CATALANISM IN THE 1960S AND 1970S LATE MODERNITY AND ELEMENTS OF INTELLECTUAL, CULTURAL AND SYMBOLIC RENOVATION

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Abstract: *From the decade of 1960 onwards, we can talk about the emergence of a new tradition of Catalanism that constitutes the basis of the renovation of today's Catalan nationalism and independentism. From the 1960s onwards, an alternative identity is constructed, woven through increasing spheres of unrest and new small spaces of sociability that allowed an organised opposition to General Franco's dictatorship on the one hand and, especially after 1968, a super fragmentation and pluralisation of anti-Francoist political and cultural groups deeply tied to the cultural transformations in Europe and America in the late 1960s. The effects of postmodernity were beginning to penetrate into the Catalan identity model through the personalisation of the nation and through the incorporation of new elements that relegated the classical elements of national identity. From then on, we can talk about the emergence of a new tradition of Catalanism based on late modern traits and a post-nationalist Catalanism that is visualised in the appearance of class struggle and revolutionary Marxism, anti-imperialism, pacifism, environmentalism, the defence of sociolinguistics, of folk-rock culture, of leisure, feminist groups and discourses, the defence of sexual, national and ethnic minorities, etc. The new imaginary would articulate a series of transformations in the country's cultural and political expressions that can be followed up through musical movement the Nova Cançó, literary renovation, the revival of festivities and popular culture, the new conception of leisure, etc., expressions that appear as the fruit of the effort of these cultural and intellectual groups that we incorporate within this text.*

Keywords: *Catalonia, 1960s and 1970s, national identity, symbolic frame, identity personalisation*

1. Cultural and political change in the sixties

The cultural transformations throughout Europe after World War II have been widely analysed in the social sciences. The decade of 1960 becomes an especially paradigmatic period in the configuration of the new western capitalist mass and consumption societies of the second half of the 20th Century. However, in the case of Catalonia these transformations gain a prominent social significance for their constant conflicting position with the Francoist political regime. Under Francisco Franco's 1939-1975 dictatorial regime, the international isolation that Spain endured from the end of World War II to the 1950s, significantly conditioned the regime's self-sufficient economic model. However, international isolation came to an end with the outbreak of the Cold War and the international geopolitical interest in halting Soviet Communism. Somewhere between isolation and international complacency, Spain was admitted into the United Nations in 1955. In a period of European revitalisation, the regime's hermetic economic and social policies were progressively redefined due to its inability to remain deaf and blind to the growing economic internationalisation and its dynamics. The Stabilisation Plan (*Plan de Estabilización*) of Franco's regime was passed in 1959. This was a plan for economic redefinition that, together with Spain's entry into the

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Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the International Monetary Fund, led the country to open up to Western Europe. This process is known as the regime's period of developmentalism (*desarrollismo*), during which the progressive economic liberalisation would encourage foreign private investment, industrialization, migration of Spanish workers to the whole of Europe and the well-known touristic opening of Spain. The campaign for the opening up of the economy came along with a propaganda discourse that intended to spread the idea of lack of social conflict thanks to the regime, as well as to promote some forms of modernity that, after the campaign '25 years of peace' (*25 Años de Paz*) of 1964, was complemented by the first legislative modifications such as the Press Law in 1966 and Law of the State in the same year (Font, 2007). However, the decade which produced the first deregulations also brought about the first public signs of questioning and conflict with the regime, after more than twenty years of ferocious control, repression and exile that had not given any room for the expression of political opposition as such.

Within this context of Franco's dictatorship, Catalonia was subject to the regimen's economic and social policies while enduring Franco's regimen's repression in cultural and political terms. Three dynamics were significant from a demographic perspective: first, a population growth during the 1940's post-war period; second, the migration of numerous contingents of workers towards both, the North of Spain – Catalonia significantly– and Europe in the 1950s and 1960s; and finally, as an effect of the previous two, an important urban redefinition, especially of industrial areas. In the case of Catalonia this meant that between 1950 and 1970, more than one million people arrived from Southern Spain. We also need to take into account that the Catalan language had been banned from public use since 1938, although from the 1950s some publications in Catalan were authorised –and during the 1940s re-editions of poetry in the old orthography were also authorised–, generally those published under the auspices of the Church and under the regime's control and censorship. In the 1960s, although the censorship was still active, publications and editions in Catalan were progressively recouped and became a fundamental instrument for national recovery (Santacana, 2013: 31-52). Another political condition worthy of consideration is that political parties were illegal and most of them fragmented between the new generations within the country and their leaders in exile. In the case of Catalonia this happened both to left-wing parties and nationalist parties –who were illegal but still operated clandestinely, especially between 1938-39 and 1945 when they expected the Allies to replace Franco's regime, as well as in the mid-1950s.

Socially and culturally, traditionalism and the influence of the Spanish Catholic Church strongly conditioned social and cultural practices permitted in the public space. However, the opening of the regime to European capital, and the fact that it could not portray itself as totalitarian, led to a certain degree of easing of the repression in order to gain foreign respectability. Spain could neither remain impermeable externally nor internally. Altogether this would inevitably entail the entry of new influences and tendencies that were being experienced throughout Europe: from the effects of the new mass and consumption society, to the new tendencies of cultural and political expansion that we put forward below. The results started to become apparent towards the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, and determined the emergence of a new social imaginary that we also explain in detail below. The process of liberalisation tailored to Franco's regime took the model of consumption, leisure and well-being as the new objectives for a growth based on credit. The quick introduction of the dynamics of capitalist consumption had immediate effects in the consolidation of new cultural and

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social forms, and gave room to a new sphere of individuality, especially among the new generations that, like in the rest of Europe, would have long-term effects in society's practices and mentalities (Judt, 2006).

At an international level, the changes that took place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had a direct effect on the ideological references throughout Europe, as also happened in Catalonia. An increasing questioning of the Soviet Block and the appearance of new models of communism outside the Soviet Union had a great incidence in politics and culture. The decolonization processes, the guerrilla movements in Latin America, the fight for civil rights in America, student demonstrations of the late 1960s in different cities, and the paradigmatic case of the French in May 1968 and the opposition to the Vietnam War among other phenomena also imprinted politics with strong ideological plurality. The influence of all these events and transformations would be particularly significant in the Catalan area –and Spain, by extension– that endured the oppression of a dictatorship, and therefore could tune into any of the fights against the social and cultural oppression of that time; the new political and cultural trends in the 1960s influenced an ideological redefinition of the reference elements of Catalanism. The powerful waves of political movements in the 1960s made of that decade a historical and ideological referent of what could be called the great cultural revolution of the 20th Century: characterised by its great capacity for crossing borders, spreading modernity, and at the basis of liberalising social practices and tendencies that give the individual a determinant main role. The modern mass culture was characterised by the promotion of informality in relationships, morality and behaviour; also by the generation of new cultural products, more visual and sensory, oriented to consumption and fashion, to individual satisfaction, and to a new production of expressions and manifestations adapted to the autochthonous cultures of youth. These cultural innovations were accompanied by implicit –and often explicit– social and political criticism of the previous values, of excessive institutionalization, of traditional morals, of State bureaucratization, of political, social and sexual repression, in short, all those practices associated to the preceding *status quo*.

In the case of Catalonia, the reference factors produced by this process of deconstruction of the social imaginary, all identified with the practices of opposition to Franco's regime. The 1960s entailed a new cycle of mobilizations and mentalities in the new national imaginary. First through the use of a language marked by the Marxist ideology and the class struggle, and second through an intellectuality that recovered the philosophy of suspicion, the interest in anarchism and the revolutionary thought. Social sciences took a leading role in the interpretation of society, and this fact would have a direct translation into the modern thinking of Catalan nationalism, and therefore, the reconfiguration of its imaginary. At the level of political action, this happened through public demonstrations of opposition mainly in the university and working arenas, in a clandestine manner and through limited actions in the streets. At the cultural level, it was through a proliferation of groups that ensured the dissemination of Catalan language and culture, incorporating sociolinguistic demands, and also through clandestine actions and possibilities within the regime interstices during this period. Willingness for critical innovation and transgression was projected in many of these demonstrations and practices. Thus, new social struggles such as environmentalism, feminism, the class struggle, anti-imperialism, and the reclamation of the cultural heritage revised and modernised were incorporated within the frame of the new late modern identities.

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2. Crisis and transformation of the symbolic universe preceding Catalanism

The symbolic universe that modern Catalanism had developed before the 1960s-70s had been forged mainly since the 19th Century until the sudden political halt that the Civil War and Francoism entailed. It is important to take this factor into account because the Civil War and the political repression, together with the political exile of most of the Catalanist cadres of the Republic, marked a big leap between the symbolic universe from before the war and the symbolic universe of the generations that had not seen the war. Bearing in mind that Franco's regime had exerted systematic repression on Catalanism since 1938 (Benet, 1973) its slow and progressive recovery was therefore only activated in a fragmented way, and limited to a few cultural expressions in the second half of the 1950s. Although some preliminary actions took place in the 1950s as mentioned, it was not until the 1960s that a series of more or less organised initiatives for recovery were visualised. The recovery and revitalisation of Catalanism involved recovering the historical references and surviving intellectual testimonies silenced by Francoism in the first place, and doing it, where possible, through the recovery of the Catalan language, still banned in public spaces, as a fundamental element of Catalanity.

However, Catalanism prior to the Civil War had built an identitarian narrative based on four main lines of political thought: traditionalist Catalanism, radical Catalanism, *noucentisme* Catalanism and republican Catalanism. Traditionalist Catalanism had significance in Catalonia during all of the 19th and well into the 20th Century. Its national symbolic imaginary was based on a model of catholic regionalism inherited from the *Carlist* tradition and the conservative, traditionalist and anti-liberal positions. The symbolic referents of traditionalist Catalanism would primarily evoke an organicist "ethno-historical" conception of the homeland. A model that has its references in the German romantics and the idea of the *Volkgeist* as the national spirit, that in the traditionalist Catalanism took shape through a medievalist symbolic universe, where the catholic religion, traditions, family and property became fundamental elements in the symbolic construction of the Catalan identity. Radical Catalanism differs from the previous one in its liberal, particularistic character and the inspiring model of social patriotism, a tradition that appears along with the First Republic and that would have a prominent place until the Civil War. Although the symbolic universe of reference is removed from the previous conservative Catholicism, the ethno symbolic references of its identitarian conception are not far from the previous one: family, the land, the language, Catalan laws, history, folklore and traditions, were recurring elements of representation (Lladonosa, 2013).

From the beginning of the 20th Century *Noucentisme* Catalanism would break with the previous ethno symbolic elements for the inception of the Catalonia-city and the Catalonia-nation; a civilising and modernising idea of the homeland, where moral and cultural questions would gain especial prominence. *Noucentisme* Catalanism would seek to break with the references tied to folklore and tradition, especially those of a rural character, opposing the Europeanist ideal of modernity to romantic traditionalism, in which the ideal city would build a narrative to redefine romantic values such as the language, tradition, customs and geography through the sieve of modernisation. In parallel, during the first half of the 20th Century, republican Catalanism, –and to a certain extent the anarchist, socialist and communist tradition in Catalonia– would take a central role within the political and ideological arena and would place the social justice referents at the core of national identification. The great social ideologies

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penetrated deeply into Catalan society: the democratic, civic and voluntarist discourse took on the social values of justice, freedom and love for the homeland, where the language and the aforementioned great ethno symbolic referents would continue to be present. Historically, republican culture has a time of predominance with the First Republic of 1873 and plays an important role in Catalonia during the 1930s with the Second Republic and up until the end of the Civil War.

However, as mentioned, the 1936-1938 Civil War marked a breaking point in the evolution of the abovementioned traditions, which were silenced, eliminated or exiled; the Catalan national referents had disappeared as memories, symbols and as public values. It would not be until the 1960s and 1970s that a significant change took place in the Catalanist tradition, a reconversion of the traditional frames of reference and the emergence of a new tradition, through the assumption of new postmodern ideological and identity frames. In the first case, inevitably, the different Catalanist traditions of the first half of the 20th Century did not have the possibility of adapting and evolving in a normalised way within the country's social context. Therefore, the reinterpretation and adaptation of the symbolic values and referents of these different traditions took place mainly among generations that had not seen them directly, who had had a narrative and an interpretational rather than a real contact with them, and also within a clandestine political context in which the discourses and practices of Catalanism were very limited. Regarding the emergence of a new tradition with a post-modern basis, it is worth mentioning that the division between the elements constituting modernity and post-modernity took the shape of a rupture between the reference values of Francoist tradition and their public institutions: values, structures and patterns of behaviour and social order associated to the dictatorial anti-liberal model. If the project of modernity conflicted with that of post-modernity, the anti-liberal fascist oppressive project collided head on with the 1960s' counter cultural values. All the anti-authoritarian gestures, all the individual expressions of breakup, all the practices and lifestyles that pursued informality in relationships penetrated Catalonia as a counter-cultural antidote and as proof of political resistance.

Therefore, the new cultural and political winds of the new mass and consumption societies of the 1960s had a determining influence on the new generations of young Catalans. The crisis of the previous symbolic referents and of their capacity of adaptation in the 1960s is obvious. Thus, the most organicist interpretations of the nation and the ethno symbolic elements such as the references to law, the family, tradition, country life, folklore, the mystification of medieval glories, strict religious components, etc. would lose their meaning. In the meantime, the traditional frames of reference would be reconverted, especially the language, through sociolinguistics, the defence of linguistic normalisation, the musical movement called the *Nova Cançó* and the new literature, the ideological demonstrations in defence of the homeland, the national political vindication and tradition. All of that in tune with a historical reinterpretation in the 1960s and the 1970s that attempted to resolve the abrupt shattering of the heritage of the Second Republic regarding the contributions of people to Catalanism; the recovery of the mass popular culture as a place of memory for Catalanism and the conservation of some of the *Noucentisme* clichés as basic references but with an interclass character, often through an interpretation of history from the standpoint of the class struggle. In this sense, the fundamental role of historiography in the reconstruction of the identity referents and democratic values of that period is undeniable. Moreover, the interpretations of the symbolic universe of Catalanism are conditioned by the new social reality related to Francoism, the new demography and the

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intense flow of immigration (Cabré, 1999) within the framework of the class struggle and the sociological interpretation of the social structure during the 1960s and 1970s

3. Emergence of new frames of reference within Catalanism in the 1960s and 1970s

Since the 1950s in America and the 1960s in Europe, several far reaching social phenomena have occurred: a remarkable and progressive increase in social complexity, in tune with the complexity of social identities. Both phenomena entail a personalization of identities; that is, the search for and the definition of frames of reference that individuals find more plausible: where the individual is acknowledged as a specific person. Needless to say these deep transformations are the result of specific changes within western society of that time: the overwhelming mass consumption especially relating to a galaxy of products for both, individual and family consumption (those within the arena of communication and cultural media, such as the television, record-player, photo camera, etc., and those related with locomotion and tourism, such as the motorbike, the car, holiday homes, deserve special mention for their commercial and cultural impact); an important renovation in advertising and design; the emergence of a new universe of mass idols configured mainly from the pop culture (and pop-rock in the first place), and in relation with the so-called *eroticizing of culture*, understood in a civilising sense (Capdevila, 2012, 2014). All these changes entail important turning points regarding the globalisation of the social and cultural perspectives. Within Spain, and especially in Catalonia, these changes become profound in the second half of the 1960s. Besides, in Spain and more especially in Catalonia, these transformations coincide with the crisis of Francoism and the post-dictatorship political evolution.

We can assert that the changes we have referred to entail the emergence of a new cultural and symbolic imaginary within Catalanism and involve the emergence of a new culture of Catalanism altogether. The elements of this new imaginary and the new culture betray the basic characteristics of the cultural change that take place in the Western world during the decades of 1960 and 1970. However, the new frames of reference of Catalanism emerge partly from previous frames, subject to a reconversion both cultural and in meaning. What are the new frames of reference of Catalanism?

3. 1. Regarding the Catalan Language

One of these frames is the Catalan language conceived under new meanings and used in accordance with new cultural practices. The Catalan language is certainly a traditional reference of contemporary Catalanism since its inception. However it is the object of reconversions of meaning during the decades concerned, and, as it happens with the other referents, the personalising logic that characterises social identities is determining at the time we are studying.

The focus on the social use of the Catalan language and on sociolinguistics as a new science devoted to the uses of language within society, its recovery and its normalisation becomes an outstanding arena for the symbolic, cultural and scientific redefinition of the Catalan language. The interest in the social use of Catalan and its sociolinguistics during these years cannot be understood without first considering the impact of the dictatorship and the migration waves of Spanish speaking population in the 1960s, or without taking into account that TV3 and “Catalunya Ràdio” –the first

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important audiovisual media in Catalan– were not a reality until 1983. Between the mid-1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, Catalan sociolinguistics crystallized as a scientific and ideological stream with its own specificity and autonomy, and in part, as a significant civic activism (mainly a type of resistance) in defence of the public use of Catalan. With regard to scientific and intellectual Catalan sociolinguistics during that period, which is that of its birth and first consolidation, several milestones deserve highlighting: the publication of the magazine "Studies on Catalan Sociolinguistics" (*Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*) (1977); the establishment of the Catalan Group of Sociolinguistics (*Grup Català de Sociolingüística, GCS*) in 1973, made official in 1980; the creation of the Barcelona Seminar of Sociolinguistics (*Seminari de Sociolingüística de Barcelona*) (1977); the publication in 1979 of the manifesto "A Nation without a State, a people without a language?" (*Una nació sense Estat, un poble sense llengua?*) in the magazine *Els Marges*, highlighting the risks to the Catalan language of active bilingualism by the Catalan speaking community and the lack of power to regulate and give prestige to the Catalan language in its territory; the magazine "Language and Right" *(Llengua i Dret)* (1983); the "2nd International Congress of the Catalan Language" (*II Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana*) (1986) devoted to the normalization of Catalan; or some months before –December 1985– it's remarkable for either the new issues asked– the definition of a mass media suprastandard that integrates the dialectical diversity of the Catalan in linguistic and symbolic terms -the emblematic manifesto 'Catalan, national language or local language?- by the Catalan Philology professors of the Estudi General de Lleida (one of the University Faculties at Lleida at that time). Also worth highlighting are the intellectual contributions to sociolinguistics of the Valencian L. V. Aracil i R. L. Ninyoles. V. Aracil is well known for the prestigious classes offered at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Barcelona, and for his works "Papers of sociolinguistics" (*Papers de sociolingüística)* (1982) and "Telling the reality" (*Dir la realitat)* (1983); he had previously published an introductory study to two *sainetes* by the 19th Century Valencian playwright Eduard Escalante (1968). Ninyoles is known for his studies "Valencian linguistic conflict" (*Conflicte lingüístic valencià)* (1969), "Language and social power" (*Idioma y poder social)* (1972), "Social structure and language policy" (*Estructura social y política linguística)* (1975), "Four languages for one state" (*Cuatro idiomas para un estado)* (1977) and the incisive "Mother Spain" (*Madre España)* (1979) where he analyses the symbolic resorting of Spanish nationalism. Apart from these two authors, Francesc Vallverdú, Gentil Puig, Vicent Pitarch, M. T. Turell, Miquel Pueyo, Carles Castellanos, Enric Montaner, among others also stand out in this first stage of the Catalan sociolinguistics. With the end of the Transition and the launching of language policies in Valencia, the Balearic Islands and especially in Catalonia, the studies on sociolinguistics have seen their scientific and institutional character reinforced. These policies have been affirmed during the last decades because of the transcontinental migratory avalanches. Another aspect to the concerns about the social use of Catalan is symbolic activism, which mainly adopts a character of direct symbolic action and resistance. These are actions that attain certain social visibility during the first half of the 1980s. It is necessary to mention the Language Defence Groups (*Grups de Defensa de la Llengua, GDL)*, constituted in 1982 under the influence of the above mentioned manifesto published in *Els Marges* and the sociolinguistics of L V. Aracil. The year after their creation, the GDL founded the magazine, Living Catalan (*Viure en català)*. This magazine, clearly tied to the revolutionary independentism of those years, recomposed around the Movement of

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Homeland Defence *Moviment de Defensa de la Terra* (1984), had sociolinguists Enric Larreula, Blanca Serra, Bernat Joan, Jordi Solé, Josepa Huguet, Albert Turull, Teresa Marbà, Josep Inglès, Antoni Ibàñez, among others, as distinguished members. Their activity revolves around the elaboration of theoretical sociolinguistics and actions seeking to take their sociolinguistic discourse to the arena of symbolic conflict and violence. The Call for solidarity in defense of the Catalan language, culture and Nation (*La Crida a la Solidaritat en Defensa de la Llengua, la Cultura i la Nació Catalanes)* (1981) –also known as "The Call" (*La Crida)* – is another platform that stands out for its symbolic activism of denunciation about the situation of the Catalan language. This platform emerged as a reaction to the so-called "Manifesto of the 2,300" (*Manifiesto de los 2.300*) that appeared in January of that year, which censored the new Catalan Government's linguistic policy, especially with regard to education, La Crida guides its actions towards the denouncing of the negative discrimination of Catalan within the great Spanish institutions and big private companies. The map "Approximation to the Europe of Languages" (*Aproximació a l'Europa de les Llengües*) edited by the International Centre Escarré for Ethnic and National Minorities (*Centre Internacional Escarré per a les Minories Ètniques i Nacionals*) (CIEMEN) is also remarkable for its symbolic impact and its aim of vindication of linguistic diversity. All the activism in defence of the Catalan language at the end of the 1970s and the 1980s is at the root of organisations such as National Language (*Llengua Nacional*), the Platform for the Language (*Plataforma per la Llengua*), the CAL, etc., that keep the tradition. Finally, language policy and its implementation configure the last area of sociolinguistics of that time. This is –and has been so far– a fundamental area of sociolinguistic intervention, especially in Catalonia. Thus, in 1980, the first year of a Catalan Government in a democracy and the first year of Pujol's governance, the General Directorate for Language Policy was established, directed by Aina Moll. Two years later, in April 1983, the Catalan Government passes the Law for Linguistic Normalisation (in the same year the Valencian Government passes the Law on Use and Teaching of Valencian (*Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià*) and three years later the Balearic Government passes the Law on Linguistic Normalisation of the Islands (*Llei de Normalització Lingüística de les Illes*). Also in 1983 two fundamental tools on the new Policy of Linguistic Normalisation came into operation: the aforementioned TV3 and *Catalunya Ràdio*. In a nutshell, the three areas of sociolinguistics in the 1970s and 1980s that we referred to (academic-intellectual, activist and political-institutional) are the bedrock that supports the Catalan language (and mainly its use) as a renovated expression of the imaginary of Catalanism and Catalanity to this day.

3. 2. About Catalan literature and *Catalan songs*

Let's briefly look at Catalan literature, the Catalans songs *(Cançó Catalana)* and Catalan Folk and Rock music of the 1960s and 1970s. These phenomena, especially the first two, have strong factual and symbolic ties with the language. There is renovation in these areas which entail important innovations for the imaginary and culture of Catalanism and Catalanity. Regarding the renovation of Catalan literature produced during this period, a generation of writers deserve to be highlighted, since in 1971, Oriol Pi de Cabanyes and Guillem J. Graells, categorized this generation as the "literary generation of the 1970s" (Pi de Cabanyes-Graells, 1971; Sullà, 1989: 254). Other outstanding members are Joaquim Soler, Jaume Fuster, Maria A. Oliver, Miuel

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Bauçà, Pep Albanell, Robert Saladrigas, Jaume Cabré, Montserrat Roig, Francesc Parcerisas, Miquel Desclot, etc. In terms of age and ideology, this generation is characterized by their incorporation into youth and literature, coinciding with the turbulent years of young-student leftish rebellion at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, with the last years of the Dictatorship, and the sympathising of many of their members with the new Marxist independentist movement. In literary terms, they share the characteristics of breaking with social realism, especially in poetry, which is in vogue during the emergence of this generation, in a tendency to transgress the canons literary tradition and, in certain authors, a quest for avant-garde. With respect to novel writing, new themes and registers are being adopted such as police plots and crime novels by Fuster and Oliver; femininity, widely dealt with by Roig and Oliver; fantasy (magic) and oneirism (also associated to the pop culture) which have become basic aspects in authors such as Oliver, Fuster, Soler, Pi de Cabanyes, Rendé and Fabregat; eroticism, found in Mesquida, Fuster, Carbó and that is the subject of the narrative work *Deu pometes té el pomer* (1979) by the group Ofèlia Dracs; the substrate of popular and traditional culture present in Oliver, historic novel and works of linguistic and social reflection by Cabré, Coca and Roig, and the young readers' novels by Saladrigues and Albanell (Joles Senell). The establishment of the group "Ofèlia Dracs" between 1976 and 1977 is of important consideration in defining the generation embracing this group of narrators (Pons, 2007; Picornell, 2007: 80-103; Broch, 1980: 122-126). Regarding the renovation in the poetry arena, it is necessary to mention poets such as Bauçà, Hac Mor, Parcerisas, Desclot, Comadira, Pessarodona, etc. However, for its illustrating potential and its intrinsic value we need to highlight the collection of poems *Latitud dels cavalls* (1973) by Francesc Parcerisas, which takes its title from the name of a song –*Horse latitudes*– by Jim Morrison, then leader of the American rock band The Doors. According to Rubió, "when writing Horse Latitudes, Parcerissas distances himself from the Catalan literary tradition and is drawn into poetic and cultural imaginaries *lato sensu* of the Post-war Europe, like other Catalan poets from the 1970 generation would do, especially those who like himself, try life outside the Spanish state (…). In the foundations of the poetic universe of Parcerisas and other authors and cultural referents from the USA and Great Britain and from all contemporary arts: literature, pop music, cinema, etc., play an important role"[1].

In tune with this renovation of Catalan literature, important evolutions take place within Catalan song writing too. Within the framework of the song music that emerged at the end of the 1950s –the *Nova Cançó*–, certain changes occurred that turned it into a cultural product more in tune with the mentality and the sensitivity that progressively emerged and consolidated among the young people in the 1960s and 1970s. These changes were aesthetic, symbolic (with regard to the frames of social representation) and ideological. Lluís Llach's work was indicative of this orientation. Two characteristics took shape in this production that would contribute to its popular success: on the one hand, a marked personalisation of the evoked, narrated stories,

[1] S. Rubió says: *"a l'hora d'elaborar Latituds dels cavalls, Parcerisas s'allunya de la tradició literària catalana i beu d'imaginaris poètics i culturals* latu sensu *de l'Europa de la postguerra, com faran altres poetes catalans de la generació dels setanta, particularment* aquells que, *com ell, tempten la vida fora de l'Estat (…). En la fonamentació de l'univers poètic de Parcerisas i d'altres autors, hi tenen un paper gens banal autors i referents culturals dels EUA i de la Gran Bretanya, i de totes les arts contemporànies: literatura, música pop, cinema…"* (RUBIÓ, 2010: 341-365).

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which often versed on the poet-singer themselves; on the other hand, a strong lyricism (graceful and of a popular taste during the first decade of its long trajectory) which was also projected in the rebellious themes. These traits, also found in other interpreters of the *Nova Cançó*, differentiate Llach and these others' songs from the music by other singers in this movement. The contrast is obvious enough if we compare Llach's songs with those composed and sung by Raimon during those decades, another fundamental figure of the *Nova Cançó*. Raimon songs tend to adopt more classical narrative aproaches -its narrative perspective usually goes from I to we with a collective value or rather it has an impersonal character with the will to objectify- and most of his songs (more so those which have become popular hymns) have a highly combative orientation.

3. 3. About folklore: folk and folk-rock music

Another important field of innovation in the imaginary of the Catalanism culture between the 1960s and 1970s is the reformulation of traditions as symbolic and festive materials. It is during this time that Catalan folk and folk-rock appear. Regarding the reception and development of these trends in Catalonia, it is important to take into account, on the one hand, the import of models (and songs) from American folk music, popular in the 1960s (mainly) and 1970s thanks to Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, etc.; and on the other hand, the easy access to publications of the traditional popular Catalan songbooks thanks to the important work carried out in this area since the *Renaixença* and its symbolic projection into the culture of Catalanism. Moreover, during the 1960s and 1970s important urban mutations and migration waves from the country to the cities take place. In any case, in spite of drawing on popular rural tradition, and of celebrating and recreating it, folk music is by no means traditionalist as such, but quite the contrary. As we said, folk music draws on folk tradition, but recreates its texts and music according to totally contemporary principles; that is, according to emerging principles of vision and division of reality, in tune with the late modern sensitivity and ideology, such as playfulness, spontaneity, creativity, the expressive liberation of bodies, etc., within a moral and aesthetic framework; and pacifism, environmentalism, alternative anti capitalism, etc., within an ideological framework. The first paradigmatic demonstration of folk music in the *Països Catalans* (Catalan speaking area) is the concert of Grup de Folk in May 1968 at Parc de la Ciutadella in Barcelona. Other important milestones in the consolidation of this musical trend in the framework of Catalan culture are the record companies *Als 4 Vents* (1969) and especially *Concèntric* (1964), the performances at la Cova del Drac in Barcelona, and the four great concerts celebrated at Canet –the Canet Rock Festival– between 1975 and 1978. Outstanding singers and groups of Catalan folk music between the mid-1960s and the 1970s are Pau Riba, Jaume Sisa, Xesco Boix, Jaume Arnella, Jordi Fàbregas, Guillem d'Efak, Coses, Uc, etc. Later incorporations such as the group Esquirols and Al Tall are worth mentioning, although the latter becomes successful in the following decades. In folk-rock and rock circles, the aforementioned Pau Riba and Jaume Sisa are worthy of further mention, together with Els 3 Tambors, Màquina!, Ia&Batiste, Orquestra Plateria, Companyia Elèctrica Dharma – established in 1974, becomes similarly to Al Tall, a powerful musical referent during the 1980s and 1990s – and singers such as Oriol Tramvia and Rocky Muntanyola (Jordi Batiste).

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3. 4. About “la terra” (the land)

The reconversion of the meaning of ‘the land’ (*la terra*) is another relevant expression of the renovation of the Catalanist imaginary of those years. Needless to say the “land” –the reference to the land– has been an important piece of the imaginary of Catalanism; and a rather steadfast one. What’s new in the period we deal with is the reconversion of this referent into a whole new set of meanings. We can refer to it as “ecopatriotism” or “patriotic environmentalism”. Indeed, in the mid-1970s a new model of identification with the land emerges that embraces an ecologic, environmental dimension and patriotic (or of defence of the territory, also in terms of patriotism or nationalism). A few basic milestones of this new frame of reference need highlighting. The first one is the campaign in defence of the Empordà Wetlands (*Aigüamolls de l’Empordà*) between 1975-1978, with remarkable activists such as Martí Boada and Jordi Sargatal. Another important event is the campaign against potential uranium extraction in the area of Osona. This campaign had as a core event the festival “Long Live the Land” (*Visca la Terra*) celebrated in L'Esquirol in July 1979. This festival was organised by the anti-uranium committee, and together with the local Folk music group Esquirols, welcomed the participation of groups and singers tied to the *Cançó Catalana*. Also within the framework of this ecological and patriotic fight, the fifth record by the group Esquirols, “Torna, torna Serrallonga” (Come back, come back Serrallonga) (1980) named after a song in the record, calling for action in defence of the territory: From the heart of Guilleries / a great roar will resound / and the walls in Tavertet / will echo sounds of war. / From Sau to the Cellera, / from El Far to Matagalls, / Serrallonga’s blunderbuss / will return to its hideouts. / Come back, come back, Serrallonga! / otherwise they’ll burn our oak, / they’ll rip out all the stones / they’ll rob us of our lands. (*Del cor de les Guilleries/sortirà un gran espetec/que en farà ressons de guerra/a les parets de Tavartet.// Des de Sau a la Cellera, /des del Far al Matagalls,/el trabuc d'en Serrallonga/tornarà als amagatalls.//Torna, torna Serrallonga/que l'alzina ens cremaran,/que ens arrencaran les pedres,/que la terra ens robaran*.) On the same thread as this, it is not by chance that in 1979 a new armed organisation appeared in the framework of more radical independentist groups, the self-named “Free Land” (*Terra Lliure*) or that in 1983-1984 appear, within the same space, new organisations such as, the Groups for Defence of the Land (*Grups de Defensa de la Terra*) and the Movement for Defence of the Land (*Moviment de defensa de la Terra*), which are the result of the disaffection with the Transition of some independentist, the political radicalisation of groups of young people in the 1980s and the redressing and growth of this space of reactive independentism. Finally, we can mention other examples of alliances between environmentalism and left wing nationalism, such as the campaigns promoted from within these circles against the nuclear power stations in the *Països Catalans* (Ascó, Vandellòs and Cofrents) and the campaigns of adhesion to ecologic movements in favour of alternative sources of energy, in a more general sense.

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3. 5. As for "independence"

Another central frame in the renewal of the representations of Catalanism is related to "independence", and its symbolic value. Until the 1960s, radical nationalism in favour of the independence of Catalonia mainly had referred to it as Freedom for Catalonia (*Llibertat de Catalunya*), and had been conceived as fundamentally "separatist". In other words, what is known today as independentism had been conceived and unnamed since the 1910s to the 1960s as "separatism". What is novel is the emergence, by the end of the 1960s, of a separatism that claims to be solely independentism, and by no means separatism. This is not a trivial change. It involves a basic change in perspective: separatism places the epicentre in the other, the appraised as dominator; the new independentism places the axis on the subordinate subject, the one seeking freedom. All in all, the new independentism introduces a self-centred conception. This is a key factor in a global dynamic of personalisation of nationalism that occurs during these years, the examples and expressions of which we have been explaining above. This transition between the old separatism and the new independentism takes place between the 1960s and 1970s. It is also a generational change that has an important milestone: the foundation of the Socialist Party of National Liberation (*Partit Socialista d'Alliberament Nacional*) (PSAN) in 1969 following the splitting up of the National Front of Catalonia (*Front Nacional de Catalunya*) (FNC). If PSAN became the first party of the modern independentism, FNC became the old party of historical separatism. Unlike with separatism, where socio economic matters are relegated from the sentiment and the patriotic vindications and often remain undefined, the new independentism is characterized by a strong ideology configured by all the sensitivities and ideologies during these years, such as revolutionary Marxism of national freedom (with the strong references of anti-imperialistic and decolonization processes), feminism, environmentalism, eco-pacifism, the rights of sexual minorities, etc.

3. 6. As for *Països Catalans* (Catalan Countries)

Finally, let's address a frame of reference that emerges with force during these decades: that of *Països Catalans*[1]. While Catalan nationalism has since the 19th Century often laid claim to the idea of a great Catalan nation that reintegrates all the Catalan speaking territories, this tradition has been marginal until the 1960s. However, there are other important precedents in the revindication of a "Greater Catalonia" (*Catalunya Gran*) by Prat de la Riba in "The Catalan nationality" (*La nacionalitat catalane)* (1906), the repeated pro-Catalanist demands made by Joan Sales in "Letters to Màrius Torres" (*Cartes a Màrius Torres)* (1956) and the program of "Exile notebooks" (*Quaderns de l'Exili)* (1943). Together with these and other precedents, the idea and the more recent demands for *Països Catalans*, and the popularisation of the term, start in the 1960s thanks to the work by Joan Fuster, "Us, Valencians" (*Nosaltres els valencians)* (1962). The independentism that emerged at the end of this decade incorporates and defends as a core idea the demand for *Països Catalans*. This is very important because this didn't

[1] The term *Països Catalans* (literally Catalan Countries) refers to the set of territories that share Catalan language and culture; these are: Catalonia, Valencian Country, Balearic Islands and the *Franja de Ponent* (a stretch of land west of Catalonia) within Spain, Northern Catalonia within France, and also the independent state of Andorra.

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occur during historical separatism, and this is the reason why Joan Sales, called the militants of *Estat Català* (Catalan State) "regional-separatists" in the work previously referred to. From the foundation of PSAN in 1969, another core and constant trait of Catalan independentism until today has been the idea of *Països Catalans*. Related to this, we should mention that democratization and diffusion of independentism since the 1990s also involves an expansion of the idea of *Països Catalans* beyond the circles of the nationalist or independentist intellectuality, and beyond political organisations with little popular incidence. With respect to the intellectual contribution to the concept of Països Catalans, it is important to acknowledge the reflexions by Alexandre Cirici, Fèlix Cucurull, Josep Ferrer i Ferrer and Max Cahner in Catalonia; by Josep Melià in Majorca, who in 1967 published *Els mallorquins*, -a work considered an concomitant with those by Fuster-, Josep Massot i Muntaner, Gregori Mir i Mayol, Josep Maria Llompart and Damià Pons. One of the most important spaces for reflexion on the question of *Països Catalans* was the 1st –clandestine- Congress of Catalan Culture in 1964 and the Congress of Catalan Culture between 1975 and 1977 in which more than twelve thousand people took part.

4. Assuming new *postmodern* ideological and identitarian framing

Finally, the ideological and symbolic modernisation of nationalism during these years consists in the incorporation of some figures and members into the alternative and revolutionary left wing of the time. We refer to feminism, environmentalism, pacifism, the fight for national emancipation (inspired in some cases in the Third World), revolutionary socialism, etc. Independentism in the historical moment we refer to (with a strong ideology but still with a social minority) stands out by assuming and making an emblem of these expressions that are characteristic of (an already) *postmodern* left wing. All the manifestations and cultural, ideological and symbolic changes mentioned so far are precedents of the important and relevant evolution of Catalan nationalism and independentism since the end of the 1980s until the present. We think that the Catalan case becomes especially interesting for researchers sensitive to the study of identities and otherness in the European cultural imaginary, as the understanding of the elements that configure the contemporary Catalan identity help us understand how identity becomes a permanent process of construction and reconstruction. Nowadays it is even more so since the Catalan case becomes of particular scientific interest due to the political evolution experienced in recent years with the formulation of a new political sovereignty project where the elements of intellectual, cultural and symbolic renovation are at the foundation of today's Catalan nationalism.

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