs divisions of various banks. For instance, the exhibitions held in the centres belonging to the Fundació "la Caixa" drew a total of 230,117 visitors, while those held in La Pedrera and organized by the Fundació Caixa de Catalunya had 199,373.

Alongside these institutional and semi-institutional events, a considerable amount of strictly private activity is organized by art galleries, both those specializing in contemporary art and those which offer so-called realist traditional art. Though a sizeable number are located in Barcelona, art galleries are also present in other localities throughout Catalonia. According to 1994 statistics, there are 184 art galleries in Catalonia, most of which (over 60%) are located in Barcelona and its surrounding area. However, the majority of these galleries are small: 49.7% of them declare a turnover of less than 10 million pesetas per year, with only 7.3% declaring a yearly turnover of over 50 million pesetas.

A feature of the arts sector is that it is difficult to describe on the basis of data and situations which have attained the status of "institutions". Its vitality can perhaps best be measured by the number of events occurring in the "fringe" area. There are signs that this area continues to be important in Catalonia. However, the very nature of these events makes it impossible to consider them as well-defined or consolidated.

4.7. The Performing Arts

The performing arts are possibly one of the sectors in which Catalan culture has attained greatest maturity. The Teatre Nacional (National Theatre) was opened in 1997, and the Ciutat del Teatre (Theatre City) project, which includes the new premises of the Institut del Teatre and the municipal theatre of the Mercat de les Flors, is well underway; the different groups (playwrights, actors and directors, production companies, performing companies, etc.) have formed associations which make it possible to define overall strategies; major international festivals such as the Fira del Teatre al Carrer de Tàrrega (Tàrrega Street Theatre Festival), Festival de Teatre de Sitges (Sitges Theatre Festival), the Grec de Barcelona, the Festival Internacional de Pallassos de Cornellà (International Clown Festival of Cornellà), the Festival Internacional de Titelles de Barcelona (International Puppet Festival of Barcelona), and others are acquiring stability; and the use of computerized systems for ticket sales through savings banks (by telephone or via cash dispensers) is becoming widespread.

The reason for this consolidation is to be found in the existence of a significant number of highly proficient companies of international renown. Most of these were created in the seventies, during the last years of the dictatorship and the early years of democracy. Today they are at the forefront of a sector which exerts considerable influence and are one of the most outstanding and exportable features of present-day Catalan culture.

In spite of the vitality of these private companies, the role of the government in the performing arts is fundamental. The establishment of a normal democratic system and of the autonomous government made it possible to consolidate a theatrical sector which already displayed exceptional creativity and dynamism. Almost all the productions performed by professional companies receive support from public funds. Moreover, when government began to subsidize the performing arts it became possible to offer publicly financed shows and performances to complete those offered by the private sector.

An analysis of the receipts of theatres with year-round programming reveals the importance of public funding in this area (almost 50%). However, this percentage has been decreasing in recent years.

The authorities devote a significant part of their cultural budgets to the performing arts. In 1995 the Catalan Generalitat made grants of 2,667 million pesetas to drama and dance (almost 14% of the budget of the Department of Culture).

Another indicator of the situation of the performing arts in Catalonia is the existence of a highly reputed school offering training for different professions related to the performing arts: the Institut del Teatre, run by the *Diputació* of the province of Barcelona, whose origins date back to the beginning of the century.

Theatrical production in Catalonia falls into four major categories: productions by permanent private companies; productions by publicly run drama centres; productions by private production centres; and, finally, productions by companies which are set up to perform a single work.

Though it is difficult to determine their exact number, there are estimated to be about 40 stable theatrical companies in Catalonia. Though we would not wish to underestimate other companies, the most outstanding are Els Joglars, Els Comediants, Dagoll-Dagom, El Teatre Lliure, La Fura dels Baus, El Tricicle and La Cubana. The reputation of these groups stretches far beyond strictly Catalan theatre. Not only are

they known throughout Spain and the rest of the world, but they combine regular theatrical performances with involvement in other media, such as television, cinema, special events, and so on.

The major institutional forces in theatrical production are the Teatre Nacional and the Centre Dramàtic de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Their productions are premiered and staged in their respective theatres, and then they usually tour the whole of Catalonia and, occasionally, the rest of Spain. The opening of the Teatre Nacional is still too recent for it to be possible to assess the role it will play in the field of theatrical production in Catalonia.

The role of the private theatrical impresario was, until relatively recently, almost non-existent in Catalonia. It has lately come to the fore, lending new vitality to the sector. The existence of a few businessmen who are willing to invest in and manage theatrical productions has meant an important change, not only because it has increased the range of producers, but also because a more business-like approach has been introduced into a field which had previously been dominated by other considerations. It is worth mentioning certain companies (Focus and, with a lower turnover, Tres per 3) which, in addition to production, are also engaged in other stages of the process (distribution and peformance) and whose approach is typical of the industrial sector.

The companies that are set up for the production of a single work are the most difficult to quantify. These tend to be active in an area that is halfway between amateur and professional theatricals. Usually the outcome of the first production determines whether the company will become established or not.

Between them the regular production agents (excluding companies set up for a single work) put on 65 new productions in 1995. Most of these productions (around 80%) are in Catalan. It is interesting to note that only 20% have a Spanish version, and this is prepared only for performances outside Catalonia and never in order to offer both versions when the company has a contract to perform in Catalonia.

Another noteworthy sector of the performing arts is dance. Many of Spain's dance companies are located in Catalonia. Despite the abundance and high standards of such companies, the genre does not enjoy the favour of either impresarios or the public. Nevertheless, the presence of these companies at dance festivals and other events around the world bears witness to their importance. In 1995, only 55% of the performances of Catalan dance companies were held in Catalonia and almost 30% took place in foreign countries.

In terms of stage productions, the situation in Barcelona differs greatly from that of the rest of Catalonia. In Barcelona there is a choice of private and public productions (the Generalitat, the Diputació and the City Council own theatres) which on the whole complement one another. This makes for a wide range of possibilities: musicals, classical and avant-garde theatre, plays for children, cabaret, etc. In the last few seasons, moreover, something unusual has occurred in Barcelona: several productions have been running for a year or more. This has happened mainly with musical comedies which have become a major feature of the Barcelona stage. Mention must also be made of the consolidation of a network of fringe theatres for small audiences which play an important part in offering opportunities to alternative productions and new playwrights and performers.

In other parts of Catalonia, the local authorities are the only theatrical producers. Almost all the municipalities who put on productions at all regularly are members of the Xarxa de Teatres Públics de Catalunya (Network of Public Theatres of Catalonia) which comprises 48 municipal theatres. Even so, Barcelona accounts for half the theatres in Catalonia which are permanently active and more than 75% of the performances, theatregoers and box office receipts.

In spite of the maturity of the perfoming arts, or perhaps as a consequence thereof, this sector is often plagued by crises and controversy. This may be considered a positive factor, since it would point to a certain vitality and interest in the sector. The holding of the workshops and panel discussions in 1998, organized by the Association of actors and directors -with the participation of all parties

concerned- may lay the grounds for a new analysis and future lines of action.

4.8. Music

The situation of music in Catalonia varies considerably from one genre to another. It is fair to say, however, that while it displays considerable vitality and variety in terms in terms of live performances, the record industry is virtually non-existent.

A total of 1,573 live concerts of classical and contemporary music were held in Catalonia in 1995. Many took place in Barcelona though musical performances are not so highly concentrated in the capital as are other forms of culture.

Government policy in the field of music focuses to a large extent on major institutions and facilities. In 1996 the Catalan Generalitat devoted 2,172.7 million pesetas (86% of its total budget for music) to the major national infrastructures: the Gran Teatre del Liceu (opera house under reconstruction), the Palau de la Música Catalana (concert hall) and the Auditori de Barcelona (under construction).

The Gran Teatre del Liceu has been the most important opera house in Catalonia and Spain in the past few decades. It was here that such distinguished operatic figures as Caballé, Carreras and Victoria de los Angeles received their first training. From the time of its foundation, the Liceu had been privately owned, though in recent years it remained active thanks to government support. Following its destruction by fire on 31 January 1994, it was put under public ownership. During rebuilding, the Liceu has produced and staged performances at other venues in the city and has set up an ambitious programme of activities for the period 2000-2004.

The work carried out by the Amics de l'Opera of Sabadell is another important feature of operatic activity. This organization stages its own productions, which go on tour to other Catalan theatres. Its importance lies in the fact that it is bringing opera closer to localities which have

neither the economic nor the technical means to put on major productions.

The Palau de la Música Catalana is a concert hall set up by the Orfeó Català choral society, which has been the scene of the most important concerts held in Barcelona since the beginning of the century. Though the building is still the property of the Orfeó Català, it is managed by a consortium in which the chief public Catalan administrations are represented.

The creation of the Auditori Nacional has been for some years one of the key projects for the future of Barcelona, and it may finally be inaugurated in 1999. It is expected to became the home of the Orquestra Simfònica de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya, as well as operating as a centre for production, documentation and dissemination of music. As a result of its establishment, the roles now being played by different impresarios and concert halls will change.

Other musical groups of note, in addition to those already mentioned (the orchestra and choir of the Liceu and the Orquestra Simfònica de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya), include the Orquestra del Teatre Lliure, which may derive greater importance from its new premises, the Orquestra Simfònica del Vallès, the Orquestra de Cadaqués, and a significant number of soloists and groups of recognized stature who are well known on international concert circuits, such as the pianist Alícia de Larrocha, the cellist Lluís Claret and the Capella Reial de Catalunya conducted by Jordi Savall.

Jazz has a long-standing tradition in Catalonia. Over the past few years it has been enjoying a significant revival thanks to musicians and performers, with Tete Montoliu as their figurehead, specialized haunts, and a faithful following. This revival owes much to the initiative of privately owned clubs and bars that have built up a stable programme of considerable quality which gives local musicians an opportunity to perform. Regularly active impresarios offered 2,173 jazz concerts in 1995. Most of these were held on private premises in Barcelona. Also

worth mentioning are the jazz festivals, the most important of which take place in Barcelona and Terrassa.

After remaining a long time on the sidelines, in the last few years Barcelona has been included on the international tour circuits of major pop and rock concerts. There is a certain tradition of rock music sung in Spanish and some of the most successful rock groups in Spain are formed by Catalans (Jarabe de Palo, Rebeldes, Loquillo y los Trogloditas). The end of the eighties saw the appearance of the "Catalan rock" phenomenon, which owes its identity to the fact that the words are in Catalan. In terms of the restoration of the Catalan language to normal use, these groups have been of considerable importance.

The music sung by singer-composers in Catalonia stems from the Nova Cançó (New Song) movement, which was born in the sixties with a clear vocation for political and cultural protest. Today the contributions of folk singers to the Catalan music scene include a wide range of creations stretching from light music to performances with a high traditional music content. Nearly all of these performers sing in Catalan. The musical scene is completed by a varied selection of genres which are proof of the cultural diversity of Catalonia: traditional Catalan folk music, flamenco, *salsa*, etc.

In the past few years, a number of flamenco music groups, made up of performers born and trained in Catalonia, have emerged and gained considerable popularity. This bears witness to the pluralism of the Catalan cultural scene and the way in which ¡ cultures from elsewhere in Spain have taken root in Catalonia.

Musical education in Catalonia is well covered by twenty-one conservatoires, two of which are private, and 62 non-official music schools. During the 1994-95 school year there were a total of 32,121 students of music. The Conservatori del Liceu and Conservatori Municipal de Música de Barcelona deserve special mention on account of their importance and historical tradition.

Although in the not-too-distant past Barcelona played a leading role in the Spanish record industry, in present-day Catalonia this sector is virtually non-existent. This is due mainly to the transfer of multinationals to Madrid and the disappearance of medium-sized Spanish record companies. Nevertheless, it would seem that falling costs and the lowering of barriers to record production could open up new opportunities for the establishment of small record companies with a purely local operational capacity, since they do not control any major distribution networks. Thus, today, a great number of Spanish independent labels of renown are based in Catalonia.

4.9. The cinema

The cinema in Catalonia in the last few years has been characterized by the lack of a stable industrial base capable of consolidating a sector whose activity is highly irregular in every respect. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the problems faced by the cinema in Catalonia are to a large extent those experienced by the sector throughout Europe. The domination of the market by large American companies and the absence of substantial European companies capable of competing with them are decisive factors in a sector that is immersed in a severe crisis.

In spite of the overall nature of the problem and the difficulty of finding solutions, a certain number of productions are made each year. While this does not enable us to qualify the sector as stable, it does prevent us from denying its existence. Approximately fifteen feature length films are produced in Catalonia every year (17 in 1994 and 16 in 1995 to be exact). This represents approximately 25% of the films produced in Spain as a whole. Nevertheless, in a sector like the audiovisual industry in which products are becoming increasingly international, it is difficult to determine their nationality. This is a problem faced by all governments when it comes time to deciding which films are to receive support. The decision cannot be based on particular contents, or on the participation of an autochthonous company in the production. The first option would lead to an excessively localist slant (not to mention the

difficulty of defining which themes are "Catalan" or "European") while the second criterion would result in films originating in several different countries, as a result of different sources of funding. This gives rise to peculiar situations such as that of the film "Belle Epoque" (the winner of the 1994 Oscar for the best film in a language other than English), which figures in certain lists as a Catalan production though no one in Catalonia or outside it identifies it as such.

Most productions benefit from some sort of public support. In 1996 the Department of Culture of the Catalan Generalitat granted subsidies of 523.6 million pesetas for the production of feature-length films, shorts and television series. To these subsidies must be added those of the Spanish Ministry of Culture (more than 3,000 million pesetas for Spain as a whole), the broadcasting rights purchased by public television channels, and indirect, government-promoted aid (such as very low-interest credit). A further source of funding is public television. The Catalan autonomous television plays -and has to play- a very important role in this respect. The production of series and other works of fiction has made it the main producer in the country and the sector's vital driving force.

This considerable government support has been matched by a minimal response from filmgoers. During the last few years, of the approximately 20 million visits Catalans paid to the cinema yearly, only 1% were to see a Catalan film. To make matters worse, a significant number of films produced are never even shown or not until three or four years have gone by. Part of the explanation lies in the oligopolistic structure of film distribution which is dominated by large American companies (around 75% of box office receipts in Spain's cinemas were generated by the four largest American companies operating in the Spanish market). However, another problem is the gap between what Catalan producers and directors are offering and the tastes and preferences of the public.

Moreover, whereas the consolidation of an autonomous television channel (TV3) has given audiences the habit of watching audiovisual productions in Catalan, no corresponding development has occurred in the cinema. In spite of the efforts of the Catalan Generalitat, the Catalan

language has not gained its normal place in the cinema as it has in other areas. Thus, 78.2% of Catalans (according to a 1991 survey on consumer habits in the field of culture) stated that they had not seen a film in Catalan in the last three months.

One of the major Spanish distributors, Lauren Films, is based in Catalonia. This company has entered into agreements for the distribution of films with large US production companies. In the past few years, it has diversified its operations, spreading into the area of video distribution and the screening of films.

Catalonia has experienced the same sharp decline in the number of films shown in movie theatres as the rest of Europe and Spain. During the eighties over 50% of cinemas closed down, or, to put it another way, the total number of movie theatres in Catalonia dropped from 738 in 1980 to 358 in 1993. This trend began to slow down in 1989 when the number of cinemas stabilized. Since then, the number of cinemas has begun to pick up again, rising to 417 in 1995. This upward trend can also be observed in the number of filmgoers and in the box office receipts in Catalonia during these years. This evolution can be explained primarily as a result of the appearance and proliferation of small and multiple cinemas, which now represent around half the total.

Geographically speaking, Barcelona occupies a position of considerable importance, accounting for almost 50% of total box office receipts (13,447.5 million pesetas in 1995). This cannot be attributed only to the size of the population since average spending per inhabitant is also considerably higher than elsewhere: around 2,200 pesetas per year for Catalonia as opposed to 3,900 pesetas per year for Barcelona.

Catalan filmgoers, like those of the rest of Spain, tend to prefer American films to the extent that American films drew 73.3% of movie audiences in Catalonia in 1995. These figures seem to indicate that the industry has touched bottom and that policies in the audiovisual sector, notably the projects of European, Spanish and Catalan filmmakers, must find a new orientation in order to locate, and connect with, a public of

their own and boost demand for Spanish and European cinema in the coming years.

4.10. The Media

The media play a basic role in the development of culture in any country. Thus the media -television, radio and the press- are one of the main channels through which the Catalan collective identity finds expression.

The most characteristic trait of Catalan media is the existence, alongside those of national scope, of media operating at the level of municipalities and *comarques*. Though each individual project, whether in the field of television, radio or the press, is limited in scope, their sum total is of considerable importance. Moreover, they have a great impact on the identity of localities and *comarques*, and on the dissemination of cultural events most closely related to local life.

Television is the most influential and decisive media for the future. It was also the setting for what was possibly the most important event on the Catalan cultural scene in recent years: the creation of an autonomous television channel. Televisió de Catalunya-TV3 began its first experimental broadcasts on 10 September 1983 and commenced regular daily broadcasts on 16 January 1984. In 1988 a second channel, Canal 33, went into operation. Both channels are under the jurisdiction of the Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió (CCRTV), a public corporation belonging to the Catalan Generalitat. Although in some respects, the programming of the autonomous channels is subject to criticism, it would be impossible to explain the present state of culture in Catalonia if the country had no television of its own. For one thing, it is a key factor in the restoration of Catalan to normal use, and for another, it enables a specifically Catalan communications forum to evolve. This latter development operates essentially at three different levels: the existence of a Catalan news forum; the opportunity to create Catalan works of fiction; and a platform for the creation of a Catalan media star system.

In addition to TV3, there is the production centre belonging to Televisión Española en Cataluña (Spanish television's service for Catalonia). Some of the programmes produced here are broadcast all over Spain while others are only for Catalonia, since the programmes of both channels of Televisión Española are divided into two parts: one which is the same all over Spain and another, in the Catalan language, which is specifically for Catalonia.

Besides the channels already mentioned, there are three commercial television stations which broadcast to the whole of Spain: Antena 3, Canal Plus (a pay channel) and Tele 5. These channels are based in Madrid and broadcast -with a few exceptions- in Spanish. The financial interests of Catalan companies in Spanish private television channels, now as in the past, are slight. On the one hand, the Grup Zeta (a newspaper and book publisher based in Catalonia) held a controlling interest in the channel Antena 3 until 1997, when it sold its shares to the Compañía Telefónica Nacional de España (Spanish National Telephone Company). A few months after, the Grup Editorial Planeta acquired an interest in Tele 5, thus becoming the only Catalan firm with a financial interest in a Spanish private television channel at the present time.

A very important phenomenon in terms of the democratization of the media is the proliferation of local television stations. In 1997, in Catalonia there were officially 83 such stations. After operating for some time without any legal framework governing their activities, these television channels were given a specific legal status in 1996 by a Decree of the Catalan Generalitat. In accordance with this Decree, 60% of the programmes must be produced by the stations themselves, and a minimum of 75% must be in Catalan.

According to 1995 data, the public television corporations (Televisión Española and Televisió de Catalunya) and their four channels accounted for around 55% of the audience. This same year, the most popular channel in Catalonia was the private station Antena 3 TV, with a 24.1% share of the audience (this figure representing the percentage of viewers

in terms the time spent watching each channel throughout one year). A second group of stations is made up of Televisión Española's TV1, TV3 Televisió de Catalunya and the private television station Tele 5, with about 20% each. Finally the three more specialized channels which pay more attention to culture -TV2, Canal 33 and Canal Plus- have the fewest viewers, which together accounting for a less than 15%.

Digital television is gaining ground in Catalonia and Spain. Two large corporations are promoting satellite television in Spain: Canal Satélite Digital and Vía Digital, with Televisió de Catalunya holding an interest in the latter. Investments have also been made to introduce cable television through the company Cable i Televisió de Catalunya.

As concerns the audiovisual industry, there is a growing number of companies engaged in the production of entertainment programmes, cartoons, documentaries, etc. Most of these companies were set up to satisfy the demand generated by Televisió de Catalunya, and subsequently began offering products to the Spanish and European, audiovisual markets as well. In order to support this process, Media Park, a centre for the integration of infrastructures and advanced technology designed to foster the development of the audiovisual industry in Catalonia, was opened in 1996.

In the field of radio, a distinction must also be made between state-owned and private radio stations.

The main Catalan public radio stations are under the jurisdiction of the Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió. They offer a varied range of listening featuring one general station (Catalunya Ràdio) and three more specialized ones focusing on music, classical music and news respectively (Ràdio Associació, Catalunya Música and Catalunya Informació).

Radio Nacional de España, the Spanish state broadcasting network, has five stations, one of which, Ràdio 4, broadcasts exclusively to Catalonia and in the Catalan language.

At a local level, there are 176 municipally-owned radio stations (close to 50% of the total number of registered stations), most of which broadcast in Catalan. The Consorci de Comunicació Local de Catalunya (Local Communication Consortium of Catalonia), which created the station Catalunya Ona Municipal - COM Ràdio - was established in 1995.

The commercial radio stations are basically state-wide and nearly all of them produce some programmes specifically for Catalonia. However, there are a few private radio stations which are independent of the large state-owned stations, such as Onda Rambla –which cooperates with Onda Cero Radio de Madrid-, Flash FM and RKOR.

The most striking feature of the press in Catalonia is the low level of use of the Catalan language. Within the field of culture and communications, the press, along with the cinema, is the sector in which progress towards the normal use of Catalan is the least advanced. This is especially clear in the newspapers. In 1995, the dissemination of newspapers in Catalan was 9.5% of all dailies in Catalonia. This is mainly due to the fact that the two most popular newspapers of general information in Catalonia (which represent 67% of the total) were, until a few months ago, published only in Spanish: *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico de Catalunya*, with print runs of 192,854 and 209,436 respectively. However, this situation changed in 1997, with the publication in Catalan of *El Periódico de Cataluña*, which is now sold both in Catalan and Spanish. This experiment of bilingualism in the field of written media is unique in the world, and has led to an increase in sales thanks to the response of the public. Prior to this the leading newspaper in Catalan was *Avui*, with a circulation of 42,184 in 1995.

The situation in the magazine sector is similar. The presence of Catalan is slight, particularly if circulation is taken into account. Six women's and television magazines, all of them in Spanish, have a combined circulation of 2,264,201 copies and make up 52,6% of the distribution of the 62 magazines whose circulation is officially monitored.

As in the fields of television and radio, one of the basic characteristics of the press is the importance of the regional newspapers. It is estimated that there are approximately 300 publications of this type in Catalonia, most of which are in Catalan.

5. SOURCES OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION USED

- Ajuntament de Barcelona (1997), *Anuari Estadístic de la ciutat de Barcelona. 1996,* Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona.

- Departament de Cultura. Generalitat de Catalunya (1997), *Estadístiques culturals de Catalunya. 1995,* Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona.

- Departament de Cultura. Generalitat de Catalunya (diversos anys), *Memòria del Departament de Cultura,* Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona.

- Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya. Generalitat de Catalunya (1996), *Anuari Estadístic de Catalunya. 1996,* Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona.