

Modes of Domination and Relations of Power: A Bourdieusian Analysis of  
Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio's *El Jarama*, Armando López Salinas's *La mina* and  
Juan García Hortelano's *Tormenta de verano*

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## **Abstract**

Modes of Domination and Relations of Power in *El Jarama*, *La mina* and  
*Tormenta de verano*

(Under the direction of Dr. Marsha Collins)

This dissertation examines the role of cultural values and practices in the creation and maintenance of social hierarchies under the Franco dictatorship, and the critical and transformative aspects of Spanish social realism in Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio's *El Jarama* (1955), Armando López Salinas's *La mina* (1959), and Juan García Hortelano's *Tormenta de verano* (1962).

Applying Pierre Bourdieu's writings on society and culture to analyze each novel, this study enhances understanding of the literary portrayal of social relations and cultural norms under the dictatorial regime, and demonstrates how political and social oppression were maintained, not only by force, but also through society's acceptance of the ruling ideology about how it should function. Contrary to some previous critical assessments of the three novels, this analysis demonstrates that these texts voiced protest and subversion of the dictatorship's power.

The use of Bourdieu's cultural theory in this project shows through the novels how sociopolitical inequalities existed in Franco's Spain and were perpetuated by differential material conditions and individual subjective perceptions that tended to accept such differences. This project examines the

cultural, social and economic differences depicted in each text, and how these differential objective conditions manifest themselves in the characters. This analysis reveals the nature of the social hierarchy at the time and how it operated through oppression to maintain an unequal power structure, with no significant challenge to the way society functioned since all the characters tended not to recognize their role in the perpetuation of the hierarchy of distinction and privilege.

This dissertation provides insight into the nature of the Franco dictatorship as portrayed in social realist narratives, offering further understanding of the failings of the regime. The three novels considered in this project, as well as similar social realist narratives, formed a body of protest literature that sought recognition of the nature of the dictatorship and the social hierarchy, as well as society's role in maintaining them, and emphasized the exercise of individual agency to promote change.

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Immense thanks also to my family – thank you for your enduring support and, Mom and Rob, for all your suggestions.

## **Dedication**

To my husband, Luis, and to my family – Mom, Dad, Kate and Rob. I love you all very much and know that your support, thoughts and prayers have guided me to all the success that I have found personally and professionally.

I could not ask for better people to be a part of my life.

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## Chapter 1

### Contextualizing *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*

In this dissertation, I will analyze Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio's *El Jarama* (1955), Armando López Salinas's *La mina* (1959), and Juan García Hortelano's *Tormenta de verano* (1962) as novels representative of the social realist tendency popular in Spain in the mid 1950s to the early 1960s. Using Pierre Bourdieu's cultural and sociological theory, my analysis aims to examine the role of culture in social categories and relationships, and the nature of social dynamics in these three novels, and in so doing, reveal the texts' critical and subversive nature. My study examines the lack of social mobility of the characters living under dictatorship, and the domination and oppression of certain social groups, not primarily through force, but through beliefs and practices accepted as a normal part of society's composition. These observations in turn enable me to show what these cultural practices portray about the values, beliefs, and norms of Spanish society during the Franco dictatorship of the 1950s and early 1960s. At the same time, this analysis leads to greater understanding of the social and literary significance and impact of the selected novels as examples of Spanish social realism, which resisted and challenged the oppressive practices of the dictatorship.

## Social Realism

Chronologically and thematically, the three novels I have chosen to study represent the span of years in which social realism dominated novelistic production in Spain. They portray a wide spectrum of social, cultural, and economic groups in the postwar years. The main characters of each novel highlight a specific social class: *Tormenta de verano*, the privileged, moneyed class; *El Jarama*, the working class; and *La mina*, the poor working class. To a lesser extent the authors portray representatives of other social classes. Since these novels strive to show everyday life in a direct manner, they lend themselves to the study of the social, economic, and cultural realities of the time. Their social content is paramount, and as such they offer valuable information about the conditions of the social environment. These three novels form a chronologically, geographically and thematically diverse group representing the literary reaction to the social and cultural hierarchies of the 1950s and early 1960s in Spain under the Franco dictatorship. Their authors show how political oppression, fear, and social and economic inequality formed an integral part of daily life during that time. This portrayal is critical of Spanish society and its functioning under the Franco regime, creating literary works of protest and resistance. In his analysis of the Spanish social novel, Gonzalo Sobejano highlights the social engagement of these writers: “La novela queda así enteramente abierta a la vida actual y comunitaria bajo la inspiración de una actitud social comprometida con la causa de la justicia” (“Direcciones de la novela” 55).

In the years immediately following the Spanish Civil War, literary censorship was extreme, and social and economic conditions were harsh. At this time, the majority of the Spanish people lived with uncertainty, fear and hunger, and literary pursuits were secondary. Publishing creative works in such an environment was quite difficult, and many writers were fearful of being associated with anti-government sentiments. The official discourse that recalled images of heroism and imperial “glory” in Spain’s past would also put its mark on the literary and cultural sphere of the postwar years. In addition to the unabashedly partisan literature that praised fascism and the forceful unification of Spain under Franco, several literary journals and publishers supported a return to the epic and heroic literature of the Spanish Golden Age, neo-picaresque novels, and traditional realism. Access to most foreign literature, works of exiled Spanish writers, and many texts written in the early twentieth century in Spain was severely limited, and in many cases, texts were destroyed. Many critics credit Camilo José Cela and Carmen Laforet with the resurgence of the Spanish novel following the Spanish Civil War. Cela’s *La familia de Pascual Duarte* (1942) and *La colmena* (1951), and Laforet’s *Nada* (1944) broke away from the evasive, bombastic literature of the early postwar years. Their intense realism, labeled as *tremendismo* for its crude and shocking portrayal of postwar life, heavily influenced the writers of the time who would begin to focus increasingly on themes of social injustice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For detailed summaries and analysis of the literary conditions and novelistic tendencies of the 1940s in Spain, see Basanta 25-30; Jones 1-26; Blanco Aguinaga, et al., 504; Domingo 7-9; Pope and Sanz Villanueva 449-50; Pérez 62-63; Vilanova 175-291; and Martínez Cachero 51-160.

The realist tendency that began in the 1940s continued to evolve, finding an even more socially committed voice in the writers of the Mid-Century Generation (*Generación del Medio Siglo*). The mid 1950s signaled a significant shift in literary production in Spain, as writers started to write about the everyday conditions of Spanish life and the injustices suffered by the Spanish people. Critics and writers alike have used varying terminology in reference to the realist novels of the 1950s and 1960s, differentiating between social realism, critical realism, neorealism, subjective realism and objectivism.<sup>2</sup> Although not all those writing at the time were realist authors, and some who wrote in a realist style included more subjective or fantastic elements in their work, the majority of those who wrote novels of social realism or critical realism were connected by a common literary vision, as Janet Pérez notes: “Though we may apply different labels to them – social literature, social realism, critical realism, objectivism, dialectical realism – these are novels which had a common denominator: they were all covertly opposed to the Franco regime” (63). Since social realism is the most common and the most inclusive term found in the critical studies of the Spanish twentieth century novel, I will consider the three novels included in this study as part of Spanish social realism.

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<sup>2</sup> Sobejano identifies three categories of the postwar novel – the existential novel (1940s), the social novel (1950s) and the structural novel (1960s) - “Direcciones de la novela española de postguerra” (47-64); Gil Casado employs the term social novel for this literary tendency and groups representative novels thematically. [(1968) VII-16]; Basanta identifies neorealism and social realism as the two main novelistic tendencies of the 1950s and early 1960s. (40); Jones uses the term neorealism to refer to this novelistic tendency, but finds three subcategories of objectivism, the social novel and subjective realism. (27-84); Sanz Villanueva uses the terms neorealism and social realism in his critique of the Mid-Century novel in Spain. (106-223); Domingo puts forth two novelistic categories - objectivism and critical realism. (93-107).

The social realist novel enjoyed prominence as part of the Spanish literary scene between 1954 and 1962. Three social realist novels, Ignacio Aldecoa's *El fulgor y la sangre*, Jesús Fernández Santos's *Los bravos* and Juan Goytisolo's *Juegos de manos* were published in 1954, giving a major push to this novelistic style. Humoristic, existential, detective, fantastic and traditional realist literature written during this time did not have the same popularity as the social realist novels that came to dominate the literary style of the Mid-Century Generation. This prominence would diminish with the publication of Luís Martín Santos's *Tiempo de silencio* in 1962 as literary tastes began to change, favoring the more experimental narrative styles exemplified in the French New Novel and the works of the Latin American "Boom" writers.

The Mid-Century writers formed a fairly cohesive group in age, literary sensibilities and general dissatisfaction with life under the Franco dictatorship. This was a new generation that was young during the Civil War conflict, and as such, focused more on the failings of the present moment than on the painful memories of the past. By the time these writers were active in the early to mid-1950s, political and economic conditions had improved greatly since the immediate postwar years. Pablo Gil Casado describes how censorship policies had relaxed somewhat, increasing publishing opportunities: "[L]a censura empieza lentamente a permitir algunas 'libertades' inconcebibles en la década anterior" (xix). At the same time, political critique and sexual themes remained taboo for Spanish writers. The social realist writers sought to expose, and hopefully change, injustices and deficiencies within Spanish society through their

writing. They wished to provide information that was not available in newspapers, radio or movie reels which revealed only what the dictatorship wished to be seen. Ángel Basanta comments: “Muchos de estos escritores se convirtieron en testigos denunciadores del atraso material y de las injusticias sociales de aquella época, ofreciendo una información que la prensa falseaba deliberadamente o escamoteaba a causa de la censura” (40). The social realist novels were particularly reflective of the political, economic, and social conditions of the postwar years in Spain, and the authors were committed to the creation of socially engaged literature. As José Domingo observes: “[L]a literatura del realismo crítico no fue un producto del capricho de sus autores o de ciertos críticos, sino que surgió de unas coordenadas sociopolíticas originadas por la situación del país” (107). This realism allowed writers to convey their dissatisfaction without suffering major consequences from the censors, despite the fact that, as this study will show, it served to challenge the officially sanctioned image of Spain and the functioning of Spanish society under dictatorship.<sup>3</sup>

Since censorship continued to be a reality, writers found it necessary to adapt their style to these restrictive conditions, avoiding overt critique, distancing the author from the text with objectivist techniques, and writing with purposeful omissions in the text to allow the reader room for interpretation.<sup>4</sup> Influences

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<sup>3</sup> Regarding the portrayal of the history and actuality of Spain in the postwar years, and the divergence between the regime and the social realist writers on this point, I have consulted the following texts: Jones 28-29; Herzberger, “Social Realism and the Contingencies of History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel” 153-73; and Julio Aróstegui et al. 30-32.

<sup>4</sup> For information on the narrative techniques of the social realist writers in the face of censorship, consult Gonzalez 2-16; Ilie 59-71; and Sánchez Reboredo 57-60.

apparent in the novelistic production of the social realist writers include techniques from the *tremendista* realism of Cela and Laforet, Italian neorealist cinema, the writers of the Lost Generation in the United States, such as Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos, and the French writer Alain Robbe-Grillet. These techniques contributed to a style featuring a distanced, objectivist and camera-like portrayal of crude reality through dialog and action. In Spain, this literary realism tended to emphasize social and political content more than their French or Italian counterparts.

Although realism was not new in Spanish narrative, the social realist tendency differs from the traditional realism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the social-political realism of the 1930s in Spain. Social realism is testimonial, denunciatory and engaged with the here and now. Some novels are more objectivist than others, and some have a more obvious critical element, but all share these fundamental characteristics. José María Castellet's *La hora del lector* (1957) and Juan Goytisolo's *Problemas de la novela* (1959) helped to define the purpose and significance of the social realist novel in Spain. Both studies considered the function of the writer and the role of the reader, concluding that the novel of that time needed to be objective, socially relevant and committed to exposing injustices and problems of class and social inequality. The Mid-Century writers sought to be as objective as possible in their narrative, describing daily events and situations with little to no apparent authorial intervention. The subjective nature of the text is present, however, in the author's selection and arrangement of material, language and style. Social realist authors attempted to portray all

action, motivation, and characterization through dialog and observation, thus eliminating to a great extent any direct expression of their own viewpoint:

El narrador tiende a ocultarse y a recoger la historia desde la fría óptica de la cámara cinematográfica. . . . No solo el escritor se aleja de su material y evita toda clase de intervención – moralizante o técnica –, sino que el mismo narrador se distancia y no reproduce sino aquello que cae dentro de su limitado campo de observación. (Sanz Villanueva 202)

These novels showed the dress, speech, behaviors, and surroundings identified with each social group, and resonated with authenticity for the reader. Common themes of social realism are social and economic inequality, alienation, solitude, boredom, the amorality of the bourgeoisie, and unjust social and working conditions. Characters tend to be representative of a certain social class or perspective, often portrayed in groups with little individual character development. Often there is a reduction of the physical space in which the characters interact and in the duration of the narrated events.<sup>5</sup>

A number of critical studies have discussed the chronology, main tenets and characteristics, authors and goals of the Spanish social realist novel. Gil Casado, Sobejano, Santos Sanz Villanueva and Margaret E. W. Jones, among others, have offered detailed, insightful analyses of the social realist tendency and its defining characteristics.<sup>6</sup> Carlos Blanco Aguinaga has provided a

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<sup>5</sup> Excellent descriptions of the general characteristics and themes of the social realist novel can be found in Gil Casado, (1968) VIII-XXX and 13-16; Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 351-67; Jones 27-59; Sanz Villanueva 178-211; Villanueva 21-35; and Domingo 103-06.

<sup>6</sup> See Gil Casado, (1968); Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 203-367; Sanz Villanueva; Jones 1-5 and 27-84; For additional studies, consult also Domingo 93-122; Pérez 60-74; Sobejano, "Direcciones de la novela española de postguerra" 47-64; Basanta 34-47; Pope and Sanz Villanueva 449-459; Soldevilla Durante 495-553; and Martínez Cachero 161-248.



comprehensive study of the historical context of social realism in his analysis of postwar literature, and David K. Herzberger has proposed in his examination of the Spanish social novel that its critical nature lies in its engagement of the present moment and the denial of the heroic, glorious past, present and future put forth by the Franco dictatorship.<sup>7</sup>

### ***El Jarama***

*El Jarama*, first published in 1955 and the recipient of the Nadal literary prize that same year and also the Premio de la Crítica de narrativa castellana in 1957, was the first of the social realist novels to achieve major critical and popular success in postwar Spain. As Basanta affirms: “La novela que mayor impacto causó en el segundo lustro de esta década fue *El Jarama*, de Sánchez Ferlosio, obligado punto de referencia de toda la narrativa neorrealista y del realismo social” (44). These events indicate the increasing popularity of the social realist tendency among Spanish novelists.

*El Jarama*’s objectivist, neorealist portrayal of two groups of characters from Madrid was strikingly different from the literature that had been published in the early postwar years. The novel spans one day in the life of two groups - a group of twenty-somethings who go to the Jarama River on the outskirts of Madrid one summer Sunday and an older group of adults in the town tavern. The sixteen-hour span of the novel portrays mostly everyday chatter and mundane

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<sup>7</sup> On the regime’s portrayal of the nation and its history, I have consulted Blanco Aguinaga 485-543; and Herzberger, “Social Realism and the Contingencies of History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel” 153-73.

activities, and alternates, moving back and forth between the younger and older generations. After hours of boredom and restlessness, the characters are surprised and disturbed by the accidental drowning of one of the young girls, Lucita. Although her death is shocking to her friends and the townspeople, their reactions reveal little emotion, and the boring, limited existence of the characters continues as it had before Lucita's passing.

Monotony, tedium, and lack of motivation dominate the words, behaviors and attitudes of these characters. There is little action or plot, and the narrative instead emphasizes dialog and short descriptions of character behavior and reactions. What is most striking about the novel is its highly objectivist narrative style. Authorial presence is limited to text selection and arrangement, and through dialog and characters' direct actions and observations, the reader discovers the novel's plot and significance. The dialog closely resembles the speech patterns and vocabulary of *madrileños* of the 1950s – so much so that some critics thought that Sánchez Ferlosio had transcribed actual conversations among several individuals from Madrid. Although Sánchez Ferlosio has been quoted as saying that the novel's intent was not critical in nature, one aspect of its implicit critique lies in the presentation of a picture of Spanish society that lacks greatness and heroism. The novel focuses on the present moment, making only brief references to the recent past and offering a pessimistic view of the future. Another denunciatory characteristic of the novel is its negative portrayal of the younger generation that distinguishes itself from the older one with its superficial attitudes and self-absorbed behavior. Much critical work has been

written on the novel since its publication, and many general studies on the Spanish twentieth-century novel include *El Jarama* as a key work in their literary history. For the most part, these studies have focused on the novel's highly objectivist, neorealist narrative, its criticism of Spanish society, the authenticity of dialog, the reduction and slow passage of time, the symbolism of the Jarama River and natural elements in the novel, and the tension, anxiety, boredom and fatalism present in the attitude and behavior of the novel's characters.<sup>8</sup>

### ***La mina***

In 1959, Armando López Salinas published *La mina*, a novel that was a finalist for the Nadal prize that year. This social realist novel is highly critical in its portrayal of working conditions for the poor working class in Spain. Joaquín, his wife Angustias, and their two children find themselves without land, work, or money in their Andalusian hometown of Tero, and so must move to the mining city of Los Llanos. Joaquín and his fellow miners work in deplorable conditions for little pay as the mine engineers, owners, and directors live comfortably in large, beautiful homes. The workers struggle economically and complain of significant safety issues in the mines. The mine administration refuses to address their concerns and the novel ends as Joaquín and other mine workers perish in a cave-in.

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<sup>8</sup> See especially Villanueva; Gil Casado, (1968) 28-30; Domingo 94-96; Jones 45-49; Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 212-15 and "Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio" 464-67; Sanz Villanueva 352-66; Martínez Cachero 188-94; Vilanova 349-54; Basanta 44-45; Riley 123-41; Gullón 1-23. Additionally, Spires has considered the transformative role of the reader in *El Jarama* in "El papel del lector implícito en la novela española de posguerra" (241-52); Squires examines the influence of Sánchez Ferlosio's theoretical writings on his narrative works in *Experience and Objectivity in the Writings of Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio*; Pérez Moreno considers the demythifying characteristics of *El Jarama* in "El nacionalismo de una nueva España a través de la desmitificación en *El Jarama*" (115-136).

*La mina* is an exposé of the shocking conditions of the mines and the grave social and economic inequalities suffered by the poor working class in postwar Spain. López Salinas sought to inspire social solidarity with such workers and reveal a problem that affected many. Criticism and ideological orientation are more evident in this novel than in *El Jarama*, and the perspective of the author is often noticeable in the narrative descriptions and the characters' thoughts, which reduce the effectiveness of the objectivist style. Joaquín often expresses thoughts that coincide with socialist and Marxist ideology, revealing the political leanings of the author. Nevertheless, *La mina* shows certain aspects of the difficult social and economic realities many in Spain faced at the time. The novel's critical intent is clear, and its emotional story and portrayal of injustices sought to inspire awareness and change. There is less secondary criticism of *La mina* than of *El Jarama*. While several major studies of the twentieth-century Spanish novel include *La mina* in their discussion of the social realist novel, descriptions tend to be brief and descriptive.<sup>9</sup>

### ***Tormenta de verano***

*Tormenta de verano*, first published in 1962, received critical attention and literary recognition within Spain, and author García Hortelano gained national

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<sup>9</sup> On *La mina*, my sources include Gil Casado (1968) 157-70; Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 281-82; Sanz Villanueva 570-88; Jones 59-61; Domingo 114; Martínez Cachero 196-198; Blanco Aguinaga 519. These studies focus on the social and political critique evident in the novel, but also point out its failings, such as its subjective and partisan elements that reduce its objectivity, the poor character definition and exaggeration, and the overly sentimental descriptions of the characters and the conditions they face. Navajas finds several narrative deficiencies in the novel, concluding that López Salinas not only sabotages his end goal of creating an objective view of life and working conditions for workers in Spain and so inspiring change and worker solidarity, but also at the same time has helped to perpetuate ideas and perceptions supported by the dictatorship itself. ("The Derealization of the Text in Salinas's *La mina*" 123-28).

and international recognition for the novel. The work won the Prix Formentor in 1961, and the novel's editors supported its publication in Spain in the face of censorship. Afterwards, it was translated into several foreign languages and published in various countries outside Spain. However, the popularity of the social realist novel in Spain would soon wane due to the rising popularity of the Latin American novels of the "Boom" writers and their influence on Spanish novelists.

*Tormenta de verano* is similar to *El Jarama* in its highly objectivist narrative technique, with abundant dialog and character observations. The main character Javier often narrates the story, and the reader discovers all information through his thoughts, behavior and observations. The novel tells the story of Javier and his friends, a group of successful businessmen and their families who have traveled to the Costa Brava of Barcelona one summer to vacation in their private beach community of Velas Blancas. At the beginning of the novel, an unknown woman's dead body is found on the beach, causing great concern and speculation by the townspeople and beachgoers. This event sparks a crisis of conscience in Javier and he begins to question the riches and privileges that he and his friends enjoy. He begins to spend time with Angus, a prostitute whom he meets from the town, and he distances himself from his friends and family. However, at the end of the novel, Javier overcomes his crisis of conscience and returns to his former way of life.

This novel is highly critical in its portrayal of bourgeois characters. They are snobs with little interest in the difficult circumstances facing anyone outside of

their social group. They represent those who fought in the Spanish Civil War on the side of the Nationalists and who are favored by the dictatorship. Secondary characters from outside the group, such as maids, gardeners, fishermen and shop owners, provide a contrast to the bourgeoisie in their attitudes and behavior. The critique of the bourgeoisie and those who obtained economic success in the 1950s and early 1960s was a common theme of social realism. García Hortelano wrote about what he knew best – the educated, wealthy members of Spanish society, who for him were decadent in their attitudes and behaviors. Several critics include *Tormenta de verano* in their analyses of the novel of the twentieth century in Spain, but, like *La mina*, there is much less critical work dedicated to this novel than in the case of *El Jarama*. Criticism focuses on the novel's indictment of the Spanish bourgeoisie of the early 1960s, its objectivist narrative style, and Javier's failure to make any significant changes to his life after he begins to question his choices and lifestyle.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> My sources for critical analyses of *Tormenta de verano* include Gil Casado (1968) 41-59; Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 296-99; Sanz Villanueva 539-42; Domingo 116-17. García Sarriá explores the poetic and symbolic aspects of the novel's narration in "*Tormenta de verano*: Abandono y despojo de Maruja, alias Margot" (227-34); Sherzer examines the social commentary in the novels of García Hortelano in "Juan García Hortelano and the Spanish Social Novel" (359-79); Several of the author's friends and critics contributed articles on his life and artistic work in an issue of the journal *Compás de letras* dedicated exclusively to Juan García Hortelano. In the issue, Champeau offers a view into the censorship that affected some of García Hortelano's novels. [ "*Tormenta de verano*: El regador regado" (116-24)]; In *El gran momento de Juan García Hortelano*, Pereda shares information gathered in an interview with the author about his personal life and literary career.

## Contribution to the Field

Much of the critical work that exists on the social realist novel and, in particular, *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*, examines the social critique fundamental to this novelistic tendency. Noting the goals of the project of social realism in Spain, these critical pieces show how the Mid-Century writers condemned several aspects of social and economic inequality and promoted sociopolitical awareness. In addition, several critics signal discrepancies between the official image of Spain and the national image as portrayed in these novels.<sup>11</sup> Surprisingly, Pierre Bourdieu's cultural and sociological theory has not yet been applied in analyzing the novels of social realism. By employing a Bourdieusian approach to the study of these three novels, my dissertation makes several important contributions to the understanding of these three works and Spanish social realism. First, my analysis examines social relations and cultural norms as the site of critique, going beyond issues of class and economic explanations of inequality. Second, this study considers the novels' criticism in its direct and indirect cultural manifestations. These novels criticize not only the immediate social conditions, but also the naturalized cultural norms and practices that have created and maintained such conditions. Finally, this examination looks at the difference between the official image of Spanish society and the view of society found in these novels as a revelation of the contradictions, inconsistencies and

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<sup>11</sup> On the differences between the representation of national character, history and values in the literature of the regime and the works of Spanish social realism, my sources include Jones 28-29; Herzberger, "Social Realism and the Contingencies of History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel" 153-73; and Pérez Moreno 115-136.

hypocrisies of the Franco regime. These failings would eventually lead to the demise of the dictatorship.

### **History and Economy of Spain (Late Nineteenth Century to the 1960s)**

In Spain in the late nineteenth century, major political and social divisions began to emerge that worsened during the first few decades of the twentieth century and led to the Civil War and the subsequent establishment of a dictatorial regime.<sup>12</sup> These were years of political and social instability, in which the liberal and conservative parties constantly fought to maintain power. Short-lived governments that established sweeping reforms while reversing those of the previous government caused great discontent and anger among politicians and their constituents. A serious divide formed in which the liberals and the conservatives alike felt that their way of life was being threatened by the other group. This led to the Spanish Civil War, in which the Republican forces, who supported the pre-war Republican government, and the Nationalist forces, who supported a return to a conservative government, fought a long and difficult battle from 1936 to 1939.<sup>13</sup>

Following the termination of the War, a dictatorship was established, with General Francisco Franco at its head, which held total power over Spanish

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<sup>12</sup> For more on the historical background of Spain from the late nineteenth to the twentieth century, refer to Aróstegui et al.; Carr and Fusi; Tuñón de Lara, et al.; Romero Salvadó; Blanco Aguinaga, Rodríguez Puértolas and Zavala 485-91; Carr; Angoustures; Comellas; and Pérez Picazo.

<sup>13</sup> On the history of Spain from the late Nineteenth Century to the end of the Civil War, my sources include Tuñón de Lara, et al. 474-571; Romero Salvadó 20-125; and Carr and Fusi 11-23.



society, eliminated all political parties but one, and established official policies and institutions of censorship and repression. The Press Law of 1938, written in the middle of the Civil War, would not be changed until 1966. Although censorship policies did become slightly more flexible in the 1950s and early 1960s, writers remained subject to the denial of publication of their works, major editorial changes, harassment by censorship officials, and in extreme cases, exile or incarceration.<sup>14</sup>

Franco believed himself to be the savior of Spain, as he had supposedly rescued the country from the evils of Communism and Masonry, and he stressed country, faith and family above all else. He held various positions simultaneously: he was *caudillo*, Head of State, head of government, Prime Minister and President, and as such he had complete power over the government. In 1945, the government established the *Fuero de los españoles* (Charter of the Spanish people), outlining their freedoms and obligations, denying them the right to free speech and assembly, and failing to offer an effective way to enforce their rights. There were various factions that made up the government, and Franco was adept at dividing or appeasing them to maintain his own power and assure that this power would not be challenged. This government was composed of the

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<sup>14</sup> On censorship during the dictatorship, I have consulted Jones 2-5 and 29; Carr and Fusi 147-52; and Blanco Aguinaga, Rodríguez Puértolas and Zavala 485-88.

Catholic Church, the army, members of the *Falange*,<sup>15</sup> and several powerful families who supported the conservative values espoused by the dictatorship. The government was far from unified, and ministers found it necessary to compromise and build alliances in order to fulfill their political obligations. However, a demonstration of student unrest in 1956, in which students of Catholic and Falangist families created a major disturbance, shocked their parents and other supporters of the Franco regime. It was not a political critique as such, but rather a manifestation of their discontent with Spanish society.<sup>16</sup>

Following three years of intense violence and bloodshed, the immediate postwar years were devastating in many ways for Spanish society. Spain found itself completely isolated. European and American organizations refused to acknowledge officially the Franco government due to its close alliance to Axis forces in World War II, Spain closed its border with France until 1948, and the Spanish government established policies of self-sufficiency, prohibiting the importation of desperately needed materials and foods. The years of Civil War damaged Spanish industry and agricultural production, and following the War the economy was controlled with policies of state interventionism. This approach only worsened inequalities and inefficiencies within the agricultural sector, which

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<sup>15</sup> The *Falange* was an organization that began before the Spanish Civil War, founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, who was killed by the Republican forces in 1936. The *Falange* was an important component of the Nationalist victory and held significant sway in the dictatorship in the 1940s. It espoused traditional patriotism and authoritarian rule, but envisioned social mobilization, nationalized banking and industry, agrarian reform and worker unification. Increasingly, the members of the *Falange* lost their power in Franco's government and from the late 1940s on, their presence and power within the government was diluted. (Carr and Fusi 38-43.)

<sup>16</sup> On information regarding Franco as dictator and characteristics of his regime, my sources include Romero Salvadó 126-60; Carr and Fusi 33-67; Aróstegui et al. 19-38; and Tuñón de Lara et al, 572-84.

continued to be the strongest sector of the economy. In the 1940s, salaries and national agricultural and industrial production had fallen to levels far below those previous to the Civil War. These were “the years of hunger”, as lack of food and many necessities caused constant concern and struggle, and the black market grew as the government implemented rationing to provide for its people.<sup>17</sup>

Families were torn apart ideologically and politically, and many continued to suffer after the Civil War had concluded. The social environment stressed the difference between the winners and the losers in the Civil War, and the dictatorship oppressed those who had supported the Republican cause (Aróstegui 32-35). Success in the postwar years depended on one’s allegiance to the regime and its values.

Beginning in 1950, Spain finally began to see some signs of relief and small economic improvement.<sup>18</sup> The intense suffering of the 1940s had slowly begun to improve with preliminary plans to attract foreign investment and international acceptance. As the Cold War intensified, Spain was able to create alliances with the United States and other countries that held a strong anti-Communist sentiment. In 1950, Spain received much-needed economic assistance from the United States government, and in 1951 national income began to surpass that of the years before the Civil War. The regime suspended

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<sup>17</sup> For information on the political and economic climate of the immediate postwar years, I have consulted Tuñón de Lara et al. 572-81; Aróstegui et al. 39-49; Blanco Aguinaga, Rodríguez Puértolas and Zavala 377-86; Carr and Fusi 103-17 and 133-67; and Romero Salvadó 126-44.

<sup>18</sup> For the following sections detailing the political and economic changes of the 1950s and 60s, my sources include Tuñón de Lara et al. 581-90; Aróstegui et al. 50-141; Sanz Villanueva, 62-65; Blanco Aguinaga, Rodríguez Puértolas and Zavala 485-89; Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 204-06; Carr and Fusi 57-101; and Romero Salvadó 145-160.

rationing in 1952, and Spain's international isolation began to fade as it entered into a military agreement with the United States in 1953, for which it would receive regular compensation. Spain was accepted into the United Nations in 1955. In 1953, the Vatican issued a Concordat that officially sanctioned the Franco government, and provided it with the right to choose bishops, in exchange for monetary support of church and missionary activities, and tax-exempt status for church properties. During the years of the Franco dictatorship, the Catholic religion was the only officially recognized faith, and the church was placed in charge of educational institutions and curricula.

Foreign tourism into Spain began to grow, and would increase dramatically in the late 1950s and 1960s. Early attempts at economic development in the mid 1950s created limited growth, and led to inflation due to the maintenance of an antiquated system of agricultural and industrial production, unproductive policies by the landholders, and the subsidization of agriculture by the government. The new policies of the technocratic ministers appointed in 1957, largely members of Opus Dei, would begin to take effect in the late 1950s, and would have a major impact in the 1960s and 70s. They believed that by opening up the market and encouraging industrial growth, foreign investment and tourism, the Spanish economy would grow and eventually be able to compete more effectively with neighboring European countries. Their Stabilization Plan of 1959 officially changed the priorities and functioning of the Spanish economy that would in fact enjoy an "economic miracle" in the 1960s and 1970s.

During this time, migration of Spanish workers to neighboring countries continued to increase, and earnings sent back to their families were a significant boon to the Spanish economy. Despite the incredibly rapid growth and industrialization of some regions of the country, mainly Madrid and northern industrial centers, the number of jobs did not increase at the same rate as the economic growth, and therefore it was necessary for many to look for work in the over-populated cities and in other European countries. Country towns did not benefit nearly as much as the cities from the increase in economic development, and life in small villages continued to be quite difficult. The cities, while offering new opportunities for many, developed problems due to overcrowding and a lack of decent housing. Worker unrest began to increase, and the only legal worker organizations tied to the Catholic Church, such as the Workers' Brotherhood of Catholic Action and the Catholic Workers' Youth Movement, supported workers in their complaints of unjust working conditions and low pay. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, miner strikes occurred in Asturias, Cataluña, País Vasco and Madrid, and there was a boycott of public transportation in Barcelona and Madrid in 1957 and 1958, respectively.

Although tourism, foreign loans and investment, and increased industrial development in some regions of Spain provided economic resources not previously known under the dictatorship, authoritarianism and oppression remained at the core of the Franco government's political thought and conduct. As Francisco J. Romero Salvadó notes, this increased economic activity did not

provide political freedom to Spaniards, nor did it benefit all in an egalitarian manner:

The Opus ministers pursued economic modernization and growth. Being liberal and modernizers in economics, they shared, however, the authoritarian values of other Nationalist families. Their goal was not to open and reform the political system. On the contrary, they believed that the continuity and strengthening of the regime could be secured by delivering prosperity and affluence. (147)

They believed in maintaining a Catholic, traditional society that denied the democratic liberalism so feared by many of the governmental ministers and other supporters of the regime. Their policies were meant to bring economic development to Spain that would in turn provide a satisfactory quality of life for many, and in so doing, exemplify the successes of and the need for the Franco government. For these ministers and other Franco supporters, political apathy was a sign that these policies were effective and that all was well in Spain. In fact, according to several formal and informal surveys of the 1960s and 1970s, political apathy was very common, particularly among the older and poorer populations. Although there was more evidence of political awareness and critique among the younger generation, particularly university-educated, affluent people, many displayed an apathetic view toward politics in Spain.<sup>19</sup>

These dramatic economic changes in the 1950s and 1960s would also start to affect the cultural sphere in Spain. For the most part, as the economy began to expand and many Spaniards were able to benefit from new business and professional opportunities, the government's insistence on maintaining a society that followed traditional Catholic dogma remained strong. Education was

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<sup>19</sup> See de Miguel 208-32.

in the hands of the Catholic Church, and as such, Spanish youth, always in gender-exclusive schools, learned within a very limited scope. Censorship banned several foreign books and movies, and many movies were dubbed with inaccurate lines in order to change the moral content. In her testimonial work about customs in postwar Spain, Carmen Martín Gaité explains how courting and male-female relationships had reverted to the customs common in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Women were relegated to a secondary role, viewed primarily as mothers and homemakers. Sexual and gender oppression was constant as Catholic dogma dictated the cultural norms of courting, marriage and sexual relations. It was unwise for a young woman to be unaccompanied by a male relative outside of the home, and dating relations were closely monitored. Women were encouraged to become wives and mothers, and the few work opportunities that existed were mainly limited to domestic, secretarial and teaching work.

With growing economic development, increasing tourism and a slight relaxation of censorship policies, cultural norms would change more dramatically for the younger generation that had been born after the Civil War. For several years, there was a strange mix of cultural messages that emphasized traditional, repressive beliefs and behavior, and at the same time, introduced cultural ideas and practices from abroad. By the end of the 1950s, free-market policies and increased wealth had encouraged the development of a consumer-driven society in Spain. This would affect in particular the middle-class youth, who began to experiment with more “modern” ideas, clothes and the expression of their

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<sup>20</sup> See Martín Gaité.

dissatisfaction with Spanish society. Traditional ideas of family, gender, work and religion slowly began to change, although dramatic shifts would not occur until after the dictatorship had ended. The cultural divide between the older and younger generations would deepen in the late 1960s and 1970s, and lead to an increase in student and worker revolts.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Cultural and Sociological Theory of Pierre Bourdieu**

As social realist novels, *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* provide a view into the people, the time and the place portrayed in each text. The author of each work attempted to show his perception of how Spanish society functioned at that time, and, in so doing, present to the reader conditions of the society that were damaging the state of the nation. In these novels, the social element is of utmost importance, and their portrayal of injustices, power struggles and oppression within the society is key to giving each text its critical and subversive force. My dissertation aims to analyze the functioning of society as portrayed in each novel in order to understand better how and why oppression and asymmetries of power exist, why they continue to exist, and what are the roles of society's individuals, groups, and institutions in such oppression, as seen in each text.

Pierre Bourdieu has written extensively on this very type of social analysis, and his cultural and sociological theory is particularly appropriate for the analysis of these three novels. The application of Bourdieu's theory to the novels will allow

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<sup>21</sup> On the cultural changes occurring during the years of dictatorship, I have consulted Carr and Fusi 147-75; and Aróstegui et al. 96-105 and 193-209.



me, first, to examine the social composition, cultural values and character interaction of the society presented in these novels. This type of analysis helps to reveal the texts' portrayal of social inequalities and domination, and the way in which the very nature of the society contributes to creating and maintaining such injustices. Second, using Bourdieu's theory in my analysis will enable recognition of the texts' critical view of society's role in its own oppression, and the way in which each novel presents the contradictions and failings present within the society under dictatorship.

Pierre Bourdieu's sociological and cultural theory is essential to my study in several ways. It allows me to analyze and understand the inner workings of society as depicted in each novel, how culture is linked to social and economic limitations, and how domination occurs under dictatorship in each text, which can go unrecognized. In this way, my dissertation goes beyond previous critical analyses of class difference, economic inequality and political oppression in these novels in that it examines the social and cultural dynamics presented in the narrative, in order to understand the reason for and implications of such inequalities and oppression. Furthermore, this theory is appropriate for revealing the pervasive and naturalized ideas, perceptions, behaviors and practices portrayed in the novels that have not been previously recognized in their role in the perpetuation of social inequities. My analysis will reveal how and why each novel portrays asymmetries of power, modes of domination, and a social and cultural hierarchy. Finally, using Bourdieu's theory, my study will look at these novels and social realism in a new way, as agents of subversion and change,

and give new insight into how each novel shows the functioning of Spain under dictatorship in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Drawing on various theoretical and philosophical approaches to the study of society and the individual, Bourdieu's writings on sociological practice and cultural analysis attempt to bridge the divide between objective and subjective perceptions of society. Bourdieu has chosen to implement a mostly economic terminology to create an analogous space that explains how social conditions affect the individual and how individual agency can transform society.

Bourdieu's work can be understood as an attempt to go beyond the binary divide between objectivism (structuralism) and subjectivism (phenomenology/existentialism) that was prevalent in sociological, linguistic and cultural theory in the 1950s and 60s.<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu's writing is strongly situated in a long tradition of sociological and philosophical thought, mainly in the writings of Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, and Max Weber. Continuing Marx's analysis of class difference and social domination, Durkheim's study of social practice and relations, and Weber's analysis of culture as a site of social conflict, Bourdieu strives to reconcile the subjective and objective elements of social existence and interaction. For him, social practice can never be explained fully when understood strictly in terms of the economy and the means of production (Marx), the influence of objective conditions and structures on the individual (Claude Lévi-Strauss/Louis Althusser), or of subjective experience and individual choice (Jean-Paul Sartre/Edmund

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<sup>22</sup> My sources on Bourdieu's theoretical writings and the significance of its main concepts are Lane; Harker, Maher and Wilkes; Jenkins; Fowler; Brown and Szeman; Wallace and Wolf 110-17; and Milner and Browitt 86-91.

Husserl/Rational Action Theory). He also stresses the importance of self-reflexivity in all sociological practice, proposing that sociologists must consider their relation to the object of study and their own perceptions and biases.

At the heart of Bourdieu's writings is the desire to understand the functioning of society, and to find an explanation for the perpetuation of social inequalities and asymmetrical power relations.<sup>23</sup> To do this, he creates a metaphor to visualize the way society works, likening it to a game board (what he calls a field) and the individual people, as players on the board. The field is specific to a certain time, place and objective conditions. The functioning of one field has its own logic and makes sense within that field, and there may be many fields within the greater social field of society. As in any game, the players compete for certain stakes that have value to them; these are limited and as such there is competition to hold the greatest portion possible. These stakes are in reality economic, social and cultural possessions, or capital, and their distribution within the field is unequal, favoring some groups much more than others.

The objective conditions of the field are also of key importance when considering the distribution of capital (stakes) among the players. This distribution depends on the structures and conditions of the field, which include, for example, government and political structures, economic conditions and development (or lack thereof), educational norms and institutions, geography, language, and religion. These are established elements that have an influence

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<sup>23</sup> Bourdieu explains the main tenets of this theory, its applications and its evolution in several texts. Consider especially *The Logic of Practice*; *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*; *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*; *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*; *Language and Symbolic Power*; "Social Space and Symbolic Power" 14-25; "The Forms of Capital" 96-111; and *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*.

on the individual and on each social group, and are a reflection of the unequal distribution of resources within the field. It is important to consider an individual's relation to the objective conditions, which include economic, social and cultural structures, as it is an indication of their relation to power within the field.

The players in the field compete for a limited amount of available goods, and some are better able to garner a larger portion of them. Bourdieu identifies these goods as economic, cultural and social capital, and suggests that those players who hold the most capital will enjoy the most privilege. It is possible to convert cultural and social capital into economic capital, and at times it is also possible to convert economic capital into cultural and/or social capital (although it is sometimes more difficult to do so).

Economic capital includes such objects as property, assets, investments and money. Cultural capital cannot always be valued in the same way as money or material possessions, but it is every bit as important. Cultural capital consists of one's cultural sensibilities and understandings of the field, and is cultivated and reinforced by family, friends, and education. This capital also includes the ability to present distinguishing and rare abilities to know, appreciate, and understand the media of culture, which vary depending on the field in question, but most often they include art, music, language, literature, philosophy, history, and technology. It is necessary to possess cultural artifacts, and also to be able to comprehend them in an informed and sensitive way. This type of knowledge is usually transmitted by one's parents, and reinforced by the educational system, and only those whose parents have the economic means to acquire cultural

capital will be able to pass it on to their children. Social capital depends on the players' network of social connections and obligations, as well as their symbolic value. For instance, players can usually depend on the members of their group, which can be family, colleagues or friends. They can also expect to depend on those with whom they have a social or economic connection, or from whom they hold an obligation. Those with the most economic and cultural capital will find it easier to establish and maintain many social connections due to their ability to incur obligations from others who need their help, their access to the educational system and understanding of its principles, and the fact that for them it is much easier to cultivate social connections with other holders of capital. This social capital can be employed in times of need and can offer recommendations, loyalty, trust, and solidarity that can be turned into greater privileges and opportunities.

The differential nature of the objective conditions of the field is embodied in the individual players in the form of what Bourdieu calls the habitus. This is not a new term in sociology or philosophy; it is an idea that has appeared in the writings of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Edmund Husserl, Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim. However, Bourdieu uses the term and develops the idea more fully to emphasize the importance of common sense ideas and accepted perceptions and practices. He has provided many definitions of the habitus, but essentially it is a set of dispositions, preferences and perceptions, internalized in the body and mind, and informed by social and cultural history and objective

conditions (structures):

Because different conditions of existence produce different habitus . . . the practices engendered by the different habitus appear as systematic configurations of properties expressing the differences objectively inscribed in conditions of existence in the form of systems of differential deviations . . . . The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes. (*Distinction* 170)

This is the key to reconciling the objective elements that affect the individual and the individual's subjective perception of those elements. Each individual learns from birth, from family, friends, school and society a particular way of being and perceiving the world, something that has been influenced by historical patterns and power, and the habitus helps the individual to adapt to the objective conditions of the field. This habitus is both adaptable and consistent - it finds a way to adapt itself to the conditions of the field and can undergo alterations when the conditions of the field change, but at the same time it is consistent in its tendency to perpetuate difference and categorization. It is the embodiment of the differential nature of the conditions of the field, and it manifests itself in one's way of being and thinking. Bourdieu explains that habitus is social difference embodied:

When the properties and movements of the body are socially qualified, the most fundamental social choices are naturalized and the body, with its properties and its movements, is constituted as an analogical operator establishing all kinds of practical equivalences among the different divisions of the social world – divisions between the sexes, between the age groups and between the social classes. (*Logic of Practice* 71)

The creation and maintenance of the habitus is a dialectical process that is continually adapting to the conditions of the field and at the same time reproducing and reinforcing them. It is a symbiotic relationship whose state of equilibrium is hierarchical and unequal.

Each social group is defined by its habitus, and so those with a similar habitus will likely belong to the same social group. Certain habitus are privileged and recognized as superior in relation to others. Bourdieu points out that this distinction is arbitrary and would make little sense outside of the unique conditions of the particular field in question. However, within that field prominence is given to a certain set of cultural and social characteristics - those of the dominant class. The habitus includes all social and cultural aspects of the body and the mind's perception - speech, attitudes, values, customs, beliefs, dress, interests and the perceived value of each set of behaviors and characteristics relative to other sets. It embodies economic, social and cultural capital, and since certain habitus enjoy a place of distinction within the field, those with the most highly recognized set of dispositions are better equipped to find success than those who do not.

For Bourdieu, the logic of the field that maintains and perpetuates difference becomes naturalized. Since the habitus shapes one's perception and understanding of the functioning of the field, the players tend to accept as natural the way in which the field operates. Although it is possible for players to recognize difference and lament the unequal distribution of goods and resources, the way in which the field functions so as to sustain a hierarchy of domination

goes unrecognized. For example, players accept as natural the rules of the game that value particular habitus, and also certain social, economic and cultural capital. Bourdieu defines this “undisputed, pre-reflexive, naïve, native compliance with the fundamental presuppositions of the field” as doxa (*Logic of Practice* 68). A collective misrecognition of the way in which domination and oppression occur in the social and cultural spheres tends to ensure their perpetuation.

Another way in which the arbitrary distinction given to certain habitus finds acceptance within the social field is in the institutionalization of such distinction. The unequal distribution of resources and abilities finds legitimation in social, political and educational institutions. Institutionalization of difference is the key to its legitimation and perpetuation: “[T]he institutionalization of distinction, inscribing it in the hard, durable reality of things or institutions, goes hand in hand with its incorporation, the surest path towards naturalization” (*Logic of Practice* 139). The conferring of titles, degrees, positions in business, official recognition or rewards, and the privilege given to certain values and practices within educational and political institutions legitimize the categorization of the social field, and so eliminate the need to establish and reestablish acknowledgment.

The display and use of certain social, economic and cultural capital can function in a symbolic way. Since certain behaviors would not be acceptable if recognized in their true economic nature, they are instead used symbolically in the same way that economic resources would be utilized to garner social recognition and distinction. This occurs in social relations and cultural practices,



and its reaffirmation of the distinction given to certain habitus goes unrecognized:

The dialectic of conditions and habitus is the basis of an alchemy which transforms the distribution of capital, the balance-sheet of a power relation, into a system of perceived differences, distinctive properties, that is, a distribution of symbolic capital, legitimate capital, whose objective truth is misrecognized. (*Logic of Practice* 172)

For example, gift-giving (favors, employment, contributions) can create relations of dependence and obligation, and displays of cultural competence or artifacts can provide social distinction. The economic value (i.e. they are often convertible into increased economic resources) of these acts goes unrecognized and, since they are socially acceptable, they help to perpetuate the social and cultural hierarchy of difference and distinction. In this way, the use of symbolic capital can be deemed symbolic violence. Although not always conducted with purposeful malice, these symbolic displays serve to reinforce and perpetuate the domination of certain groups by others.

The habitus gives players “a feel for the game”, as Bourdieu puts it, and there is some amount of strategy in the sense that players understand what the field requires of them and what their chances of success are. For the most part, however, the characteristics of the habitus are so entrenched and naturalized within the individual and the society that its nature is not easily recognized. In this way the various habitus tend to reproduce in each generation, and perpetuate a hierarchy of dominant and dominated habitus.

For Bourdieu, the way in which this differentiation oppresses others can be challenged or remedied by creating awareness of its negative social impact. According to the social paradigm offered by Bourdieu’s theory, the inequalities

present in the social field tend to reproduce and perpetuate, but there is at the same time the possibility for individual agency and social transformation. The way to achieve this is to challenge the logic of the field by exposing asymmetries of power and symbolic violence.

Although Bourdieu's theory has been subject to great debate and criticism,<sup>24</sup> his writings on the role of culture in social domination remain an important contribution to the ongoing discussion of how theory can connect the objective/subjective divide. One of the main criticisms of Bourdieu's work is that his vision is deterministic and functionalist in its orientation. Although Bourdieu has defended the importance of individual agency and the possibility of social transformation in his work, many critics believe that this part of his theory is underdeveloped, and tends to predict perpetuation of the cycle of domination, rather than explain the ways in which social transformation can occur. I believe that Bourdieu's work offers a valid theoretical explanation of why social and cultural inequalities exist and tend to continue, and it also shows that individual agency does matter. Although difficult and disruptive to the functioning of the social field, revolutions, protests, and major cultural and social shifts happen all the time. If Bourdieu's theory could better explain how this challenge to the status quo occurs, his assumptions about the functioning of society would be even stronger. This aspect of Bourdieu's theory is important for my dissertation because the question of agency is paramount for the writers of social realism. Social change is only possible through the realization of inequalities, and the

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<sup>24</sup> For the main critical responses to Bourdieu's writings, see Lane; Brown and Szeman; Jenkins; Swartz and Zolberg; Verdès-Leroux; Shirley 96-111; and Gartman 255-77.

social realist writers wished to create such awareness through their texts. Much of their value lies in the critical portrayal of society as a call for social change, appealing to the individual agency of each of reader.

Critics also point to the complicated writing style and language employed by Bourdieu as a major fault in his work. They find that his concepts and ideas are often difficult to understand because his writing is confusing and abstruse, and he offers varying definitions of similar concepts and terminology. While it is true that it takes some effort to read and fully understand Bourdieu's conceptualization of social and cultural practice, I do not find his language to be any more confusing than that of several other contemporary theorists writing on culture, postmodernism, gender and marginalization.

A third major criticism of Bourdieu's work is that it is not as self-reflexive as his own theory would suggest. Some critics find that his theory reinforces the divide between primitive and modern, and betrays his own biased perceptions. They find fault with the fact that Bourdieu bases much of his theoretical findings on his research in African tribal societies, extrapolating the social and cultural practices he has observed and applying his findings to modern, capitalist societies. This is criticized first because it supports the binary opposition of primitive and modern, and second because Bourdieu's theory does not allow for the application of social observation to work in reverse. In other words, he does not suggest that one could apply what is observed in a modern, capitalist social field to the functioning of a "primitive" society. I agree that Bourdieu's biases have influenced his work in many ways. For instance, critics have also found that he

values only an informed, distanced appreciation of art and culture, finding that lower-class groups have little to no cultural sensibility. His theory could certainly benefit from further self-reflection, and from analysis of how his own habitus affects his observations and assumptions. However, I find that his theory, although perhaps not always pleasing to all social groups, does point out the inequalities and injustices of the valuing of such cultural sensibility, and in this way it is an important contribution to social and cultural analysis.

The remaining chapters of this dissertation will develop the following ideas: Chapter 2 begins with an exploration of the characteristics of the society as portrayed in the three novels. The nature of the society, the characters, their values and aspirations, and the economic conditions are examined in order to understand the particular time and place in which the novels' characters find themselves. It is important to look at the economic, cultural, political and social aspects of each novel, the norms and practices of the main characters and groups, and the way the characters feel about their society and their place within it. This chapter will determine the various social inequalities and cultural differences presented in each novel, the scarce and most valued elements of the society, as well as the asymmetrical nature of power relations revealed through character dialog and behavior.

Chapter 3 explores in further detail the way in which society functions in these novels, looking at the cultural, social and economic manifestations of the

characters' habitus, and identifying the existing practices, beliefs and behaviors of the main characters and groups. This chapter aims to show the hierarchical structure of the society described in the texts, and determine what types of values, personal characteristics and behaviors are most prized. This chapter will also explain the characters' economic, social and cultural capital, offering additional insight into how and why inequalities exist for the characters in these novels.

In Chapter 4, this study looks at the way in which each novel portrays cultural and social domination within society and how it tends to self-perpetuate, examining how inequities are naturalized and accepted as a normal part of the functioning of the society depicted in the three novels. This chapter considers the manner in which such domination finds legitimation, and what this reveals about Spanish society under the Franco dictatorship as seen in these novels. Finally, Chapter 4 examines the three novels as possible agents of subversion and social transformation.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Field and its Players**

The social and cultural conditions portrayed in Spanish social realist literature, represented here by *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*, reveal the way in which life functions for these characters living under a dictatorial regime. Time, place, character interaction and relations, and the value of certain cultural practices are key elements of the social field. In this chapter, I will examine the conditions of the field, its players, and the social, economic and cultural resources (stakes) available within the field as manifested in these three representative works. This is the first step in my definition and analysis of the functioning of this particular field as presented by these authors of social realism.

#### **The Field**

Bourdieu's analysis views the time and locale of social practice as a field. Cheleen Mahar, Richard Harker and Chris Wilkes point out that it is important to consider this as "a 'field of forces', because it is required to see this field as dynamic, a field in which various potentialities exist" (8). As we see in the three novels forming the basis of this study, the members of the field, or players, represent different social classes and cultural sensibilities, and all compete for a portion of the limited resources available to them. Together, characters from each novel represent various social groups of one field, namely mid 1950's to early 1960s Spain under the Franco dictatorship. The social structure is

hierarchical and some players enjoy greater privilege and distinction than others.

Bourdieu explains:

In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation . . . in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).  
(*An Invitation* 97)

In each of the three novels studied here, the characters and the social interaction between them reveal the differential nature of the social field. Javier and his wealthy friends in *Tormenta de verano*, for example, are the players in with the greatest social and economic advantages. They are representative of the newly affluent bourgeoisie in Spanish society who live a very comfortable life with few concerns. The maids, gardeners, waiters, shop owners and fishermen from the coastal town belong to another social group and represent the working class players in the field.

*El Jarama* focuses on a group of characters representing the working class, both young and old. These players hold few of the field's available resources, i.e. economic holdings, social connections and cultural possessions and understanding. These characters do not belong to the social class of the wealthy characters of *Tormenta de verano*, and hold much less social and economic distinction within the social field.

In *La mina*, Joaquín, his family and his fellow mine workers are representative characters of the poor working class. These characters are the

players with the least amount of resources and distinction, while the mine owners and directors represent the players with the most. In this novel, the many disparities between these two groups of characters emphasize the differential nature of the social field.

As Bourdieu suggests, every field is a place of struggle among the players for available resources – each group strives to maintain the portion that they already have and also to gain a greater portion of the distribution allotted to them. These three novels illustrate this struggle in economic, social and cultural terms.

*El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* depict a social field specific to mid-1950s, early 1960s Spain, when increased economic development, tourism and foreign aid were slowly beginning to take effect, and the political environment of dictatorial rule under Francisco Franco had changed little since the Civil War. The economic changes benefited some much more than others. The wealthy businessmen and their families in *Tormenta de verano* enjoy great financial success and distinction in the field, whereas the meagerly paid and overworked characters of *El Jarama*, and the extremely poor and exploited workers of *La mina*, find little to celebrate in their new work opportunities.

In *Tormenta de verano*, Javier and his group of friends have benefited from the new business opportunities available due to increased industrial and commercial development, and they actively participate in the consumerism of the time. They often speak about their various business successes and numerous commercial contacts while enjoying weeks of vacation in their summer homes built in an expensive, exclusive beach community in Barcelona. They have the



economic means necessary to employ workers to help them with gardening, housekeeping and child care, and to vacation away from Madrid for several weeks without worrying about employment or basic survival. When Javier speaks with his friend Claudette one day, she says that he is the strongest man she knows, to which he responds: “Supongo que me consideras fuerte porque trabajo mucho, porque manejo negocios y porque los negocios me salen bien” (94). A few days later, the police inspector, don Julio, comes to the beach colony to speak to the residents about the dead girl who has been found on the beach, and Javier becomes irritated when the inspector seeks to question the children of Javier and his friends because they were the ones to find the dead girl’s body. Javier reacts angrily, pronouncing: “Me puse a trabajar como una mula y he hecho algo, y bastante importante, en la reconstrucción de la patria. He dado trabajo a cientos y cientos de hombres, he creado empresas, he traído y llevado materias primas, he aumentado la riqueza” (299). Javier and his friends represent the well-educated, conservative members of society who have been able to achieve economic success as governmental economic plans have shifted to favor free market policies. Javier’s mistress, Angus, the town’s shop owners and fishermen, and the domestic employees working for Javier and his friends represent the poorer, working-class players of the field who have benefited very little from the new economic policies. They hold much less economic capital and have no access to the world of privilege enjoyed by Javier and his friends.

The young characters of *El Jarama* who spend their Sunday at the river outside of Madrid hold steady jobs in the city. They are by no means wealthy, but

they are not struggling with hunger or food rationing as most Spaniards did in the early postwar years. The new economic conditions of the field have provided these characters with material comfort, a greater supply of foreign and domestic consumer goods, and job opportunities. These young characters work as mechanics, servers, maids, and clerks in jobs that are not in any way fulfilling – personally or economically. They have enough extra money to go to the river on the weekends, buy food and drink, go to the movies with their friends and buy some little, extra items that they would like, but their economic means are much less than those that Javier and his friends enjoy. Although they perform mainly menial or office duties and have little chance of advancement or economic independence, their employment offers them a quality of life markedly better than that of their parents' generation. Similar to what we have seen with Javier and his group of friends, these characters appreciate and purchase several consumer goods, including articles from abroad. The older characters in the tavern near the Jarama River benefit somewhat from these city dwellers who travel to the outskirts of Madrid to enjoy its more tranquil rhythm, but they also admit that the tavern used to be much busier, and it was easier to earn money several years earlier. Mauricio and his patrons are not extremely poor, but they do not benefit from the economic changes as do the wealthy characters of *Tormenta de verano*. The characters in the tavern are farmers, barbers, butchers and taxi drivers, and as such earn little money and have little chance of reaping greater economic benefits.

In *La mina*, Joaquín and his family have traveled from the countryside, where jobs are nonexistent and landowners are hesitant to share their power or land, to the city in order to find work. In the 1950s and 1960s, as the Spanish economy began to grow, there was massive emigration to the cities. In 1960, 56.1% of the population lived in cities, and the majority of the emigrants moved to Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao (Tuñón de Lara 582). Joaquín has been affected by the changing economic conditions, as he is forced to leave his hometown in search of work. Sobejano explains the horrific economic conditions facing Joaquín: “El agricultor de vocación ha tenido que cambiar de oficio por la urgencia de las circunstancias. El hombre no puede escoger libremente su actividad porque la pobreza le impone un camino único” (*Novela española* 282). On the one hand, Joaquín and his family benefit from the increased industrial development in the city because they are able to find work in Los Llanos, but on the other, they suffer greatly from the terrible working and living conditions, and eventually, from Joaquín’s death. Blanco Aguinaga reminds us: “[S]on los años en que se está iniciando el ‘despegue’ económico español y son, por lo tanto, los del inicio de la explotación de una nueva mano de obra” (519). The job in the mine represents an important opportunity for Joaquín and his family, as they surely would have starved had they stayed in their hometown of Tero. This position means a steady salary and the possibility of overtime pay, but as Joaquín soon discovers, the pay is never adequate for real economic success or independence and the working conditions are perilous. Joaquín and the other miners are forced to tolerate substandard living and working conditions as the

mine owners and directors enjoy the benefits of increased mining opportunities. These wealthier characters work in comfortable conditions and live in beautiful, well-maintained homes with fountains and gardens.

The social environment also forms part of the structural conditions of this field. Social networks and relations had begun to change somewhat in the mid-1950s and 1960s in Spain due to increased economic development. These years signaled an important change in Spanish society from the immediate postwar years filled with fear, hunger and distrust. New social groups began to form, with the new bourgeoisie as represented in *Tormenta de verano* by the wealthy group of friends of Velas Blancas, functionaries and vocational workers in the city as seen in the youth of *El Jarama*, and the poor workers of the mines and industrial factories represented in *La mina*.

As we see in *Tormenta de verano* and *El Jarama*, social relations are at times somewhat superficial, based upon the common interests of consumer activity, social status and individual pursuits. This indifference came to be a part of social interaction, and was in fact encouraged by the dictatorship, which tolerated only strict acceptance of the political conditions of the country. Blanco Aguinaga points out the social limitations of the younger group of *El Jarama*:

[N]o ha de extrañarnos tampoco que aparezcan vacíos de toda profundidad, llenos de una conmovedora e irritante inocencia, de una ignorancia casi virginal: he aquí, al parecer, ese pueblo domesticado que, según hemos visto, exigía el general Franco. Ya por esos años se empezaba seriamente a intentar llenarle de nada. (511)

These two novels also show a breakdown of the ties and values that served to bring family, friends and society closer together. Characters are selfish and

individualistic, and some even display morally questionable behavior. In *La mina*, the mine workers and their families give more importance to social and familial ties and obligations, but it must be noted that their poverty and lack of economic choice deeply affect their social relations as well. For example, families are left alone while fathers work long hours in the mine, or when families are abandoned all together when the men become ill or die from working in dangerous conditions. Relations between Joaquín and his wife are severely strained as they argue over buying a house, and whether or not they should remain in Los Llanos despite the treacherous working conditions. García and his wife endure great hardship as he is unable to perform sexually due to mercury poisoning. The foreman Felipe betrays the mine workers in order to ensure his own advancement.

Another characteristic we find in this field is social inequality, just as we have seen with the unequal economic conditions of the time. Bourdieu has suggested that social reality is typically structured in a differential way:

[T]he social world presents itself as a highly structured reality . . . Social space . . . presents itself in the form of agents endowed with different properties that are systematically linked among themselves . . . [T]hrough the distribution of properties, the social world presents itself, objectively, as a symbolic system which is organized according to the logic of difference, of differential distance. ("Social Space" 19-20)

As we see in *La mina*, in the countryside, social conditions remain almost the same as before the War. The rich landowners are largely absent from their properties and seek to maintain their place of privilege and ownership in the towns. Laborers and their families are often humiliated and forced to move to the

cities, and in the mines, they face great social injustice and inequality. As Jones notes:

*La mina* explores three themes of particular concern to the social novelist: the intolerable economic conditions in southern Spain, internal emigration patterns and their consequences, and the exploitation of workers. The constant ancillary to these problems is the inflexible and avaricious position of the capitalist owners and their representatives. (59)

The mine owners are often foreign, have no contact with the workers and live in beautiful homes hidden behind trees and gardens. Blanco Aguinaga highlights the fact that Los Llanos is “un gran poblachón minero en el que cerca de las calles sucias y malolientes, de las casuchas y chabolas de los mineros, se levantan las casas elegantes de los ingenieros y técnicos de la mina” (519). Only those who will support the company, and not the workers, are allowed to advance, and workers are kept quiet through scare tactics and intimidation. For these people, social mobility is nonexistent. Social inequality is evident in *El Jarama* as well, as the younger characters yearn for the possibility of improving their economic and social situations. They wish to stand out from the others in the group and lament the fact that they cannot enjoy the same benefits as their bosses. We see this, for example, when Miguel’s friends tease him about the motorcycle he has arrived on, but he is quick to remind them that it belongs to his boss and he is only able to use it due to the kindness of his employer. The inequality of the social field is perhaps even more obvious in *Tormenta de verano*, as Javier and his friends enjoy much greater social prestige and distinction than do the various servants, fishermen and other working-class characters.

Another aspect of the objective conditions of the social field is the political climate. Although none of these novels makes direct or obvious statements concerning the Franco government, criticism arises through various strategies employed by the authors. Each novel reveals that these characters live with limitations on their freedom and social mobility. Politically, socially and economically, those who had fought on the Nationalist side in the War and those who support the values and policies of the Franco dictatorship find favor and greater access to privilege within the social field. Javier and his friends offer a clear example of this. Political apathy is also a fundamental element in the social field. Most of the characters in these novels ignore or gloss over political issues and events, instead focusing on work or leisure activities. In each novel, characters face serious obstacles in their lives and their intense doubt, dissatisfaction and uncertainty reflect an oppressive force affecting them. Although never clearly named as a political force, due to the very real possibility of censorship, this limiting element is present in all three novels. This was a time of an oppressive dictatorship, and its social nature is conveyed in each of these novels.

In *Tormenta de verano*, for example, the criticism is clearly social, but it also provides an indirect criticism of the conditions created by the policies of the Franco government. These bourgeois characters, who fought for the Nationalists during the Civil War, are favored by society under Franco's rule, and as such their decadence and apathy reveal problems and inconsistencies within the political realm. Gil Casado comments that García Hortelano's novel "[s]e trata de

gentes que hicieron la Guerra civil del lado vencedor y que, después, gracias al favor oficial consiguieron enriquecerse mediante negocios fabulosos” (41). In the novel, there are only brief references to the Civil War, and these highlight the fact that these characters are on the side of the *vencedores* (winners). Don Antonio, an older gentleman who lives near Velas Blancas, talks incessantly about political and economic issues, but does so mostly in relation to foreign governments and their policies, while denying any domestic troubles. Because of this, Javier and his friends consider him to be an annoyance, and find it difficult to listen to his political discussions. The wealthy group of friends is mostly apathetic about political issues, and instead prefers to gossip, argue, and chat about trivial matters.

In *El Jarama*, there are very few references to political matters, and all are indirect. Characters mention the construction of the Barajas airport thanks to foreign investment, witness the brutality and intimidation of the *Guardia Civil*, and lament the inaccurate and manipulated press. *El hombre de los zapatos blancos* who spends the day in Mauricio’s tavern complains of being watched in his barbershop, and he is fearful that his customers’ critical comments and arguments about politics or the Civil War will cause trouble for him. There is also a negative portrayal of certain government functionaries, such as the judge who oversees the processing of Luci’s death. These references are brief and without commentary, but provide an underlying criticism of the way in which society was functioning under Franco. The younger characters at the river are apathetic to political matters, holding attitudes about the political climate similar to those of



Javier and his friends. They do not keep current on governmental policies or decisions and care little for anything beyond that which affects their social lives.

In *La mina*, there is no mention of any direct political figure or issue. One brief reference is made to the political leanings of one character, Matías, the projector operator of the town movie theater, who admits to being a republican: “[E]l señor Matías era un republicano templado. Decía: ‘En España no estamos acostumbrados a la democracia, que es lo más bonito que puede haber en un país. En seguida echamos los pies por alto, y así no se va a ningún lao’” (152). The support of political freedom is evident, but this type of allusion to political ideals is very infrequent in López Salinas’s novel. However, the novel does critique the oppressive social and economic conditions facing the working class in Spain. This is an indirect criticism of the regime and its policies as Joaquín, his family and the other miners never criticize or name the Franco government or its decisions. Some of the miners do voice their frustrations with the mining administration, and Ruiz demands that changes be made, but for the most part complaints are stifled through intimidation and the possible loss of income. The mine workers are much more concerned with their survival from one day to the next, and do not spend time discussing the political issues of the day.

A lack of historical awareness is another significant characteristic among the players in this social field. In *Tormenta de verano* and *El Jarama* references to the War, its causes and consequences are brief. For the most part, these characters have little historical or political consciousness, choosing instead to focus on their own ambition and pleasure. Most of the younger characters in *El*

*Jarama* are not even aware that a very bloody battle took place at the Jarama River during the Civil War. When one of the friends mentions it, others react with little emotion and quickly continue on to another topic. The older characters in the tavern express strong memories and fears regarding the past, and this serves as a sharp contrast to the ignorance and apathy of the younger characters. Lucio recalls his years in prison, and the difficult years during and since the Civil War, and *el hombre de los zapatos blancos* recounts how, after returning from fighting in the Civil War, he cut off relations with his family upon discovering that his mother had remarried while he was gone. As Jones has noted:

Much of the [older men's] conversation centers around the past, in a constant comparison between their former experiences and the present moment. The desire to live for the present and ignore or reject the past . . . is translated in the younger characters as an urge to enjoy the present fully and not worry about historical causes or future problems. The logical extension of this is a shallow, uninterested attitude toward life – possibly an oblique comment on a national situation – and a concomitant directionless philosophy of life. (48)

In *Tormenta de verano*, the wealthy characters do remember the War and the years since, during which they have made their fortunes, but their memories of the past are not as significant to them as their experiences in the present moment. Just as we see with the younger characters at the Jarama River, Javier and his friends prefer to focus on the present and forget the painful, recent past of Spanish history. When these characters do share memories of the past, they reflect on individual experiences and show no collective sense of a shared history.

In *La mina*, several of the mine workers have a strong sense of historical awareness. Joaquín remembers very well how conditions have changed drastically in his hometown since his younger days, and Ruiz remembers clearly how his town was turned upside down by worker strikes, in which he participated, and by the terrible battles of the Civil War. The past and the future have a much stronger presence in this novel than in *Tormenta de verano* and *El Jarama*, although the narration in *La mina* also focuses on the events and conditions of the present moment.

The cultural sphere also forms a part of the structural conditions of the social field. Cultural sensibility and tastes, consumption, values and practices underwent a significant change during these years. Foreign products and influences became more available to Spaniards, although censorship practices continued to determine what could be sold in Spain and which groups would benefit. An increased affluence for some allowed for increased consumption, which created a desire for new domestic and imported consumer goods. In these three novels, the most valued cultural practices and values are now related to conspicuous consumption, the knowledge and appreciation of foreign and domestic art, alcohol, artists, literature, music and languages and the denial of any historical narrative contrary to the official propaganda.

We see clear examples of these economic and cultural changes in *Tormenta de verano*, as Javier and his social group use foreign words and expressions, some even speak English and French, and they have the means necessary to frequent expensive restaurants, hotels and clubs. They also lavishly

decorate their large homes with expensive paintings, televisions and imported furniture. The possession of such articles is very important, but it is even more important to possess the ability to understand and appreciate them. This ability is a rare commodity within this cultural sphere and is as important as any other resource for which the players in the field compete.

We see in *El Jarama* that the youngsters give the same importance to these new consumer items and foreign influences, and yet they have neither the economic means nor the level of understanding necessary to appreciate them as we see in the case of Javier and his friends. These younger characters imitate, but they do not demonstrate a full comprehension or skill in the use of such cultural influences.

The miners and their families of *La mina* have no money to purchase costly or unnecessary items, and they do not show any preference or appreciation for art, modern music or foreign products or languages. Their cultural values are different, and although one can understand that their taste is not better or worse, within this field prominence is given to the tastes and appreciation of the rich and the bourgeoisie. In this way, this cultural resource is also the cause of competition and struggle as many wish to obtain it but few are able to do so.

### **The Stakes**

The players of this field compete to maintain and increase their share of a limited amount of resources. Contemplating the comparison of the social field to

a game, Bourdieu explains:

[W]e have stakes which are for the most part the product of the competition between players. . . [T]he value of a species of capital . . . hinges on the existence of a game, of a field in which this competency can be employed: a species of capital is what is efficacious in a given field, both as a weapon and as a stake of struggle. (*An Invitation* 98)

What exactly are the stakes in the social field under analysis here? In general terms, we can consider the stakes to be those that we would find in most fields, namely money, jobs, prestige and privilege. Javier and his friends enjoy their wealth and the kind of life it can offer them, and their privileged place in society remains largely unquestioned. The men of the group work in business, taking advantage of the new economic opportunities available from domestic and foreign investment and development in Spain. The women enjoy shopping and are content to employ others to take care of their homes and their children as they focus on planning parties, cheating on their husbands and speaking about superficial topics. Javier is the only character to question his place in the field, although his self-questioning is short-lived and fails to challenge significantly the functioning of the field.

The characters in *El Jarama* and *La mina* struggle to garner their share of the same resources available to Javier and his friends, but with much less success. The young group of characters who travel to the Jarama River bemoan the fact that they must work at jobs that offer only boredom, monotony and little pay. Sebastián expresses his frustration to his girlfriend, Paulina:

— Mañana, lunes otra vez – dijo Sebas –. Tenemos una de enredos estos días...  
— ¿En el garaje?

- ¿Dónde va a ser? ¡Cada día más trabajo, qué asco! El dueño tan contento, pero nosotros a partirnos en dos.
- ¿Entonces, tú qué quieres?
- No tener tanto trabajo. No renegarme los domingos, acordándome de toda la semana. (201)

They speak with great enthusiasm about the possibility of vacationing outside of the country, perhaps in Brazil. They daydream about movie stars and struggle to find excitement and relief from the weekly drudgery they find at work. After a plane passes overhead, they wonder who could be in it, and begin to imagine traveling and discovering new places and people:

- Luego dicen de Río. ¿Más carnaval?
- Perpetuo. Ya lo sabes, Mely, Río de Janeiro, nada.
- ¿Nada, verdad? Ya guardarías hasta cola para ir.
- ¿Yo? Sí; la curiosidad . . .
- Pues todo. Ver Río de Janeiro y ver los Carnavales de Río de Janeiro.
- Hombre, yo creo que con alguna cosita más ya escaparíamos. No iba a ser sola y exclusivamente a base de ración de vista.
- Sí, algún pito de madera que nos tocara en una tómbola.
- ¡Qué menos! ¿Verdad?
- ¿Y a Bahía?
- También . . . También a Bahía . . . Tampoco debe ser manco Bahía.” (127)

They also wish for greater privilege and status within the field, evidenced by their competition for recognition by members of their own group. Like the characters of *La mina*, they yearn to have a greater share of the field’s resources and express a desire to do what they can to obtain a larger portion of the distribution of resources.

In *La mina*, the struggle is even clearer. Joaquín and the other miners fight every day to earn more money and gain a greater share of the resources available within the field. They are aware that the distribution of goods favors the

landowners and the mine owners, and yet they forge ahead, working in deplorable conditions in an effort to gain more economic resources for themselves and their families. The description of the mine as Joaquín begins work is heartbreaking:

No hay pozos de ventilación, el agua chorea por los paramentos, cubre los pies de los mineros. Algunas ratas mordisqueaban el costillar del entibado...El aire tiene consistencia, parece poder morderse . . . Hasta los contrapozos y coladeros, por las galerías transversales, hay trozos por donde los mineros tienen que caminar encorvados, casi de rodillas. (84)

Miners often take on extra hours in order to gain more money, but they are unable to earn enough to improve their lot significantly. At the same time they increase the possibility of injury or death. Joaquín and his coworker Antonio walk to work one morning: “Joaquín y Antonio, camino del pueblo, hablaban de mil cosas; del dinero que ganaban, los planes para el porvenir, los compañeros. Joaquín tenía la idea de construir una chabola al final de la calle. Hablaba con la seguridad del hombre que gana más de diez duros diarios” (87). Despite such dangerous working conditions, the miners continue to work hard in search of increased pay and opportunity because they understand the importance of money and privilege and seek to improve their lot.

The characters in these three novels also compete for resources particular to this field. The stakes in this “game” are quite revealing about the nature and functioning of the field, namely the Franco dictatorship. Here, the stakes are not only economic, but also social, cultural and political. Bourdieu comments on the various forms of capital, emphasizing that economic capital is but one form of the possible assets within a field: “[T]hese fundamental powers are economic capital

(in its various forms), cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital, which is the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (“Social Space” 17). In this particular field of struggle, the players compete for freedom, self-fulfillment and social recognition, which are not just scarce, but are also tied to the designs and values of the dictatorial regime that controlled all access to power in Spain at this time.

In addition to the economic resources at stake in this field, the players compete for freedom, both individual and social. This is not to suggest that the characters protest or lambaste the dictatorship or conditions of Spanish society, nor do they cry out for a political democracy. However, the portrayal of the field and its conditions reveals feelings of personal and social constraint and limitation.

Joaquín and his family feel the social, economic and cultural constraints that continually press in on them, limiting their freedom to provide for themselves and their families, to speak out against injustices and to own their own property. Before arriving in Los Llanos, Joaquín confronts the absent landowner’s administrator Lucas:

No tengo dinero para cabras y tú lo sabes. No hay trabajo, nadie quiere dar jornales, ningún amo quiere. Yo soy trabajador; pagaré. . . Don Ramón tiene muchas tierras y debe hacer un arreglo para que no pasemos hambre yo y mi familia. La mujer me pide dinero, y la chica y la abuela quieren comer. Aunque les diga que no tengo, es igual; me piden, Lucas. (33)

In the novel, there is palpable tension and yearning for economic and social mobility that is impossible for Joaquín and his family. He longs to have a small parcel of land to cultivate, and deeply regrets having to move away from the



countryside where his family has always lived. Upon arriving at the mine, the social and economic categories are clear. When Antonio brings Joaquín to see one of the directors of the mine, don Florentino, Antonio and Joaquin display nervousness and insecurity. Joaquín stays very quiet and remains distant from don Florentino, standing behind Antonio, who speaks with great humility and feels awkward and unsure of himself, holding his helmet and turning it in his hands. The other miners waiting to speak with don Florentino look around the room with distrust. It is required to speak with several employees before being allowed to enter the office of the mine directors and speak with them. In another example, García, talking to Joaquín after he comes home sick with dust and grime in his lungs, expresses feelings of frustration and limitation:

Te preguntas cómo lo aguantan los demás, trabajando allí año tras año. Te dices que ganas buenas perras, más que en cualquier otro oficio, y que no tendrás que quedarte mucho tiempo. No más que el que necesitas para reunir un poco de dinero y marcharte a tu pueblo donde hay luz y sol para trabajar. Pero pasan los días, las semanas de setecientas pesetas con los destajos . . . Y te vas a casa y te sientas, cansado, pensando en cuándo tendrás dinero bastante para irte del infierno, y nunca tienes bastante. (91)

Economic and social freedom are precious resources in this field, as seen in *La mina*, and only a privileged few, such as the mine directors, the engineers and their families, are fortunate enough to enjoy such freedoms, while the others find themselves in conditions from which they will never escape.

This same longing for freedom is evident throughout *El Jarama*. The players, both young and older, recognize the limitations imposed on their lives, and they express their frustration and struggle throughout the novel. One of the girls, Mely, comments to the others: “Yo siempre tengo prisa de que se pase el

tiempo. Lo que gusta es variar. Me aburro cuando una cosa viene durando demasiado” (108). Later on in the day, Miguel observes: “Ya está bien; ¡qué demonios de cavilar y echar cuentas con el mañana puñetero! De aquí a cien años todos calvos. Esa es la vida y nada más. Pues claro está que sí” (176) and a bit later, “Yo, la verdad, yo no sé distinguir cuando me aburro de cuando me divierto, te lo juro” (204). They complain about how they want to have fun and escape from the monotony of their jobs, but this day off ends up being equally boring. Disillusionment and alienation plague these characters, although it is much more evident in the younger group. Anxiety and restlessness permeate the text as characters incessantly ask for the time, and express constant dissatisfaction with their jobs, their activities or lack thereof, and with each other. Although the characters seem to have complete freedom, as they have traveled on their own to the Jarama River, and have control over the activities of the day, the reader soon understands that they control very little in their lives, and this short vacation from the city is an attempt to find the freedom they desire. They feel limited by their employers, their families and friends, and by social constraints. Mely argues with two civil guards when they demand that she cover up as she walks away from the river, and she scolds Fernando for not standing up for her to the authorities, although Fernando reminds her that it is very unwise to confront them. The text never directly criticizes the lack of political freedom in Spain at the time, but the indirect criticism provided by the objectivist narration emphasizes the constraints put on the characters.

The characters of *Tormenta de verano* feel this struggle much less because they have greater access to all the resources available in the field. Although freedoms are in short supply in this particular time and place, Javier and his friends have much greater freedom than other players in this field. It is important to note, however, that they, too, compete for this rare resource. This is particularly evident in Javier's crisis of conscience resulting from the appearance of the dead body of an unknown young woman on the beach in the Velas Blancas community. Javier begins to question his status, privilege, and values, and struggles to free himself from the constraints of his social group, his place of privilege, and the rituals and practices to which he has become accustomed. Sobejano observes: "Javier abandona cada vez con más frecuencia la colonia para entrar en contacto con la gente del pueblo. Se cree enamorado de Angus . . . y, frente a la realidad de su vacío, anhela terminar de una vez con la hipocresía y el criminal egoísmo que hasta entonces han regido su vida y la de sus iguales" (*Novela española* 297). He begins to feel strange and uncomfortable with his social group, and seeks to escape from them and Velas Blancas. The objectivist narration of Javier's behavior and thoughts reveals his anxiety and need for change as he begins to smoke incessantly in an attempt to relieve his stress, and as he argues with his friends and criticizes their behavior and attitudes. His discomfort is obvious, which conveys his desire for social freedom and mobility, elements that are surprisingly difficult for Javier to obtain since his ties to his social group limit his freedom. Such tension is clear in all three novels, which creates in the reader a sense of restriction and oppression, thus communicating

a certain critique of the lack of personal and social freedom in Spain under the Franco regime.

Another area of contention among the players of this field is the ability to define oneself and find personal fulfillment. We could consider this contentment or a basic level of satisfaction with one's objective surroundings and the subjective perception of them. We see in each of the three novels that none of the characters is able to achieve such self-fulfillment and its presence within the field is scarce. Yet each character continues to compete for this social and cultural resource, attempting to find a certain level of social and individual satisfaction within the field.

Joaquín, his family and the other mining families struggle in the economic and social realm, striving to "find their place" and establish themselves at a location within the field that will bring them a satisfactory level of fulfillment. He seeks to define himself and his place in work, family and society. Time and again, he complains that he feels displaced and marginalized as a man and member of society. His coworkers compete for the same fulfillment, risking their health and happiness, suppressing frustrations and ignoring injustices in their fight for social and economic betterment. Luis, a young mine worker hoping to soon marry his girlfriend, is seriously hurt when a large stone falls on him in the mine. His lungs are filled with soot and grime and his breathing is labored after working several years in the mine. Pedro, "el Extremeño", comments to Joaquín that he also suffers from the effects of breathing in dust and dirt: "Cuando escupo me sale negro. He trabajado seis años en el Inclinao y he masticao todo

el polvo de la galería cuarta. Cuando hago mis necesidades me sale negrino. Aunque llegue a los cincuenta años, el polvo no acabará por salir de mis tripas” (113).

The characters of *El Jarama* are not any better able than Joaquín to find satisfaction in their social, economic and cultural surroundings. They also seek to gain this rare resource, but find themselves unable to do so. The younger characters’ comments and behavior reveal a deep dissatisfaction and frustration with their lives, and they clearly do not know how to find their place and purpose. There is jealousy and competition among the friends as they struggle to define themselves and stand out in the group. Material possessions and knowledge of popular culture are also important for these characters, and they attempt to create a unique identity for themselves as they show off what they have or know. Daniel drinks to excess and exhibits an attitude of frustration and discontent, while Mely complains of deep boredom and restlessness, and Lucita displays a high level of self-doubt and insecurity, and seeks the approval of others. Several of the young characters get into petty squabbles and contests during the day. Hours spent at the banks of the Jarama River and an evening of dancing and chatting at the tavern do not relieve the characters’ boredom and frustration with daily working life in the city. The older characters strive to find contentment and self-fulfillment as well. Lucio expresses his regrets and feelings of inadequacy and solitude. Felipe Ocaña wishes to find more success and an easier life in his profession as a taxi driver. The man from Alcarria had worked with Eliseo on his orchard, but began to resent Eliseo because he treated him like a servant with

little respect for his ideas. Darío Villanueva finds that, despite the pessimism and frustration of the characters in *El Jarama*, they all continue to seek a better life:

“En un mismo contexto de hastío y acabamiento se reproduce una idéntica y enfermiza tendencia a la imaginación de situaciones inalcanzables” (128).

Javier and his friends in *Tormenta de verano* seek self-definition in questionable behaviors and unpleasant attitudes. Javier’s struggle for identity is clearly the strongest among the novel’s characters as he begins to question who he is and seeks to define, and redefine, his values and beliefs by rejecting his social group’s behaviors and attitudes and isolating himself from friends and family. While speaking with Elena, Javier discovers a new perspective on his life, commenting:

Antes veía a las personas y no pensaba en ellas. A cierta clase de personas. Maleteros, camareros, criados, pescadores. Gente de ésa. No sé por qué ahora pienso con frecuencia en ellos . . . ¿Por qué viven de distinta manera? . . . Tener muchas cosas. ¿Por qué las tengo yo? ¿Qué ha sucedido para que yo no esté de limpiabotas en cualquier bar de por ahí? (84-85)

A bit later, he expresses his crisis of conscience to Angus, stating:

Los amigos me dicen que me encuentran raro y yo lo niego. Pero la verdad, Angus, es que me encuentro raro como nunca. Que le doy vueltas a ideas que nunca me habían preocupado, que veo de distinta forma a las personas que conozco de toda mi vida. (134-35)

The other characters share in this struggle, although self-doubt does not push them to challenge or deny their place of privilege, or reject material and cultural possessions. Their behavior and attitudes reveal a group of people who compete for happiness, and social and individual definition, but none is able to achieve it.

Elena is unhappy in her marriage and chooses to have an affair with Javier.

Elena's husband Andrés is a belligerent alcoholic, while Javier's wife Dora is deeply unhappy with her marriage, and seeks escape in shopping and entertaining. Meanwhile, Emilio acts in an arrogant, authoritative and over-moralistic manner in an attempt to dominate others and relieve his own anxieties. They are clearly unhappy in their lives, although they fail to recognize what it is that causes them such loneliness.

In his study on the Spanish postwar novel, Sobejano finds that "temas capitales de las obras de estos novelistas son: la infructuosidad y la soledad social. . . No hay en estas novelas violencia, sino sufrimiento; no rutina, sino dura labor o amarga fiesta; no ensimismamiento, sino un aislamiento del que pocos alcanzan a salir" ("Direcciones" 54-55). Each character desires to find a place of acceptable self-definition, both individually and socially, but they are unable to do so. Personal and social contentment, or at the very least acceptance, is an extremely rare resource for which the players compete and the conditions of this field (Spain under the Franco dictatorship) make it nearly impossible to obtain it.

Recognition and privilege form a third aspect of the stakes at play in this field. The type of recognition and privilege - social, economic or cultural - and how one achieves them within the field of the Franco dictatorship, provoke interesting connections and questioning of the Franco regime and its proclaimed values, as seen in these three novels. Players struggle to obtain recognition of friends, family, coworkers and the society at large, and likewise compete to gain as large a portion as possible of the prestige available as a resource within this

field. These stakes can be social in nature, with the acceptance of the social group and privilege bestowed by the group; economic, through gifts, employment or high levels of disposable income; or cultural, in the form of recognition of the cultural superiority or distinction of one group over another.

In this field, Javier and his friends hold the lion's share of each type of recognition and privilege. His affluent group shows its economic resources through their cars and vacation homes, an abundance of free time, and the exclusivity of their parties and beach community. Such social isolation is purposeful, and serves to strengthen the appearance of privilege and superiority; townspeople and employees acknowledge their distinction. For example, the police inspector allows Javier to see the dead girl's body on the beach and takes great care not to offend Javier by considering him or his friends as suspects in the incident. Vicente, a shopkeeper from town, showers Javier with compliments, and shows great humility when he meets with him to ask his help in building a shop for the beach colony. When Javier meets Angus in a hotel club, she expresses to him her feelings of inferiority, and doubts he could be interested in her. For Javier and his social group, their cultural activities and possessions, such as their summer parties, travels to coastal nightclubs, shopping, drinking, listening to modern, popular music, some from other countries, their use of non-Spanish words and expressions, and possession of rare artworks in the home -- these are just some of the elements that bring about a recognition of the cultural superiority of these characters. Bourdieu reminds us that

Each class condition is defined, simultaneously, by its intrinsic properties and by the relational properties which it derives from its



position in the system of class conditions, which is also a system of differences, differential positions . . . social identity is defined and asserted by difference. (*Distinction* 171-72)

The dominant class is dominant because of its defining characteristics (economic, social and cultural) and also by its relation to other social groups (as dominant) and to the objective conditions of the field (possession of valuable capital of all types). What we find in all three novels is that there is a dominant group of people whose prominence is recognized as legitimate, even though criticism and jealousy of their status may occur. Those with the most success, privilege and recognition form the dominant class, as seen with Javier and his friends, the wealthy government functionaries and business employers in *El Jarama*, and the land and mine owners in *La mina*.

The young characters of *El Jarama* emulate the customs and values of the privileged class, but they do not hold a dominant position in the social hierarchy. These young people also drink, some to excess, chat about trivial topics, demonstrate jealousy and competition, ignore historical and political issues and daydream about the stars of cinema and popular music. It is particularly important for the girls to find approval by the others of their clothes, hairstyles and opinions. Although they are very polite to tavern owner Mauricio and the townspeople, it is clear that the younger characters differentiate themselves from the older characters. They seek to be much more like Javier and his friends than like the characters in the tavern. They share a much smaller portion of the economic, cultural and social recognition distributed to the privileged group (i.e. Javier and his group of friends), but this does not lessen their desire to obtain a

larger portion of the available resources. They long for more money, and seek a future in which they will find increased economic means, although their apathy will ultimately prevent them from presenting any real challenge to the social order. Their desire for social and cultural recognition and privilege is strong; they wish to be privileged within their own social group of friends, but also within society as a whole. Mely demands attention and distinction in her group of friends, and dresses and behaves to demonstrate her uniqueness. Lucita longs to be highly valued by her group of friends, and this leads her to drink more than she would like. When the group goes to Mauricio's tavern in the evening to listen to music, dance and drink, they are quite disrespectful of the tavern owners and their property. They demand service, spill drinks, take the family's rabbit out of its cage and scare it, and dance on tables that others will eat on. Youth can account for some of this behavior, but it is also clear that some members of the group perceive the owners of the tavern, and its patrons, to be less distinguished than they themselves are.

The mining workers of *La mina* have little to no social, cultural or economic privilege. These are poor, uneducated working people who have neither the economic means nor the social know-how to obtain a larger portion of this resource, and yet they continue to fight to obtain some type of acknowledgment in their work and in their social setting. Joaquín and his fellow miners lament their lack of social positioning and the seemingly unjustifiable prominence and wealth of the landowners and mine owners. Dolores, a neighbor in the mining town complains to Angustias: “Yo, lo peor que llevo es la falta de

agua; con eso de que para coger una cántara tengas que hacer más de una hora de cola, una no puede ser limpia aunque quiera. En las casas de la Minera tienen agua corriente. Si nos la dieran . . .” (63). That same day, Joaquín contemplates how his life will be at the mine: “Miraba esperanzado hacia donde los trabajos de los hombres transformaban la tierra. Millares de hombres – se dijo Joaquín – luchando por el pan, deseosos de vida, de trabajo, de amor y de libertad” (67). Joaquín and the others risk life and limb to achieve increased economic privilege and acknowledgment of their value. With this purpose in mind, another miner, Ruiz, chooses to speak out against the mining company and the deplorable working conditions, and Felipe accepts a position as foreman that requires him to betray his fellow workers in the interest of the mining company. Faced with the prospect of losing his job, Joaquín keeps quiet when asked to denounce the company. He insists upon borrowing money that he knows will be nearly impossible to pay back in order to buy an ugly and uncomfortable house for his family, and he often reflects on his frustration as a man as he feels completely marginalized from the resources available in this field. All recognize the mine owners and the engineers as the privileged members of society, and their social, cultural and economic distinction is clear.

A place of privilege is a rare commodity in this field, and competition for it is fierce. Only a few are able to enjoy the benefits of privilege, and most never possess them. This is not only a question of social class and economic means, for as we see in these three novels, in the field of the Franco dictatorship it is particularly revealing. Those who find distinction possess cultural traits and

exhibit social behaviors that are wholly contradictory to the values and claims of the Franco regime.

Strong censorship of the press during the years of dictatorship made it extremely difficult for Spanish readers to find accurate, unbiased information. The three novels considered in this study, as part of social realism, were each an attempt to counter such censorship by portraying the state of the nation in a way that differed from the official propaganda. Blanco Aguinaga comments: “Dado el falseamiento sistemático de la realidad en que se encontraba el país, la rebeldía de estos jóvenes . . . lleva inevitablemente a la voluntad de realismo; es decir, al intento de contar las cosas ‘como son’” (505). These texts, which were intended to reflect certain aspects of the functioning of society under the Franco dictatorship, illustrate that the social field they depict was a place of struggle. The social, economic and cultural conditions of the field reveal inequalities and asymmetries of power. This chapter has examined the makeup of the field and the structural conditions that both influence and are influenced by the players in the field as manifested in these three novels of social realism. Chapter 3 considers the role of the perceptions and behaviors of the characters and the inequalities of the field in these works.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Distinction and Access to Power**

In this chapter I will explore how the social field described in the three novels maintains a hierarchy of distinction. This chapter will examine how the differential nature of society reveals itself in the habitus and the cultural, social and economic capital of the novels' characters in order to gain further insight into the privilege accorded to certain persons.

#### **Habitus**

The characters of these three novels display various types of behaviors, attitudes, beliefs and knowledge, and certain characters embody characteristics regarded as superior. The distinction held by Javier and his group of friends and business acquaintances, and the lack of access to the economic resources and social affiliations for other social groups, is not simply a question of the influence of societal structures and economic conditions. The cultural realm, understood through the habitus, is also a site of contested power in which accepted norms of the society depicted in the novels and character interaction reveal a hierarchical social structure and unequal access to power.

Such difference is embodied in the habitus of the characters, manifesting itself through the body and the mind in all aspects of self-presentation and self-representation. For example, language, vocabulary, accent and voice register

vary greatly among Javier and his friends, the group of friends at the Jarama River, and Joaquín and the miners. Of *La mina*, for example, Gil Casado observes: “La lengua de los personajes tiene, claro es, relación con su personalidad de mineros o campesinos. Hay una elaboración artística con el propósito de dar la impresión de que se ajusta a la realidad lingüística” (165). As social realist writers, the authors attempted to present speech patterns and expressions in an authentic manner, hoping to reflect an accurate picture of social and class differences through verbal expression. The critical work that has considered the characters’ speech in *El Jarama* and *Tormenta de verano* attests to the fact that these novels excel in their presentation of regional, age and class speech patterns and vocabulary.<sup>1</sup> Some criticism has found that López Salinas’s portrayal of the working class speech patterns in his novel is unsuccessful due to its inconsistency, and the poetic, sophisticated descriptions offered by the author contrast greatly with the speech of the characters.<sup>2</sup> However, López Salinas has succeeded in portraying some of the speech patterns of the poor working class in Spain at that time, which are quite unlike those seen in García Hortelano’s and Sánchez Ferlosio’s novels. These variations in the characters’ language and speech are a reflection of their habitus, and therefore of unequal social conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Gil Casado (1968) 49; Pérez 69-70; Martínez Cachero 193; Jones 35 and 46-47; and Villanueva 111-23.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of popular language and speech patterns in *La mina*, I have consulted Gil Casado (1968) 165-67; Navajas 123-28; and Sanz Villanueva 578-80.

In *La mina*, Joaquín, his family, those from the countryside, and the miners and their families speak in an unsophisticated, conversational style. Their accent is also a part of their speech as they drop letters or mispronounce certain words, as we see for example with “en cualquier lao”, “ná”, “verdá”, “regañao”, “ciudá”, and “estão”. This reveals their Andalusian origins, but also emphasizes their lower class status. Joaquín often feels at a loss for words and feels frustrated in his efforts to express his ideas. When Joaquín and Angustias arrive in Los Llanos, they observe their neighbors and the children outside of the mining shacks:

Unas cuantas mujeres se afanaban lavando canastas de ropa en unas tinajas de barro. Otras, delante de sus puertas, conversaban a gritos contando sus problemas . . . Mientras [Angustias y Lucía] se besaban, la mujer que comía pipas de girasol echaba a los chiquillos que habían quedado parados junto a la puerta llenos de curiosidad. ‘– ¡Sinvergüenzas! – gritaba -. ¡Imitamonos! Que no sabéis más que pelearos con todo Dios y andar mirando lo que hacen los hombres en la taberna de Amelia. Si os cojo a uno, le hago trizas . . .’ Los críos se burlaban de la señora Eulalia, blasfemaban y le hacían gestos obscenos con la boca y las manos. Eran inútiles las palabras de la mujer. (58-60)

The other miners often speak loudly, and there are few social conventions of politeness and sophistication. This is not to say that they are rude to each other, because they are anything but. These are decent, hard-working people who seek to help each other, and yet at times they speak their mind with little thought given to social conventions, and at other times are unable to find the appropriate words to express what they are feeling.

The speech of the younger characters in *El Jarama* contrasts sharply to the speech patterns of the characters in *La mina*. The day visitors to the Jarama

River are able to use a wide and varied vocabulary and speak with great ease and creativity. Pérez affirms that the novel depicts the speech of the working-class, *madrileño* youth of the mid 1950s with their slang and humorous manipulations of the language, writing that Sánchez Ferlosio is “fully cognizant with the peculiarities of the . . . lower-class Madrid dialect” (69). These characters are rarely at a loss for words and show how important language is to their self-expression. When the group attempts to decide who will go to the tavern for their food, one member chooses pieces of paper with the friends’ names written on them and the first two names to be chosen will be responsible for going up to the tavern. When the names are selected, several members of the group are unhappy and the following conversation ensues:

- ¡Suéltame tú! ¡Ya he dicho que no voy! ¡Ni me da la realísima!, ¿más claro?
- Es tontería; si no lo vais a convencer. . .
- ¡Eres tú muy bonito! No tienes ni vergüenza. ¿Pero por qué regla de tres vas a ser tú distinto de los demás? ¿Quién te has creído que eres?
- Venga, Fernando; déjalo ya – le decía Miguel –; más vale que lo dejes. ¿Qué vas a hacer? Tampoco vamos a subirlo a rastras. Subo yo mismo en su lugar y asunto terminado. Vamos tú y yo . . .
- ¡El egoísmo de Daniel!
- Carece de compañerismo – le reforzaba Alicia –. Y haces el primo, tú, si vas.
- Y tú te callas.
- ¿Por qué voy a callarme? Tras que saco la cara por ti. . . (75)

They demand that others listen to them and try to outdo each other with humor, sarcasm, and strong opinions. Their speech is informal and unsophisticated, although their pronunciation is clear and quite different from that of Joaquín and the miners, revealing regional, class and age differences.



The affluent members of Javier's group in *Tormenta de verano* have a type of speech that varies from that found in *La mina* and *El Jarama*. Like the young characters of Sánchez Ferlosio's novel, Javier and his friends also use a wide variety of words and expressions quite adeptly and pronounce each word clearly. Additionally, they use their speech to win favor and recognition, to manipulate, to scold and to demonstrate economic, social and cultural prominence in society. Gil Casado writes: "[L]os habitantes de Velas Blancas usan un vocabulario que corresponde a una falsa idea de la distinción. En su afán por ser 'superclase', emplean palabras selectas, como *boutades*, *comptoir*, *maître*, y otras; y naturalmente, nombres de bebida como *scotch* y *gin-tonic*" (49). The distinction given to these characters, however, is real and their use of this type of vocabulary is purposeful and helps to differentiate them from other social groups. They use much less slang in comparison with the characters of *El Jarama* and are able to speak with great ease in several types of situations -- serious, humorous and everything in between. When Javier goes to Claudette's house for a gathering, he speaks first with her about a painting she has finished and then with the rest of the group:

- Ya sé que no entiendes, pero dime tu impresión.
- Sí, me gusta. Me gusta mucho. Sobre todo, ese amarillo de la costa.
- Entiendes.
- Andrés, que me servía un whisky, había bebido ya lo suyo.
- Amadeo hablaba con Elena de la chica muerta.
- ¿La has visto? – me preguntó Santiago.
- Sí, anoche, en la playa.
- Después de cenar – explicó Claudette – estuvimos aquí al completo.
- Se te echó en falta.

- No más soda. Gracias, Andrés. Anoche estaba muy cansado y me fui a dormir.
  - Siéntate en este butacón, que estarás mejor. Quisiera saber cuándo dejará de llover. Tu mujer, Amadeo, decía hoy que está dispuesta a empaquetar y a regresar a Madrid.
  - No lo permita Dios.
  - Pero ¿por qué?
- Andrés me entregó el vaso de whisky.
- Sólo puedo trabajar en el verano – dijo Amadeo -. Con Marta en casa, no encontrarás nunca una habitación vacía . . . Suelo trabajar en el cuarto de baño del servicio.
  - ¡Oh!, exagerado.
  - Créeme, Claudette.
  - Pero, hombre, con once habitaciones . . . (23)

This type of language is the most acceptable in terms of economic, cultural and social recognition because it is the language most privileged in the world of business and social gatherings. It contrasts sharply with the speech of the miners and of the visitors to the Jarama. Although the conversation remains fairly informal, the tone and language used are clear, with few slang expressions, and convey information and attitudes about work, money, art and material possessions.

The content of the characters' speech holds great importance as well. Each group of characters speaks about very different ideas and topics, and this reveals much about the objective conditions of the social field depicted in the novels and the effects on each social group, as well as the society's perception of their values, interests and priorities. Javier and his friends hold the greatest amount of privilege in this field of power and the substance and character of their conversations show which types of attitudes receive the greatest prominence. Their conversations center mainly on trivial, inconsequential themes of party planning, consumerist activity, economic success, and irritation with spouses and

friends. Javier participates in this type of talk until he begins to question his privilege and success, when he uses a different kind of language with Angus, a prostitute with whom he begins to have an affair. With Angus, he speaks in a more relaxed manner about serious, life-questioning themes. Outside of his social group, he is able to express values and ideas contrary to those of the privileged class.

The younger characters in *El Jarama* also speak about trivial topics, their boredom, and frustration with their jobs and life in general. They value image, material possessions, social recognition and individual success, but ignore historical memory and social injustices occurring in Spain at the time; they ignore the past and feel disillusioned about the future. The older characters in the tavern speak mostly about mundane topics as well, but their conversations reveal a strong historical consciousness not present in the younger characters' speech, remembering very tough times before the War, in prison for some, and during the bloody battles of the Civil War, particularly the battle at the Jarama River where thousands of Spaniards lost their lives. They also demonstrate a desire to care for family, friends and town before material concerns. Pérez has noted that "one of the most noticeable aspects of what is said is the apathy of the younger generation, while some of the older ones are fearful of possible police eavesdroppers and reluctant to talk" (70). The conversations of both groups in the novel show a significant sense of frustration and a lessened hope, although this is much stronger in the group of younger characters.

The mining characters in *La mina* speak mostly about issues of family, work and survival. Their speech prioritizes themes of basic subsistence as they discuss how to find and keep work, how to earn more money to provide for their families, and how to improve their living and working conditions. They have little time or care for popular music, imported whiskey or how much time is left of their vacation until it is time to return to work. Their only opportunity to relax is on Saturday nights at the local tavern, when the mining men drink, eat, gamble, and flirt with the women who work there. The few hours they spend there provide some respite from the workweek, but work is an ever-present reality that never ends or brings relief.

The variation between the speech patterns and the content of the characters' conversations is striking, exposing major differences between the various social groups. For Bourdieu, language and speech in all its forms, such as vocabulary, intonation, grammar, syntax, and accent, are always socially imbued, meaning that they have a practical use within the functioning of the social field.<sup>3</sup> This is evident in *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* as the linguistic variations noted between the characters are socially significant and reflect the conditions of the society represented in these novels. Speech is just one aspect of the degrees of distinction in this field as seen in the habitus. This hierarchy provides insight into what types of speech, what themes of

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<sup>3</sup> See Bourdieu's extensive study on various types of language, speech, linguistic authority, and its social significance in *Language and Symbolic Power*. In this study, Bourdieu concludes that language and grammar function within a social context and not in a separate system of rules and grammar, devoid of social content.

conversation and what values and attitudes hold the greatest prominence in the social field described in these novels.

Another aspect of the habitus is appearance, which we can understand through clothes, hairstyle, demeanor, attitude, posture, gait, accessories, and physical attributes. Joaquín and his miner friends are very simple in approach to their appearance. When Joaquín is still in his hometown of Tero, he and the other townspeople look like people from the country. They have tanned skin, aged hands, dirty or old clothes and a tired expression on their faces. In the train to Los Llanos, Joaquín observes some of the passengers:

Los viajeros de tercera clase descansaban sentados en los asientos de tabla . . . En el banco de enfrente iban cinco hombres. Dos de ellos, a lo que parecía por lo que hablaban, eran primos. Se les notaba facha de campesinos, pues aunque vestían ropas de ciudad y calaban sombreros de fieltro, sus caras negras y sus manos grandes, de torpes movimientos, denunciaban a la legua su condición de ganapanes. Los otros tres tenían otro aire, uno de ellos leía un periódico; el otro entretenía su aburrimiento fumando un cigarrillo de hebra; el tercero dormía. (40)

Joaquín's children are thin and sickly, exhibiting the difficult conditions of the rural village. In the mining town, the workers have faces and clothes dirty from the mines, the women wear simple skirts and blouses, and people often have a worried expression. Several of the men are sickly, with a cough or other respiratory or skin infirmity caused by working many hours in the mines. The novel provides the most details about Joaquín's appearance, describing his clothing as plain and often ripped or dirty, his demeanor as respectful and humble, and his attitude as generally accepting and hopeful. The mine executives and engineers wear clean, professional clothes and exhibit no signs

of being affected by the dirt and dust of the mines. As Joaquín walks home from the mine one day, he observes a woman as she gets out of a car:

Al llegar junto a la colonia de ayudantes se detuvo a encender un cigarrillo. Una mujer descendía de un automóvil, la miró a hurtadillas, no a la cara sino a las piernas. No llevaba medias y tenía la piel morena, los tobillos delgados. Vestía un traje ceñido. Un grupo de niños reía en el jardín, borrachos de vida. Una mujer extranjera jugaba con ellos. (75)

These are the families of the mine engineers and assistants and their appearance is strikingly different from the miners and their families. They are clean and well-dressed, and are able to afford fashionable clothing, cars and a nanny for their children. In contrast, when Joaquín wakes up after a night spent in a cheap hotel on their way to Los Llanos, he observes his wife, Angustias, noting that she is still beautiful but very changed in her tired, worn appearance from when they first met.

The young people in *El Jarama* wear more modern clothing and hairstyles with great pride, and expect flattery from others in the group. Some of the girls wear pants, which is a very new and shocking practice. These characters, except perhaps Luci, are confident in their demeanors and attitudes. They are healthy and well-proportioned youngsters and their appearance reveals no want of food or care. They work at monotonous jobs, but this in no way compromises their health, nor changes their physical appearance. The accessories that accompany them are modern and reflect their desire to stand out with, for example, cigarettes, lipstick, a new bathing suit, exotic-looking sunglasses, a motorcycle and alcohol.

Whereas the attitudes and demeanor of these young characters demonstrate a need for distinction, the appearance of Javier and his friends reveals instead comfort in their privileged position. Mely's modern sunglasses and Paulina's pants (from her brother) seem out of place, but Javier and his friends always look their best, and never reveal any awkwardness in their appearance. This group of friends wears modern clothing and hairstyles, and appearance is clearly important to them. They dress well for intimate and larger parties and wear clothes that flatter their appearance, which is modern and sophisticated, and always natural. Physically, they are all in perfect shape, and there are many descriptions of their physical attractiveness. They also use accessories to enhance their image, such as cigarettes, alcohol, jewelry, and cars. The appearance of the prostitute Angus contrasts sharply with that of the women in Javier's social group. Angus wears too much lipstick, her clothes are flashy and revealing, and her demeanor is too extroverted and reveals self-doubt. When Javier first meets her at the hotel, her appearance is unlike that of Javier and his friends. Angus recognizes immediately that Javier is wealthy, and she comments that his friends are very classy, although she believes that she is not. Javier realizes very quickly that Angus is from the town and is not a part of his social group. The demeanor of Javier and his friends is always confident and easy, revealing a lack of real worry regarding their survival as we see with Joaquín. Their attitudes reveal a group of spoiled, decadent, and unhappy people who feel a sense of entitlement to what they possess.

Embodied in the social group of Javier and his friends are the dominant aspects of the cultural sphere of the field in question. Here, culture includes social activities, esteem for various material possessions coming from Spain and from abroad, and possession of large homes and their contents. Their summer parties are exclusive events in which they play modern and foreign music, drink expensive liquors, and speak about business successes, often fighting, criticizing and gossiping. They have an appreciation for modern and foreign furniture, homes, cars, music, and alcohol and wish to remain exclusive in their activities. Their homes are large and newly-constructed, containing expensive furniture and works of art. Cultural knowledge and appreciation is another key aspect of the habitus, as Bourdieu explains:

Because the appropriation of cultural products presupposes dispositions and competences which are not distributed universally (although they have the appearance of innateness), these products are subject to exclusive appropriation, material or symbolic, and, functioning as cultural capital (objectified and internalized), they yield a profit in distinction. (*Distinction* 228)

The dominant habitus of Javier and his friends allows them to understand, and thus accumulate, cultural artifacts and knowledge. Like the economy, culture is also a site of struggle, and Javier's group is able to use it to further its own interests and to maintain its position of privilege. The key is that these characters are able to understand and appreciate various aspects of cultural life, and use these elements to earn distinction from other social groups.

The younger characters in *El Jarama* have some appreciation of the cultural sphere, but their knowledge and abilities differ from those of the affluent friends in *Tormenta de verano*. They tend to value aspects of popular culture,



such as movies, books, magazines, clothing and music. This is also an important part of cultural knowledge, but their understanding and use of culture is not the same as that of Javier and his friends. In his analysis of the social class and cultural characteristics of the characters in *El Jarama*, José María Martínez

Cachero mentions:

Social y económicamente hablando, los integrantes de uno y otro grupo son trabajadores manuales; no aparecen gentes que pertenezcan a otros estamentos. Profesión la suya relacionada con un nivel cultural escaso en los unos y en los otros; pobres gentes que saben sólo lo que la vida les ha enseñado – los mayores –, o que no se enteran de nada. (192)

These people, young and old, do not possess the economic means nor the cultural background to obtain or fully appreciate certain aspects of the cultural sphere that seem to come naturally to Javier and his social group. Access to distinction and power in this social field is unequal, although all characters are motivated to find some level of superiority. For example, the young characters in *El Jarama* make a point of differentiating themselves from those who live in the rural towns, mentioning the difference in their cultural sensibilities to make their point. In one conversation, Carmen describes a wedding she attended in a small town: “Te agarras un aburrimiento, hija mía, que no se quita en un par de semanas . . . Por el poquísimo humor que ves que tienen los pobrecitos y los esfuerzos que hacen por divertirte. En mi vida pasé rato más malo en una fiesta, ni lo pienso pasar” (88). Mely and Fernando agree with Carmen, commenting on how boring and simple life in the towns must be. Alicia is the only one to suggest that life in a small town might be tranquil and pleasant, with none of the worries of city life. Each character’s perspective draws a clear division between those

who live in the city and those who do not, and the portrayal they offer of the townspeople varies significantly from the image put forth by the Franco dictatorship of the strong, heroic farmer of the countryside, taking pride in his work as he supports the nation.

The cultural abilities of the young characters of *El Jarama* are much greater than those of the workers in *La mina*. Joaquín and the other miners have little to no awareness or understanding of the art, music, and literature of the dominant cultural sphere. They are better able to appreciate local and traditional music, simple customs and celebrations that require little money or preparation, and are unfamiliar with expensive and foreign-made furniture, alcohol, movies and books. Saturday night is for the miners; the men enjoy their few free hours to share beer, card games and bawdy conversation at a local tavern where women are dressed in revealing clothes and accompany the men to separate rooms upstairs. Their lives revolve around work and simple enjoyment when it is possible.

In these three novels, variation in values and beliefs is considerable, and in this field one set of perceptions tends to be privileged over all others. Joaquín, his family and the miners of Los Llanos hold strong beliefs about family, work, dignity, and justice. They are willing to do all they can to take care of their families and believe in sacrifice when it is necessary. They help each other when able, financially and emotionally, in the workplace and in the home. With the exception of the foreman Felipe, the miners look out for each other and their families, and feel a sense of loss when a worker is hurt or killed. Basic human

dignity and social justice are also extremely important to them. Although they are unable to accomplish any significant protest of their social and working conditions, Joaquín, the farmers, and the miners express their awareness of unjust conditions and their desire for change and improvement. Some workers attempt, unsuccessfully, to bring a union to the mine, and they try to challenge the decisions of the owners with regard to hours, pay, and working conditions. Joaquín often articulates his wish to see a fairer distribution of land and resources. Ruiz complains to the foreman Felipe regarding the dangerous lack of ventilation in the mine, to which Felipe responds:

Mira, Ruiz – el capataz se puso muy serio –, tú siempre andas protestando y encizañando a los compañeros. Un día voy a dar parte de ti a la Dirección. Aquí se necesitan hombres, no mujeres que siempre le están dando a la lengua. Quédate en tu casa si quieres; hay muchos deseando coger el pico. (80-81)

With the exception of Felipe, the miners recognize that justice and fairness are of great importance, and they are willing to fight for them, even in small ways when faced with unemployment.

*El Jarama* portrays a group of young characters with a very different set of values and beliefs. They are not bad people, as Manuel García Viñó comments: “*El Jarama* nos presenta, desde luego los problemas de una parte de nuestra sociedad. Es un magnífico documento. Por otra parte, nos los presenta de forma que nos hace solidarizarnos con ellos, sentirlos, comprenderlos y aun valorarlos” (108). However, they put a high value on material possessions, individual desires, and superficial aspects of life. They, too, believe in the importance of family, friends and fairness, but they behave in a way that does not foster these

beliefs. They find moral struggle in the most minor of events, such as deciding who will play music at a party, determining who will get the food they have left in the tavern, and sharing information about their own lives and personal relationships with others in the group. These characters display jealousy, insecurity, and competition. They get into several petty squabbles during the 16-hour span of the novel, they form and dissolve loyalties, gossip about others in the group, and incessantly complain of their impatience and boredom. Their sense of morality is individualistic and pessimistic, the most striking example of which is when Lucita, a member of the group of friends, dies by drowning in the river in the evening. Although the friends, especially the girls, are disturbed by the news, they react with little emotion. In his study of the Spanish novel of the twentieth century, Domingo comments on the young girl's death: "La tragedia, súbita, pese a su trauma emocional, no saca sin embargo las cosas de quicio. Todo sigue transcurriendo con la misma impasibilidad de la vida, de la vida vulgar que se repite monótonamente . . ." (95). We do not witness a great, dramatic event with grand revelations and catharsis. In fact, the depiction of the aftermath of the drowning and the police investigation is perfunctory and mechanical.

The values and beliefs expressed by Javier and his friends are greatly different from those held by the miners. There is little evidence that these characters value family, friends, loyalty or justice. Regarding the objectivist novel, referring to *Tormenta de verano* in particular, Jones comments: "Superficial values, egotism, selfishness, boredom, vacuousness, and alienation are

portrayed as characteristics of bourgeois life” (33). Several members of the group are having extramarital affairs, they are quick to gossip and criticize each other and those outside of their group, some drink to excess and ignore their marital and familial obligations, and others care to think more about material possessions and appearance than the state of their personal lives. Domingo writes that Javier and his friends are:

industriales encumbrados por la anormal situación económica, miembros de profesiones liberales favorecidos por las circunstancias políticas. Gente vacía en lo ideológico, bebedora y fornicadora sin continencia, que no han podido asentar sólidamente su condición de advenedizos. (117)

They value individual desires and wish to maintain their privileged image and status, perhaps at the cost of their familial ties and individual happiness.

Religion can also be a cultural expression of one's habitus. In *Tormenta de verano* and *El Jarama*, the presence of the church and religion in the characters' lives is conspicuously absent. They express dissatisfaction, anxiety, insecurity, boredom, anguish and at times a certain fatalism,<sup>4</sup> and yet there is no mention of how their faith, prayer or attendance at Mass could help them. In contrast, in *La mina*, there is some mention of the characters' faith and religious practices, and background descriptions of the towns and cities often make mention of churches. Characters mention religious figures, pray and even express doubts about God's love for them as they face tough situations. Although

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<sup>4</sup> Several critics have explored this idea in *El Jarama*. Martínez Cachero writes: “Poseen los mayores una filosofía de la vida que suele ser fatalista, ateniéndose a la experiencia propia y a lo observado en otros, aceptando sin más los hechos consumados, impotentes para rebelarse contra ellos; el futuro de estas gentes parece ya hecho y viene a coincidir con su presente, ya que resulta improbable que cambien las condiciones de su vida cotidiana. Tampoco parece existir para los jóvenes una ilusión de futuro” (191). See also Sobejano, “Direcciones de la novela española de postguerra” 54-55; Gullón 15-18; Villanueva 128-31, and Pérez Moreno 115-136.

I would not argue that López Salinas intended to write a novel supporting the Catholic religion, it is the cultural aspect of the religion that is interesting here. The dominant class and the young working class do not put importance on church or the Catholic religion, which do not form a significant part of their worldview. It remains, however, a significant part of the cultural values and norms of the dominated classes, as we see in *La mina*. This is a surprising contrast to the image projected by the Franco dictatorship of Spain as a unified, Catholic nation that upheld the most conservative values of the Catholic Church.

### **Economic, Social and Cultural Capital**

The privileged characters in *Tormenta de verano* hold a large share of the three types of capital available within the social field, which are cultural, social and economic, and this capital forms part of the objective conditions of this society that clearly have favored Javier and his friends. Their share of economic capital is disproportionate and the characters both recognize and enjoy their material possessions.

Elena and Dora enjoy shopping and entertaining, and Javier and his friends boast of their business successes, foreign cars and privileged status in society. The group's exclusive summer homes, expensive furniture and large houses display wealth to others. These characters are fortunate to also possess a large share of cultural capital within the field, and as Bourdieu explains, the rarity of this capital is what offers distinction to its owners:

[T]he specifically symbolic logic of distinction additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural capital: any given cultural competence . . . derives a scarcity value

from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields profits of distinction for its owner. ("The Forms of Capital" 99)

Their clothes, art and home decorations, automobiles, language, attitudes, housekeeping staff, cultural knowledge, and success in business are all part of this form of capital.

Other characters, such as Angus and the townspeople, do not possess the same cultural capital, and would likely not be able to do so because of limited economic resources and a habitus that embodies different cultural attitudes and perceptions. For example, when Javier first meets Angus he is at a hotel where he and his friend Andrés meet up with Javier's cousin, Ernestina. They also strike up a conversation with a tourist couple, the Lensings. There is a clear difference in appearance, attitude and cultural awareness between Angus and these characters, and they all notice it. Javier, Ernestina and their new friends are well-educated, well-traveled, dressed in modern but modest clothing, and they display a natural ease with one another in this environment. Angus feels out of place, although everyone is very nice to her, and her clothes, makeup, and manner of speaking are unrefined. Other aspects of the group's cultural capital are surprising. Andrés cannot join his friends in the hotel bar because he is too drunk to leave the hotel room, a behavior that is ignored by Javier and Ernestina. These friends and their new acquaintances are more concerned with planning parties, drinking, and showing their wealth than anything else. Ernestina's only preoccupation for the summer is to plan the perfect party. Javier and his friends are able to enjoy privilege and distinction within this cultural sphere, with decadence and a preference for frivolous concerns.

Part of this group's cultural capital is also formed by its memory of and relation to the Spanish Civil War. References to the War are few, because of a fear of censorship, but also to emphasize that remembering the War and its consequences is not a priority for this group of characters. They choose to distance themselves from the national conflict in order to focus on other aspects of their lives. The references made to the War reveal that Javier and his male friends did participate in the War, fighting in the trenches on the side of the Nationalist forces, and now in postwar society they find themselves on the side of the *vencedores* (winners). When Angus asks Javier which side he fought for in the War, he answers: "Con los nacionales, naturalmente" (199). Emilio and don Antonio, two other members of the Velas Blancas community, are staunch conservatives and defend the ideals of the Nationalist front and the Franco government. A conversation between two other friends, Amadeo and Santiago, during a party reinforces the group's expectation that its members supported the Nationalists in the War:

- En la Guerra yo no estuve en Valencia.
- Pero, Amadeo, ¿a qué viene negar que formaste parte del gobierno rojo? ¿Que eras un mandamás?
- Tú, tengo un armario lleno de medallas. [. . .]
- Medallas de los rojos, te aseguro yo. (143)

It is important for these characters to know that they were on the same side in the War and that they came out winners. However, the War is not an important memory weighing on their minds. Rather, they find more pleasure in enjoying the present moment and their relaxing summer vacation.



Social capital is another valuable resource available within the social field depicted in these three novels, and Javier and his friends possess a great deal of it. As seen in the example of the meeting in the hotel, Javier and Ernestina have been able to establish a friendship with wealthy, foreign tourists because of their similar habitus and economic and cultural capital. In other conversations, Javier and his friends speak often of their business connections and even complain that too many friends bother them with business proposals. When Javier travels outside of Velas Blancas one day to meet up with Ernestina, he runs into a business colleague, Fermín. As they chat in the hotel bar, Fermín remembers all of their successful enterprises and is eager to begin a new venture with Javier. He is able to use these relationships to his benefit, as is Javier. Javier's friends are quite able to do the same thing. The town detective, Julio, allows Javier to see the dead body of the young woman who has washed up onto the beach, something that he does not do for other townspeople. The police detained some local townspeople for the crime with little evidence because they simply assumed they were guilty. Later on, although Julio finds it necessary to question the children of the beach colony on their discovery of the body, he apologizes to Javier for such an annoyance and tolerates Javier's belligerent reaction to the prospect of such questioning. Several of the townspeople treat Javier with a somewhat deferential attitude, and in their interactions it is clear that Javier holds much stronger social capital than they do. When Javier speaks with Raimundo, a shopowner who has asked that Javier give a recommendation to the Ministry to help him and his associate Agustín obtain trucks for their business, Raimundo

and Agustín are obsequious in their attitudes and responses to Javier: “Te tengo dicho, Agustín, que don Javier es un señor, un señor de verdad, pero campechano. ¿Te lo tengo dicho?’ Agustín movió la cabeza, sin sacar las manos de los bolsillos de sus pantalones vaqueros” (235). Agustín feels unsure of himself and Raimundo teases him several times in order to improve his image in the eyes of Javier, but both depend on their social connection with Javier. Javier’s many ties to government officials and offices as well as his consecration as a successful businessman have assured the official recognition of his social capital and privileged status.

The characters of *El Jarama* hold a lesser portion of the economic, cultural and social capital available in this social field. The visitors to the river possess slightly more economic capital than do the older characters in the tavern, but neither group belongs to the privileged social group as do Javier and his friends. The younger characters live with their parents and hold non-professional, fairly low-paying jobs that provide them with some extra spending cash to travel short distances and purchase items such as movie tickets, food, drink, and magazines. Although they desire to hold much greater economic resources, they do not own homes, art, imported furniture or cars. Miguel is quite worried about his prospects of marriage, due to financial and familial concerns, and becomes defensive when Sebastián asks him why he and Alicia have not yet decided to marry. The friends also comment on the fact that Carmen and Santos spend very little money for enjoyment because they are saving:

[D]ecía Sebastián —.

- No le escuece el bolsillo a [Santos]. Lo mismo para irse con la novia a bailar a una sala de fiestas de las caras, o comprarla regalos, que para alternar con nosotros por los bares.
- Pues mira, si a él le parece que puede hacerlo, hace bien. Eso nadie lo puede achacar como un defecto – dijo Miguel.
- Déjate. Aquí el que más y el que menos sabemos lo que es tener diez duros en la cartera. Y lo que escuecen. Pero eso no quita tampoco para que sepamos también pensar en el mañana – le replicaba Sebastián. (175-76)

The older characters in the tavern do not hold great wealth, either. They are shopkeepers, shepherds, barbers, taxi drivers, and butchers, and as such their jobs do not pay as well as lucrative business deals and construction projects. They are not poor, however, and are able to provide for themselves and their families with a certain amount of economic stability. Mauricio and his family live in the tavern and their home is simple and functional. His daughter Justina's room, the kitchen and the patio outside the tavern are small and have little decoration. An image of the Virgin Mary and a bouquet of dried laurel leaves are all that adorn her room, in which she can hear all the shouts and complaints of the customers outside.

Both the younger and older characters of *El Jarama* possess much less cultural capital than we have seen with Javier and his friends. The young group's cultural preferences and behaviors are more highly valued in the field than that held by the older characters, however. Luci, Mely, Miguel, Fernando, Zacarías and the others hold objective cultural capital in the form of music, clothing, language, and accessories, and possess embodied cultural capital in their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that more easily adapt to the conditions of the social field. In other words, they hold a slightly more privileged position within the

field of power. Life is a bit easier for them, although of course their struggle for financial success and social mobility is evident. Their cultural sensibilities are more modern in their sensibilities and so adapt with greater ease to the conditions of the field. However, aspects of this capital reveal decadence and loss of history and social solidarity that are also evident in the behaviors and attitudes of Javier and his friends. The younger characters of *El Jarama* were just babies when the Civil War broke out, and have no direct memory of it. Pérez writes:

The cultural differences between the generations reflect more than just the generation gap: the younger group is unaware that this peaceful Jarama River was the site of one of the bloodiest battles in the struggle for Madrid and that the waters literally ran red in the very place where they are swimming. (69)

These characters have no desire to think about the War and its consequences, and instead prefer to focus on what the present moment has to offer. It is not clear where these characters' political sympathies lie because they do not speak directly about the War or the resulting dictatorship, and any mention of the conflict is quickly dismissed as uninteresting.

The characters we meet in the tavern possess less cultural capital and are unable to comprehend and use the modern cultural sphere to their advantage as well as Javier, his friends, and the young group traveling to the Jarama River. Mauricio, his family and friends exhibit a habitus that values hard work, family, friends, and simple pleasures. They are not particularly refined in their speech, dress or manner, and long for a return to more traditional values and practices. Although their cultural capital is less, and not nearly as highly valued as that of

the friends in *Tormenta de verano* or at the Jarama River, their cultural understanding and ability reveal an awareness of history and an appreciation of social justice and solidarity. Although the older characters never express directly which side they fought for in the War, they express strong memories of difficult times and personal trials during wartime, indirectly conveying that they were not strong supporters of the Nationalist effort. Lucio speaks about his years in prison around that time and *el hombre de los zapatos blancos* expresses his frustration and disappointment after fighting in the War. He does not say for which side he fought, but when he returned home, he was angered to find that his mother had married another man: “A los diecinueve me tocó de incorporarme. Cuando volví del frente, me encuentro con que la casa ya tenía otro amo” (108). He confronts his mother and her new husband with rage and disgust, denying this man’s authority in his home, and refusing to stay under the same roof with them. This is most likely an indirect criticism of the Nationalist win and the subsequent dictatorship that was forced on the Spanish people. In *El Jarama*, there is a clear divide between the younger and older characters with regard to the Civil War, with respect to one’s participation in and memory of it. Ricardo Gullón explains:

Inocencia y experiencia están en la novela encarnadas en dos grupos de personajes: los jóvenes y los maduros. Lo que les divide y caracteriza es la edad y el hecho de que para unos la guerra civil es historia y para otros vida. Para todos, eso resulta claro, las consecuencias de aquella siguen pesando y determinando su existencia, aunque la mayoría ni lo advierta. (2)

We find that the characters in *El Jarama* do possess a certain amount of social capital, but it is much less than that held by Javier and his friends. The young friends in this novel have social connections within their group and are

able to establish and maintain ties with Mauricio and his family. Yet these connections are weak and there is little loyalty or mutual obligation felt among them. Individualistic and socially disconnected, they fight and betray one another several times during the day. When Sebastián walks toward Luci as she struggles in the water, his girlfriend Paulina holds him back:

— ¡Se ahoga. . .! ¡Lucita se ahoga!! ¡Sebastián!! ¡Grita, grita. . .!!  
Sebas quiso avanzar pero las uñas de Paulina se clavaban en sus  
carnes, sujetándolo.  
— ¡Tú, no! ¡tú no, Sebastián!” – le decía sordamente –; ¡tú, no; tú,  
no; tú, no. . .!  
Resonaron los gritos de ambos, pidiendo socorro, una y otra vez,  
horadantes, acrecentados por el eco del agua. (271)

It is an instantaneous reaction based on high emotions, but Paulina does not want Sebastián to get involved and he does not struggle free of her grip to go to Luci. This is not to suggest that they are evil, calculating characters, but their actions serve to highlight the lack of social connectedness evident in the entire group of friends. Gullón sees this as the culminating example of the group's inaction and apathy: “Hasta en un momento decisivo, tal como para Paulina y Sebas es el de la declaración y el reconocimiento de su genuino ser, su conducta se presentará como inacción; cobardía pasiva que el lector admitirá mejor que la malevolencia activa” (15). The friends' social network is limited and weak, and they have little social capital to call on in times of need. They are not able to mobilize these relationships to gain economic benefit or increase their prominence in society. However, they are able to use these relations to help each other and increase or maintain their status within the group. Their friends will most likely help them if they are able, but their economic and social

resources are so few that their assistance may not be of much use. Their lack of power within the social field as described in these novels is evident. The older characters in the tavern have a strong social network, as is particularly evident with Mauricio and his longtime friend Javier Ocaña. They were in the hospital together many years ago, but they remain in contact, indebted to each other. The importance of their friendship and the obligation they feel to each other is obvious, and this social tie could provide each character with great help in time of need. All the characters in the tavern value friendship and the social connections they have established, but their social capital remains less than that of Javier and his friends because it is less varied and expansive, and does not offer a connection with the privileged groups of the social network.

Joaquín, the miners and their families hold much less economic, cultural, and social capital than the characters of *Tormenta de verano* and *El Jarama*. *La mina* offers brief descriptions of the mine owners, directors and engineers that show their large, beautiful homes, clean and modern clothing, new cars, housekeepers and nannies, and privileged social status within the field of power. Although their portrayal is less developed, it is clear that they hold a dominant position within the social network:

Joaquín, aunque había pasado muchas veces por delante, nunca había entrado en el barrio de los ingenieros. Habían transformado el yermo en un jardín. Los eriales de las afueras de Los Llanos estaban convertidos en un parque de mirtos, de acacias, de madreselvas, olorosas, con la baya carnosa de sus frutos. Había surtidores y piscinas. Dos campos de tenis sembrados de arenas rojizas; un campo de baloncesto . . . Todo estaba fresco y jugoso, alegre como un bosque en primavera. (141-42)

The description of Joaquín's new house in the mining town is striking:

La casa estaba situada cerca del alto del cerro y en una especie de calle sin empedrar; alrededor, unas cuantas viviendas esparcidas y una taberna. El interior de la vivienda consistía en tres piezas: dos habitaciones blanqueadas, de regular tamaño, y una pequeña cocina. La casa tenía un pequeño patio cercado y, en él, una garita para la fosa séptica . . . El techo era de cielo raso, y por alguna parte se podía ver el encañado al descubierto. (159)

The miners and their families are very poor and hold little economic capital.

Despite earning more money in the mines than in the countryside, they struggle daily to provide themselves with the basic necessities of life. The prospect of earning additional money with overtime hours draws them in, and leads to exhaustion and extended exposure to unsafe conditions.

The distribution of cultural capital in this field has not favored the miners, either, as they are not capable of understanding or using to their advantage art, literature, music or languages as the privileged members of the field are able to do. This is not to say that they are not intelligent or fundamentally incapable of such understanding, but rather that the conditions of the field as they are have made access to such cultural capital extremely difficult. As mentioned previously, their habitus is different from that held by the mine administrators, Javier and his friends, and the young friends at the Jarama River. They have not been able to enjoy the familial or official education in cultural understanding and appreciation afforded to those with stronger holdings of capital, and so it is very difficult for them to improve their lot. Another aspect of their cultural capital is the miners' relation to the Civil War, of which their memories are stronger than those of Javier's group and the younger generation at the Jarama River. Although Joaquín affirms that his hometown did not see severe destruction and loss in the



War, other miners express their anti-Nationalist stance, albeit in an indirect manner. Ruiz participated in mine strikes in 1934<sup>5</sup> and had to flee with a fellow mine worker to the mountains after his friend killed a soldier (presumably Nationalist) who had abused his girlfriend (Ruiz's sister). During this time, many of the townspeople sent food and supplies to the miners as they fled the area and protested, and Ruiz remembers the violence that occurred between the townspeople, the soldiers and the civil guards. García also remembers how his family was treated with hate and violence during the War:

Quería mucho a mi padre, aunque le llamaba iluso por querer formar una cooperativa entre todos los hombres del pueblo. Pero todo se fue al carajo. En el treinta y seis yo casi era un hombre y andaba moceando. ¿Nunca habéis visto a un pueblo gritando en la calle, dando vivas a la libertad? Yo nunca me olvidaré . . . Pusieron la bandera en el Ayuntamiento sin un solo tiro; después sí los hubo. Todo se fue al carajo. A mi padre y a mis hermanos los mataron en medio de la calle. (99)

The relation that these characters display to the Civil War and the national strife that occurred before the War reveals that they have a stronger memory of the conflict than the younger group of characters in *El Jarama* and Javier and his friends in *Tormenta de verano*, and that they are on the side of the *vencidos* (losers) in the War.

The miners of *La mina* have strong social ties with one another, and they share in some of the social capital available within the field described in the

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<sup>5</sup> Worker unrest and strikes occurred in several regions of Spain in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and in the years before the Civil War, worsening in the years just before the conflict. Since the Franco regime reestablished dependence on an antiquated agrarian system and authorized the return of lands to proprietors who had lost their land through agrarian reform, worker salaries, conditions, and opportunities declined significantly, leading to sporadic strikes and unrest in Asturias, Barcelona, and Vizcaya among other cities in the 1940s and 50s. These protests were violently repressed, but such unrest and resistance would increase in the 1960s and 70s. (Tuñón de Lara, et al. 572-76).

novel. There are familial and friendship relations, and they are quite valuable to Joaquín and his family. Joaquín can count on his mining friends for advice, protection, and even monetary loans. He is able to establish strong ties with his fellow workers and others in the town through common interests and goals. His values and personal characteristics are very similar to those of the other workers, which helps them to establish a connection. Angustias's cousin, Lucía, helps the family to move to Los Llanos and find a job at the mine. Lucía's husband introduces Joaquín to the director and the foreman, and is able to find him a job taking care of the horses in the mine. There is immense trust and loyalty among the miners, except for the foreman Felipe who is disloyal to his fellow miners, but these social ties do not offer much value beyond the immediate social group. They cannot be converted into economic capital in the way that Javier's social connections can, and so this social capital is much less valued within the social field. In the example mentioned previously, when Joaquín and Antonio speak with the mine director don Florentino, Joaquín has benefited from social capital in this situation, since without Antonio's help he perhaps would not be able to obtain a job in the mines. This connection has been useful to him, and both Joaquín and Antonio can count on each other's support and loyalty. However, in this interaction it is clear that don Florentino holds the most social capital. As the social connection with the most value, he belongs to a different group and has other connections and loyalties with the mining administration and proprietors that cannot benefit Joaquín and Antonio in the same way.

The dissimilarities noted between the groups of characters in the three novels are more than economic ones. Variations in cultural knowledge, ability and attitude for the characters, as well as in their social ties, make evident the hierarchical nature of the social field in the novels studied in this dissertation. Analysis of such differences also offers insight into the meaning of distinction and privilege within the portrayed society, and what this in turn reveals about the functioning of the society. Chapter 4 will examine how and why relations of domination occur within the novels, how they tend to reproduce, and what the social and cultural hierarchy and modes of domination indicate about the dictatorial society represented in the texts.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Modes of Domination and Transformation of the Social Field**

In this chapter, my dissertation will examine the way in which the social, economic and cultural hierarchy operates in *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*. The variations in habitus and forms of capital noted between the characters of these novels are also an indication of the domination and oppression that are functional elements of the social field portrayed in the narratives. Because the cultural and symbolic practices that maintain such disparity are not wholly apparent to the characters, inequalities in power tend to continue in later generations, perpetuating the social hierarchy that separates them. This chapter will also consider the question of possible transformation within the society depicted in the three novels.

### **Symbolic Capital and Symbolic Violence**

The social and cultural practices of Javier and his friends hold a symbolic value within their society. The group's distinction is due not solely to their economic resources, but also to the symbolic capital accumulated through their behavior and attitudes. Bourdieu clarifies:

symbolic capital is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized, [and] when it is acknowledged in accordance with the categories of perception that it imposes, the symbolic power relations tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations which constitute the structure of the social space. (*In Other Words* 135)

Within this social space, their wealth and material possessions, abundant social connections and cultural abilities are given recognition as distinctive.

For Bourdieu, such recognition implies tacit acceptance of the terms of the social field, which are differential. This does not mean to say, however, that the characters recognize all the reasons for distinction in a totally conscious way; rather, it is an accepted part of the social field that, for several reasons, as we shall see, seems normal to them. All the characters struggle to gain or hold onto the most distinctive qualities and possessions, but none is aware that the distinction of such elements only functions because of their recognition as such. It is their marginal value, according to Bourdieu, that gives them such worth. At the same time, this distinction is created by the conditions of the field. Bourdieu elaborates:

What I put under the term of 'recognition', then, is the set of fundamental, prereflexive assumptions that social agents engage by the mere fact of taking the world for granted, of accepting the world as it is and of finding it natural because their mind is constructed according to cognitive structures that are issued out of the very structures of the world. (*An Invitation* 168)

This is a misrecognition of the economic nature of symbolic practices. The giving of gifts or favors, displays of personal property and economic means, and the use of certain cultural knowledge are economic practices, but can only be effective when misrecognized because society would not accept such practices if they were recognized in their true economic form. In other words, blatant economic domination of others is not acceptable in most social fields, and this is also true of the one portrayed in the three novels discussed in this dissertation. The recognition of distinction as a societal norm and the misrecognition of

accumulation of power through symbolic capital help to consolidate power for these privileged characters. In his analysis of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital, Rogers Brubaker explains:

Power in the form of symbolic capital is perceived not as power, but as a source of legitimate demands on the services of others, whether material, such as help at harvest time, or symbolic, such as the expression of deference; and it is precisely this perception or misrecognition that makes it effective as a form of power. (40)

The symbolic value of Javier's distinguishing characteristics and possessions can also foster the domination of other groups and maintain the privilege given to him and his group of friends and associates. When the conscious or subconscious symbolic displays of elements of distinction by these characters result in the exclusion, indebtedness or domination of other groups within their society, this is considered to be symbolic violence. Bourdieu writes: "The harder it is to exercise direct domination, and the more it is disapproved of, the more likely it is that gentle, disguised forms of domination will be seen as the only possible way of exercising domination and exploitation" (*Logic of Practice* 128).

Javier and his friends possess many expensive material goods, and these items, such as clothing, houses, cars, artwork and imported alcohol, show and maintain their distinction within society. Townspeople recognize that Velas Blancas is a beach community built for a select group of wealthy vacationers. The exclusivity of the colony works in a symbolic way to reinforce the social hierarchy. The distinctive physical objects and images are recognized by others as superior and desirable, and as such are rare and valued goods for the

characters. Bourdieu comments: “[T]he accumulation of material wealth is simply one means among others of accumulating symbolic power – the power to secure recognition of power” (*Logic of Practice* 131). Several characters from outside of Javier’s social group recognize the distinction given to Javier and his friends as legitimate, thus misrecognizing the economic nature of the symbolic social exchanges and helping to legitimize the existing social hierarchy. Angus, Raimundo, Javier’s housekeeping staff, police inspector don Julio and the town fishermen validate Javier’s privilege by commenting on his elite status and cultural abilities, or by displaying attitudes of inferiority in their exchanges with him. Gil Casado describes how other characters react to Javier’s decision to help the fishermen arrested in relation to the young woman who has been found dead on the beach: “La policía detiene a cuatro pescadores de la aldea vecina. Cuando Javier decide ayudarles, su interés se recibe con incredulidad por parte del inspector, de la gente del pueblo, de los miembros de la colonia, y hasta por los mismos pescadores” (42). They are surprised by, but also very grateful for, Javier’s symbolic display of power. Later on, Vicente sends free samples of his shop’s merchandise to Javier’s house, to thank him for their meeting the previous day. Out of curiosity over the young girl who has been found dead on the beach, Javier speaks with the delivery boy, asking him several questions about the fishermen who have been arrested as suspects in her death. When Javier asks the boy about the detained men, he tells Javier that one is his cousin, and that he is sure of his innocence. Others feel differently however, as he tells Javier: ““Mi madre dice que algo habrán hecho cuando los cogen. Y el señor cura dice que

no los habrán cogido por hacer algo bueno” (228). These characters legitimize the power of the dominant characters by accepting that those with power always act with justification. Likewise, they do not see the role of the symbolic capital of the dominant characters and the institutions that secure and naturalize it.

The differences in habitus also function at a symbolic level, distinguishing Javier and his friends from other characters. The display of such disparities, and the acceptance by other characters, tend to legitimize the value given to them. David Gartman explains the importance of the cultural sphere in Bourdieu’s theory: “The cultural field is the site of production of the cultural goods that the different classes appropriate and employ in their struggles for legitimating distinction” (258). When the police inspector comments on the works of art in Javier’s home, he is acknowledging the distinction conferred upon such rare items and the wealth necessary to own them. When Javier’s cousin Ernestina speaks in fluent English with the Lansing couple in the hotel, who speak fluently in Spanish, they demonstrate to others their possession of esteemed abilities that are not held by everyone, as noted by Angus who comments on her own poor knowledge of English. In the same way, their use of words in French and English, and conversations about vacations, homes and shopping, exhibit their cultural capital. The acceptance of these practices validates their distinction, and, in turn, the differential nature of the social field. The men in Javier’s group also mention their business accomplishments and social and commercial contacts many times while they are at parties or informal gatherings, acknowledging in a social setting the success that has come to them.



When Javier runs into his business associate Fermín in the hotel, this is evidence of his social capital, but it is also a symbolic display of his distinction within society. Such a business relation is hard to come by for many in this social field. Javier is also at times condescending and rude in his treatment of others who do not share the same distinction given to him in society. As he goes through a personal crisis of self-questioning, he begins to notice the people around him who perform domestic or service duties, but only in the most superficial way. He attempts to get to know his housekeeper Rufi a bit better by asking her some questions about her personal life, but this treatment is short-lived, and soon she fades into the background once again as another of the house employees. When the police inspector, don Julio, tells Javier that the children of Velas Blancas will need to be questioned about the young girl who has washed up on the beach, Javier becomes irate, challenging the inspector's authority. Javier and Emilio travel to Barcelona to speak with friends there who have enough influence to annul the order compelling the families of the children to cooperate with the interrogation. Javier and Emilio return from their trip having successfully completed their objective. When don Julio returns to the colony attempting to question Elena and Andrés's son Joaquín, the police inspector tries not to upset Javier and shows him great deference.

Creating relations of debt and obligation are also important ways of establishing power and privilege for Javier and his friends. When Javier offers or provides any type of aid or portion of his property to other characters, a reciprocal relationship is established. This can create an obligation on the part of

the recipient of Javier's capital, which can be social, cultural or economic. Since Javier is in a better position within this social field to offer all types of capital, due to his habitus and ability to accumulate capital, he is better able than other characters to accumulate additional symbolic capital through gift-giving and gift-exchange, which, in turn, can be converted into other forms of capital. As

Bourdieu explains:

The transformation of any given kind of capital into symbolic capital, a legitimate possession grounded in the nature of its possessor, is the fundamental operation of social alchemy (the paradigm of which is gift exchange). It always presupposes a form of labour, a visible (if not necessarily conspicuous) expenditure of time, money and energy, a redistribution that is necessary in order to secure recognition of the prevailing distribution, in the form of recognition granted by the person who receives to the person who, being better placed in the distribution, is in a position to give, a recognition of a debt which is also a recognition of value. (*Logic of Practice* 129)

When Raimundo meets with Javier in order to ask him for help in obtaining a commercial truck license, through this interaction Raimundo gives recognition to Javier's privileged position within society, creating his own social debt to Javier by asking for such a "gift", and also misrecognizing the economic nature of this social interaction that will greatly benefit Javier and legitimize his higher position in the social hierarchy. This same type of gift exchange and dependence is seen when Vicente goes to Javier's house to ask for two favors, first, that Javier will speak to the police on behalf of the poor townspeople who are suspected in the young woman's death, and second, to ask for permission to open a shop in the Velas Blancas community. With this, Vicente establishes a relationship of debt and dependence, and also provides further legitimation to Javier's claims of power within the social field. In his relationship with Angus, Javier also benefits in

his accumulation of symbolic capital. By becoming intimate with Angus and showering her with attention and paying for their outings together, he creates a dynamic of obligation on her part. She expresses her gratitude for his kindness to her and even comments to him that she feels unworthy of his love and affection. Their relationship cannot be characterized as exclusively an economic one, but its value within the social field is misrecognized. Javier's privilege, and Angus's lack of it, are again legitimized, and this can be converted into other forms of capital for Javier.

In *El Jarama*, the main characters are not able to accumulate amounts of symbolic capital equal to those of Javier and his group of friends because they do not hold the same position in society. Other less-developed characters, such as the judge who is called at the end of the novel to preside over the processing of Lucita's death, and the civil guards, hold a similar place of privilege to Javier and his friends, and they are able to accumulate symbolic capital and create relationships of dependence. Jones finds that the judge "and the rural police, who make sporadic appearances, are representatives of another sector: 'official' Spain" (46). These are characters privileged by the existing hierarchy of cultural values, and their behavior receives greater distinction from other characters and official institutions.

The judge is the most privileged character portrayed in the text. Upon Lucita's drowning, he is summoned to the riverside town while at an elegant, exclusive party in the Alcalá Casino, dressed in formal clothing, dancing and chatting with members of the most prominent sector of society. He is slightly

irritated by having to leave the casino, and his friends express their sympathies to the judge, one in particular saying to him: “‘Encuentro de muy mal gusto el ahogarse a estas horas y además en domingo. . . Te compadezco’” (326). When he arrives at the town on the Jarama River, he pulls up in a rented car and is treated with great respect and displays of humility. Aurelia, the woman who owns the tavern where Lucita’s body is taken following her drowning, shows great deference to the judge and the civil guards, who in turn treat her, the townspeople and the young characters from Madrid with arrogance and indifference. The judge is a character who is able to accumulate a great deal of symbolic capital, just as we have seen with Javier and his friends, through his attitudes, behavior and appearance. His place of privilege is accepted by all the characters in the novel, and his interaction with the characters upon Lucita’s death legitimizes his position in society. He has also been able to create relationships of debt with the other characters. Despite his lack of emotional connection with the characters, he has performed a serious duty and so has acquired honor through his work, something that he is uniquely qualified to do in this situation. He has also established a relationship of gift exchange with Aurelia, the civil guards, and the medical student whose help he requests, who will now be indebted to him. He has the ability to ask them to serve him, and in helping him they are grateful for the opportunity to legitimize their own position within the social hierarchy. The symbolic capital gained by the judge and the civil guards goes unrecognized in its economic value, which for these characters can be converted into other forms of capital in the future.

The civil guards also demonstrate symbolic capital in their interactions with other characters in *El Jarama*. When they encounter Mely and Fernando as they walk by the river, their behavior, appearance and attitudes confirm their higher position in the power structure. Their uniforms are distinctive and display the power given to them, something that is immediately recognized by Mely and Fernando. This is repeated when the guards interact with the young characters at the Jarama River when Lucita is pulled out of the water, and when one of the guards calls the judge's secretary from Aurelia's tavern. When he makes the call, the guard speaks loudly to the operator who takes his call, sarcastically chiding the young woman and showing his power clearly to all who are listening. Later, Mely speaks to one of the guards in a disrespectful tone, but all the characters recognize them as civil guards and accept the authority conferred upon them:

- ¡Haga el favor de obedecerme, señorita, y quitarse de ahí! – de nuevo la agarraba por el brazo –. Contrariamente. . .
- ¡Déjeme, bárbaro, animal. . .! – le gritaba llorando y se debatía, golpeando la mano que la tenía atenazada. [. . .]
- Además, va usted a darme su nombre ahora mismo, señorita – decía el guardia Gumersindo, sacándose una libreta del bolsillo superior –. Así sabrá lo que es el faltarle a la Autoridad. [. . .]
- Oiga, dispénsenme que le diga un momento – intervenía el [estudiante] de Medicina –; dirá usted que a mí quién me manda meterme. . . Pero es que la chica está sobresaltada, como es natural, por un choque tan fuerte.
- Sí, sí, de acuerdo; si ya se comprende que está exaltada y lo que sea. Pero eso no es excusado para insultarle a las personas. Y menos a nosotros, que representamos lo que representamos.
- Sí, ya lo sé, si le doy la razón enteramente. (313)

The authorities are arrogant and proudly display the power they hold, rebuking any type of challenge to their place in the social hierarchy. Their unforgiving, rough treatment of some of the characters, and their indifference to Lucita and

her friends, are part of their habitus, and this type of behavior is recognized as appropriate for the civil guards, and misrecognized as economic in its power to accumulate further distinction and capital.

The younger characters at the river are able to accumulate some symbolic capital, but not as much as Javier and his friends, the judge or the civil guards. However, their practices and behavior also have economic value, which goes misrecognized as such, and maintain relationships of domination of other groups. Their modern clothing and accessories, music, esteem of foreign movie stars and singers, and their disdain for those who live in the small towns of Spain, all have symbolic value within this social field, adding further legitimation to their position in the social hierarchy.

Through their appearance and material possessions, these young people physically demonstrate their distinction from other social groups who cannot afford such items or lack the ability to appreciate them. When other characters see them, they recognize the difference accorded to them. For example, several of the tavern customers notice the youngsters' modern clothing and hairstyles, commenting that they are silly or shocking in their appearance. When the younger group spends several hours on the tavern's patio, playing music, drinking and dancing, they are displaying their material and cultural possessions to other characters. Their music, vocabulary, dancing and attitudes contrast with those of the older generation in the tavern. Even Justina, Mauricio's daughter, has a very different habitus from the young characters, although she is of their generation. She places little importance on material goods and resents the

disrespect shown to her family by the young characters. These displays of difference by the young group help to legitimize their place in the social hierarchy as other characters recognize their distinction, but also misrecognize the benefits of such symbolic capital. Also, during their day at the Jarama River, there is a clear dissimilarity between these young characters and the man who walks along the river selling ice cream to the day visitors. The young characters are lazy and carefree, ready with enough coins to buy ice cream for everyone in the group and return to their trivial conversations. The ice cream vendor, in contrast, works up a sweat from his service to the visitors to the river, wearing no modern clothing or accessories and showing his eagerness to make some money. The attitudes of the young characters are not disrespectful, but they do provide a symbolic display of the types of capital they possess, which is not held by all the characters of the novel.

Several of the young characters reveal their dislike of country life and people, commenting that such people are unsophisticated and boring. When Carmen speaks to her friends about the family wedding she attended in the country, she tells them that she and her friends entertained themselves by laughing at the young men in attendance. In this story, we see an unequal relationship being established in which Carmen and her friends display their distinction in relation to the townspeople, through their dress, speech and attitudes. They are not superior in a moral sense to the townspeople, but rather within the social hierarchy. Such distinction is recognized by the young men of the town when they continue to pursue Carmen and her friends, attempting to

please and entertain them. The symbolic value of such an interaction helps to legitimize the hierarchical relationship between the townspeople and the city dwellers. This symbolic display of cultural capital is a type of symbolic violence, as it maintains and perpetuates difference for Carmen and her friends. Mely and Fernando sympathize with Carmen and agree that they are in many ways superior to those in the country towns.

The younger generation also creates a relationship of gift exchange with Mauricio and his family. Although these young characters are not very privileged players in the social field, they do have economic resources that can be spent more freely than those of Mauricio, his family and the tavern customers. The older generation has little disposable income and values every cent that they possess. Mauricio's friend Javier Ocaña, who owns his own taxi in Madrid, has little extra money to spend on unnecessary items. The young visitors to the Jarama, however, have more money to spend on clothing, sunglasses, cigarettes, ice cream, records, and wine. They also complain of not having enough money to feel unburdened, but their use of what they do have reveals to other characters that they are in a more privileged position than the older generation. When they go to Mauricio's tavern each summer, they buy sandwiches, drinks, and ice, and usually go to the patio during the evening. As they give a portion of their economic resources to Mauricio, they help to create a certain obligation and solidarity on his part. Because of this, they are welcomed by him, and their somewhat disrespectful behavior on the patio is tolerated for a long while. Their relationship goes beyond the strictly economic; because of the



youngsters' loyalty to Mauricio's business, their general affability with him and his customers, and their "gift" to him of part of their economic capital, he feels an obligation to them.

In *La mina*, López Salinas's portrayal of the characters shows clear differences between the economic, social and cultural capital of each group, highlighting the privilege of the mining administration. Jones writes: "In direct contrast [to the description of the miners], the portrayal of the upper and middle class reveals an unsympathetic attitude toward the workers' plight, a selfishness that seems to be a universal trait" (60). In *La mina*, as in *El Jarama* and *Tormenta de verano*, symbolic violence and the misrecognition of the social value of certain practices are not intentional on the part of the characters, but rather form a functioning, accepted part of the social field depicted in these novels. According to Bourdieu: "[T]he acts of cognition that are implied in misrecognition and recognition are part of social reality and . . . the socially constituted subjectivity that produces them belongs to objective reality" (*Logic of Practice* 122). The houses, cars and living conditions of the mine owners and engineers are luxurious when compared to the material conditions of the miners and their families. Owners and management live in large, modern homes with carefully landscaped surroundings, pools, fountains and trees to offer shade and respite in the summer months. When compared to the homes of the mining families, these houses appear to be an oasis in the middle of an unforgiving landscape. Joaquín and his coworkers live in a separate part of town, in small, dirty and poorly furnished row houses. The streets are unpaved and dusty, and

the air smells bad from the smoke from the mines and the poor living conditions of the residents. Joaquín and Angustias save up all they can, and are forced to borrow a large sum of money from a coworker to be able to rent a cramped, ugly house on an unpaved street where several other mining families reside. The separate location of the mine owners' homes and their lavishness shows a material way of gaining symbolic capital, which can be converted into economic capital because it legitimizes these characters' distinction. Bourdieu writes:

Property and properties – expressions of the habitus perceived through the categories of the habitus – symbolize the differential capacity to appropriate, that is capital and social power, and they function as symbolic capital, securing a positive or negative profit of distinction. (*Logic of Practice* 140)

The material goods held by each group are an expression of their habitus, demonstrating distinctions which are recognized as natural, and thus legitimizing asymmetries in the power structure. When Joaquín and the other miners talk about the mine owners' and engineers' homes, they express frustration and resentment of such differences, feeling that they should not be excluded from the same possibilities. Yet the miners recognize the privilege and distinction given to the mining administration, and they perceive the symbolic value of their material possessions as an acceptable reflection of their position in the social hierarchy. They are not pleased with the fact that such privilege has been denied to them, but they continue to misrecognize the symbolic, and therefore economic, value of the behavior and practices of the mine owners and their families, thus perpetuating the hierarchy.

The cultural sphere is also a place where the privileged players of this social field are better able to accumulate symbolic capital than the less-privileged players. The distinction of the mining administration's cultural attitudes, abilities and behaviors is recognized by the miners, but its value as convertible symbolic capital and tool of legitimation of the social hierarchy is misrecognized. The mine owners and management possess a certain type of speech, dress, and values. They dress well, speak clearly and with ease, and value the accumulation of economic wealth above all else. Their habitus holds distinction within this social field because it is rare and difficult to obtain.

When Joaquín meets don Florentino, he recognizes the latter's position of power, not only because of the mine director's position within the company, but also because of his speech, demeanor and attitude. Joaquín and his cousin Antonio must also first speak with the office porter, who stops them to inquire about their purpose in speaking with don Florentino, and grants them access to speak with the director once he is satisfied with their answer. This helps to give official status to don Florentino and to the porter, who both gain a certain amount of symbolic capital in the interaction. Similarly, the mining company owners and engineers travel to work in cars or in a way that does not dirty their clothing, while the miners arrive at their jobs in a less desirable manner:

Los obreros de la Minera del Sur y de otras explotaciones cabalgaban en sus bicicletas, pedaleando despacio, en grupos, charlando de sus cosas a gritos. Otros grupos de hombres iban a pie, con el saco de la comida al hombro; otros montaban burros. (70)

The miners' speech, dress, demeanor and values are not highly esteemed in this society. They speak with a different accent and pronunciation, and wear old, dirty

clothing. The miners and their families value hard work and strong family relations, but their habitus is not highly valued, and so they have little ability to accumulate symbolic capital through displays of capital or gift-giving. The miners also enjoy spending time at a saloon in town, owned by a woman named Amelia. They spend their hard-earned money on alcohol, women and gambling, chatting for hours in a noisy, smoke-filled bar about work and their problems. This is an important form of entertainment for them, but it is noteworthy that the mine owners, directors and engineers do not go to Amelia's saloon to spend their time and money. When the miners go to the saloon, and their employers choose instead to go to a casino in town, this is an expression of each group's habitus, which goes unrecognized in its symbolic, and therefore economic, value.

The characters of the mining administration reveal their cultural possessions through their interaction with the miners and with others in the town, and the recognition of their cultural distinction by all characters is a misrecognition of the economic and social value of the display of such cultural capital. Its rarity and the privilege conferred upon it by all the characters in the novel add to its legitimation.

In *La mina*, gift-exchange between characters also creates symbolic capital for some and helps to legitimize the hierarchical nature of the social field. When Joaquín and his family are living in el Tero, before moving to the mining town of Los Llanos, Joaquín and other farmers must beg the landowner's foreman Lucas for work. Lucas comes into town on a horse, treating the poor farmers with arrogance. Don Ramón, the owner of large land properties in el

Tero, is often absent from his land, spending much of his time in Granada. His acres of property are monitored by his employees, who determine who will gain access to the lands and who will work there. By physically separating himself and his lands, and by sending in a representative on horseback to town, don Ramón exhibits his power in symbolic terms. Such a display, along with the ownership of land granted to him by inheritance and government policies, provides legitimation to his power.

These symbolic practices maintain unequal power relations because they are disguised as moral obligations or honor. Bourdieu writes: “Symbolic capital is . . . denied capital, recognized as legitimate, that is, misrecognized as capital (recognition, acknowledgement, in the sense of gratitude aroused by benefits can be one of the foundations of this recognition). . .” (*Logic of Practice* 118). There is an economic logic to certain social interactions and cultural practices that is not recognized as such. For example, when Joaquín speaks with several other passengers on the train to Los Llanos about the best places to find work, they all chat with enthusiasm about the job opportunities in the mining and manufacturing towns in Spain and France. Joaquín is excited to hear of such possibilities, but neither he nor the other passengers recognize that the offering of such money and employment garners symbolic capital for the employers through gift exchange. The power and position of the companies is further legitimized, and an obligation is established on the part of the job seekers. This type of social relationship, which is mediated by the official institutions of the companies and so legitimized, recognizes the distinction of the companies and the employers, and

the characters misrecognize the economic value of the symbolic capital gained. It also further perpetuates the domination of the less-privileged workers and their families because their access to the symbolic and cultural capital held by the dominant group is limited.

When don Florentino agrees to meet with Joaquín and offer him a job in the mine, the interaction creates an obligation on the part of Antonio and Joaquín. They feel incredibly grateful for the opportunity to speak with don Florentino and for the employment offered to Joaquín. Don Florentino has the economic means and the power to give this “gift” to Joaquín and Antonio, and so his generosity is recognized, but the economic value of this generosity is not. Likewise, when the mine directors offer additional hours and pay to the miners, it is greatly appreciated by the miners and their families. However, they are then accountable to the mine directors and the mine owners, feeling obligated to work hard in harsh conditions and not complain about such conditions. Felipe, the foreman of one of the mines, becomes indebted to the mining company when he agrees to spy on his fellow miners and destabilize any attempt to fight for their rights. He feels obligated to the mining administrators not only because they have offered him more money, but also because they have offered him increased prestige and power within the company’s structure. The relation established with Felipe is symbolic in nature, and he does not fully recognize the economic value it holds for the mining directors.

### **Naturalization/Perpetuation of the Social Hierarchy**

Although several of the characters in *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* acknowledge at some point that inequalities and injustices exist in their society, these remain and will most likely self-perpetuate on into the next generation. The habitus, which is a reflection of the hierarchical nature of the social field portrayed in these novels, is a set of dispositions, perceptions and values that are ingrained in the characters. These beliefs are long-held and constantly reinforced by family, society, institutions, and practices. The characters' physical demeanor and appearance, along with their worldview, are a part of them that they feel defines them. The differences in the habitus of each group are accepted as normal, and the distinction of certain habitus above others is seen as a given condition of this social field. Characters may cry out against the decadence of the wealthy, or feel guilt that some suffer from poverty and difficult working conditions, but these opinions do not change the overall habitus of the characters, which has become naturalized within the society depicted in these narratives.

Joaquín and the miners see that the mine owners and directors are different from them in many ways, and they acknowledge that they do not have the same cultural abilities, economic means and social connections as the members of the administration. When some of the workers demand better pay and working conditions, they lament their unfair treatment and the disproportionate riches awarded to those at the top of the mining company management. However, they do not recognize the symbolic violence perpetrated upon them by those in a position of power in the town. They recognize that

distinction is given to some, while not being able to recognize why or how.

Joaquín, the miners and their families strive to achieve even a small piece of the field's resources. They follow the "rules" set up and maintained by the dominant group that in the end denies them access to any real change or improvement.

Although they protest through words, complaints, and arguments with the foremen and administration, they accept the fact that prominence is given to certain habitus and economic, social, and cultural capital. The behavior and attitudes of the most privileged characters also tend to reproduce the conditions of this society. The mine directors do everything they can to maintain the status quo and prevent any type of social solidarity among the miners. The differences among the characters have become naturalized, and are not seen as part of the functioning of the society that tends to reproduce and perpetuate inequality.

Because of their habitus and the conditions of the society that favor their habitus, the privileged have much easier access to the economic, social and cultural capital than others. Since the less privileged do not hold the necessary forms of capital to gain such privilege, it is much harder for them to gain access to the power structure necessary to change their position in the social hierarchy.

This tendency of the social hierarchy to reproduce and self-perpetuate is also evident in *El Jarama*. The young characters in the novel speak often of their desire to travel abroad and the modern clothes and items that they have purchased and wish to own. They aspire to be more like Javier and his friends, with more disposable income to travel and buy consumer items. The differential nature of the society has become naturalized for them as well. They accept that



their social field functions with differences, recognizing and wishing for the kind of privilege and money given to some members of society, and distancing themselves from those who live in small towns, whom they see as less sophisticated and poorer than themselves. They feel that they will never be able to have the kind of wealth and distinction held by other characters, and this leaves them feeling frustrated and unmotivated. By identifying their place in the social hierarchy, misrecognizing the durable nature of the habitus and the symbolic violence of the privileged characters, and lessening the value of certain members of society, they are perpetuating the differential nature of the field.

The older generation in the tavern seems much happier in their place in the social hierarchy than the younger characters, but they too accept that distinction is given to certain attitudes and behaviors. They recognize that they are different from the young characters, not as modern and with fewer economic resources, and also different from the judge and the civil guards, whose authority and privilege they acknowledge. The passivity, *abulia*, and fatalism of both the younger and older characters of *El Jarama* reveal a tacit acceptance of the conditions of the field, as Sobejano has noted:

El viejo fracasado convertido en parásito involuntario, el barbero temeroso de los abusos de poder en su aldea, los jóvenes sin juventud que quieren olvidar la semana de trabajo alienador en la embriaguez del día de fiesta, todos más o menos tienen razones de pesadumbre y queja, y todos, cogidos en el cepo de su esclavitud, revelan una resignación de pueblo desvalido.  
(*Novela española* 213)

In the end, nothing changes for the characters in *El Jarama*. The impossibility of change weighs heavily on the characters, creating within them feelings of

resentment and resignation. Not even the death of Lucita, a young girl with her whole life ahead of her, can change the monotonous rhythm of the status quo. As Gullón states: “Cuando ocurre algo tan inesperado como la muerte de Lucita, es como si una piedra cayera en el agua: agitación pasajera, ondas concéntricas, luego, en seguida, todo vuelve a ser como antes: río y conversación siguen fluyendo igual, al mismo ritmo: la monotonía es más fuerte que la muerte” (3). The functioning of the society depicted in the novel tends to self-perpetuate, and significant change to the social structure is unlikely.

Javier and his friends are the most privileged characters in the novel *Tormenta de verano*. Javier is the only character to question his place of privilege in society, and in the end he goes back to his place among the elite. Upon his return to the beach colony as the novel ends, Javier tells his friends: “Regresé, porque si no estoy con los míos, ¿con quién voy a estar? Y me gusta estar con los míos, créeme” (329). He and his friends seek to keep the share of resources that they already have, and feel comfortable expecting to obtain more resources. Elena and Claudette assure Javier that he has the right to all that he owns because he is different from others in society. They and others in their group accept the privilege they hold, and they do not question the lack of it on the part of the fishermen, maids, barmen and gardeners. They do not recognize that their behavior and distinction within the society result in the domination of others; instead, they view it as a normal part of the functioning of the society. For them, their access to power and prominence is well-deserved and fair. Javier’s friends are resistant to his crisis of conscience, and only wish for things to remain as

they always have been for their group. The characters outside of their group also acknowledge Javier and his friends' position of privilege, treating them with great respect and humility and accepting the differences in their habitus.

### **Institutionalization**

In these three novels, the hierarchical structure of privilege is objectified in the material and cultural conditions of the characters, and in the official recognition of their qualifications and knowledge. When difference and domination become institutionalized, the players of the field no longer have to work to maintain their position by constantly establishing social connections and proving cultural abilities. According to Bourdieu, “[the] real logic of action . . . brings together two objectifications of history, objectification in bodies and objectification in institutions” (*Logic of Practice* 57). In institutions, the accumulation of symbolic capital and the perpetuation of the dominant habitus become further disconnected from the individual consciousness, and, as such, become legitimized. In these novels, the characters are unable to comprehend the way in which certain institutions (governmental, commercial, judicial, banking, cultural) function in a systematic way that supports and promotes the habitus of the dominant group and its power. As Bourdieu writes:

Objectification in institutions guarantees the permanence and cumulativeness of material and symbolic acquisitions which can then subsist without the agents having to recreate them continuously and in their entirety by deliberate action. But, because the profits provided by these institutions are subject to differential appropriation, objectification also and inseparably tends to ensure the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of capital which, in its various kinds, is the precondition for such appropriation, and, in so doing, it tends to reproduce the structure of relations of domination and dependence. (*Logic of Practice* 130)

Margaret González suggests that the structure of Spanish society has historically been a divided one, separating the elite from other groups and solidifying this division in institutions. She finds that Franco knew how to take advantage of this, further normalizing the social hierarchy and maintaining an unequal access to power:

Groups able to offer the regime power or support gained access to the system, working in tandem with the administration, enjoying the rewards of increased power and status in society. Those that rejected the regime, those whose goals conflicted with those of the regime, and those who simply had nothing to offer the regime had to assume a less favorable role in society, subject not only to the power of the regime, but to that of the more favored groups. (16)

The society depicted in *El Jarama*, *La mina*, and *Tormenta de verano* is a deeply divided one, and power is closely related to the characters' ability to gain favor and recognition from official institutions.

When the friends at the Jarama River and the townspeople see the judge and the civil guards, they recognize their power and distinction and accept their ability to act appropriately to their position. They do not need to show their papers or official documentation because their power has been legitimized through political and social institutions. The privilege given to certain habitus has also been institutionalized in the educational system. The younger characters have been educated according to the ideals and beliefs most highly valued by the society, and in this way their habitus differs from that of the older generation that completed their education in a different time and under very different conditions. The youngsters value material possessions and social status much more than the strong social connections and loyalty valued by the older

generation. Although the younger generation has been educated in a system that favors the most privileged habitus, several aspects of their habitus differ from the most favored characters in the society depicted in these three novels. For both the older and younger generations, access to power is limited compared to the characters who hold distinction in society.

In *La mina*, the administrators and engineers of the mine need not prove to the miners that they are qualified for their positions. Their abilities and functioning within the field have been officially recognized and therefore legitimized. In this way, their habitus and the distinction given to it have also been institutionalized in their titles and official acceptance by society and the government. These characters receive unquestioned recognition of their abilities and knowledge. In contrast, the miners have little to no formal education, and have very little access to positions of power because they are unable to obtain official recognition of distinctive abilities. Institutions in this social field do not favor their habitus, and so they are denied access to them. An exception is the mine foreman Felipe. His position signifies official approval by the mining company of his qualifications, and yet the awarding of this position is due to his deceptiveness and disloyalty towards his fellow miners. When Felipe speaks with don Rosario, one of the mining engineers, he assures don Rosario that he has no interest in politics or worker unification. Don Rosario expresses that he and the other employers at the mine are pleased with Felipe's work and attitude, and so he is rewarded with an increase in salary in exchange for giving information

about his fellow miners that will help them to interrupt any attempt to unionize. This example shows how Felipe has been co-opted by the powerful elite.

Javier, his friends, and his business acquaintances find it easy to acquire new business ventures and build successful projects because their talent and qualifications are accepted as true and legitimate by all. Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi explain the importance of the educational system in Franco's Spain, which in these three novels has helped Javier and his friends, the mining administration and engineers, and the judge: "La educación era la llave que permitía entrar en la élite privilegiada del franquismo. . . Un sistema de educación al servicio de la clase media aseguraba a ésta su permanencia en los puestos de poder y de influencia" (106). Governmental and economic policies have favored their business values and behavior, and several companies from different regions of Spain have rewarded them with lucrative business deals. The favor of these powerful institutions offers visible recognition of the abilities and actions of Javier and his friends. Don Antonio, an older, very conservative man who lives in the Velas Blancas beach colony, speaks with Javier, Amadeo and Santiago one day as they soak up the sun on a private motorboat on the Barcelona coast. They discuss the new government plans of economic development and how their own businesses may be affected. Referring to the new technocratic ministers in the Franco government, don Antonio says:

— [Y] ¿qué razón había para lo del plan? Ellos dicen que no podíamos seguir así. Ellos, los jóvenes. No lo discutamos. Quieren plan, pues plan. Ellos han estudiado más de lo que yo pude hacerlo, ellos saben mucha economía por los libros, ellos, como vulgarmente se dice, se las saben todas. Pues que lo hagan. Afortunadamente — la voz de don Antonio se engoló, —

podemos confiar en ellos, porque, eso sí, son honrados y no son tontos. ¿Qué hacen sin nosotros? [. . .] ¿cómo harán algo sin nosotros? Nosotros somos la corriente y ellos el cauce. Podrán llevarnos por algún sitio no muy agradable, pero si buscan desviarnos por donde no queremos ir, se exponen a quedarse en seco. (223)

In his comments to his friends, don Antonio shows the close connection between those who hold capital and power and the formal institutions of the society. He also demonstrates how the ministers' qualifications and decisions are legitimized with the official recognition of their abilities through their educational titles and governmental appointments. On the contrary, when shop owner Vicente seeks to open a store in the beach colony, his habitus and capital are not enough to bring him official recognition. He depends on the help of Javier whose place has been legitimized, but Javier refuses to help him with his project.

- Antes de pisarla, Vicente miró la hierba; llegó casi de puntillas. [. . .]
- Yo sé lo ocupado que está usted siempre. Es lo que digo muchas veces, que don Javier ni en las vacaciones deja de trabajar. Cuando la mujer me va a buscar a la tienda y me anima a que ya lo deje, es lo que yo le digo, que ni don Javier, que es un señor, deja de trabajar en las vacaciones. . . Por la aldea se comenta que usted está en el misterio del asunto, porque a usted le ha consultado la policía qué hay que hacer. . . Usted, señor don Javier, ya sabe que de los pobres siempre se sospecha.
  - [. . .] Supongo que nadie de la aldea estará complicado. Si la policía me pregunta, así se lo diré.
  - Muchas gracias. Ya sabía yo que usted defendería al pobre. Sí señor, ya lo sabía.
  - ¿Alguna cosa más?
  - [. . .] [U]n día me puse a pensar que en la colonia no hay tiendas. . . Ya lo sé, señor don Javier. Y hacen bien. Ustedes tienen medios para vivir sin tiendas y cines y sin ayuntamientos y hacen pero que muy bien. Pero yo un día me puse a pensar y me di cuenta de que las cosas, con perdón, podían ser cambiadas, salvo su mejor parecer.
  - [. . .] Yo no decido solo en los asuntos de la colonia, existe un Consejo de Administración. Es norma que no haya tiendas ni

ninguna clase de establecimientos al público en la colonia. Yo no puedo prometerle más que una cosa. Se estudiará su proposición. (185-86)

Selections of the dialogue between these characters demonstrate that both Javier's and Vicente's attitudes and behavior create a relation of debt through gift exchange, further solidify Javier's position of distinction through Javier's superiority and Vicente's deference, and show how Javier's symbolic capital, and power, have been legitimized through an official organization.

The institutions that have given recognition and distinction to some of the characters in these novels serve to further naturalize the value given to certain habitus and capital within this social field. This gives additional force to the tendency of the social hierarchy to reproduce by objectifying social and cultural differences in institutions. This means that access to power for many characters, such as the miners, the townspeople, fishermen, domestic servants, and the visitors to the Jarama River, is limited by the conditions of the field, and social domination through the pervasiveness of accepted ideas and perceptions is collectively misrecognized.

### **Characteristics of the Social Hierarchy**

My analysis of the social field, the characters' habitus and their various forms of capital reveals that a hierarchy of privilege and capital exists in the social field depicted in *La mina*, *El Jarama* and *Tormenta de verano*. The values, attitudes, behaviors and practices that are most distinguished within the society portrayed in these novels belong to Javier and his friends, the mine owners and engineers, and the judge who processes Lucita's death after her drowning. The



habitus displayed by Javier's mistress Angus, the foreman Felipe, and the older and younger generations at the Jarama River are less distinguished within this social field, but are more valued than the habitus of the fishermen, waiters, housekeeping staff, miners and vendors portrayed in these novels. This hierarchy is not only class-based or economic, but it is also a reflection of differences in cultural perceptions, knowledge and behavior between the characters, which are also an indication of variations in the objective conditions of the social field for these characters.

In the society represented by the three novels, the characters possessing the most privileged habitus are well-educated, knowledgeable about art and imported consumer goods, speak with ease and comfort using a wide vocabulary, dress in modern, expensive clothing and hold great amounts of social and economic capital. In general, they are also self-absorbed, decadent, ignorant or uncaring of social and economic inequalities, lonely, amoral, arrogant, unconcerned with religious practices, apathetic to political and historical concerns, and have supported or fought for the Nationalist forces in the Civil War. On the portrayal of the bourgeoisie in García Hortelano's novels, William Sherzer writes: "As a lifelong bourgeois and madrileño, García Hortelano is fully aware of the harm caused and poor example given by the decadence of that social sector which so many non-bourgeois strive to copy" (363).

Characters who display a less-distinguished habitus in this social field are more colloquial in their speech, have a strong accent, and speak only Spanish, they dress in less expensive clothing, they are less able to understand and

appreciate certain cultural objects and practices, such as expensive works of art, clothing or furniture, and they have much less cultural, social and economic capital than the most privileged characters. For Angus, Felipe and the young visitors to the river, material possessions and social status are important, although hard to come by and use effectively. They also show some of the arrogance, apathy and lack of social solidarity seen with the more privileged characters in the three novels. Felipe, for example, reflects one day on the miners whom he supervises, thinking about their demands for better working conditions and revealing his own work ethic:

Que digan lo que quieran, que yo no muevo un dedo. Lo importante es estar a bien con don Rosario y no con unos desgraciaos como el Luciano o el Joaquín. . . Y no es que piense que les falta razón para reclamar. . . Pero eso no es mi incumbencia. . . Tengo que hacer lo que me convenga; la vista gorda y poner el cazo a la hora de las gratificaciones. Que cada uno con su pan se lo coma. (185)

For Angus and the older generation of characters in the tavern, however, family and personal relations are important. With respect to the Civil War, Mauricio and his clients at the tavern share several memories of the conflict, but the younger generation fails to remember or give it much importance.

Within the social field shown in these novels, the miners, street vendors, fishermen, shopkeepers, and wait staff hold the least-valued habitus. Their speech is very informal and heavily accented, they have little awareness or understanding of highly distinguished cultural objects and practices, hold few material possessions, and have received little formal education. At the same time, they display loyalty, optimism, self-motivation, humility, and an awareness

of important social and historical matters. The miners are also strong in their religious faith and practices.

The functioning of the society portrayed in the three novels depends upon the naturalized ideas and perceptions that reward certain behaviors and practices, and help to perpetuate the hierarchical structure of the social field. The forceful acceptance of such ideas and perceptions is evident in these novels in the attitude and behavior of the civil guards and the social and economic strength of the mining company. Also, it is understood by the reader that these characters live under a dictatorial regime, although no description or direct critique of government is present in the texts. However, the pervasive, naturalized ideas and views of the way in which society functions hold great strength within these narratives, and compliance with the “rules” of society is obtained by those in power not only by force, but also through these ever-present conceptualizations of the nature of the social field. In Juan J. Linz’s analysis of Franco’s Spain in which he contends that the regime was authoritarian and not totalitarian, he notes the importance of low public participation in political or official life in an authoritarian regime, using Spain as an example:

The low level of mobilization may often mean that large parts of the population remain in the position of subjects, recognizing agents of power without questioning their legitimacy; for them habit and self-interest may be more important, and belief unnecessary for effective control. (181)

This type of apathy and lack of social mobilization is evident in the three novels examined in this study. Although direct political protest would be impossible in these narratives due to censorship, the characters are not involved in any way.

Their failure to act and the limitations placed on them are what characterize these texts. These characters do not support or reject the political or social structure – they simply are uninvolved, and either apathetic or fearful. The way in which society operates through social relationships and interaction perpetuates the hierarchy of privilege and differential access to power. This type of behavior is not always conscious, but rather through the habitus it becomes an innate part of belonging to society.

Analysis of the social hierarchy in the texts reveals a breakdown in the social fabric and individual contentment. In these novels, characters display alienation from others and exclusion, decadence, amorality, hypocrisy and historical and political indifference, and the privilege given to certain habitus reaffirms and perpetuates these social ills. Joseba Pérez Moreno writes of the effects of the broken society on the characters in *El Jarama*: “Esta vida de desolación, el vacío espiritual y la abulia existencial, está provocada por una sociedad deshumanizada y desindividualizadora, que, a su vez, es consecuencia de la implantación del régimen franquista” (121). The younger generation at the Jarama River is socially underdeveloped. The limitations pressed upon them in economic, social and cultural terms inhibit their growth as social beings. Of *Tormenta de verano*, Sobejano observes:

Como la mayoría de las novelas de este tiempo, pero de un modo especialmente intenso, *Tormenta de verano*, da expresión al particularismo de la sociedad española, incapaz de abolir barreras. La pérdida de contacto con el exterior, mantenida por las demasías de riqueza, orgullo y ocio de estos propietarios, produce insensiblemente una degeneración de signo hermético e incestuoso, por encima de la cual no logra remontarse nadie. (*Novela española* 298)

The way in which this society functions, which has become naturalized for the characters, is actually detrimental to the characters and to society as a whole. Additionally, the nature of the social field and its functioning maintains an unequal access to power, the reasons for which are not always fully recognized by the characters.

### **Implications: The Franco Dictatorship**

Considering that these three novels are social realist narratives written with the intent to portray life as it was during the Franco dictatorship, my examination of these texts expands the understanding of the functioning of Spanish society under Franco's rule, as portrayed by the authors. Sobejano writes: "En efecto, lo que distingue más hondamente a los novelistas sociales, cualquiera que sea la categoría artística alcanzada por cada uno, es un invencible propósito de veracidad testimonial, el empeño de no incurrir en falseamiento alguno acerca del estado de su pueblo" (*Novela española* 208). The social field of difference, inequality, hypocrisy, amorality, and alienation seen in these novels reflects the authors' view of the effects of the Franco regime's social, political, and economic practices, beliefs, and institutions. In his study of the political nature of the Franco dictatorship, Linz defines the regime as an authoritarian one that depended on political apathy and a pervasive mentality of certain ideas, as opposed to a strict state ideology or popular mobilization found in totalitarian regimes (165-75). These distinctions are significant in that they affirm the insidious and misrecognized nature of the Franco regime. Through propaganda, official literature and speeches, the educational system, social

repression and isolation, political uniformity, and certain accepted cultural practices, the political and social institutions of the Franco dictatorship offered official recognition and maintenance of a set of social, cultural, and economic norms that came to be naturalized within the social field.<sup>1</sup> This also occurred in the cultural realm through the various habitus present within the society, as we have seen in the three novels. Although the imposition and maintenance of the dictatorial regime relied heavily on force and the threat of violence against the individual, the functioning of the dictatorship also depended upon the legitimization of a set of pervasive ideas and the perpetuation of a social and cultural hierarchy that favored certain values and norms. The “pervasive mentality” to which Linz refers is evident in the three narratives examined here. In these novels, accepted ideas about how the social field functions help to maintain and perpetuate a society in which social connections and relationships continue to break down.

*El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* provide a view of Spanish society and its values that served as a counterpoint to the government’s portrayal of social conditions and cultural conventions. Within and outside of Spain, the Franco regime projected an image of the country as a unified, Catholic nation that believed in family, country and God above all else. Women were to assume traditional gender roles and surrender their political and economic power, the Catholic Church’s dogma dominated educational institutions and official practices, local and regional cultures and languages were forcibly suppressed, all

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<sup>1</sup> On the various means of social control used by the Franco regime, I have consulted González 1-16; Linz 168-78; Pereda 27-50; Aróstegui et al. 30-42, 76-81 and 96-98; and Carr and Fusi 103-54.

political parties but one were eliminated, and censorship of oppositional ideas and texts was established. The regime portrayed its recent civil conflict as a crusade that had saved Spain from the evils of communism and recalled its “glory days” of the empire.<sup>2</sup> In his study on the role of time and history in the social realist narrative in Spain, Herzberger comments on how historiography was used by the Franco regime in order to project a manipulated national image based on myth and created realities:

Historiography during the first two decades of the Franco era was largely intended to affirm the regime’s morally correct role within Spanish history. The government therefore used strategies both to suppress and to engender the past, that is, to arrest dissonance in the discourse of history as well as to assert continuity between the glories of an imperial Catholic Spain and the illustrious present of the Franco era. . . [T]he agenda of the government plainly crystallizes in the consequences of the official discourse: the rule of Franco has a firm hold not only on history but also on the truth of that history. (“Narrating the Past” 35)

For Herzberger, the significance of the social realist novels in Spain lies in their presentation of characters whose behavior and beliefs contradict the greatness of history and the present moment in Spanish society, as put forth by the Franco dictatorship. In his analysis of *El Jarama*, Pérez Moreno contends that the novel challenges the mythic claims of the Franco regime by discrediting them. He concurs that the regime put forth certain ideas and perceptions of Spanish society and the dictatorship that were “una serie de mitos que la retórica franquista había grabado en el inconsciente colectivo de la población, y por

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<sup>2</sup> On the Franco regime’s propagation of its national image, I have consulted: Pérez Moreno, 124-36; González 11-12 and 17-37; Herzberger, “Social Realism and the Contingencies of History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel” 158-71 and “Narrating the Past History and the Novel of Memory in Postwar Spain” 35-37; Jones 29; Romero Salvadó 143; Aróstegui, et al. 30-32 and 76-80; and Carr and Fusi 33-67 and 103-42.

tanto, eran aceptados como verdades incontestables” (115). González

comments on the importance of the literary opposition of the time:

In attacking and displacing the dominant discourse of the Franco regime, the literary generation was able to disrupt the regime’s manipulation of Spanish society and prepare the way for a political transition. By attacking the political discourse of the Franco regime and generating a new competing discourse, the generation of opposition was able to establish a basis for the eventual acceptance of democratic change within Spanish society. (103)

In these three novels, the social field functions differently from the official version.

Distinction is given to social and cultural values, practices and norms that come into direct contradiction with the official ideals of the dictatorial regime. Carr and Fusi write that during the 1950s and 60s in Spain there was “la aparición de estilos de vida en contradicción con los principios y las prácticas, los valores y las instituciones en que se basaba el sistema” (123). There are no great heroes or mythic events in these novels, but rather boredom, monotony, and everyday struggle, as Pérez Moreno discovers in his reading of *El Jarama*: “[S]e nos muestra un presente trivial, marcado por la monotonía y el hastío vital, por la ausencia de unos valores e ideales determinados que le permitan al hombre vivir dignamente, por una carencia trágica de expectativas” (120). The most privileged characters are materialistic, self-centered, indifferent to Spain’s history, and give little importance to the teachings of the Catholic Church, while the least privileged characters embody the social unity, historical awareness and moral decency espoused by the Franco regime. This hierarchy of social conventions has been further legitimized through its institutionalization in schools, businesses, and



government. This is an implicit protest against the institutionalized violence practiced by the regime against its own people.

### **Transformation / Subversion**

Certainly, it is important to consider that the novels considered in this dissertation express a subjective view of society under Franco, according to each author's viewpoint. Although, as writers of social realism, Sánchez Ferlosio, López Salinas and García Hortelano greatly reduced the amount of authorial commentary, subjective description and direct critique in the novels, their personal perspective on Spanish society pervades the text. The emphasis given to positive or negative traits of some characters is at times exaggerated or absolute. These novels focus more on society and character relations than on individual character development, however, and such representations have a literary purpose within the text and its message. The authors' intent was to create a slice-of-life text that readers would recognize and understand. García Hortelano, López Salinas and Sánchez Ferlosio, as well as many other writers of social realism, intended to use literature as a way to show their nonconformity with society as it was at that time.<sup>3</sup> They wished to portray sectors of Spanish society that would offer a more relevant and authentic perspective than the literature and press supported by the dictatorship. These novelists had a significant impact on many writers, students and intellectuals in Spain, and they

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<sup>3</sup> On the question of literary critique in *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*, and in other novels of Spanish social realism, I have consulted: Jones 27-31 and 50-51; Domingo 103-07, 114, and 117; Sobejano, "Direcciones de la novela española de postguerra" 53-56; Basanta 40-45; Sobejano, *Novela a española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974* 212-13 and 352-55; Pérez 61-65; Gil Casado (1968) VIII-XXII; Sanz Villanueva 168-77; Martínez Cachero 193-98; and López Salinas, "Juan García Hortelano y su época. Recuerdos." 39-48.

formed an important part of a protest against the regime that slowly gained strength in the 1960s and 70s.

Since, as Bourdieu attests, the hierarchical nature of the social field tends to reproduce itself, thus continuing on into future generations, it is hard to imagine the possibility of significant change or transformation in the society portrayed in *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*. No significant change occurs in the novels, and at the end of each narrative, the status quo is reestablished. Yet stagnation and endless monotony are depicted purposefully by the authors, for various reasons. First, since censorship practices remained strict during the 1950s and early 1960s, these authors would not have been able to publish a text in Spain that portrayed any kind of social revolt or direct challenge to social and political norms. *Tormenta de verano* was heavily critiqued by the censors, who fought the novel's publication and insisted on the removal of selected passages of the original manuscript.<sup>4</sup> A first draft of *La mina* ended with a protest by several mine workers and their families following the cave-in, but censors forced López Salinas to change the ending to be more peaceful and less provocative.<sup>5</sup> Sánchez Ferlosio, writing and publishing his novel in the early to mid 1950s, faced even stronger censorship, and so would not have been able to publish *El Jarama* with an ending that might have seemed questionable to the censors.

Second, the reader is intended to experience similar feelings to those of the characters - tedium, restlessness and insecurity about the future. In this way,

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<sup>4</sup> See Champeau 116-24 and Pereda 79-80.

<sup>5</sup> See Gil Casado (1973) 347.

the reader empathizes with the characters and their limitations. In his examination of the Spanish postwar novel, Robert C. Spires suggests that the characters' lack of connection and personal transcendence in society compels the reader to act. Considering *El Jarama* as an example, Spires posits:

El efecto sobre el lector es distanciarle del personaje y hacerle afirmar su propia sensibilidad frente a la insensibilidad de esta generación de gente resignada a su propia pequeñez. . . [El] verdadero valor [de *El Jarama*] consiste en su habilidad de hacerle al lector experimentar activamente la esencia de una sociedad estancada y buscar su propio remedio. (246-47)

As previously mentioned, José María Castellet in *La hora del lector* (1957), and Juan Goytisolo in *Problemas de la novela* (1959) expressed similar ideas about the importance of the reader in the neorealist novel, maintaining that interpretation and understanding should come from the reader, and that the novel should be socially engaged (Jones 31). Agency lies with the reader, who will hopefully take up a part of the protest that the authors are undertaking with their novels.

Although these novels did not spark a revolution in Spanish society, they helped to expand awareness of social injustices and failings. They also allowed their readers to question and challenge long-held beliefs, and understand further their own role in the maintenance of the status quo. Attitudes and social practices began to change, and would continue to change when, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, expressions of social and political protest increased. The novels of social realism were an important part of the literary and intellectual challenge to the dictatorship.

## Conclusion

As novels of Spanish social realism, *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* provide narrative representations and explorations of certain elements of Spanish society that provide understanding of the social dynamics operating at the time of their publication. Using Bourdieu's theories of culture and society, my dissertation has revealed several new aspects of this social dynamics in the novels, and of similar literature of the time in Spain.

The three novels considered in this dissertation, as well as several other narratives of the social realist project in Spain, did not immediately spark the social revolution and overthrow of the dictatorship that some may have desired. Many critics have considered the objectives of the social realist writers as failed ones, and point to the New Novel of the 1960s and 70s as a time of real literary challenge to the dictatorship.<sup>1</sup> The Bourdieusian analysis of these texts, however, shows that they are works of subversion, protest and critique, in ways that have not previously been examined.

Bourdieu's theory does allow for subversion, which would be difficult because the naturalization and institutionalization of the privilege given to select habitus hampers awareness of the field's functioning. For Bourdieu, subversion and revolution do occur, and social transformation is possible by exposing the

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion on this, refer to Navajas 123-37; Sanz Villanueva 214-223; Blanco Aguinaga, Rodríguez Puértolas and Zavala 543-64; Martínez Cachero 258-67; Domingo 106-7; Sobejano, *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: 1940-1974*. 208-10; and Pérez 62-74.

practices that maintain asymmetries of power, changing the objective conditions of the social field and exercising individual agency.

These novels do more than depict economic inequalities, political repression, and class differences. As Bourdieu proposes, society functions with pervasive, accepted and long-standing ideas, beliefs and attitudes. These novels attempt to challenge such ideas, and inspire awareness by exposing how the social field functions. The texts subvert the accepted norms of society under the Franco dictatorship during the 1950s and 1960s, which are objectified in the habitus and in institutions, through their representation of social reality, with the objective of inspiring realization that change is possible and necessary. Bourdieu reminds us that “[t]he specific efficacy of subversive action consists in the power to bring to consciousness, and so modify, the categories of thought which help to orient individual and collective practices and in particular the categories through which distributions are perceived and appreciated” (*Logic of Practice* 141). The purpose of these narratives is not only to inform the readership of injustices, but also to change perceptions of the social field under the dictatorship, and to empower individuals in their own agency.

The central focus of the three novels is society itself, and how it functions. As a result, individual characters and character development have less significance because the social structure and dynamics are of utmost importance in these texts. Criticism centers on how power is obtained and held, through society’s recognition of the conferral of privilege and distinction and its objectification in institutions. By questioning the collective social misrecognition

that occurs under the dictatorship, these novels challenge the status quo that continued to oppress individuals, not only through forceful means, but also through symbolic and institutional violence.

Key to the significance of these novels is their aim to establish awareness in readers, by informing them of important aspects of the way in which society works that would not be obvious to them because of censorship. Bourdieu cites recognition as a crucial element in making possible the transformation of society and its inequalities. This understanding occurs by “grasping the principle of the dialectical relationship that is established between the regularities of the material universe of properties and the classificatory schemes of the *habitus*, that product of the regularities of the social world for which and through which there *is* a social world” (*Logic of Practice* 140). *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* offer the reader an artistic rendering of characters representative of Spanish society, and the social conditions in which they live. Each author shows the reader his own perception of how society functions under a dictatorial regime, although the political element is indirect. Critique in these novels is more social than political, although it is understood that governmental policies and practices are instrumental in the creation of the social ills described in the texts. The novels problematize the beliefs and practices that have resulted in the breakdown of the social network. In this way, readers gain insight into the true nature of how the powerful maintain their privilege, and how the most valued beliefs and practices contradict those championed by the Franco dictatorship.

Sánchez Ferlosio, López Salinas and García Hortelano were writing under challenging conditions of censorship and strict political and social control. Their indirect critique and silences were their way of presenting a challenge to the idea that Spanish society was running smoothly under Franco's rule. González writes: "By communicating their ideas and political philosophies to the literate public in a veiled form, these novelists helped establish a basis for change and the potential for the transition of the regime" (15). Their objectivist narratives of how they viewed the day-to-day life of Spaniards were meant to inform their readers and create awareness and change the perceptions of the reading public. Loïc J. D. Wacquant offers further explanation of how the possibility of social change fits into Bourdieu's theory: "[I]f we grant that symbolic systems are social products that contribute to making the world, that they do not simply mirror social relations but help *constitute* them, then one can, within limits, transform the world by transforming its representation" (*An Invitation* 14). These three novels are the authors' representations of the conditions of society, in which the characters and the depicted social reality work at the symbolic level as an attempt to change the representation of society and its perception in the mind of the reader.

My Bourdieusian analysis of *El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* has shown how the privilege given to characters with certain habitus and cultural capital has been assured by official institutions in business, government, law and the press. By representing how the most powerful characters are able to hold more privilege than others because of their officially-recognized abilities and

characteristics, these novels make clear how the asymmetrical power structure worked to maintain itself, because power creates more power. The understanding of the role of institutions in the functioning of society and the effect these institutions have on the characters guide readers in challenging their own misrecognition of the causes of social inequalities. Readers also learn how the social hierarchy tends to perpetuate itself, and resists any attempts to change it, which forms an essential part of the critical aspect of these novels.

The highlighting of the negative characteristics of the dominant group demonstrates the failings of society and its effect on the characters. An important aspect of these novels as literature of social protest is that each text clearly portrays the role of culture and social relations and how they differ from the propagandistic representations of the Spanish people in the press and literature sympathizing with the regime. The authors seek to inspire compassion for the less-privileged characters and a repudiation of the values and behavior of the privileged, who represent those favored by the regime. The portrayal of the most valued cultural beliefs and practices is surprising because it presents a serious challenge to the image of Spanish society as presented by the Spanish government of that time. With these novels, readers could identify with the characters and understand better the inner contradictions and hypocrisies of the Franco regime, and how the functioning of society under dictatorship was socially detrimental. In this way, these narratives form an important contribution to the protest of the dictatorial regime and the subversion of its power.



Analysis of these novels also reveals their ability to make readers cognizant of their own role in the perpetuation of societal norms and beliefs. We have seen that the characters' subjective perceptions of their social field, mediated by the habitus, tend to maintain conditions as they are because self-realization is made difficult by the nature of the social field. Their behavior and attitudes tend to reinforce social inequalities. Bourdieu contends that societal structures are not the only element shaping society; individual consciousness and agency are just as important, and they can either maintain social norms or transform them. These novels reveal to readers their critical role within the society that is failing them, helping them to understand that everyone is complicit in the perpetuation of social disparities and injustices, and that they possess individual agency and personal responsibility that can change the conditions of their social field. Each text shows how the characters' lack of self-reflexivity and individual action result in the preservation and perpetuation of social problems, demonstrating to readers that they have the power to alter society. The structure of power depends upon the characters' complicity, and change can only occur when the players of the social field recognize their role in the continuation of the social hierarchy, and work as agents of change. The social discontent expressed by each author was meant to mobilize readers and motivate them to alter their oppressive reality, even in small ways.

*El Jarama*, *La mina* and *Tormenta de verano* sold well in Spain, and through the publishing of these novels, readers were exposed to a viewpoint that

differed from the official one. Constantino Bértolo considers the transforming potential of the social realist novels:

[S]i el destinatario era el proletariado y el proletariado no leía aquellas novelas destinadas a descubrirles o reafirmarles en su consciencia de clase ¿para quién escribían los narradores realistas? . . . unos y otros escribían para la pequeña pero poderosa comunidad conformada alrededor del antifranquismo. (15-16)

The awareness required to inspire change is present in these novels. Javier's self-questioning, *El Jarama*'s characters' frustrations, and Joaquín's hopeful struggle inspire this awareness in readers. For Pérez Moreno, *El Jarama* not only creates awareness, but also calls for social change as a novel that is "en pro de una nueva nación construida a partir de unos valores muy diferentes de los propuestos por el poder" (126). He suggests that readers of *El Jarama* will react to the intense apathy and boredom shown by the characters, feeling motivated themselves to create social change. Readers will feel compelled to act in the face of such absurdity, and their answer to the text will be "[e]l compromiso, la confrontación, el cambio, es decir, en el orden de la subversión de las ideas impuestas por el poder" (122). For Gil Casado, *La mina* is a novel that "levanta en el lector un sentimiento de solidaridad humana con el proletario" (169). He writes that *La mina* succeeds in its objectives of exposing difficulties faced by the working class in Spain and persuading the reader to identify with the characters and their suffering.

Several of the social realist writers were professors and journalists who were able to disseminate their ideas in the universities and in the press, although such activity was carefully monitored and restricted. Many of the Spanish writers

who would find success in the 1960s and 70s knew the social realist writers and were exposed to their ideas. In this way, the authors of the novels examined in this dissertation, as well as several other authors of social realism in Spain, were able effectively to create awareness of the inherent problems of the functioning of Spanish society under dictatorship, and create the necessary conditions for the beginnings of change. González comments:

Because the regime permitted no *legal* opposition, this raises the question of whether a meaningful opposition, though oblique, existed within the system. However, following the death of Franco in 1975, the transition to democracy, though elite-led, progressed with more ease than anticipated, suggesting that the foundation for such deconstruction and reconstruction had already been established. (1-2)

Literature of protest was but one part of the changing social conditions that would help to pave the way to real political and social transformation, signs of which were already seen in the mid 1950s.

Surprisingly, several aspects of the characters and the society portrayed in these novels represent elements of Spanish society that would eventually lead to the demise of the dictatorship. In these three novels, we see the political and historical indifference of the privileged groups and younger generation, the results of economic policies of increased industrialization in some areas, an increase in consumerist activity, and the isolation of various groups from one another. Although functioning as accepted practices and norms that helped to perpetuate the dictatorship for many years by limiting social and political awareness and cultural development, these aspects would create conditions that made the transition to democracy easier following Franco's death. Increased

awareness of how the dictatorial society was failing its citizens, inspired in part by Spanish social realist novels such as the three analyzed in this dissertation, and also a significant change in the objective conditions of the social field, contributed to changes in the functioning of the society that would eventually embrace a democratic government. The younger generations did not feel the urgency of the postwar years, and became increasingly aware of their dissatisfaction with life under the regime. Increased economic development and tourism created a desire for greater freedom and choice. Carr and Fusi explain: “La sociedad de consumo, ciertamente, favorecía la apatía política; pero, inevitablemente, dio pie a unas modalidades de conducta incompatibles con un autoritarismo rígido” (123). These policies also brought about an erosion of the ideals that bolstered the dictatorship in the immediate postwar years. The strict, conservative values that had denied gender equality, alternative religious or political views, and criticism of the dictator who had “saved” Spain from self-destruction began to lose strength in light of such policy changes. In this way, the *habitus* began to change as political apathy and social disconnectedness became less desirable traits.

The social problems exposed in these three novels point to the fact that Spanish society could not thrive under the Franco regime. The government’s insistence upon curtailing freedoms and limiting personal expression, intended to foster stability and appease its people, backfired on the regime. With increased awareness and changing economic and social conditions, the desire for freedom could thrive only under a democratic government, and as we see in *El Jarama*,

*La mina* and *Tormenta de verano*, continued dictatorial oppression would bring decadence and extreme social inequalities.

Although the project of the social realist writers in Spain did not create the major political change that they sought in the 1950s, these novels were nonetheless a significant literary and social contribution that helped prepare the way for subversion and change. Within the limits imposed on them, these were subversive texts, and increased challenges would come because of the precedent they established. In a speech given in 2003 that was dedicated to García Hortelano, López Salinas summarizes the significance of the Mid-Century Generation of writers, highlighting their efforts to promote change:

[H]an pasado años y años sobre la vida y muerte de una serie de gentes que queríamos cambiar el mundo, la marcha de nuestro país. . . [Y] en este tiempo . . . conviene señalar que las libertades que disponemos no vinieron llovidas del cielo, ni por la gracia de de un Borbón cualquiera, sino por el compromiso con la libertad de un grupo de hombres y mujeres, no demasiados, entre ellos los de la llamada generación de los cincuenta, Juan entre sus filas, comunistas en gran parte, que mantuvieron encendida la llama de la esperanza en tiempos de silencio con sus hechos y sus palabras. (“Juan García Hortelano y su época” 48)

Ideas and perceptions of how society should be, and could be, did begin to change within Spain, particularly in the university and academic communities, and many grew tired of the way things were and increasingly voiced their desire for a new social structure and system. It is important to recognize the significant role that *El Jarama*, *La mina*, and *Tormenta de verano*, and similar literary works, played in increasing awareness of inequalities of power and the reasons for them, subverting the power held by the Franco dictatorship at that time and emphasizing the importance of personal agency for the Spanish people.

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