

Social and Political Victims Become the Founders of a New Democratic Civil Society under Dictatorial Rule.

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With this paper I would like to contribute to the on-going re-evaluation of the role of the different agents of social and political change during the Democratisation process not only in Catalonia, but also in overall Spain. Re-evaluation, in which sometimes Democratisation of society, political change and institutional change are confounded. The anti-Francoist Movements in Barcelona, I will present here, are not anything new for the scientific community of the late Francoism and Democratic Change in Spain¹. However, I ask you to read this article in the broader framework of this present re-evaluation of the contemporary Spanish history. Challenging historical narrations emphasize the Democratising role of the negotiation ability of the social political elites in the transition², foreign agents³ and even

¹ One of the first works presented on anti-Francoist social movements was published shortly after the first elections by the sociologist José Maria Maravall, who became later MP: Maravall, José M. (1978): *Dictadura y disenso político. Obreros y estudiantes bajo el franquismo*. Zugl.: Madrid: Eds Alfaguara. More recently there are authors who explicitly emphasize that the social movements drove the regime in to crises. There for see the huge amount of works of Pere Ysàs, Carme Molinero and Xavier Domènech.

² Certainly, in no other transition has the emphasis on skilled and innovative leadership been so marked, this is due to leading position of Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan in compared research on democratic transitions on global scale who argue: "No-one can ignore the structurally favourable conditions in Spain, but there can be no doubt that this particularly successful transition owes much to agency." Linz, Juan J.; Stepan, Alfred (1997): *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe*. [2. print]. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, p. 92, also: Sastre García, Cayo (1997): *Transición y desmovilización política en España (1975-1978)*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico Universidad de Valladolid, p. 46 and Gunther, Richard (1995): *Spain*.

the regime itself with its competing fractions of the *movimiento*-burecrats and Opus-Dei-politicians.⁴ All these agents took part in the historical events which led to the political Democratization in Spain, and if we focus on the evolutionary process which built up a new social culture and traditions, we should not exaggerate the role of the élites.⁵ The first Democratization process, which took place during nearly two decades prior to the political transition, was a bottom-up phenomenon. It found its end with the first general elections, and was replaced by Democratization from above, which promoted a more representative understanding of Democracy, not as participative and self-organised as prior to the election.⁶ This article only concerns the first Democratization of society and should be seen as a statement to the question of who built up the Democratic civil society and the Democratic consensus in Barcelona, a key place of the people's struggle for Democracy against the authoritarian regime of Francisco Franco. As I discuss in my work, these were the anti-Francoist movements. Based on many fold victim-identities, these movements developed cognitive action frames which led not only to Democratization in civil society,

the very model of the modern elite settlement. In: Higley, John (Eds): *Elites and democratic consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. 1. publ., reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

³ As an example: Muñoz Sánchez, Antonio; Viñas, Ángel (2012): *El amigo alemán. El SPD y el PSOE de la dictadura a la democracia*. 1. eds Barcelona: RBA Libros.

⁴ One of the most radical examples of this point of view is: Moa, Pío (2010): *La transición de cristal. Franquismo y democracia*. 1 eds Madrid: Libroslibres. Moa generally argues in his books, that the regime disciplined the Spanish people to be capable for a democratic system after the failed experiment of the Second Spanish Republic.

⁵ As Blakeley summarizes: "Both Bermeo and Tarrow concur that the temporal focus of much of the democratization literature, both in general and that on Spain in particular, is mistaken and this is why insufficient attention is paid to the role of groups within civil society. Tarrow argues that rather than concentrating on the rather narrow and limited process of elite pacts in the 1970s, a look at the prolonged period of struggle in civil society prior to the transition 'shows a much richer and broader-based process'. Mass collective action, he argues, is 'an essential stage for preparing the way for elites to craft democracy' (Tarrow 1995:208). This is a point echoed by Bermeo who argues that the mistaken focus of much of the literature comes from the fact that much of the narrative starts 'at or near the beginning of the period of liberalisation', therefore 'those chronologies inevitably portray labour and civil society as reactive rather than initiating' (Bermeo 1997:10). As such Bermeo and Tarrow argue for a reinterpretation of elite settlements as the culmination, rather than the starting point of processes of democratization." Blakeley, Georgina (2004): *Building local democracy in Barcelona*. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, P. 6-7. Compare: Tarrow, S. (1995): *Mass Mobilisation and Regime Change*. Pacts, Reform and

Popular Power in Italy (1918-1922) and Spain (1975-1978). In: R. Gunther, P. Diamandouros and H.J. Puhle (eds): *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. And: Bermeo N. (1997) *The Power of the People*, Working Paper, No. 97, Madrid: Juan March Institute.

⁶ Giner and Sevilla as example argue, that political transition in Spain could be defined as the re-adaptation of the dominant classes to democracy in order to retain their hegemony.

Giner, Salvador; Sevilla, Eduardo (1980): *From Despotism to Parliamentarianism. Class Domination and political Order in the Spanish State*. In: Scase, Richard (ed.): *The state in Western Europe*. London: Croom Helm (Social analysis), S. 197–229.

but enforced the civil society activity from nearly zero to high levels of protest, solidarity and self-organization. This Democratization of the civil (there for active and self-organized) society caused a Democratization of the political sphere⁷ and not the other way around as it is often argued.

There are still some scholars of the Spanish transition, who counter that the civil society in general was quite weak before the Democratic reforms of the Suarez government.⁸ Others don't deny the existence of a strong civil society, but confuse a civil society with party organizations of the *Movimiento* on the local scale, and argue at times that the regime itself erected a Democratic civil society.⁹ However, these grassroots-organizations of the single political party during Francoism should foster a mass-movement directed by the *Movimiento*. First, they were lacking in Democratic conviction. Second, as they were dependent on the regime, they were, per definition, impossibly part of the civil society, which has to have organizational independence from the government. However, some of these organizations/associations indeed became collective agents of Democratic civil society, but only in the moment when they were undercut by Democratic anti-Francoists. There are also scholars who argue that the rising of the civil society in the 1960s in Spain was a result of economic liberalization and the cognitive changes in a market society and the following changes in the social structure.¹⁰ As Huntington pointed out, a liberal market

⁷ I would even say the civil society showed the so called young *carreristas* of the regime, as Martin Villa and Adolfo Suarez, that the only way of handling this social and liberty demands, is to change the system to a representative democracy. The social movements fostered certain democratization in the political sphere, but these politicians, now in the first row of the government, regained the hegemony over the public sphere from first election campaign in 1977 on.

⁸ As only one example: Sastre García, Cayo (1997): *Transición y desmovilización política en España (1975-1978)*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico Universidad de Valladolid.

⁹ Radcliff, Pamela Beth (2011): *Making democratic citizens in Spain. Civil society and the popular origins of the transition, 1960-78*. Basingstoke, Hampshire England, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹⁰ This can be seen as today's main current of interpretation. Here only some examples: Pérez Díaz, Víctor Miguel (1993): *La primacía de la sociedad civil. El proceso de formación de la España democrática*. Madrid: Alianza Ed, also: Tezanos, José Félix (1989): *La crisis del franquismo y la transición democrática en España*. In: Tezanos, José Felix (ed.): *La transición democrática española*. Madrid: Eds Sistema, S. 9–30. Santos, Julià (1990): *Obreros y sacerdotes. cultura democrática y movimientos sociales de oposición*. In: Tusell, Javier; Alted Vigil, Alicia; Mateos, Abdón (eds): *La oposición al régimen de Franco. Estado de la cuestión y metodología de la investigación; actas del congreso internacional que, organizado por el Departamento de Historia Contemporánea de la UNED, tuvo lugar en Madrid, del 19 al 22 de octubre de 1988*. Madrid: UNED Departamento de Historia Contemporánea, S. 147–159. But also: Alba (1978), Carr and Fusi (1979), Coverdale

economy and Democratization don't have to go together at all, as Democratization of the society is an evolutionary process of the society's culture and traditions, and not a meter of economic development.¹¹ Democracy to be stabilized needs a broader demand for liberties.

Let us turn back to today's thesis and title of this study: "Anti-Francoist Social Movements in Barcelona: Social and Political Victims Become the Founders of a New Democratic Civil Society under Dictatorial Rule." To explain it, I would like to respond to three key questions:

- First, why is the identity of feeling like a victim so important?
- Second, what are the different anti-Francoist social movements?
- Third, why have they become the founders of the Democratic civil society?

Applied sources and methods:

The sources of my study are mixtures of interviews with members of these social movements and archive materials. I personally conducted 22 in-depth interviews with members of all kinds of former anti-Francoist groups, asking mainly their motivation to participate in collective action. Later, I gained access to and analysed over 50 other interviews conducted by the *Centre d'Estudis sobre les Èpoques Franquista i Democràtica* of the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* with members of the students' and the neighbours' movement.

The most important archive materials for my project are police reports by the *Brigada Politico Social* in Barcelona and administrative reports in the civil government. From the

(1979), Malefakis (1982), Medhurst (1984), Maravall (1982) and Preston (1986).

¹¹ The most distinguished exponent of this structural and economic approach to the international democratization debate is Francis Fukuyama (1989) with his article „The End of History?", *The National Interest* No.16. P. 3-18. But this point of view caused a lot of critic with Huntington, Samuel P. (2003): *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, on its fore front. This initiated a general paradigm change in transformation research from economy to culture. A merely institutional change is now see as unsustainable if culture of a society is not heading in the same direction.

point of view of the movements I analyzed mainly the actions framed and illustrated by the newspapers and flyers.

In the analysis for this paper, I applied mainly the framing approach and its cognitive action frames, although generally I'm also working with the new social movement theory, the recourse mobilization approach and partly with political opportunity structure approach.¹²

Why is the identity of feeling like a victim so important?

Let's start with the key question: Why is the identity of feeling a victim so important? For this very reason, I would like to show one example in an interview I conducted with the former feminist activist Monserrat Fernández Garrido:

“I was born in 1954 as child and grandchild of leftist activists, more precisely of members of the Communist Party, who suffered, after the civil war, torture, prison, hard economic pressure, and exile, some to foreign countries, others in Spain. For example, my parents had to move from Granada (Andalusia) to Catalonia, to survive and to get away from the continuous repression by the police. My grandparents escaped to Casa Blanca and later to Belgium. The entire family had been activists, and me, I grew up in a barrack in the outskirts of Barcelona, without water, electricity or telephone. Every day I had to go to a

¹² more precicely in: Musil, Florian (2011): Los movimientos antifranquistas de Barcelona al final de la dictadura: Propuesta para un esquema analítico de movimientos sociales contemporáneos. Paper presented at III Encuentro de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea (AHC), Vitoria - Gasteiz, in septiembre 2011 http://univie.academia.edu/florianmusil/Papers/1687416/Los_movimientos_antifranquistas_de_Barcelona_al_final_de_la_dictadura_Propuesta_para_un_esquema_analitico_de_movimientos_sociales_contemporaneos and Musil, Florian (2011): La Transición Democrática en España desde abajo: el ejemplo del Movimiento Estudiantil en Barcelona. Paper presented at Las XIII Jornadas Interescolares Departamentos de Historia, in August 2011, Catamarca –Argentina, http://univie.academia.edu/florianmusil/Papers/1656356/La_Transicion_Democratica_en_Espana_desde_aba_jo_el_ejemplo_del_Movimiento_Estudiantil_en_Barcelona.

fountain to get water. And, I had to go to a Catholic nun-school, although my parents and grandparents are atheists, they are non-believers.”

That's the most illustrative interview, as it describes a big part of the typical victim-narration of the former activists in one and the same moment of the interview. The other victim narrations are not as defined, but majority of my interviewees grew up in families which suffered social injustice and repression by the regime. The narrative to be borne in a type of family categorized as losers of the former civil war was quite common in the interviews I conducted. They suffered oppression as consequence of specific political opposition during and after the civil war. The resulting injustices subjectively inflicted were due to their working class level status, or their Catalanist conviction. Activists born in bourgeois families sometimes were brought up with Republican consciousness, or a catholic sense of compassion, which drove them to denounce and struggle against the exploitation of the poorer parts of the population.

Let's take a step back to the evolvement of victimist narratives of so many social activists in Barcelona during the late Francoism and the Democratic transition. These narratives are quite common in Barcelona, which explain the broad frame resonance that produced the collective action frames of the anti-Francoist movements in large parts of the population of this city, fundamental for the broad external support received by these movements.¹³

In the 1930's the city was already a well industrialized area with a high working-class population and it was the capital of the ethnical minority of Catalans. Therefore, Barcelona was the most important bastion in defending the Republic and its regional rights and social reforms. The result was a strong Republican and mainly leftist base, which had to assume that they had lost the civil war. The later Francoists couldn't erase them, but silenced them for decades by hard repression. This is an illustrative example for the general thesis in the

¹³ Snow, D., Burk Rochford, S. Benford, R. (1986): Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. In: American Sociological Review No.51, P. 464-481.

social movement research that consequently realized violent repression, can silence any opposition.¹⁴

The Catalan language was also severely repressed in the first decades. This meant the victim identity also applied to Catalanist parts of the middle and upper class, some of them former supporters of the military coup. They also had to maintain silence if they wanted to survive the first decade after the civil war with furious anti-Catalan repression.¹⁵

The silent multitudes grew in the 1950s and 1960s, due to the economic success of the region. The suburbs of Barcelona nearly exploded by immigration from Southern Spain and Aragon. The main pull factors for this migration were the higher level of employment around Barcelona, and the anonymity people could find in a large city. If we look at the push factors of the migration from the rural areas of Spain, the necessity of anonymity became more comprehensible: In the countryside, as in the smaller cities of Spain, Republicans suffered harassments by the agrarian elites and the employers, and till the mid 1950's they never knew if they would be imprisoned, forced into hard labour or even executed.¹⁶

Generally, most of the post war victims were fed up with politics, but silently maintained their political consciousness. They taught their children different values than those that were once promoted by The State or, at least, they communicated an angst-ridden behaviour towards the regime and its authorities in front of their children. This generational transmission of a dissent and victim identity is sometimes denied by historians who argue that the parent generation did not speak of their experience, but as my interviews show, it was not difficult for the children to imagine where this silence came from. This victim identity of the civil and post war generation was reproduced in parts by the new generation of the 1960's and -70's, let us say as “a kind of group-identity feeling.”

¹⁴ Raschke, Joachim (1988): *Soziale Bewegungen. Ein historisch-systematischer Grundriß*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verl.

¹⁵ Ferrer Gironès, Francesc (1986): *La persecució política de la llengua catalana. Història de la mesures preses contra el seu ús des de la Nova Planta fins avui*. Barcelona: Eds 62 and Vallverdú, Francesc (1981): *El conflicte lingüístic en Catalunya. Història i present*. Barcelona: Eds Península and Termes, Josep (1999): *Les arrels populars del catalanisme*. Barcelona: Eds Empúries.

¹⁶ Preston, Paul (2011): *El holocausto español. Odio y exterminio en la Guerra Civil y después*. Barcelona: Debate and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio (2009): *Fear and progress. Ordinary lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*.

The enormous economic growth in the 1960's produced new negative effects on the exploding working class neighbourhoods. To get rid of the disgusting and enormous shack settlements in the outskirts of the larger cities, the *Movimiento* initiated a large housing programme, which built up new city quarters for the working classes, making them owners of their flats. It was originally an initiative to overcome the working class identity by making them property owners, but the absence of adequate education, health care, water, electricity, infrastructural supplies as well as real-estate speculation and the inferior quality of the new constructed working class housing gave them new arguments to feel as systemic victims and reinforced their working class identity.¹⁷ The upcoming social movements, which struggled against these new social injustices, suffered once again a new repression by the regime.

At this point, something really important happened. Parts of the new generation of beneficiaries of the regime expressed solidarity with the so called *clases populares* and demanded social justice. Some, such as the students, did so as a consequence of the global youth rebellion of the 1960's. Others, such as some Catholic clerics, were inspired by the second Vatican Council, which reinforced their social awareness. These clerics and some Catholic organisations were quite important in the strengthening of social and political victim identity in the working class neighbourhoods. All of these new groups of social activists suffered political repression, and became victims themselves.

There are sociological scholars who argue that the most important explanation for every grassroots movement is the feeling of a certain identity that unites the participants and motivates them to collective actions to achieve certain social changes.¹⁸ In the case of Barcelona, I would say this uniting identity is the feeling of being a victim of this regime. The correspondent victim narrations in Barcelona were many fold including social injustices, the lost war and national oppression which were quite common all over

¹⁷ Molinero, Carme; Ysàs, Pere; Bordetas Jiménez, Ivan (eds) (2010): *Construint la ciutat democràtica. El moviment veïnal durant el tardofranquisme i la transició*. Barcelona: Icaria Editorial.

¹⁸ Neveu, Erik: *Sociología de los movimientos sociales*. Barcelona: Hacer, P. 119-137 and Polletta, Francesca; Jasper, James M. (2001): *Collective Identity and Social Movements*. In: *Annual Review of Sociology*, No. 27, S. 283–305.

Barcelona. These are identity concepts and of course hold no historical truth. As one can imagine, the self-denunciation, as a perpetrator in the civil war, or as part of the regime, is once in a blue moon and the identification with this narratives didn't correspond always with the once real living situation, but could result in the collective action frame alignment with other groups and in a reinterpretation of one's own life and family history.

One step further: from a victimist identity concept to collective action framing

To analyse the reasoning which drove the anti-Francoist activists to collective action, as well as their arguments to gain support and understanding in the public or illegal semi-public sphere, I apply the toolbox of the frame analysis approach.¹⁹ The collective action frames used depict the arguments, incentives and identity structures of movements. To give some practical example for this method, I'll apply parts of the toolbox to the famous anti-Francoist song "Jo vinc d'un silenci" by the songwriter Raimon. This song became part of the soundtrack of all anti-Francoist Spaniards, even though the singer is originally from Valencia and the text is in Catalan. Concerts of Raimon often motivated the audience all over Spain to immediate demonstrations. Catalan in the 1970's became all over Spain a symbol of dissent and symbol for Democratic freedoms. We have to take into account that the fight for linguistic rights and the autonomy was not at all a nationalistic demand, it was often used as a synonym for a Democratic constitution in a future Spanish State and the separation from Spain was in these years a minority demand. Let's turn back to the frame analysis and our practical example "jo vinc d'un silenci". On the left side of the chart you can see parts of this song:

¹⁹ Snow, D.A. and Benford, R.D. (2000): Framing Processes and Social Movements. An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, P. 615-618

Frame analysis

“Jo Vince d'un silenci” by Raimon

I come from a silence
old and very long
of people rising
since centuries,
of people who we call
subordinate classes,

.....
I come from a fight
which is dull and constant
I come from a silence
which will be broken by the people
who now want to be free
and love the life
who require the things
which have been denied

.....
People who lose their origins
lose their identity!

Diagnostic Frame:

Systemic subordination/suppression of whole classes

Prognostic Frame:

the demand for freedom and a better life

Motivational Frame:

Freedom, a better life and maintenance of one's own identity

Memory Frame:

History of centuries of class struggle / historical responsibility for opposition.

→ Master Frame of Anti-Francoism

Analysis of cognitive frames it is as follows:

- The diagnostic frame builds a consciousness of subordination of large parts of the population.
- The prognostic frame, which should present solutions to the problems pointed out, shows the possibility to break this silence by demanding exactly what was denied: freedom and a better life.
- The motivational frame, which should mobilize and direct people to collective action, uses the same incentives: freedom and a better life, and insinuates that one's identity is at stake.
- The memory frame, which is fundamental for the identity concept, creates a history of centuries of people, who rose against this situation and who never accepted it. It is a long-term continuous class struggle and this produces a historical responsibility of opposition.²⁰

This song represents in large parts the so called “Master Frame” of the whole anti-Francoist movements in Spain. According to the frame analysis approach, The Master

²⁰ Kern, Thomas (2008): Soziale Bewegungen. Ursachen, Wirkungen, Mechanismen. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften | GWV Fachverlage GmbH Wiesbaden, P.141-151

Frame is something like a paradigm of resistance, meanwhile the different collective action frames of the several social movements are like specialist theories, which face more detailed social problems.²¹

What were these anti-Francoist social movements in Barcelona?

What were the anti-Francoist social movements?

Social Movements

- Labor movement
- Neighborhood movement
- Student movement
- Educational movement
- Solidarity movement
- Pacifists
- Feminists

+ Opposition Parties

-> ***Assemblea de Catalunya***
resistance parliament
of the Catalan people

This guides us to the next key-question: What were these anti-Francoist social movements in Barcelona? With this paper, I don't want to give a detailed analysis of the different movements, their evolution, mobilisation capacity and their penetration of the society, which will be part of my PhD-thesis, but it's necessary to give at least a short overview for who this area is an alien topic.

The Labor movement, one of the three most important movements of this period, arose in the mid- 1960's in a new organizational form all over Spain, in so called workers

²¹ Ibidem, P. 149-151

commissions. They evolved from small commissions, elected by employees to negotiate the collective contracts with the company owners, and undermined the official vertical trade union. The workers commissions interconnected and created an illegal, but Democratic, Trade Union, with a high mobilization capacity for political reasons and solidarity against acts of repression. The Catalan workers commissions were one of the first founded. They shortly adopted a Catalanist identity, although large parts of the members were Spanish speaking immigrants. Through this, they created an important collective-action-frame-bridge between the Catalanist and the working-class victim identities and fostered the integration of the Spanish immigrants into the Catalan society.²²

At the end of the 1960's the workers commissions expanded into the workers' neighborhoods, building neighborhood commissions and associations. They struggled for better services and infrastructures, rebuilt the infrastructure on their own and expended a their newspapers provided the only non-censored legal media during the late Francoism, as there were too many of them to censor. Their neighborhood development plans later became an important source for the urban management in Democracy, as their activists became important local politicians.²³

The university was the place of youth rebellion of the 1960's. Starting in Barcelona and rapidly expanding all over Spain, the students erected a Democratic and Unitarian Student's Trade Union, framing mainly the social injustices in the Francoist society and demanding a Democratization of the university administration. This Democratic Trade Union pushed the official Student's Union into crisis and caused the regime to dissolve its own student organization. In 1968 the regime raised once again the repression and its police forces violently dissolved the Democratic Student's Trade Union. In the 1970's the movement lost its organizational union, radicalized itself to authoritarian leftist positions, which hindered their capacity to mass mobilize the students. Barcelona lost its protagonism. In Madrid, Valencia and in some other Spanish cities students gained more

²² Basic literature: Balfour, Sebastian (1994): *La dictadura, los trabajadores y la ciudad. El movimiento obrero en la àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona*. Valencia: Ediciones Alfonso el Magnànim. Molinero, Carme; Ysàs, Pere (1998): *Productores disciplinados y minorías subversivas. Clase obrera y conflictividad laboral en la España franquista*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Eds, Domènech, Xavier (2008): *Clase obrera, antifranquismo y cambio político. Pequeños grandes cambios, 1956 - 1969*. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata.

²³ Blakeley, Georgina (2004): *Building local democracy in Barcelona*. Lewiston, NY: Mellen.

protagonism on the national scale. However, the former students of the 1960's, now in their professional lives, became great supporters for the other social movements, such as the labor lawyers or the architects who worked for the neighborhood associations. In Democracy, these former activists were the main source of recruited party officials for national politics. They became Members of The Parliament, Senators or Ministers (in both Conservative and Socialist Governments).²⁴

There were many smaller movements, such as the educational movement, the solidarity movement supporting political prisoners, the pacifist and feminist movements.

From 1971 all these movements and most opposition parties sent representatives to the *Assemblea de Catalunya*, which functioned as a clandestine parliament of the Catalan people, and found local subassemblies in many city neighborhoods and villages all over Catalonia. They propagated four programmatic points in the public sphere:

- The struggle for Democratic rights and liberties
- Amnesty for the political prisoners
- The reimplementation of the Democratic *Estatut d'Autonomia*, the regional constitution of Catalonia in the time of Republic before the dictatorship.
- The coordination and support all other Democratic organizations in the rest of Spain.²⁵

Why did they become founders of the democratic civil society?

We have arrived at the last key-question of my thesis: Why did these movements become the founders of a Democratic civil society? First, let me explain the concept of civil society, as some times historians tend to mix up the term society with the sociological concept of civil society and if I'm using the term civil society, I don't want to describe the

²⁴ Basic literature: Colomer, Josep Maria (1978): *Els estudiants de Barcelona sota el franquisme*. Barcelona: Curial.

²⁵ Basic literature: Colomer, Josep Maria (1976): *Assemblea de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Editorial Avance.

whole society. As Hall points out, civil society is at one and the same time a social value and a set of social institutions.²⁶ In the scientific discourse, it's also understood as the space between the economic, the political and the private sphere, where political and cultural discussions and struggles take place, but according to Halls definition under certain rules. Goswinkel, Rucht and others defined the civil society behaviour in a collective article as a specific form of social action. It is independent and self-organized, situated in the public sphere, always unarmed and focuses on public welfare.²⁷ Not all of the participant actors in the civil society could be defined as pro-Democratic, but as Kern points out in his study on the Democratic transition in South Korea, the pro-Democratic movements tend to foster the permeability of the political sphere for all currents in the civil society and Democratization of the entire society.²⁸

As I want to show now, the anti-Francoist movements did not only foster the permeability of the political sphere in Spain to gain Democracy, but also promoted a Democratic culture in the public sphere, developing collective action frames with, technically speaking, a high frame resonance in the passive parts of the population. Let us compare these collective action frames with the key values of Democracy elaborated by important theorists of this system, to see that, for these social movements a Democracy was not only a political system but a cultural set of values to organise themselves:

-Community participation in the making of decisions which affect them all,²⁹ which Cohen refers to: All anti-Francoist social movements were constructed on an assembly architecture, where, for example, the workers commissions were elected and the collective actions and demands were discussed, or the neighbour's assemblies of the neighbourhood associations, where even infrastructural development plans for the neighbourhood were debated and decided.

²⁶ Hall, John A. (1996): Civil society. Theory, history, comparison. Cambridge: Polity Press, P. 2.

²⁷ Gosewinkel, Dieter; Rucht, Dieter; Daele, Wolfgang van den; Kocka, Jürgen (2004): Zivilgesellschaft - national und transnational. In: Gosewinkel, Dieter (ed.): Zivilgesellschaft - national und transnational. Berlin: Ed. Sigma, P. 11-12.

²⁸ Kern, Thomas (2005): Südkoreas Pfad zur Demokratie. Modernisierung, Protest, Regimewechsel. Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verl..

²⁹ Cohen, Carl (1971): Democracy. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Pr., P. 7.

-Protection of minority rights,³⁰ as Madison stated. The anti-Francoist movements in Barcelona demanded the right of self-determination for the Catalan people, as well as promotion of the rights of women, the unemployed and immigrants.

-Promoting individual responsibility as a price for personal liberties,³¹ as de Tocqueville argued. The anti-Francoist master frame explained, that liberties are gained only, if people mobilise for them, although there was an increased risk of suffering hard repression.

-Finally, the development of a Democratic political education, which consists primarily of the practice of citizenship,³² as Kourse and de Tocqueville postulated. The anti-Francoist practiced their citizenship before they were Democratic citizens, demanding, practicing and imposing typical Democratic rights, such as freedom of press and opinion, of assembly and association, as well as Certainty of justice, like the labour lawyers did.

Conclusions

This paper was not intended to produce a heroic narrative, but constructed to show a Democratization of the Spanish society itself by socially active parts of this society, the so called civil society. The mental key to this new Democratic civil society under dictatorial rule was the identity concept of being a victim of this regime. This conviction led to the desire to enjoy Democratic freedoms and rights, to be able to solve ones everyday life in better way. It created an elevated disposition to struggle for these rights by peaceful mobilizations and civil disobedience, in a network of solidarity actions between all these movements. This is a point of view which is not shared by all scholars. Partisans of the “political opportunity structure” approach argue that the upcoming Democratic civil

³⁰ Quoted from: deLeon, Peter (1995): Democratic Values and the Policy Sciences. In: American Journal of Political Science, No. 4, P. 890.

³¹ Quoted from: ibidem, P. 891.

³² As de Tocqueville stated:

„It is difficult to force a man out of himself and get him to take an interest in the affairs of the whole state, for he has little understanding of the way in which the fate of the state can influence his own lot. But if it is a question of taking a road past his property, he sees at once that this small public matter has a bearing on his greatest private interests, and there is no need to point out to him the close connection between his private profit and the public interest.“

Quoted from: ibidem, P 892.

society was mainly a result of the political and economic liberalization of the regime in the 1960's.

This study points out that opportunity might make the thief, but it does not make a Democrat. As we also could see in the Arab spring, social necessities under abusive rule can produce Democratic believes indeed. Although this new political opportunity structure was very favourable for the creation of a Democratic consciousness by the anti-Francoists, it was not its origin. In other words, repression in the 1960's and 1970's was not severe enough to suppress the Democratic-Republican demands. The rise of this new Democratic civil society was a development which was observed critically by the regime and was at this time answered by hard repression. By no means did the regime provoke this Democratic civil society willingly, but it had to cope with it in a broader frame work of economic and political integration in the western world.

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