

ASPECTS OF CATALAN KINSHIP, IDENTITY, AND NATIONALISM

JOSEP R. LLOBERA

Generalities

WHAT is the bond that unites all those who form a nation? The modern literature on nationalism refers to objective factors such as common language, common religion, common culture, common history, etc. There is, however, another factor which used to be part of the list, but which in recent times has tended to fade into the background: *common descent*. Or perhaps, to put it more explicitly, the idea that the nation is a kinship group writ large. Social scientists may prefer to ignore that, but nationalist leaders refer frequently to ideas of common descent, often expressed in terms of shared blood and the like.¹

Gellner admits to the existence of 'dark instinctual drives in human beings, which makes them wish to be close to others of the same blood' (1993: 410), but these sentiments, he adds, cannot account for modern nationalism. Even if one agrees with Gellner's assertion, is it not the case that these sentiments may help us towards achieving a better understanding of national identity, and hence of nationalism?

1. The research presented here was assisted by a grant from Acciones Integradas (British Council/Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture). I would like to thank Joan Bestard, Dolors Comas, and Ignasi Terradas for the valuable information they provided me with in the writing of this paper.

Another phenomenon that needs to be mentioned in this context is that of national language as a kinship language. Loewenberg has rightly said that 'nationalism begins in the family and at home' (Loewenberg 1992: 94). Modern theories of nationalism downplay this factor, and can say with Gellner that 'nationalism does not have very deep roots in the human psyche' (Gellner 1983: 34). Deutsch, in a book somewhat forgotten today, could say as early as 1953 that nationalism was based on a common social culture which stemmed from the family and the home; it was the actual feeling of familiarity, comfort, and safety that made nationalism possible.

The sentiments generated during an early age towards parents and siblings create what Morin has called a 'psycho-affective component which can be labelled matri-patriotic' (Morin 1994: 225); these are later extended to the nation. Latin languages play with the bisexuality of the nation. The nation is envisaged as a mother who is protective and loving and hence must be cherished, but also as a father who is virile and represents authority and must be obeyed to the final sacrifice. The French word *patrie* (a feminine name for a masculine concept) expresses this fusion of the maternal and the paternal. Morin insists that it is in the expression *mère-patrie* that a kind of sacramentalization of the nation occurs. The sentiments required are those of effusion (towards the mother) and of obedience (towards the father).

The expression 'blood and soil' (*Blut und Boden*) well exemplifies traditional types of national identity. As Morin puts it (*ibid.*):

The matri-patriotic component implies a fraternal/sororal component (that is, among the children of the same fatherland) and a very strong sentiment of the fatherland as homeland (*Heimat*), that is, the fatherland as a roof, as a house (peoples might be wanderers, but fatherlands are not). It is easy to understand that from this conception should emerge the idea of common blood, and that this affective or emotional metaphor, when taken literally, may become national racism.

Connor has provided a long list of 'familial' metaphors used in English to indicate this state of things. In addition to fatherland and motherland, we have ancestral land, land of our fathers, sacred soil, land where our fathers died, native land, cradle of the nation, homeland, etc. (1994: 205). These expressions, and other similar ones, occur in many other European languages that I know of, and certainly in those with Latin roots. Furthermore, in Italian and Portuguese the word *matria* signifies the land that feeds you and rears you—culture at the affective-emotive level.

A final point to close these rather general introductory remarks. In an article entitled 'Kinship, nationality and religion' (1977), Schneider said that in America—and it is probably safe to generalize this to most Western cultures—one becomes a national by birth *or* through a process of what is rightly called *naturalization*. And this, adds Schneider, is as in kinship: there are kin by birth and kin by law. In fact, kinship and nationality are structured in a similar if not identical way:

What is the role of a national or of a kin? To love his country, that is his fatherland/motherland. It is also to support and to be loyal to his nation and to all those who belong to the big family that is the nation. Loyalty to one's country is the most generalized expression of the diffuse, enduring solidarity that starts with the family. (Ibid.: 68)

Schneider concludes by saying that kinship and nationality (and he adds religion as well) are all the same thing, culturally speaking. A case in point is that of Judaism, where family, nation, and religion form an inseparable totality.

A Catalan Case-study

Turning our eyes towards Catalonia, it is possible to say that the topic that I am presently dealing with has elicited a rather limited attention in the specialized literature. It is only in the past few years that anthropologists working in Catalonia have paid some passing attention to the issues of kinship, identity, and nationality. This has inevitably taken the form of 'rediscovering' the work of some late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century Catalan legal scholars, historians, or folklorists who had highlighted the idiosyncrasies of Catalan *vis-à-vis* Castilian kinship. However, as ethnic markers go, kinship and the family perhaps never figured prominently in the definition of Catalan national identity. Prat de la Riba, who published his seminal *Catalan Nationality* (1906) ninety years ago, did not refer specifically to anything distinctively Catalan in this area, although he mentioned a long list of particularizing Catalan features. It is true, however, that kinship and the family could be, and traditionally were, subsumed under the label of 'law'.

Let me highlight the points I am trying to make in this context:

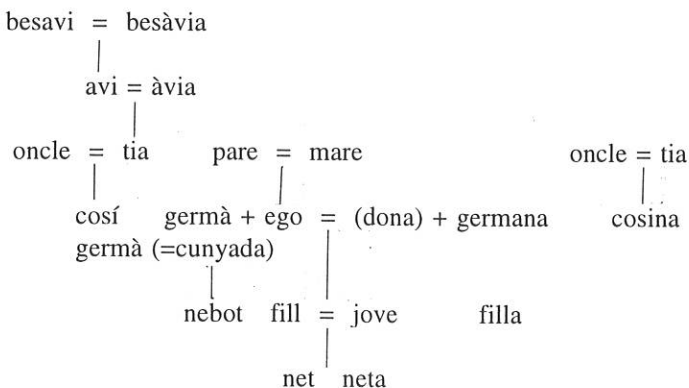
1. National identity is about *difference*. If we think of the world as divided into nations, each nation combines in a peculiar way a number of ethnic features or markers. It is often the case that in neighbouring, culturally similar nations, efforts to mark fewer differences are always greater than elsewhere. This is very much the case for Catalonia and Castile/Spain.
2. In the case of Catalonia, kinship is an ethnic marker with a limited though not unimportant presence. Although much more emphasis is given to the existence of a distinctive language, a specific history, etc., kinship, particularly at the turn of the century, played a distinctive role in the generalized attempt to differentiate things Catalan. Surprisingly enough, the Francoist period, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Llobera 1986), reinforced Catalan essentialism, and specifically a certain petrified vision of the past (including family and kinship), at a time when many of the institutions referred to had long disappeared under the impact of the accelerated process of industrialization.

3. The survival into recent times of the concept of *pairalisme*—an ideology which emphasized the idiosyncrasy of Catalan kinship—deserves to be emphasized. *Pairalisme* is a term coined by jurists, historians, and politicians which functions at a number of levels of the social register. It derives from the Occitan *paire* ('father') and indicates, in the first instance, a positive attitude towards the father, and generally speaking towards the ancestors. *Pairalisme*, which could be called rural familism, conjures up a number of institutions, including the centrality of the ancestral house and of primogeniture, which were meant to be typical of the Catalan countryside. It implies also a certain rural paternalism in which class relations were replaced by kinship ones. At the most general level, it projects an image of the countryside in which the dominant element was a 'non-conflictive, homogeneous Catalan peasantry', which was the basis of the Catalan nation. I shall come back to the concept of *pairalisme* later. (*Diccionari d'Historia de Catalunya* 1992: 772).
4. A final point here is that *pairalisme*, as well as more non-Catalan specific kinship and family metaphors, figure in both the speech of politicians and in literature. They were more frequent at the turn of the last century, but still have a presence today.

Origins of Catalan Kinship

Perhaps the only anthropologist who has looked at the origins of Catalan kinship is Ignasi Terradas (1984). He maintains that any research on origins is bound to be somewhat conjectural given the scarcity of materials. The period to consider is that of the early Middle Ages. Of course, it does not make much sense to talk about kinship in isolation; in other words 'the existence of institutionalised kinship is a political and economic phenomenon linked to the social totality' (*ibid.*: 19).

Catalan kinship terminology faithfully follows the Latin pattern:



None the less, there has been some speculation concerning the existence of pre-Roman kinship features as a way of asserting the specificity of the future Catalan national identity, which would have been preserved in the isolated Pyrenean valleys (Salrach, Bonnassie, etc.). In this sense the origins of the Catalan stem family (*familia pairal*) would be found in pre-Roman peoples (Iberian and others).

What seems to be the case, leaving aside other considerations, is that the *familia pairal* or stem family, which would appear as typically Catalan by the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, did not come into existence earlier than the ninth to tenth centuries. This is a type of family which is essentially bilateral and patrifocal.

Traditional Roman kinship distinguished between agnatic and cognatic relationships. *Patria potestas* was only exerted over the agnatic group. The cognatic group was formed of relatives, through both affinity and consanguinity, who did not form part of the agnatic group. By the early Middle Ages it is no longer clear who are the agnatic and cognatic relatives, because the terms have changed meaning.

Terradas maintains that the development of the *familia pairal* reflects the agrarian crisis of the Carolingian period and its resolution. And this is where the institution of unigeniture, usually male primogeniture or the *hereu* (heir) system, is relevant. In no way should these early *families pairals* be seen as similar to the Roman agnatic groups, although they are patrilocal, patrifocal, and tend to enforce male primogeniture. The mistake is to bring into the early feudal period categories like lineage which are typical of tribal societies where there is no political superstructure.

The institution of the *hereu* (heir), that is, usually male primogeniture with indivisible inheritance, appeared as an attempt to attach peasants to the land: 'these people received land on the liberal tenure of *aprisio*, which created a quasi-proprietary right under comital protection' (Bisson 1986: 21). This type of colonization was encouraged from the late ninth century onwards, when the east Pyrenean counties that later would constitute the nucleus of Catalonia started to detach themselves from the Carolingian Empire and become autonomous under Count Guifré and his successors.

What made the institution of the *hereu* appropriate in these circumstances? First, in this system a family was fixed or fastened to a piece of land, while at the same time the non-heirs were forced to look for land elsewhere. Secondly, it established a principle of authority within the *familia pairal*. At a wider political level, expansion also favoured the interests of the Church and the nobility, which in this way could increase their income.

In the mid-eleventh century the process of conquest and colonization of Muslim-held lands came to a standstill, at least for a time. This was the result of the establishment of a rather severe process of servitude in the countryside.

The representatives of the Counts and the local, small nobility, seized public property, usurped Church property and confiscated land under the control of the peasants and constituted themselves as hereditary lords. Peasants were left with the usufruct of the property, which was subjected to a series of limitations. In addition part of the peasants were prohibited to leaving the manor without paying a ransom or *remença*. Hence the expression *pagesos de remença* or 'ransom peasants'. (Balcells 1996: 3–4)

After the demographic devastation of the fourteenth century due to the plague or Black Death, the Catalan countryside was depopulated and many properties reverted to fallow. The existing feudalism started to tumble down under these conditions. There followed a protracted struggle between feudal lords and the feudalized peasants (the *pagesos de remença*). After a century of confrontation, in the late fifteenth century (1468) King Ferdinand decided to free the *pagesos de remença* from their most onerous servile duties and they were allowed to buy their freedom and given some rights to the lands they had cultivated as servile tenant farmers. This was the beginning of a solid class of free peasants, unheard of in other parts of the Iberian peninsula, which in the centuries to come would become proprietors of the lands they cultivated.

In conclusion to Terradas's research on the origins of Catalan kinship, it should be said that he sees its meaning changing: it is not something perennial, but evolves with the general conditions of the country, and more specifically with the transition from feudalism to capitalism.

The Making of Pairalisme: Patriotism and Traditionalism

I have already said that the importance of the family as a defining feature of Catalan national identity was perceived and emphasized for the first time in the late nineteenth century. Originally it came from the more traditional, that is, a religious, conservative, and ruralist perspective, which was competing with a more progressive, democratic, popular, and urban viewpoint. The group defending the pairalist vision of Catalonia was centred in the northern town of Vic and published a magazine called the *Voice of Montserrat* (the Virgin of Montserrat being the female patron saint of Catalonia). Their leading figure was Torras i Bages. It needs to be said that the terminology used by Torras and his colleagues is not always clearly nationalist: they refer to Catalonia indifferently as a region, country, nationality, and fatherland (*patria*,) and to Spain as a state and nation—they called their doctrine regionalism, not nationalism.

Bishop Josep Torras i Bages, whose see was in Vic, was one of the most important public figures of his time in Catalonia. In his book *The Catalan Tradition* (1892) he clearly relates family and country; here is a representative quotation from it:

The family is the substance and basis of social organization. Social decadence supposes decay in the family. Social regeneration, social reconstruction, must begin with the reconstruction of the family. We turn our eyes to Spain, and we see that the spirit is strongest in those nationalities that have the strongest regional spirit. Love for the homestead, the desire to preserve the patrimony, the order of the family hierarchy...all is superior where regional life has been maintained, even in the decayed form, as opposed to those areas which are confused with the great mass, the nation. (1966: 67)

Generally speaking, his book presented a romantic, conservative, Catholic vision of Catalonia. His well-known statement, 'If Catalonia is to exist, it must be Christian', exemplifies well his state of mind. A famous source of his inspiration was Herder's doctrine of the *Volksgeist*. In this context Catalonia is envisaged as a God-created moral person, with a clear place in the history of Europe, a thriving medieval nation which went underground and has been reawakened by the Romantic movement.

Torràs i Bages insisted that the foundation of Catalan regionalism can only be found in the Catalan tradition, and specifically in past thinkers who clearly show the existence of a Catalan national character.

As I have said above, his thought is not always clearly nationalist in the modern sense of the term. Catalonia is referred to as both a region and a nationality, and the movement he favours is called regionalism. The modern, centralizing, unitary state—Spain in this case—is envisaged as an artificial entity which cannot generate patriotic sentiments: only the region or nationality can do that. The unitary state (a term not used by Torràs) does not bring human harmony, and its interventionism leads to the collapse of natural, social bonds. Only the small units (regions) generate sentiments which give strength to the social body:

Patriotic love develops only at the level of the small unit (region); the state can generate a similar, but never as powerful and beautiful sentiment. [Torràs insists that patriotic sentiments resemble filial love.] Our country is like our mother; it is the cause of our being, and we are what we are, because she is what she is. The children of the country reflect the qualities of the mother. It is only at the level of the region that human beings can become truly patriotic. It is like an instinctive sentiment, but it is also a civilizing principle. It attaches a people to a territory, it encourages the flourishing of the spirit of the family and it creates a tradition which transmits ancient wisdom. (Ibid.: 63)

Love of country is like an instinct for preservation: solidarity and identification with the fatherland is so absolute that it is not surprising to see it expressed in the following Horatian line: *Dulcem et decorum est pro patria mori* ['it is sweet and becoming to die for one's own country']. To believe that human beings will be willing to sacrifice their lives for a distant and abstract unitary state would be to ignore human nature. (Ibid.: 64)

It is in this context that Torras brings in the imagery of the family again. The state is not a *patria* (fatherland) but a distant and unknown mother, and hence it can hardly elicit any sentiments of love—or, if it does so, they would be only superficial ones. Only the region is truly a *mare patria* (a fatherland as a mother). There are other sentiments (of humanity, of the state), but it is only the patriotic sentiment which is crucial, and also the most *natural* and lasting one.

It is then fair to conclude that there is a clear connection between family and country in the mind of Torras i Bages. The family is the foundation of social organization; social decadence implies the decline of the family. A morally vigorous and united family is a source of societal strength. There is a clear correlation between a thriving fatherland and the love of homestead and family. Regionalism favours the family spirit, while statism (centralism) endangers it by enhancing individualistic and egotistical values. In addition, regionalism is more natural since it follows the divine law. Torras closes his argument by saying that the homestead or ancestral home (*casa pairal*) is the pillar of Catalonia.

Kinship and National Identity in Catalan Poetry

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Catalan patriotic poetry has often used kinship and family imagery to convey the sentiments which are deemed appropriate to the fatherland.

In one of the most popular nineteenth-century poets, Pitarra, we find different registers of the word *patria*. One of his poems connects fatherland with the ordinary things of life: a hearth with a fire, wife and children, the home. In another poem, loyalty to the fatherland takes precedence over family duties.

A recurrent theme is that of one's country as mother earth. For example, a poem entitled 'The Day of the Clay Men' brings together earth, mother, blood, and country. The country is envisaged as a mother who is defended against her enemies by her children to the point of offering their blood (Didac Ruiz), which fertilizes the earth (A. Guimerà). Sometimes Catalonia is compared both to an oak-tree and a mother.

As earth, the mother country appears also as a nourishing and generous mother, a sweet and quiet mother looking after her children (Lopez-Picó). The continuity of the fatherland is also emphasized; the children may die, but the mother country is eternal (Apelles Mestres).

Finally, when reference is made to Catalonia and Spain, the point is made that you cannot have two mothers; you are born only in one country, which is your true mother (F. Arnau).

Anthropologists and Historians Come to Terms with Pairalisme

In a recent article (1995) Bestard has perceptively summarized the contribution made by jurists to the issue of *pairalisme*. He says:

The Catalan legal scholars and folklorists of the turn of the century created a new image of the Catalan family as they imagined a new nation. They announced the modernity of the nation on the basis of tradition; family is the metaphor linking customary local practices with homogeneous law. The family has its law (Maspons i Anglesell *dixit*) and that law can be generalized to the nation. The idea of a homogeneous family type characteristic of Catalonia, with an old domestic organization which is central to the social reproduction of Catalonia as a nation, is due to these scholars. (Ibid.: 250–1)

According to Bestard, one of the most powerful symbols of Catalan kinship is the house (*casa*). 'An individual receives his/her identity as a member of a house; from it depends his name and position in the community' (ibid.: 257). With this term two different sorts of idea converge: ideas of kinship and ideas of territory. So, in the Catalan mind, the house becomes a symbol of the nation.

The centrality of the house for Catalonia was perceived by a number of turn-of-the-century Catalan legal scholars: Josep Duran i Bas, Josep Faus i Condomines, Victorino Santamaria i Tous, Francesc Maspons i Anglesell, and others. They related it, via Le Play, to the originality of the Catalan stem family. On the other hand, political ideologists and politicians used the institution of the house as an emblem of the Catalan nation in opposition to the centralized state.

I have already suggested that the stem family and the house were perceived as the foundation of a homogeneous social order that was related to national identity. However, this was happening at a time when the process of industrialization was taking place and the nation was changing along with it. The house was a symbolic reservoir which allowed one to see individuals rooted in the past as well as being active in the present (ibid.).

In imagining the community that was Catalonia, nothing was better than the ancestral home (*casa pairal*); the house was seen as the first circle of belonging upon which the nation was built; the house maintained language and culture, a particularly important thing in a country where the state was alien. That is why somebody like Josep Faus, in 1907, saw 'the house as the refuge of national continuity' (ibid.: 258).

Another early twentieth-century legal scholar, Victorino Santamarina, insisted that 'the perpetuation of the family via the idea of house was the cornerstone of the Catalan family, in opposition to the Castilian one which had no continuity and was dissolved after one generation. How was this continuity affected in the case of the Catalan family? People live in the same house and have the same house name. This is the reason for pride and social prestige (ibid.).

As I said above, the Francoist period had the surprising effect of solidifying a kind of Catalan essentialism. *Pairalisme* was enthroned as a Catalan virtue at a time when the society had anyway changed beyond recognition to a modern industrial one. One of the leading historians of the period, Jaume Vicens-Vives, in a book published in 1954 entitled *Notícia de Catalunya* (A panorama of Catalonia), emphasized many of the specific characteristics of Catalan kinship, while rejecting *pairalist* ideology. *Notícia de Catalunya* was an extremely influential book, and it shaped residual and hidden Catalan nationalism in one of the darkest periods of the history of Catalonia.

It is interesting to note, as Bestard and others do, that in the industrial context of today *pairalisme* has not lost all its power. Urban people, namely people from Barcelona, often refer to their ancestral home, a rural house where their ancestors originated. More commonly, a second house in the countryside may become the *casa pairal*, with family name and Catalan flag included. *Pairalisme* has become a cultural ideal which forms part of the Catalan tradition, in which even immigrant families can participate.

Becoming a National: The Issue of Immigration

According to Comas (1993), belonging and non-belonging are essential categories of the life of individuals in modern nations and states. To be a national means to belong to the nation; to be an alien, a foreigner, denies this quality. The alien may live in our society but he or she does not belong to its core, to what we might designate as the 'community'. Different countries define this belonging to the community with different metaphors. The racial analogy was common in the past (*Reinrassiger Deutscher, italiano di razza*); in other cases blood was emphasized ('full-blooded Englishman'). The idea of deep roots appears also frequently. In Catalan the expression is to be *a Català de soca-rel*, 'a root-and-branch Catalan'. In Spanish the expression would be *Español de pura cepa*, 'Spaniard of pure stock'.

An extremely interesting issue in relation to Catalonia is how it has managed to maintain and preserve its sense of national identity in spite of two extremely powerful forces working against it:

1. In approximately a century the population of Catalonia has grown from two to six million inhabitants in spite of having the lowest birth-rate in the whole of Europe. Over the period under consideration Catalonia has absorbed over three million immigrants. In the 1920s and 1930s they came from neighbouring areas, in the 1950s and 1960s mainly from Andalusia and other parts of Spain, and at present they originate from North and West Africa.

2. For most of this period, particularly under Franco (1939–75), Catalonia was subjected to the most intense ‘denationalizing’ process ever known, with the clear and avowed aim of totally uprooting Catalan national identity.

The success story of Catalonia is that it has not only managed to preserve the identity of the original Catalans, but that it has largely managed to integrate the majority of immigrants into the Catalan imagined community. This has been largely done essentially through language and culture. This is a pattern, involving immigration, which had occurred in previous centuries.

From afar, Catalonia may appear to be a homogeneous country, but close-up the situation can be seen to contain important cleavages which have nevertheless generated little conflict. Who is a Catalan? For those Spanish citizens not born but living in Catalonia there are some legal requirements in terms of residence (ten years) to qualify as a Catalan.

It has been a policy of the overall majority of Catalan parties (even before Franco’s death) that Catalans are those who live and work in Catalonia and express the wish to be Catalans. Here we can observe, unlike in other definitions of nationhood, how no requirements in terms of blood or descent are needed. The requirements are at the level of residence and at the level of consciousness. Although some references may be found to a difference between new and old Catalans (Estivill and Giner 1985), these are rather superficial distinctions. Indeed, it would be very easy to distinguish between Catalans and non-Catalans at a non-cultural and non-linguistic level simply by reference to patronymics. It is true that today only a quarter of Catalans can boast four grandparents with Catalan surnames.

Renan insisted that the nation was a spiritual family. More recently, Schneider (in *American Kinship*, 1968) has claimed that a kin is somebody who occupies a genealogical position *or* somebody who behaves like a kin. Something similar happens at the level of the nation: a national is somebody who is born in a certain country or who behaves like the people of this country (i.e. who has adopted the culture of this country).

The nation is a metaphor of the family. Those born in the nation are like consanguineals, whereas those who are incorporated into the nation (i.e., naturalized) are like in-laws. It should be theoretically possible to represent the nation as a huge genealogy showing that there is a degree of kinship among all its members. These blood ties are what cements the nation as a homogeneous social reality. If we provisionally leave aside naturalization, we can see that the nation is a natural entity (ascription by birth), unavoidable (there is no choice), and transhistorical (related to past ancestors and future descendants).

Recent Catalan ideologists have emphasized the process of inclusiveness, that is, the conscious policy of integrating immigrants into the Catalan national project; in this context, language, culture, and historical memory are things to be shared between old and new Catalans.

Catalan Kinship Today

As regards Catalan kinship and family, the first thing to emphasize is its distinctiveness; the Catalan system of inheritance has no parallel in the rest of Spain (Puig-Salellas 1988).

It is important to remember, though, that the *hereu* system was only operative in the rural areas of what is traditionally called Old Catalonia (that is, the northern half of Catalonia); the southern part of Catalonia (which corresponds to the province of Tarragona) and the urban, industrial areas did not know this system. It has been suggested that the fact that the *hereu* system was not introduced into the industrial world tends to create a situation of indecisiveness due to the presence, after two or three generations, of too many relatives (Puig-Salellas 1988: 15–20) at the managerial level.

In the Catalan traditional system, the heir inherits three-quarters of the capital. This is a system of unigeniture, usually male primogeniture, although if there are no male heirs a female (*pubilla*) heir is substituted. The rest of the siblings divide a quarter of the capital among themselves, the daughters in the form of a dowry, the sons in the form of a capital stake. The *pater familias* has freedom in the designation of the *hereu*, although male primogeniture is the rule. At some stage in his life, when his children are of age, the *pater familias* decides who the *hereu* will be and organizes the marriage contract.

The *familia pairal* is strong only in some rural areas, and these are becoming fewer and fewer. The couple, husband and wife, have become much more central than ever before. The idea of a familial patrimony is no longer relevant; children tend to marry and leave, and if they stay they are economically independent. The importance given to liquid assets places agricultural property in a rather secondary position. In any case, only six per cent of the population are employed in agriculture today, as against fifty per cent in 1900 and many more before that. Furthermore, Catalonia is a macrocephalic society, with seventy per cent of the population living around Barcelona (McDonough 1986).

Conclusion

Pairalisme as an ideology is not dead but is preserved in some form at the level of the Catalan national character. Recent ethnographic research by Andrés Barrera (1986, 1990) shows that the peasants of the north-eastern part of Catalonia still hold fast to the practices of the Catalan system of family and kinship and that they believe it to be something that differentiates them from other Spaniards. In other words, *pairalisme* is one of the stereotypes that are believed in at some level of the Catalan psyche by an important number of people. These values, along with many others—like the idea that the Catalans believe in compromise (*pactisme*), or that

they oscillate between conservative judiciousness (*seny*) and extremist rashness (*rauxa*)—are still bandied about in political language and everyday life. They have to be taken into account, because they shape, to a certain extent, people's behaviour.

REFERENCES

- BALCELLS, A. 1996. *Catalan Nationalism*, London: Macmillan.
- BARRERA, C. 1986. *La dialéctica de la identidad*, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- ... 1990. *Casa, herencia y familia en la Cataluña rural*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- BESTARD, J. 1995. 'Law, Tradition and the Making of the Catalan Family', *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. XV, no. 3, pp. 249–63.
- BISSON, T. N. 1986. *The Medieval Crown of Aragon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- COMAS, D. 1993. 'L'arbre et la maison: Métaphores de l'appartenance', in D. Fabre, (ed.), *L'Europe entre cultures et nations*, Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- CONNOR, W. 1994. *Ethnonationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- DEUTSCH, K. 1953. *Nation and Social Communication*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- DICCIONARI D'HISTORIA DE CATALUNYA 1992. 'Pairalisme', Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- ESTIVILL, J., and S. GINER 1985. 'La identitat social de Catalunya', in *Actes de les primeres jornades catalanes de sociologia*, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- GELLNER, E. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- ... 1993. 'Nationalism', in W. Outhwaite and T. Bottomore (eds.), *The Blackwell Dictionary of Social Thought*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- LLOBERA, J. R. 1986. *The Role of Historical Memory in (Ethno)nation-building*, London: Goldsmiths Sociology Papers.
- LOEWENBERG, P. 1992. 'The Psycho-Dynamics of Nationalism', *Journal of the History of European Ideas*, Vol. XV, pp. 86–103.
- MCDONOUGH, G. 1986. *Good Families of Barcelona*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MORIN, E. 1994. 'Pour une théorie de la nation', in his *Sociologie*, Paris: Fayard.
- PRAT DE LA RIBA, E. 1977 [1906]. *La nacionalitat catalana*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino.
- PUIG-SALELLAS, J. M. (ed.) 1988. *Encontre*, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- SCHNEIDER, D. 1968. *American Kinship*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- ... 1977. 'Kinship, Nationality and Religion in American Culture', in J. L. Dolgin, D. S. Kemnitzer, and D. M. Schneider (eds.), *Symbolic Anthropology*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- TERRADAS, I. 1984. *El mon històric de les masies*, Barcelona: Curial.
- TORRAS I BAGES, J. 1892 [1966]. *La tradició catalana*, Barcelona: Editorial Selecta.
- VICENS-VIVES, J. 1954. *Noticia de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives.