

ICIP WORKING PAPERS:

2012/03

Catalan Esperantists: Pacifists in a globalised world

Hèctor Alòs i Font

INSTITUT
CATALÀ
INTERNACIONAL

PER LA PAU

Catalan Esperantists: Pacifists in a globalised world

Hèctor Alòs i Font

Institut Català Internacional per la Pau
Barcelona, February 2013

Institut Català Internacional per la Pau

Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes 658, baixos · 08010 Barcelona

T. +34 93 554 42 70 | F. +34 93 554 42 80

<http://www.icip.cat>

Editors

Javier Alcalde and Rafael Grasa

Editorial Board

Pablo Aguiar, Laia Balcells, Alfons Barceló, Gema Collantes-Celador, Caterina Garcia, Abel Escribà, Tica Font, Antoni Pigrau, Xavier Pons, Alejandro Pozo, Mònica Sabata, Jaume Saura, Josep Maria Terricabras and Léonie Van Tongeren

Translation

David Viinikka

Typesetting

ICIP

ISSN

2013-5793 (online edition)

DL

B.7224-2013



THE AUTHOR

Hèctor Alòs i Font is an IT engineer and a graduate in linguistics. He has held the posts of president of the Young Catalan-Esperantists and secretary of the Catalan Esperanto Association and is currently editor of *Kataluna Esperantisto*. He was joint editor and coordinator, together with Francesc Poblet i Feijoo, of the book *History of Esperanto in Països Catalans* (2010). He works as a sociolinguist at the Sociology department of the Chuvash State Institute of Humanities (Shupashkar, Russia), as well as working on the development of IT resources for the Chuvash language. His academic interests centre on the study of the processes of language shift and of the reversal of language shift.

ABSTRACT

This paper gives a brief introduction to the Esperanto movement, explaining the links between pacifism and Esperanto, with a particular focus on Catalonia. Next, based on a survey of this part of the peace movement, the study compares the characteristics of this group with the rest of Catalan society and with Esperantists in other countries. It also analyses the group itself and any personal changes found among its members. This study does not assume that the term “Esperantist” refers to a member of an Esperanto association, as previous studies have done, but rather analyses the view held of themselves by members of the group, as well as the attitudes of people close to them. The study includes measures to ensure a balanced sample, and to avoid the results being skewed due to the over- or under-representation of certain subgroups. The results show some significant differences between Catalan Esperantists and the rest of the Catalan population. Moreover, they confirm in general the results obtained in other countries – though there are some notable differences, which could perhaps be explained by the status of the Catalan people as a national and linguistic minority.

Keywords: Esperanto; Catalonia; sociology; social movements; history of pacifism.

RESUM

El treball en primer lloc presenta una breu introducció del moviment esperantista, explicitant els vincles entre pacifisme i esperantisme, particularment en el cas català. En segon lloc, i a partir d'una enquesta a aquest subconjunt del moviment per la pau, l'estudi, d'una banda, compara les característiques d'aquest col·lectiu amb les de la societat catalana i amb la d'esperantistes d'altres països. D'altra banda, analitza el grup mateix i l'eventual evolució personal dels seus membres. L'estudi no sobreentén, com en enquestes anteriors en altres països, el concepte d'«esperantista» com el fet de ser membre d'una associació esperantista, sinó que estudia quina concepció en tenen els mateixos membres del col·lectiu i persones pròximes. Els resultats mostren algunes diferències notables entre els esperantistes catalans i la resta de la població catalana, particularment en relació amb el nivell d'estudis, les opinions polítiques i el lleure. Per altra banda, confirma els resultats obtinguts amb esperantistes d'altres països, malgrat algunes diferències sensibles, que potser podrien explicar-se per la minorització nacional i lingüística dels catalans.

Paraules clau esperanto; Catalunya; sociologia; associacionisme; història del pacifisme

RESUMO

Ĉi tiu laboraĵo unue skize prezentas la Esperanto-movadon, klarigante la ligojn inter pacismo kaj esperantismo, precipe en Katalunio. Tuj poste, surbaze de enketo al tiu subaro de la pac-movado, la esploro, unuflanke, komparas la ecojn de tiu kolektivo kun tiuj de la kataluna socio kaj de la esperantistoj en diversaj aliaj landoj. Aliflanke, ĝi analizas la grupon mem kaj la eventualan evoluon de la membroj. La esploro ne subkomprenas, kiel antaŭaj enketoj en aliaj landoj, la membrecon en landa asocio kiel sinonimon de esperantisteco, sed aparte interesiĝas pri la difino de la koncepto «esperantisto» kontrastigante diversajn respondojn. La rezultoj montras plurajn atentindajn deviojn de la katalunaj esperantistoj disde siaj samlandanoj, aparte pri klereco, politikaj sintenoj kaj okupado de la libera tempo. Samtempe ĝi konfirmas la rezultojn atingitajn inter alilandaj esperantistoj, malgraŭ kelkaj rimarkindaj diferencoj eventuale klarigeblaj pro la nacia kaj lingva minoritateco de la katalunoj.

Ŝlosilvortoj: Esperanto; Katalunio; sociologio; asocia movado; historio de pacismo.

RESUMEN

El trabajo presenta una breve introducción del movimiento esperantista, explicitando los vínculos entre pacifismo y esperantismo, sobre todo en el caso catalán. Luego, a partir de una encuesta a este subconjunto del movimiento por la paz, el estudio, compara las características de este colectivo con las de la sociedad catalana y con la de esperantistas de otros países; y analiza el grupo mismo y la eventual evolución personal de sus miembros. El estudio no asocia el concepto de «esperantista» a ser miembro de una asociación esperantista, sino que estudia qué concepción tienen los integrantes del colectivo y personas cercanas. Los resultados muestran algunas diferencias notables entre los esperantistas catalanes y el resto de la población catalana, y confirman los resultados obtenidos con esperantistas de otros países, con algunas diferencias, quizá debidas a la minorización nacional y lingüística de los catalanes.

Palabras clave: esperanto; Catalunya; sociología; asociacionismo; historia del pacifismo.

ПĚТĚМЛЕТŪ

Тĕпчеве эсперанто юхăмне халалланă. Уйрăмах Каталони сĕрĕнче палăрнă пацифизмпа эсперанто хушшинчи сыхăнăва кăтартса пама тăрăшнă. Тĕпчевсĕ тăнăслăхшăн кĕрешекен каталон тата эсперантăпа сыхăннă ытти сĕр-шыври ушкăнсене пĕр-пĕринпе танлаштарать. Савăн пекех автор асăннă ушкăна пĕр пĕтĕмĕшле тата унăн ёсне хутшăнакан сынсен пайăр аталанăвне тишкернĕ. Эсперантист шутне ассоциацире тăракана кăна мар, хайне эсперантистла тытакан сынна та кĕртме юрать иккен. Тишкерў. Каталони эсперантисчĕсемпе вăл шута кĕмен вырăнти халăх хушшинче пысăк уйрăмлăх пуррине кăтартса парать. Уйрăмлăхĕ вĕрентўпе политика тата кану хутлăхĕнче вăйлă сисĕнет. Сакна каталон чĕлхин хутлăхĕн хĕсĕклĕхĕпе ѓнлантармалла пулас.

Сăл куç сăмахсем: эсперанто; Каталони; социологи; ассоциаци юхăмĕ; пацифизм аталанăвĕ.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ESPERANTO MOVEMENT	10
SURVEY CHARACTERISTICS	16
THE CONCEPT OF “ESPERANTIST”	18
ESPERANTISTS AND CATALAN SOCIETY	22
SEX	22
AGE	22
HABITAT	23
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE	23
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	24
OCCUPATION	24
INCOME	25
ORIGIN	25
FIRST LANGUAGE AND HOME LANGUAGE	26
KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES	27
POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR	28
RELIGION	32
PARTICIPATION IN ASSOCIATIONS	32
HOBBIES AND FREE TIME ACTIVITIES	33
ESPERANTISTS AND ESPERANTO	35
FIRST CONTACT AND MAIN REASON FOR STUDYING ESPERANTO	35

ESPERANTISTS IN THE FAMILY	36
AGE OF LEARNING	36
METHOD OF STUDY	36
DEGREE OF KNOWLEDGE	37
PARTICIPATION IN ASSOCIATIONS	38
FREQUENCY OF USE	39
ACTIVISM	40
PREJUDICES	41
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG ESPERANTISTS	43
CONCLUSION	43
BIBLIOGRAPHY	47

INTRODUCTION

Any attempt to study Esperanto speakers comes up against several problems. Perhaps the first is the ignorance concerning this matter among those who do not speak the language, and who usually have a stereotyped view of it. One example of this is the film *La ciutat cremada* (The burned city, 1976), by Antoni Ribas, in which we see some anarchist workers learning Esperanto almost clandestinely in 1909. At that time, however, Esperanto was viewed very favourably by the Catalan bourgeoisie, who led its initial expansion and even made it fashionable: it was calculated that there were 45 simultaneous Esperanto courses in Barcelona; several newspapers and magazines published sections about Esperanto; there were shops that had their name in Esperanto, and so on. What has remained, however, is the cliché of the anarchist worker studying Esperanto.¹

This work is not a study of the history of the Catalan Esperanto movement. Its aim is rather to present the results of a sociological survey of the current situation of Esperantists in Catalonia. However, given the number of stereotypes that exist about Esperanto and Esperantists it seems essential to include a short introductory presentation on the history of the Esperanto movement and its relation to the peace movement, with a special mention of the “exciting” (in the words of Bernat Joan (2008: 7)) history of the Catalan Esperanto movement.²

Both the history of the Esperanto movement and the current social composition of this movement may be of special interest to those concerned with the peace movement. On one hand, this work aims to provide a better understanding of this “fraternal movement”, or what could be described as in itself a small part of the very diverse peace movement. A better understanding of the Esperanto movement should contribute to a broader and deeper collaboration of other social movements with Esperantists. On the other hand, the sociological analysis of this group is also a small part of the sociological analysis of the peace movement and of Catalan social movements and associations in general. At the same time, by reminding us of the intimate historic relationship

¹ See Montagut (2000) and Poblet (2008). For a more sympathetic opinion towards the image given in the film, see Del Barrio (2011). It should also be noted that Esperanto speakers are themselves influenced to a certain extent by these prejudices. At the same time, however, like all groups, they create their own mythical self-images, as Ziko Sikosek argues, sometimes controversially, in his book *Esperanto sen mitoj* (“Esperanto without myths”, 2003).

² On the history of Esperanto in Països Catalans, or the Catalan Countries, see Margais (2002), Poblet (2004 and 2008) and Poblet and Alòs (2010). Regarding the relationship between Esperanto and the peace movement, this introductory presentation is indebted to Lins (2000).

between the Esperanto movement and the peace movement, this work may help to give a higher profile to this question within today's Esperanto movement, giving a renewed impulse to its peace activism, in line with the "internal idea" of the international language that was advocated by Esperanto's initiator. Finally, this study opens the way to comparisons between the links between the Esperanto community and humanistic ideals in Catalonia with the situation in other countries.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ESPERANTO MOVEMENT

The first grammar for the international language was published in Warsaw in 1887. The author, the young Jewish ophthalmologist, Lejzer Zamenhof (1859-1917), signed the forty page booklet with the pseudonym *Doktoro Esperanto* ("Dr Hopeful" in Esperanto), a name which soon spontaneously became the name of the language. Zamenhof was born and raised in Białystok, a city which is now part of Poland, near the frontier with Lithuania and Belarus. Białystok then had a very fast growing multiethnic population and was the third most industrial city in the Russian empire, after Moscow and Łódź (Künzli 2009). As a child, Zamenhof believed that the diversity of languages spoken in the city was the main obstacle to mutual understanding and harmony among its population. During his time at university he was active in Zionist organisations and wrote one of the first Yiddish grammars, although it was not published until thirty years later, and then only partially. Having become convinced that nationalism would not bring equality and freedom to his people, for whom, in his own way, he always fought, he proposed the project of a neutral international language, which would become his life's work. Later, he worked on a project for a neutral religion, which today we might rather call an attempt at global ecumenism, but this won negligible support — it did, however, attract furious criticism. Apart from his other initiatives, Zamenhof always stressed that the objectives of the international language Esperanto went beyond being a mere simplified means of communication, but rather that "it could create a bridge of peace between peoples, [which] should be the very essence of our Congresses" (Zamenhof 1963: 30). This is an essential issue for understanding the tension that has always existed between those Esperanto activists who favour a pragmatic vision of Esperanto, stripped of any ideological connotations, and those who promote the idea of Esperanto as an instrument of social transformation in one or another direction. For the latter, Esperanto contains an "internal idea" linked to peace

and brotherhood, which is the quintessence of the language.

Esperanto spread initially within the tsarist empire, particularly among Poles and Jews, whose aspirations for freedom and equality were similar to Zamenhof's. It also drew the attention of Tolstoy, who gave it his full support and promoted it among his followers. These included the Slovak doctor, writer and pacifist, Albert Škarvan (1869-1926), author of the first Esperanto manual in his mother tongue. Škarvan conspicuously refused to do military service, an action that led him to prison and exile, despite the impact his case had across Europe.

Around the turn of the century, Paris became the organising capital for Esperanto, leading its extension to other countries. Among the prominent activists of the Parisian core group, we should mention Louis Couturat (1868-1914) and Gaston Moch (1859-1935), activists in the incipient movement for peace and international arbitration. The latter was a former artillery officer who had left the army to campaign for peace and for a Franco-German understanding. Besides being a leader of the Parisian Esperanto group, he chaired an international peace organisation, and wrote several books and numerous articles in the French press in support of pacifism. Moch was one of the founders in 1905 of the first international Esperanto-pacifist association; he edited its extensive monthly newsletter, which appeared the same year, and promoted the publication in Esperanto of a series of texts for peace, as from the following year. This association, however, had a short life, due to the internal divisions suffered by the Esperanto movement in the second half of the decade. Among French pacifist Esperantists, we should also mention Paul Berthelot —promoter of the first Catalan national Esperanto association and an outstanding pioneer of the workers' Esperanto movement — who was a fugitive from military service; this took him first to Ceret (in French Catalonia) and then to live abroad (Alòs and Puig 2010).

Esperanto's potential to aid communication and put people on an equal linguistic footing found particularly fertile ground among pacifists. The truth is that in those early days, Esperanto was very well received among a large number of intellectuals, but it does seem that those who actively worked for peace were exceptionally favourable towards it. One example of this early relationship between Esperanto and peace are the two proposals presented by the prominent French socialists, Jean Jaurès and Edouard Vaillant, to the International Socialist Congress in 1907; in one they proposed the use of Esperanto in the dissemination of information by the International Socialist Bureau of

Brussels and in the other they demanded a call for a general strike if war broke out. Both proposals were rejected by the majority (Lins 1990: 55).

Among those who promoted Esperanto in these circles, we must mention Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914), even though she never learned to speak the language. The same can be said of the writer Romain Rolland (1866-1944), with close ties to the Swiss founders of the Universal Esperanto Association. By contrast, another of the first Nobel Peace Prize winners, Alfred Fried (1864-1921), was an active Esperantist and wrote one of the first Esperanto text books in German. The British pacifist Alfred Moscheles (1833-1917) was also an activist for Esperanto, being president of the London Esperanto Club.³

There is a long list of people who have combined a notable activism for peace and for Esperanto. We should especially remember, however, Catholic-Esperanto pacifism, among whom the figure of the Austrian priest Josef Metzger (1887-1944) stands out. His traumatic experience in combat during World War I led him, as early as 1915, to found the World Peace League of the White Cross, which would become the main pacifist organisation among German Catholics. He was also president of one of the two international Catholic Esperanto associations in this period and editor of its publication. His pacifist activism under the Nazis took him to prison three times until finally he was executed.⁴

In the period before World War I, the issues that most seemed to concern Esperanto pacifists were the prevention of conflicts and resolving them through mediation. Nonetheless, the Universal Esperanto Association (UEA), founded in 1908, has certain peculiarities due to its being strongly linked at the beginning to the world federalist movement, firstly through the UEA founder, Hector Hodler (1887-1920), and then through the latter's close collaborator, another Swiss, Edmond Privat (1889-1962), who was the editor of *Esperanto*, the main publication of the UEA, during most of the

³ Despite that, there were a considerable number of Esperantists among the military, particularly between 1900 and 1914, something which can be seen by the number of articles about military issues in the magazines of the period; something that today is very surprising. For example, the majority of the first Esperanto group in Barcelona, founded in 1904, were soldiers, and that year the first Esperanto grammar was published in Catalonia, written by Vicente Inglada, a captain on the General Staff (Montagut 2000). In this period, the Association of Military Esperantists was founded in Madrid, having as its objective "to propagate the language of Zamenhof in the armies of land and sea as the only possible solution for the mutual understanding between soldiers from different areas" (Margais 2010: 103). In the Encyclopaedia of Esperanto we even discover that in 1918 there was an exhibition in Budapest, which displayed "interesting papers on the military role of Esperanto" (Kökény i Bleier 1933: Hungarujo).

⁴ Information obtained taken from the biographical article on the German Wikipedia (consulted on 1 September 2012 at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Josef_Metzger) and from Ipfelkofer 2009. We should add that for many years the president of the other Catholic Esperanto group was the Catalan priest, Joan Font i Giralt, killed by anti-Fascist militia forces during the Civil War (see Amouroux 2010).

interwar period. Hodler was the author of a series of articles in *Esperanto* between July 1915 and February 1917 with the title: “The problem of peace: New Paths”, in which he criticised the management of conflicts between states and proposed systems of international arbitration. This led to the banning of the magazine in France for the duration of the war (Lins 1990: 59-60). For his part, Privat, as well as being a close friend of Romain Rolland, travelled with Gandhi in the early thirties; he would become one of his biographers and a promoter of Gandhi’s ideas in Europe. He was also a strong supporter of the principle of self-determination of nations and was especially notable for his support for the independence of Poland, India and Algeria (Martinelli 2004). After World War II, Privat would also be the first president of the Universal League, an organisation founded by Esperantists who worked for the creation of a world government, and which in the fifties came to have several thousand members. One of those who founded it, in a clandestine meeting in Nazi-occupied Holland, was Julia Isbrücker (1887-1971), who had been the first president of the World Esperanto Pacifist League, the specifically pacifist international Esperanto organisation which was active between the world wars.

Actually, and in this same line of activity, the UEA made a special attempt to support the League of Nations; following World War II it did the same with United Nations. Already in mid 1947 —a year and half before the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights— the UEA added a point to its statutes stating that “respect for human rights” was “an essential condition” for its work. In fact, the history of the persecution of the Esperanto movement by totalitarian regimes such as the Nazis, Stalinism or Franco’s Spain shows this clearly (Lins 1990). It is clear that Esperanto, by facilitating communication between people across borders, is the antithesis of the control of information inherent in any dictatorship.

Esperantists’ bond with the aspiration for freedom and equality is and always has been profound. Just as with the example of Poles and Jews in the early years of Esperanto’s history, we can find numerous instances of this around the world. Among many activities, we could perhaps highlight the close relationship between Esperanto movement in Korea and Taiwan and non-violent activity against Japanese colonisation in the twenties and thirties (Lins 1990: 182-188) or the coexistence of Jews and Arabs in the Esperanto organisation in Palestine under the British mandate (Modan 2010). In Catalonia one should recall, for example, the involvement of leading Esperantists in the founding in 1960 of the Club of Friends of UNESCO in Barcelona, a very distinguished

association in favour of democracy, human rights and Catalan language and culture. This was reflected in the fact that the Esperanto Department was one of the first sections of the club. Similarly, the first Catalan member of Amnesty International, as early as 1961, was the Claretian missionary and Esperantist, Manuel Casanoves i Casals. After Franco, Casanoves was also the first president of Amnesty International in Spain, as well as the first president of the re-established Catalan Esperanto Association.

There are also more recent examples of the ties between Catalan Esperantists and the peace movement. In 1994, of the young men who were then members of the Young Catalan-Esperantists, only one had accepted the call to military service and even he didn't complete it. Almost all of them were conscientious objectors (Artero and Alòs 1994), and for this reason an conscientious objector's Esperanto group was created, to enable them to coordinate better between themselves. One figure among them who stands out for his special relationship with the peace movement is Jordi Armadans, currently director of the highly respected NGO, Fundació per la Pau (Peace Foundation).

Moreover, around the Balkan conflicts, Catalan Esperantists were particularly active in projects for the reconstruction of Bosnia and of its social networks. Just after the Bosnian war, in the summer of 1996, they organised a holiday stay in Catalonia for a group of Bosnian children.⁵ Shortly afterwards, they released the first issue of the magazine of the Esperanto League of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁶ and also the book, *Spite al ĉio Bosnio* ("Despite everything, Bosnia"), which included the transmissions in Esperanto made by Radio Sarajevo during the war. At the same time, they founded the organisation *Espero* ("Hope"), twinned with Bosnian Esperantists, among them engineers, who led various public works reconstruction projects (Tešanj hospital, the Klokotnica and Maglaj health centres, the water supply in Klokotnica), with the participation of the Catalan Development Cooperation Fund (the coordinating body for the development aid donated by different councils in Catalonia), the Barcelona provincial council and the city councils of Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, Sabadell and Sant Quirze del Vallès.⁷ We should also mention that the wars in Croatia and Bosnia inspired the poem *The Balkans* by the Majorcan Esperantist Albert Herranz Hammer

⁵ In fact, as early as just after the First World War, Catalan Esperantists were notable for their response to an appeal to shelter Austrian children (see Cortès 2011).

⁶ According to a briefing paper in 1994 by the "Solidarity Committee" of the Catalan Esperanto Association, in Bosnia before the war "there were more than 10,000 members of the Esperanto League of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with more than thirty associations — more than eighty, if the schools are also included — and the majority of the subscribers to foreign Esperanto magazines in the whole of former Yugoslavia [were in this territory]."

⁷ I am indebted to the information provided by Éric Collignon, who was one of the organisers of *Espero* in Catalonia.

(1995), which was translated into Esperanto and published by the Catalan Esperanto Association.⁸

Catalan Esperantists' activity against the Iraq war was also remarkably intense, as it was against the war in Afghanistan or against the military parade in Barcelona in 2000⁹. In general, it seems that Catalan Esperantists display a strong hostility to militarism.

With this background it is not surprising that when in 2008 Catalan Esperantists, after a long process of preparation, published their mission statement "Goals, values and principles of the Catalan Esperanto Association" (Associació Catalana d'Esperanto, 2008), they should refer to "peace" three times. The document links the Association's work to the culture of peace and makes connections between peace and language rights and the possibility of egalitarian and fluid communication between people.

The viewpoint of today's Catalan Esperantists shows an evolution, widespread within the Esperanto movement in general, with respect to the attitudes found before the Second World War. The organised Esperanto movement has tended to specialise in issues related to the language, without abandoning those aspirations more or less related to the agenda of the "inner idea". In this sense, there is a tendency to avoid the former slightly grandiloquent ideas which called for the immediate abolition of armies or for a world federation. Instead, the emphasis is on working to change individual attitudes, contributing to fuller communication between people, through a language which is neutral and relatively easy to learn, so as to overcome the prejudices and power relations which are embedded in the use of language, and which are inherent in many conflicts.

However, this view puts to one side some essential aspects, such as the economic

⁸Actually, the subject of peace occupies a prominent place in literature in Esperanto. In the interwar period, there appeared the stories and novels of the Hungarian actor, Gyula Baghy, one of the most widely read authors in Esperanto; he spent six years as a prisoner of war in Siberia and in some of his writings he explains these experiences. The two great classic novels of Esperanto literature — *Kiel akvo de l'rivero* ("Like the water of the river") by the French Esperantist, Raymond Schwartz (1963), and *La granda kaldrono* ("The Great Cauldron"), by the Scot, John I. Francis (1978) — deal with the two World Wars and are clearly pacifist. We should also mention the work of the Australian writer, Trevor Steele — without doubt the best prose writer that has appeared so far in original literature in Esperanto — which is dominated by themes of anti-imperialism and the psychological damage caused by war. More intimate is *Kroata milita noktlibro* ("Nightbook of the Croatian war") by the excellent Croatian writer in Esperanto, Spomenka Štimec (1993). Meanwhile, the epic verse *Poemo de Utnoa* ("Poem of Utnoa") by the Catalan Abel Montagut (1993) — one of the most celebrated works of today's literature in Esperanto — has peace and non-violence among its main themes. Outside the field of literature as such we find in Esperanto various very poignant autobiographical texts about experiences of war, among which stand out the memoirs of Tivadar Soros, *Maskerado* (1965), translated into several languages, in which the father of the well known speculator George Soros explains his experiences and those of his family during World War II.

⁹ The book about the protests against the parade was published in four languages: Catalan, Spanish, English and Esperanto (Peláez 2001).

interests involved in conflicts, and therefore only partially satisfies some Esperanto speakers, often those who lean to the left of the political spectrum. Mainstream-organised Esperanto movement has tended to take “neutral” positions on matters which do not strictly have to do with human rights or linguistic equality, an approach that provokes clear tensions among some Esperanto speakers. There is a pragmatic reason, which is that no one single association can aspire to resolve each and every form of social inequality (whether economic, national, gender, sexual freedom or any other type). It is also true that in order to win broader support it is often necessary to water down initially radical programs for change. Even so, this pragmatism is not always easy to digest for a group which has a clear inclination towards social and political activism.

This conflict is particularly notable, somewhat paradoxically, among many activists, who are more politicised than most speakers of the language. This was something which, for example, caused a lengthy internal debate during the drafting of the Catalan association’s mission statement mentioned above. Such problems are certainly not exclusive to the Esperanto movement, and this might give added and more general interest to a sociological study such as this, into Esperantists.

SURVEY CHARACTERISTICS

In this context, a survey was carried out in November 2007 to try to understand who are and what unites Catalan Esperantists — if, indeed, there is anything which holds them together as a group. The survey was aimed not only at members of Esperanto organisations, but also at people who were studying Esperanto or had done so. It was also considered necessary for subjects to consider themselves to be “Esperantists”, so as to avoid possible distortions caused by people who, despite having or having had contact with the group, did not consider themselves to be part of it.

One aspect to which a lot of attention was paid was the representativeness of the sample, which could be affected by the possible low participation of certain groups of Esperantists and/or by the overrepresentation of others (for example, activists). These risks were dealt with, on the one hand, by paying special attention to certain groups during the process of data collection, and on the other, by weighting the sample, especially to give less weight to activists, who obviously had a greater than average

tendency to respond.¹⁰ The comparison of the age and sex distribution of the sample with the overall data for members of the Catalan Esperanto Association and members in Catalonia of the Spanish Esperanto Federation showed that there was no significant deviation with respect to these factors.

In all, 131 questionnaires were collected from around Catalonia, of which 98 met the acceptance criteria and were taken into account in the overall analysis. However, the complete sample of 131 was used when studying some specific issues, such as the analysis of the criteria used by the group and its milieu to define the concept of “Esperantist”; this matter is discussed below.¹¹

We add, finally, that the questionnaire —which was in Catalan— contained a total of 90 questions.¹²

The analysis of Catalan Esperantists was carried out principally by comparing the answers with two other different populations. On the one hand, with the entire Catalan population, mainly using data provided by the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (IDESCAT). On the other hand, with other studies of Esperantists. In this respect, the three basic works used here are Peter G. Forster’s study, carried out in 1968, of members of the British Esperanto Association (Forster 1982: 299-346); the study carried out in the mid eighties by Nikola Rašić at different Esperanto conferences — including one Catalan meeting — (Rašić 1994: 97-178); and Frank Stocker’s 1992 study of members of the German Esperanto Association (Stocker 1996). Less systematically, reference will also be made to surveys in other European countries during the 1980s and analysed in Rašić (1994).¹³

¹⁰ A second weighting criterion was included, so as to correct the inevitable overrepresentation in the sample of members of the Catalan Esperanto Association, with respect to members in Catalonia of the Spanish Esperanto Federation. The weighting held the ratio down to 3.3:1 in favour of the former, the correct proportion according to the data published by the two bodies. Although they don’t represent totally separate populations, there are significant differences, in overall terms, with respect to issues such as age and political views (with a much higher average age and a greater distance from Catalanism on the part of members of the Spanish Federation).

¹¹ It should be noted that less than 500 people in Catalonia are members of some Esperanto organisation. The ratio between Esperantists or Esperanto speakers who are and are not members of such an organisation is unknown and depends partly on how these two terms are defined. However, we consider the sample to be fairly representative of the group studied, even though the small numbers involved mean that each respondent carries considerable weight, and thus the margin of statistical error is large. It is therefore necessary to be cautious when interpreting the data. In many cases we can only point to trends. Only where the percentages vary greatly from those in the overall population can we be reasonably certain that we are dealing with a significant difference.

¹² The questionnaire can be found at http://www.esperanto.cat/material/quest_espcat_2007.pdf (consulted on 1/09/2012); and the table of responses to each question, at http://www.esperanto.cat/material/enquesta_espcat_2007.pdf (consulted on 1/09/2012, 220pp.).

¹³ Even in those cases where the works cited show conclusions which agree on certain characteristics, it would be risky to conclude that these apply in general to Esperanto speakers. The works studied are based on Esperantists from Western European countries; this implies certain cultural, economic and political inclinations. In these countries, for example, learning Esperanto brings little or no material benefit. This is not or has not always necessarily been the case in

We should bear in mind, however, that these studies are based on populations which are more restrictively defined than that analysed here. They are not studies of the “Esperantists” of a particular geographical area, but rather members of a given association or participants in certain conferences, and these will probably use the language with greater frequency, even if only because, for example, they regularly receive the association’s newsletter or they participate more frequently in Esperanto conferences. Consequently, they will also be more exposed to a certain ideology (or myths) held by Esperantists. Moreover, with the exception of that of Forster, no study established weightings to correct the overrepresentation of activists in surveys; as we shall see, this entails significant bias in certain questions, because such activists represent a group with its own specific characteristics.

Finally, analysis was made of whether there was correlation between social or ideological factors and different responses in the questionnaire. For this purpose, there was a systematic comparison of data between the overall responses received and the responses broken down according to five variables: age, sex, year of learning Esperanto, level of knowledge of Esperanto and the degree of involvement in the Esperanto movement.

THE CONCEPT OF “ESPERANTIST”

The first question that must be asked in any study of Esperanto speakers is whether they actually exist as a distinct group. As Rašić pointed out, one could not go very far in a study of, for example, second language Italian speakers. However, the majority of Esperanto speakers seem to share a group consciousness which is lacking among most second language speakers of other tongues. Esperantists are to a greater or lesser extent favourable towards the reduction of inequalities in the prestige and the use of different languages, and towards facilitating communication across linguistic frontiers. Furthermore, over the course of more than 125 years of history — with magazines, books, literature, meetings, conferences, correspondence, travel, etc — a series of shared references have grown up among at least some of the speakers of the

other countries. In some socialist states, before the fall of the Berlin Wall, Esperanto permitted travel to certain countries highly valued in those societies, and which was difficult to achieve by other means. In the case of the Bulgarian Esperanto Association — which came to have more than twenty employees of the association itself, without counting the hotel it owned, and regularly published textbooks in print runs of thousands (for which, naturally, the authors received royalties) — it is obvious that Esperanto had an economic value, especially for the association’s leaders, and that patronage networks were created, in an analogous way to how these spread across the whole country in the final stages of the communist regime. Currently, it seems that there are considerable differences concerning the values of Esperanto held by many Esperanto speakers in Russia, China or Africa, for example, compared to the more idealistic visions that are more prevalent among Esperanto speakers in Western and Central Europe.

international language of Esperanto. Unlike most non-native speakers of a national language, Esperantists can feel that they are participating in the creation of the language they are learning.

We are, in fact, dealing with whole spectrum of individuals who have a stronger or weaker connection with the group, from the person who has read an Esperanto textbook and shortly afterwards forgot everything, to someone for whom Esperanto is a daily language — possibly even their mother tongue — and who has participated regularly over decades in the Esperanto world. The definition of the group is thus loose and unclear.

Actually, the calculation of the number of second language speakers is arbitrary for any language. If the calculation is based on each individual’s own evaluation, it is very unreliable. The figures for “English speakers” in Catalonia, for example, range from 10% to around 30%, according to different studies carried out between 2003 and 2009 (Alòs 2009).

In the case of Esperanto, the linguist Jouko Lindstedt presented in 1996 some orders of magnitude concerning the number of different types of speakers; these underline the difficulty of clear definitions in this matter (Table 1).

Table 1: Order of magnitude of different levels of knowledge of Esperanto (Lindstedt 1996: 7, cited in Sikosek 2003: 55)

Category	Number
Have Esperanto as a mother tongue	1.000
Speak fluent Esperanto, as if it was their mother tongue	10.000
Can speak and write in Esperanto	100.000
Can understand written and spoken Esperanto fairly well	1.000.000
Have studied the basics of Esperanto	10.000.0000

If, instead of referring to Esperanto speakers, we wish to study “Esperantists”, we again come up against the lack of a definition, or to put it another way, with different and conflicting definitions. Should we take every Esperanto speaker to be an Esperantist, following the definition given in the Declaration on the Essence of Esperantism, adopted at the first International Congress in 1905 and in the main Esperanto dictionaries of today? Or is it a “person who favours Esperanto as an international auxiliary language”, as in the definition given in its authoritative dictionary by the Institute for Catalan Studies? Neither of the options implies the other: you can be in favour of Esperanto without knowing how to speak it, while there are people who speak Esperanto but don’t care whether it ever becomes an international auxiliary language.¹⁴

Despite the looseness of the term, the fact is that Esperantists —whoever they are— do not in general reject this term, despite the fact that some users — more in certain other countries than in Catalonia — do not feel very comfortable with the ending “ist” and prefer to use terms like “Esperanto speaker” or “Esperantophone.”¹⁵ In an attempt to define the concept of “Esperantist”, in the survey questions were asked concerning the importance of proficiency in the language and of support for the view of Esperanto as a instrument of change when trying to characterise the group. Specifically, it was asked whether being an Esperantist merely meant speaking the language; whether it implied sharing certain (probably vague) ideals; whether both conditions were necessary; or if either one of them was sufficient.

The result was that none of the four options won a clear majority. The most widely accepted view was that either of the two reasons was sufficient to consider someone to be an Esperantist (38 respondents), while slightly fewer people believed that both conditions had to be fulfilled (31 respondents). The option with least support, however, was that defending the ideas was sufficient (11 respondents), while in between there were those who believed that knowing the language was sufficient (18 respondents).

It is interesting not only to look at the declarations of the survey subjects who were included in the group to be studied, but also to analyse whether subjects’ declarations are consistent with their own definition of what it means to be an Esperantist. For this purpose, an analysis was carried out of all 131 respondents from Catalonia who gave valid answers, of whom 32 did not consider themselves to be Esperantists. Of these 32,

¹⁴ In Rašić’s study, 9% of respondents stated that there was no need for Esperanto to be used more widely at an international level, and that they were satisfied with its existing use within the Esperanto movement (Rašić 1994: 176).

¹⁵ In a way it is a matter of highlighting the normality of the use of Esperanto, independently of the functions which one or other sector might hope the language will fulfil beyond those it presently has within its current community of users.

fifteen believed that to be an Esperantist it was sufficient to share the ideals (or to fulfil either of the two criteria) and declared themselves to be in favour of the use of Esperanto (eleven of them very much in favour). Thus, despite their answers, one must conclude that, for them, to be an Esperantist one must have a certain knowledge of the language which they lack. On the other hand, there were eight subjects who thought that to be an Esperantist knowing the language was sufficient (or fulfilling either of the two criteria), but did not consider themselves to be Esperantists despite having some knowledge of Esperanto (five understood a little, two spoke a little and one spoke it fluently¹⁶). Thus for them, being an Esperantist either required a greater knowledge of the language than they actually had, or else it was also necessary to hold certain ideals, which either they didn't do at all or did not do to a sufficient degree.

And when looking at the main group, among those considered themselves to be Esperantists there were six people who held that to be an Esperantist one only needed to know the language (or to fulfil either of the two criteria), but they actually had a very limited knowledge of Esperanto (four had studied a little but had given up, and two had studied it but had then forgotten). Apparently, for them a rudimentary knowledge of the language was sufficient, or else the ideals also played a role. On the other hand, there was nobody who argued that to be an Esperantist sharing the ideals was sufficient (or fulfilling either of the two criteria) and considered themselves to be an Esperantist but who was not in favour of its use.

From this we can conclude that, despite what they may say, for most Esperantists (and people close to the Esperanto movement) both a degree of linguistic knowledge and support for certain shared ideals are necessary when defining someone as an Esperantist. Overall, the group appears to be open and accepts a limited knowledge of the language, as well as a great lack of clarity about what the shared ideals would be. These ideals, for example, do not necessarily include the demand for Esperanto to be taught in schools or to be adopted by the European Union, even though these are wished for by a very significant majority of the group, with 87% and 73% support, respectively.

¹⁶ This case seems to be the result of an error on marking the box for categorising oneself as Esperantist or not, or else a rejection of the “-ist” categorisation: this is a person who claims not to be an Esperantist, but is a member of two associations, is subscribed to six magazines and frequently actively uses Esperanto.

ESPERANTISTS AND CATALAN SOCIETY

SEX

A look at the data reveals a marked gender bias among Esperantists: 76% were men compared to only 24% who were women. It is a proven fact that among participants in associations in Catalonia there is a greater presence of men than of women (57% as against 43%). Moreover, in studies of Esperantists in other countries, one typically finds proportions of around two thirds men to one third women, but this trend is more pronounced among Catalan Esperantists. Among activists, the disproportion is even greater. The analysis of the responses concerning household structure suggests that this lower female participation may be caused by the fact that activism is fairly closely correlated with not having children who live in the same house; there are considerably more women with children in the home than men.

In the European studies analysed by Rašić, there was a predominance of cases with large male majorities, of up to two thirds. There were, however, the contrasting cases of Bulgaria (1987) and especially Czechoslovakia (1980-1981) – in general there seems to be a noticeable difference in terms of gender ratio between the western and eastern sides of the former Iron Curtain¹⁷, for which no convincing explanation has yet been found.

AGE

The age distribution of Catalan Esperantists shows a profile similar to that in the general population. Nonetheless, there are two particularly noteworthy facts. As far as we know, at the present moment in Catalonia the Esperanto speakers under 15 years of age can be counted on the fingers of one hand; this has probably always been the case.¹⁸ In contrast, the proportion of Esperantists in the age band of 15 to 19 is twice their proportion in the population as a whole. This is understandable, since most Esperanto speakers (54%) learn the language between the ages of 15 and 24.

This age profile, however, is different from what is usually found in European studies of the Esperanto movement, which generally show an elderly population or else a

¹⁷ This is, of course, a trend and not a rule. In East Germany in 1984, for example, women accounted for no more than 30% of association members. It should be noted that 60% of these had no partner (Rašić 1994: 70).

¹⁸Actually, none of these answered the survey, probably because it was not designed for children.

significantly reduced presence of the generations in between students and pensioners.

HABITAT

The analysis of the distribution of Esperantists by the size of the municipality in which they live shows a noticeable bias towards larger cities: Barcelona residents represented one third of Esperantists, while they are only around 22% of the Catalan population. Esperanto is basically an urban phenomenon. This is particularly noteworthy if we take into account the fact (as we will see below) that there is a strong tendency for Esperantists to be Catalan speakers, something which would imply an over-representation of small and medium sized small towns which we do not find.

At the same time, the uneven geographical distribution of linguistic groups, would also lead us to expect a noticeably smaller number of Esperantists in cities of between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants, which, again, we do not find. This fact is due to the great weight of Sabadell in the Catalan Esperanto movement: Sabadell is the city with by far the largest Esperanto group in Catalonia, as well as being site of the headquarters of the Catalan Esperanto Association. Because of its strength, it was the town where the Catalan Esperanto Federation — the great pre Civil War Esperanto association — held its first conference in 1910, and it was also the place chosen for the first conference, in 1983, of the organisation which succeeded it after Francoism, the Catalan Esperanto Association. It is also the first city in the world to have a street named after Dr Zamenhof, inaugurated in 1912. Sabadell residents make up 17% of the membership in Catalonia of the Spanish Esperanto Federation and 12% of members of the Catalan Esperanto Association, despite being only 3% of the Catalan population. In contrast, other comparable towns in the Barcelona metropolitan area like Hospitalet de Llobregat, Badalona and Santa Coloma de Gramenet have few Esperantists.

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Catalan Esperantists tend to live in family units which are smaller than the average (2.7 individuals as against 3.1)¹⁹. Particularly notable is the number of people living alone, which is twice the Catalan average. This fact seems to be linked to figures showing their socioeconomic situation to be better than average, and also possibly to a greater

¹⁹ IDESCAT (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). Number of persons in the household residence, 2006.

tendency for this type of people to participate in the activities of associations.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Esperantists have a much higher educational level than the Catalan average. This is not due only to the fact that Esperantists are over 15 years of age and therefore the group includes very few individuals with no educational qualifications, nor due to a lack of students, because 19% are in fact students. The majority of Esperantists are university graduates – 53% have completed a university course, compared with 16% for the Catalan population as a whole²⁰. Even among those over 60 years of age 33% stated that they had completed higher education.

This is not something fortuitous which occurs only among Catalan Esperantists. The Finnish and German surveys also showed educational levels among Esperantists which were much higher than the respective national averages (Rašić 1994: 61; Stocker 1996: 16-18), while Rašić's international study shows a proportion of 62% of university graduates (Rašić 1994: 104).²¹ British Esperantists also showed an educational level above the national average, despite the fact that the population surveyed was clearly elderly (Forster 1982: 318-319).

OCCUPATION

Among the typical occupations of Esperantists the most notable is that of teacher, with 16%; well above the average in the Catalan population, where less than 1% are in this profession. The British study found figures similar to those in Catalonia, with teachers making up 20% of Esperantists (Forster 1982: 310), and teachers also took first place among the professions in the survey carried out by Rašić (1994: 105). Finally, we should highlight the significant number of IT specialists and engineers: IT specialists are currently one of the most widespread professions among Esperantists, and the strength of the language on the Internet – way above what its demographic weight would justify – is a sign of that.²²

²⁰ IDESCAT (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). Demographic Survey 2007, level of education of the population (among the population aged ten years and over).

²¹ The author notes that the number of graduates is higher in the Central and Eastern European countries than in Western Europe.

²² One example of this is the position of Esperanto, in July 2012, as the 27th language with most articles in Wikipedia, above Danish, Lithuanian and Serbian, which were respectively in 28th, 29th and 30th places (data obtained on 1 September 2012 from <http://stats.wikimedia.org/CA/Sitemap.htm>). An ongoing study during 2006 and 2007 showed that the number of pages in Esperanto was, over the period studied, lower than that in Slovene, but greater than

INCOME

Given the high educational level, one would expect to find above average income levels and, especially, a small proportion of low salaries. The data in fact confirmed this: only around 6% of Esperantists lived in households with a net monthly income of less than €1,000, while such households accounted for 17% of the population at large. Subjects were asked to place themselves in one of the income bands of multiples of 1,000 euros: the majority of Esperantists were in family units with an income of between 2,000 and 3,000 euros (38%), while among the general population the most common band was that of 1,000 to 2,000 euros (39%).²³ Actually, economically active Esperantists are generally salaried employees, with few being self-employed (5%) or managers or business owners (3%), so neither do we find very large incomes.

ORIGIN

Catalan Esperantists are of distinctly native origin, with a proportion born in Catalonia which is considerably higher than the Catalan average (85% for Esperantists, compared to 64% among the general Catalan population). This difference is even more notable on comparing data for the parents' birthplace between Esperantists and the general population of Catalonia.

Special mention should be made of the Esperantists of foreign origin, who represent 5% of the total. What seems important here is not so much the numerical difference with the overall Catalan population (in 2007 foreigners made up 10% of the country's population), but the different place of origin: this is not included in the survey but it is a known fact that Esperantists of foreign origin are mostly European.

This foreign origin is, however, much more notable among Catalan Esperantists' partners: 17% of those living in a couple had a foreign partner. This does not seem to be a recent phenomenon: the percentage is almost identical in all age groups. Moreover, this is also remarkable when we compare these figures with the Esperantists whose partners were from the rest of the Spanish state — a mere 3% of those living in a couple. Catalan Esperantists seem to have an exceptional tendency to seek partners from beyond the borders of the Spanish state. Or, looking at the matter from another angle,

those in Basque, Welsh or Maltese (Vaše 2007).

²³ IDESCAT (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). Annual net income of all household members, 2006. We must remember that the study was carried out before the current economic crisis and the survey results are therefore compared with general statistical data for the same period.

in their pattern of relationships the rest of the state appears to have no more weight than other countries.

FIRST LANGUAGE AND HOME LANGUAGE

The distinctly local origins of Esperantists means that one would expect an above average number to have Catalan as a mother tongue, and this was confirmed by the data. There are a remarkably high number of bilingual people among Esperantists, while the number who started off as monolingual Spanish speakers is very low.

Table 2: Initial languages among the Catalan population and among Catalan Esperantists

	Catalan	Spanish and Catalan	Spanish	Other situations
Catalonia*	32%	4%	55%	9%
Esperantists	61%	17%	14%	7%

* Source: IDESCAT (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). Survey of language use, 2008. Population by first language.

It should be emphasised that in the survey there was nobody who said they had Esperanto as a mother tongue²⁴, although two respondents reported having learned it before the age of ten.

With respect to the languages habitually used now at home, a comparison with the data for the Catalan population in general again showed a bias towards Catalan. A shift towards other situations apart from the exclusive use of Catalan or Spanish was also found, on comparing the current habitual languages at home of Esperantists and of the overall population.

Apart from these facts, the increase in the number of languages used in the home, compared to the first languages, is very significant. This increase is due to the abundance of mixed couples, which increases the number of households that use two or more languages. In particular, we must note the appearance of Esperanto as a language

²⁴ There are in the world maybe a thousand native speakers of Esperanto, according to the mailing list, denask-1, for families who use Esperanto at home, moderated by the Finnish linguist Jouko Linsteadt (consulted on 1 September 2012 on the website <http://www.helsinki.fi/%7Ejlsindst/odo.html>). This means that in percentage terms they probably represent less than 1% of Esperanto speakers: it is entirely to be expected, therefore, to find none in a survey of 98 individuals. However, in Catalonia there is at least one case where Esperanto is one of the initial languages (see <http://www.elperiodico.cat/ca/noticias/opinio/meu-pare-parlar-tota-vida-esperanto-1269632>, consulted on 1 September 2012).

at home and the significant increase in the use of Catalan as a home language among those who didn't have it as a mother tongue (this phenomenon is also notable in the general population). Overall, the detailed analysis of the data shows a complex process, where Catalan is coming to be used in more households, at the same time as these are becoming more multilingual.

In surveys of Esperantists in other countries, they do not ask about first languages or the language spoken at home, but even so from their language data one can draw the conclusion that Catalans are abnormal within the current world Esperanto population. The German survey, for example, found only two Low German speakers among 292 respondents²⁵ (although they represent nearly 10% of the population of the country) and no Frisian or Sorbian speaker; there were four Danish speakers, but there is no indication of whether this was their mother tongue (Stocker 1996: 33-34). In Finland, only 2.7% of Esperantists did not have Finnish as a mother tongue (Rašić 1994: 65), although the Swedish-speaking minority is twice that percentage in the general population.

KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

One of the most characteristic features of Esperantists is their polyglotism. The average number of languages spoken by Catalan Esperantists was found to be 4.4.²⁶ This result is fairly consistent with that found among Esperantists in other countries, while also being, as in those countries, markedly different from the national average.

The German survey discovered that Esperantists in that country spoke on average 3.3 languages, which, given that only 7% of the German population then spoke two or more foreign languages, placed Esperantists within this narrow band of the population (Rašić 1994: 94). On the other hand, Rašić's own statistics also showed an average of 3.3 languages spoken among Esperantists (Rašić 1994: 114), while a Flemish survey gave 3.4 (Rašić 1994: 76) — as against an average of 2.8 languages spoken in a sample of non-Esperantists. In Finland, with high levels of knowledge of Swedish and English, the average knowledge of foreign languages, apart from Esperanto, was 2.3 (Rašić 1994: 65), a figure very similar to that found in Catalonia.

²⁵ Surprisingly, among German Esperantists there are more speakers of Catalan than of Low German.

²⁶ Sevilla and Rovira found 5.1 languages in their (basically qualitative) study of fourteen activists of the Catalan Esperanto Association (Sevilla and Rovira 2007: 5). Our research found no significant differences between the number of languages spoken by activists as compared with Esperantists in general.

However, when we try to compare our data with that for the general Catalan population, we discover striking differences depending on the source used: the IDESCAT figures from 2008 for “fluent speakers” are clearly higher than those for “speakers” found by the Barometer of Communication and Culture, despite the studies having been carried out in a similar period on an almost identical population.²⁷

Table 3: Distribution of the Catalan population and of Catalan Esperantists by language knowledge (%)

	Spanish	Catalan	Esperanto	English	French	Italian	German	Russian	Portuguese	Basque	Occitan	Arabic	Galician
Catalonia*	100	78	-	10	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	-
Catalonia §	-	-	-	23	14	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1
Esperantists	100	99	76	55	52	17	13	6	5	2	2	1	1

Sources: * FUNDACC. Barometer of Communication and Culture, November 2007. Languages spoken. § IDESCAT. Survey of language use, 2008. Knowledge of other languages: fluent speaker.

Leaving aside Esperanto and Arabic, the comparison with the Barometer of the frequency of languages spoken shows that they follow the same initial order among the languages: Spanish, Catalan, English, French, Italian and German, in that order. Catalan Esperantists, however, include many more polyglots: 40% said they spoke 5 or more languages.

We should note the weight among Esperantists of some languages which are less popular in Catalonia, such as Russian (spoken by 6% of Esperantists), Portuguese (5%), Basque (2%) and Occitan (2%) in addition to Bulgarian, Farsi, Japanese, Tahitian and the constructed language Toki Pona, with one respondent for each. The tendency for Esperantists to be interested in lesser used languages was already noted in Finland (Rašić 1994: 65) and was also found in Germany (Stocker 1996: 33-34).

POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

Esperantists were shown to have a very different political behaviour from the Catalan average. This is, overall, a relatively politicised group: only 23 respondents stated that

²⁷ The Survey on Language Uses of the Population surveyed 7,300 residents in Catalonia aged 15 or over between February and November 2008 (IDESCAT 2009: 17-18), while the Barometer surveyed 29,544 residents aged 14 or over, between November 2006 and October 2007 (FUNDACC 2007: 586-587).

they had no political sympathies²⁸ and five did not answer²⁹. This proportion is noticeably lower than the general rate of electoral abstention, which was 46% and 43% in the two previous elections. In addition, ten respondents stated that they were members of a political party. However, given the fact that three of these were activists in the Esperanto movement and taking into account the overrepresentation of this group in the survey, as mentioned above, one should consider the rate of party membership among Esperantists in general to be closer to 8%; even so, this level almost doubles the 4.4% for the country as a whole (GCat 2007: 29).³⁰

Concerning party sympathies, over 50% of those Esperantists who declared political sympathies (more than 40% of the total) expressed a preference for pro-independence options: with ERC (pro-independence moderate leftists) in first place and the Candidatura d'Unitat Popular — CUP, Popular Unity Candidacy, radical left pro-independence supporters — in second place with a remarkable 8% support. These figures must, again, be read with some caution. As mentioned above, the less Catalanist sectors among Esperantists are underrepresented in the sample. Nonetheless, even after weighting the data, there remains a very large majority in favour of Catalan independence.

In second place, with a more than remarkable 24%, is the left and green coalition of ICV-EUiA. The two main electoral options in Catalonia, CiU (conservative Catalan nationalists) and PSC (social-democrats, supporters of Catalan autonomy), receive minority support of, respectively, 7% and 6%. No respondent expressed support for the PP (conservative Spanish nationalists), while one favoured Ciutadans (radical supporters of centralism and cultural uniformity). The well known phenomenon of the hidden vote may be a factor, but it is clear that these latter options have hardly any support among Esperantists.

²⁸ It is, however, necessary to note that six supporters of anarcho-sindicalist inclined trades unions (five of the CNT and one of the CGT) included themselves in this “non political” category.

²⁹ This includes two respondents, among the questionnaires received by post, who gave multiple answers. The responses in these cases were: CiU, ERC, Bloc Nacionalista Valencià and Others, in one case, and CiU and ERC in the other. It is curious to note that in the latter case the person also declared that he was a member of a political party.

³⁰ On this topic, see also the section “Participation in associations”.

Table 4: Distribution of the Catalan population and of Catalan Esperantists by support for each political party (voters or declared support)

	CiU	PSC	PP	ICV	ERC	C's	CUP
Elections to the Catalan Parliament, 2006*	31.5%	26.8%	10.7%	9.5%	14.0%	3.0%	-
Municipal elections, 2007*	25.3%	32.2%	9.9%	9.0%	11.7%	2.4%	0.6%
Esperantists (Weighted data)	8%	5%	0%	27%	46%	2%	8%

Source: * Government of Catalonia (Generalitat), Ministry of Governance.

We can conclude that Catalan Esperantists lean strongly towards the pro-independence supporters and green left, although all parties are represented in the group, with the almost full exception of the Spanish nationalist right.

In the area of trade unionism, we also find tendencies which are far from the norm. Forty-four respondents expressed sympathy for one or another union —whether a trade union or student union— and twelve of these supported the CNT. This was followed by CCOO (the largest union in Catalonia with 44% of the locally elected delegates) which was supported by nine respondents, the CGT with four and the Catalan teacher's union, USTEC, with three.

Table 5: Distribution of the Catalan population and of Catalan Esperantists by support for a union (according to votes or declared support for a trade union)

	CCOO	UGT	USO	CGT	CNT	Other
Catalonia*	44%	41%	4%	2%	-	9%
Esperantists	24%	5%	0%	11%	32%	27%

Sources: * IDESCAT. Statistical Yearbook of Catalonia, 2007. Union elections 2005. Representatives elected.³¹

Adding together the CNT and CGT, we can conclude that the libertarian movement has significant support among Catalan Esperantists, although somewhat less so than pro-independence supporters. For a number of people these two options are not

³¹ It should be noted that the CNT does not stand in these elections. [It is nonetheless widely recognised that support for this union among the general population is relatively small: Translator's note.]

contradictory, since five respondents declared themselves supporters of both ERC or CUP, on the one hand, and the CNT or CGT, on the other.

The data is consistent with Germà Martín's qualitative studies of the Catalan Esperanto movement. In interviews, his respondents identified their own ideology on a scale where 0 was the extreme left and 10 the extreme right; they located themselves on points between 0 and 4 (Martin 2004b: 17). The same author, in his field work on the Friends of UNESCO's esperantist group, also highlights the level of participation of certain Esperantists in "antiwar demonstrations; talks and meetings held by political parties or with speakers identified as being on the left, such as Arcadi Oliveres; *cacerolazos* [casserole protests] and demonstrations on the Catalan national day, the 11 September" (Martin 2004b: 18).

Work carried out by the Opinion Research Centre led to electoral sympathies being studied as the expression of an individual's value system, on the basis of the theory of basic human values originally defined by Shalom H. Schwartz. Specifically, the theory identifies ten basic values, valid for all cultures in the world (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió 2007a: 5). The Catalan study is based on this model and correlates these values with the vote for each party. In particular, there are three values with a strong positive correlation with voters both of ICV-EUiA and of ERC, and three with a strong negative correlation.

A positive correlation was found with "Stimulation", "Universalism" and "Self-Direction". These are defined respectively as "excitement, novelty, and challenge in life"; "Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature"; and "Independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring". On the other hand, the values opposed to those of voters for the two political groups which had most support among Esperantists are "Security", "Conformity" and "Tradition". These are defined respectively as "Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self", "Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms", and "Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self" (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió 2007a: 77).

This model is particularly suitable to our study because it allows voting options to be linked to a set of values and attitudes, so that we find that the political options of Esperantists are fully consistent with the idealism and nonconformity which they

display in many of their responses to the questionnaire: characteristics which are fully supported by the British and German studies.

RELIGION

The question of religion continues the marked difference with respect to the rest of Catalan society. In line with what one would foresee according to the theory of basic human values the percentage of Catholics among Esperantists, less than 20%, is three times lower than the Catalan average. In addition, this is strongly correlated with age: only one of the 25 respondents aged less than 30 states that they are a Catholic. Atheists and agnostics make up the majority (55%, compared to the 30 or 35% in the whole of Catalan society, depending on the study³²), while there is also a notable number of believers in other religions — more than 10%, of whom half state they are non-Catholic Christians — as opposed to 2 or 3% in the population at large.

This follows the pattern found among Esperantists in other countries, such as Britain and Germany, where atheists and agnostics, on the one hand, and believers in minority religions, on the other, are very highly represented, compared to national averages. On the basis of a thorough analysis, Forster concludes that British Esperantists are more aware of their religious attitudes and are more likely either to be practising believers or to declare themselves non-believers, a point confirmed by Stocker for German Esperantists: “It seems that Esperantists do not like to be members of a religious group only in formal terms” (Stocker 1996: 27).

PARTICIPATION IN ASSOCIATIONS

Esperantists have a very high level of participation in non Esperanto associations: 74 of the 98 respondents declared that they were members of an association, while the Catalan average stands at 46%.³³ It is not surprising that those who are mostly members of one association should have a tendency to participate in other organisations: IDESCAT data shows that Catalan association members belong on average to 1.5 organisations. However, 36 respondents stated they were members of one or more NGOs for development, of one or more associations for human rights or of one or more ecologist organisations (and twelve of them to more than one such

³² Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió (2007b: 8 and 2007c: 34).

³³ All data referring to Catalonia in this section is taken from IDESCAT, Membership of associations, 2006 and IDESCAT, Membership of different organisations or associations, 2006.

organisation), while only 15% of Catalan association members form part of such organisations. Although the proportion is more than twice the average, one can conclude that this can also be explained by ideological proximity: as mentioned above, even before the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN, the Universal Esperanto Association was committed to human rights and, since the mid nineties, has made a point of supporting linguistic rights. Logically, therefore, a significant proportion of Esperantists are members of several related organisations.

With regard to political or union affiliation, 19 respondents stated they were members of a party or a union (22, including student unions). Again, this figure is much higher than the Catalan average of 8%, but is almost identical to the percentage of Catalan association members who belong to such organisations, which is 19%.

HOBBIES AND FREE TIME ACTIVITIES

The majority of Esperantists stated that they spent their spare time reading and, in second place, in front of the computer.³⁴ Television only appeared in eighth place among the different activities, and was declared as one of their free time activities by only 33% of respondents, after participation in a party, trade union or association. The figure is probably an underestimate, but it shows a trend, in line with other group characteristics, such as the tendency towards participation in associations.

In the same way, reading was by far the most widely shared leisure activity among Esperantists, selected by 75 respondents. This was followed, at some distance, by travel, music and languages. The latter hobby does not seem at all out of place in a polyglot community formed around the learning of a language, which, furthermore, has little economic interest.³⁵

And indeed, reading seems to be important for Esperantists: a third said they read at least one book a month, which doubles the Catalan average. The number of respondents who read less than one book per year was only 3%, compared to the

³⁴ Respondents could choose as many options as they wanted out of a list of sixteen, the first of which was watching television.

³⁵ However there are cases of Catalan business people who use Esperanto for international business contacts. In this regard, we should note the story of a small Catalan businessman who has used Esperanto for professional contacts throughout his life (Franquesa 2003).

quarter of the Catalan population that never or almost never reads a book (IDESCAT 2008: 43).

On the other hand, the figures for reading the newspaper were equal to the Catalan average, both for those who read the newspaper every day (Esperantists: 45%, Catalan population: 46%) and habitually (Esperanto: 81%, Catalan population: 80%).³⁶

Finally, 77% of respondents used the Internet daily. This figure will be an exaggeration, due to the distortions discussed above, but the real figure cannot be far from two-thirds. As in the other issues, here different factors come together, such as the educational level, the higher than average income, and smaller family units, but in the case of the Internet we must take into account two others: the large number of IT specialists and the possibility offered by the net to practice Esperanto — even orally — with people from other countries. We could add a third: the policy of strengthening Internet as a means of teaching Esperanto, which the Esperanto movement adopted some years ago. Eighteen respondents stated that they had learned it via Internet. It is normal, therefore, that people who studied in this way should have a greater tendency to use the Internet regularly.

In fact, the way in which they spend their leisure time — including participation in associations — coupled with the similarities in their education, professions and political behaviour, shows Esperantists to be a relatively homogeneous group. In this regard, some aspects which reveal characteristic lifestyles deserve further study, for example vegetarianism, which has been shown by other studies to be more widespread among Esperantists than among the general population.³⁷

³⁶ Comparison with IDESCAT (2008: 57).

³⁷ Germà Martín found in his fieldwork that of the eight people in the group of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, three were vegetarians and two were favourable to vegetarianism. Among the Esperanto group of the Friends of UNESCO in Barcelona, another two respondents stated they were vegetarians (Martin 2004b: 18). The same author also detected “the practice of yoga and support for buying in neighbourhood shops, the rejection of ‘fast food’ and multinationals” (Martin 2004b: 18). According to the German survey, 10% of Esperantists in that country were vegetarians, a proportion that was distributed evenly among the different age groups and levels of activism; this percentage was ten times the national average (Stocker 1996: 100-101). Among Catalan Esperantists, as far as can be deduced from registrations at meetings and conferences (where, tellingly, participants are asked about their eating habits), about 5% are vegetarians. In any case, such lifestyle aspects may well be strong cohesive factors within the group, especially where, as in L'Hospitalet, “few people speak [Esperanto]” (Martin 2003a: 16). An indication of this could be an e-mail received during the period of data collection in which an Esperantist expressed surprise because the survey did not contain a

ESPERANTISTS AND ESPERANTO

FIRST CONTACT AND MAIN REASON FOR STUDYING ESPERANTO

Almost half of Esperantists came into contact with the language through family and friends. However, this proportion has fallen since the beginning of the 21st century, with the growth of Internet, which has become the form of the initial contact for a third of people, at a similar level to those who still come across it through close personal contacts.

Even so, although the first contact is often made through a family member, only in 5% of cases do Esperantists state that the family is their main reason for deciding to learn the language. Half of them said they began to study Esperanto because they agreed with the idea behind it. At a considerable distance, 17% said they did so mainly because they like languages and 14% out of simple curiosity.

The first two motives are also the leading reasons among German Esperantists, but the percentages are very different. In the German survey, 60% stated that they studied Esperanto for idealistic reasons and 64% due to an interest in languages (in this study they were able to state more than one reason) (Stocker 1996: 52-53).

Furthermore, these declarations of idealistic motives for learning Esperanto are corroborated by other responses to the questionnaire: 40% said that they participated in the Esperanto movement because they wanted to change society, while 19% stated they did so because they felt comfortable in the group. It was even found that more than half felt that the Esperanto movement could change society, compared to only 13% who believed that it was not able to do so. These proportions remain the same when faced with the great dilemma; whether the Esperanto movement should try to change society, or whether it should be oriented inwards, towards creating more literature, music and services in Esperanto — a widespread debate among Esperantists in the 1980s and part of the 1990s. And the same thing happened when respondents were asked whether they gave more importance to the ideal of peace and justice through a neutral language or else to the practical benefits of an easy international language for conferences, trade and tourism — another of the classic dilemmas of the Esperanto

specific question about eating habits.

movement. All these percentages shifted towards more pragmatic attitudes when the averages were weighted, but even so the overall picture remained the same. In any case, this shows the greater importance of idealism among activists, with respect to the rest of the Esperantists, which could be a contributing factor to their greater involvement in the group.

ESPERANTISTS IN THE FAMILY

We have seen that the family apparently does not have a great influence in the decision to be an Esperantist. The question referring to Esperantists in the family partly corroborated this, but at the same time it provided some surprising results. Indeed, the number of Esperantists among blood relatives (parents, children or siblings) ranged between 6% and 8%, which was quite close to the 5% of respondents who stated that they had learned Esperanto because of family ties. It is however surprising that 17% of respondents said that they have or have had an Esperantist partner.

In reality, based on the mere 5% who reported having learnt Esperanto because of family ties, what this figure reveals is the forming of couples between members of the Esperanto community, rather than people who have become Esperantists due to a relationship with a partner who was already involved in Esperanto. The fact is particularly understandable, as we shall see, given the high proportion of Esperantists who are or have been active in the Esperanto movement. It is normal that people who spend a significant proportion of their time in a particular group tend to find their partner within that group — especially in a case like this, of young people at a typical age for forming relationships.

AGE OF LEARNING

Esperantists usually learn the language between the ages of 15 and 30: nearly 60% of respondents studied it during this time of their life. The peak corresponds to the university period, although there was another 30% who learned it between the ages of 30 and 50.

METHOD OF STUDY

Esperanto had been studied in almost equal parts in regular courses and by self-study methods, although in the five years preceding the survey the growth of Internet had

shifted the balance towards self-study methods (usually, however, with tutoring at a distance).³⁸ On the other hand, the study of Esperanto within the family was very rare (3% of cases).

Detailed analysis of the data reveals the paradox that there was a certain tendency for self-taught learners to have a better understanding of the language than those who had learnt it in a classroom. This fact is even more surprising when one considers that the number of self-taught learners has increased in recent years and, therefore, they tend to have studied the language more recently and thus to have less knowledge of it. However, Internet allows people to practice the language more quickly and frequently — as well as more anonymously — through emails or chats, which have shown that they are powerful teaching methods. On the other hand, self-study methods are much more demanding than learning in a classroom. It is likely that the percentage of people who complete the course will be much lower, but those who manage it, because of their perseverance and ability, will achieve a better knowledge of Esperanto.

DEGREE OF KNOWLEDGE

Although it is typical in pro-Esperanto propaganda to argue that the language is easy, the fact was that little more than half the respondents stated that they spoke Esperanto well or very well. Around 20% thought their knowledge of it was poor and another quarter said it was very poor. Esperanto is a fully fledged language, so learning it requires continuous dedication and effort over a period of time — usually not less than two years. Not everyone has the interest, perseverance or ability required to do this. Actually, it is interesting to note that quite a few people are satisfied — in fact feel perfectly happy — with a relatively rudimentary level in the language (even though this is often higher than the levels typically achieved in foreign language classes).³⁹ It seems, furthermore, that with Esperanto there is greater tendency to forget the language than with the foreign languages learned at school. This could be due to the fact that they

³⁸ The question has been raised of whether the popularity of self-study methods on Internet is the reason for the large number of IT specialists among Esperantists. This does not seem to be the case: of the eight IT specialists in the sample, only two had learned the language in this way.

³⁹ In a sense, here we find that two opposing forces, which are fairly specific to the Esperanto community, come into play. On one hand, the positive attitude of the group towards newcomers, who are a sign of the continuity or possibly growth of this community. Another influential factor here is also probably a feeling of understanding and complicity, since almost every Esperanto speaker can remember the time when they were learning the language. On the other hand, Esperantists as a group are less tolerant towards those who do not progress in the language, as shown by the pejorative term “eterna komencanto” (“permanent beginner”) used to refer to such people (and these are not just a handful of people, as is shown by the fact that there is a widely known term just for them). This tendency to judge people’s linguistic knowledge seems to reveal a certain hierarchy within the group, with an internal valuation of its members based on their mastery of Esperanto.

have studied it for less time, and therefore they may have absorbed less of the rudiments of the language, or it could be that with the major languages of international communication learned at school there is more ongoing passive contact, which helps to avoid their being forgotten. These issues, however, are among the many aspects related to Esperanto which require further study.

The group that had best mastered the language were activists (89% spoke it well or very well), which is a predictable finding, given that these are the people who most use it, in speaking, reading and writing; they participate in more meetings and are subscribed to more magazines. But in turn, one consequence of the strong correlation between activism with proficiency in the language, on the one hand, and women's under-representation among activists, on the other, is that women speakers' linguistic knowledge was significantly lower than the average: 38% of women Esperantists spoke Esperanto well or very well in comparison to 59% of men. It may well be the case that women tend to underrate their knowledge in comparison with men (or that men overestimate theirs), but it does seem that there are sufficient reasons for believing that former explanation is correct.

A comparison of the data with that for German Esperantists does not give conclusive results. The Catalan data is worse in this respect but it is necessary to bear in mind, especially for this question, that the sample is fundamentally different: the German study, being based on members of Esperanto associations, has a bias towards people with a longer and more regular relation with Esperanto. Moreover, it should be noted that although the reported frequency of the use of language was similar, the German respondents' participation in Esperanto meetings was far superior to that of the Catalans.

PARTICIPATION IN ASSOCIATIONS

Not all Esperantists are organised, by any means; 30% of them are not members of any Esperanto organisation. This percentage reaches nearly 60% among those who studied Esperanto during the last five years, but it falls to 20% among those who studied it between five and twenty years ago. As time passes, the rate of membership increases. It is possible that those who are members of an association maintain more involvement in Esperanto, or else that the rate of association membership among Esperanto is now declining, or possibly both are the case.

The majority of association membership is at the level of national associations (Catalan and/or, to a much lesser extent, Spanish). Around 20% of Esperantists are members of local groups, although these have drawn few new members over the last twenty years. Around 20% of Catalan Esperantists are members of the Universal Esperanto Association, the most important international Esperanto organisation. The other associations carry less weight. We should note the importance of the professional organisations (such as those of teachers, railway workers and business people, with a total of nine members), political groups (on the left or for people's rights, with seven members), Catholic groups (three members) and humanitarian organisations (also three).⁴⁰

FREQUENCY OF USE

Esperanto has always been used more for reading and writing than as a spoken language. In the early years of the use of the language, the occasions on which Esperanto was used orally were even reported in the magazines. It was only really with the first World Congress in 1905 — eighteen years after the publication of the first Esperanto grammar — that there was a general oral use of the language among a large group of people from different countries and it was demonstrated that Esperanto could be spoken as fluently as any other language. Even so, because of the dispersion of its speakers, Esperanto continues to be essentially a language for reading and writing. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, such as those who use it as the daily language in the home, but, as we have seen, these are a very small minority.

The survey confirms this impression: the most common use is reading, followed at a distance by writing, with oral use coming last. The exact figures vary greatly depending on the level of knowledge of the language, and there are big differences between the raw survey data and the weighted results, due to the overrepresentation of activists. So the daily use of Esperanto for reading was reported by 20% of all Esperantists (12%, according to the weighted data), but by 59% of the fluent speakers; on the other hand, daily spoken use was reported by only two respondents, who used it as a home language. If we look at the uses of Esperanto made one or more times per week, about half of Catalan Esperantists use it for reading, 15% for writing and 10% speak it — according to the weighted data — whereas among fluent speakers, it is a very habitual

⁴⁰ Sometimes what is surprising is what we don't find: it is somewhat striking not to find any member of the international gay Esperanto organisation in a group where being openly gay is generally seen to be just as (ab)normal as being openly heterosexual.

language, with more than 80% who read it, more than 60% writing it and more than 35% who speak it.

These figures are similar to those found in the German study, in which 45% of respondents declared that they used the language “daily” or “frequently”, without the method of use being specified (Stocker 1996: 46-47).

ACTIVISM

The level of activism is remarkable among Esperanto speakers.⁴¹ Close to 6% declared that they participated a lot, or quite a lot, in the Esperanto movement, while 14% said they did so a bit. Another 24% said they didn’t participate much now, but had done some time ago. Thus a little over 40% of Esperantists were or had been active, to a certain degree, in the movement. In particular, around one third of them said they had taught Esperanto and a quarter that they had done so for a year or more. Forty respondents say they held or had held some position within the Esperanto movement, almost always at local or national level; rarely internationally.

This high level of involvement at one time or another their life is, as we have seen, reflected in the number of couples formed between Esperantists. It is legitimate to ask to what extent Esperantists are a closed group. More than half of respondents said they did not have many Esperanto friends, while a quarter said they had quite a lot. However these proportions are reversed among activists, as is logical among people who are active in a specific milieu, which leads them to deal frequently with a lot of other people within it.

Esperantists are thus revealed to be a very cohesive group, active within their movement, but at the same time open to contacts with other people — as is also shown by their high degree of participation in associations and political parties and by their free time activities (with the apparently much smaller role played by television — a medium which is a promoter *par excellence* of passivity — the main leisure activity in our society today). In fact, 70% defined themselves as active (and a third as very active) and two thirds as participative (and 20% as very participative).

⁴¹ As in the previous section, we refer here to the weighted data, which is markedly different from the raw survey results, as was fully to be expected.

PREJUDICES

Following up an idea in Rašić's survey, it was desired to investigate Esperantists' prejudices, asking them about favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards a series of countries, languages and religions⁴². These questions generated some comments, both in the process of testing the draft questionnaire prior to its publication, and in the course of data collection. One of the people who trialled the questionnaire wrote: "I do not know what your intention is, but I hope that if you ask Esperantists these questions, they will all reply that they are neither favourable nor unfavourable towards any language, country or religion. I may have a very bad opinion, for example, of the policies of the state of France, but I really like my French friend." Another person expressed himself in the same direction: "I would think again about trying to judge countries or languages. Because on the one hand you cannot dislike a country, at most you can dislike some people of that country. Nor can you dislike a language, at most you can dislike some people who speak that language."

Obviously, the purpose of the questions was not to evaluate the opinion that Esperantists may have of the 300 million inhabitants of the United States of America, but rather to discover if they had one and whether this differed from that which they might have concerning the 70 million Iranians. The aim was to test the hypothesis formulated by Rašić and discover whether Esperantists really showed a feeling of openness to other countries, beyond prejudices. In this sense, the interest was not so much in the attitude towards any specific country, as in whether such attitudes varied from one country to another, from one language to another, or from one religion to another. We were thus interested in measuring the variance rather than the averages in themselves.

The result turned out to be more complex than what Rašić presented in his study. He did not analyse individual variances, only the distribution of the whole set of responses, and these showed basically a Gaussian curve which was slightly biased towards the positive side; this was the result that was expected. In this study, however, the distribution was notably different.

There were some respondents — sometimes those sympathetic to anarcho-syndicalism — who consistently felt unfavourable or very unfavourable towards all states (without

⁴² The countries were: Spain, France, USA, Israel, Iran and Venezuela. The languages were: Spanish, English, Basque, Arabic, Chinese and Interlingua. The religions were: Catholicism, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism.

distinction), favourable or very favourable towards all languages (without distinction) and unfavourable or very unfavourable towards all religions (with the occasional exception of Buddhism). On the other hand, one respondent felt be “very favourable” towards all countries, languages and religions. Another was neutral towards all countries and religions, but felt “very favourable” to all languages. A third respondent had a favourable attitude towards all countries and a very favourable attitude towards all languages, but expressed indifference to all religions, while a fourth was indifferent towards countries, but was favourable towards languages and religions. Finally, there were cases where there were only positive opinions, but some were more positive than others. Only one respondent gave no answer to any of the questions in this section.

In the final result, the central neutral values always showed a strong majority, except in the case of the United States, where both “unfavourable” and “very unfavourable” had almost as many responses as indifference. Overall, however, the central neutral opinion had a strong majority. For countries and religions there was a tendency towards being unfavourable, while for languages, towards being favourable. Buddhism showed a notable difference compared to other religious beliefs and among languages Basque was seen very favourably.

However, as mentioned above, the basic interest was not so much to evaluate the average values, but rather to see whether the attitudes expressed in the different categories showed equality. Thus, an analysis was made of the variance in the responses for each individual, and the opinions they expressed of countries, languages and religions: a variance of 0 indicates that they gave the same rating to all elements in the group (independently of whether this was high or low), and the larger the variance, the more deviations were shown by the respondent in their different ratings, with respect to their mean value.

Summarising the results, it is difficult to conclude whether the variance is high or low, due to the lack of comparative data from a parallel random sample of non-Esperantists: just over half of the Esperantists showed a variance below 0.5, while the other half exceeded this. The figures showed greater equality in the judgements concerning religion and less in those concerning countries.

If these numbers are not very expressive in themselves, they are, however, interesting when analysed according to the different categories into which the sample is divided. We see here a great equality between all the subgroups according to the different

categories. In particular, no significant differences were observed according to the time spent in the Esperanto movement. We cannot conclude, therefore, whether Esperantists are more immune to stereotypes and prejudices than most Catalans, but the data seems to suggest that the use of Esperanto and contact with Esperantists do not lead people to increase their immunity against such prejudices; perhaps, in any case, people who are already more immune to such ideas are more inclined to become Esperantists, a hypothesis that would have to be tested in future studies.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG ESPERANTISTS

The question as to whether the use of Esperanto in some way changes people's opinions and attitudes is a matter open to investigation and which was touched on here through two direct questions: whether Esperanto had increased the interest of the respondent in other countries and in languages. Most responded favourably to both questions, but more markedly to the first. There are significant differences by age (especially concerning languages) and especially between activists and other Esperantists.⁴³

Future analysis will have to clarify the extent to which these claims are true, or whether they reflect clichés about the Esperanto community. So it could be that the most active people had been most exposed to certain group myths and had taken on this discourse; or it could be that their greater exposure to the international environment of the Esperanto community and friendship with people from different countries had in fact increased their interest in other cultures and languages. Finally, it is also possible that people who had developed these interests thanks to Esperanto, and considered them to be something positive and a sign of the beneficial effects of learning Esperanto, were more inclined to maintain their connection with the language. And, of course, it could be all of these things at the same time.

CONCLUSION

Catalan Esperantists are far from the period when there were 45 simultaneous Esperanto courses in Barcelona, but they are also far from being an aging group with little new blood from the younger generation, as was the case of their British colleagues in 1968. On the contrary, the Esperanto movement in Catalonia, despite its meagre

⁴³ In the Finnish study, 72% of respondents claimed that Esperanto had increased their interest in languages, with more positive responses among those who had only completed primary education (Rašić 1994: 65).

population and the significant decline during the Franco period, has received successive generations of young activists who have entered the movement over the last thirty years, replacing the previous older layers. They actually show interesting signs of combining an adaptation to the globalised world — of which they themselves are, after all, a product — with deep local roots.

Catalan Esperantists have shown themselves to be a remarkably homogeneous group, much more so than one might expect among a group of speakers of a second language. Probably the fact that this second language does not have much commercial value is a contributing factor: it would be interesting to compare this group with those Catalans who have learned Occitan or perhaps Basque (groups which have a certain organised presence in Catalonia).

In rough and ready terms, Catalan Esperantists are predominantly male; more than fifteen years of age; inhabitants of large towns; university students or people who have completed higher education; they are middle class and often work in education or IT; they are Catalan speaking and multilingual and often have a foreign partner; they are atheist or agnostic, habitual book readers; they participate actively in Catalonia's general political and associative life — particularly in the areas of human rights, development aid and ecology — and have a strong sympathy for the pro-independence political parties, the green left or anarchism. They came across Esperanto through family or friends — although recently more likely through Internet — but learned it because of their own idealistic convictions, mainly between the ages of 15 and 30. Half of them, at one time or another in their lives, participate in the Esperanto movement and as a result of this activity come to use the language habitually, especially in reading and writing, and to know it well.

Germà Martín, in his field studies in 2002 and 2003 of the Esperanto group in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat and of the Esperanto section of Friends of UNESCO in Barcelona, tried to confirm the hypothesis that “the study of Esperanto is attractive to people with a preference for alternative life styles”, understanding the latter to be “lifestyles that favour a number of post-materialist interests (taking this to mean non-material interests, on the margins of the consumer society) and a way of looking at life with an attitude of respect, tolerance and equality between nationalities, languages, people and nature” (Martín 2004b: 10-11). His hypothesis is completely confirmed by this study.

On the other hand, one of the unexpected results of this study is that personal involvement in the Esperanto movement is the element that, in many cases, brings a person to speak fluent Esperanto, in a way playing the role of stays abroad when learning foreign languages. Such activism, however, appears to depend a lot on family circumstances, particularly on not having children or else on their children having already grown up. This seems to be an essential point in explaining the low level of female participation in the Esperanto movement — a sensitive issue in social movements, but much more noticeably so in the case of the Esperanto movement, which requires the effort firstly of learning a language and then of maintaining the capacity to use it. It is thus very regrettable to find this mark of a sexist society even among progressive people with a high educational level, the social group from which Esperanto draws the majority of its members.

Another point revealed by the study is the significant number of couples from differing backgrounds — a phenomenon which is currently growing in society, but which became established long ago among Esperantists. This fact seems to have increased the number of languages used in the home, although within the Esperanto community this is compatible with a trend, visible over different generations, towards using Catalan in more and more homes.

Moreover, it is interesting to consider how Esperantists change, if they change, due to the fact that they are Esperantists: how, for example, some of their ideas evolve due to their greater interaction with people from other countries. In this study we considered the hypothesis that Esperantists may be more immune to stereotypes about countries, languages and religions than most of their fellow citizens. The hypothesis could not be proved nor disproved, but the data seems to suggest that Esperanto does not substantially change the prejudices that Esperantists may have; a result that is at odds with the hypothesis. It would be desirable to carry out a more specific study to go more deeply into this tentative observation.

When compared to Esperantists in other Western European countries, Catalan Esperantists reflect in general terms the pattern shown by the other studies conducted until now. However, German Esperantists, for example, differ greatly from the average attitude among their countrymen when they state that people have excessively strong national feelings (*Nationalbewußtsein*); they have forty percentage points of difference compared to the average among the German population, the largest difference in a

series of twenty questions about social attitudes. It is very likely that a similar feeling of rejection of chauvinism also exists among Catalan Esperantists, because that is what one would expect of a group whose characteristics include “understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people”. Nonetheless, one must bear in mind that this sentiment is expressed differently among Catalan Esperantists, since this is a group with a high degree of political awareness and social activism, made up of members of a national minority which is resisting absorption by a dominant (in this case, Spanish) culture. Catalan Esperantists will therefore tend to emphasise their national and linguistic identity more than those Esperantists who are members of hegemonic national and linguistic groups.

In this sense, Catalan Esperantists show themselves to be a very *glocal* group: both global and local at the same time. The study of this group reveals one possible way of adapting to a globalised world, of which the Esperanto community is a microcosm, while maintaining strong ties to both one’s own country and native language.

Finally, the study shows Esperantists to be a group of people who, despite their relatively small number, are particularly active and militant on issues that go way beyond the linguistic rights which are their basic concern. This explains their significant and ongoing involvement in various initiatives against war and militarism, as explained in the introduction above. It is clear that the peace movement can find among Esperantists numerous activists with long experience in social movements and, moreover, that the Esperanto movement should take on board, as an integral part of its activities, actions in favour of peace, which up to now seem to have been considered only as isolated events. Hopefully, this would make it possible to find more spaces for collaboration between Esperantists and the Catalan peace movement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alòs i Font, Hèctor. 2009. “Quanta gent parla anglès a Catalunya?” *Kataluna Esperantisto* 349. (1, 12-13). Available at <http://www.esperanto.cat/ke/ke0901w.pdf> (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- Alòs i Font, Hèctor, and Llibert Puig i Gandia. 2010. “Els inicis ceretans del moviment esperantista català”, in Poblet and Alòs. (83-87). (Esperanto translation: “La komenco en Ceret de la kataluna esperanto-movado”, in Poblet and Alòs. (319-322).)
- Amouroux, Jean, Robert Lloancy, and Marie-Thérèse Lloancy. 1985. *Histoire du mouvement espérantiste en Roussillon*. Perpignan: Ed. Conflent.
- Amouroux, Jean. 2010. “Mossèn Joan Font i Giral (1899-1936)”, in: Poblet and Alòs. (193-201). (Original in Esperanto: “Pastro Joan Font i Giral (1899-1936)”, in Poblet and Alòs. (419-423).)
- Artero i Lozano, Felip, and Hèctor Alòs i Font. 1994. “Ŝako al armeo”. *Kontakto* 143. (4-7, 13).
- Associació Catalana d’Esperanto. 2008. “Objectius valors i principis”. Available at <http://www.esperanto.cat/web/objectius-valors-i-principis?lang=ca> (consulted on 1 September 2012). (Esperanto translation: “Celoj, valoroj kaj principoj”. Available at <http://esperanto.cat/web/Celoj-valoroj-kaj-principoj?lang=eo> (consulted on 1 September 2012).)
- Centre d’Estudis d’Opinió (Opinion Research Centre). 2007a. *Valors bàsics, circumstàncies vitals i orientacions polítiques: estudi pilot a la província de Barcelona. Febrer 2007*. Generalitat de Catalunya (CEO no. 374).
- — 2007b. *Enquesta sobre el debat de política general 2007, octubre 2007*. Generalitat de Catalunya (CEO no. 399).
- — 2007c. *Òmnibus, novembre 2007*. Generalitat de Catalunya (CEO no. 402).
- Cortès i Braña, Lurdes. 2011. “Els nens austríacs acollits a Osona (1920-1923)”. *Ausa* 167. (209-247).
- Del Barrio, Toño. 2011. “Entre educació obrera i alternativa cultural. Per què els treballadors van aprendre Esperanto a Espanya al principi del segle XX”. *Kataluna Esperantisto* 357. (17-23). Available at <http://www.esperanto.cat/ke/ke11-01w.pdf> (consulted on 1 September 2012). (Original in Esperanto: “Inter laborista edukado kaj kultura alternativo”. Available at: <http://www.delbarrio.eu/laboristakulturo.htm> (consulted on 1 September 2012). Also in Spanish: “Educación obrera y alternativa cultural”. Available at: <http://www.delbarrio.eu/culturaobrera.htm> (consulted on 1 September 2012).)
- Forster, Peter G. 1982. *The Esperanto Movement*. Den Haag, Paris, New York: Mouton.
- Franquesa, Josep. 2003. “Malgranda estas bela, grava kaj interesa”. In Alòs i Font, Hèctor, Josep Franquesa, Paul Gubbins, and Albert Herranz Hammer. *Malgranda estas bela*. Constantí: Associació Catalana d’Esperanto, O Limaco Edizions. (11-18).

- FUNDACC. 2007. *El baròmetre de la comunicació i la cultura. 2001. Informe gratuït. Catalunya.* Fundació Audiències de la Comunicació i la Cultura. Barcelona.
- GCAT. 2007. *Enquesta sobre participació política a Catalunya. Gener 2007.* Generalitat de Catalunya. (CEO no. 372)
- IDESCAT (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). 2008. *Enquesta de consum i pràctiques culturals 2006* (2nd corrected version: 24/10/2008). Generalitat de Catalunya. Available at <http://www.idescat.cat/cat/idescat/publicacions/cataleg/pdfdocs/ecpc06.pdf?20090303> (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- — 2009. *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics de la població 2008.* Generalitat de Catalunya. Available at <http://www.idescat.cat/cat/idescat/publicacions/cataleg/pdfdocs/eulp2008.pdf> (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- Ipfelkofer, Jomo. 2009. "Postaj tempoj eble pli bone komprenos min". *Monato* 2009/08-09. (14-15). Available at <http://www.esperanto.be/fel/2009/009823.php> (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- Joan i Martí, Bernat. 2008. "Pròleg" in Poblet. (7-9).
- Kókény, Lajos, i Vilmos Bleir (red.). 1933. *Enciklopedio de Esperanto.* Budapest: Literatura Mondo. Available at http://www.eventoj.hu/steb/gxenerala_naturscienco/enciklopedio-1/encikl.htm (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- Künzli, Andreas. 2009. "Bjalistoko". Available at <http://www.plansprachen.ch/Bjalistoko.pdf> (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- Lindstedt, Jouko. 1996. "Uusi arvio esperanton puhujien määrästä". *Esperantolehti* 3. (7).
- Lins, Ulrich. 1990. *La danĝera lingvo. Studo pri la persekutoj kontraŭ Esperanto.* Moscow: Progress. (Translations into German, Italian, Lithuanian and Russian are available.)
- — 2000. *La kontribuo de Universala Esperanto-Asocio por pli paca mondo.* Rotterdam: Universala Esperanto-Asocio. (English translation: *The work of the Universal Esperanto Association for a more peaceful world.* Universal Esperanto Association, Rotterdam, 2000.)
- Margais, Xavier. 2002. *El moviment esperantista a Mallorca (1898-1938).* Palma: Documenta Balear.
- — 2010. "Noves sobre l'esperantantisme a Maó (1905-1910). In Poblet and Alòs, pp 99-104. (Esperanto translation: "Novaĵoj pri la esperantismo en Maró (1905-1920)", in Poblet and Alòs. (331-335).)
- Martín Muñoz, Germà. 2003a. "Grup d'Esperanto de l'Hospitalet. Treball final de Pràctiques de Camp I en Antropologia Social i Cultural". (Autonomous University of Barcelona) (Manuscript deposited in the Catalan Esperanto Association library).
- — 2003b. "Treball de Mètodes d'Investigació en Antropologia Social i Cultural". (Autonomous University of Barcelona) (Manuscript deposited in the Catalan Esperanto Association library).
- — 2004a. "Treball de Tècniques d'Investigació en Antropologia Social i Cultural". (Autonomous University of Barcelona) (Manuscript deposited in the Catalan Esperanto Association library).

- — 2004b. “Treball final de Pràctiques de Camp II en Antropologia Social i Cultural”. (Autonomous University of Barcelona) (Manuscript deposited in the Catalan Esperanto Association library).
- Martinelli, Perla. 2004. *Edmond Privat: l'uomo e l'opera*. Milan: Centro Italiano di Interlingüística.
- Modan, Doron. 2010. “Esperanto kiel araba-juda lingvo de paco, 1924-1948”. In Blanke, Detlev and Ulrich Lins (ed.). *La arto labori kune: Festlibro por Humphrey Tonkin*. Rotterdam: Universala Esperanto-Asocio. (473-480).
- Montagut, Abel. 2000. “La interllengua Esperanto: Factor d’innovació a la Catalunya de tombant de segle (1898-1909)”. In: *Entre la crisi d’identitat i la modernització. Actes del Congrés Internacional celebrat a Barcelona, 20-24 d’abril de 1998*. Vol I. Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat. (Reproduced in Poblet and Alòs. (23-28). Esperanto translation: “La interlingvo esperanto: Noviga faktoro en Katalunio dum la jarcenta ŝanĝo (de 1898 ĝis 1909)” in Poblet and Alòs. (261-266).)
- Peláez, Lluc (coord). 2001. *Per la pau, no a la desfilada militar: crònica d’una gran mobilització ciutadana a favor de la pau i la desmilitarització*. Barcelona. (English translation: “Say yes to peace, no to the military parade: Report of a large popular action for peace and for demilitarisation”). Complete edition in Catalan, Spanish, English and Esperanto available at <http://www.esperanto.cat/desfilada/total.pdf> (consulted on 12 February 2013).
- Poblet i Feijoo, Francesc. 2004. *Els inicis del moviment esperantista a Catalunya. La komenca esperanto-movado en Katalunio*. Tarragona: Associació Catalana d’Esperanto, O Limaco Edizions.
- — 2008. *El Congrés Universal d’Esperanto de 1909 a Barcelona. La Universala Kongreso de Esperanto de 1909 en Barcelono*. Sabadell: Associació Catalana d’Esperanto.
- Poblet i Feijoo, Francesc, and Hèctor Alòs i Font (Ed.). 2010. *Història de l’esperanto als Països Catalans. Recull d’articles. Historio de esperanto en la Kataluna Landaro. Artikolkolekto*. Barcelona: Associació Catalana d’Esperanto.
- Rašić, Nikola. 1994. *La rondo familia. Sociologiaj esploroj en Esperantio*. Pisa: Edistudio.
- Sevilla, Guillem, and Ruth Rovira. 2007. “Percepció interior de la identitat de KEA”. (Working document of the Catalan Esperanto Association)
- Sikosek, Ziko M. 2003. *Esperanto sen mitoj*. Antwerp: Flandra Esperanto-Ligo.
- Stocker, Frank. 1996. *Wer spricht Esperanto? Kiu parolas Esperanton?* Munich, Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- Vaše, Jérôme. 2007. “Esperantistoj superas eŭskojn en reta aktiveco”. *Libera Folio*, 18.12.2007. Available at <http://www.liberafolio.org/2007/abako> (consulted on 1 September 2012).
- Zamenhof, Lazaro Ludoviko. 1963. *Paroladoj kaj poemoj*. Rio de Janeiro: Kultura Kooperativo de Esperantistoj.

ICIP WORKING PAPERS SUBMISSION GUIDELINES:

International Catalan Institute for Peace (ICIP)

■ ■ The principle purpose of the ICIP is to promote a culture of peace in Catalonia as well as throughout the world, to endorse peaceful solutions and conflict resolutions and to endow Catalonia with an active role as an agent of peace and peace research. The ICIP, seeking consistency between ends and means, is governed by the principles of promoting peace, democracy, justice, equality and equity in relationships between individuals, peoples, cultures, nations and states. It holds the aim of working for human security, disarmament, the prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts and social tensions, and strengthening the roots of peace and coexistence, peace building and advocacy of human rights.

Objectives of the Publication

■ ■ The ICIP wants to create an open forum on topics related to peace, conflict and security. It aims to open up debate and discussion on both theoretical and contemporary issues associated with the pursuit and maintenance of peace in our world. It strives to connect an eclectic group of voices including career academics, PhD students, NGO representatives, institutional representatives, and field workers and field writers to celebrate ground-breaking and constructive approaches to peace and conflict resolution.

Scope of the Publication (List of Themes)

■ ■ The ICIP is interested in works related to peace, conflict and security research. It aims to provide an innovative and pluralist insight on topics of methodology of peace research, the history and development of peace research, peace education, peace-keeping and peace-creating, conflict resolution, human security, human rights, global security, environmental security, development studies related to peace and security, international law related to peace, democracy, justice and equality, disarmament, gender, identity and ethics related to peace, science and technology associated with peace and security.

Audience:

■ ■ The ICP aims to provide accessible, valuable and well-researched material for all those interested in the promotion of peace. Our audience includes fellow academics and researchers, student of peace and security, field workers, institutional and governmental representatives as well as the general public.

The review process

■ ■ Peer reviewed. Submissions should be sent directly to the series editor (recerca.icip@gencat.cat), who will check whether the paper meets the formal and general criteria for a working paper and will commission a review.

■ ■ The review procedure is double-blind. The series editor will choose two anonymous reviewers, generally from the Editorial Board, but may also commission an external review from outside the ICIP.

■ ■ Reviewers are asked to write a review within a month after having received the paper. Reviews should clearly indicate one of four options: (1) accept without changes; (2) accept with minor changes; (3) allow for resubmission after major changes (4) reject. Options 2 to 4 require some detailed comments. If a paper is accepted (option 1 or 2), reviewers are kindly asked to help authors correct minor

linguistic or other errors by making notes in the manuscript. If they use the track changes function for this purpose they should make sure that their comments are anonymized.

Who may submit working papers?

- ■ The main criterion for the submission of Working Papers is whether this text could be submitted to a good academic journal.
- ■ ICIP staff and other fellows and visitors affiliated with the ICIP are expected to submit a working paper related to their research while at the ICIP.

Submission System

- ■ All submissions can be made to the ICIP e-mail address: recerca.icip@gencat.cat with *Working Papers – submission* in the subject line.

Author Biographical Statement

- ■ Authors must all provide a short biographical note including full name, affiliation, e-mail address, other contact information if necessary and a brief professional history. This information should be provided on a separate sheet with the title. All other personal references should be removed from the submission to ensure anonymity.

Abstract

- ■ All papers must include English language abstracts (150 words max.)

Keywords

- ■ A list of four to six keywords is also required.

Language and Style

- ■ Authors may submit in Catalan, Spanish or English. The submission must be clearly written and easy to follow with headings demarcating the beginning of each section. Submission must be in Arial 11, double spaced and pages must be numbered.
- ■ Papers should not be longer than 15.000 words (incl. footnotes and references). Longer papers may be returned with a request to shorten them. Papers that require more extensive presentation of data may add these in an appendix that will count separately. Appendices should, however, present data in a reader-friendly and condensed format.
- ■ Papers that will require extensive linguistic editing will not be accepted for review. Minor linguistic corrections (as well as required revisions) suggested by the reviewer must be implemented by the author before the final editing of the paper.

Footnotes

- ■ Footnotes may be used to provide the reader with substantive information related to the topic of the paper. Footnotes will be part of the word count.

References

- ■ The Harvard author-date system. In this system, sources are briefly cited in the text, usually in parentheses, by author's last name and date of publication. The short citations are amplified in a list of references in alphabetical list, where full bibliographic information is provided. Bibliographic references must follow *The Chicago Manual of Style* (15th edition). See a *Chicago-Style citation quick guide* at: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html
Citation generators:
<http://www.workscited4u.com/> i <http://citationmachine.net/>

ICIP WORKING PAPERS

2012/4

Las posiciones de los diferentes grupos políticos israelíes sobre la resolución de la situación de los Refugiados

by Aritz García Gómez
(available in spanish)

2012/3

Els esperantistes catalans. Un col·lectiu pacifista en un món global

by Hèctor Alòs Font
(available in catalan)

2012/2

Autonomía comunitaria y caciquismo: identidad étnica, control social y violencia en una comunidad mixe de Oaxaca

by Ignacio Iturralde Blanco
(available in english and spanish)

2012/1

The analysis of the framing processes of the Basque peace movement: The way Lokarri and Gesto por la Paz changed society

by Egoitz Gago Anton
(available in catalan and english)

2011/8

New developments of peace research. The impact of recent campaigns on disarmament and human security

by Javier Alcalde and Rafael Grasa
(available in english)

2011/7

Segregation and the onset of civil war

by Lesley-Ann Daniels
(available in catalan and english)

2011/6

Mechanisms of Neo-colonialism. Current French and British influence in Cameroon and Ghana

by Diana Haag
(available in catalan and english)

2011/5

Una anàlisi comparativa de la despesa militar espanyola en el molt llarg termini (1850-2009)

by Alonso Herranz, Oriol Sabaté and Gregori Galofré-Vilà
(available in catalan and english)

2011/4

El foro social mundial y los movimientos antisistémicos

by Jordi Calvo
(available in catalan and english)

2011/3

Cultural Relativism in the Universal Periodic Review of the Human Rights Council

by Roger Llovet Blackburn
(available in catalan and english)

All numbers available at / Tots els números disponibles a:
http://www.gencat.cat/icip/eng/icip_wp.html

All numbers available at / Tots els números disponibles a:
http://www.gencat.cat/icip/eng/icip_wp.html

INTERNATIONAL
CATALAN
INSTITUTE

FOR PEACE

GRAN VIA, 658 BAIX. 08010 BARCELONA
T. 93 554 42 70 | F. 93 554 42 80
ICIP@GENCAT.CAT | WWW.ICIP.CAT