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ABSTRACT

A systematic cross-cultural study of French and Hispanic cultures is made in three major areas in this guide designed to help integrate sociocultural subject matter into the foreign language instructional program. Human nature, social relations, man and nature, time, and space--as universal problems of cultural orientation--serve as the foundation for the author's structuring of the inventory of the sociocultural systems. First, "historical" culture is presented including value systems, underlying assumptions of fact, art forms, language, and paralanguage and kinesics. The unit on social structure involves the family, leisure-time activities, and a wide variety of material relating to everyday living. Finally, the section on ecology ranges from the physical and social environments to technology. An annotated bibliography of books, periodicals, pamphlets, and reports is provided. (RL)

TEACHING FOR CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

by

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PREFACE

This publication is being issued in a tentative form to enable teachers to use it on a trial basis with the opportunity to make suggestions for a later printed edition. It is anticipated that there will be some varying opinions, since generalizations are always open to discussion. This is particularly true of Hispanic culture, which deals with twenty diverse countries in this hemisphere and their common heritage from Spain, which in itself has a great diversity of cultures. However, the common heritage, the common aims, and the common problems of these nations make generalizations possible and, in order to have a basis for study, even necessary. Some sections have been written by people in unique positions to make contributions to this study. Because of different backgrounds of experience, the different writers in many instances reflect varying points of view.

It is likely that new social and cultural developments will require some additions and revisions to this work. Those who use this material are invited to comment on it.

This bulletin is not meant to be a textbook. It is merely a guide, intended to help the teacher judge what is important to be taught and where to find resources to help teach the cultural context more effectively. Within the next year, resource units will be developed as an aid to classroom instruction.

NILE F. HUNT
Director
Division of General Education

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

The Search for the Proper Scope..... 1
A Proposed Strategy for Instruction..... 2
Language, an Essential Part of Culture 3

A STRUCTURED INVENTORY OF A SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM

I. CULTURE 5
A. The Value System 6
1. French Culture 8
a. L'individualisme 8
b. L'intellectualité..... 8
c. L'art de vivre 9
d. Le réalisme..... 9
e. Le bon sens..... 10
f. L'amitié..... 10
g. L'amour..... 10
h. La famille..... 11
i. La religion..... 11
j. La justice..... 12
k. La liberté..... 12
l. La Patrie 12
2. Hispanic Culture..... 14
a. Individualism..... 15
b. "Regionalismo"..... 16
c. "Dignidad"..... 16
d. Orientation toward Persons..... 17
e. "Serenidad"..... 17
f. Beauty..... 17
g. Leisure and Work..... 18
h. Human Nature Mistrusted..... 19
i. "Cultura" and "Realidad"..... 19
j. Rising Expectations..... 20
B. Underlying Assumptions of Fact..... 20
1. French Culture..... 21
a. Human Nature..... 21
b. Social Relations..... 22
c. Man and Nature..... 24
d. Conception of Time..... 25
e. Conceptual Organization of Space..... 26
2. Hispanic Culture..... 27
a. Human Nature..... 27
b. Social Relations..... 28
c. Man and Nature..... 30
d. Conception of Time..... 31
e. Conceptual Organization of Space..... 32
C. Art Forms..... 34
1. French Culture..... 35
a. Literature..... 35
b. The Theatre and the Cinema..... 40
c. Music and the Dance..... 41
d. Painting and Sculpture..... 42
e. Architecture, Town Planning, and Decorative Arts..... 44
f. La Haute Couture..... 46
g. La Cuisine..... 48

A STRUCTURED INVENTORY (continued)

2. Hispanic Culture..... 48
a. Literature..... 48
b. The Theatre and the Cinema..... 55
c. Music and the Dance..... 56
d. Painting..... 60
e. Architecture, Sculpture, Town Planning and Decorative Arts 63
f. Folk Arts..... 67
D. The Language..... 68
1. The French Language..... 68
2. The Spanish Language..... 69
E. Paralanguage and Kinesics..... 72
II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE..... 74
A. The French System..... 74
1. The Family..... 75
2. Leisure-Time Activities..... 77
3. Education..... 79
4. Religion..... 83
5. Attitudes toward Minorities..... 84
6. Political and Judicial Institutions..... 85
7. Economy..... 91
8. Communications..... 92
9. Social Stratification..... 94
10. "Le Savoir-Vivre"..... 94
B. The Hispanic System..... 95
1. The Family..... 95
2. Leisure-Time Activities..... 98
3. Education..... 100
4. Religion..... 104
5. Political and Judicial Institutions..... 107
6. Economy..... 109
7. Communications..... 110
8. Social Stratification..... 111
9. Social Proprieties..... 114
III. Ecology..... 117
A. The French Development..... 117
1. Attitudes Toward Physical and Social Environment..... 117
2. Housing..... 118
3. Technology..... 119
4. Travel and Transportation..... 119
5. Contrast between Paris and the Provinces..... 120
B. The Hispanic Development..... 122
1. Attitude toward Physical and Social Environment..... 122
2. Housing..... 123
3. Travel and Transportation..... 123
4. Technology..... 124

INTEGRATING THE SOCIOCULTURAL SUBJECT MATTER INTO THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM..... 126
The Teacher's Responsibility..... 127
Some Suggested Activities..... 128
The Classroom as a Cultural Island..... 129
Achievement to be Expected..... 130
Relating Cross-Cultural Learning to the Social Studies Program. 132
Professional Roles in Developing Cross-Cultural Understanding.. 132

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 136

Todos los hombres
resuelven las mismas necesidades
con diferentes recursos y de distintos modos.

Todas las culturas son igualmente valiosas.

Theme of an exhibit at the
Museum of Anthropology
Mexico City

T E A C H I N G F O R

C R O S S - C U L T U R A L U N D E R S T A N D I N G

INTRODUCTION

The Search for the Proper Scope

In the last third of the twentieth century, the teachers and administrators who shape the American curriculum are re-examining the place of foreign languages in the schools--and colleges; and in that connection, they are taking a fresh look at the contribution of the language sequences toward cross-cultural understanding and communication.

A great deal, in fact, is at stake:

> The success of our public leaders, products of our schools, as they judge what values to appeal to and what patterns of conflict resolution to rely on, in the striving toward non-violent relations among peoples.
>
> The lives of our young people, at any point where the expertness of our leaders is less than consummate, or where their judgment is hampered by insufficient public support for a far-sighted decision.
>
> The acceptance of language sequences in the curriculum, in adequate strength to prepare our leaders and electorate for our national role in world politics, business, travel, study, and the like.
>
> The motivation of our school and college students to learn languages willingly.

The cultural dimension of language teaching is involved in its acceptance by administrators and teachers of other subjects, because we are led (by the national need) to claim that language teaching is an effective means not only to communication in a narrow sense, but to mutual understanding between bearers of differing cultures. This dimention is a factor in the motivation of students because nearly all are spontaneously interested in learning about a people's values and way of life, while only a minority are directly interested in learning a language or in reading its literature. Furthermore, as thoughtful language teachers have always realized, a student does not really understand a foreign language until he grasps that its

concepts and expressions have no one-to-one correlation with those of his home language. Nor does he understand the literature or the journalism of the foreign culture so long as he supposes that the underlying values and assumptions and social attitudes are always those he already knows from his own cultural background.

The practical outcome of all these considerations is that some features of the foreign way of life, those essential for understanding the mentality and "life style" of the people, need to be more thoroughly treated than they have been in our foreign-language sequences.

This can and should be done, but without the sacrifice of the language-skills objective: which means, without nicking the practice of using the entire contact time between teacher and students for activities in the foreign language. It is proposed, too, that the teacher can be given effective help in formulating what can most truthfully be said about a people's way of life, and help in discovering how to apply the insight to instruction, so that the work involved in this curricular reform should be no more than an enjoyable part of the intellectual growth we all want to be engaged in anyway.

A Proposed Strategy of Instruction

Many of the patterns of thought, feeling and social behavior that the student needs to understand are already well illustrated in language-teaching materials, beginning with the first dialogues, and in the literary selections that are read. The student interprets these illustrations, however, against the misleading context of the generalizations he draws from his home culture, unless the teacher somehow informs him of the patterns that actually are present in the foreign culture. Understanding requires an interaction in his mind between experience of the patterns, through examples, and knowledge about the patterns, through succinct statements of what can most truthfully be said as far as is now known. The "knowledge about" can be imparted in a number of ways without taking class time away from the indispensable practice in using the language.

Underlying the instructional strategy is a problem of balance among three sectors of the background to be understood: the geographical setting (with constant emphasis on its significance for the people's life), "Culture" in the sense of the outstanding historical achievements of the people, and culture in the sense of everyday life. All three of these are important, but the third is the main key to an understanding of the culture bearers' attitudes and behavior, and this sector has been particularly neglected.

It is proposed, therefore, that as far as possible, teachers should organize the cultural and social context to be presented in the foreign language sequences in the form of a structured inventory of everyday contemporary culture patterns and social structure. The geographical setting and the historic achievement can in many cases be embodied in the development of this structure.

The presentation of the sociocultural context should be incidental to the language and, later, the literature; but the plan to be fulfilled in the course of the language sequence should be explicitly thought out, on at least a statewide and preferably, in time, a nationwide basis, with tests designed to concentrate upon understanding--upon what the student can do with his knowledge--rather than upon mere memorization.

The burden of imparting the needed background will not fall entirely upon the foreign language teacher. Social studies and humanities sequences can contribute large parts of the necessary body of concepts and information. The language teacher, however, is in the ideal position to give experience of, and knowledge about, one foreign people, the only sound basis for social studies generalizations about similarities and differences among cultures and societies.

Language, an Essential Part of Culture

In the past, teachers of foreign languages have tried to develop an interest in the culture of the countries of the target language through some study of the history, geography, monuments, customs, music, and art. The value of this study is unquestioned, but it generally represents distant times, places, and things, whereas the language itself, which is the vehicle of the foreign culture, is always immediately available in the classroom. In the everyday use of the language are reflected certain values and sociocultural features that have often been overlooked in teaching. Anthropologists define "culture" as "the sum of attainments and the learned behavior patterns of any specific period, race, or people." To be more explicit, "the word 'culture' must now be used to signal, on the one hand, social,intellectual, and artistic achievements of the highest order; and on the other, a totality of beliefs and thoughts and actions, grandiose and minute, fantastic and practical, heroic, shocking, and banal, good, bad and indifferent--a total human story of a human community."*

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*Brooks, Nelson. "Culture and Language Instruction" Teacher's Notebook, Spring 1966. Harcourt, Brace & World.

Just as there are "patterns" in language, there are patterns in culture, the result of individual practice and community agreement and approval. When anthropologists study a culture that is new to them, they look for what is learned by all members of the community, what is shared by all, what contributes to the thoughts and beliefs and habits of everyone and is most characteristic of the community's value system and way of life.

To contribute to a better understanding of this definition of culture, a list of some of the values and social patterns of the people whose languages are being studied is given in this bulletin with a purpose of enabling the teacher to increase his own knowledge and understanding and to lead the student gradually to a rewarding experience in the foreign culture. The references are in general for use by the teacher rather than the student.

A STRUCTURED INVENTORY OF A SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM

I. CULTURE

Culture, as the word is used here, refers to all the patterned ways of behavior, including the thought processes and beliefs, of a given people. As defined by the anthropologists Kluckhohn and Kelly it is "a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group."*

Cultures must be studied as wholes. No custom, belief, or behavior can be understood out of its sociocultural context. That is, any item of behavior, any tradition or pattern can be evaluated correctly only in the light of its meaning to the people who practice it, its relation to other elements of the culture, and the part it plays in the adaptation of the people to their environment or to one another. No custom is "odd" to the people who practice it.

"Any people's heritage is to them what 'The American Way', in its best sense, is to us Americans. For us it is the Pilgrim Fathers and Thanksgiving Day. the Boston Tea Party and the Fourth of July; George Washington and a cherry tree, Abraham Lincoln and a log cabin. It is Santa Claus and a manger, Easter lilies and Easter rabbits, the flag, Coney Island, camp meetings, Sunday dinner, fried chicken, ice cream and apple pie. It is Yankee Doodle, Tipperary and My Old Kentucky Home. It is a thousand and one things sublime and ridiculous, good and bad, mythical and real, that make us a people and not merely an aggregate of individuals whose ancestors came from just about everywhere. Many of these patterns have come to us from other peoples but we have made them peculiarly our own."**

It is a common social heritage that makes for cohesion and solidarity and that thus helps insure the continuity of group life. It is in this heritage that each new generation finds its value system and its assumptions of reality.

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* Kluckhohn, Clyde and William Kelly "The Concept of Culture." In Linton,Ralph (ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis. Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 98.

**Brown, Ina Corinne. Understanding Other Cultures. Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 14.

One must remember, however, that within the total or whole culture there exists a composite of varying and overlapping sub-cultures. "Sub-cultures may be regional, economic, status, occupational, clique groups--or varying combinations of these factors. Some sub-cultures seem to be primarily traceable to the temperamental similarities of the participating individuals. Each individual selects from and to greater or lesser degree systematizes what he experiences of the total culture in the course of his formal and informal education throughout life."*

A. The Value System

Every society has a system of values - a set of interrelated ideas and practices, (conscious or unconscious), which direct how one should act, and to which strong sentiments are attached. The word value as used here means something important to the individual or group concerned. A value, then, is anything - idea, belief, practice, thing - that is important to a people and that contains a directive or "ought" element.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn state: "Values are important in that they provide foci for patterns of organization for the material of cultures. They give significance to our understanding of cultures. In fact, values provide the only basis for the fully intelligible comprehension of culture, because the actual organization of all cultures is primarily in terms of their values. This becomes apparent as soon as one attempts to present the picture of a culture without reference to its values. The account becomes an unstructured, meaningless assemblage of items having relation to one another only through coexistence in locality and moment--an assemblage that might as profitably be arranged alphabetically as in another order; a mere laundry list."**

A culture-wide value, together with its related assumptions and the concepts that orient it toward action will be called a "theme." The complex culture of a modern nation can be grasped, in large part, by studying its main themes.

Describing the "life-style" of a people is complicated by the rapid evolution that all nations are undergoing today. It is necessary to consider the contrast between those contemporaries who remain attached to the norms of the past, those who adopt the new

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*Kroeber, A. L. and Clyde Kluckhohn. Culture. Vintage Books, 1952, p. 309.

**Kroeber, A. L. and Clyde Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 340.

values, and the eclectics who seek to adapt the best of tradition to the exigencies of modern life. In other words, we must look at the conservative face of a nation and also the other face that shows the effect of supranational forces which today are modifying the character of every nation.

The major "themes" or values of the French and Hispanic cultures are briefly defined with reference for consideration by the teacher. Space does not permit an explanation of each one that in any measure does justice to it. It is necessary for anyone outside a culture to try to penetrate into it from experience in the foreign culture and from close observation of the behavior of persons within the culture, through reading, films, and personal contact.

Certain words in every language cannot be translated into English without some loss through a change in meaning. This is particularly true of the expressions designating values, attitudes, feelings, and assumptions. Hence the native terms in the following list.

French	Hispanic
L'individualisme	Individualism
L'intellectualité	"Regionalismo"
L'art de vivre	"Dignidad"
Le réalisme	Orientation toward persons
Le bon sens	"Serenidad"
L'amitié	Beauty
L'amour	Leisure and Work
La famille	Human nature mistrusted
La religion	"Cultura y Realidad"
La justice	Rising expectations
La liberté	
La Patrie	

1. French Culture*

Although it is necessary, in studying a culture, to make some generalizations, one should also distrust them. One must realize that values, basic assumptions, social patterns and institutions all interact and change with the rapid evolution of modern society. Care must be taken to avoid clichés and stereotyped images of other nations that result from too superficial study or observation.

a. L'individualisme

The French understand by individualism a high degree of personal independence, which gives rise to several principles for living: to keep always intact and authentic one's own personality, to cultivate a critical mind, and to protect one's independence against importunate demands and against authority.

The Frenchman seeks to develop and progress as an independent entity rather than as a part of a team or a community. He tends to regard the world around him somewhat as a detached observer; therefore he tends to put a relatively low value on civic responsibility and civic discipline. He wishes to have the least possible contact with authority, either political or religious. In a word, the Frenchman resists everything that tends to destroy his independence.

b. L'intellectualité

This theme has sometimes been called "method" or "reason." The French mentality is distinguised by its conscious preoccupation with intellectual methods: methods for observing closely, reasoning logically, and expressing exactly one's thoughts and ideas. The French have developed to a high degree the art of observing human nature and of examining it methodically, on an intellectual level. The Frenchman savors the paradox, the witticism, the "jeu d'idées." He has a high regard for the intellectual and for the education that shapes him. Despite the greater preoccupation today with the practical and the material life, intellectuality persists in the French mentality as a national quality justly admired by the foreign observer.

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*For a more complete description of these values in French culture see: Nostrand, Howard Lee. Background Data for the Teaching of French. Final Report of Project OE-6-14-005. Part A: La Culture et la Société Francaises au XXe Siecle. Vol. I. Univ. of Washington, 1967. pp 77-101.

c. L'art de vivre

This art means, first of all, for all classes of French society, a love for all the little pleasures of daily living, such as the delight of savoring a well-seasoned dish or tasting a good wine, the enjoyment of good conversation at a meal, the attempt to express one's own personality through the decoration of the home. The appreciation of the little pleasures imparts to French life a certain esthetic orientation, manifest, for example, in the idea that there must be certain norms, such as standards of good taste, and moderation in all things. (The acceptance of the "Académie Française" as an institution reflects the willingness to accept norms of good usage in language.)

The French who continue the aristocratic tradition of classicism and of the ancient régime consider all life as a work of art. This is expressed in the concept of elegance, whether in the turn of a phrase in conversation, in the "composition" of a meal, or in the perfect finish of a woman's costume. Elegance requires politeness, as a rule of the game and not necessarily as an expression of sentiment. It requires a gracious reserve that the cultivated Frenchman calls "la tenue." This tradition of refinement remains for the foreign visitor something characteristic of France even though the new generation is rather rapidly altering it.

d. Le réalisme

French realism, when joined to intellectuality, is characterized by a methodical effort to see everything clearly, devoid of any prejudice. For the Frenchman, to face realistically the things that cannot be controlled requires the resolution to accept the disagreeable and the painful without sentimental whim. A typically French method is that of holding a problem at arm's length, so to speak, in order to examine it objectively and put it in its place.

French realism is also manifest in the manner of regarding time and space. The French look far into the past and take an equally long look into the future, and yet they are oriented to the present. The periods of grandeur are so numerous and so diverse in the history of France that the mentality of contemporary Frenchmen varies according to the tradition with which each individual chooses to identify himself.

The geographical horizon is broadening today. The French in general realize that their country is too small to remain independent, that it is necessary to cooperate with their neighbors and to be interested in the affairs of the entire world. The prosperity of recent years and the change in attitude toward money (they spend more and buy on credit) has caused a greater preoccupation with the material benefits of modern life. Therefore one finds today a

conflict between the traditional values and the demands of modern society. There exists in France an increasing consciousness of this change.

e. Le bon sens

This universal value is shared by all cultures but "le bon sens" of the French is distinctive nevertheless, partly because it is influenced by other themes in the French system of values.

The French "bon sens" is made up, in part, of particular ideas of moderation and happiness. Prudence, as everywhere, forms the basis of this theme of practical wisdom.

Prudence, as expressed in the ideas of foresight and economy, is disappearing in this era of prosperity, as we have seen elsewhere. But prudence means also a distrust of change, and of anything new and unaccustomed, including "les étrangers." From this comes an attitude of seeking only a "modus vivendi" with foreign nations.

Moderation in French culture has a broader sense than the prudent distrust of extremes. The French apply it to all leading ideas of their life. For example, happiness is for them an ideal chastened by experience; it does not mean a constant state of enjoyment nor a continuous production of brilliant works. The ideal of "la juste mesure" guides their effort to make of life a pleasing work of art.

f. L'amitié

The French, in general, have a small circle of intimate friends. It is often the parents and the circle of their friends which furnish the possibilities for friendships among children and young people. Today, more and more, young people choose their friends outside the family circle without consulting their parents. Friendship is probably, among the major themes that have remained since ancient times, the one whose ideal and practice have varied the least in the course of twenty centuries.

g. L'amour

Since the Middle Ages, variations on the theme of love have held an important place in French literature. It was a part of the art of living and a technique to cultivate according to the literary styles in vogue, but the second world war brought an end to this "mystique" maintained through the centuries. The new generation is much more realistic, and love with its many facets,- sentimental, physical, literary, and intellectual - is tending

to be considered less important. The French woman no longer seeks idyllic love but has a more sensible outlook. "Le grand amour" outside of marriage is rarely found. People no longer have the time and no longer believe in it. Man and wife tend to become partners whose common interest is the intelligent management of the household and the family property.

h. La famille

The French family is both a social institution and a cultural theme. On the cultural level this concept enters into the interaction of the system of values, and on the social level, into the interaction of persons and groups. Today the institution and the theme (value) are both undergoing a rapid evolution.

The character of the family varies according to the social class and according to whether it is rural or urban. The old provincial traditions are found today chiefly among the peasants. The former autocratic character of the father is gradually giving way to a kind of equality among all members of the family, especially in the urban working classes. Women are becoming more and more independent. Half of them work outside the home. The noonday meal, a rite that through the centuries united members of the family, is becoming less common in the large cities because of the difficulties of crowded transportation. On the other hand the prevalence of the automobile, camping, and television brings about a comradeship among parents and children which satisfies the emotional need for security and affords a refuge in the midst of a vast industrial society.

As a cultural value, the family is the object of a loyalty above all other social loyalties of community or nation. For people who mistrust outsiders, the intimacy of the home must be inviolable and can be shared only with trusted friends. Although less strict than formerly with their children, the French still seem to think it belongs to adults to mold the character of the children, acting on the assumption that human qualities are not innate. From childhood on, the family symbolizes the restraining and stabilizing forces of society.

i. La religion

Like the family, religion is both a cultural theme and a social institution. Religion signifies personal convictions, an historic dogma, rite and its system of symbols, the social communion of a congregation of believers, and finally, the church as an institution.

In France, personal convictions vary greatly. Religion as a cultural theme dominates the life of a minority of true believers;

it exerts a more or less strong influence on a middle group, while at the other extreme are the anticlericals who think that all organized religion is noxious. The greatest proportion of anti-clerical opinion is found in the urban working class. In spite of the variation of religious attitudes, most Frenchmen believe that the Church should no longer have any secular authority, especially in the matter of education.

j. La justice

The Frenchman does not expect to be treated with indulgence nor even with kindness, but he does claim the right to justice. "C'est injuste" is one of the most serious reproaches that can be made to anyone in authority.

Equality is a part of the same theme. There is no conflict between justice and equality because the latter means "distributive justice" which has been one of the constants, since the eighteenth century, of the French concept of justice. To the humanitarian spirit has been added a new moral obligation of the privileged, goaded on by the increasing demands of the less fortunate, so that justice today requires the availability to everyone of a rising minimum of material comfort and of education.

k. La liberté

The French conception of "liberté" requires above all the political and social conditions demanded by individualism. The French resist, sometimes to the point of lacking civic discipline, all authority that tends to restrain their freedom of action and of thought. The restraints imposed by the state or by "le patron," however, are considered exterior forces, whereas social or religious obligations are identified rather with the choice of the individual conscience. One finds in France a great variation in the conception of freedom, from the conformism of the most conservative small community to the broad view of the cosmopolitan milieu. The jealous defense of individual independence permits one, without the risk of criticism, not to belong to a group and not to participate in a collective effort. The French regard society as a mutual arrangement among autonomous individuals, who may sometimes yield to common standards and again may change these standards to suit their own particular interest.

l. La Patrie

French nationalism is personified in "Marianne," a concept of a cultural, nonpolitical entity. France has survived a long succession of monarchies and republics. French civilization is

considered a kind of scale-model of human civilization; their style of national life has a universal character. The French tend to consider themselves not as one society among others but as an aggregate of individuals, with independent opinions and differing tastes. At the cultural level, a Frenchman feels his identification with the many manifestations of French civilization.

Traditionally, regional differences in France could be easily seen by the foreigner and considered evidence of a lack of unity and social integration in the nation. Years ago one could tell the regional origin of a French person by his accent, his dress, and even by his way of thinking and feeling. "In the last fifteen years, however," says Laurence Wylie, "a new sense of solidarity and cooperation has developed among the French. With lessening of a number of barriers which have traditionally separated the French from one another - regional differences, class distinction, the conflict between rural and urban points of view, and religious divisions - France has become socially much more tightly integrated."*

The establishment of regional museums, the encouragement to teach "provencal," the new popularity of folk dancing in traditional costumes, are all evidences, according to Mr. Wylie, of the serious efforts now being made "to preserve or revive traditions before they become extinct....This attempt to preserve the French subcultures is direct - and ironic! - evidence that the subcultures themselves are dying."**

*Wylie, Laurence. "Social Change at the Grass Roots," in In Search of France. Publications of Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 197.

**Ibid.,p. 198.

2. Hispanic Culture

Diversity rather than unity best describes both Spain and Latin America. The compact land mass of the Iberian peninsula is geographically subdivided into smaller regions, each characterized by geographic, climatic, cultural, psychological, and even linguistic differences. The people, as a result of various migrations and conquests, are a mixture of Afro-Semitic and Castilian.

A similar description could be made of what we call Latin America, that great region which comprises twenty highly individualistic, independent nations. To think of them as a unit, or to treat them as if they were a single nation or a single people invites misunderstanding.

Yet these twenty republics have much in common. They share a common heritage of Iberian culture, a common religion and "the frontier freshness that is still the mark of the Americans."* They share a common aim: to overcome chronic economic and social underdevelopment and in so doing, to present a reasonably united front toward North America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Despite tremendous differences from country to country, the modernizing forces at work press increasingly in the direction of greater unity, not away from it.

Problems common to all manifest in varying degrees, include poverty, hunger, ill-health, illiteracy, inflation, political corruption, and economic backwardness. In most of these countries the population is growing at a very high rate. The economies of most depend on exports of one or two commodities. In some measure, all retain the characteristics of a feudal society; even though a middle class is developing, the chasm between rich and poor is still very wide. Restlessness and discontent are characteristic. With modern communications media, even the poorest know that a better life for most is possible. Therefore, the word that can best describe all the peoples of Latin America is impatient.

Rural Latin Americans have for centuries settled in small towns and villages where they live within themselves. This physical isolation expresses itself in attitudes of mixed pride and mistrust. Within each country there is distrust of all the others. Pervading all is a distrust of "Yanqui imperialism" and "big business."

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*Benton, Williams. The Voice of Latin America. Harper and Row, 1965, p. 3.

Diversity is found among the countries of Latin America according to the racial balance found in each. Indian populations of relatively "high culture" (in the ethnological sense) live much where the Spaniards encountered them at the time of the conquest. Thus Indian Latin America includes large parts of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia; in other countries they lack sufficient numbers to affect significantly the tone of the evolving cultures.

European Latin America is commonly thought of as including Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Costa Rica. The first European migrations brought the Spaniards and Portuguese; later ones brought many Italians, Germans, people of central and eastern European origin, and a sprinkling of Chinese, Japanese, and Levantines.

The mestizos comprise the third group. They are found in greatest numbers in Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic. Where the mestizo has become the dominant ethnic influence he has risen to important military and political positions and has often married into the families of aristocratic tradition. Everywhere except in the most European of the countries, today's presidents, industrialists, university professors, etc., are likely to be mestizos.

The Negro is the fourth racial group, with the largest concentration in Brazil and along the Caribbean coastal areas. Brazil, because of its vast size and its special population mixture (Portuguese, Dutch, Indian, Italian, Japanese, German, and almost 40 percent Negro and brown races) is a world unto itself.

Thus one can see the difficulty of generalizing under the term "Hispanic Culture." However, certain values, beliefs, art forms, and social structures are shared in common among the Hispanic countries so that one is able to describe some of the most characteristic and universal features found, to a greater or lesser degree, in all countries of this culture.

a. Individualism

"Characteristic of the culture is a personal pride in being authentically oneself, not a stereotype nor a counterfeit."* The Spaniard is primarily a man of feeling, rather than one of action, foresight, or method. The high value that he places on the individual diminishes his sense of solidarity with the larger community.

The unfortunate thing is that up to now the Hispanic person's tremendous energy and racial pride have not been applied in those areas of collective expression which the Western world has come to hold as its primary values: economic organization, democratic government, social cohesion, industrial development, and any kind of

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*Letters to the Editor: "Literature, Area Study, and Hispanic Culture." Howard Nostrand. Hispania. Sept. 1961, p. 470.

collective enterprise. In the words of the philosopher Unamuno, "This feeling of individuality lies deep down in the root of the race and cunning politicians have turned it to the advantage of their ambitions."*

It should be noted that although the Hispanic peoples are intellectually among the greatest individualists, they are socially among the world's greatest conformists.

b. "Regionalismo"

Looking at a map of Latin America, one can see clearly the lack of unity of its territory: high ranges of mountains, jungles, and deserts divide the land into isolated regions. These geographical features also divide the population and cause tremendous problems of communication, resulting in a lack of understanding among peoples not only from country to country but even from city to city, or from village to village throughout Latin America. Isolation has given strength to localism, which is social, racial, political, economic, and linguistic.

The isolation of communities makes people love their own localities; "el amor al terruño" is a well-known characteristic of Hispanic culture, as true of the Spanish as of the Latin American. The feeling of "regionalismo" is strong and enduring. There is a considerable basis of truth in the old statement that every Spaniard's first loyalty is to his "patria chica," his small homeland or native region.

c. "Dignidad"

"The preoccupation with one's own dignity and honor manifests itself in a Spartan courage, in a certain formality in public, and also in the 'resentimientos' which endure after an affront to one's dignity. Affronts and favors are both to be remembered by one who is intelligently aware of the world around him."** This feature is closely related to the culture's "orientation toward persons."

The Latin American man loves his freedom and dignity as he loves his locality. In every social stratum "la dignidad del hombre" has great importance. The tendency to be "personalidades" rather than men shaded by group activities is a good proof of this assertion.

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* Crow, John. Spain: The Root and the Flower. Harper and Row, 1963, p. 12.

**Nostrand, op. cit., p. 470.

The Latin American is a humanist rather than a materialist. His society is compassionate rather than egalitarian, authoritarian rather than democratic. Latin American revolutions attempt to re-establish an older ideal society, sensitive to human dignity, rather than to overthrow it. "The rebellious nationalism so much in evidence is not against authoritarianism or hierarchy but against the cold materialism of modern industrialism, so preoccupied with efficiency that it takes from men what they most value--their dignity.*

d. Orientation toward persons

One of the pervasive features of the Hispanic culture is that its objects of loyalty tend to be personalities, rather than abstractions which have tended since the eighteenth century to dominate in France and the Anglo-Saxon countries. In private life this trait shows in the priority of loyalty to an "amigo" over the concern for equal justice to all. In relations with government it shows in the expectations of "facilidades" from friends. In political life it shows in loyalty to a "caudillo" and in dislike for his enemies. Faith in a person takes precedence over faith in the machinery or the slogans of democracy. It is significant that "los valores" of the culture often mean persons rather than abstract ideals.

Latin Americans are generally congenial, kindly, and warm in their personal relationships.

They are deeply devoted to those whom they have accepted as true friends. Since they consider true friendship sacred, they sometimes go to what we might believe are extremes of devotion.

e. "Serenidad"

A philosopnical inner peace, based on acceptance and not on evasion of the disturbing realities, this ideal has an essentially religious quality even for those who have departed from institutional religion.

f. Beauty

The cultivation of the beautiful is perhaps one of the most universally shared human values. In the Hispanic culture it is especially notable in architecture and urban planning, and in such upper-class interests as verse writing. It reappears, however, in humbler forms as well, such as a maid's taking the trouble to arrange a flower in a vase on a kitchen table, or in an artisan's

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*Tannenbaum, Frank. Ten Keys to Latin America. Alfred A. Knoff, 1962, p. 114.

design on a handcrafted utilitarian article.

Torres Rioseco says that "la primera definición del hombre hispanoamericano es su actitud estética frente a la vida."* This great sentiment toward beauty is part of the inheritance from the Spaniards, Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas. Color and artistic expression are found in painting, in music, in literature, in decorative arts, and in the daily lives of the people.

A great admirer of his landscapes, the Latin American has written much about his lands, making his descriptions as bright as the spectrum.

g. Leisure and Work

Too much industriousness meets with widespread skepticism. "Si trabajas para vivir, ¿porqué te matas trabajando?" The balance sought between exertion and relaxation leans toward the latter. Leisure is prized partly because it contributes toward serenity, partly no doubt through human laziness, and partly because of a certain hopelessness of bringing about a good society. Here the values of the culture are strongly colored by its factual concepts concerning man and the world.

The Hispanic American is much more concerned with being than with doing. This may be related to the fact that over the centuries in village and rural life, no individual was identified by what he did since there was little or no specialization and no one did anything that could not be done by anybody else. The differentiation between persons was in terms of what a man was rather than what he did. There never developed among Hispanic Americans a great concern for doing. Activity was not highly valued and work was looked upon as something pertaining to a lower caste and was, therefore, itself lowering. With few storage facilities and little opportunity to trade, the Hispanic American developed no tradition of work either as an end in itself or as a means to a possibly more abundant life. Furthermore, the Anglos' all important security is provided for in a different manner by the Hispanic American family. There were no avenues in the village and rural life through which "success" as the North American knows it could be achieved. Consequently, no tradition of success and no particular awareness that one must be either a success or a failure ever developed.

Closely allied to his attitude toward work is the Hispanic American's higher regard for mental values than for material ones. The acquisition of material possessions is generally less important

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*Torres Rioseco, Arturo. Panorama de la Literatura Ibero-Americana. Editora Zig-Zag, S. A., 1964, p. 9.

than considerations such as romance, beauty, courtesy, graciousness, and intellectual interests. They are apt to give greater value to a smooth turn of phrase, a gracious gesture, or a line of poetry than to a well-made material object or a piece of machinery.

h. Human nature mistrusted

"Typical in the culture is a pessimistic estimate of the honesty and perseverance to be expected of people generally; and consequently, a feeling that no exertion is likely to produce much of a utopia."*

Hispanic society is characterized by a small, close circle of trusted friends, the nucleus of which is the extended family, and in contrast with this circle of intimates, a distrustful, suspicious posture toward the rest of humankind. Friendships are formed warily and slowly. The outsider must earn confidence before expecting to be trusted as a friend. Speaking of Latin American cultures Kluckhohn has stated: "Transients were separated off because unrelated, and members of the permanent population gained in prestige to the degree they were related to other village families."** As a corollary of the general pattern, the Hispanic businessman prefers to do business with a person he knows socially, who is interested in asking him about individual members of his family. As another corollary, when a member of this culture has anything difficult to say to an acquaintance who is not of the group, he is likely to say it through a third person and if possible, a mutual friend.

There is a significant expression, "tener confianza con alguien," meaning to feel you know the person, to feel at ease with him; and it causes a sense of strain to deal with people with whom this rapport has not been established. The sharp distinction between "amigo" and outsider has many consequences. One of them is to inhibit the growth of the large-scale, centralized collaboration which the needs for industrial efficiency, for scientific research, and for governmental regulation are imposing upon our twentieth-century society.

i. "Cultura" and "Realidad"

The word "cultura" in Spanish usage is reserved for those parts of a culture that one admires. The rest of the sociocultural totality is usually called "la realidad."

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*Nostrand, op. cit. , p. 471.

**Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 206.

Spanish Americans are highly critical of what they term "la realidad de nuestro medio." They criticize particularly what they consider a lack of civic discipline, and the underdevelopment in technological fields. The feeling of inferiority on this score strengthens the realization that the riches of the mind and spirit are more important than material goods.

j. Rising Expectations

In the past, among the underprivileged, there has been the eternal hopefulness that something better might turn up, such as a lucky number in the national lottery. In the present century, a cautious hope for a more substantial betterment is asserting itself, as it is in Asia and Africa. Hence there is a rising social force, whose turbulence adds to the psycho-social unrest which is a modern theme both in everyday life and in art.

B. Underlying Assumptions of Fact

The underlying assumptions of a culture are difficult to describe since they are more unconscious than conscious and therefore have not been made the object of an abundant documentation. In this they differ from the values, or "themes," which are subjected to constant discussion.

Five universal problems of cultural orientation have been selected as the crucial ones common to all human groups. These are Human Nature, Social Relations, Man and Nature, Time, and Space. For each of the cultural systems--French and Hispanic,--appropriate subheads of these topics are listed for consideration in the study of the individual culture.

French*	Hispanic
Human Nature	
The ego as a discrete entity	A dualistic view of the individual personality
Humanity as an acquired characteristic	
Reality versus appearance	

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*See Nostrand, op. cit., pp. 123-147.

Social Relations

Primacy of the individual over the group
A vertically structured society
Cautious attitude toward the outsider

A small trusted "in" group
Extended family the essential nucleus of the "in" group
Attitude toward the outsider
Government and employment conceived by analogy to family

Man and Nature

Adaptation of man to nature in order to utilize it

Religious orientation with an admixture of superstition among the Indian populations
"La fuerza del destino"

Conception of Time

The present viewed in a long perspective
History as a storehouse of models

Balance between work and leisure
Orientation to the present

Conceptual Organization of Space

France as a focal point
Radial organization of space
Enlargement of the international context

Central vs. peripheral
Intimate vs. alien
Proxemics

1. French Culture*

a. Human Nature

(1) The ego as a discrete entity

As stated in the section on individualism, the Frenchman sees himself as an independent entity, detached from the world and distinct from other individuals. This assumption assures to each person the independence of his own critical thinking. Being only oneself, seeing dreams materialize according to one's own individual nature, is also a part of the art of living. And the effort that one has brought to bear in order to be authentic implies struggle and solitude. From childhood the Frenchman learns that he must

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*For a more complete discussion of these assumptions see: Nostrand, op. cit., pp. 125-147.

be ready, at any moment, to struggle alone in life. The proverbial expression "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera!" is one of the maxims of French life. The twentieth century, with its new problems of existence and its threat of extinction of the human race, has shaken man's confidence in his ability to master himself and the universe. If he declines to become involved he retreats still farther into his existential solitude, a malaise reflected in the works of numerous contemporary writers.

The preoccupation of many twentieth century writers with personal experiences and psychological struggles was called by the writer Maurice Barrès, "Le Culte du Moi."

(2) Humanity as an acquired characteristic

The French do not consider that humanity is an innate quality, but rather that an individual is formed by learning the art of living. They think of succeeding only through the enforcement of a rational discipline for the inner life, and the discipline of "savoir-vivre" for social life.

(3) Reality vs. appearance

To discover the elements that are important to a person or in a situation, it is necessary to penetrate beyond the surface to an inner reality. Saint-Exupéry expresses this very simply in Le Petit Prince: "L'essential est invisible aux yeux." This belief is central in French culture, as in many others, undoubtedly. The preoccupation with deceptive appearances has been common to French literature through the ages from the Renaissance to the symbolists and the mentality of the twentieth century. In the classical period nearly everyone believed in the existence of "le mot juste" for any valid concept. In the twentieth century, inquiring minds wonder to what point words and other symbols correspond to the reality that they wish to present.

b. Social Relations

(1) Primacy of the individual over the group

The Frenchman tends to conceive of all society as an association of individuals and of small autonomous groups, with independent opinions and different tastes. **"Le premier mouvement du Français qui fait partie d'un groupe et qui se trouve, sur un point même mineur, en désaccord avec ses collègues, c'est de donner sa démission et de fonder un groupe rival...L'idéal du Français serait d'être le parti d'un seul homme."***

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*Maurois, André. Portrait de la France et des Français. Hachette, 1955, p. 22.

Frenchmen have seemed to avoid active participation in any kind of voluntary organization. In politics their unwillingness to cooperate dates back to the Old Regime. Under Louis XVI each traditional "estate" stubbornly defended its own interests and made reform impossible. The civic spirit generated by the Revolution was killed by Napoleon. Then the alternation between democratic and authoritarian regimes in the nineteenth century made people in France view the merits of both more critically than citizens of countries where one or the other predominated. A similar lack of agreement about community values was apparent in social and economic relations.

Beyond the family circle, the French became increasingly unwilling to submit to decisions made by a leader or a majority vote. They shared certain norms for personal behavior, but these did not work well for large groups. "Call it individualism, self-reliance, nonconformism, or suspicion of outsiders -- the fact remains that Frenchmen were not 'joiners' like Britishers, Swiss, Scandinavians, and Americans. Until the late 1940's there were relatively few fraternal organizations, church auxiliaries, amateur theatrical and choral societies, or nonprofessional sports teams in France.

"Apparently then, most Frenchmen have not worked well together in organizations that were supposed to serve their needs. In both their national and local affairs they have had little practical experience in cooperating with people from different backgrounds and in handling problems of planning, administration, and public relations."*

(2) A vertically structured society

Unconsciously, the French - and probably all Europeans, Iberoamericans, and Orientals - assume that they live in a vertically structured society. In meeting you they will automatically place you above or below themselves, and if nothing reveals your status they will feel ill at ease as long as they do not know how to treat you. The culture of the United States, on the other hand, tends to assume unconsciously a horizontal structure in which one treats everyone, with very few exceptions, in the same casual and relaxed manner.

Although class distinctions in France have been diminishing ever since the Revolution, the vertical structure still exists in the family traditions of some powerful industrialists, in the remnants of an older aristocracy, especially in the west of France,

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*Tannenbaum, Edward R. The New France. University of Chicago Press, 1961, p. 5.

and among certain professions. It is necessary to point out, however, that the apparent respect given to people in the various levels of the professions is an outward form of deference due the function of the profession rather than the individual himself. Even this rather rigid etiquette is tending to disappear gradually, especially among the young people who are creating new types of professional relations.

In general, society in France is changing very rapidly, as it is in all of Europe, due largely to the technological revolution. France has need of a great number of technicians; it is estimated that by 1990 they will make up 65 percent of the Frenchmen at work. Therefore there will be a considerable leveling of society financially, which will lead ultimately to a practically classless society.

(3) Cautious attitude toward outsiders

French society, undoubtedly like any other, makes a major distinction between two degrees of proximity among the concentric circles that surround the individual, from the circle of persons closest to him to that of the most distant human beings he knows.

For the French of the middle and lower classes, the inner circle is very restricted; it includes only the family (extended to uncles, aunts, and cousins) and a handful of trusted and intimate friends. Neither mere acquaintances nor even "pals" are friends; they all belong to the large exterior circle of "outsiders." For the Frenchman true friendship is based on mutual acquaintance, real and deep, and confidence. Since these normally take long to acquire, one's real friends are often "childhood friends." Very few "true friends" are acquired later. The Frenchman does not distrust outsiders; he simply does not know them, and consequently he keeps an attitude of reserve and caution. This attitude is the result of a long education which may be expressed in the proverbs: "Tout ce qui brille n'est pas or; A beau mentir qui vient de loin."*

c. Man and Nature

Adaptation of nature in order to utilize it

The attitude of the Frenchman toward nature can be summed up in a phrase of Bacon: "No one commands nature except in obeying it." Therefore, the only way to subdue nature is to adapt to it, to accept the limitations set by nature and to learn to live within them.

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*Nostrand, op. cit.,p. 135.

The Frenchman's view of the world reached its fullest expression in the classical art and thought of the second half of the seventeenth century. "At that time philosophers, scientists, and builders believed that they had mastered the principles governing physical forces once and for all -- just as Racine and Molière had done for human relations. Their conception of the world as man-centered, orderly, predictable, and complete continued to sustain the self-confidence of ordinary Frenchmen and to influence the creative forms of France's high culture for over three hundred years."*

Tannenbaum says one should look to LaFontaine to understand the underlying assumptions of the French, just as one turns first to Homer to understand those of the Greeks. Sainte-Beuve called LaFontaine France's true national poet -- her Homer. He came closer than Descartes or Montaigne to expressing all the traditional beliefs of the French about the world around them.

"LaFontaine lauds the virtues of the open mind -- imbued with its own weakness, yet passionately fond of philosophizing -- which leads the good fight against prejudice and superstition. Whether he talks about lions and foxes, farmers and millers, or noblemen and judges, he teaches a lesson about life in general. He is a realistic observer with a strong dose of peasant malice and bourgeois caution. His fables often show a spectacle of violence, ruse, vanity, stupidity, wickedness, and the triumph of injustice, though they implicitly suggest humanity and goodness. They preach neither the nobility of disinterest nor the heroism of sacrifice. Instead, they recommend a humble practical wisdom made up of prudence, moderation, and foresight. Good sense, according to them, consists in recognizing that things are the way they are because they are that way and that God helps him who helps himself."**

d. Conception of Time

(1) The present viewed in a long perspective

As noted apropos their realism, the French look back to the distant past and take an equally long perspective on the future. Yet one must place them among the people oriented toward the present; the purpose of their investigations and of their perspective is above all to solve present problems. Nevertheless the traditional attitude persists: if it is necessary to choose, the present good must be sacrificed for the future.

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*Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 67.

** Ibid., p. 68.

(2) History as a storehouse of models

To the French mind, history appears, not as a continual succession of epochs, but as an accumulation of experiences, rich in lessons for the present, each person being free to choose from them the models that suit him the best.

e. Conceptual Organization of Space

(1) France as a focal point

In his consideration of space the Frenchman will always refer to his native land, which appears to him as a reduction of the European continent, a kind of map of well sorted out samples in which the great variety of soils explains the wide variety of landscapes. He is not impressed by breadth or extent of landscape: he prefers the miniature of the geographical variety of France, with its five natural boundaries of mountains and seas making its geographical unity.

(2) Radial organization of space

The Frenchman is especially proud of the natural order of France: the distinct hexagon formed by its boundaries, the radial organization of the roads, highways, railroads, and airlines, all of which converge on the cities, especially Paris. Edward T. Hall has called attention to the fact that in a French office the persons organize the space on a radial plan with the chief's desk in the middle, whereas an American office generally has the desks around the room, near walls, leaving the center of the room as a kind of common property, often with a central table for conferences.*

In the eyes of the French, the centralizing tendency so characteristic of France corresponds to the natural order of things. The Frenchman likes to maintain that "**Paris n'est pas une capitale artificielle, bâtie par le caprice d'un prince ou par le décret d'un gouvernement: son passé bimillénaire est celui d'un être vivant, qui s'est développé de façon organique, d'une ville-musée qui témoigne de l'histoire de tout un peuple.**"**

(3) Enlargement of the international context

In spite of the French tradition of considering their country as a geographical unity, the geographical horizon is at present becoming more and more broad. The young people travel much more

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* Hall, Edward T. The Silent Language. Doubleday, 1959, pp.200-1.

**Michaud, Guy. Guide France. Hachette, 1964, p. 27.

than their parents and they have definite opinions on the affairs of Europe, especially on its unification. As was stated in the section on realism, the French in general realize that their country is too small to remain independent, that it is necessary to cooperate with their neighbors and to be interested in the affairs of the world.

Howard Nostrand states that this enlargement of the geographical context is part of a deeper change. **"L'esprit français a été facilement persuadé au passé que ses manières d'agir, de penser et de sentir étaient universelles dans la mesure où les autres peuples étaient raisonnables. L'aspect chauvin de cette ancienne attitude s'atténue visiblement au cours de ce dernier tiers du XXe siècle et la fierté patriotique, sans s'affaiblir, se réconcilie avec un esprit relativiste que fait honneur aux vieux thèmes français de réalisme et de sens critique."***

2. H i s p a n i c C u l t u r e

a. Human Nature

A dualistic view of the individual personality

Representing the fusion of several different cultures, the Spaniard is a paradox of contradictory traits. He tends toward an idealistic view of human nature, with a certain amount of fantasy in his hopes for a better life or greater fortune. He sees beyond the exterior toward the inner worth of man, and believes himself to be the equal of his fellowman, whether he be poor or rich, a peasant or a king. When facing the hardships of life, the Spaniard also exhibits a realism that is manifest in great courage and stoicism. These predominant contrasts in the Spanish character were well portrayed in Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. By their companionship and influence on one another each took on some of the character of the other until both combined idealism and realism in their personalities. In each individual there is the potential for great good or great evil. Only the circumstances of the moment determine which one will predominate.

The music, literature, and art of Spain and Hispanic America reflect the constant inner conflict of the people. They are great dreamers when situations are appropriate for letting their imaginations wander toward the infinite, and practical whenever circumstances require them to face serious situations. Essentially, the Hispanic person contains within himself the personalities of

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*Nostrand, op. cit., p. 147.

Quixote and Sancho together in one soul and one mind.

b. Social Relations

(1) A small trusted "in" group

"Los amigos" for Latin American people has a particularly special meaning, quite different from the meaning which "friends" or "friendship" might have in other cultures. "Los amigos" becomes a sort of expansion of the family and this group is by and large numerous. The relations among them are deep and lasting, and frequently based on profound affection and confidence. "Los verdaderos amigos, " generally speaking, are the predominant choice in national as well as in private enterprises. This has sometimes been called "el amiguismo" in Latin America. For, by, and to "el amigo," all sorts of sacrifices can be made.

Even in groups whose main occupation is public service and active participation in politics, there is a tradition of deference to the in-group that takes precedence over every other consideration. "To stand by your group, the members of your extended family, your classmates, those raised with you in the same village, the 'compadre,' or your companions who followed the same political leader takes precedence over efficiency, public service, budgetary restrictions, or formal law."*

(2) Extended family, the essential nucleus of the "in group"

The family is the essential element in the society of Latin American countries. The concept of "familia" in these cultures is far different from that of the Anglo-Saxon; a strong feeling of love and affection toward their nucleus prevails. Father, mother, and children are considered to be the nucleus of the family, and the father remains the head of it. In close relationship, and in formal and authoritarian relations are grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, and other relatives.

"The godparent-godchild relationship in Spanish America is a powerful one and is virtually an equivalent of the parent-child one."** This relationship produces the "compadre" who has a unique position in Hispanic culture.

Older generations very seldom remain isolated; even more, three generations living together in the same house at one person's expense is actually not uncommon. Sons and daughters do not

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*Tannenbaum, Frank. op. cit., p. 120.

**Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 182.

separate from family connections until they are quite mature and have already acquired an established position in life. They emancipate themselves when they marry, but even then they sometimes continue living with their parents when incomes are not sufficient to support the new family. Parents, by and large, give financial help to their sons and daughters until they are self-supporting.

(3) Attitude toward the outsider

In general the Latin American's attitude toward the outsider is one of caution and reserve. He tends to be less "open" toward the outsider in both public and private life than the North American. However, there are differences from one country to another.

Latin Americans are proverbially hospitable. The phrase "ésta es su casa" is frequently heard. While he does not intend that his guest take him literally, the Latin American indicates his general attitude by using this expression. Likewise the widely used expressions "La casa es chica pero el corazón es grande," or "Donde comen tres comen cuatro," are for the most part inherently characteristic of Latin American culture.

The lower-class people will share their only piece of bread with the visitor. They will give him their best chair, if they have one. They will share the last resources of their humble houses with any guest. And, by and large, the same attitude will prevail among middle-class and upper-class people as well.

However, the sense of "hospitalidad" is unfortunately losing ground in the large cities. It is well known that the "generosidad" and "hospitalidad" in the rural areas are much more usual than in the crowded areas. This fact may be based upon the difficulties of the citizens in making a living in the cities. They become accustomed to higher standards of living which require greater efforts on their part in order to attain desired standards. People living away from large cities, however, retain a kind of submission or resignation to reality.

Generalization is impossible now because of the rapidly changing society and the differences in countries and regions.

(4) Government and employment conceived by analogy to family

Many centuries ago families gathered together and formed a clan. After a period of time, two or more clans joined forces and became a tribe. This was common for most primitive groups of

people throughout the world, laying the groundwork for what later would become the political structure of communities, that is, nationwide political structures. In the Hispanic cultures this national structure is "El Estado." Its ultimate origin is found in the family itself.

"Estado" and "Gobierno" are of course, different in meaning. "El Estado" includes all the individuals of a nation, and "El gobierno" includes only those who represent the individuals and who rule the country.

"El Estado" plays, more or less, the part that the head of a family does. It has to provide the country with all of the sine qua non elements that people demand such as food, lodging, transportation, education, welfare, and social security. Every day more effort is being made to improve education in Latin American countries. The concept that education is predominant in the evolution of society is gaining strength, but lack of resources still prevents attainment of an adequate educational system. The need for adequate food and lodging is also of great concern to the Latin American governments. More and more the financial resources of the several countries are being directed toward alleviation of this problem. The same is true of public health. The governments are striving to maintain high standards in health and sanitation. When national catastrophes come, the Government is the first institution that takes care of people and helps them.

This short explanation can give an overall idea of the permanent involvement of the Government in individual lives. It can be compared to the constant concern of parents for their children.

c. Man and Nature

(1) Religious orientation with an admixture of superstition among Indian populations

Indian tribes in Latin America were deeply religious. Their philosophy of life, their activities, their social life were based on religious beliefs and on strong religious impulses. Their religious preoccupation is expressed in their arts, dances, music, and the like.

The missionary zeal of the early Spanish friars was not completely successful in converting the American Indians to Christianity. Conversion required both the introduction of Catholic Christianity and the abolishment of existing native religions. The latter task was extremely difficult. Modern anthropology demonstrates conclusively that the elimination of pagan traits was only partial. In Indian society of the twentieth century pagan

forms survive,so that Christianity and paganism exist simultaneously as alternative or complementary faiths. Among these residual pagan traits are many superstitions still prevailing such as beliefs in magical illnesses and magical cures, various kinds of taboos, and ritual ceremonies.

(2) "La fuerza del destino"

An outstanding trait of the Hispanic American is resignation, a readiness to accept things as they are. Whereas the North American believes that man has a responsibility to improve nature, to master the problems and difficulties that beset him,the Hispanic American is more likely to resign himself to whatever "destiny" brings him. And "destiny" is whatever God wills, or whatever fate has in store for him. He is more likely to meet difficulties by adjusting to them rather than by attempting to overcome them. Fate is somewhat inexorable, and there is nothing much to be gained by struggling against it. This is closely allied to the Spaniard's idea of the art of <u>being</u>, an aim handed down from centuries of Iberian history, rather than the need for accomplishment, for <u>doing</u>. This trait is seen also in the Hispanic American inability to become imbued with a zealous enthusiasm for abstractions such as "the job," the political platform, the social or political ideal, the social welfare, the impersonal principles of science. Instead, he seeks to establish personal relationships with employers, politicians, and other persons of influence or authority.

<u>d. Conception of Time</u>

(1) Balance between work and leisure

As a rule, the Latin American dislikes haste and therefore does not respect punctuality in the same sense as does the North American. He feels no sense of urgency to be on time for any kind of social engagement or to leave even after several hours' stay. However, he is punctual on special occasions, such as the theatre, bullfights, and important business appointments. People are generally becoming more concerned about punctuality, particularly among professional or working people whose activities require regularity in performance. It is very common to hear the expression "a las 11, hora inglesa," meaning that one is expected to be on time. The expression "time is money" is not compatible with the psychology of Hispanic people.

In cities and towns the greater number of working people may be found among what is generally called "the middle class." This is the social stratum that includes people in the professions, in public administration, and in business.

It is said that this is the "clase productiva," and it is among these people that the major responsibilities of a country

are shared. They understand the need for "puntualidad" to accomplish business during working hours. They also know how to enjoy leisure when they can get rid of compulsory obligations. The middle class accounts for the greatest part of the population in some of the countries of Latin America. The upper-class stratum is small in number. Since colonial times the latter have had privileges; they have been the owners of the lands or directors of large industries. However, conditions are changing rapidly, and all people have to work harder; therefore there is less leisure and people cannot enjoy the old way of life as before.

Lower-class people work because they have to earn a living, but as soon as they have done sufficient work for the day, they seek their own ways and places of enjoyment. The fact that time is of no particular consequence comes from the influence of many generations of a village type of agricultural society in which the rhythms of life were seasonal rather than daily. There was no complex division of labor, no complicated, interrelated activities such as domestic life in urban and industrial centers. There was no regular, timed employment, no tension from competition, no formal organization, no particular value accorded to precision or accuracy. Hence there was no cause to be concerned with time.

(2) Orientation to the present

The North American is very much concerned with time and sees most activities not as ends in themselves but rather as the means to an end which lies in the future. On the other hand, the Spanish American has no very definite concept of the future and prefers immediate rewards. This is often called the "mañana" attitude in which the more philosophical Spanish American is seen putting off until tomorrow what does not actually have to be done today. In a very real sense the Spanish American lives <u>in</u> and <u>for</u> the present, a circumstance that is often misunderstood by the hurrying, time-conscious North American who lives <u>in</u> today but <u>for</u> tomorrow.

e. Conceptual Organization of Space

(1) Central vs. peripheral

Cities founded by Spaniards were characterized by their concept of city plans common to cities in Spain. A large square, generally called "Plaza de Armas," was surrounded by square blocks which were divided into four quadrants and called "solares." This was the major characteristic of the "el centro" design. The main community buildings were placed around this large square in order to centralize all civic and business activities. The "Plaza" also became a social center where adults could enjoy conversation and

the youth could take part in the evening "promenades."

In residences, the informal social center for the family and close friends is the "patio." The large "salon" with chairs arranged around the walls is the favorite indoor place for more formal entertaining. Furniture is thus arranged in order to leave the central space free for dancing or general socializing. In rooms used mainly by the family, furniture is generally placed in the middle of the room.

Contemporary life and the expanding population of today prevent people from using vast amounts of space as they formerly did. Therefore, as in all parts of the world, architectural planning has changed tremendously. Thus, the idea that the community must be centralized is a currently diminishing trend -- a trend which formerly beckoned people to the middle of their vital space.

(2) Intimate vs. alien

Latin Americans' concept of space, which was inherited from the Spaniards, tends to group people into close contact, no matter whether they are relatives, friends or acquaintances.

The use of space presupposes maintenance of the human group in quite close contact. Plans of the houses, the distribution of furniture inside them, the arrangement of furniture in offices, keep the fundamental idea of closeness.

Obviously, architecture has changed considerably but the idea of keeping the close contact of the family is still prevalent. But not only material space is considered in this way. Interrelationships between Latin American parents and their children are much closer than in some other cultures. From early childhood in Latin America, children receive more protection and are not trained to be as self-sufficient as North American children. Parents commonly give their sons and daughters a great deal of help and, it is felt, maintain closer and more loving relationships with their children than most North Americans.

(3) Proxemics

Edward T. Hall, the author of The Silent Language and The Hidden Dimension, says: "Proxemics is the term I have coined for the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture."*

Our senses permit us to have contact with our environment; it is through the complicated mechanism of sensations that we are put

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*Hall, Edward T. The Hidden Dimension. Doubleday, 1966, p. 4.

in contact with the world around us. Hall says that "peoples from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, inhabit different sensory worlds."* Senses acquire a special meaning in the outward expression of attitudes, modes, gestures, mimicry, the use of space, and the like, which are characteristic factors of every social group.

A unique aspect of Latin American communication is the use of space in all social situations. One can notice in observing Latin Americans in conversations that they stand much closer to one another than do North Americans. There are no established rules for the "use of space" within Hispanic cultures. This attitude of proximity is simply a personally acquired pattern from long generations of models.

The intimate familiar contact described in the preceding paragraph is shown also in other ways. Greetings among Latin Americans are especially characteristic. They shake hands always on meeting and on taking leave, even if the conversation has been only five minutes. They greet each other with demonstrative embraces even among men. Kisses are also quite frequent in everyday salutations among family members and among close women friends.

C. Art Forms

Most of the arts are international symbolisms which attain national character only in their content and in the referents of their symbols. This content consists of the substantive elements (values, assumptions, etc.) of a national culture. For example, if French music has in it something peculiarly French, it is not so much in the musical symbolism as in the thought and sentiment that constitute the import of it. French composers reflect the intellectuality of French culture in their attention to a well-balanced structure, in their imaginative rather than emotional style, and in a limpidity that translates their ideal of clarity, --an ideal so familiar in the study of the language.

In the twentieth century most of the arts tend to be less distinctive of individual cultures than in earlier centuries. An exception is the folk-arts, most of which retain the characteristics of each nation or even of each region.

Art forms may be grouped as follows for the two cultures:

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* Hall, Edward T. The Hidden Dimension. Doubleday, 1966, p. 2.

French Culture	Hispanic Culture
a. Literature	a. Literature
b. The Theatre and the Cinema	b. The Theatre and the Cinema
c. Music and the Dance	c. Music and the Dance
d. Painting and Sculpture	d. Painting
e. Architecture, Town Planning, and Decorative Arts	e. Architecture, Sculpture, Town Planning, and Decorative Arts
f. "La Haute Couture"	f. Folk Arts
g. "La Cuisine"	

1. French Culture

a. Literature

Literature is the most complete image in artistic form of people's lives. Literature comprises not only what men have done (history), but also what they have thought (philosophy and criticism), and what they have imagined (poetry, the theatre, the novel). In literature all thoughts, all human emotions clash, are expressed, are discussed, and are clarified. It is impossible in this brief presentation to do more than call attention to a few of the high spots of French literature that should be studied in depth to understand better the French mind and thought.

In French literature, one of the richest of modern times, is seen the fusion of Greco-Roman civilization with the Judeo-Christian civilization. In its form and taste it is the heir of classical antiquity, while fundamentally it is of Christian inspiration.

The literature of France, like that of all other peoples, began with poetry, the language of the emotions, more easily understood than reason by primitive men. The first French masterpiece is the famous Chanson de Roland, a national epic poem written near the beginning of the twelfth century.

The Renaissance brought a new point of view and a new zest for life. Writers began to be interested more in the individual man, in science, in material reality, and in the happiness of earthly life. This thirst for knowledge, this "joie de vivre" is manifested most completely in Rabelais, the first great French prose writer, an ideal representative of the beginnings of the Renaissance in France. He believed in nature, in science, in humanity; he loved life, preached tolerance, and advised his readers to follow nature and "le bon sens."

While Rabelais speaks to us of "la joie de vivre," Montaigne instructs us in "l'art de vivre." He has been declared the most influential writer of all French literature and a representative par excellence of the French mind. By his humanistic spirit

which examines everything in its relation to man, and by his doubts concerning traditional beliefs, he is the philosophic representative of the Renaissance, especially in that which concerns freedom of thought. He believed that the goal of life is to become better and wiser and that the art of living is "savoir jouir loyalement de son être." Considering man in history, in philosophy, in ethics, and in his own life, Montaigne concluded that the most desirable and also the most difficult to accomplish is "savoir vivre à propos."

The seventeenth century, the "Grand Siècle, " saw the beginnings of modern philosophy and science. In France, two men contributed to this development, Descartes and Pascal. Descartes, "the first modern philosopher," had an ardent desire to know the exact truth in all things. Beginning with the premise, "Je pense, donc je suis," he built his philosophical structure on good sense, reason, and his faith in the goodness of God. His famous method which he developed to seek the truth has influenced, directly or indirectly, all the philosophers since his time. This inductive method, based on order, good sense, logic and clarity, has remained essentially the method still employed in science. Cartesianism is a rationalistic philosophy. Descartes accepted the religious beliefs of his day, but concerning ideas he accepted only what reason could prove. He believed that science, directed by reason and will, could be everything to man.

Pascal was also a man of science, but for him science alone was not sufficient. How, he said, can one measure by science things like religious beliefs, will, sentiments, and the emotions of man? According to Pascal, philosophy must be based, not on mathematics, but on human experience. It is necessary to take sentiments into account because "Le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît point." Descartes and Pascal represent two methods of thinking, that of logic and that of intuition.

Classical literature reached its perfection in the seventeenth century during the reign of Louis XIV. It is the Golden Age in which French literature adapted marvelously to the taste of the French the inspiration received from the best authors of antiquity. This happy alliance of the ancient and the modern produced some very great writers; among the most notable are the three great dramatic authors, Corneille, Racine, and Molière, who gave to the French classic theatre a prestige that has lasted for three centuries.

Although the poetry of the century was too well regulated by tradition to produce great lyric poets, La Fontaine is considered today as one of the great lyric poets of French literature because he put into his fables a personal element of gaiety, charm, and wit. In France people of all ages enjoy La Fontaine: children, for the stories, the humor, and the rhythm; adults for the charming poetry, the penetrating observations on life, and the current of gaiety that runs beneath the surface.

The development of the scientific and critical spirit brought a reaction against tradition and authority. The eighteenth century was a period in which the writers were more interested in ideas for themselves than in the artistic manner of expressing them. It is a century of science, of philosophy, and of propaganda for reforms, an epoch of optimism and of faith in progress. Montesquieu was the first great reformer, but Voltaire and Rousseau were the greatest writers of the century.

Voltaire was right in saying, "I have no sword, but I have a pen," for his pen was more powerful than thousands of swords as he used reason and ridicule in his battle of ideas, fighting against superstition, fanaticism, and religious intolerance. The practical advice expressed in the conclusion of Candide, "Il faut cultiver notre jardin," which means essentially that one must accept his lot while working to better it, is found in the realism of the French people today, one of the values of French culture.

The development of literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is rich and varied. The nineteenth century saw the rise of several movements or schools of literature--romanticism, realism, naturalism, and symbolism, each one developing through some reaction against ideas expressed in previous periods. During this century great works in all the literary genres were developed. No author was completely in one school; each had his own individuality. Besides, one literary movement begins before the one it replaces has died completely, and often several schools coexist for some time.

It is not our intention here to define the various schools or to list the many and varied writers. Attention might be called to the fact that a study of some of the masters of the school of realism, Balzac or Flaubert for example, with their observation and precise description of individuals as types existing in French society in the nineteenth century, would give the student some clear examples of French character as well as clarity and precision of language and style.

Almost all of the literary tendencies of the nineteenth century have continued to exist in the twentieth, and many new ones have been added. **"Le XX^{e} siècle s'ouvre avec une pléiade d'écrivains dont la rencontre constitue comme un nouvel âge d'or de la littérature française: Péguy, Proust, Gide, Valéry, Claudel."***

The classical purity of Andre Gide's prose has merited him the title of one of the best stylists of French literature. Concerned first with the need to liberate the individual personality from traditional constraints, Gide went on to the defense of political

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*Michaud, Guy. Guide France. Hachette, p. 116.

and social freedom of man as an essential condition of his free personal development. In the tradition of Montaigne, Gide profited from every kind of experience, important or trivial, and made it the subject matter of his writing. "The art of both the sixteenth century essayist and the twentieth-century moralist is based upon an indefatigable curiosity and a relentless critical spirit."*

The most influential of twentieth-century novelists was undoubtedly Marcel Proust. He is "the first novelist in a France imbued with the classical tradition of consciousness and reasoned clarity, to have penetrated into the obscure domain of the unconscious beneath the realm of reason..."**

In the subconscious mind, Proust believed, lies the imprint of the past, which reveals the unity of life and which can be relived by the exercise of will-power. A keen observer, and possessing an extraordinary faculty of analysis, Proust found in the smallest details the existence of something hidden. With unusual skill he analyzed his own feelings and modifications that these showed in relation to the external world.

Among the most important of the writers of today is Jean-Paul Sartre, leader of French existentialism. Since, according to Sartre, God does not exist, it is man who must create all the values. Man is free, but he must take possession of his freedom by his acts in a fully responsible and "authentic" life.

Notable in philosophical thought was Henri Bergson, who continued the method of Pascal, which has been called "L'intuitionisme."

If we look in retrospect at the modern period, we can see that almost all literature is a revolt against the world in which the writer lives. By his reason or by his emotions, the writer expresses his refusal to accept the values of his time--political, social, philosophical and moral. He obliges us to think, to justify our world, or to try to change it for the better.

One of the major characteristics of the French literary mind is the fervent identification it establishes with the past. The dependence of a French writer on other writers who preceded him is acknowledged and emphasized. French art is knowingly the renewal of tradition and not the discovery of the new. The prolongation of the past explains to some degree the attitude of the French people toward their writers. The pride which the French

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*Fowlie, Wallace. A Guide to Contemporary French Literature from Valéry to Sartre. Meridian Books, 1957, p. 59.

**Roe, F. C. Modern France. McKay, 1961, p. 297.

feel in their writers and their awareness of them are singularly French traits. The literary artist represents a fusion between the present and the past. At moments of national crisis, the French turn to their writers, because the writer seeks to integrate into his work his analysis of politics, morals, theology, philosophy, or whatever problems continue to torment men's minds.

After establishing a relationship with the past, the French literary mind seeks to establish another kind of relationship with another mind of its time. "More than other countries, France favors and supports and values the existence of opposing minds at any given moment of its history. In that country which has developed to such a high degree the art of argument and discussion and conversation, no single voice is ever allowed to be heard for any length of time."*

What unites all the major works of French literature is the psychological inquest of man. The effort to study man has been the motivation and the activity of the French literary mind. From Villon in the fifteenth century to the psychological novel of Proust, writers have sought to answer the question: what is man? The psychological inquiry begun by Descartes and Pascal continues even today.

Existentialism illustrates the permanent traits of the French literary mind. "Existentialism has its roots in the past. Its writers have established a debate or a dialogue with other contemporary writers. And it has revised all the basic metaphysical and psychological problems of man: action, liberty, responsibility."**

All French literature reflects French spiritual life which is made up of opposing ideas that guarantee its diversity and richness: traditionalism and the revolutionary spirit, idealism and realism, religion and philosophy. These oppositions are balanced by the outstanding trait of the French personality--reason. Prepared by Montaigne, formulated by Descartes, rationalism is the leading thread of French thought and French literature, which has from one century to another given rise to writers preoccupied above all with trying to define humanism, wisdom, and "l'art de vivre."

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*Fowlie, op. cit.,p. 19.

** Ibid., p. 24.

b. The Theatre and the Cinema

For centuries France has had an official national theatre. No nation has paid greater attention to drama than has France. The Comédie Francaise (or Théâtre Francais), which recruits its actors and actresses from the National Conservatory, sets a very high standard for dramatic achievement, just as the French Academy represents the national standard for literature and language. The Théâtre Français aims at literary merit in the plays selected, perfection in production, in scenery and in elocution. It displays this perfection not only in Paris but in its performances in foreign countries. It has a double role: the production of new plays which are considered to be of artistic merit, and the performance of repertory plays, according to the ancient acting tradition. The audiences take the performances very seriously. (Often parents bring their families in the cause of general education.) Revolutionary and unstable as the French are often accused of being, they show great respect for national institutions that represent the deep cultural traditions which they see as an outstanding characteristic of their country.

The Comédie Francaise is but one of 50 theatres in Paris. One of them (in Palais de Chaillot), called "Théâtre National Populaire" (TNP), has made an attempt at reaching a wider audience. Like the Comédie it is state-subsidized and offers both classic and contemporary plays, French and foreign. It is the largest theatre in Europe. It tries to reach students by special performances at very low prices, and the working class in the suburbs by playing under a canvas. It is very successful.

The vast majority of foreign tourists in Paris seek most frequently the spectacular, elaborately presented, decorative musicals, with their well-drilled and beautiful chorus girls. What the French theatre so often indulges in, the drama of thought, turning on the problems of people who try to understand why life is what it is, will naturally be incomprehensible to people with only a rudimentary knowledge of French. There are, of course, theatres that provide plays for people who want only to be amused, but these are also for those who possess a mastery of the language.

The theatre was long characterized by its concentration in Paris. Formerly anyone wanting to see good plays had to go to Paris. Since the war, new active centers in the provinces have been increasing. Some cities have excellent companies.

Two other nationally subsidized theatres are the Opéra and the Opéra Comique. The Opéra also has a school of ballet. The musical show as we know it is typically American, but "Operettes" are common.

Since World War II the French theatre, in contrast to the relative eclipse of the novel, shows great vitality, originality and daring, partly because of the presence of authors endowed with original minds , but also because of the French attitude of taking the stage seriously.

Le Cinéma in France has had many financial difficulties. Production is therefore limited but the quality is good. There is a strong trend to treat the film as an independent art form with scripts specially written for the screen, but some of the greatest successes of recent years have been adaptations of well-known plays or novels; for example, Gigi from the novel by Collette, Les Parents Terribles, of Cocteau, the Symphonie Pastorale of Gide. French directors do not want to stage superproductions, for they do not do them well. Their special province is the observation of human reality with a certain amount of humor and imbued with a sense of beauty that gives the French film its characteristic tone of color.

The cinema is considered very seriously as an art among intellectuals. Cine clubs and "cinémathèques" show the best films from the whole world at reasonable prices. In Paris "la Cinémathèque" shows six classics per day.

c. Music and the Dance

The traditional music of France, like her painting, her architecture, her sculpture, and her literature appeals primarily to the rational element in man. It prides itself on being intellectual and descriptive. Often music has been linked with literary expression because the public preferred, even at a concert, something resembling the theatre. In the Middle Ages music was linked with the lyric poetry of the Troubadours. Much Renaissance music was written to accompany poems. At Louis XIV's court music was composed for the comédies-ballets. In the 18th and 19th centuries it blossomed in opera. The French love for ballet and dance rhythms must have drawn their composers toward these forms of music, in which they have excelled.

The arts express the thoughts, feelings and emotions of any given period, so they are not pursued in isolation. The impressionist movement of the later 19th century, for example, was expressed by painters like Cézanne, Manet, Monet, Renoir and others, by the poets called the Symbolists, and in the music of Debussy, Fauré, and Ravel. Nations do not live isolated, either, and a glance through the names of French composers reveals that Paris had a strong attraction for foreign musicians, the Belgian César Franck, the Polish Chopin, the German Gluck and Offenbach, to mention only a few. The French themselves often borrowed from foreign sources, but, as in the other arts, they created, with what

they took from abroad, works distinctively French. There are, of course, several contemporary composers, especially a group influenced by Stravinsky and a group called "Jeune France," whose music is at times as disconcerting as some of the contemporary painting. France's contribution to music continues, still frequently linked with literary works, undimmed in quality and rich in variety of inspiration.

The popular "chanson française" is the contemporary French song known in this country through a few singers (M. Chevalier, Yves Montand) and a few songs like La Seine, Les Feuilles Mortes, etc. The chanson française is characterized by extreme variety and delightful fantasy, but the lyrics are so abstract or poetic that everything is lost when translated. Therefore this music is difficult to export. The lyrics and music are so French that they cannot be appreciated by foreigners. The poems are among the best written in France during this century, but there is a constant play on words, a constant and always successfully new use of age-old words and idioms. Themes are love, of course, but also many others including mild or violent criticisms of society. Today the radio, television, and recordings entering into everyone's daily life, have made of the chanson a sociological phenomenon of first importance.

d. Painting and Sculpture

Second only to literature, painting has held an important place in French cultural life in all epochs. Always in search of new forms, painters nevertheless generally refrained from any extremes up to the time when impressionism involved painters in the greatest adventure of contemporary art.

After the exuberance and "joie de vivre" of the Renaissance, art, like literature, was oriented toward reason and order, with admiration for classical antiquity. The energetic rationalist Poussin has been called the Descartes of painting. His classicism is shown fundamentally in his composition, perfection of design, and in his constant effort to organize in an architectural harmony all the elements of a painting. His instinct for grandeur and his careful attention to detail suggest an intellectual kinship with his contemporary, the dramatist Pierre Corneille.

In the eighteenth century, as society wearied of the ceremonious life of Versailles and sought more intimate pleasures of conversation, the dance, and chamber music, painting also became more human, gay, light, and sensuous. Landscape, decorative, and anecdotal painting came to light. This was followed by the romantic movement and realism in the nineteenth century. Such artists as Corot, Millet, Daumier, and Courbet, and others, who opposed classical and romantic views, were to pave the way for the

next great phase in European art, the coming of impressionism. As in literature, several movements often coexist, each one continuing to live for some time after the birth of a successor. And never do all the works of a painter correspond exactly to the description of the movement with which he is ordinarily associated.

According to the realists, one should paint only what one sees without changing reality. Imagination and personal emotion were not to intervene. Even more revolutionary was the development of realism as found among the impressionists who manifested their realism not only in their choice of contemporary subjects, but also in the scientific study of the effect of light on the surface of things that they painted in open air. The chief of the group was Manet, followed by Monet, Degas, and Renoir. These artists are also referred to as the "pleinairistes" because they painted in the open air rather than in their studios. Their aim was to see things as though they were looking at them for the first time, and to depict them without any distortion due to thought: to paint what they saw in the landscape, not what they knew was there. The impression was to be instantaneous and passively received, untouched by imagination, judgment, or memory. They sought to capture "la vérité du moment," without any more effort of composition than would be found in a snapshot. Light became the real subject of the painting. The impressionists no longer used mythological, religious, or historic subjects, but almost exclusively landscape, with or without people.

The artist's desire to capture the fleeting impression of the moment was characteristic of the poets and musicians of the latter part of the nineteenthcentury as well as of the painters. It seems that in all the arts the French were departing far from Cartesian classicism. The justification of knowledge was replaced by the justification of sensation. The "je pense donc je suis" of Descartes had no more attraction for artists. One could rather apply to them André Gide's statement (from Les Nourritures Terrestres) "Je sens, donc je suis." The poet or the musician "paints" what he experiences and the painter "suggests" the poetry and the music in things by means of light and color.

Three painters, Cézanne, Gauguin,and Van Gogh, who began as impressionists, believed that the painter is a creator who must interpret reality by his reason, his sentiment, or both. Their works express, therefore, more of a subjective interpretation of life, and they are usually referred to as the Post-Impressionists.

Cézanne, by his geometrical design and the solid volume of his landscapes, is considered to have been the inspirer of the Cubists, a group of painters whose development was led and encouraged by Picasso. The cubists carried Cézanne's researches in pictorial space to the point where they were able to present an object as seen from several different angles simultaneously.

Although born in Spain, Picasso spent his adult life in France and his works are inseparably connected with the history of modern French art. He is characteristic of the modern age in his constant experimentation, in his startling shifts from one kind of painting to another, and in his invention of the most surprising innovations in painting and even in sculpture. Many modern artists owe a great debt to Pablo Picasso for the inexhaustible suggestions in his works for further development. He is considered therefore, as the dominant artist of the first half of the twentieth century.

French painting in the twentieth century shows a great variety. Abstract art explores various arrangements of lines, forms, and colors. The gothic stained glass windows seem to have a pronounced influence on several painters. The surrealists try to express on canvas the subconscious, the irrational, and dreams. The most significant group of contemporary French painters calls itself the "Jeune Ecole de Paris," a cosmopolitan group of which a high proportion of members hail from outside France. They can claim, however, to have been formed in and by Paris. As "La Ville Lumière" Paris still remains what it has been for more than a hundred years- the Mecca of the artist.

"Le Français naît sculpteur, comme il naît géomètre."* Thus one authority tries to explain the remarkable continuity of French sculpture, an art close to reality, eminently rational, three dimensional, in which certain qualities of national character have been expressed better than in other art forms. The religious fervor manifest in gothic sculpture, in statues of saints in tombs and "calvaires," the spirit of the Renaissance expressed in the châteaux, the fountains and garden ornaments of the "Grand Siècle," whose sculptors worked for the glory of Versailles and the king, the remarkable representations of man by Rodin - all bear witness to the importance of sculpture in the evolution of French art.

e. Architecture, Town Planning, and Decorative Arts

As early as the end of the twelfth century, France, especially Paris and the Ile-de-France, became the center for the development and spread of western culture. Thus one can find in France today some of the finest and best preserved examples in the world of architectural masterpieces which bear witness to the artistic and spiritual development of society through the ages: the religious faith of the medieval period so magnificently expressed in gothic churches and cathedrals; the spirit of the Renaissance manifested in the châteaux of the Loire, no longer the somber fortresses of earlier days, but embellished "pleasure palaces" for kings and nobility; the baroque art, a "modern spirit" which rose against

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*Michaud, op. cit., p. 128.

rules, order, logic, and moderation; the magnificent palace and gardens of Versailles, the creation and symbol of "le roi-soleil." Characteristic of the French love for their history, old buildings are constantly being repaired and restored, under the protection of the governmental institution called "la conservation des monuments historiques."

Since the end of the second World War, architecture, like the other arts, has become a part of the artistic revolution that is world-wide. Transformed by new techniques, notably by the use of glass, architecture is being more and more conditioned by the vast programs of town-planning which contemporary society imposes on it. The influence of Le Corbusier on the young generation has been very great. However, some contemporary architects have sought to reconcile the respect for French tradition with the boldness which today's technology permits and which a new society demands. Concerned with functionalism, yet forced to find solutions satisfactory to the French temperament, these architects have succeeded in avoiding the uniformity of a collective style and in satisfying individual needs and tastes.

The great destruction of property caused by two world wars fought on its own soil, the old custom of allotting only a small part of one's disposable income (at the most 10%) to housing, and the high cost of building due to the dispersal of work among many small operators of the artisan type, all have resulted in a great lag in modern housing in France. However, the destruction of the last war forced the government to take measures to improve the situation. Within the framework of a general plan of modernization of the country, each town that had suffered the disasters of war was given a plan for rebuilding. The building industry also has been forced to modernize. Consequently, France today is building 300,000 dwellings a year.

An increasing number of people in France live in apartments, although everyone dreams of having his own house and garden for his old age. On the outskirts of most cities, one can see large developments of high-rise apartment buildings. In Paris itself there is a law against skyscrapers because the people do not wish to spoil the profile of this old and beautiful city.

Because of the difficulty in finding housing in the large cities of France, especially in Paris, the importance of "quartier" is no longer so great as it was formerly; one lives where one can. The appearance and size of the apartment have likewise lost their importance. What counts today is the interior decoration which reflects the personality and social level of the tenant. The French attach great importance to the appearance of the interior. In furnishings, as in almost all French arts, simplicity and good taste are basic.

The French have long been famous for their beautiful furnishings. The creation and manufacture of fine furniture and decorative fabrics have been practiced for centuries, and styles have evolved according to the needs and tastes of the period. But there are certain rules that must be followed as in any work of art. These rules are in general found in the selection of forms and colors. Curtains, furniture, and all decorative accessories, whether antique or modern, must be arranged harmoniously and with taste. If furnishings of different styles are chosen, it is essential to know how to combine them.

Accessories are as important as furniture for the general harmony of the room. Ordinarily, the French love flowers and knick-knacks. Pictures always serve to reflect the personality of the tenant, and books, his education. In short, the French are concerned with making a good impression by the appearance of their interior decor, because they know that it is a reflection of themselves, of their language, and of their manners.

f. La Haute Couture

Paris is considered the home of the arbiters of fashion, despite recent competition with the designers of Italy. Twice a year these oracles issue their proclamations to the waiting world. A multitude of complex forces affect fashion, which is essentially a mirror reflecting the thought and spirit of a period. An essential quality of fashion is change. Caprice, frivolity, fantasy and originality are the basic components in the world of fashion.

One of the first innovators of fashion in France was Catherine de Medicis. In fact, several forms of art considered as French were in reality brought from Italy by Catherine in the sixteenth century --"la bonne cuisine," laces, fans, parasols, and the distillation of perfumes. *

During the seventeenth century France developed a sense of fashion which surpassed that of all other nations, a direction that it has kept ever since. Under Louis XIV rigorous measures were taken to improve French manufacturing of textiles, rigid standards of quality were set, and taxes on imported merchandise were doubled. All of these restrictions succeeded in establishing France as the most important producer of cloth and fine laces.

During the eighteenth century fashions in dress as well as everything French became the vogue in the courts of other nations,- Austria, Germany, Russia, and Spain. Also,toward the end of this century in France appeared the first fashion magazines, which established a precedent for all such publications.

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*Nostrand, op. cit., p. 178-179.

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of the great fashion houses for the elite and the mass-production of the "Grands Magasins" for the majority of the people. The greatest designer of the nineteenth century, founder of "la haute couture" in Paris, was Worth, an Englishman who opened the first French "Maison de Modes" in 1857. His techniques of production and his methods of presentation established the rules for contemporary designers.

Today the world of the "haute couture" is strictly controlled by the "Chambre Syndicale de la Couture," an organization comprising sixty fashion houses, which establishes the rules to be followed, such as exchange of information, cooperation to eliminate piracy of styles, maintaining stable working conditions, uniform pay, etc. It represents the industry in its relations with the French government.

The "haute couture" with its export is one of the most important elements of the French economy. During the presentation of "collections" in the houses of the "grand couturiers" international buyers purchase the models they wish, at fabulously high prices, and export them to be copied. As soon as the new collections appear in the fashion magazines, reproductions of the original models are ready for the market. Today the fashion scene is changing radically. Several of the "grand couturiers" are selling ready-to-wear clothes in their exclusive shops and are also putting on the market various accessories such as hats, shoes, and jewelry. However, the dream of almost any woman is still to be the proud possessor of a Paris original.

g. La Cuisine

The art of the table is for the French, as for any people, a folk art. It has its rules and traditions like all other popular arts. French culinary tradition goes back to the Renaissance. By the nineteenth century it was so well-developed that it formed the subject of various literary productions. Since then, French gastronomy, considered a science or an art, has won a world-wide reputation.

The art of "la cuisine" is a very important and very complicated one. In it one finds a mixture of the culinary arts of all the historic provinces that have contributed to the French cooking of today. For the majority of French people "la cuisine" is a form of refinement which has its strict rules and methods. A meal is therefore both a celebration of a rite and a work of art, arranged according to a certain rhythm and order, like a symphony or a classic play.

In general, the table is one of the main concerns of the housewife, one of the principal pleasures of the Frenchman, who considers

that not eating well is not living. At the present time, however, one can see changes which tend to upset the traditions of this folk art. As the time for lunch has become shorter and the increase in traffic tremendous, more and more French workers in urban areas adopt the American system of snack-bars and self-service establishments which resemble our automats, instead of the leisurely quasi-ritual lunch at home. Calm is lacking in modern life, and calm is essential for the preparation and consumption of refined dishes. There are also the influences of technology seen in the canned and frozen foods, in the increase of the supermarkets which tend to supplant the small food stores. The French cuisine, however, with all its rules and its standards, is keeping its prestige in Europe and in the entire world.

2. Hispanic Culture

a. Literature

The literature of Spain is one of the great literatures of the world, and one of the qualities that make it so is an exotic fragance from the Moors and Jews and the ancient African Iberians who first settled Spain. Since the days of the Visigoths Spain has never been a completely European country, and this quality keeps its literature from being as universally accepted as that of some other European cultures. The student of literature, however, is fully aware of the depth, beauty, quality, quantity, and variety in the literature of Spain.

Since literature is the most complete image of a people, it is necessary to recall some of the Spaniards' troublous existence and their diversity to understand it thoroughly. Spain, heir to the Goth, Celt, Phoenician, Arab, and Jew, presents contradictions that defy analysis. Beneath the unity of Castile are discovered a variety of provincial types; the people, given over to idealism, also express in their acts a positive realism. After long years of monarchy, the democratic spirit of the old free cities was reborn in the peninsular juntas. From this complexity arose a turbulent life--the secular struggle for national unity, the Catholic crusade against Islam, and the pursuit of religious unity by means of the Inquisition. Out of all the complexities and struggles persist the racial characteristics of the Spaniard -- individualism, the local spirit so inimical to great unities, and the African fanaticism which is satisfied only with excessive sensations -- a race proud in the face of God and king.

The opposing characteristics of idealism and realism, religious fervor and secularism, and good and evil can be seen in nearly all

Spanish literature from the earliest epic poems of oral tradition, later written down by the "mester de juglaría," and the lyric or narrative poems on religious themes written by the "mester de clerecía," down through the centuries to the contemporary period. The first great epic poem to be written in Spanish was "el Cantar del Mío Cid," a realistic poem of action, a symbol of Spanish nationality, of "patria española." Idealism is reflected in the nobility of the character of the Cid and in his devotion to country and king.

The most important literary form in the Transition period between the Middle Ages and the Golden Age is the poetry called "romances" which originated from the fragmentation of the old "cantares de gesta." The Spanish "romances," or ballads, in their entirety form one of the great monuments of popular poetry, unparalleled in any country.

Every historian of the literature of Spain agrees that the great period of Spanish literature is the "Siglo de Oro" or Golden Age, which begins, according to most scholars, with the publication of the poetry of Juan Boscón and Garcilaso de la Vega, near the middle of the sixteenth century, and ends with the death of Calderón de la Barca in 1681, the last great dramatist of the Spanish classic theatre. The Golden Age represents the finest flowering of the Spanish mind, and continues long after the political and social decline of Spain as a European and world power.

The Spanish people have, since early times, been characterized by their strong will, "voluntad," expressed in the proverb, "querer es poder." This was the dynamic and motivating force, which,in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reached out in three directions: first, in discovery, exploration, conquest and colonization; second, in the art and literature of the Golden Age; third, in the Counter-Reformation, which gave rise to the Jesuit Order, founded by the Spaniard Loyola, to the missions of the New World, and to a literature of mysticism in Spain that has no parallel anywhere in Europe. The Spanish Golden Age is a reflection and a fusion of these three currents of the national life.

Garcilaso de la Vega, whose poems initiated the Golden Age, produced a poetry in which reality was idealized. His eclogues picture a world in which perfect man lives in a perfect state; it is a world of idea, not a world of observation. His poetry expresses man's desire to achieve perfection and to live in perfect harmony with nature. The Spanish novels of chivalry and the pastoral novels provide further dimensions for this idealized world. In the novels of chivalry, love and valor are perfect, and in the pastoral novels love and nature are perfect. In both, man is almost a divine being, not subject to the laws of reality. In nature man can find reflected all the beauty and perfection of a good and perfect world. This nature is the creation of the culture and emotions of the

Renaissance. Poetry is no longer a reflection of reality, as in the"Mio Cid" but is an idealization of reality which epitomizes the dreams of man.

Among other poets of this period should be mentioned Alonso de Ercilla, who initiated epics inspired by the discovery and conquest of America with his poem "La Araucana," considered the greatest heroic narrative of America written in Spanish.

Making a complete reversal from the pastoral and chivalric novels was the appearance of the first and best picaresque novel, Lazarillo de Tormes (1554). This is realism again, giving us a picture of Spanish society as seen through the eyes of a young "pícaro," who goes from master to master, finding cruelty, greed, and opportunism everywhere. Even the church is satirized, thus explaining the anonymity of the book. Contrast between good and evil is again shown in this work. The poor squire, who despite his poverty, is proud and does not wish to hurt any man, epitomizes a good part of the nation, as the embodiment of personal dignity, pride, and poverty, the prophetic symbol of the ruin that Spain is to become in another hundred years. After the turn of the century several other picaresque novels appeared, and the Spanish "pícaro" became one of the well-known figures of world literature.

In contrast to these sharply drawn etchings of Spanish society was the poetry of the religious mystics who sought escape from this reality. Mysticism represents the martial spirit in a religious struggle. Outside of their religious poetry, the Spanish mystics were men of action, hard workers and reformers, but their search for God was a flight from reality in which the individual soul sought to find union with God. They felt radiant and transfigured and their poetry is some of the most impassioned in existence.

The most famous Spanish writer of all time was Cervantes, whose education placed him in contact with the humanistic currents of the Renaissance, and this liberalizing influence is apparent in his masterpiece, Don Quixote. In this novel Cervantes has given us a portrait of Spanish life and character raised to the level of great world literature. Sancho Panza represents the reality of the senses and of the moment, and Don Quixote symbolizes the wider reality of human belief. Each reacts on the other until with the interpenetration of ideas both characters are changed. Sancho slowly becomes infected with the fantasies of his master; Don Quixote slowly becomes infected with the pragmatism of his squire. The entire novel is a treatment of human character, truth and justice. Don Quixote's idealism meant a death struggle against the forces of injustice and evil, no matter what the consequences. In the end the defeat of the hero means the survival of the hero's ideal. Great tragedy in literature always consists of this. This masterpiece has been called by nearly all critics "the greatest novel in the world."

A contemporary of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, was the principal creator of a national theatre in Spain. He was undoubtedly the world's most prolific dramatist. He wrote between 500 and 600 full-length plays, besides an impressive number of novels, stories, poems, and shorter dramatic pieces. The Spanish "comedia" (Golden Age drama, not merely comedy) as created by Lope became a true popular theatre. It was primarily a comedy of intrigue based on emotions such as love, jealousy, honor, and vengeance. This kind of theatre has often been called "cape and sword drama," because of the constant presence and importance of the cape and sword in the resolution of the intrigue. Spanish drama of the Golden Age produced a considerable number of first-rate plays, giving Spain a place second only to Elizabethan England in the theatre. Public demand for his plays pushed Lope de Vega to use his pen and his imagination to the fullest extent, and he became the greatest improvisor of literature the world has known. "Spaniards have always been great improvisors: in government, in military matters, in economic problems, in conquest and exploration, in colonization, in practically every aspect of organized life. Their improvisation in literature is also proverbial, but no other Spaniard even came close to matching Lope's perennial fecundity."* He wrote also some of the best lyric poetry in the language, much of it incorporated into his dramas as popular ballads, lyrics, dances, and songs. He also used a great number of folk "coplas" and proverbs throughout his plays to give them a popular flavor. Many of his works are based on historic episodes or legends. Since he was greatly loved by the masses of theatregoers and sometimes followed their desired directions in his plays, he created the Spanish national theatre.

Lope de Vega had a great number of followers in the Golden Age theatre. Among the best are Tirso de Molina, whose play on the Don Juan theme is the best known and most often imitated by authors in other countries, and Calderón de la Barca, whose death in 1681 brought the Golden Age to a close. Calderón was the Baroque dramatist par excellence, the poet of Spanish Catholicism who wrote symbolic religious pieces of great poetic beauty. The Counter-Reformation had by this time put an end to the expression of free thought in Spain, leaving room only for dogma plus much embellishment. "Character analysis and fundamental questioning are lacking in the dramas of the Golden Age. This is the true meaning of the baroque in literature, which has its counterpart in the other arts as well, particularly in architecture."**

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*Crow, John A. Spain: The Root and the Flower. Harper and Row, 1963, p. 198.

**Ibid., p. 205.

During the Golden Age Spanish literature reached its height. It was a highly colored literature of great poetic power and strong intensity of feeling, expressing the laments of the human spirit in a baroque style of complex beauty. Included in it were also the old folk elements. "The writers of the Golden Age molded these elements into an exalted reality which caught imperishably the soul of Spain at her moment of crisis. Literature was a distillation of the nation's history and of the human spirit, which was immortal."*

The eighteenth century in Spain is the period of neoclassicism and of foreign influence, especially of France and Italy. The new trend made reason prevail over sentiment, intellectuality over imagination, discipline over creative freedom.

The Napoleonic invasion, political and social changes in Spain, and the independence of the American colonies retarded literary development in Spain during much of the nineteenth century. During the period of Romanticism there was some theatrical production and considerable development of the novel, especially the historical novel.

Belonging to the twentieth century are the writers of the so-called "Generation of '98," who have found literary expression in several genres: philosophical writers including Unamuno, Azorín, Ortega y Gasset, and many others; poets under the influence of the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, who created "Modernismo;" the novelists Galdós, Ibañez, and Pío Baroja; many writers of drama. The defeat by the United States in the war of 1898 caused the Spaniards to examine themselves, realizing the incapacity of their country to withstand the challenges of the modern era. Therefore, the members of the "generation of '98" wanted to try to find answers to the fundamental question, "What is Spain?" They examined past history and culture in order to reveal the true soul of Spain. The writers were a varied group linked together only because of the epoch in which they lived. Each one was a distinct personality with a philosophy of his own. They did not constitute a unified literary movement but they produced some of the finest literature to come out of Spain since the Golden Age.

In showing how literature expresses the soul of a people, one cannot omit the "copla," which is the base and the heart of the poetry of Spain and of all the Spanish-speaking countries. The "copla" is a poem of three or four lines of popular inspiration. Since these verses are of folkloric origin, the authors of the greater part of them are unknown. In countries where illiteracy is relatively high the oral tradition is very strong, and there exists a large body of improvised, anonymous literature. Those who cannot read or write often have the gift of artistic creation in

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* Op. cit., p. 208.

clothing, in song, in dance, and in popular poetry. "Las palabras salen de la boca del pueblo como el agua del manantial."* In countries where most of the population is educated, the people have lost this gift of creativeness. These people express their culture in more sophisticated forms: the cinema, the theatre, books, television, museums, and schools.

In past centuries the "coplas" were always accompanied by music and were sung at fiestas, weddings, pilgrimages, and serenades, all of which were a part of daily life. They express the most spontaneous, sincere, and intense feeling of the human being, including love, grief, humor, and the stoic acceptance of life, a philosophy which is so typically Spanish. The "copla" is even today the basis for a large majority of popular songs.

The first page of Spanish-American literature was written on October 13, 1492, by Columbus, the only case in history in which the exact date of the birth of a literature can be pinpointed. On that day a Romance language was used for the first time to describe the American landscape and its people. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas used the journal of Columbus in writing his Historia de las Indias. This and another book by Las Casas, Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias, are essential to an interpretation of the great period of discovery and conquest. Las Casas was so inspired with a sense of mission that he crossed the Atlantic time and again to promote his campaign on behalf of the Indians. His vehement indictment of the treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards gave rise to the "Black Legend" that accused the men from Spain of genocide.

Many monks and soldiers began compiling either general histories of America or particular histories of the conquest. A list of the writers would indicate that no part of America was without its chronicler. The story of the conquest also called for verse, and many poets wrote of the new land. The best epic, La Araucana, has already been mentioned. The writer was captivated by the land and the natives and described with fidelity the Araucanian's love of liberty. "Ercilla himself was conquered by America, and he sang not to a conquered Chile, but of a conquered Spain, his Spain, as he surrendered himself to contemplation."** This poem, characteristic of Spanish literature, also shows both realism and idealism.

All the literary movements of Europe had their influence also on writers in Hispanic America, but generally they arrived in the

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*Crow, John A. Spanish-American Life. Holt, 1963, p. 130.

**Arciniegas, Germán. Latin America: A Cultural History. Knopf, 1967, p. 174.

New World some years later than their development in Europe. Works in all the literary genres were written, and gradually the ties with Spanish literature were broken and a real Hispanic-American literary expression developed. As the creoles took more part in the political and social life of the colonies, they also wrote plays, novels, and poetry.

Although literature had variations in development in the several countries, there is a unity throughout, not only in the language but in the fact that all the countries shared the spirit and the consciousness of a common destiny.

Despite the fact that in the literature of Hispanic America one is dealing with a vast and complex production, there are some essential characteristics common to all of it.*

- Romantic and sentimental character. Even though romanticism as a literary school has died, it is still reflected in the attitude of independence and rebellion in the majority of Hispanic-American authors; in the national, the picturesque, and the regional characteristics; in the idealization of certain types; in the struggle for the freedom of the individual. One finds also an emphasis on sentiment and emotion.

- Democratic and popular spirit. Nationalism. The protagonists in the literature are the ordinary men and women, Indians, and workers. Traditional and folkloric themes are used. The literature defends the highest social ideals and is an expression of the national soul. It reflects faithfully the Hispano-American.

- Individuality and originality. Although foreign models are used, they are not merely copied, but used in a new form to create a literature belonging unmistakably to America.

- Struggle between regionalism and universalism. There has been a constant struggle between "criollismo" and cosmopolitanism, with one or the other predominating from time to time. Today it appears that cosmopolitanism has won, though some regional tendencies persist.

- Synthesis of the clash of two cultures. Dualism. Compared with Oriental and European literatures, the Hispanic-American is relatively young and still in the stage of development, of seeking techniques of style and definitive forms of expression. The Hispanic culture is a synthesis resulting from the fusion

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*The following is summarized from Gomez-Gil, Orlando. Historia Crítica de la Literatura Hispanoamericana. Holt, 1968, pp. 9-13.

of two cultures and modes of life diametrically opposed--the European and the native. Its dualism comes also from the juxtaposition of the elements of realism and idealism, characteristics present in the literature of Spain.

- Literature more vocational than professional. Hispanic-American writers have had to be at the same time politicians, revolutionists, social leaders or fighters, newspapermen, or private or State employees. To this must be added the difficulties of political, economic, and social instability, together with the general poverty of the countries.

- Social preoccupation; sense of honor and dignity. A contemporary tendency of literature expresses the anxiety that the artist feels in confronting the problems of the world. The writer can no longer live in an ivory tower but must be concerned with what is happening around him. Ever since the 18th century this orientation has existed in the Hispanic-American literature. Few writers in other countries have been so belligerent in the consideration of political, social, and economic problems, or have come so often to the defense of the humble and the exploited, while condemning hypocrisy, pretense, and deceit. These are concerns of writers in countries with serious difficulties of this kind because literature tends to reflect life as it is and not only the ideal states of it. Another interesting trait is the sense of honor and dignity, not in the old Spanish concept of honor, but a desire to defend man against everything that can destroy him, whether it be a political, social, or economic situation.

Because we are dealing with the literature of nineteen nations, it is impossible to list the hundreds of writers who represent their own nations and have their own individual characteristics. The diversity is never so great as to deny the literary and cultural unity of the artistic works of Hispanic America. Its literature is a derivation of the universal European currents, but with a strong American accent. Local scenes and problems are presented, but the desire is always to reach toward the universal.

b. The Theatre and the Cinema

Contemporary theatre in Spain began with some of the representatives of the "Generation of '98," especially with Benavente (Nobel Prize winner,) who presented the society of his time with irony and depth of understanding. The Quintero brothers reproduced with gracefulness and humor the language and character of the lower-class people.

Themes in contemporary theatre have been more varied than before. Drama has been full of irony, moral advice, religious suggestions, and at the same time mundane values. The style has

been simple and restrained. The new theatre has dealt with social satire, with relations between sexes and their conflicts, with middle-class aims, with the corrupt social life of aristocracy, with children's problems, and with psychoanalysis.

Since the Spanish Civil War and the death of the great dramatist García Lorca, the theatre in Spain has declined.

A highly developed theatre or a national theatre presupposes a high degree of maturity on the part of the people or of the country in which it is produced. Since the Latin American countries have been occupied, and still are, with structuring a better society, with developing political systems, and with improving education and economic life, a national theatre has developed only in a few places. Mexico has probably produced the best theatre among the Hispanic countries. Argentina has also produced good theatre highly regarded by people in the southern part of Hispanic America.

Attempts have been made by some Hispanic countries to create cinematic productions with distinctive national characteristics. Spain, Mexico, and Argentina have produced some good films. Today Mexican cinema is probably the best known. Mexican films have shown the national traditions and background of the country and the outstanding characteristics of the people. Themes also include the religious, themes of the revolution, and of education. Mexico has created a well-known character called "Cantinflas," who portrays many typical features of Hispanic people, such as their exuberant loquacity and their excessive verbalism.

c. Music and the Dance

The Spanish ballads, or "romances," make up one of the greatest bodies of popular or folk poetry in the entire world. The "romances," developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from the songs of the "trobadores" of the Middle Ages, were assimilated by the people and took on the character of various regions. In Spain and in Spanish America today, the "romance" is still very much alive. It is the principal base of the Mexican "corrido," which arose from the Revolution of 1910-1920 much as the ancient ballads of Spain developed from the dramatic events of the Middle Ages. The Spanish ballads, preserved mainly through the oral tradition until collected around 1500, were meant to be sung and danced by the people. "They are traditional poetry in its finest flower, telescoped, intense, dramatic, often lyrically beautiful, politically powerful, always the voice of the people."*

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*Crow, John A. Spain: The Root and the Flower. Harper and Row, 1963, p. 119.

During the Golden Age, folk songs of every kind and for all occasions continued: ballads, work songs, religious melodies, dances, love lyrics, pilgrims' songs, and many others. "Their variety and abundance undoubtedly places Spain at the top of all European countries in the field of folk music."* The variety is partially due to the fact that Spain assimilated oriental music, gypsy and flamenco airs.

Percussion instruments were very popular in Spain, but the major musical instrument was, of course, the Spanish guitar. In the sixteenth century the guitar was essentially the same instrument that it is today. In our day, Andrés Segovia has restored the classic dignity of the guitar of the Golden Age with his matchless artistry, and many flamenco guitarists have popularized the rhythms of Andalusian song.

The tremendous energy and vitality of the Spanish people are reflected in the strong and rapid rhythms of their songs and dances, but the gaiety they seem to show is but a mask. Beneath the apparent gaiety and "joie de vivre" the songs and dances of Spain are all sad songs. Even as the arts flourished in the Golden Age, miserable economic conditions, a succession of military defeats that reduced Spain to a second-rate power, a long series of incompetent kings, a superstitious credulity which attributed all errors and disasters to "fate," and an intransigence to change kept the country at a stand-still while the rest of Europe was progressing. Therefore there is nothing really gay or picturesque about Spain when one penetrates its mask. "Spain is a tragic land, its songs are sad songs, and its dances are tragic dances. They are all suffused with a sense of loss and separation, a sense of tragedy and imminent doom."**

Music in the early churches of Spain was greatly influenced by the Moors. The church was modified by the character of the Arabs and its music was quite different from that of the church in other European countries. Under Moorish influence the chorus was well developed and today Spain has some of the finest choral music in Europe.

Turning to the New World we find that Mexico, as an example of these countries, has a wealth of folk music and dances, part of them an ancient heritage. Singing and dancing were important arts before the Conquest. The Aztecs had their cuicacuilli, houses of song near

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*Crow, John A., Spain: The Root and the Flower. Harper and Row, 1963, p. 219.

**Ibid., p. 385.

the temples, where teachers lived and devoted themselves exclusively to instructing the young to play, sing, and dance. These arts were necessary for every religious and secular fiesta, as well as for magical rites. They serve the same purposes at the present time, but there are no longer special schools for teaching them; the young learn from their elders.

Aztec musical instruments consisted of drums, flutes, conch shells, whistles, clay and gourd rattles, bells and shell tinklers. What indigenous music might have evolved into is impossible to say since its development was interrupted by the Conquest. Many primitive Indian groups still have their own particular music and instruments. The same might be said of other countries where the pre-Conquest Indian civilizations had reached a high degree of development and where this part of the population is still largely unassimilated (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia in particular).

Folk music exists everywhere in Mexico; everywhere one finds native bands and orchestras. About 80 percent of Mexican music is mestizo-Indian melodies under the influence of Spanish rhythms. The "jarabe," a composite of Indian and Spanish music, is the characteristic dance of various parts of Mexico. The "Jarabe Tapatío" is the national folk dance.

One way of knowing a people is to listen to their songs. In their music the people express the entire gamut of their emotions. For this reason the songs are rich and varied. There are the pre-Spanish primitive songs; religious songs; revolutionary songs especially from the 1910-1920 social revolution; dance songs and love songs; and the"corridos" or ballads, which tell of adventures of heroes or bandits, of accidents and love tragedies. They reveal the true character of the people and express all their sentiments - stoicism, pathos, humor, mockery. There are innumerable regional dances, both secular and religious ritual dances.

In this century, activity in musical composition has been most intense in Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Peru. The richness of folk material and the great variety of topography and climate permit distinct types of culture to flourish within a single republic. Political conflicts and general backwardness have retarded the development of serious music in some places, but occasional works of interest from these countries and the general excellence of a good portion of the music written in these seven republics give sufficient evidence that a new art which must command the respect of all who are interested in music is under way.

In recent years the music in the churches of some of these countries has been changing along with the evolution of the Roman Church. In an attempt to unify the people in their worship and

to permit active participation in religious expression the language of the Mass in the churches of many of the Latin American countries has been the vernacular. This change took place before the Vatican made the general ruling substituting the language of the country for Latin in religious services. Composers are using folk music as a basis for the Mass and thus the new church music reflects the characteristic culture of each country. Especially well-known today are the "Misa Criolla" of Argentina and the "Misa Chilena."

Musical nationalism in Mexico had its initiator in Manuel Ponce, who in 1912 launched a movement popularizing the "canción mexicana" and who directed the attention of composers toward the richness and variety of their regional dances. The forceful convictions of this composer and the new impulses awakened by the Revolution provided decisive criteria in the cementing of a national musical culture.

Carlos Chávez, conductor of the Mexico city symphony orchestra, was one of the first composers to show authentic signs of a new world with its own new music. Using his thorough knowledge of both indigenous and mestizo music he dedicated his gifts to the service of integrating various sources of a true Mexican tradition.

In Argentina one finds the greatest quantity and most varied assortment of the best mestizo music. The people of Buenos Aires have begun to appreciate the Inca culture of the north. Many operas using folklore as a basis have been written.

The country whose contemporary music excels that of all the other Latin American republics in quality and quantity is Brazil. Brazilian popular music is easily appreciated by the North American because there is an important negroid element in both their music and ours. Much of the popular street music of Río de Janeiro and other cities reminds one of the sophisticated jazz of a Gershwin or a Grofé. The negroid music of Brazil is richer rhythmically and melodically than our jazz. With the indigenous music of the aborigenes and the music brought by the conquest the Brazilian composer has a limitless source of materials. These have been used with noteworthy success by a generation of musicians unequaled through South America.

Villa Lobos, composer of more than two hundred songs, several symphonies and symphonic poems, devoted his later years to raising the cultural level of the Brazilian public in general and that of the Brazilian school children in particular.

For composers born after 1920, nationalism has ceased to be an issue, except in some musically retarded countries. After the end of World War II, new international currents (such as Schoenberg's method of composing with twelve tones) began to have an effect in wide sectors of Latin America. Carlos Chávez of Mexico, once considered a leading representative of nationalism has become a

champion of internationalism, or, as he prefers to call it, "universalism."

No artistic creation will follow an unchanging line of development, however. In Brazil, because of the great prestige given musical nationalism by Villa Lobos, there was a tendency to prolong that tendency. Guarnieri, who denounced international modernism as antipatriotic, influenced his pupils to cling to the nationalist line. By 1939 a movement against folkloristic nationalism was started in Brazil, and today composers there as in the rest of Latin America are creating new works in a universal style.

The Negro influence on music is great in all the Caribbean area. Afro-Cuban jazz, which has completely different rhythms from other regional music, is essentially the source of North American jazz. These rhythms have spread throughout the world, a fact which shows how music, more than any other art form, is susceptible to various influences.

Latin American music, which has become so popular in the United States as a result of the many recordings sold here, is generally thought of as having exciting and exotic rhythms. These are the result of the intermixture and assimilation, over a period of hundreds of years, of characteristic musical elements of three important influences - the Indian, the European, and the African. From the Indian came the short, repetitive, rhythmic patterns; from the Spaniard, the many varied song forms; from the Africans, the drum beats and the beginning of syncopation.

d. Painting

Although the Moslem Conquerors left a deep impression on Spanish civilization, this is not true of Spanish painting, which is exclusively European in its forms. This is probably explained by the Moslem prohibition against the representation of the human figure, which meant that almost all Moslem artistic activity was confined to architecture and the arts of decoration.

The development of painting in Europe was closely paralleled in Spain. The naturalistic movement in Italy and in Flanders was so extensively developed in Spain that it must have corresponded very closely to deep-rooted Spanish artistic instincts. The classical Renaissance style and interest in genre subjects came into Spain by way of Flanders. Although a unity of style existed between the builders, sculptors, and other craftsmen of Spain, painting developed in sporadic outbursts through the talent of a few artists working mainly in foreign traditions.

In the sixteenth century one of the sporadic outbursts in Spanish painting occurred in the works of El Greco, the Greek who

went to Spain after having studied and worked in Italy, and spent the rest of his life in Toledo. The intense emotionalism and spiritual quality of his works appealed to the religious fervor of the Spaniards. He is always considered as belonging to Spanish art, even though he worked in the Italian and Byzantine traditions.

"El Greco's art is not strictly Spanish," an eminent art historian observes, "even though it appealed to certain segments of that society, for it had no Spanish antecedents and had but small effect on subsequent Spanish painting."*

The seventeenth century was the age of three of the most outstanding personalities in Spanish painting, Velásquez, Zurbarán, and Murillo, who, by any standards, were three of the greatest artists of the century. Allthree owe something to Italy, but their own influences extended throughout Europe.

From the Middle Ages to the time of Goya religious art was of primary importance. The Church in Spain, with a conservative and overzealous priesthood, was always a dominant power. Hence it was in Spain that the Inquisition flourished as in no other country of Europe. Constant struggle (against the Moors) and religious fervor made the Spanish fanatical on the one hand and emotional and mystical on the other. This ardor of the Spanish religious temperament is one of the mainsprings of all art in Spain, and is the key to the understanding of many of its characteristics. The Renaissance interest in man and in classical antiquity that provided new subjects for painting in other countries had little influence in Spain. Religious subjects continued to the exclusion of almost everything else, except a few scenes of everyday life, still-lifes, and portraits. Subjects from classical mythology and paintings of the nude are rare in Spanish art. This was partly on account of religious objections and partly because of the lack of a prosperous middle class to buy such pictures. The Spanish artist still relied mainly on the churches and convents for patronage, with some portraits and a few decorative subjects being commissioned by the court.

Portraits were extremely popular, as elsewhere, but there was a certain Spanish quality about them that arose from the great concern for individual characteristics rather than ideal beauty that concerned Italian and other artists. This deep interest in the individual led Spanish painters from the seventeenth century onward to the representation of things in everyday life, especially still-life painting. Landscape painting, however, hardly existed in Spain. This indifference to nature is a reflection of the

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*Gardner, Helen. Art Through the Ages. Harcourt, Fourth Edition, 1959, p. 392.

general lack of interest in the natural sciences, which were being cultivated in the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century. Intensity of expression remained the outstanding characteristic of Spanish painting.

In the eighteenth century Goya was the artist who started a new face in European painting, so much so that he has been called the first modern painter. His highly personal style anticipated most of the basic elements of both Impressionism and Expressionism. He rejected conventional formulas of his day and developed a style of a previously unknown intensity and imaginative quality.

Picasso, though born in Spain, spent his adult life in France and his works are inseparably connected with the history of modern French art. Cubism, the first of the three great innovating movements in twentieth century art, began with Picasso's "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon" in 1907. By universal consent, Picasso is the master of the modern school of Paris, the leader of a group of international artists whose paintings transcend the confines of time and place.

In Spain, as in other countries, the modern trend in painting is expressed in various experiments for a new style. Impressionism, expressionism, futurism, cubism, surrealism, all have their exponents. All of these styles are considered universal rather than belonging to any particular culture.

In Latin America, the arts during the colonial period owed much to the traditions and concepts of Europe, but the artistic expression was mainly in the building and decoration of churches and convents. Therefore this will be treated in the section on architecture. Indian art forms also were found mainly in buildings, sculpture, and the decorative arts.

In the nineteenth century, as the Spanish colonies gained their independence, the ecclesiastical art of the colonial age gave way to a secular art. Government-sponsored academies were established, manned by Europeans, and pupils were sent to Europe for further training. Although no major art expression developed from the upheavals of this century, one important trend developed, that of the arts of the people combining both indigenous and derivative elements. In painting this is illustrated by the Mexican "retablos" and by the decoration of shop façades. This folk art helped to perpetuate indigenous forms which served as one of the bases of the Mexican painting of the twentieth century.

In Mexico, after the revolution of 1910, the new government encouraged artists by commissioning them to cover the walls of public buildings with murals. In the decade of feverish activity which followed, Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, and others painted murals depicting scenes of revolutionary struggles. They implied

a universal protest against injustice and exploitation. In their paintings and murals these artists have forged an unforgettable artistic vision of a people in progress. The traditions so expressive of Mexican heritage are being continued, with the individual interpretation characteristic of modern art, in Mexico and the rest of Latin America.

e. Architecture, Sculpture, Town Planning, and Decorative Arts.

The Moslem conquerors left a deep impression on Spanish civilization, and the art of Spain has thus differed profoundly from that of any other European country. This is particularly evident in Spanish architecture, which cannot be understood without considering the centuries - long existence of Moslem art in the Iberian peninsula. Some of its most characteristic forms persisted throughout successive Christian styles. Moslem temples later became Christian places of worship. The Moors left their mark on Spain not only in the churches, but also in the palaces and mansions, and even in the houses of the common people. Brick, tile, carved wood, inlay in colored woods, mother-of-pearl, ivory, tortoise shell, iron lace, tooled leather, pools, fountains, even the culinary art, showed an Oriental touch, which could be found everywhere in everyday life - in buildings, furniture, and interiors of houses.

Spain, like other European countries, accepted the Renaissance in its architecture, adapting it to local conditions and fusing it with native forms, especially in ornamentation. This mixture of Gothic Moorish, and Renaissance motifs was called the plateresque, a distinctly Spanish style executed with an elegance and delicacy reminiscent of the work of silversmiths (plateros). Plateresque ornament, with its accent on highlights and shadows, was usually concentrated around the doors and windows, its decorative value enhanced by the plain surfaces around it.

Spanish sculpture for interiors of churches of the period was largely made of wood, which was plentiful and cheap, and also offered a good surface for painting. This was considered as important in a finished statue as the carving. Polychromed statues abound in the churches of Spain, and choir stalls and altar pieces of carved wood are among the finest in the world.

In reaction to the plateresque, the high renaissance style became more and more severe, and in "El Escorial" the somber mood of Philip II was reflected. Later still, as a protest against this severity, the baroque and then the ultra-baroque shed all restraint in its flamboyant designs, often so thick that it was difficult to see the columns beneath the decoration. This style reached its peak in Mexico when wealthy owners of silver mines vied with each other to see who could build the most beautiful church.

Spain brought a complete blend of styles and cultures to America. As the colonies' development paralleled the development of the plateresque and baroque styles in Spain, American architecture was closely tied to that of Spain. But as these styles became acclimated to the New World, they changed according to the climatic conditions and environment, so that special styles were finally originated in the various countries.

There are three major currents in the development of art in Latin America: the ancient indigenous art, the colonial, and the modern and contemporary art. All three are abundantly represented in architecture and sculpture. The great religious centers of the Mayas, the huge pyramids of the Toltecs, the stone mosaic walls of the tombs and ceremonial centers of the Zapotecs, the heavy stone walls without mortar built by the Incas, all give evidence even today of the artistic and engineering skills of the early native peoples of America.

With the arrival of the Spaniards, monumental church architecture rose like a Catholic affirmation both in the capitals and large cities and in the monasteries. Until the 18th century, the building of the great churches that still stand as an expression of the power of the Church and of Spain in the New World was more or less continuous from the north of Mexico to Córdoba and Santiago in the south. Inside the churches wood was used in panels, retables, altars, and choir stalls. The vaulted ceilings also were decorated with wood carvings polychromed and gilded against red or blue backgrounds. At times, almost all the trimming was covered with gold leaf. Whatever part of America's gold that remained in the colonies was devoted to the uses of religion. In some churches the altars were of massive silver set with mirrors, Andalusian ceramic ornaments, and shells of mother-of-pearl.

At the same time as those immense structures were being built, there was developing a minor art, a simple village art, in the little churches with walls of brick or adobe, or even of hard-packed earth. They were whitewashed with tile roofs. They are expressions of the poor, austere America that was served by priests of simple faith, and they symbolized a rural life that prevailed through the four centuries of the colonies and on into the century of the republics. Such churches were built in the less prosperous hamlets or the missions, and also on the large estates.

Civil architecture in colonial Latin America never attained as much distinction as did religious architecture. The viceroys' palaces were generally not of major importance, but the mansions of the nobility in cities like Lima and Mexico city had beautiful entrances, luxurious interiors, and Andalusian-Arabic decorations. The "encomenderos" or the important landowners had lordly mansions that testified to the feudal grandeur based on the ownership of huge country estates.

Military architecture was evident on the Caribbean coast, which was most directly exposed to attack by corsairs, pirates, and buccaneers, whose aim was to enter the colonies and sack them as as part of their larger campaign to destroy the Spanish Empire. Their repeated raids made it essential to build strong defenses, walled ports, castles, forts, and lookouts that still stand as documents in stone of the colonial days.

Modern architecture of the 19th and 20th centuries has introduced a variety of styles and types. Indigenous, colonial, and modern functional architecture are combined, with the functional predominating, resulting in a degree of uniformity. Construction materials vary according to climatic conditions and different modes of life. The use of "azulejos" is an Iberian tradition from Moorish days in Spain, revived in Spanish America.

A broad spectrum of styles is to be found in the attempts of architects of today to adapt design to the needs of a jet-age in countries that had hardly got beyond the era of the oxcart. "The extensive scope and brilliant design (of contemporary building) have been ahead of the United States in general terms, for twenty years or more. Apartment houses are an innovation in the southern part of the hemisphere and not particularly popular as yet, but few in the United States can compete with them."*

In the field of modern architecture Mexico and Brazil have taken the lead although interesting developments are also to be found in other countries, notably Venezuela and Colombia. Mexican architects have concentrated largely on filling the need for schools, hospitals, factories, housing developments, and office buildings. More than a hundred architects and artists collaborated in building the University City for the National University of Mexico. The whole complex of buildings is very impressive and commands admiration for the boldness and beauty of its structures, in which architectural and decorative elements are completely integrated.

In Brazil, the architect Oscar Niemeyer has won world-wide fame for his designs for Brasilia, the new capital built where nothing had stood before. With this new capital the Brazilian government hoped to emphasize the possible development of vast unpopulated areas of the interior of the country. An English architect has described Brasilia as "probably the largest single building enterprise since the time of the Pharaohs and possibly the largest ever in a free society."**

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* Reindorp, Reginald E. Spanish American Customs, Culture and Personality. Wesleyan College, Macon,Ga., 1968, p. 267.

** Henriques Ureña, Pedro. A Concise History of Latin American Culture. Translated by Gilbert Chase. Praeger, 1966, p. 153.

The extremely impressive University City of Caracas, as well as large-scale housing developments, apartment houses, and office buildings in that city cause Venezuela to rank high among the countries with advanced architectural developments.

"On the whole, architecture in Latin America holds its own with the best anywhere in the world, and in some cases, it excels in boldness and originality of conception and execution. University cities such as those of Mexico and Caracas cannot be matched as a unique urban achievement in the modern world."*

As was stated in the section on "Conceptual Organization of Space," the conquerors of Latin America built the cities according to the plans common in the cities of Spain. When designing cities, the plans would call for a central square called the "Plaza de Armas," around which would be grouped the government buildings, the cathedral or church, and other important public buildings. Even today the main square is the hub of activity in a city, from which lead important streets on which stores, banks, etc. are located. Large cities, of course, have many public squares that have been planned as the cities have grown. Most of the economic and social activities of cities are centralized even today. Practically all traffic goes through the center of the cities, and as the hearts of the cities have kept the colonial plan, streets have remained narrow and ordered in square blocks without diagonal streets which might speed up the flow of traffic. The result is a great congestion in the urban centers. At the present time, cities everywhere are changing and becoming more modernized. In order to preserve colonial tradition, many old buildings in the center of large cities have been kept, side by side with the modern, affording great contrast in styles of architecture. New streets are wider and more functional for modern city traffic. Increasing population has caused rapid expansion of cities with little previous planning and with no fixed patterns. The vigorous growth of the cities and the lack of planning cause many problems in public transportation, housing, and utility services. However, large cities are making efforts to decentralize, and peripheral areas are being completed with shopping centers and other city services.

Hispanic peoples have developed furniture styles mainly in imitation of the European. Today the functional style predominates, especially because its simplicity causes it to be less expensive than the carved and ornate European styles. All furnishings, whether antique or modern, are arranged harmoniously and with taste. In the upper and middle classes interior decoration tends to express the individuality of the owner.

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*Henriquez Urena, op. cit., p. 153.

Accessories are as important as furniture for the general harmony of the room. Pictures always serve to reflect the personality of the tenant, and books, his education.

Hispanic people are very fond of flowers and all kinds of plants, which have always been used to decorate the patios. Today "jardines interiores" are becoming more popular, with evidence in some countries of Japanese influence.

f. Folk Arts

In Latin American countries every region has its own kinds, styles, and designs of folk art objects, materials being varied according to local products found in nature. Mexican folk arts are best known to the North American and are among the most varied and beautiful in the world. Nearly all humble objects are touched with beauty. Most countries produce native pottery, both glazed and unglazed, of various types. The Indians of the mountain regions of the Andes and of Mexico and Guatemala are known for their weaving of both wool and cotton in beautiful colors and artistic designs. Peru especially, and also Mexico, are noted for their intricate and beautiful work in silver. Hats, baskets, mats and other straw and fibre objects, toys, embroidery, beadwork, hand-blown glass, work in gold as well as silver, iron, steel, copper and tin, hand-carved wood, lacquer on wood or gourds, leatherwork, church decorations and ritual art, all are indigenous minor arts which reached a high degree of perfection before the conquest. The artist-craftsmen of today have kept alive the skills of their ancestors, but their arts have changed to satisfy a new world. They are no longer purely indigenous but a fusion of Spanish and native elements transformed into patterns and designs native to each country.

In recent years the folk arts have acquired greater prestige as well as economic interest. As the demand for handicrafts in the United States, especially those from Mexico, has been growing, the export end of the business has increased tremendously. Generally, the artist-craftsman is a poor businessman, does not know the value of time in a handmade object, and is glad to obtain a little above the cost of his raw materials. Therefore the majority of craftsmen have not bettered themselves economically.

The effects of the increased demand are generally bad. Some dealers exact excellent workmanship and respect the taste of the craftsman, but the majority, perhaps, care only for profits. The necessity of having to make many pieces of the same kind and often having to turn them out in a hurry, kills the artist's joy in creation. "When the new things that are constantly being made for city people are left to the taste of the craftsman, they have

artistic merit or at least they are objects of good taste. But unfortunately only too often outsiders interfere in the selection of the decorations."*

D. The Language

Language is a central element in any culture; in fact, one can say that language and culture are inseparable. It is necessary to see the special characteristics of a language as cultural entities and to recognize that language enters into the learning and use of all other cultural elements.

Edward T. Hall, in his book, The Hidden Dimension, quotes Edward Sapir on the relation of language and culture thus: "It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent built up on the language habit of the group."**

The values of a national culture are reflected in the language when language is taken in its broadest meaning. For example, the intellectuality of the French is manifest in a certain abstract character of the language; their critical spirit seeks always "le mot juste" and tends to limit and state precisely an idea without hyperbole or effusiveness. Their art of living and reverence for "la Patrie" are revealed in such expressions as "la joie de vivre," "la douce France," and "mon pays" (meaning the region of France that is mine).

1. The French Language

Language is the image of a mentality and a culture. In French culture, the language occupies a central position which seems to singularize it. It plays a major role in the expression of national character, among art forms and in social relations.

The French consider that the French language has played a very important role in national unification and in the formation of the traditions which sustain it. They believe that the deterioration of their language would threaten their national solidarity and their identity in relation to other peoples.

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*Toor, Frances. A Treasury of Mexican Folkways. Crown Publishers, 1947, p. 41.

**Hall, Edward T., The Hidden Dimension. Doubleday, 1966. p. 87.

French is an analytical language especially adapted to expression of the abstract and of subtle nuances, by virtue of its prepositions and many small versatile "mots de liaison." It prefers simple, short words, bearers of ideas rather than images. However, the word is less important in itself than in its context. The form of the French sentence obeys a strict and rational order. Use of the language requires both finesse and precision. "On peut exprimer n'importe quoi en français, mais non pas n'importe comment: l'imprécision du langage y trahit impitoyablement l'imprécision de la pensée.* Precision and finesse are essential characteristics of a language which does not lend itself to pathos and heavy emphasis; they are characteristics that may be summed up in the word "goût," an indefinable quality called style.

Language plays in all cultures a very important role in regard to social stratification and mobility. Phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, paralanguage and kinesics, all contribute to revealing the social class and the degree of refinement of a speaker. In French culture, it is the language, more than any other trait, that proclaims the rank and education of a person.

The national language itself has numerous differences. One could almost say that each trade, each social class has its "argot." There is also a great tendency today to adopt English words. Daily newspapers, linguistic reviews, and other writings pose the question of "Franglais," for or against. There is also some degradation of the language due to journalistic style, careless French on some radio stations, or generally among the people. Although the central place that the language occupies is one of the constants of the French sociocultural system, changes in the entire system do not spare the language.

2. The Spanish Language

The evolution of language is one of the most complex phenomena in the history of the peoples of the world. Everything that influences civilization, everything that will modify the physical and moral physiognomy of a people, will have its counterpart in language. The Greeks, the Romans, the Goths, and the Arabs, all left their influence on the development of the Spanish language, as each held sway through the various centuries of the early history of Spain. The Spanish language, largely derived from spoken Latin, went through many radical changes before it eventually became modern Spanish. Under the Moors, literature in both Hebrew and Arabic was cultivated (the Jews flourished under Moorish rule), but

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*Michaud, Guy. Guide France. Hachette, n.d., p. 23.

there was also a third language widely used: the everyday primitive Spanish of the Mozárabes. "This language was probably the most widely spoken idiom of the streets."* It is interesting to note that in 1948 some lovely lyric verses were discovered, written in Mozárabic Spanish, which antedate the Cid by over a century.

Near the end of the 13th century standard old Spanish had been created. The late 15th century witnessed the introduction of preclassical Spanish. Classical Spanish, the vehicle of the Golden Age literature, was followed by Modern Spanish. English, in particular U. S. civilization, began to color the lexicon of sports, science, commerce, and politics after 1900.

The Spanish conquest caused the imposition of one culture upon several others; it mutilated the native cultures but could not suppress them altogether. This is reflected in the language as well as in architecture and the popular arts. In the language of the mestizo, as in all aspects of his life, we find Spanish predominant, but the native Indian, which could not be destroyed, has its influence. Wherever the native population was more abundant and the political organization more complicated, as in Mexico and Peru, its influence on the resulting mixture of cultures was more potent than in colonies from which the Indian was disappearing before the onset of civilization.

The Indian languages have been important in the development of Spanish in America, particularly for the enrichment of vocabulary. For example, Náhuatl, the language of the Aztecs, ancient language of culture, strongly influenced the vocabulary and at times the pronunciation and intonation of the Spanish spoken in their former empire. In all parts of the New World the Spaniards encountered strange fauna and flora, for which they had to adopt the Indian names. The Inca empire also gave many words indicating their elaborate organization and administration. In general, phonological and syntactical influences have been minor, but the lexicon of the Spanish language in America has been greatly enriched.

It should be noted that the Spanish language is known for the great flexibility with which its vocabulary and structures are used. Words, by and large, do not have to be necessarily in a fixed position in the sentence. Thus, one can somewhat freely change their position in the sentence in order to emphasize the different thoughts that one wishes to express.

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*Crow, John A. Spain: The Root and the Flower. Harper and Row, 1963, p. 63.

Linguistic regionalisms exist in all languages. The differences that exist between the Spanish of the peninsula and that spoken in Hispanic America have frequently been exaggerated. The deviations have not been able to destroy the basic language. The native speakers of the Spanish language from one region to another or the foreigners who speak the language well have no difficulty in understanding each other or in making themselves understood.

Since language is never static, but a living, constantly-changing aspect of society, we may assume that certain developments will tend to cause further changes in the Spanish of Hispanic America. Industrialization and urbanization are having their influence; new technological terms are added. Words heard on the North American radio and in films, such as "béisbol" and "fútbol" are universally used. Since the United States is helping to teach Hispanic Americans various fields of technology, it is possible that the words necessary for new lines of development may come from the English language, changed slightly to conform to the speech habits of Spanish-speaking people.

To combat the influences from the outside on the Spanish language, there are also unifying forces. Not only does the "Real Academia de la Lengua Española" keep everyone informed of standards and changes in which it concurs, but also some individual Hispanic-American countries have established their own "Academias Nacionales de la Lengua." With the rise in literacy and the greater prevalence of cheap editions of books published in the large cities of Hispanic America the literary language will thus be a greater unifying force than it has been in the past.

The contrast between the English and Spanish languages reflects not only the historic development of the two cultures but also the differences in thought and behavior of the people. English is the language of the hard worker who has no time to spare for verbalism. What has to be said must be uttered briefly and to the point. The speaker or writer is direct, concise even to the point of being curt. English is the language of the scientific mind, the investigator, the technician. It is economical of vocabulary and structure, its basic native words are short, and there is little ornamentation.

"Spanish, on the other hand, is the language of diplomacy and romance, of poetry, worship and adoration, of tact and courtesy, of warmth and hospitality, an euphonious and harmonious language in contrast with the harsh, rugged English manner of speech. Spanish is the language in which to extemporize, in poetry or prose, the language that can sway emotionally or be polished to a fine legal point in interpersonal or international relationships."*

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*Reindorp, op. cit., p. 310.

E. Paralanguage and Kinesics

The two auxiliary systems of linguistic symbols, paralanguage and kinesics, help to give force and meaning to the oral language itself. They permit us to distinguish, for example, between one syntactical structure and another (statement, question, command), between one emotional attitude and another (surprise, joy, fear, impatience, irony, etc.). Generally speaking, anything that can be expressed by one of these two auxiliary symbolisms can also be expressed by the other or by words. Intonation is the major exception to this interchangeability of symbolisms. The spoken language can hardly indicate, without the help of intonation, whether a phrase is final or to be continued, for example.

The elements of paralanguage that are important for the understanding of a foreign culture are intonation, accent, rhythm, tone of voice, and certain segmental units which are not words (e. g. uh, uh-huh). The student must master the intonation curves and the rhythms of a language to be sure that he will be understood by a native speaker of the language. Accents to indicate intensity, insistence, emphasis, as well as variations in tone of voice (overloudness, oversoftness, aspirate quality) all indicate differences of meaning and vary according to language and culture.

Paralanguage also includes laughing and crying "through" speech, the breaking of the voice (in pauses, etc.) and the whole gamut of clicks, sniffs, snorts, and whistling. The variety of sound effects that each people has evolved to express different feeling through whistling would in itself make an interesting study. For example, Americans often whistle to express admiration for a performer on the stage. The French and Hispanic peoples use whistling to express strong dissatisfaction with a performer.

Some sounds have a graphic representation, for example, the vowel sounds a and o, which are written differently according to the intonation used and consequently the feeling expressed, which may be admiration, delight, surprise, relief, pain, impatience, or used just to give intensity to the sentence. Careful listening to native speakers in dialogue or conversation will help students assimilate some of the varieties of paralanguage that will enhance their use of the language and their comprehension of it.

Kinesics are those patterned bodily motions that may replace, accompany, reinforce or negate spoken language. "Facial expressions and body movements frequently qualify the meaning of the spoken word and, under certain circumstances may even be indispensable to its proper interpretation."*

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*Brault, Gerald J."Kinesics and the Classroom." The French Review, Feb. 1963, p. 374.

It has long been known to actors that the stage, the motion-picture screen, and the television screen require a dimension of communication that the radio and telephone do not demand: the former permit one to convey meaning without the use of the voice. Scientists are now conducting research to determine the "nationality" of facial expressions, gestures, and body movements. The foreign language teacher should attempt to include in the lessons what can most accurately be said about gestures of the foreign culture; they provide an excellent opportunity for the student to feel that he is learning the language from <u>within</u> the culture. These will be learned mostly from imitation not only of the teacher's modeling but also from native films, filmstrips, and other visual aids. The teacher faces the responsibility of presenting through every medium the authentic structure of the communication systems in the foreign culture and of avoiding and dispelling the false clichés, the stereotypes that members of any culture have about the members of another.

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The social structure of a nation, like the value system which it represents, can never be adequately described because it is a complicated mass of constantly changing and often conflicting elements. Laurence Wylie defines social organization as "the network of rules and institutions that pattern human relationships, both those which are formally recognized and those which are not explicitly defined."* Thus it includes such aspects as constitutions, civil codes, tax systems, traffic laws, industrial organizations, literary movements, schools of art, institutions like the family, the church and the state, and also the "bachot," the sidewalk cafe, codes of etiquette, and the relationship of a child to his teacher or a lawyer to his client. "The social organization is the manifest expression of the value system by which people live; it is the practical framework of the social structure."**

There is no doubt that both France and the Hispanic nations are changing rapidly. Political evolution, economic change, technological development, and other processes all function together to bring about social change. Individual people, as they are affected by transformations, in turn act to speed or inhibit the process of change.

It becomes the duty of the teacher, therefore, to be cognizant of the forces operating toward change in the foreign culture as well as in our own contemporary culture, and to lead the student toward an understanding of both the relatively stable aspect of the social structure and the forces that promote or inhibit change. "What orients change in a society.....seems to be what its people want out of life, and this is determined by their values."***

A. The French System

After the student riots and the strikes of industrial and communications workers in France in May and June 1968, one wonders how long the traditional social structures and institutions described in the following pages will exist in these forms. The active student leaders in Paris and in other world capitals have not acted to bring about reform in existing institutions but to

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*Wylie, op. cit. , p. 215.

**Ibid., p. 215.

***Pitts, Jesse R. "Continuity and Change in Bourgeois France," in In Search of France, Pub. of Center for International Affairs, Harvard University Press, 1963, p.302.

ignite insurrectionary violence, believing that out of such violence a different and a better society will be born. A semi-feudal society, a nineteenth century educational system for the "elite," an outmoded judicial system are among the basic causes of the present "revolution" in France, which may erupt again at any time if the government does not move rapidly enough. "The issue in France," says Walter Lippmann in a recent analysis of the situation, "which is portentous for all modern nations, is between insurrectionary violence without program for the future, and on the other hand some kind of government that can plan, administer and enforce reforms."* Whether or not a government dependent upon a majority in a representative assembly can reform the institutions of a large and complex society remains to be seen.

1. The Family

The French family has kept many of its traditional characteristics and constitutes the cell of the social structure. The family forms a closely-knit community of work, of interests, and of leisure activities.

The traditional family structure is based on several major factors. It rests first on the couple, who are united in a civil marriage (in the town hall), which is the only legal one, followed in most cases by a religious marriage in the church, which binds practicing Catholics for life.

At the head of the family hierarchy is the father, whose authority is given him by law and by tradition. But the real pivot of the family is the mother. She has enjoyed fewer legal rights in the past but she exercises the real authority and prestige in the family and is always in charge of the finances even when she does not work outside the home. The French woman has always enjoyed prestige, not only as a woman and mother, but as an individual, a human being. Her intellectual and artistic capacities have been recognized more than in most cultures, as evidenced by the important role of women in French society, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sense of hierarchy in the family and the authority of both parents over the children is manifest in daily behavior -- e.g., children may not talk back, they must obey orders, freedom of speech is limited at the table.

The family is a closely united group. There is a strong feeling of responsibility toward the children and of "forming" their characters, their tastes, and their manners. Much attention

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*Lippmann, Walter. "The Gaullist Question." Newsweek 71:62, June 17, 1968.

is given to academic achievement. Because of the great competition in the schools, parents' help is mandatory. Children's outings are closely checked, especially for girls up to eighteen or twenty. Children go to the sidewalk café with their parents and get a non-alcoholic drink. They are accompanied to children's concerts and the theatre, and go to the movies with their parents when the film is not specifically "for adults." The family vacations together, usually at the seaside, sometimes in the mountains, camping, renting a house at the beach, or staying in pensions or small hotels.

The French family is also a rather closed cell that has close ties with relatives. Frequent visits are made by the whole family to relatives; forty percent of French families stay with relatives for their vacation. The "esprit de famille" is somewhat of a clannish reaction. Guests are royally entertained but not easily invited. There are few "parties" as we know them, even for children.

The contemporary family pattern shows some changing characteristics brought about especially as a result of new economic conditions. The availability of more modern conveniences and appliances, the desire to buy them and the relief in labor that they offer are incentives for women to work. Half of the women work outside the home in France today. Household help is difficult to find; generally only elderly women who work by the hour are available for house cleaning. Spanish girls, willing to come to France for a year or two, work as full-time servants. The authority of the mother is reinforced by her new economic independence. With the long working day for both parents, (7:00 or 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.) it is necessary for all the members of the family to share the burden of the household. Each child has his chores, and the husband helps his wife. In the worker's family, when both parents work long hours and have no household help, there is difficulty in checking on the children (age 10 to 15), who sometimes go to the movies alone on Saturday afternoon or Sunday. On the whole, children on all social levels are less closely checked than formerly. The hierarchy is not so rigid, education is less authoritarian, parents tend to be friends more than judges. However, surveys have shown that both parents and children still want a certain amount of imposed discipline.

On the whole, the changes in family patterns are slow enough not to be upsetting. Children are fighting for earlier and more diversified types of freedom, (e.g. outings, dating, choice of reading, movies, etc.). The firstborn usually wins battles for the others.

The mother, although she has gained real economic independence and increasing legal rights equal to those of her husband, has not fought for these as much as her English counterpart has done and she has gained more. She is fully a partner of her husband. The

only stage in which women are still striving for recognition is in the preparation for a professional career. More young women in France are studying to become doctors, lawyers, architects, etc. than in the United States. Many also become successful businesswomen. They enjoy equal salaries with men. Only at high levels of executive positions and civil service are women still practically barred from office. A woman must prove very superior to a male competitor to get such a position.

Governmental policies for the past forty years have tried to encourage larger families and close family ties. The "allocations familiales" give financial help and advantages according to the number of children.

In summary, it can be said that the French family is as diverse as the socioeconomic structure. Its characteristics vary according to the milieu. Under the influence of today's living conditions, it is being transformed. This is true even for the bourgeois family, which seems to perpetuate a kind of traditional image based on stability, authority, and solidarity. As both work and leisure activities disperse the members of the family community, it is only the meal that unites them -- and now, television.

2. Leisure-Time Activities

With the diminution of the working week, leisure-time activities have assumed a much greater importance in France as elsewhere. One may group these activities into several categories: cultural activities, open-air activities, sports (active and spectator), festivals and holidays, and travel.

In spite of the popularity of radio and television, reading still holds a very important place; the French read a great deal. The classics are gradually reaching the masses, thanks to the widespread cheap pocket editions and lending libraries. Two of every three homes have private libraries.

The taste for the theatre and for music (concerts and music-halls) has developed and penetrated all milieus. This is due largely to the decentralization of the theatre and to the establishment of amateur theatres, to educational groups such as the "Jeunesses Musicales" and to summer festivals. The cinema ranks among the favorite diversions of a large part of the population.

Because of the need to escape from the noise and restlessness of the city, the country is invaded, on Sundays and holidays, by crowds of hikers, cyclists, and campers. Those who combine the out-of-doors and sports, whether as a participant or a spectator, are also numerous.

Today all kinds of sports are practiced in France, either by amateurs or professionals. France is a country of cycling and competitions have crowds of fans. The "Tour de France," founded in 1903, which takes place every year in July, is the most famous international contest. Both horse racing and automobile racing also attract large numbers of fans.

Among the popular team sports are football (soccer), rugby, basketball, and volleyball. Tennis has known a considerable development in this century, and some French players have won international reputation. The most recent vogue is skiing, which owes its rise to the Alpine Club of France and to the good and rapid transport to mountain resorts in France and Switzerland. Water sports, regional games such as "la pelote basque," and the individual sports of fishing and hunting also claim the attention of large numbers of Frenchmen.

Holidays are for the most part the festival days, those of religious origin: Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Assumption Day, Toussaint, and Christmas; secular festivals: New Year's Day, Labor Day (May 1); and days that commemorate great dates in national history: the Festival of Joan of Arc, the National Festival of July 14, commemorating the fall of the Bastille, Armistice Day (Nov. 11), and V-Day commemorating the armistice of the Second World War (May 8). The latter day and the Festival of Joan of Arc (May 2) are celebrated on the same day.

Christmas is especially a family celebration, as it is generally everywhere. Usually only the children receive gifts. The homes and churches all have the traditional crèche, and homes also have a Christmas tree. After mass on Christmas Eve the adults of the family enjoy a large meal of turkey and "la bûche de Noël."

On New Year's Day gifts are exchanged among relatives and friends and all service personnel are remembered with gifts.

Respect for the traditional celebration of these holidays is being threatened by the popularity of winter sports which scatter family members or take them far from their homes.

The institution of four weeks of paid annual leave for all working people, the rise in the standard of living, and the improvement of transportation have resulted in a greatly expanded travel for pleasure. The summer holidays, or "les grandes vacances" are the most important leisure activities of the French. All the year people plan for them. At the end of the school year begin mass departures from the cities, trains are doubled or tripled, and lines of cars on the roads cause traffic problems. The beach and mountain resorts are the most popular, but an increasing number of Frenchmen visit neighboring countries, especially Switzerland, Italy, and Spain.

3. E d u c a t i o n

For centuries before the Revolution, French education at all levels was mainly in the care of the Catholic church. In the decades immediately preceding the Revolution,many treatises on education declared that the State and not the church should undertake to train its future citizens. The Constitution of 1791 guaranteed universal public education, but it was not until the coming into power of Napoleon that a national system became a reality. The system devised by Napoleon is in its general structure essentially the system still in operation today. The education system he evolved was national, uniform, centralized, and hierarchical. However, the curriculum--still identical for the same grade all over the country--has lost much of its rigidity through reforms, additions, and transformations.

The system comprised three grades: primary, secondary, and higher, to which have been added technical and professional training. The whole system forms the "Université de France," of which the Minister of National Education is the official head. In his ministry all major decisions are made, general policies are prescribed, curricula are planned, teaching methods are outlined, promotions or disciplinary measures affecting teachers are decided. This applies to all levels, from the primary school to the University. However, there is a certain amount of decentralization, which enables a proper carrying out of ministerial orders, but also leaves a certain latitude for initiative to local administrative authorities.

France is divided into 17 territorial units known as "académies," each of which has an academic council whose members include a certain number elected by professors and teachers. At the head of each "académie" there is a "recteur" appointed by the Minister. He is responsible for all State education in his area, including the university, although universities enjoy a very broad measure of autonomy. Under the recteur's authority, inspectors supervise primary, secondary, and technical schools in the departments included in the "académie."

French primary education begins with the "écoles maternelles," which are optional, and which accept children from three to six. At age six, children enter primary school, which is compulsory. Children attend school five days a week from 8:30 to 11:30 a.m. and from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. Thursday, not Saturday, is a holiday, intended for religious instruction if parents desire it.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the French curriculum is the extreme care with which the national language is taught. "Almost every country district in France has its own dialect, and the elementary school plays a major part by its

teaching of French in unifying the nation. French boys and girls, even in remote villages where their parents address them in dialect, generally speak and write the national language with marked correctness."*

At age 11, after the first examination on a national level, children are admitted to the secondary school, the first two years being orientation years ("cycle d'orientation") during which they try all subjects. Then if they are scientific minded, they will give up Latin and concentrate on more mathematics and science. All other subjects will still be in the curriculum. They include history, geography, art, civics, physical education, (one or two hours of each per week), French as language and as literature, algebra and geometry, chemistry, physics, zoology or geology. Few options are possible in the first years, only between foreign languages (mainly English, German, Italian, or Spanish); then, two years later, between Greek and a second modern foreign language.

The secondary school sequence is seven years, but only those who have shown evidence of real aptitude for academic studies will attend the higher classes. Many students thus leave the lycée and either go on to the Training Centers in order to become primary teachers, take jobs or apprenticeships, or go on to technical schools. At the end of the sixth year, students take the first part of the exam for the "baccalauréat" (commonly called the "bachot" or "bac") an examination designed to test general culture. About 40 percent of the students fail and must either drop out or try again the following year. With the last year comes the beginning of an orientation, either toward literature for those who select the "philosophie" course or toward science for those who choose the "math elem" courses in which science and mathematics are predominant. For those who cannot yet decide, there is a combination course called "philo-science." After the final year another comprehensive examination is taken, after which the successful student receives the baccalauréat. The sequence is identical in the technical schools. Their curriculum is only more comprehensive and the final examinations enable students to prepare for the competitive entrance examination for schools of engineering.

The aim of French secondary education, as given in the "lycées" and "collèges classiques," is not to prepare the student for any job in particular, but to give general culture based on humanities, ancient and modern. The chief difference between "lycée" and "collège" is that the former is maintained by the State, while the latter belongs to the local authorities, though it may be subsidized by the State. "Lycées" are usually in the

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*Roe, op. cit., p. 156.

larger towns, their staff has higher qualifications, and the highest forms in the "lycées" (beyond the "bac") have no parallel in the "collèges."

About 30 percent of those who have passed the second part of the "baccalauréat" go on to the universities. Formerly they went directly from the "lycée" to the university, but there is now an extra year of general education called "année propédeutique." Its purposes are to eliminate those who are not fit for the university, to initiate the others into university work, and to help them choose wisely the course they want to pursue. There is an examination at the end of the year, and only those who succeed in it can enter the university.

Many students, instead of going on to the university, stay at the "lycée" after their "baccalauréat" to prepare for one of the "Grandes Ecoles": Ecole Polytechnique, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Arts et Métiers (for mechanical engineering), Ecole Navale, Ponts et Chaussées (civil engineering), Ecole Centrale (technology), St. Cyr (army), and Ecole Nationale d'Administration (civil service), etc. The more important of the "lycées" prepare for them in special classes of postgraduate level. Preparation may take from two to four years. The number of students admitted to these schools is limited and entrance is gained by competitive examination (concours). There are no fees; the costs are borne by the State. They prepare students for careers in the higher ranks of the civil service, education, commerce, and industry, army and navy, civil engineering, and scientific research.

In order to train young people for industry and commerce, there are technical and vocational schools corresponding to the major grades of the industrial and commercial hierarchy: workmen, clerks, foremen, technicians, engineers, administrative and executive staffs.

Agricultural education is under the supervision of the Minister of Agriculture. The boy or girl who, on leaving primary school, wants to work on the land, attends special courses in agriculture or home economics. At a higher level there are model farms and regional agricultural schools. There are also a few national schools at the university level.

The curriculum in the "lycées" and "collèges" may be characterized as general, abstract, and noncontroversial, rather more divorced from actual life requirements than instruction in other industrial countries. It aims primarily at shaping sound, analytical, logical minds, at developing a "sens critique." Therefore, it appeals to the more intellectual type of student. The curriculum is very heavy for the average student but very efficient for a certain type of elite. The recognition of the intellectually ablest students is impartially obtained, thanks to

the nationwide examinations at various levels. In fact, students are constantly in a competitive position from the end of primary school through higher education. Also, the academically less able are very early channeled into some type of vocational training. School attendance to age 16 is now obligatory.

The problems of education in France are for the most part the same as those in most countries; they are posed by the progress in science, an increase in population, a rapid economic development, and changing moral and intellectual attitudes. In France these problems are complicated by certain attitudes particular to that country. The highly centralized system, a curriculum oriented toward classical studies inherited from the past, traditional methods tending to develop an elite, are all characteristics specifically French, firmly entrenched in the spirit of the people. Despite educational reforms of recent years, many problems are still unsolved in the attempts to adapt the system and its curriculum to the needs of a technological and industrial society which is slowly becoming more democratic.

Because the development of a "sens critique" is so basic to French education, it seems apropos to quote an explanation of this value as given by Madame Yvonne Vukovic: "By 'sens critique' I mean sound, objective and well-grounded judgment. I have heard the phrase 'critical thinking' but I am not sure it carried the same meaning, at least from the explanations I was given. From the examples given it sounded like subjective appreciation of facts, so I would not venture to offer it as a translation for 'sens critique.' An objective, well-grounded judgment must be the result of thorough analysis followed by a synthesis which grasps the main features, the determining factors. This is why, faced with a problem, the Frenchman tries to reduce it to first principles, to discover the pattern underlying it. This is also why, for a Frenchman, the exchange of batches of solid facts unleavened by ideas does not rank as conversation. A fact will only be of interest if it can be used as the springboard for an original or witty idea, or it brings a new light on a given situation. As early as the first year of secondary school we are trained in these two processes in various subject matters: first of all in the extensive study of our literature which includes 'lecture expliquée,' a thorough analysis of a few lines of prose or a poem, and 'lecture suivie,' which is more extensive and synthetical reading. Both exercises aim at giving the key to the thought and style of an author: what he wanted to convey and how he did it. The study of Latin and mathematics also builds logical and analytical minds. On the other hand, history is studied so as to determine from facts the causes, the characteristics and the short and long-range consequences of past events. So real is the concern for objectivity and validity of judgment that we do not venture to study recent history--two or three decades old, let alone current events. This is because we believe that no one has a clear picture of them yet."

4. Religion

"Religion et laïcité: deux traditions solidement enracinées en France, et qui correspondent à deux tendances de l'esprit national. Depuis près de dix siècles, l'histoire de France est faite de leurs conflicts et de leurs réconciliations temporaires. Aujourd'hui encore, elles dominent souvent les principaux aspects de la vie nationale: politique, scolaire, culturel et social."*

France is traditionally a Catholic country, as evidenced by its many churches and cathedrals, and its frequent pilgrimages to shrines and sanctuaries. This country of freedom and "esprit critique" was also the scene of the wars of religion but, contrary to some other countries, its concern for order and unity caused Protestantism to be almost eliminated from its soil. About 38 million Frenchmen, 80 percent of the population, are baptized Catholics. However, at the most only four million are really practicing Catholics; some 15 million more still attend Sunday mass, take communion and go to confession. As for the rest, religion has been reduced to baptism, first communion, marriage, and burial. The majority of the working class, especially in the Parisian region, is anticlerical and atheistic. They consider Christianity as personifying the bourgeoisie and their representatives, the priests. The peasants also are distrustful and hostile, except in the regions that are traditionally religious: Bretagne, Vendée, Alsace, and Pays Basque.**

Although the Frenchman generally has little or no interest in the Church, he is not intolerant. He lets his wife and daughters attend Mass; he thinks it is a good thing that his children should take their first communion; he will allow himself to be buried by the Church just as he allowed himself to be married by the Church.

On religion itself, the feelings of the average Frenchman are rather mixed. Generally speaking, he does not believe in the dogmas or else he avoids thinking about them. But, all the same, he vaguely feels that the moral teaching based on these dogmas counts for something in the conduct of his wife and daughters. Certainly the bourgeois, and the same holds true of the peasant, looks on somewhat indifferently at injustices which do not affect him. Certainly too he is no fanatic, and in his view other people's freedom should be fully respected, provided it does not interfere with his own.

The decline of the faith in France is due especially to the progress of the secular spirit (laïcité) and anticlericalism, to the law of 1905 separating Church and State, and also to the new

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*Michaud, op. cit., p. 138.

**Nostrand, op. cit., p. 293.

social conditions in which a spirit of agitation and independence predominate. Today, however, a veritable religious revolution has begun in the Church. A number of youth and adult organizations have organized into the Catholic Action movement, which seeks to adapt the Church to the needs of a modern industrial society and to reach new social milieus, especially the working class.

One should not conclude that France prizes only mundane virtues or forget that she has had her puritans and her saints. Pascal and the Jansenists, St. François de Sales and other mystics were just as French as Voltaire and Anatole France. They remind us that other-worldliness has its share in the complex make-up of the French mind and character.

5. Attitudes Toward Minorities

Up to the time of the Revolution, the Jews in France formed a nation within a nation, separated from their fellow citizens by the barriers of laws, customs, and prejudices. The increasing influence of nationalism and skepticism among Christians and Jews of France began to break down the barriers and prejudices. In 1791 the Revolution granted the Jews all the political rights given to other Frenchmen. In 1831 the liberal monarchy of Louis-Philippe recognized Judaism officially, according it the same religious freedom as that given to Catholics and Protestants.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, having obtained the same social equality as other Frenchmen, as well as civil and political rights, the Jews have been assimilated into French society. They participate in political life and fill important offices, they are zealous defenders of public education, and they have shown their patriotism in the French army and as participants in the Resistance forces of the last war. Today the mass of French Jews are indiscernible from other Frenchmen except by their religion.

After the Reformation, Protestantism spread a little into most regions of France, but the wars of religion and especially the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes dealt it a serious blow. In 1789 the Protestants possessed neither churches (called "temples" in France) nor schools. Since then, Protestantism has gradually been revived in certain small areas where it has continued to survive: Alsace and Franche-Comté, south of the Massif Central and of the Cévennes, as well as in some large cities.

For a long time divided into rival churches, the Protestants were united in 1938 into the Reformed Church of France, with the exception of Alsace and Montbéliard, which remain faithful to the Lutheran church. Today there are about 800,000 Protestants, or two percent of the population. Conscious of their minority

status, they are very active and by their dynamism attract each year numerous converts. Every Protestant family plays an important role in its community and takes very seriously the needs of its church. Thanks to its diligence, the Protestant minority is gaining in influence and in number.*

6. Political and Judicial Institutions

by Madame Yvonne Vukovic

Parliamentary government began with the Revolution. Manhood suffrage, proclaimed by the Constitution of 1793 and again in 1848, was finally established by Louis-Napoleon after the coup d'état of 1851. French women showed on the whole less sustained interest in obtaining their political rights than British women did. Universal suffrage, applying to women as well as to men, came only in 1944.

Since the year 1870, France has been a Republic and a parliamentary democracy. (This excludes, of course, the four years of German occupation, from 1940 to 1944, during the Second World War.)

From 1870 to the present day, there have been in France three successive republican regimes, similar in their principles, partly dissimilar in their structure, and widely different in their outlook and methods: the Third Republic (1870-1940); the Fourth (1946-1958); and the Fifth, which succeeded it in the fall of 1958. Between the end of the Third Republic and the advent of the Fourth, there is a six years' gap, filled by the Vichy regime under German occupation, then, after the liberation, a Provisional Government (1944-1946), headed at first by the Free French leader, General de Gaulle.

The French republican form of government is based on two main principles: one is the sovereignty of the people, expressed by universal suffrage; the other is the separation of powers, these being the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judiciary. The main elements of the political structure, defined by the Constitution of 1875 under the Third Republic, have been retained by the Fourth and Fifth. They are the Executive, composed of the President of the Republic assisted by a Cabinet of Ministers, and the Legislature or Parliament, composed of an Upper House, the Senate, elected by indirect suffrage, and a Lower House, the National Assembly (formerly Chamber of Deputies), elected by universal suffrage. Government is exercised by the Cabinet, directed by a Prime Minister and responsible to Parliament.

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*Nostrand, op. cit., p. 650.

Judicial power is independent of the other powers. Under the Third and Fourth Republics, its head was the Minister of Justice, who has retained his ancient title of Keeper of the Seals. It is now the High Council of the Judiciary, presided over by the President of the Republic. The Minister of Justice is Vice-President ex-officio of the High Council.

These are the main government institutions under the three Republics. They have been completed under the Fourth and the Fifth by the creation of several advisory boards. The important constitutional changes which took place in 1946 and again in 1958 have not altered their essential character. The difference between the three republican regimes lies mainly in the amount of power vested in each of these institutions.

The events of May 1958, which led to the collapse of the Fourth Republic and to the advent of the Fifth, have been likened to a revolution. It might be more exact to describe them as starting the second phase of a revolution fostered during the Second World War and begun in 1944. Both the Fourth and Fifth Republics are the outcome of the Resistance movement: the one represents its immediate impact, the other its delayed action.

There were two distinct tendencies in the Resistance movement, for political reform on the one side, social revolution on the other, were its aims as well as national liberation. Outside France, the acknowledged leader was General de Gaulle. His thoughts for the future were centered upon the restoration of France to her former status as a great power. This, in his opinion, could only be achieved by strengthening and stabilizing her system of government.

For most of the internal Resisters, on the other hand, the ultimate aim was social revolution as much as national freedom, either because they belonged to the parties of the Left--as many of them did--or because of their indignant reaction to fascism and to the pseudo-fascist coloring of the Vichy Government.

Supremacy of the Legislature, as expressing the will of the people, is a principle of French democracy. Under the Third Republic, whether the issue was a major or a minor one, the cabinet had to resign if it was outvoted. The resulting governmental instability was a much criticized feature of the regime. The Constitution of 1946 introduced some half-hearted measures of parliamentary procedure intended to prevent a return to prewar instability. These measures proved ineffective. In spite of the enormously increased burden imposed upon the government by a policy of extensive nationalization, the governments of the Fourth Republic remained--and were meant to remain--dependent from day to day upon the approval of an all-powerful Assembly.

When General de Gaulle was offered the Premiership in May 1958, he made constitutional reform an essential condition of his acceptance. The Constitution of 1958 was not, however, entirely devised under the pressure of circumstances. It had the benefit of a long study, and it embodies a number of measures suggested even before 1940 by various French statesmen and political scientists.

A severely practical instrument of government rather than a declaration of principles, it is designed to combine effective government with democratic institutions by restoring the balance between the Legislative and the Executive powers. To that effect, it makes local government the backbone of the Executive, it restores and strengthens the President's powers, and it protects the government against undue parliamentary pressure.

The Constitution became law on October 4, 1958, after a referendum in which it was approved by a majority of 79.5 percent of the voters (or approximately 70 percent of the electorate). For the first time in French history, this referendum included not only metropolitan France and the overseas departments, but all the peoples in the French Union to whom it gave the choice of independence or of free association within a French Community, the framework of which was outlined in the Constitution.

The first phase, mainly economic and social, of the post-war revolution was over. In twelve years, the Fourth Republic had carried out an urgent task of reconstruction and transformed the economic and social structure of the country. The task facing the Fifth Republic was primarily one of political reorganization.

In France, the two-party system has never been accepted. Since the Right and Left are to an appreciable extent under the influence of their respective extremists, the differences between them are normally more violent than in Britain and make party government impossible. Parliamentary life under the Third and Fourth Republics has evolved toward government by Parliament. It has been characterized by the multiplicity of political parties, ranging from Communism at the Extreme Left to neo-Fascism at the Extreme Right. When many parties exist, none of them strong enough to command an absolute majority, every government is perforce a coalition. Coalitions show less stability than homogeneous parties. The result has been a succession of short-lived coalition governments, existing on a slender majority under close and suspicious parliamentary supervision, ever at the mercy of a change in the Assembly's mood or of a few votes going astray.

Antagonism between Left and Right, and more especially between their active and powerful extreme wings, has long been a dominant feature of French political life. The revolutionary Extreme Left, the nationalist Extreme Right embody two utterly different and

often conflicting sets of loyalties which are both part of the French heritage.

Another feature of French political life is of course the number of political parties and their tendency to split into satellite or independent groups. Some explain this phenomenon by the Celtic strain in the French temperament, by the geographical variety of the country, or by French individualism. This last factor may be at least a contributory one. French politics are largely a matter of personalities. Electoral machinery plays a much smaller part than it does in Britain, and, apart from the Communists, French deputies do not as a rule take very kindly to party discipline.

The parliamentary majority is usually built around the Center party or parties. Its weakness in the past was the lack of inner cohesion. As a political writer put it, the Center was a watershed where a sharp ridge divided the Right from the Left, the clericals from the anticlericals.

The task of finding a majority, not having been accomplished at the polls as in Britain, fell upon the Prime Minister. Lobby intrigue, political ambition and vested interests played a not-always-edifying part in that daily struggle. Moreover, distrust of the Executive, and the suspicion that it may become tyrannical if allowed to settle into permanent authority, are part of the French democratic tradition. A Prime Minister could rarely be sure, on any major or minor issue, of scraping together enough votes for the absolute majority necessary for him to remain in office.

The Government had also to hold its own against the numerous "Commissions" or standing committees appointed by the Assembly. Every bill, including the budget, came before the appropriate "Commission" for examination.

In the Third and Fourth Republics, the President, traditionally above party strife, exercised no direct action apart from his prerogative of choosing the new Prime Minister after consultation with political leaders. He could only exert his personal influence, proffer advice based on his parliamentary experience and, as a last resort, throw into the balance, as President Coty did in May 1958, his personal prestige and the threat of his resignation.

The crux of the difficulty lies in the fact that a system based upon the separation of powers depends for its smooth running on the two-party form of government. The French political pattern, under its variegated appearance, is definitely tri-partite. How to fit a tri-partite reality into a bi-partite system has exercised the ingenuity of French statesmen ever since the French Revolution.

The president of the Republic, who is also the President of the French Community, is now elected for seven years by an electoral college consisting (1) of the members of both Houses as formerly, (2) of representatives of the municipal and Departmental councils in France and in the overseas "départements," and (3) of representatives of municipal councils, territorial and provincial assemblies in the overseas territories. This was applied for the first time in December 1958, when General de Gaulle was elected President.

The present system may be considered as half-way between the traditional French system and the presidential system in the United States. The President has more power than his predecessors, though less than the American President. In the case of President de Gaulle, preeminence, being a result of personality and prestige more than of prerogatives, makes it rather difficult to appreciate the exact limits of his authority. It can only be said that the terms of the Constitution are such as to allow the President to be, in the words of President Woodrow Wilson, "as big a man as he can."

His powers are in no way arbitrary. While pruning excessive parliamentary power, the authors of the Constitution have been at pains to avoid running into the opposite excess. The President is, in fact as well as in name, the head of the Executive, but he does not govern directly, nor is he responsible to Parliament. He appoints the Prime Minister, subject to the Assembly's approval. On the Prime Minister's proposal, he appoints the other members of the cabinet and he presides over the Council of Ministers. Government is exercised by the Cabinet, and the Cabinet alone is responsible to Parliament for a policy which is in fact a joint policy. This has been felt to be an inconsistency, although it is perhaps more in line with French tradition than it would appear at first glance. It presupposes complete harmony between the President's views and those of the Prime Minister, or at any rate the possibility of a working compromise between them. Against that, it has been argued that a Prime Minister supported by a parliamentary majority would be in a strong position for enforcing his point of view.

Apart from this, the President enjoys the normal prerogatives of a Head of State, including the right of pardon. He negotiates and ratifies treaties, but any treaty he concludes must be countersigned by the Prime Minister and accepted by Parliament or a referendum. He can dissolve the Assembly after consultation with the Prime Minister and the Presidents of both Houses. In case of national emergency, he has exceptional powers.

The 552 members of the National Assembly are elected by direct universal suffrage for a term of five years. Every citizen over 21 years of age is entitled to vote unless deprived of civil rights. Altogether, 465 deputies are returned by constituencies in

metropolitan France, 67 come from Algeria, 4 from the Sahara, 10 from the overseas "départements," and 6 from some of the overseas territories. Senators (Upper House) are elected for nine years by an electoral college consisting of members of the National Assembly and delegates of municipal and departmental councils.

Instead of being almost continually in session, Parliament now meets in two ordinary sessions a year, each lasting approximately three months. It may be recalled in case of emergency. A Constitutional Council was created in 1958; its role is something like our Supreme Court. It arbitrates in disputes between Government and Parliament over the interpretation of the Constitution. It rules on the constitutionality of every bill, amendment and treaty, and has wide powers to supervise elections.

The Fifth Republic might be described, provisionally, as a regime of consolidation after a wave of social, political, and economic changes unprecedented in magnitude since the French Revolution.

What can be said of the Constitution of 1958 is that it enables the government to govern effectively and Parliament to legislate usefully, which neither could do during the last years of the Fourth Republic. Its viability has been the subject of much conjecture. Meanwhile it has given France a respite from party disputes and the longest spell of political stability since 1924. Credit for this goes first and foremost to President de Gaulle. He has concentrated the nation's energies and restored its self-confidence; he has also restored dignity to public life together with a sense of moral values which was getting increasingly lost in the search for temporary solutions.

For the purpose of local government, France is divided into 90 "départements," themselves divided into "arrondissements," cantons and communes. Each "département" is an administrative subdivision of the State. It is also a local territorial unit which enjoys a measure of free self-administration.

As a subdivision of the State, the "département" is administered by a prefect who represents the central government. He controls all government machinery in the department (education, tax collecting, social welfare, etc.). He has extensive police powers and is empowered to take necessary measures in emergencies. A political officer, he discreetly watches the state of political feeling in his district and reports his observations to the Minister of the Interior who has appointed him and can dispense with his services if he sees reason to do so.

"Départements" were artificial creations, devised mainly for purposes of administration and revenue. The commune, on the other hand, is a natural unit. Most communes have grown from ancient

religious or economic centers, on sites determined by the topography of the land, and their history goes back in many cases to pre-Roman times. They are the basic cells of the administrative system and they enjoy a fairly large measure of self-government.

There are about 38,000 communes in metropolitan France. They range in size from large towns like Lyons or Bordeaux to tiny villages. Each commune has its own municipal council elected by universal suffrage of citizens over 21 years of age and residing in the commune. The mayor is elected by the councilors for a period of six years. Besides being the elected representative of the commune, he is also the representative of the State and insures the execution of laws and regulations.

There is no mayor in Paris, where the duties of mayor are performed by the Prefect of the Département of the Seine, and by the Prefect of Police. They are still afraid of the revolutionary spirit in Paris, so the city has a municipal council consisting of 90 elected members, but the mayors have no place in it. The chairman of this council enjoys considerable prestige.

Judicial. The heterogeneous judicial structure of the Ancient Regime was swept away at the time of the Revolution. Napoleon carried out reforms decided on by the Constituent Assembly of 1790. Henceforth the Code Napoléon became the law of the land. In French courts nothing counts except the written word of the code. Eight codes cover the various departments of law. The French do not, like the British or the Americans, entrust a single judge with the responsibility of making decisions; in all courts three judges at least must concur in any judgment for it to be valid. Justice is free to all, with the exception of procedural costs, which may be borne by the State in the case of the lower income groups. There is always the right of appeal.

7. E c o n o m y

Variety of production and small family-scale enterprise have been the keynotes of industry, commerce, and agriculture in France. Hereditary traits offered a dogged resistance to attempts at concentration, while an age-old tradition of artistic, conscientious, highly skilled craftsmanship caused the French to look upon mass production as something degrading. "Many moderate and small-scale industries were managed like a bourgeois household and their policies reflected the principles of sound household management: to live strictly within one's means and to put aside for future emergencies whatever could be spared."*

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*Roe, op. cit., p. 70.

After the devastation of two World Wars, France has realized fully the need for large-scale industry, mass production, and State control. Reorganization of transports, increase in productivity of the coal mines, development of hydroelectric power on a large scale, and exploitation of natural gas and petroleum deposits, all dealt with on a national scale, have brought France into competition with other industrial nations. From 1947 to 1965 there have been four 4-year national plans, each with its priorities for expansion of national output, building, agricultural development, modernization of industries, regional development, and entry into the Common Market. These plans have been collectively elaborated by the Government, employers' and workers' associations, and technical experts. They endeavor to avoid rigidity and have sometimes been modified in the course of application.

These plans represent an almost complete reversal of French policy as it was at the beginning of the century. Greatly increased industrial output, favorable balance of French export which enabled France to increase her gold and currency reserves, and improved housing, are evidences of the success of the plans. A fifth plan (1966-70) has been approved by the National Assembly. It concerns especially some reforms aimed at giving more confidence to private enterprises whose investments have been slowed up for two years by a rise in interest rates.

Although there are many economic problems still existing, there is no doubt that since the Second World War France has made up for lost time and has emerged as an industrial power. "Out of the rubble of 1944, a twentieth century world has sprung up: a world of steel, glass and concrete, power-houses, overhead nets of cables and wires, laboratories, workers' quarters growing like giant bee-hives, electric trains, motor cars, and multiple stores."*

8. C o m m u n i c a t i o n s

In France, as in other countries, many people are concerned with the effects on society, on political, social, and cultural problems, of mass communication. The French know from experience that communications media can be effective instruments which may be used dangerously. The media of mass communication were used during the occupation to spread totalitarian propaganda, an experience which still causes many to look upon them with some suspicion, especially in political matters. They also wonder if mass media, in trying to reach the lowest common denominator, might contribute to a deterioration of traditional cultural values and to a surrender of critical faculties and to a blind conformism.

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*Roe, op. cit., p. 78.

The French press has had and still has so much influence that it is often called "the fourth power." Since the liberation the "opinion" newspapers have almost disappeared in favor of "information" newspapers. The Frenchman of today prefers first "to know" in order to understand better and to be free to make his own judgments. The daily newspapers reach all classes of society and are widely read.

In spite of the hope at the time of the liberation of creating a truly free press, material conditions have forced a concentration of papers in the hands of powerful financial agencies somewhat like the "chains" in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Le Monde is the only one of the daily papers that has been able to preserve completely its independence. The papers to some extent reflect the political views of the agencies that publish them and these tend to be for the most part somewhat hostile to the government. Since the government-owned radio and television reflect official government views, the newspapers serve to balance the information that the people receive. In the provinces people generally read a morning paper of the region for the local news and an evening paper from Paris for broader news coverage.

Magazines and periodicals of all kinds are enjoying a great prosperity and wide circulation in France. Whether one wishes a condensation of the events of the world, information to aid one's professional life, or simply to be entertained, there are periodicals for everyone of all ages. The periodical press is an abridgement of all areas of human activity: politics, religion, sports, youth, women's interests, and the "presse du coeur." Hundreds of reviews, generally published monthly, cover all domains of national and international activity. In the cultural domain, the oldest are Revue des Deux Mondes, founded in 1829, and the Mercure de France, founded in 1890. Some reviews represent certain groups, e. g. Les Temps Modernes, founded and managed by Jean-Paul Sartre.

The "Office de la Radio-Télévision Française" (O.R.T.F.) is a State monopoly under the direction of the Department of Information. It receives 85 percent of its budget from subscription rates paid by radio and television set owners. Advertising as known in the United States does not exist on the O.R.T.F. There are some paid broadcasts which concern products, but not specific brands. For example, "buvez du lait," "le jus de pomme c'est la santé," or advertisements for public services such as electricity, gas, savings banks, etc. Listening to the radio tends to become more and more of an individual activity, but television is essentially a leisure or family activity, common to practically all social classes.

Information in France, as in most modern countries, has become a public institution. The Department of Information, created in 1945, has a double task: a political task which consists not in

forming opinion, but in informing about government policies -- a technical task, of which the purpose is to assure the proper functioning of the press, radio and television, by means of appropriate legal and economic measures. It plays an essential role because the existence and duration of any government depends on public opinion, and this is formed at least in part by the press, radio and television. This is a delicate role, especially in a country of which one of the dominant characteristics is "l'esprit critique," which shows an instinctive distrust of anything that appears to be propaganda, even though disguised.

9. Social Stratification

In France, social structure has kept a certain rigidity, in which traditions and customs are most easily recognized. Geographical roots and family traditions have tended to retard social mobility. French society is divided into a hierarchy of relatively closed strata, and it is rare that persons rise from one to another:

"On peut dénombrer dans la société française d'aujourd'hui au moins une douzaine de groupes ou milieux distincts qui se situent aux différents niveaux de 'l'échelle sociale' et dont chacun possède son mode de vie, ses moeurs, sa culture et même son langage."

However, under the influence of new economic conditions, this rigid hierarchy tends to yield to a more democratic division of the population.

10. "Le Savoir-Vivre"

It was stated in "l'art de vivre" in the section on the values of French culture that the French have a certain esthetic orientation toward life and that there must be certain standards of politeness and good taste to make all life a work of art. Therefore, "les bons usages" dominate their entire life and reflect the characteristics of the nation. They keep traces of the nation's social and political history and of its religious and secular foundations. Despite the changes in French contemporary society, the fundamental rules of "les bons usages" have changed very little.

When one speaks of "les bons usages," one includes politeness and etiquette that indicate general refinement, propriety, and "savoir-vivre." The Frenchman's idea of the good life cannot be separated from good manners, in the same sense as the good life for an American cannot be separated from the ideas of comfort and efficiency. The term also includes taboos, for they serve to define

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*Michaud, op. cit., p. 255.

"les bons usages" from the point of view of the social rapport among persons. The French have kept a kind of reverence for the ritual of good manners. Every person is a separate individual, and the laws of propriety and respect for taboos are inherent. They are not courteous from a sense of goodwill toward others, but they regard politeness as a coin with which certain things can be obtained. Manners serve as an invisible wall protecting the privacy of the individual or of the family circle, and also indicate respect for the privacy of others.

"Les bons usages" should be studied from the references given in the bibliography, including those reflected in daily life (food, table manners, table setting, table conversation, etc.) in public, at work, in language, in visits and receptions, in family ceremonies, and regarding children and adolescents.

B. The Hispanic System

In reflecting on Spain's past, present, and future, James Michener, in his monumental book Iberia, says, "As I studied the world I came to the conclusion that each nation, at the end of a cycle of about twenty-five years, starts anew. What went before is historically important and probably sets a limit to what the newborn nation can become, but the fact is that the past is past and a new nation is in being, with fresh possibilities for success or failure."*

Spain and the Latin American nations, like our own and other nations of the world, are in the midst of changes in education, technology, labor relations, and religion. Even a new morality is evolving. Student riots and industrial strikes are merely outward manifestations of the demand for change. This is important to keep in mind as one reads the following pages.

1. The Family

by Gabriela Lira de González

Since older times the Spanish family has been structured under feudal patterns. The husband has held a leading place and has exercised great authority over the other members of the group living together. This social structure has been called the "patriarchal type" of family, and for many centuries this has been a prevailing

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*Michener, James. Iberia. Random House, 1968. p. 711

characteristic among Spanish people. In Latin American countries, where society was organized mainly as it was in Spain, the same patterns were followed and remained the same through colonial times.

The Hispanic couple today is legally married in a civil ceremony in which a written agreement is signed. According to tradition, the couple has to reinforce this agreement by a religious ceremony usually held in a church. It is in this religious formality that husband and wife receive the "marriage sacrament" and this observance becomes the most solemn act for Hispanic people.

In contemporary Hispanic families the father is still considered the head of the group. He is responsible for the total maintenance of all the members of his family and makes all decisions affecting the family. The natural attitude of the head of the family has always been that of making a living, sometimes pursuing a hobby, but not doing anything at home in the way of household chores.

The mother has been the person responsible for housekeeping, rearing the children, obeying and giving special attention to her husband. Wealthy people and middle class people usually have had the possibility of hiring one or more maids who have helped the mother in her domestic work. In those homes where people cannot afford servants women have to do all the work.

Spanish and Latin American families have generally been large and they have included, besides children, some direct ascendants or some direct descendants as well as some "in-laws." Families with several sons and daughters have not been rare, particularly among people of lower social classes. Very often the newly-married couple have stayed in the home of one of their parents and, of course, the direct line of descendants increased considerably. On the other hand, parents also have frequently lived together with their married sons or daughters. It has not been unusual either for uncles and aunts to live in the homes of the younger generation.

Children have been educated to obey and respect their parents and authorities in general. They have not been permitted to participate or give opinions in family conversations. Their performance in school has been strictly checked by parents, particularly by the mother. Their activities have been those in connection with school assignments for the most part. Children of Hispanic culture have rarely done any kind of work apart from school duties unless they belong to the poor social strata. These poor children are, of course, compelled to provide economic help to their families. Children of middle and higher social classes receive a weekly or a monthly allowance from their parents.

By and large, children have been considered as such until after they have finished secondary studies, and more protection has been given to them than the Anglo-Saxon children have normally received.

The sense of unity among Hispanic families is perhaps their strongest characteristic. Families visit one another regularly and their members are extremely helpful to each other. Respect, obedience, tolerance and love have been essential conditions of these families throughout history.

When children are christened they get godparents whose participation in family life becomes of significant importance. They are the "compadres" and are considered to be an extension of the family. The "compadre" as a general rule, is the spiritual father of the godson, and by custom he regularly participates in the life of the godson's family.

However, as conditions of life are changing every day, social attitudes and social structures are also evolving quite rapidly. Therefore, modern families in the Hispanic countries are changing to a great extent. Of course, some areas evolve faster than others and with different traits. Large cities, for instance, are considerably ahead in using new patterns as compared with areas having a great number of illiterate people or Indian population.

The family groups in crowded regions, in large cities, and in industrial areas tend to be smaller in number. In those regions where civilization and education are spreading widely, families do not have as many children as they had in former times; their homes are smaller due to space limitations so that not so many distant relatives and in-laws can live together.

Within the new patterns, the place that women are gaining in the present society is quite remarkable. They are no longer considered able to perform only domestic activities. Women today have gained civil and intellectual rights, they are beginning to participate in political life, and are sharing intellectual responsibilities side by side with men in various fields.

Because of the new rights that women have gained, and because economic conditions are constantly becoming more difficult, Latin American women now help to increase the family income. The number of women working in the most varied fields is increasing more and more, especially in large cities. For this reason, husband and children are beginning to cooperate in the work of the household. This change in men's and children's behaviour has also been due to the fact that any kind of domestic help is becoming extremely hard

to get or to afford. Servants now prefer to work in factories or in other situations where they may enjoy more freedom and make more money.

Children's attitudes are also changing because modern conditions of living and reduced space for the family force them to become more aware of the family's problems and the parents' limitations. It seems that the generations are becoming closer; parents are being defined as "friends" of the children. The profound respect accorded parents and family authority seems to be fading progressively.

In rural areas, in regions where the Indian population is great in number, or in areas where civilization is not changing too fast, the traditional patterns of family life are kept. In families of laborers, in families of the poor, women are actually true heroines. They keep the house, they rear the children, they work to support the family, they endure the usual irresponsibility of their husbands. They are the great defenders of the family group.

2. L e i s u r e - T i m e A c t i v i t i e s

by Gabriela Lira de González

It has been said in the remarks on the Value System above that Hispanic people work when they have to work but that they dedicate more time to leisure activities than do people of other cultures. The ways in which they occupy their spare time can be classified into cultural, religious, patriotic and recreational activities.

Spaniards and Latin Americans are extremely fond of attending concerts, ballets, theatre, music festivals, movies and other cultural performances. Most of the countries have their own symphonic orchestras, folkloric music groups, professional and amateur theatre, ballet groups and the like. They have developed all kinds of artistic expression and they have spread them widely. Many lectures, on the most varied subjects, are delivered in small as well as in large cities. These lectures are generally sponsored by universities or other cultural institutions. Exhibits of various artistic expressions, such as folk art productions, including graphic art and three dimensional items, and painting are displayed in many places. Particularly characteristic of these countries are the annual industrial and agricultural fairs, which attract many visitors and show the people the national progress.

Besides the great number of national expressions of art, these countries also bring in from abroad programs for the artistic season (e.g. concerts, opera, etc.).

Most of the holidays in Latin American countries derive from religious tradition, in which people celebrate saints' days and other religious events. Christmas is celebrated everywhere but in different ways according to the regions. Those countries which have received more European influence celebrate Christmas with a mixture of European and Spanish characteristics. Countries where families are more tied to Spanish practices and rites are accustomed to attend a midnight mass - Misa del Gallo - on December 24. However, some people in Spain and in some Latin American countries are used to paying more attention to the "Day of the Three Wise Men" - January 6 - instead of Christmas Day, thus following the established usage of Spain. Easter is one of the most important religious celebrations. Lent is a 40-day period of spiritual preparation for Easter. During Lent, people are not supposed to join in mundane pleasures; that is why, before entering this kind of spriritual retreat, countries celebrate their "carnavales." These "carnavales" are festive occasions for everybody, particularly for young people. Brazil is the country where the "carnaval" is an event of national and international attraction.

Easter in itself is a three-day national holiday. Nobody works except emergency services personnel. In Spain, the celebration of Easter is quite unique. People join in religious services which preserve old traditions, old formalities and rituals of authentic pagan characteristics. "La Semana Santa de Sevilla" is one of the outstanding religious festivities.

Corpus Christi or Ascension Day, Assumption Day, and All Saints Day (November 1) are other religious celebrations and national holidays. Many other regional religious celebrations are also held in different places of Latin America; most of these festivities are true pagan rites with a mixture of Catholic and Indian traits.

National or patriotic events are outstanding celebrations. Independence anniversaries usually comprise two days of diverse activities which include armed forces parades, school parades, etc., "fiestas" with popular and national dances and folkloric music. Other traditional dates are also included in the calendar year of festivities. The New Year is celebrated with regional characteristics which are interesting and vary from one country to another.

Birthday celebrations are also quite important for Latin Americans, who sometimes prefer to celebrate their saint's day instead of their own birthdays.

Among the most peculiar recreational activities of Hispanic people are the bullfights and the cockfights. This kind of amusement is still enjoyed in Spain as well as in Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and in a few other countries. "Rodeos," the country parties,

are also typical and common to most of these people. Gambling, exciting horse races, and car races are also very common recreations. Horse races are closely related to betting on horses; many people attend and many of them lose great amounts of money. Lotteries form part of the tradition of Spanish America, so "jugar a la lotería" is something inherent. All these activities cause a good deal of comment among the players and become a good reason for meeting together, talking and drinking. Social meetings for Hispanic people have quite a different meaning from that understood by Anglo-Saxon people. Spaniards and Latin Americans are extremely sociable; they like to meet their friends without any restriction of time. Usually, their "fiestas" last for many hours (country parties may last for days), during which they enjoy talking, eating, drinking and dancing. Social meetings are perhaps the recreation which Hispanic people enjoy the most.

3. E d u c a t i o n

by Gabriela Lira de González

Since the achievement of national independence, the idea of education for everybody has been upheld as an ideal and a goal by progressive leaders in the Latin American countries. The "libertadores" as well as the educators of the new continent always bore in mind the democratization of education.

Pedagogical ideas were considered by them as a complement to political ideas, and they firmly believed that the progress of a country is very closely related to the educational status of the populace.

Although the idea of democratic education was predominant among leaders of these countries (Sarmiento, Bello, Martí) it seems that social, political and economic circumstances prevented their putting this into practice.

The first Spaniards set up schools mainly for the sake of converting people to their religion and for the sake of knowledge.

The first purpose was directed especially toward the Indians and the second to people of higher social rank. Spaniards did not put into use the idea that social progress was impossible to obtain without universal education. The education organized by the Spaniards was mainly of aristocratic nature, so that the only people regularly educated in those times were the sons of aristocratic and wealthy families. Universities were founded very early (University of Mexico, 1553; University of San Marcos, Lima, 1570) because these people had to receive higher education. Most of the universities, high schools, elementary schools and other educational institutions were directed by the church at the beginning. In turn, the church received state support in most of the Latin American countries.

These ideas were kept all through colonial times; it was only after Independence that education started changing slightly and slowly. However, its development has failed to move at the same speed as other areas of progress.

When Hispanic countries started their newly independent life as free republics and their political organization seemed to be stable, the governments were very much concerned with the education of the people. By and large, in all countries, education as a whole was then organized in a similar way, but of course, regional differences were taken into account. Education was considered a responsibility of the State, which imposed free and compulsory schooling by law. However, the theory has not become a reality. Mainly because of economic reasons, schools have been too few in number for the population, and besides, schools have been set up mostly in urban localities rather than in rural areas. Thus, despite the efforts and the earnest wishes of leaders of education, illiteracy has remained high, particularly in certain areas.

In most countries, education has been organized and controlled by a ministry of education, which has been in charge of providing educational institutions for the country, technical and administrative personnel, curriculum, plans and programs, and all other aspects of education.

Primary education has been free and compulsory in all countries with slight differences as to number of years and ages of students, besides other minor differences. At this level many students have dropped out mainly for social and economic reasons, thus failing

to achieve the general aims of the governments. Secondary schools have been the transition between primary and higher education and they all have had the same type of organization. Both primary and secondary education have been characterized by a great variety of subject matters which have been intended to acquaint students with "una amplia cultura general." The humanistic, classical type of education has prevailed everywhere in Latin America because the schools have followed mainly the Spanish and European patterns. The curricula have been purely academic and have been a preparation for university entrance. They have been overloaded with content, often arranged in heavy schedules (average of eight periods of classes a day, five-and-a-half days of classes a week, ten school months a year).

Primary and secondary education have used similar methods and techniques for teaching, and up to the first half of the present century the general trend was to rely on memorization for the learning process.

Primary teachers have been trained in normal schools and secondary teachers in universities or comparable institutions, but the number of regularly-trained teachers has been insufficient for the demand. A considerable number of improvised personnel have carried out teaching activities, thus lowering the quality of education. As far as buildings and material facilities are concerned, most of these countries have always been far behind the modern improvements, mainly due to the lack of adequate finances for the systems.

Universities were also organized after Spanish models first, and later after other European models. Following these patterns they were much more concerned with humanities than with the practical arts or the sciences. Despite the aristocratic trend of universities, education at this level has remained almost entirely free for the students. (Only a low entrance fee is required in most countries.) Universities have been separated into faculties, and the years of study of each faculty have varied according to the specialization. Students register once a year, for one full-year program of studies, which involves a heavy schedule. In many of these countries, graduates have been called "doctors" no matter what their field of specialization was. Personnel in charge of imparting information in universities have not received regular specialized training. For the most part, the professors have been prepared by themselves, and have been eager to do this for the prestige of their own profession. Some of them in several places have lectured free for years.

The number of people with complete university training in Latin American countries has been small, so far not surpassing five percent.

Educational problems and weaknesses have been very similar in all Latin American countries. Within the last ten years or so, with the help of UNESCO, these countries have already been working to reorganize and to replan education completely. The general objectives of education today are those that help to integrate people into society, those that help to form civic habits and attitudes, together with a sense of responsibility and a capacity to appreciate and to adopt the values of their social and cultural life. With these objectives in mind "planeamientos integrales de la educación" are being carried out in these countries. The main efforts now are directed to the following ends:

1. Extending and distributing the areas of education so that it can be within the reach of the whole population.

2. Planning education according to the development of the social and economic needs of each country.

3. Developing better articulation of education at all levels.

4. Diversifying education in order to offer all possible specializations to students according to their own aptitudes and interests, and according to the variety of professions needed by the countries.

5. Incorporating courses of education for adults as well as courses of special education, vocational orientation and counseling.

6. Training teaching personnel in specific areas and remunerating them adequately.

7. Increasing educational budgets as needed.

8. Providing adequate systematic evaluation of the system so that education can receive immediate improvement when required.

9. Promoting healthy conditions of students.

10. Offering equal possibilities of education to women as well as men at all levels and in all fields.

In this new planning of education, educators, sociologists, economists, administrators, and professionals of other disciplines have taken part in order to assure success in the necessary social and economic development of Latin American countries.

The new structure of education includes the following "ciclos:"

1. Pre-school education (not compulsory).

2. General basic education (compulsory) which may last eight or nine years.

3. Intermediate education, which will continue the general training and at the same time will prepare students either to enter higher levels of education or to enter life work.

4. Higher education in colleges and universities, offering students a wide variety of specializations in courses of varying duration.

Educational patterns are changing rapidly in all of Latin America. Therefore, it will be necessary for the teacher who desires to keep up-to-date on this subject to consult the publications of UNESCO and other current sources of information.

4. R e l i g i o n

by Virgil Miller

It is paradoxical that the Roman Catholic Church in Spain produced not only the fullest development of the Holy Office, commonly known as the Spanish Inquisition, but the greatest Christian mystics of the Western world as well. The Church that nurtured a Torquemada also gave birth to Santa Teresa de Jesús. This exemplifies the violent contradictions of the Spanish and Hispanic American ethos. It is understandable only in the light of historical events which have separated Spain culturally, economically, and politically from the rest of Europe, and which have produced in Spain and in those parts of the world colonized by her a Catholicism inherently different from that of the rest of Christendom.

According to legend, Saint Paul preached in Spain during one of his missionary journeys, but so far as is known, Christianity was brought to Spain by members of the Roman Legions. The first Council of the Spanish Church, held in 306, was attended by nineteen Spanish bishops, together with many deacons and priests. A Spanish bishop, Hosio, was present at the Council of Nicea in 325 and helped Athanasius defend orthodox Christianity against the Arian heresy; thus, when the Visogoths, members of this same Arian heresy, occupied Spain late in the fifth century, there was immediate hostility between the two groups. However, the Visigothic king Reccared (586-601) was baptized a Catholic shortly after his accession, the rest of the Visigoths soon followed suit, and the Church in Spain began to acquire that far-reaching influence and power in all phases of Spanish life that in spite of all political and socioeconomic upheavals have persisted to this day.

During the centuries of Moslem domination, there developed a kind of understanding of and appreciation for other cultures

and religions that made possible a unique degree of racial and religious coexistence, which in spite of incessant armed conflict, was a distinguishing characteristic of medieval Spanish society. Within the territories of the Spaniards as well as within those of the Moors, religious minorities were tolerated to a remarkable degree, and Christians, Jews and Moors learned to live together for long periods in mutual trust. Saint Ferdinand, king of Castile from 1230 - 1252, called himself king of the three religions. However, as the Reconquest continued, the slow and systematic extension of Christian power over all those lands that had been Muslim since the eighth century brought with it increasing Catholic intolerance for other religions and their practitioners. In the fourteenth century the pogroms began.

With the fall of Granada in 1492, the "voluntary" conversion of thousands of Jews and Moors added a new element to the life of the Church in Spain. In order to protect the purity of the faith from non-Catholic practices of recent "converts," and in order to protect the class privileges of the "old" (i.e. non-Jewish, non-Moorish) Christians, the Inquisition was established in Spain and in Hispanic-America. Due to numerous concessions from the Vatican, the Roman Catholic Church in Spain became practically a national Church, owing only token obedience to the Pope. In her obsession with the purity of doctrine and of blood the Spanish Church became more and more rigid, more intolerant, and more fanatically extreme in all her religious observances.

This religious fanaticism accompanied by missionary zeal, and softened for a few years by Christian Humanism, led to the rapid exterior Christianization of indigenous Hispanic America. That the Christianization was at best only partial is shown in the Indian societies of the 20th century, even in the areas of the most concentrated missionary efforts, by the survival of residual pagan forms, beliefs and ceremonies.

During the early decades of the colonial period the friars protected the Indians from their conquerors and tried earnestly to teach them the rudiments of Catholicism and of Spanish civilization. Gradually, however, the missionary friars, the regular clergy, were replaced by the secular clergy, who often had very little interest in the vast masses of Indian converts. As this change of clergy took place, even more fundamental changes became apparent. "From an original missionary institution," says Charles Gibson, "the church as a whole became, most spectacularly, an institution of wealth, a holder of mortgages, and a proprietor of real estate. In general the transformation corresponded to the demographic and social changes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for as Indian populations declined Christianization became less important and unoccupied lands became available for ecclesiastical possession. By 1700 the church had emerged as the foremost land-holding body of the colonies, with a huge

investment in buildings, ranches, cattle, mills, agricultural supplies, and all else that accompanied property ownership. In addition to properties owned outright, the church controlled many other properties through rental, money lending, and devises of credit."*

Thus, during the late colonial period the Church which had been the protector of the poor came to be a joint partner with the rich and powerful, became more obsessed with her rights and privileges than with her duties, and entered an era of arch-conservatism, well-laced with bigotry and ignorance.

As the Church acquired more property and power, the liberal elements both in Spain and in South America became increasingly anticlerical. This has led to the Church being stripped of her possessions and temporal power, as in Mexico and Guatemala. It has led to the identification of the Church with the ruling class throughout much of South America, and it has led inevitably to a sort of "token" Catholicism on the part of many, especially the younger men.

Within the last few years, and more especially since Vatican Council II, the Roman Catholic Church in South America has sought to reform herself from within. Once again, bishops and their clergy call for social justice. Once again the emphasis is on caring for the whole man, physical as well as spiritual. Once again the Roman Catholic Church is striving to be truly the Church of all the people. Perhaps the growing success of Anglicanism, Protestantism and Pentecostalism within formerly all-Roman Catholic countries has contributed to this about-face.

The Roman Catholic Church in Spain, although briefly disestablished from 1931-39, has continued to be the single most solidly entrenched force in Spanish life. In recent years some of the more liberal clergy, in accordance with the precepts of Vatican Council II, have professed a more ecumenical spirit, and recent changes in Spanish law promise a far greater degree of religious freedom than has been allowed in Spain since the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

Thus the Roman Catholic Church, in both Spain and Hispanic-America, exemplifies the swing from one extreme to the other, from brutality to beauty, from pogrom to peace, that is so characteristic a part of Spanish and Hispanic-American life.

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*Gibson, Charles. Spain in America. Harper and Row, 1966, p. 83.

5. Political and Judicial Institutions

by José M. Infante

The political structures of all Spanish-American countries and their respective constitutions have been greatly influenced by the doctrines and thoughts of two Frenchmen: Montesquieu and Rousseau. The former's Spirit of Laws stated, among other things, that the powers of government should be separated and balanced; this is why all governments in these republics include the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Rousseau's Social Contract pointed out the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which is the essence of a true representative form of government.

These two men's doctrines and writings made an impact on Spanish-American statemen, revolutionaries, and writers who looked forward to overthrowing the absolutist Spanish government in their countries during the nineteenth century. As the Spanish-American countries developed their aspirations of independence, and as conditions created the motives for their struggles, it can be truthfully said that two major developments contributed to their desire for independence: the American and French Revolutions of 1776 and 1789, respectively. National sovereignty, individual rights, and democratic forms of government were, among others, the main issues involved.

Generally speaking, Spanish-speaking countries have taken foreign constitutions as their models, adapting their content and structures to each country's needs and aspirations. The fact that these constitutions did not come out of their own experience and debated processes has contributed to frequent abolishment of their constitutions and the drawing up of new ones. Too much idealism runs through them, and at times, an inclination toward a casuistic approach to their problems as well as a strong tendency to the "función social" of private enterprise and property. A noticeable tendency toward centralization exists as a way to solve many of their problems, which leaves in the hands of an individual, an institution, or the executive branch of the government, tremendous powers. Perhaps, by taking into account such attitudes and outlook, we can explain, partially, the often abrupt changes in governments observed throughout the history of Spanish America.

In looking at Spanish-American legislation from these countries' constitutions down to their supplementary or complementary laws, we can see that the individual countries differ in several ways: in the terms for the presidency and representatives, or deputies; in the way they are elected, either by direct or indirect voting (but always through secret and individual balloting); and in several other details.

One senses through studying the legislative systems and the struggles toward democracy of the Spanish American nations, their constant search for a better and more just society with liberty for all as conceived by their leaders.

Even though the conquest of Spain by the Romans took over 200 years, the whole country assimilated in many ways the Roman law, its language (vulgar Latin) and its culture; in other words, Spain was completely Romanized.

The changes introduced and brought about by Roman law have come down through the centuries and have greatly influenced Spain and Spanish-American philosophy and legislation as well. One of the earliest legislations was the "Liber judiciorum" or "Fuero Juzgo" promulgated in the year 634. This was another step toward unification of the Spanish peninsula.

Next in importance, comes the "Libro de las leyes" or "Fuero de las leyes," known as the "Siete Partidas," written under Alfonso X, the Wise, between 1256 and 1265.

This recompilation of laws, and of all sorts of didactic materials, affords a realistic or true picture of the Middle Ages. It sets forth political, civil, mercantile, ecclesiastical and penal laws in minute detail, as well as the duties of man in relation to his fellow beings, to God and to the king. Usage, customs, mentality, details of population, entertainment, domestic chores, the rights of states and individuals, and many other aspects of daily life are carefully recorded in the innumerable laws regulating human relations in complicated medieval society. This monumental piece of legislation was to influence Spanish culture specifically in its subsequent legislation as well as that of other countries dominated by the Crown; its tremendous influence is still felt in 20th-century Spanish-American countries.

One of the earliest judicial tribunals which arose in Medieval Spain was the "Audiencia." At the beginning, "the audiencias" were hearings given or granted by the kings to listen to and decide on common cases; later this duty was handed down to court officials or bodies. In our present day, the term is much restricted and applies, specifically, to a part or body of the judiciary system in Spanish-American countries.

As a rule, Spanish-American judicial systems have followed the Spanish pattern and structure, although French, Portuguese, Italian, and Belgian influences have been noticeable. The highest court is called "Tribunal Supremo," and then come the "Audiencias" with jurisdiction over certain areas of the nation for administering justice. In lower levels, are the other minor courts with specific functions in the civil and criminal fields. As has been said before, all these judicial systems inherited Spanish and Portuguese

cultural norms but also received the influence of many other foreign countries.

When the Spanish-American countries won their independence, they still had, and continued to have for a long period, the traits of the country from which they had gained independence. Their laws still reflect a strong individualistic point of view without much concern for society itself. Later the role of man in society and his behaviour were to be given the importance and significance that they really deserved. The legislative systems of these countries are assimilating these new and humanistic conceptions and trying to adapt them to their present needs and situations.

This is very conspicuous in many of their criminal or penal codes where the old way of looking at man, as an individual, with total disregard of internal and environmental circumstances, has given way to a more rational, human and yet scientific outlook on man's conduct toward others and as a member of his society or group.

6. E c o n o m y

The economy of Latin America is still mainly agricultural--the production of raw materials. The people in general make their living from farms, "quintas," ranches, mines and forests. The quantity of manufactured goods is still small by comparison with the needs, and a great deal must be imported. Such goods as are manufactured, whether produced in a factory, at home or in small shops, are sold almost entirely within the country, and very often within the community. There are few heavy industries so that products of such industries must be imported. Consequently, they are very expensive, a fact which keeps the standard of living for many relatively low. Latin American countries do not produce planes, ships, submarines, locomotives, automobiles or tractors, although assembly plants have been installed. The manufacture of plumbing and electrical fixtures is neither up to standard nor standardized. Heavy electrical equipment, machinery for farms, mines, factories and mills, railway coaches, structural steel for bridges and buildings, and most machine tools, all must be imported from foreign producers. Such large manufacturing plants as have been established are owned or at least generally managed by foreigners. Many agricultural products are not produced in large enough amounts to satisfy the needs of home consumption. Meat especially, except in Argentina and Uruguay, is in short supply, and of poor quality.

Labor unions are becoming strong in some nations, in others labor is still far from organizing for the purpose of creating better working conditions. Many strikes have been accompanied by violence and have been concerned with gaining recognition of the

"sindicato" rather than with benefits for the individual workers.

The cost of living has risen rapidly in most countries and has been a source of discontent everywhere. The currency has depreciated in varying amounts in different countries, while in some it has remained stable. These conditions have been made worse by the refusal of property owners to pay their fair share of taxes. Characteristically, they try to beat the system.

"The predominantly raw-material producing and rural economy of Spanish America has been in all probability the major factor in shaping the character of its civilization. Such an economy is seldom able to finance the educational, health, and other services such as communications for people scattered over hundreds of thousands of square miles of rugged or jungle terrain or living in innumerable isolated small towns and villages."*

7. Communications

"Spain still operates under a nationwide censorship, and every book that is published in the country must first obtain the governmental seal of approval... Even a new edition of Don Quijote would have to obtain the censor's approval."** Anything critical of the church and nearly all words which suggest immorality will be eliminated. Books critical of the regime are not to be found; the Spaniards do not even know that they exist.

There is no freedom of the press and freedom of speech is restricted. One might hear criticisms of the government but usually only of specific things such as the poor roads, the bad transportation system, etc. Criticism of the regime is heard, but usually rather quietly and in private conversation. In the movie houses there are certain to be newsreels on the generalissimo's latest pronouncements. The newspapers are mainly devoted to sports, social events, and news about the general and his family; few people read them any more. Television is increasing in Spain, but news coverage is not much better than that found in the newspapers. "The only way to find out what is really going on in Spain is to travel over the country."***

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*Reindorp, op. cit., p. 178.

**Crow, op. cit., p. 386. Since this book was published (1963), the practices mentioned here may be changing, especially in view of the recent revolts among students in the universities. Freedom as we know it, however, is still very much restricted.

***Ibid., p. 389.

In Latin American countries the newspaper is very important. People sometimes read four a day, and everyone tries to afford at least one. A newspaper comes out in the early morning, another before noon, one late in the afternoon, and another in the evening. All but the early morning newspaper are small but they are full of news and advertisements. By law the press is completely free. There are very distinct differences in newspapers, some expressing views to the left, others to the right. Schools of journalism are generally of a certain political "color."

Magazines of all kinds for all tastes and interests can be purchased, but people of the lower classes generally cannot afford them. Books are mostly in control of a few large publishing companies, who are free to publish anything desired. There are no political or religious limitations. All literate people read a great deal. However, television is causing some decline in reading.

In Latin America the radio is the modern system for spreading news. Everyone, even the poor who have very little to eat, will have a radio. Television is becoming more widespread as far as construction of stations is concerned. Most countries are now manufacturing television sets, but they are beyond the financial means of the lower classes. In countries like Chile, where there are very high mountain chains, there are many technical problems. Networks are generally state-owned, but there are also some private organizations. Advertising on both radio and television is becoming more common because of the need for financial support. There are all types of programs including videotapes of most of our North American programs, some European, and some native programs, though the latter are in the minority. A few Telstar stations are being constructed.

8. Social Stratification

by Gabriela Lira de González

The roots of Latin American society can be found in colonial times as well as in the Conquest and even in the beginning of Spanish history. Latin American social stratification is the result of a long process which involves Spanish traits mingled with Indian and African elements found by the Spaniards in the new continent.

If a person looks at the social structure of all the countries which form Spanish America, he will realize that there is very little uniformity among them. When Latin Americans started building up their social groups, immediately after the Independence, they wanted to build up a progressive and effective democracy. However, their social background and the strong force of tradition were not

adequate for their idealistic dream. The diversity of Latin American population as well as geography and history prevented the realization of their dreams.

As soon as Spain conquered America, Spaniards tried to impose their own culture and ignore the cultural values of the Indians. Spaniards brought to America their own social system in which they maintained a hierarchy of people. The rich owners of "haciendas" were the leading group, side by side with priests, the trained military, and the intellectuals. In other words, they continued in America the social caste system that they had in Spain.

Several groups can be distinguised in the distribution of people in Latin America, but four of them have shown quite peculiar characteristics, which make them different from the population of the whole of Latin America. First, the group including Argentina and Chile, two countries which were developed mostly under European influence and patterns. The second group includes Peru and Mexico, whose highly-developed, native civilizations together with European influence produced well-structured societies. The third group of people includes Brazilians who developed in a rather isolated manner from the rest of Latin American cultures because Portuguese settlers did not blend much with other ethnic groups. The fourth group is formed by people from Haiti, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic, where European influence is of deceptive appearance.

By and large, in Latin American countries, three main social strata can be considered: the aristocracy, formed by people of pure Spanish ancestry and sometimes of Spaniards who had been mixed with creoles, all of them of white extraction. When Spaniards came to America and brought their wives and children with them, in order to keep their families from mingling with the creoles, they avoided all contact with them. Women and children lived a kind of isolated life which they shared only with other people of their own social condition, thus forming and maintaining the purity of their unique group. These people set up the basis of aristocracy.

The lower class is the other extreme stratum of society. It was formed by descendants of Spaniards who mingled with the Indian women. They had not been born in Spain but in America. Since the very beginning of Latin American society, these people born on the continent were not considered deserving of considerations and rights equal to those of the peninsular Spaniards. They were not only treated differently but they were not loved by other social groups.

Between aristocracy and lower class there exists today the middle class: a kind of middle-ground social position of some groups of people. These people inherit neither the "pure Spanish blood" nor are they usually direct descendants from Indians or

Africans. Generally of mixed heredity, Indian and European, they are people who have received more education and who have been able to achieve higher standards of living than the lower class. The number or proportion of people belonging to any of these social groups is impossible to state. It varies considerably from one area of Spanish America to another. Often in those places where Indians are in great numbers, the lower class is more numerous. In other places with less Indian population, the middle class is often the greatest in number.

What is true for most countries is that the aristocracy is everywhere in the minority. Aristocrats have always enjoyed the "good life." Education has been regularly given to their children in their own countries and abroad. They have had servants and help in all sorts of work. For the most part, they have been the owners of "latifundios," the rulers of countries and well-to-do people. Their rights and privileges have been transmitted from one generation to another. In fact, it has been only in the present century that things have changed to a certain extent and are still changing. Thus, in many places they are no longer being considered as the only ones capable of receiving instruction and directing other people's destinies. They can be defined as the overprivileged class.

Opposed to aristocracy stands the lower class. By and large, people belonging to this social stratum perform manual labor, farm labor, unskilled and skilled work, domestic service, road construction, labor in mines, etc., and activities which require less intellectual work. These people are generally Indians or people of humble social extraction. This class has always lacked economic resources; they are poor people. In some countries most of the population belongs to the lower class while in others the majority belong to the middle class.

In several Latin American countries, moreover, where the middle class is great in number, two social substrata can be distinguised. One is a kind of upper middle class, so to speak, and the other a kind of lower middle class. Upper middle class includes principally professional, (medical doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and the like), people working in state offices, as secretaries, "funcionarios," people working in public and private institutions. These are people who have received at least complete secondary education and belong to families of certain rank. Lower middle class people, in general, include people of lower-class antecedents who have received regular schooling even if they have not been graduated from high schools. They work in factories, industries, and in other activities which do not require manual or intellectual specialization.

The social stratification just mentioned is not a general rule for all Latin American countries. It has been explained in previous

sections that Spanish America cannot be described as one unit, as a whole. Each region has its own characteristic social stratification belonging exclusively to that particular area. Even the concept of social class itself varies from one part to another. Thus, in some places people might speak of aristocrats and they include wealthy people even if they have not received proper education or if they are of lower-class lineage. Under this concept of an "economic aristocracy" people can change their social position during a lifetime if they happen to make a considerable fortune or if they happen to obtain high positions in politics or in other activities of their countries. However, in other places, one can hear the expression "es un pobre diablo con dinero," which denies the possibility of ascending to a social position for economic reasons. For these people society is not mobile. Another sentence commonly used is "de buena familia pero venido a menos," meaning that in case of the loss of fortune the social position remains the same.

The concept of intellectual aristocracy prevailing in other places holds that people may be aristocrats due to the fact that they have produced valuable intellectual work or have personally participated in this kind of activity. These concepts of society and social classes are not only different in Latin American countries but also among people of the same countries. Different opinions and concepts about social stratification will be heard whenever people are required to define these terms.

9. Social Proprieties

In social proprieties as in all categories of social and cultural life, customs vary from one Hispanic country to another, and also from one region or village to another. As people everywhere are changing in this technological age, so the social customs are also changing. However, there are certain customs that are quite universally observed in all Hispanic nations. Listed here are only a few examples of differences in social behavior between Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon people.

Greetings. In general Hispanic peoples are more demonstrative in showing their pleasure at meeting others than are Anglo-Saxons.

All persons regardless of age shake hands on meeting people whether they meet for the first time or are already friends. No matter how many times people meet during the day they will shake hands every time. The same holds true in saying goodbye.

Men and women who are good friends usually use the "abrazo," men with men as well as men with women or women with other women. Women also kiss other women friends whether meeting them at home or some other place. Women who are guests in someone's home use

both the abrazo and the kiss on leaving, for the other women guests as well as for the hostess.

Greetings of young people to older persons are more formal than in the United States. For example, there is no Spanish equivalent to "Hi," except among children within some immediate family circles.

Introductions. Names are used in introducing persons to each other but are generally considered unimportant and often are not remembered. The titles of address, "Señor,""Señora," "Señorita" are used without names.

Table manners. It is expected that persons seated at a dining table will have both hands (but no elbows) on the table when not eating, rather than one hand on the lap. In eating, the knife is held in the right hand and the fork in the left (with tines down) at all times. The host never serves at the table, as is the custom here; the hostess always does this unless the meal is served by a maid.

Foods and table setting. At each person's place is a service plate which generally remains through the meal. The plate of each course served is placed on top of the service plate. Since wines are served for each course, the various sizes (and often colors) of glasses are on the dining table in front of the service plate. For formal dinners an "aperitivo" will be served before the meal.

Foods are generally served in several courses rather than several things together on the same plate.

Coffee or tea is never served with a meal, but always afterward. Sugar but never cream is served with after-dinner coffee, which is very strong and served in small cups. Also after the meal it is customary to serve a "bajativo," accompanied by a rather long period of conversation.

Hispanic people generally stop work to have tea or some other snack about 5 p.m. Dinner is eaten very late, about 9 or 10 p.m., or even later in Spain.

Siesta. A short period of rest after the heavy noon meal common in Hispanic countries is still observed in Spain and among some social classes in Hispanic countries. As life becomes more complicated, especially in cities, the siesta is tending to be less commonly observed.

Ceremoniousness. It is customary for Latin Americans to be ceremonious in both business and social relationships. This ceremoniousness has sometimes been interpreted by North Americans as procrastination or lack of sincerity and directness. This is also related to their conception of time.

Courtesy. True to the Spanish tradition, courtesy is characteristic of all classes of society, from the humblest to the most educated and cultured. Custom frequently demands obedience to rules of courtesy that are more complex than our own.

Children. Formerly children were taught "manners" in school, but this is no longer true; manners are taught in the homes. Children are never supposed to interrupt a conversation. They are taught to show deference to adults, in such ways as offering their seat on the bus, in the theatre, etc., to women. Children have generally used the "usted" form of address to all adults, even their parents, but in some countries the customs are becoming less formal so this practice is also changing, depending on how closely the family is tied to the old traditions.

Attire. In general, people of the middle and upper classes are somewhat more formal in their attire than are North Americans, especially when they appear in public places. In many good restaurants men are not admitted without coats and ties. In Spain coats are necessary for men even on visiting churches as tourists. One does not see Spanish or Latin American men wearing sport shirts on the street even in the warmest climates as one does in the summer in the United States. Spanish and Latin American women never wear hats but cover their heads with scarves or mantillas in church. Latin American women of the upper classes are noted for their "chic."

Names. Women keep their family names forever. On marrying, they add the husband's name with "de." Women in business or profession, in public offices, etc. are generally known by their own family names rather than by the husband's name. Men always keep the names of both mother and father. In Spain the "y" is used between the two names, but this is dropped in Latin America, where sometimes the "de" is used before the last name, which is the mother's name.

Religious Ceremonies. It has been said that even for the Hispanic persons who have departed from formal religious observances, baptism, marriage, and death are the three times in life when they will still turn to the church.

Among all Hispanic people great importance is given to baptism and first communion. Parties that include the immediate and the extended family are always given on these occasions, even though they may be very simple affairs among the poor. Another custom is the blessing of the rings before a wedding. Sometimes this is done in church at a mass for the family, close friends, and relatives. Sometimes it is done by the priest in the home in the presence of the family.

III. ECOLOGY

Ecology has been defined as the branch of sociology concerned with the spacing of people and of institutions and their resulting interdependency. It is also defined as the branch of biology which treats of the relations between organisms and their environment. It is the first of these definitions with which we will be concerned in this study of the sociocultural systems of the French and Hispanic peoples.

After first acquiring some basic geographical facts, we should orient this knowledge toward the understanding of what may be called "human geography." The first aspect of this will be the attitudes toward physical environment, an analysis of which will serve to illustrate some of the major cultural themes and basic assumptions that have been described. Likewise, it is essential to know how people perceive space in considering problems such as urban renewal and developments related to modern technology. In the words of Edward T. Hall, "Man and his extensions constitute one interrelated system. It is a mistake of the greatest magnitude to act as though man were one thing and his house or his cities, his technology or his language were something else."*

A. The French Development

1. Attitudes Toward Physical and Social Environment

As was said in the section on "Man and Nature," the French believe that the only way to subdue nature is to adapt to it, to accept the limitations set by nature and to learn to live within them. France has always been an agricultural country, and the man who best realizes the need to exploit nature and seeks to bend it to his will is the peasant. Traditionally an individualist, the peasant for long years cultivated his small plot of land in the manner of his forefathers, resisting change and modernization. Today, however, French agriculture is in the process of great change. The younger peasants realize the need to adapt to mechanization, to the use of new chemicals and insecticides, to increase production in order to get the additional money needed for equipment and materials. They are changing the old patterns of diversified crops in small plots, regrouping lands, and forming cooperatives with the purpose of seeking a middle ground between the old individualism, which in the modern world is no longer effective, and collectivism, which is against the nature of the French peasant.

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*Hall, Edward T. The Hidden Dimension. Doubleday, 1966, p. 177.

It is said that every Frenchman is essentially a gardener. "Le Français aime par-dessus tout la nature cultivée et place au-dessus de tout la 'culture', au sens propre comme au sens figuré, c'est à dire l'affirmation du pouvoir de l'homme sur la nature, ainsi ramenée à la mésure humaine."* Today more than ever, to get relief from the frantic life of the city, with the need for relaxation and a return to nature, the Frenchman loves gardens. He loves especially his own garden in which he cultivates both flowers and vegetables. Gardening has become more than a pastime; it has become a sport that one can practice even in retirement. In certain regions, especially on the outskirts of the cities, France seems like an immense garden.

The urban French have learned to make the most of parks and the outdoors; total space needs have been maintained in balance. People love the outdoors and flock to the sidewalk cafés, to parks and gardens, and on holidays and week-ends, to the country. One possible reason for this, Edward T. Hall suggests, may be the rather crowded conditions under which many of them live. "The French entertain at restaurants and cafés. The home is for the family and the outdoors for recreation and socializing."**

2. Housing

Traditionally the French have built their houses so substantially that they have withstood the ravages of time and weather, so that many very old ones still exist. In homes as in furnishings and clothing, the sense of economy has caused them to repair again and again rather than tear down or destroy, and through the years houses have been occupied by one generation after another. Two million French families live in houses built before 1851; 175,000 live in sixteenth century houses. In a few small cities, and even in Paris, some twelfth-century houses still exist.

The cities which have preserved their ancient "quartiers" are usually found in the center and South of France. The North and East have been too often destroyed by wars to have kept more than some old cathedrals and churches, châteaux, and occasionally the old town hall. During the last war, many cities in the West (Normandy) were partly or completely ruined. They have been rebuilt either in the traditional regional style (in Normandy and along the Loire Valley) or in a sort of classical modern architecture which is impressive but rather cold (le Havre, Amiens). The superposition of centuries, such as in Tours, is quite typical. In an endeavor to build in modern style the French have used a purity and simplicity of line which is very twentieth century, but

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*Michaud, op. cit., p. 276.

**Hall, op. cit., p. 135.

have used proportions that are obviously reminiscent of French classical architecture (e.g. tall, narrow windows). The tendency is still to build individual homes, for those who can afford it, although apartment building is occurring more and more frequently. The countryside around Paris is rapidly being covered by "pavillons de banlieue," and high-rise apartments also stand out against the horizon in the suburban areas. These new buildings, often in groups, are changing the traditional types of French dwelling. These large building projects are uniform, without individuality. Interior courts, so dear to the French desire for privacy, have disappeared and have been replaced by individual balconies. The new closeness of living together in large groups, which puts the inhabitants constantly in contact with the outside world, could change the manner of living and attitude of the French.

3. Technology

Not only are agricultural resources of France among the best in Europe, but France also holds an important place among the great industrial nations of the world. Industry and commerce form the greatest part of the French economy.

The principal industries are the production of metals, the manufacture of mechanical tools, the automobile industry, chemical products, food, and textiles. The variety of industrial products is due to the diversity of natural resources and also to the Frenchman's distaste for attempts at concentration. The family-scale enterprise is still the preferred pattern. The need for security is as typical of the French middle class as it is of the peasants. The age-old tradition of artistic, conscientious, highly skilled craftsmen (90 percent of firms are made up of the owner and several workers and apprentices) have induced the French to look upon mass production as something degrading. The idea of becoming a robot in the machine age is completely inimical to the French mind. Even in large-scale enterprises, there is a family spirit, (e.g. Peugeot, Citroën, and others).

Nuclear technology is developing rapidly under government control and sponsorship. De Gaulle's idea of France as the third great atomic power may be closer to realization than is generally supposed.

4. Travel and Transportation

If we compare maps of the road system, the railway system and the waterways, we are struck by two common features: their dispersion from a central point, Paris, and their density.

France has always had one of the best road systems in Europe. Some roads date back to the Romans and have only been improved

through the centuries. At present France can still boast of having the densest road system in the world (1.2 km. per square km.). This means that there are many good secondary roads. But since 1930 the main roads have ceased to be adapted to the increasing traffic. Although the roads are generally in a top state of repair, they are much too narrow for the traffic. There are few divided highways.

The Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français (S.N.C.F.) is divided into five regions all radiating out from Paris like a cobweb. This makes communication with Paris easy, but communication between provincial towns is difficult. The railroad, nationalized in 1938, employs 350,000 persons; thus it is numerically the first enterprise in France. Since the second World War the French railroad system has had not only to rebuild 5,000 bridges and more than 100 tunnels, but also has had to face the increasing competition of roads and air transport, and to completely rebuild and modernize. Presently, about 60 percent of the network of railroads has been electrified. For rapid connections and on secondary lines the trains have been replaced by "autorails." French trains are famous for speed and for being on time. Comfort still needs improvement, and main lines are often overcrowded, especially during vacation periods. Millions of commuters ride the "lignes de banlieue" between Paris or other main cities and the suburbs.

The French waterways were still, at the end of the last century, among the best in the world. This position has been lost with the development of the railways. The system does not satisfy present needs: depth is insufficient and locks are too numerous. However, water transport is still important, especially for coal, fertilizer, and building materials. Modernization of canals and dredging of the Rhône and the Rhine, with their tributaries, are now in progress.

A large merchant marine makes France the fourth maritime power in the world. It carries a third of the imports and two-thirds of the exports. Personnel are trained in special schools, "écoles nationales de la marine marchande."

The Compagnie Nationale d'Air France was born from merging private companies in 1933. It ranks first among European companies in traffic and has the longest mileage among the world airlines.

5. Contrast Between Paris and the Provinces

In the mind of every Frenchman Paris is the epitome of all things. Paris is the center of government, business, industry, and commerce. It is the intellectual and cultural as well as the political capital. In recent years the suburban areas have been considerably extended and attempts have been made to decentralize.

The old institution of "les Halles centrales" has been moved out of the heart of the city; some of the schools of higher education have established annexes; some industries have transferred their factories to the suburbs. Just as there are different "quartiers" in Paris, from the chic to the poor, so there are chic and poor suburbs.

To the Frenchman, everything that is not Paris is "the Provinces." Even though there are large cities up to 500,000 inhabitants, they are always considered "provincial," thereby implying that they are second-rate and nothing in them can compete with Paris. Life in the provinces is quite different from that of Paris. One finds a much more closed society, less freedom in manners and more importance given to appearances, to the idea of "What will people say?" The manner of dressing is different; "to have Parisian chic" is something to be admired, and Paris fashions are copied. A "provincial" appearance implies old-fashioned or out of date. Although there are important industries, schools, theatres and cinemas in the provincial cities, all are considered second-class.

The glamour and opportunities for work and better pay, continue to attract large numbers of young people especially from the provinces to Paris, and the departures from Paris are usually the old who seek the more quiet country for retirement. The population of Paris continues to increase and places to live become more and more difficult to find. The efforts to decentralize have been far from sufficient to solve the present problem of urban crowding. The French embassy in New York has summarized the problem of centralization thus: "To counterbalance the capital, the growth of several large provincial urban complexes will be stimulated. These cities should be equipped so that they can be real economic and social leaders in their regional spheres of influence and can in general be free from complex dependency on Paris. Thus priority must be set for equipping them with 'high-level' facilities for culture, research, higher education, medical care, government and communications. As it now appears, eight urban complexes will be equipped to serve as regional metropolises by 1985."*

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*France, Town and Country Environment Planning. Ambassade de France, 1965, p. 14-15.

B. The Hispanic Development

1. Attitude Toward Physical and Social Environment

The predominantly raw-material-producing and rural economy of Hispanic America has undoubtedly been a major factor in shaping the character of its civilization. Such an economy is seldom able to finance the educational, health and other services such as communications for people scattered over hundreds of thousands of square miles of rugged or jungle terrain or living in innumerable isolated small towns and villages.

This situation was not helped by an upper class that disliked manual or productive labor, large-scale business organization, and civic improvements, and that gave no thought to the welfare of the masses. As a result, those who were capable failed to devote themselves energetically to increasing the national wealth, developing natural resources, or to improving the economic efficiency of the lower classes. It must not be forgotten, of course, that the Hispanic American obtained his independence a half-century later than the North American. Hence it is only just to compare the United States of fifty years ago with Hispanic America today. It takes time and education to grow up to the responsibilities of statehood. To this must be added such factors as geographical environment and climate, racial composition and spirit, the colonial heritage and problems typical of tropical regions where people must cope with tropical insects, diseases, reptiles, the debilitating heat, the lack of invigorating seasonal changes, long rainy seasons, tremendous areas of jungle or desert, and the destruction of frequent earthquakes and volcanoes.

The Spanish American has never possessed the pioneer spirit that would claim frontier lands, clear fields, build log cabins and so claim a wilderness for an expanding society. To him geography is an obstacle, not a challenge to mentality and a source of wealth. Money is something to be spent on consumption and on travel but not to be saved, invested or otherwise made to produce. Only recently have savings accounts, life insurance and investments begun to attract popular attention. The Spanish American is more interested in literature, art and politics than in economics, research and practical experimentation. There have been some notable achievements in mining, engineering, architecture and medicine; and music has also been great. The fondness for leisure persists and the Hispanic Americans put it to good use in the practice of interpersonal relationships, in which they may be the world's outstanding experts.

The hacienda system has been a major factor in shaping the economic and cultural development and even the educational system of most of the Spanish American countries. In Mexico and Bolivia

the hacienda has been abolished by revolution. In several other countries, agrarian reforms are going on, with the help of studies made by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, at the request of the governments concerned. Land reform of some sort is a prominent plank in the political platforms of all parties that appeal to the middle and lower classes. In some areas the redistribution of land and the resettlement of peasants on new lands result in establishing large numbers of independent farmers as well as cooperative plantations and "ejidos." The same changes are creating new patterns in the techniques of work, the organization of labor, and the location of economic power. As more and more farm workers are released from peonage, they tend to develop a new interest and a new stake in national affairs.

The Alliance for Progress, begun under President Kennedy, has done much to bring about changes, including the mechanization of farms, the creation of the idea that land reform is essential and the better use of land and natural resources.

2. Housing

Houses in Hispanic America, as in the European tradition, were very substantially built to last several generations. The sense of economy has caused people to take good care of houses, to repair rather than to rebuild. The traditional home was built around a central patio with the house usually close to the street, and with an attempt to individualize the exterior. Modern houses, however, tend to be more functional and more like those of North Americans. They no longer have the patio but have both a front yard and a back yard with a garden. Fences in front of homes and walls on the sides of lots are common, to effect the separation which Hispanic people desire for the privacy of family living.

Apartment living is becoming more frequent, not by preference, but by necessity, because of the lack of space in the rapidly growing cities and the lack of money to build individual homes. "Colectivas," buildings in which families buy individual apartments, are becoming quite common for the middle class in the large cities.

3. Travel and Transportation

Transportation makes use of trucks, oxcarts, llamas, horses and Indian backs. Roads are improving but are generally poor and scarce (with the exception of the Pan-American highway, which is not yet completed in some places). Until better tools are furnished to those who work the land, better roads will not change the picture to any great extent because there is not enough additional produce to transport to markets. The availability of roads and

transportation does not generally encourage the opening of new land and the establishment of new business because those nationals who have money will not invest it nor are they enterprising. The type of foreigner who would clear new land and farm it either does not go to Latin America or else joins the upper class and adopts their way of life.

Railroads are even more scarce than good roads. Many areas have become accessible only with the presence of airplane transport and travel, but this is prohibitive in cost to the masses of people.

4. Technology

The technological revolution is changing the face of Hispanic America at an unprecedented speed. In agriculture, machinery is steadily replacing the labor of men and animals on large commercial plantations and cooperative farms. In manufacturing, the growth of factories, although not sensational, is progressing, especially in consumers' goods, pharmaceuticals, and building materials. Expanding industries have drawn large numbers of rural people into the cities, with many new problems of housing and adaptation. Even in rural communities, electric or gasoline-operated flour mills are replacing the old household handstones. Electricity, which brings not only light but also the radio and movies, as well as piped water systems, autobus transportation -- with necessary improvement in roads and streets -- and factory-made furnishings and fixtures are coming to be a part of everyday life. Technology is producing a rising standard of community services and family living.

These great changes are bringing about a marked shift in the distribution of incomes, with an expanding share of the national income going to the middle-status groups and, in varying degrees, to organized labor. This redistribution of income is effecting changes in patterns of consumption. To satisfy the new demands of the consumer, the United States-style supermarket and department store are rapidly displacing the older types of shops in some metropolitan centers.

Today there are few communities that have not been touched, however lightly, by technological revolution. A shift of political power has therefore been taking place from the landowning aristocracy of the older type to a more commercially minded "hacendado" and a new entrepreneurial class. This has resulted in a shift in ideology, away from the maintenance of the status quo, toward the demand for a more mobile society that can eventually provide markets for manufactured goods. The high mountain or "sierra" population consisting mainly of the Indian and the lower-class mestizo, in some countries like Peru, has been the least affected by change,

and such communities remain a major problem for integration into a modern society. The changes that have occurred have been technological, not social or ideological, in character. In time, however, both the caste structure of the society and the "latifundia" system of the "sierra" are destined to disappear.

INTEGRATING THE SOCIOCULTURAL SUBJECT MATTER INTO THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

The Teacher's Responsibility

Acquainting the student with the culture of a foreign people should be done slowly and unceasingly. It should begin on the first day of the study of the foreign language and continue every day thereafter as long as the student is in contact with the language. The teacher will need to use nearly everything that takes place in and out of the classroom and all available materials to help him in this many-faceted job. The teaching of culture should utilize the teacher's knowledge of and experience in the culture area to be treated. Whenever the language context being taught presents aspects of foreign customs that are different from those of American life, the teacher should provide an explanation. Lado says, "Every time that the textbook or the teacher mentions a word or describes or refers to something that the American student does not understand culturally or misunderstands because its cultural content differs from his native patterns, there is immediate need to deal with the cultural difference involved."*

Every culture is unique and must be understood in terms of its own concepts. The ability should be developed in every foreign language student to view another as the ideas and actions of another society and not as something which can be understood in our terms.

The cultural content of a foreign language course should be as carefully planned and as systematically presented as the language content to insure that knowledge of the foreign life and culture will progress hand in hand with that of the language. Learning about the people's culture and society should be a part of every day's classwork, incidental to the language and literature. (Parts of it may be covered, too, in separate units of reading and discussion in the foreign language.) Caution must be exercised to develop the materials within the students' comprehension, and to plan so that students will have an integrated body of knowledge by the end of the course.

In order that knowledge about the culture may be assimilated rather than learned as a list of facts, it should be made to live in the hearts and minds of students through experiences and activities of various kinds, in a classroom atmosphere of delight

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*Lado, Robert. Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach. McGraw Hill, 1964, p. 149.

and discovery. In this way, the facts assume meaning and are incorporated into students' knowledge, appreciation, and attitudes from which they will build a broadened base for value judgments in later life.

Some Suggested Activities

a. Well-planned homework assignments at regular intervals are needed for teaching cultural understanding as well as for language learning. At the elementary level a teacher may prepare succinct cultural notes in English for the student to study as homework, so that the entire class time can be used in the foreign language.*

b. Students should be encouraged to look up and report to the class material that appeals to their individual interests.

c. Students studying a foreign language should use the opportunity to increase knowledge of the foreign culture by special study in correlation with other subject areas such as music, art, social studies, natural sciences, mathematics, physical education and home economics.

d. Language club activities become purposeful if individual students, or teams, report on special studies they have made in such fields as have been suggested.

e. The language club affords an excellent opportunity for enjoying the fine and applied arts of the foreign countries. These should be studied in relation to the values and social patterns of the culture.

f. Current events are a worthwhile topic of discussion, provided that source materials in the foreign language are made available to the students preparing the discussion.

g. An authentic film may be presented in a class for students to see what values and behavior patterns it reveals. (See inventory of items in Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice, Chapter 6.) Adolescents find it fun to try out their knowledge of the culture by guessing and discussing, halfway through a film, how they expect the story to end.

h. At the advanced levels, literature can be used to give experience of practically any feature of a society or culture one may wish: its greatness or its regularities (once they are

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*Cultural units of this type and tests on the material are in preparation.

established), its present or its past, its conscious thought or unconscious assumptions, its critically examined ideas, and its vague expressions (like "the American way") that pass unchallenged bacause the culture bearers consider the referents self-evident.

i. From newspaper and magazines students can make clippings files on their personal interests. They can collect theme expressions from the writings and behavior of the culture bearers they observe, and thus, have the satisfaction of building their own account of themes in the culture.

j. A teacher may frequently begin the class with a five-minute presentation in the foreign language on a subject not previously announced. The content for this simple and effective device may be a topic that brings out identity, similarity, or sharp difference in comparable patterns of culture. For example, consider three holidays in France and the United States. In both countries Easter is essentially the same in concept and observance, but Christmas is markedly different in many ways, and the American Thanksgiving has no counterpart in the French calendar of festivals.

k. The wide use of audio and visual aids, dramatizations, music, foreign broadcasts, and all community resource persons, as well as other resources such as museums or businesses dealing with the foreign area, is recommended.

l. The exchange of letters and recorded tapes between American and foreign students of the same age is an excellent way of obtaining information about other people. Both of these projects can be started as class activities in which every student has a part. The letter, developed from an outline or cue words, can become an exercise in composition. The contents to be recorded on tape can be drilled as exercises in the classroom. As the class increases its ability to handle the written language, individual students may have pen-pals and share the contents of letters received from abroad with the entire class.

The Classroom as a Cultural Island

The atmosphere as well as the language in the classroom should reflect the culture of the people. Authentic gestures, exclamations, expressions -- all the paralinguistic phenomena which make language alive should be used whenever possible.

The classroom should be decorated with pictures, posters, signs and other visual material appropriate to the course. Pictures and other realia should be in good taste, reflect high standards, and be artistically arranged. They should represent contemporary as well as historical features of the culture. An

opportunity should be provided for students to display material they have collected.

Achievement to be Expected

Level 1

By the end of Level 1, students should be able to behave or tell how to behave according to the proprieties of the foreign culture in common situations, especially: greetings, introducing a person, thanking, saying goodbye, eating, (rudiments of table manners), conduct toward persons of one's own and of higher social status.

They should be able to describe in English some of the commonest leisure-time activities of adolescents in the foreign society.

Level 2

By the end of Level 2, students should be able to --

define orally in the target language any six main themes in the value system of the foreign culture;

describe orally what the family means to a person of the foreign culture, defining the norms of behavior that prescribe the role of father, mother, son, and daughter;

describe orally, for several regions of the culture area whose language is studied, the influence of the geographical setting on the people's life as they adapt to the setting and utilize its resources. The emphasis should be on human geography: that is, on the interaction of the population and its environment.

During the second level, after initial experience of reading toward the end of the first level, students should read carefully some good literature in the language, discussing both its artistic qualities and the evidence it gives of cultural and social patterns. Filmed recitations of appropriate brief works or selections can deepen the experience of literature as art and as illustration of the culture.

Level 3

By the end of Level 3, students should be able to define all the main themes of the value system, and should be able to give a brief, prepared talk in the foreign language on any two of the following: the political and judicial institutions of the foreign country, its economic system, the status of women and adolescents

in the society, and the status of the main religious and ethnic minorities. This expectation is, of course, in addition to those of Level 2.

Level 4

By the end of Level 4, students should be able to write in the foreign language a brief account of any of the topics listed under the culture, society, and ecology of the population, covering most main features of that aspect of the people's mode of life. The essay should exhibit real understanding, not merely superficial ideas peripheral to the subject.

Relating Cross-Cultural Learning to the Social Studies Program

Introductory Government

The political and judicial system of the foreign country (or for Spanish, one or more countries). Comparison of constitutions.

Democracy in Action

The French Enlightenment and its ideas, or The Latin American "liberators."

The current evolution of the concept and role of government in its relation to education, to free enterprise, to social well-being and poverty -- in United States and in the other country (or a representative country of the other culture). A study of minority groups, especially the Spanish-speaking people of the South and Southwest, and the French in New England; Communism in the western hemisphere; how the foreigner looks at our civil rights problems.

World Geography

Comparison of the ecologies of two national populations.

Brief history of advances in geographical knowledge, and of points of view, particularly the rise and fall, during the 20th century, of geographic determinism.

An in-depth study of one country including its literature and fine arts, its sociocultural patterns, as well as its geography and its government.

A unit in anthropology to help students learn how to study cultures.

World History

The UNESCO effort toward an impartial history.

Nationalistic bias of histories written in the United States and at least one other country.

The French contribution to our democracy.

The French and the Spanish explorations and conquests from their point of view; geographical influences on colonial development.

U. S. History

Debt of its ideology to Greece, Rome, France (if not already studied).

The image of the United States abroad, especially in the area of Latin American relations.

Outsiders' views of "democracy in America," and of current U. S. history.

Outsiders' appraisals of U.S. maturity and performance in international affairs.

Economics

Comparison of U. S. economic institutions (See for example Benjamin Gillingham's chapter in Part C of Howard Nostrand, Background Data for the Teaching of French), with those of another country.

Sociology

Comparison of the incidence and nature of stratification, and the degree of mobility and of equality of opportunity for religious and ethnic minorities, in the United States and another country.

Comparison of the status of women; adolescents; children. Comparison of the values and expectations of e.g. adolescents in a comparable social class of the two countries.

Comparison of patterns of interpersonal and intergroup conflict, and conflict resolution, in the two countries.

Comparison of leisure activities.

Humanities

Courses in the humanities are more and more becoming a part of the curriculum in North Carolina schools. Foreign languages and literatures as well as American and English literatures belong to the area of the humanities. It is suggested that the foreign language teachers be a part of the team, consisting generally of English, social studies, art and music teachers, who plan the concepts to be taught, the goals of understanding to be achieved, and the use of available resource materials.

The suggestions under World Geography and World History apply also to courses in the humanities. There is an excellent opportunity here for students to study in depth the literature, arts, sociocultural patterns and values of the foreign nation through the medium of reading in the foreign language.

Professional Roles in Developing Cross-Cultural Understanding

The Foreign Language Teacher

Gradually learn more about the foreign people, and about the range of human variation beyond Western civilization by well selected reading. Conversation with native speakers and travel are valuable, too.

Plan so that each semester a class will gain understanding of at least one major topic constituent to the foreign culture or society.

Encourage individual students to report to the group on topics of personal interest; see that the school library has some of the recommended resources, including an all-purpose encyclopedia in the target language.

Make planned use of "native (class) visitors."

The Social Studies Teacher

Acquaint students with the general concepts of cultural differences and similarities, how these are investigated, how they relate to interpersonal variation.

Acquaint students with the field of human geography (ecology) and with the life styles of at least a few non-Western peoples; also, with a few outside perspectives upon the U. S. culture and society.

The English Teacher

Relate samples of American literature to their context in the culture and society.

Point out variations in language which reflect class differences, regional differences, ethnic differences.

The Music and Art Teachers

Point out, in the musical and artistic works of the cultures whose languages are taught in the school, features which are universal and those which reflect the culture or origin.

The Home Economics Teacher

Help foreign language students gain an interest in and knowledge about the preparation of foreign foods, particularly for banquets, foreign language festivals, and other special occasions.

The Physical Education Teacher

Assist the foreign language department in the learning of dances and folk games, characteristic of the countries whose languages are studied in the school. Foreign language students should learn something about the sports practiced by students in the foreign countries.

The School Librarian

Cooperate with the foreign language teachers in purchasing needed materials. Keep a file of clippings, pictures, and other pertinent materials to be brought to the attention of foreign language teachers.

The Guidance Counselor

Provide information on study, travel, and work opportunities in the United States and in other countries appropriate for students and teachers of foreign languages.

The Principal

Catalyze the coordination between the foreign language sequence and those in other subjects.

Help the foreign language teacher to complete his or her competence for including proper treatment of the language's cultural and social context.

The Local Supervisor

Help teachers analyze their use of time, to make room for planning, learning, and coordination with other sequences.

The State and/or Local Foreign Language Supervisor

Help teachers develop the needed competences, including the self-reliance that comes of acquaintance with the professional organization and journal that tell what resources exist.

Help the teacher promote community interest in the foreign language program.

The Superintendent

Gradually obtain resources sufficient for the teacher to have time for course planning, time for conferences with teachers of other subjects, and opportunities for in-service education.

Provide for long foreign language sequences.

The "Native Visitor"

Prepare for a visit to a class by finding out what can most truthfully be said about the aspect of the culture to be discussed.

Authors and Publishers

Produce culturally significant and authentic materials for all grade levels.

The Subject-Matter Organization (The American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the AATs)

Fill lacunae in the repertory of instructional materials for classes, self-instruction, and the teacher.

Set standards of subject-matter competence for certification and employment.

Develop tests of students' proficiency for each "level."

The General Professional Organization

Design curricula with mutually coordinated sequences.

The Teacher-Education Institution

Assure a continuing succession of proper challenges to the foreign language learner as he moves on from the 12th grade,

including continuity in his progressive understanding of the foreign sociocultural system.

Assure inclusion of the sociocultural element in the preservice education.

Help teachers develop this part of their competence in inservice education.

Bring to bear the changing knowledge not only of educational psychology and linguistics but also of anthropology, sociology, and social psychology, upon the teaching of languages in their authentic context.

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Part eight, "Latin America in the Twentieth Century" is especially valuable for the material on recent changes and attempts to solve the economic, political, social, and educational problems of contemporary Latin America. Recent cultural achievements are also included. Contributors to the book, both Latin American and North American writers, are recognized authorities in their respective fields of writing and research.

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on his travels through the Spain he loves and knows well, the reader will learn much about the role of Spain in the shaping of the American nations, its rise and fall as a world power, the character of its people, their regional differences, their arts, their religion, and their sports.

Nostrand, Howard L., Editor and Project Director. BACKGROUND DATA FOR THE TEACHING OF FRENCH. Part A, LA CULTURE ET LA SOCIETE FRANÇAISES AU XX^{e} SIECLE. Part B, EXEMPLES LITTERAIRES. Part C, CONTEMPORARY CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES. FINAL REPORT OF PROJECT OE-6-14-005. University of Washington, 1967. Mimeographed. Microfiches through Educational Resources Information Center.

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One of the more unusual features of this description of places, monuments, and the everyday life of the people of France is a section for each of the regions on the art of gastronomy. The book is beautifully illustrated.

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Pattee, Richard. INTRODUCCION A LA CIVILIZACION HISPANOAMERICANA. Heath, 1948.

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Reindorp, Reginald C. SPANISH AMERICAN CUSTOMS, CULTURE AND PERSONALITY. Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, 1968.

The author, a North American college professor, has tried to interpret for his students of Spanish, the historical and cultural aspects in the development of the Hispanic nations. He continues with a description of today's social structure and intellectual and economic life.

Serulloz, Maurice. LES PEINTRES IMPRESSIONNISTES.- Editions Pierre Tisné, 1959.

Beautiful reproductions in color with biographies of the artists and good discussion of the development and influence of Impressionism.

Sparkman, Lee, Editor. CULTURE IN THE FLES PROGRAM. Chilton Books, 1966.

A report by the 1965 FLES Committee of the American Association of Teachers of French. Although intended for the elementary school program, much of this excellent material applies to the secondary school as well. Especially good for suggestions on the correlation of French with other subjects in the curriculum.

Szulc, Tad. LATIN AMERICA. Atheneum, 1966.

A concise introduction to the study of Latin America. Presents the social and economic problems, the need for social reform, and the forces working for and against reform.

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Tax, Sol. ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY: SELECTIONS. University of Chicago Press, 1962.

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A number of specialists in anthropology have contributed to an overview of this important science. Chapters such as "Language and Thought" and "Culture and Environment" are of interest especially to the foreign language teacher.

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A very interesting and readable, though detailed, description of the customs, folklore, traditions, beliefs, fiestas, dances, and songs of the Mexican people.

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An excellent and objective discussion of Latin American literary expression by this Chilean writer, critic, and professor, well-known in the United States.

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The author, as NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in Spain for six years, came to know well the land, its government, and its people. He gives a new and sensitive understanding of present-day Spain and its people, of its ruler and of the forces that help him to retain power.

PERIODICALS, PAMPHLETS, AND REPORTS

Brault, Gerard J. "Kinesics and the Classroom: Some Typical French Gestures." THE FRENCH REVIEW, Feb. 1963, pp. 374-382.

Describes a number of gestures which are typically French and consequently transmit a significant cultural message. The author cautions the teacher, however, to use great care in teaching kinesics in the classroom. Ideally, gestures of the type analyzed here should be learned through direct observation of Frenchmen, paying particular attention to the exact circumstances under which they are used.

Brooks, Nelson. "Culture and Language Instruction." TEACHER'S NOTEBOOK, Spring 1966. Harcourt, Brace and World.

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CULTURE IN LANGUAGE LEARNING: REPORTS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEES, 1960 NORTHEAST CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University, 1960.

A discussion of language as an expression of man's culture and pedagogical problems involved in assisting language students to understand and appreciate the cultures of Western Europe, ancient civilization, and the Slavic countries. Available from MLA Publications Center.

CURRICULAR CHANGE IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGES. 1963 Colloquium on Curricular Change. College Entrance Examination Board, 1963.

Nine papers given by eminent scholar-teachers, with a summary of the discussion by colloquium participants. "A Second Culture: New Imperative for American Education," Howard Lee Nostrand.

EDUCATION IN FRANCE. Published four times a year by the Cultural Services of the French Embassy and distributed by FACSEA.

Each issue contains articles on current issues, changes, and developments in education in France; also articles on the French language and reviews of recent books.

FRANCE, TOWN AND COUNTRY ENVIRONMENT PLANNING. Ambassade de France, 1965.

Describes recent developments and plans as part of the changing scene in contemporary France.

FRENCH NEWS. Published quarterly by the Cultural Services of the French Embassy, in two parts, one on books and one on the theatre. These and EDUCATION IN FRANCE help to keep teachers informed on current artistic and cultural developments in France.

LE FRANÇAIS DANS LE MONDE. Periodical review published eight times a year at 79, bd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6e.

Contains excellent articles on teaching French, on the language, literature, culture, and other topics of interest to teachers.

Nostrand, Howard. "Letters to the Editor: Literature, Area Study, and Hispanic Culture." HISPANIA, Sept. 1961.

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The author gives an account of the use of "tu" and "vous" through the various periods of French history, with an explanation of changes today, especially among French young people.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA. Social Progress Trust Fund Sixth Annual Report, 1966. Inter-American Development Bank.

Describes the socio-economic conditions and progress in each of the Latin American republics, development planning and selected aspects of regional social planning.

TOWARD BETTER INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. A Manual for Teachers. Curriculum Bulletin 1959-60 Series, No. 4. Board of Education, City of New York.

Contains suggested materials and activities for teaching cross-cultural understanding in various areas of the curriculum at different age levels.

Wedge, Bryant. "Nationality and Social Perception." THE JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION, Dec. 1966.

This article describes some of the stereotyped images of the United States held by Latin American visitors based on complex systems of social perception. It is enlightening to a study of other cultures to understand the interacting forces that cause incorrect generalizations of a national society.