

THE LITERARY JOURNALISM OF AURORA BERTRANA: A VOICE OF MODERNITY IN
CATALONIA IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

By

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To God, who never fails me

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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As historical research, the focus of this study is to analyze Aurora Bertrana's contribution to literary journalism. She was Catalan, a writer, a traveler, an activist and a female with access to public intellectual life at the beginning of the twentieth century. In these roles, she became the most remarkable voice of modernity in Catalonia. Writing from countries like Switzerland, Oceania and Morocco, her journalism, fictional literature and political activism had a strong commitment to social justice, as well as women's and labor rights. At the same time, Bertrana used her time abroad to describe and criticize Spanish and French colonization, bringing a taste of the exotic and otherness to Catalonia. This study argues that she is not a traditional reporter but a literary journalist. And in defining her as such, this study opposes the hegemony of the traditional literary journalism canon by revealing the work of an artist marginalized by both her gender and geography. She wrote and published in a language and in a country outside the majority of Anglocentric and Americentric discourse on literary journalism. From these observations, it is intended to show that Aurora Bertrana's literary journalism left one of the strongest traces of modernity that contributed to the renewal of Catalan society, promoting a model for the new female intellectual. Her fresh writing style and observational innovation engaged her audience, making her well recognized by society, critics, and media.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

La Vida, amb majúscula, m'entrava a dolls pels ulls, pels narius, per les orelles. La respirava, la palpava, la mastegava.

Life, in capital letters, entered like jets through my eyes, through my nose, through my ears. I breathed it, I touched it, I chewed it.

El primer que s'ha de fer amb la vida és “viure-la” i després, si de cas, “escriure-la.”

The first thing to do in life is to “live it” and then, just in case, to “write it.”

– Aurora Bertrana, *Memòries fins al 1935 (Memoirs until 1935)*

The 20th century was a complex time in Spain. At the turn of the century, there were strong ideological and artistic movements that placed cultural development in a central position (*Renaixença, Noucentisme, Modernism*). They included the political foundation of Catalanism, a civil war, two dictatorships with a strong intellectual repression that promoted secrecy, exiles of intellectuals who wrote to defend or denounce their situation, and other controversial issues (Hobsbawm, 2006, p. 84). In the case of Catalonia, an authoritative system that began in 1923 — the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera — causes a regression and power loss of Catalan political structures. As a consequence, Catalan politics and society tended to promote cultural initiatives to resist the institutional scattering. Political parties stood for Catalanism (Catalan nationalism), and intellectuals created artistic movements. At the same time, the rise of Catalan culture found a perfect match with the political establishment of Modernity that the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939) promoted. The renovation of Catalan culture gained great influence.

One important achievement was the incorporation of women – especially those who were married – into the workplace at the beginning of the century. Also, women started to integrate into the intellectual society of the nation during the twenties and thirties, as producers as well as consumers of journalism, literature, and other cultural fields (Real, *Dona i literatura de*

preguerra, 2006, p. 9). Thus literature produced before the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) reflected a changing, modern society – especially the work produced by women. Modernity came to be central in Catalonia, and female writers and readers became publically empowered by the situation (Real, *Dona i literatura de preguerra*, 2006, p. 15). These include examples of influential women writers such as Aurora Bertrana (1892–1974), Carme Montoliu (1893–1966) and Mercè Rodoreda (1908–1983). This study will focus on Bertrana’s work, since she was the first female writer that openly introduced the agenda of modernity in Catalan, as well as effectively introduced the exotic and the concept of otherness in Catalan media.

Aurora Bertrana was born in Girona, Catalonia. Her father was one of the most notable novelists of his times. She studied music, becoming Catalonia’s first publically known female cellists. That alone was revolutionary. Society frowned on a woman playing an instrument placed between her legs. Bertrana had an adventurous character, which led her to travel abroad. She moved to Geneva to study musical education, forming one of the first female cello groups in Europe. The places that changed her imaginary were the exotic countries, like Tahiti in the French Polynesia, and Morocco in North Africa (Esteban, 2001, p. 47). Bertrana married a Swiss engineer who found a job in Tahiti, and there in Polynesia she discovered a whole new world and a different social system. When she came back to Catalonia, she became involved in politics as a candidate for Congress, but she did not win (Pla, 1999, p. 64).

Bertrana then decided to report for a newspaper from Morocco, where she wanted to explore the female Muslim world. Together with her background in Tahiti, Bertrana used her experiences to bring relevant concepts to the Catalan public sphere, things such as the concept of otherness or the exotic. During the Spanish Civil War and Franco’s dictatorship, she was forced to go into exile in Geneva and Prada de Conflent (North Catalonia in France). She worked as a

journalist for several Catalan newspapers and periodicals from different countries. Her articles were well-received by the bourgeois Catalan society of the twenties because she brought to literature and to the Catalan culture a new level of modernity. The reception of her literature in Catalonia left a strong trace of modernity that, together with other authors, renewed the concept of the Catalan intellectual as women with opinions and with the talent to write (Real, 2007, p.

13). In explaining the concept of modernity, Anthony Giddens argues that:

At its simplest, modernity is a shorthand term for modern society, or industrial civilization. Portrayed in more detail, it is associated with (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation, by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society – more technically, a complex of institutions – which, unlike any preceding culture, lives in the future, rather than the past (Giddens 1998, 94).

Literature Review

There have been important recent contributions to the study of Aurora Bertrana's literary production. Some scholars of Catalan literature have been striving to compile a comprehensive biography of Bertrana for years. But an in-depth study about her writing has been needed since her work has been ignored because she was compared as a writer with her father, the well-known novelist Prudenci Bertrana.

Her first biography was written by Catalina Bonnín, *Aurora Bertrana. L'aventura d'una vida (Aurora Bertrana. The adventure of a life)* (2003). This publication coincided with that of Maribel Gómez, *Aurora Bertrana: L'encís pel desconegut (Aurora Bertrana. Attraction to the unknown)* (2003). They are both excellent works that represent the experiences of the author. An interesting point is how Bonnín saw the life of the author like a novel. Indeed, most of the studies dealing with Bertrana focus on her life rather than her work. Bonnín has also written articles in

which she analyzes different aspects of Aurora Bertrana's life and work. This study is intended to continue the equally necessary in-depth study of her work as a literary journalist.

An important contribution that created new opportunities for studying Bertana's work is the collection of articles she wrote for several Catalan newspapers when she was abroad in such places as Geneva, Polynesia, and Morocco in the twenties and thirties. Neus Real, who is responsible for the collection, expedited the access to Bertrana's journalism through a study of the newspapers of the period. In addition, Real advocated the importance and the need to study the reception of modernity through Bertrana's journalistic legacy to society. Real argues that it is important to study society's reception of modernity through Bertrana's journalistic legacy. Bertrana's contribution to introduce modernity to Catalonia during the Second Spanish Republic agenda left a legacy that must be recognized.

At the same time, Real helps us to understand Bertrana's writing with her research into the situation of pre-war women, *Dona i literatura en la Catalunya de preguerra (Women and literature in pre-war Catalonia)* (2006) and *Les novel•listes dels anys trenta: obra narrativa i recepció crítica (The female novelists of the thirties: narrative works and critic reception)* (2006). She has also published some articles, like "De la xocolata amb melindros a la mostassa alemanya: Aurora Bertrana, un nou model de la intel•lectual catalana moderna" ("From chocolate with iced buns to the German mustard: Aurora Bertrana, a new model of Catalan female modern intellectual") (2001).

There are other authors who have also researched the work of Bertrana. Special attention should be paid to Marta Vallverdú and her studies on the work in relation to Oceania, and to Joan Nogué's articles about the author and colonialism. In addition, Maria-Antònia Oliver wrote the introduction of the last edition of *El Marroc sensual i fanatic (The Sensual and Fanatic*

Morocco). Oliver observed that Aurora Bertrana, as other Catalan authors, especially women, has largely been forgotten and that her work still must be studied in depth. She suggests that her literary work may not be outstanding (which is still to be demonstrated) but it had a function in society and social repercussions (2000, p. 8–9), such as placing in the public sphere things like women’s and labor rights in a moment when the political structure was ready to embrace them.

Aims and Structure

Therefore, the reasons to carry out this study have been defined by earlier research into the work of Bertrana. First, the literature and journalism of Aurora Bertrana have had a considerable importance in contemporary Catalan culture (Real, *Les novel·listes dels anys trenta*, 2006, p. 36), offering a different and innovative writing creation, since it was based in her experiences around the world. And it had a personal style not similar to the work of other writers. She suggested social and political changes needed for a new modern time — such as public discussion of divorce and universal access to education, etc. Bertrana became a referent for other women (Real, *Les novel·listes dels anys trenta*, 2006, p. 37). Much remains to study about her writing and how it was received by media. As Oliver noted, Bertrana, as many other female writers, had an audience and a social function. However, gaps remain in the studies of literary journalism written when modernity was changing social paradigms, especially literary journalism produced by women in pre-war Catalonia at the beginning of the 20th century.

Bertrana’s career as journalist was short. Even so, it had an impact on journalism, politics, and Catalonian society. That was because she acted as a female model for journalists and intellectuals. In doing so she promoted the ideology of the new social construct — modernity — bringing women’s and labor rights to the front of public sphere as she argued for such things as divorce, legalization of prostitution, and equal access to education independent of gender and class. Moreover, Bertrana brought to Catalonia a writing style that helped to introduce concepts

of otherness, of the exotic, and of equality. Her literary journalism was well narrated and well accepted by the media and intellectual spheres, as we can see in the numerous times she was named in political and literature prize speeches. With her particular style of writing, she was able to bring to the public sphere topics related to women that had rarely been discussed before as intensively. On top of this, Bertrana helped to establish working class educational centers for women, as well as other cultural activities to nurture working-class education. Also, she dedicated time to building and participating in different women's bourgeois cultural clubs, as the Lyceum Club of Barcelona, to promote intellectual influential female activity among women with more education.

Also, there are gaps in the study of journalism published under Spanish and French colonial occupations, and this study aims to lightly address the writing production from these space where the exotic and the otherness was growing up. Even though, this research will not treat colonialism in-depth, leaving the study open to expert colonial theorists. Finally, this research is intended to begin the work to reveal the contributions of the largely forgotten early literature produced by women in Catalonia. The work of these female writers is significant to the history of mass communications because they were the ones who led the cultural production and who stipulated the quality levels and commonalty values of journalism in Catalonia, among other cultural fields, during a time when media effect on society helped to reconfigure a new nation. Female journalists of this stage early on jumped into writing novels, poems, and tales, which was significant in Catalan cultural history (Real, *Les novel·listes dels anys trenta*, 2006, p. 35). Bertrana especially transmitted, with a fresh style due to her use of literary journalism, modern subjects, such as the exotic, the otherness and labor and women's rights. It could be suggested that she shaped the Catalan public sphere of the twenties and thirties in Catalonia.

The research questions this study is trying to answer are multiple, but interrelated. They are “What made the writing style of Bertrana unique?”; “How is literary journalism defined?”; “Is literary journalism the key to Bertrana’s unique style?”; “What role did modernity play in Bertrana’s journalism?”; “How does this factor reveal itself in her writing and why?”; “How was Bertrana’s journalism received by the media in Catalonia?”

This research is framed within the pre-war articles of Bertrana’s journeys. Bertrana had a restless motivation to know more about the exotic, when she was in Oceania, and the role of woman in the Muslim world, when she was in Morocco. In both colonies, Bertrana committed herself to unveiling the inequalities and injustices towards the locals by the colonizers. Moreover, she dedicated much of her writing to her own people, Catalan women and men. She stood for their access to education and labor and women’s rights, defending a change of the social paradigm towards the working class. Of these traveling and life experiences she wrote several articles, some chapters of her memoirs – which are a literal copy of her articles but expanded – and different novels and travel writing books. This research intends to carry out an analysis of her media production and the reception of it by the media. It will be focused on the importance of journalism for modern women within the historical frame of the Second Spanish Republic when she was traveling around the world. Colonialism is an important factor in Bertrana’s journalism. This research does not aim to study in-depth this point, but will briefly approach it to open some possible ways for colonial theorists to continue investigating.

The structure of this research is divided into five chapters. This introduction provides the contextual framework of the author and her work, including a brief literature review and the main concepts considered, as well as the justification of the importance of this study. The second chapter aims to investigate the genre and style of Bertrana’s journalism, which is described as

literary journalism because Bertrana's style introduced her literature skills into her reporting and writing of factual articles. Chapter 3 will explain the methodology for this study. The following two chapters will explore possible approaches to the study of Bertrana's writing. In Chapter 4, Bertrana's articles will be analyzed to show the findings related to the socio-political factors of Bertrana's universe. This chapter will explore in depth the change of paradigm that modernity brought to Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. Indeed, concepts such as modernity, individualism, and human rights– and those concepts were reflected in the socio-political agenda of the Second Spanish Republic – rose up when Bertrana became an active agent of modernity. The reception of Bertrana's journalism will be approached by an extensive archive search to suggest her popularity and how she was received by the media. Since Bertrana was highly versatile, being a musician, a politician, and an intellectual, she was publically recognized for many reasons, especially as a writer. Finally, Chapter 5 will discuss and make some conclusions about her work and life and point to a proposed path for continuing the research of the journalistic work of Aurora Bertrana.

CHAPTER 2 LITERARY JOURNALISM

The Literary Journalism of Aurora Bertrana

Modernity brought numerous changes to society, as chapter four will show, and journalism was not exempt from modifications. After the French Revolution, the partisan press dominated in Catalonia. “Ideological journalism,” classic models of writing opinion articles, was the norm (Casasus, 1991, p. 11). Modern new narratives of informative journalism were introduced by modernity. Anglo–Saxon reports about travel stories, or war reportage arose in Europe, bringing a new taste for journalistic narratives (Casasus, 1991, p. 12). Some notable examples are English journalists, such as Harriman reporting on the Peninsular War (1807-1814), or William Howard Russell writing from the Crimean War (1853-1856).

In Catalonia, the new journalism was well received, and the poet Jacint Verdaguer was its main exponent during the nineteenth century. Literary journalism was one of the innovative narratives in the press, along with other journalistic styles, such as political, philosophical, religious, social, scientific, economic, and artistic (Casasus, 1991, p. 11). Verdaguer renewed the narrative of travel stories in Catalonia. He looked for functionality and engagement with the reader, using new narrative techniques and combining language registers – such as local dialect and colloquialisms (Casasus, 1991, p. 14).

In the twentieth century, literary journalism was present in many Catalan outlets. In 2011 the University of Girona research group Catedra Josep Pla held a symposium about Catalan literary journalism in which it looked at the golden era of the genre from 1906 to 1936. Many journalists were researched and recognized, such as Josep Pla, Agustí Calvet (aka Gaziell), Just Cabot, Manuel Brunet, Domènec Guansé, and Sadurní Ximénez. All of them were men and

contemporaries of Aurora Bertrana, as well as many female literary journalists, such as Carme Monturiol, who has largely been forgotten by the experts.

The aim of this chapter will be to show that Aurora Bertrana was a literary journalist of the European inter-war period (from 1928 to 1936) in Catalonia. She renewed the narrative in journalism, bringing modernity, rebellion, and freshness to her work, as we will see in further analysis. As well as other female journalists, Bertrana became professionalized in the intellectual world through journalism. Her articles were a combination of claims and commitment to her time, revealing to her Catalan audience the presence of the exotic and the existence of otherness. Female identity was crucial in her writing, since she was an example of the “new women” — the modern intellectual women — as a representative of modernity. She became a journalist, a novelist, and a traveler; and she shared her opinions and experiences around the world with her readers. Bertrana mastered both literature and journalism, jumping comfortably from one genre to the other, and mastering literary journalism.

First, however, literary journalism must be defined as best we can. Thus this chapter will look at how the genre is formalized, how the content is chosen and the strategies of the literary journalist. First, we will look at the challenges of the genre – focusing on the use of sources and the bias inherent in this genre – and the limitations of the research that scholars have done regarding literary journalism. Then, the work of Aurora Bertrana will be closely analyzed in relation to literary journalism as a genre. Since her journalism is extensive and in order to conduct a deeper analysis, the samples have been limited to 21 articles produced in Morocco, which is the last section of her journalist articles, so her professional maturity could be well appreciated.

Understanding Literary Journalism

Journalism is a form of writing based on curiosity, accuracy, and social service. A journalist could cover news, feature stories, investigative cases, etc. Journalism is also about opinion, which is presented by editorials, columns, reviews, etc. Recently, on-line journalism is transforming the field, with journalists hosting blogs, discussions board or wikis, among others. Roberts argues that the main point of journalism is to find a story that needs to be shared, since it will “move the heart; stir the will to action, to arouse pity, compassion, to awaken the conscience” (Roberts, 1992, p. 179). Photojournalism mixes two fields, which have usually gone together: photography (images) and journalism (stories). Literary Journalism amalgamates two narrative styles: one is literature narratives that bring textual subtleties. The other is the reportorial techniques of traditional journalism. The connections within this fusion need a further analysis to be better understood.

For John J. Pauly, literary journalism is “intended to improve people’s lives.” At the end of the 19th century, two paths in journalism arose. The first one “led journalism toward the ethereal goal of objectivity and reduced reporting to a bureaucratic function within the new system of economic and political administration.” The second one “led into the streets and plunged the reporter into the myriad forms of city life.” The first path was followed by the contemporary press establishing the norm of traditional journalism, but literary journalism follows the second (Pauly, 1992, p. 176).

Naming, classifying, understanding or defining the genre has been controversial. Jan Whitt provides a list of names used when referring to literary journalism, such as narrative literary journalism, factual fiction, art-journalism, artistic nonfiction, creative nonfiction, para-journalism, intimate journalism, etc. (Whitt, 2008, p. 1). Nancy Roberts outlines the genre as a “nonfiction printed prose whose verifiable content is shaped and transformed into a story or

sketch by use of narrative and rhetorical techniques generally associated with fiction” (Roberts, 1992, p. xiv). Whitt describes literary journalism as a journalism based on the essence of social storytelling, which “often relies upon an extended symbolic system of meaning. (It contains) emotion, personal voice, contextualization, and commentary (and it is used) in addition to provide the factual underpinnings of an event” (Whitt, 2008, p. ix). Both critics agree that there are two spheres interacting in the genre: traditional journalism offers facts to inform (real people, real stories, accurate description), in combination with the narrative methods of fiction. Moreover, Whitt goes further, adding a third scope: the reporter’s exposure in the text. The presence of the journalist provides interpretative ideas, since it introduces personal points of view. It is fair to indicate that the active presence of the writer is not always used in literary journalism.

In the words of Gay Talese, the new journalism (another name for contemporary literary journalism) “though often reading like fiction, is not fiction. It seeks a further truth than is possible through the mere compilation of verifiable facts, the use of direct quotations, and adherence to the rigid organizational style of the older form” (Talese, 1970, p. vii). The formalization of the narrative of literary journalism uses rhetorical devices to win literary density. Since the reporter is present, the form requires techniques for an immersion in the report. It is usual to employ dialogue, concrete descriptions, detailed scene setting, imagery, irony, stream of consciousness, metaphor, symbol, point of view, narration, dialogue, suspense, etc. The literary heritage allows the development of complexity in the narration. The diffusion of the genre is usually made by travel stories, news with a personal flavor, opinion columns, editorials, reviews or reflections about life experiences. Nowadays, literary journalism is also used in digital journalism, such as blogs, wikis, or even social networking.

Literary journalism could be seen as a melting pot of genres, narrative styles, linguistic registers, and even fields. Norman Sims perceived new journalism as a fusion of narrative techniques, personal engagement, and disciplines – such as sociology and anthropology, memoir writing, fiction, history, and standard reporting (Sims, 1995, p. 19). Sims saw the use of literary techniques as a natural resource in journalism, since it belonged to storytelling. More interestingly, he compared fictional and nonfictional narrative techniques, concluding that “in nonfiction you can create a tone and a point of view. Point of view affects everything that follows” (Sims, 1995, p. 19).

Critics have denounced the textual attitude of literary journalism. They have questioned the accuracy of the work of journalists and scholars. Whitt defines these methods as ones that “include the revelation of interior states of mind, the re-creation of a scene, manipulation of timelines, and other issues” (Whitt, 2008, p. 3). The conflict is due to the use of personal manifestation in a field that traditionally has denied showing a trace of the reporter in the story. Weber opposes these critics, empowering literary journalism as an unrestricted new manifestation of journalism. He declared that “rather than try to turn journalism into art, they sought instead to mesh traditional reporting disciplines of research, accuracy, moral objectivity and clear thinking with a new freedom of literary expression” (Weber, 1980, p. 23). Sims and Weber find a path to justify the credibility of the new journalism. Even though, changing traditional patterns could be seen as a threat. For that reason, traditional journalism is challenged by this new discipline.

Challenges of the New Journalism

The new journalism challenges the tradition of the field. But what are the innovations and contributions of the new journalism? What are the different strategies used? It could be said that editors and reporters are provided a space to show more of themselves in literary journalism.

Therefore, as Manning indicates, in this journalism social commitment and political activism can be promoted. The values of traditional reporting are respectable, but could be accused of being “balanced, fair and irrelevant” (Manning, 1990, p. 14) in comparison with literary journalism. The presence of experience contributes to empowering engagement with the reader, which the traditional practices lack. For that reason, Whitt explores the relevance of objectivity when referring to the new journalism:

Rather than distancing themselves from the subjects of their stories and striving to maintain objectivity, literary journalists immerse themselves in the lives and the environments of their subjects and, while they strive for balance and fairness, trust the reader to realize that their stories are bounded by time, space, and human limitation. There is no place for omniscient point of view in literary journalism. (Whitt, 2008, p. 14)

The presence of partiality in journalism is a sensitive subject. The concealing of bias in traditional journalism needs to be addressed when analyzing literary journalism. Whitt opens a Pandora’s Box when defending that objectivity in traditional journalism cannot be ignored. The fact that journalists are a human component makes subjectivity a possible influence, as well as the interests of industry. When talking about objectivity, the difference between traditional and literary journalism is simple: the bias is more obvious in the last one.

The dichotomy of the new journalism is not about objectivity and subjectivity (or fact and fiction), but between the inclusion of the consciousness of the reporter to the story – or the denial of it. Hellman approached literary journalism as opposed to the “the prepackaged insights and perspectives which permeate the corporate fiction produced by conventional journalism.” (Hellman, 1981, p. 4).

Since bias is more detectable in literary journalism, this genre could be seen as more honest than the traditional form or, at least, as more engaging. Connery argues that the main goal of literary journalism is to make possible the identification of the reader with the subject of the story (Connery, 1992, p. 3–20). In line with this, Eason believes that literary journalists “seek to create new communities and rely on a reader’s understanding that, both what is reported and the report itself are social constructions” (Eason, p. 201). In turn, Whitt’s research suggests that “readers respond favorably to a text with admitted biases and an acknowledged point of view. It is easier for many readers to accept that there is a personal voice behind a story than that the story is objective” (Whitt, 2008, p. 6-7). Contrary to the traditional belief in journalism, trust could be created through a subjective channel, as the explicit voice of the reporter. Objectivity, according to Manning, “is the myth that organizes our subculture, a naïve belief that we are better observers because we are separate” (Manning, 1990, p. 13).

The focus becomes the essential component of nonfiction narrative. Whitt declares that “rather than emphasizing government institutions, literary journalism explores the lives of those who are affected by those institutions (Whitt, 2008, p. 4). In the new journalism, the experience of who is involved in the new is the substance to report. The reporter is the screen through which the information is outlined (Hellman, 1981, p. 8), but the content is about those who the report is about.

Hellman affirmed that “almost by definition, new journalism is a revolt by the individual against homogenized forms of experience, against monolithic versions of truth” (Hellman, 1981 p. 8). It is understood that what readers want to see in an article is not just what happened, but how people changed. This is due to the identification of the reader with the person that experiences the case explained and the reporter who is conducting the information, since all

actors do not just live or know situations, but they grow with them. This is what Hellman calls “penetration of mystery” (Hellman, 1981, p. 13). Hellman asserts that the reporter has the consciousness of a transforming power. The readers want to acquire the experience, rejecting the distortion of the attempt to camouflage it. According to Whitt, “the text, then, becomes a catalyst for change and for human relationship” (Whitt, 2008, p. 13).

In order to analyze the results of both journalisms, Whitt suggests the existence of the “suspicion between traditional journalists espousing news values and literary journalists redefining what is newsworthy” (Whitt, 2008, p. 3). Traditional journalism is given primacy because it purports to be objective, but literary journalism does a better job of engaging the reader. Moreover, “rather than hanging around the edges of powerful institutions, literary journalism attempted to penetrate the cultures that make institutions work” (Sims, *Literary Journalism*, p. 3). The cultural mediation of literary journalists can be found in the process of reporting a story. “External events contain images and symbols that participants and observers transform into interior reality. And if the events and people with whom we come in contact transform us, they most assuredly transform the reporters who cover the news” (Whitt, 2008, p. 22). The nonfiction narrative, then, could be presented as a process towards maturity, which starts in the people, who experienced the new. It then continues in the reporter, who immerses in the new for reporting his or her vision. Finally, the readers can understand the involvement of the previous participants. They value the new not just for the informative purpose, but for the learning process detailed.

Connery describes the literary journalist as a “Romantic Reporter,” i.e., “a poetic recorder of an event who is invested in human experience, using techniques such as immersion, description or narration” (Connery, 1992, p. 18). In turn, Hellman asserts that “even the most

delicate instrument of observation necessarily alters the phenomenon observed” (Hellman, 1981, p. 6). The writer is the essence of the transaction, since it is the instrument of the process, offering the filter of her or his consciousness to share the new. Again, the importance of the implication of the reader emerges as the key point of this journalism, since the reporter’s efforts are projected into the receptor.

New journalism relies on the connection between writer and reader. The way of performing the task of journalism is based on the interchange or reliable creation and reception. The “literary journalists count on readers to understand their vantage point and to trust their narrative precisely because they confess their preconception and their points of view” (Whitt, 2008, p. 8).

Manning recalls the words of Herr, who argued that literary journalism is about writing meaningfully about the subject, not just writing (Manning, 1990, p. 7). As all critics used in this section observe, the genre is about completing the responsibilities, connecting journalism with social commitment.

What are the limits of journalistic and literary discourses in this combination? Intentionality could be the answer to this question. Weber indicates that “Literature, as opposed to journalism, is always a refracting rather than reflecting medium; it always to some degree distorts life, if only in giving it a shape or clarity that otherwise cannot be detected” (Weber, 1980, p. 27). Literature’s intentionality is to create a piece of art. The author seeks to write something desired, even needed, but stipulated by an artistic process. Reality, social issues, etc. could be perfectly reflected on it, if wanted. Social responsibility is not required, and narrative is supposed to be well received by the reader anyway.

In turn, journalism's intentionality is to inform society about reality, and to make them reflect. There is a commitment and a responsibility towards ethics and professional standards, as well as a faithful adhesion to reality. Literary journalism melds the fictional formalization with the social and professional commitment. But, as Whitt remarks: "into this mix we must add the purpose and ultimate goal of both journalism and literature: to entertain, challenge, and educate the reader" (Whitt, 2008, p. 11).

As genres, how do literature and journalism interact? As previously noted, literature is an artistic genre, with freedom of creation besides evidence. Literature contributes to journalism with a fresh style that engages the audience. At the same time, the journalist provides a narrative artifact that better suits the needs of presenting his or her own point of view. It is interesting that many literary journalists are flexible, feeling comfortable jumping between the two genres. Many of them publish travel writing books, novels, etc. and combine it with journalism.

The Forgotten Journalists

When reading several scholars of twentieth century literary journalism, it is easy to find a common pattern in the United States, as well as in Catalonia. As Whitt indicates, there is a concern by academics about the gender of the journalists: "Over the years, I have wondered how to address the lack of information about and access to the work of women journalists and women literary journalists" (Whitt, 2008, p. x). Whitt recalls the hypothesis of Julia Klein, who brings out possible restrictions for females:

Why? Is the culprit rank sexism? Male editors hiring their male buddies? Or else the magazine's preference for subjects such as war and politics that draw more male writers? Do women writers, facing rejection, discourage more easily? ... Or, as devoted mothers and daughters and wives, are they simply unavailable to devote the months and years of zealous, almost superhuman effort required by immersion journalism? (Whitt, 2008, p. 18)

Why does the canon reject women? Why does academia forget a number of journalists? Whitt tries to answer these questions, blaming men for monopolizing the media market: “What I didn’t yet understand was that journalism – like American literature and art – was dominated by men. To be more specific, stories were often those created by, valued by, and communicated to others by particular men whose work makes up the canon of American journalism history” (Whitt, 2008, p. ix-x).

Whitt encourages scholars to research female literary journalists. She argues there is a need to do so because many talented journalists have been consigned to oblivion (Whitt, 2008, p. 10). In the early 20th century, specifically, female literary journalists took a very relevant position. In many cases, journalism was the professional space for them to access the public male intellectual world. But because women have been ignored, there is a research gap in the discipline, which is lacking half of its history. Moreover, if women are unknown, many good works — and other ones not so great — are being left behind.

Following Whitt’s advice, the following sections of this chapter aim to analyze some of the work produced by the female literary journalist Aurora Bertrana, who was both a novelist and travel writer. Some interesting criticisms have arisen about her work in the last decade. Bertrana comfortably moved between fiction and nonfiction writing. Still, the interest about this journalist has been mainly biographic. In turn, her literary journalism has been ignored, as Neus Real indicates (2007, p. 9). Her journalism is still to be explored. The relevance of Bertrana’s journalism is influential for Catalan journalism. It could be defended that Bertrana renewed and refreshed the nonfiction narrative of the 1930s in Catalonia, since she was a powerful modern female model. She started to write in newspapers using the craft of literature and her modern

female point of view. This research, then, is intended to celebrate the work of a female Catalan literary journalist.

As Neus Real observed in *Aurora Bertrana: periodista dels anys 20 i 30* (*Aurora Bertrana: journalist during the 20s and the 30s*) her work was essential for her career as an intellectual, author, and politician, until the Spanish Civil War ended any activism. Bertrana wrote articles about the countries she lived in: Geneva, Catalonia, Oceania, Spain, and Morocco. Regarding her time in Oceania and Morocco, she converted the articles into books, through novels or travel writing works. For that reason, many of the stories she shared were known through her literature, instead of her journalism. Her large memoirs compiled all the stories again at the end of her life.

The press became the platform Bertrana used to succeed since she used it to establish an intellectual public image (Real, 2007, p. 10). For example, in her travel writing, Bertrana both describes foreign places while also offering opinions about conditions in her home country – revealing her commitment to political and social activism. Studying Bertrana’s articles also reveals her contribution to Catalan journalism. She used journalism to promote her ideological principles, focused on Catalan nationalism, her left-wing ideology, labor and social equity, feminism, and moderated anti-colonialism. In addition, her devotion to women’s rights must also be highlighted.

Journalism in Context

In terms of Occupation, the Spanish military presence in Africa began between 1859 and 1860, with the African War, when Spain tried to match the European powers. Berber tribes (North African natives) were positioned against Spain as well. Finally, Spain won the confrontation and, as a consequence, the protectorate. Well along, between 1909 and 1919, a second war was declared in which Spain was working to obtain a military position in colonial

Africa, especially after the disappointment at the loss of the last American colonies. The last war was conducted against Arab and Berber tribes; France put up some resistance, but eventually formed an alliance with Spain. As a result, Spain obtained a different protectorate than the one it already had, which enabled it to establish a border with a French occupation in Morocco.

Bertrana criticized the Spaniard area because of the lack of culture and manners of its officials. The author also had bad experiences in the French part, but at least the officers were well behaved. Nogué indicates that the political spaces that Bertrana described and experienced were notably polarized, since the colony was ruled differently by Spain and France, who shared it:

The Spanish Colonialism in Morocco could barely be compared to the French one: they did not have the same economical and human resources invested, they did not have the same Protectorate extension, and they did not have the same political presence between the nations with Afro-Colonial interests. (Nogué, 2001, p. 67)

In 1935 Bertrana arrived in Morocco in order to approach the Moroccan world, under the “desire of frankly documenting the Muslim female soul” (Bertrana, *Boires islàmiques [Islamic Fog]*, 1935, p. 278). This mission statement was repeated in many articles, as well as stories about the pressure that the administration exercised against her to leave the colony, since it was controversial to have a single women with a camera, writing about her opinion. Bertrana complained of police threats, which targeted her as a woman and as a writer, but especially as a female intellectual. In her travel writing book *El Marroc sensual i fanàtic (Sensual and fanatic Morocco)*, 1936, she writes:

But my friends and readers were surprised and confused when I tell them that the few complaints and problems which have troubled me in the land of the Moors were not temperature’s daughters, or beasts, or physical ailments, or men of Africa, but the Europeans in Africa. (Bertrana, 2000, p.17)

As Nogué shows, Bertrana did some deep travel reflections about scenery and monuments by the eyes of a sharp female traveler with a neat style (Nogué, 2001, p. 67-68). Bertrana was already a well-accepted novelist and journalist. Bertrana published 14 books, novels, travel writing and memoirs, as well as many articles. She extensively wrote about her previous experiences in Polynesia, work that was well received in Catalonia. However, Bertrana wrote many articles and a travel writing book in Morocco, *El Marroc sensual i fanàtic (Sensual and fanatic Morocco)*, 1936, where she compiled the experiences reported in her articles. It seems suspicious that she decided to publish a travel writing book, since the genre was not highly respected at the time.

One of the main features of this new female intellectual was the use of genres that at that time were considered "second-rate literary genres" – for instance journalism (consequently the incorporation of women into the teams of newspapers and radios was overwhelming), the short story, children's literature, and travel writing. The reason for the choice of these genres was the difficulty of publishing novels and poetry (which were considered the main genres), because of the male domination in the intellectual field. Moreover, it is difficult to find a reason to explain why Bertrana decided to use what was considered a lower genre, when she already was an admired novelist. It should be noted, however, that in many cases, female authors chose travel writing to express social and political critiques with more freedom. Travel writing, for example, could introduce opinion in the narrative (Domènech 15). Therefore, Bertrana shared her judgment about the colony using a literary strategy in order to be safer while in Morocco. Even though, as Real indicates, the twentieth century saw an explosion of female novelists in Catalonia as they overcame male intellectual dominance took on leading roles in the Catalan writing scene (Real, *Les novel·listes del anys trenta*, 2006, p. 19).

Bertrana's journalism consisted of opinion columns and travel writing articles published in top Catalan newspapers, such as *La Veu de Catalunya*, *L'Opinió* o *La Publicitat*. She used media to provide an unofficial overview of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. Previously, when she was in Papeete, capital of Oceania, she also criticized the French colonization there, as the next chapter will show. The presence of her personal voice was overwhelming in her articles, in which she is the prism of the experience. In *On és el Marroc? (Where is Morocco?)*, 1935, Bertrana use many techniques of literary journalism. She describes a map, a simple task since maps are factual. The article displays accurate, interdisciplinary content from geography, anthropology, and politics. Even though, she questions reality to introduce a deep ethnographic reflection using her experiences. She tries to find the exotic and the authentic in Morocco, but she instead found an artificial tourist environment:

Geography teaches us that Gibraltar separates Europe from Africa. Once again, I cling to my old belief. Political frontiers are overwhelmingly conventional, and ethnic frontiers are not where the textbooks indicate. The communities' true limits are more subtle than the dividing lines which draw official geographers, and ethnographic theories. ... Where does Morocco start? If this country "exists" I confess that I have not found it. I'm like a blind person seeking, clueless to her surroundings, with outstretched arms, nostrils dilated, attentive ear and restless heart. I walk, I palpate, I hear, I smell. (Bertrana, 1935, p. 251)

Her narrative is blooming, pleasant, seriously constructed. Objectivity is present, subjectivity is alive. The intention of the article is to inform about reality in order to reflect. This can be seen in her descriptions denouncing the unfair domestic life of women in North Africa – as well as in Catalonia. At the same time, her articles seek to entertain, so she uses, among other resources, irony and humor. On the one hand, Bertrana offers her own imagery and sensibility to transmit a fact. It is easy to be transported to her world, where a reader could be identified with the author's frustration and passion. Bertrana offers her experiences and opinion to involve the reader. Hellman's "penetration of the mystery" fits the new: she feels, and the reader feels

through her nonfictional style. Both, together, grow. The reader knows how subjective Bertrana is, since she is clearly delimitating her limits of understanding.

Her writings were plausible since she could publish (this fact was a really difficult task for a female intellectual) and was well accepted. Owing to this, Bertrana experienced administrative problems in Morocco, both in the Spanish Protectorate as well as the French. The authorities started to feel threatened by her work, which they tried to censor, and they restricted her presence there. One woman all alone, with a camera and a pen connecting with locals was too free to be tolerated.

Reflections about the Conflict: Bertrana's Narrative

Women and colonization are inherently inseparable elements in Bertrana's work in Morocco. The terms are presented as spaces of internal conflict – those within the occupied individuals whose very minds were being colonized – in the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco. But the occupied area also defined the outside conflict that involved the physical and structural disturbance of people's lives within their traditional society. Francesca Bartrina asserted that “gender is understood as the meaning of social, cultural and psychological forces upon biological sexual identity. To consider gender means considering other coordinates that define the identity, such as ethnicity, class, nationality or religion” (2001, p. 51). This is known as intersectionality – the network that constructs the inner composition of individuals and society.

Bartrina observations can be seen in Bertrana's journalism when intersectionality is applied to both men and women, combined with other factors such as family and the social status or culturally mandated social behavior of the person. As for the male, Bertrana used her journalism as a platform to criticize women's imposed submission to men by both the Europeans, whom she called incompetent in administration and family environment, as well as Muslims, who she accused of enslaving women.

The interior conflict between being an oppressed women and colonization is expressed with an adaptive narrative. Bertrana found it difficult to meet local women, since they were highly controlled by their families. Because of this distance, Bertrana uses descriptions of spaces, people, houses, etc. to transmit the factual impossibility of contact. The reader becomes an observer, as she is. Finally, Bertrana established contact with some local women, but they are working-class from poor families. Usually situated in the Kabyle, rural areas, the narrative adapts to the register of the new friends. Therefore, interesting dialogues are used when reporting about them, as the one in the article *Visita a una Kàbila (Visit to a Kabyle)*, 1935. Bertrana met poor women from a fishing village. One of these women, Dauïa, was seen by the author as an unusual woman, inasmuch as she smiled and talked to men about her everyday life. For that reason the family decided to force her to marry at around 13 years old. Instead of offering another simple description, Bertrana prefers to report in direct speech what the woman said:

Dauïa tells me she is engaged, and I congratulate her, innocently.

“If you knew how he disgusts me!” she says.

“Why are you marrying him?”

“Oh! I need to marry someone. I'm old.”

“How old are you?”

“I do not know for certain. I think thirteen or fourteen!”

“But if you do not like this guy...”

“Neither this nor anyone else as a husband. I would like to remain single.”

“When you get married,” I continue talking, shocked with finding a young Muslim woman with ideas such as free-will, “you will then like your husband. So if he will take other wives you will be jealous.”

“Other wives?” Dauïa laughed. “He does not have enough money for that!”

“And if he gets rich and then buys another...?”

“He will not be able to” — affirms the girl from the mountains. “I prefer him to love the other, and the other women to have the children. Children terrify me.”

“Dauña! Do not say atrocities!”

“Why atrocities? I say what I think.” (258)

Bertrana identifies with the oppression of women, as well as with the oppression of class, with poverty. Female interlocutors feel free to say what they really think. Nevertheless, when men are present, women remain silent; then, Bertrana uses description again. It is remarkable how Bertrana makes it possible to listen to a marginal voice, as the one of a poor Muslim rural woman. Since women just speak to women in Moroccan culture, Bertrana give us an exclusive opportunity. There were not many female journalists reporting from conflict spaces, so there were not many opportunities for accessing the world of women in the Colonies. Even if the bias is explicit, it is worthy, since it is the only way to access otherness.

Bertrana uses description for objectivity, and dialogue to provide veracity. Since she is one of the interlocutors, subjectivity is there. The reader feels engaged with the naturalness and fluidity of the conversation, witnessing the development of the reporter when interacting with natives. The freshness of Bertrana’s chronicles contrast with the deep care of the description when observing a woman’s environment, as we see in *Visita a una Kabila (Visit to a Kabyle)*, 1935:

Everything is black around. Only disclosed is a clear spot in the torrent that humbly guides us in our way, and in the distance, on the Atlantic, the agony of a stormy twilight. In the water’s edge, a sad brightness, greenish under the dense clouds of blackness. The wind blows wild the waving olive trees of the nearby forest. Now calms down, now comes back, enjoy a perfect silence, harmonious, which highlights the distant voice of a child, the missed roar of a bull, the sound of a melancholic flute of a shepherd. (263)

Spanish and French police who tried to expel her from Morocco and wealthy Arab men who did not allow her to access their women saw a subversion of the established order in

Bertrana. They rejected her because she represented a threat to the system; along with that, they believed she was a negative example for their women. The author recalls when she attended an Arabic play at a theater, where the audience was composed of all social classes of men, from slaves to the nobility, but the audience was exclusively male, since the attendance of women was prohibited. Bertrana was shocked to find that women were banned from spaces of public leisure and that all the actors were men, whether interpreting male or female roles. Bertrana did not know that classic Arab plays last between six to ten hours; accordingly, the function lasted nearly all night, which contrasts with the perennial sequestration of Moroccan women to the home. In her travel writing book *El Marroc sensual i fanàtic (Sensual and fanatic Morocco)*, 1936, Bertrana offers a last thought on the situation:

While the many and very concentrated verses of the Arab poet were flowing from the mouth of the boring actor, on the face of the actress a hairy shadow grew louder and more blue and bushy. When I left the scene, at three and a half of the morning, the vizier's daughter had a mustache and beard. (Bertrana, 2000, p. 38)

Bertrana's spontaneous thought offers the reader an opportunity to engage with the dramatic fact of the sequestration of women in a situation of double oppression: by local men and by colonizers. Moreover, Bertrana accepts her power as a channel for interpreting the tragedy of the female other, using her insight to make the reader a participant in the pain of injustice.

The Reporter with a Personal Voice

Most of the work of Bertrana relates to situations in which the difficulty accessing the world of Moroccan women is significant. Finally and after dedicating notable effort, Bertrana could access a harem, a group of women that are married to the same wealthy husband. Still, she was not allowed to meet all the women, lacking the oldest and the youngest wives. The description of the moment is emphasized by several questions and doubts about the freedom of

women, the satisfaction of coexistence with other wives of the same husband, the superficiality of family appearances, etc. Bertrana concluded that, despite the interaction with women, she could not access the female world, since women were not free to have ideas or express themselves about public sphere topics. She explained this episode with these words:

However, who could believe in the peace in a family where four women aged 50 to 16 years, were vying for one man? I left the harem as ignorant as when I entered. I could just acknowledge the luxury, perfumes, wealth, refinements. ... Between the truth and me was imposed the discretion, silence, the eternal Muslim mystery. It is a constant struggle for me to “penetrate” these secrets, and even though, today I know the life and miracles of these four Pasha’s women. I start to acknowledge the winding road that needs to be followed to get to inside of the inner Islamism. (Bertrana, 1935, p. 270)

The impeccable description of a harem is narrated with a stream of consciousness. There is a mix of ethnography and anthropology, which are combined in a detail-scene setting portrayal. Related to the narrative technique, the description contains traces of memoir and opinion, offering a clear personal voice. The intention of Bertrana goes further than reporting an interesting scene, but to write for the commitment with reality. When Bertrana recognizes her limits of understanding, or even approving, the story, the connection with the reader emerges. The reader could perfectly identify with her frustration. Who hasn’t felt incapable of understanding a situation, even knowing the particulars? Bertrana uses her literary skills for reporting the complexity of reality.

In other interactions with Moroccan women, Bertrana accesses the lower class; nevertheless, it became really difficult to meet marginal females. At first, the author spent an evening with Muslim and Jewish prostitutes. Later, Bertrana visited a prison with the help of a Catalan female prison doctor who worked to bring humanitarian services. Finally, the author met poor women in a fishing village. Bertrana bitterly discovered that female prisoners were guilty of crimes punishable under Islamic law – unacceptable from her perspective – such as disobeying a

father, having a flirtatious glance, and even serving the sentence for a man who had committed a crime. The author empathized the oppression of Moroccan women, and offered a reflection for the reader to feel it, too. In the article *Presons musulmanes (Muslim prisons)*, 1935, in which she went to a prison with Dr. Valls, a Catalan female doctor, she wrote:

We were not going to the women's prison just because we were curious. She went on behalf of the exultant professional mission; I went, not only to consider the concerns of the physical pain of those women, but to investigate the causes of those being deprived of liberty. (When I write the word "freedom" I cannot avoid a smile. I evoke female Muslim social life and do not understand bigger prisons than those deep, dark rooms where women, often locked, embroider, yawn, sigh and gossip with servants or friends). (Bertrana, 1935, p. 342)

At another time, after meeting with the poor fisher women, Bertrana reflected about their lives, and introduced a key point for this research, which culminates with a gendered perspective of Muslim women in Morocco. The conclusion from the experiences of meeting higher and lower class women were very similar: they were cloistered in physical and symbolic spaces where they lacked freedom. For that reason, the author declared private confinement as the only space where women could exist, whatever social group they are: "And ... are you happy here, always enclosed?" Bertrana asked them. Her impressions about the reaction of the other shows the effort of narrating their realities, as is seen in the article *Visita a una Kabila, (Visit to a Kabyle)*:

My question disoriented them. It seems that they have not ever dreamed of being free. Today they are held by the father; the husband will shut them up tomorrow. In the walled courtyard without overtures, under that rectangle of blue and small sky, they will love and get bored, they will suffer, they will breastfeed and will learn from friends of her husband's infidelities; they will grow old, sicken, die. (Bertrana, 1935, p. 260)

Bertrana's literary journalism facilitates the reader's identification with her experience approaching another culture, since she humanizes people's realities. The narrative strategy for reporting the truth of wealthy and poor women is sophisticated. Meanwhile she uses techniques

of direct speech with working-class people — such as direct quotation, dialogue, examples, etc. She used more description, imagery and irony when talking about wealthy people. Bertrana plays with the language to transmit a reliable taste of her interaction with those whom she writes about.

Bertana devoted many pages to general reflection on women in Morocco, but there came a moment when her thoughts were focused on herself. She knew she was being observed by both men – who were suspicious of her for being a single woman with a camera, paper and pencil – and by women. Bertrana was accepted in the intellectual world of Morocco. The author was respected by men, who talked to her as an equal, and validated her in the public social life. In contrast, she was not allowed to be in women's private spaces, as she explains in *El Marroc sensual i fanàtic (Sensual and fanatic Morocco)*, 1936:

(Women) looked at me curious, with the evident desire of questioning. They longed to know how I was dressed underneath, what brand of red (lipstick) I used, if I dyed my hair. ... The more spiritual ones would have wanted to know how I managed to get men to admit me among them, how they conversed with me and considered me. ... It would have been a pleasure for me to share, from time to time, the boredom, tea and gossip of women, but I was at the home of the Moors, and as an intellectual I participated only in the tea and the talk of men. (Bertrana, 1936, p. 28-29)

Bertrana became the otherness of Muslim women, since it seemed she was the perfect companion of intellectual men. Since she was not allowed access to the women's private spaces, Bertrana defied the societal gender roles by attending public activities intended just for men and then writing about the experience. The issues when communicating with Eastern women emphasized her Western conceptions of herself. The closer she reached the Muslim feminine soul she was trying to meet, the more insecure and uncomfortable she felt. When Bertrana left female spaces, she felt released, as she notes in *Boires islàmiques (Islamic Fog)*: “And tired of responses like these, I went back home more disoriented than ever, dizzy of perfumes and tea, eager to take some air and light” (Bertrana, 1935, p. 283). The sadness of her frustrated search for empathy is expressed in a poetic tone.

The only space in which the author could openly communicate with women was the brothel, where Bertrana saw these women as colonized by the West: “It is sad to recognize that under the shadow of Western civilization where the best teachers (about the role of women) can be found is in the Moroccan brothel” (Bertrana, 1935, p. 304). Bertrana’s narrative when describing her time with prostitutes is lyric, like a long recited poem. She felt comfortable and, finally, found women whom she could freely communicate with. It is a delight to read the article, where the presence of the voice of the journalist is easily detectable because of the pleasant writing. Bertrana shows her expertise in using the craft of fiction: a literary storyline. Thus, she realized the only path for a fluent communication and a comfortable position with Moroccan women was when it passed through the filter of what she was, a Western woman with liberty of movement and thought.

Conclusion

Aurora Bertrana was an exponent of literary journalism in Catalonia at the beginning of the twentieth century. She was relevant as a writer for her commitment to modernity and to portraying women’s worlds. As an author and as a journalist, she combined her writing skills to create a very personal narrative. Therefore, she used the textual subtleties of fictional narratives to report factual stories. Fully aware of being the instrument that brought the analyses of the reported stories, Bertrana positioned her personal voice in every article written. She knew how present she was in the stories, sharing her opinion, her rejections, her doubts, etc.

The journalism of Bertrana testified about situations, people, places, traditions, and any objective fact that she considered worthy to share. Even her thoughts, emotions, feelings, judgments, and experiences were superstructure of her articles. She did not deny the subjective bias of her journalism, being herself the one that was experiencing the world she was reporting. Bertrana invites the reader to discover the world with her. In *L’oració de Sidi Mohamed ben*

Yussef (Prayer of Sidi Mohamed ben Yussef), 1935, she writes: “In case you're interested, follow me. I think we will discover something, small or big. Behind the walls, near the prestigious mosques, in the heart of the gated neighborhoods, the soul of old Morocco still vibes; and it is warrior, fanatical sensual, intriguing, strong, powerful and mysterious” (Bertrana, 1935, p. 298 – 299).

She uses suspense to maintain the need of the reader to continue knowing. As well, she writes with irony and symbols to make it attractive. As a journalist, she does not understand herself as a machine to transmit information, but as a guide to push the reader into an unknown world. Bertrana wants to grow with the reader, to be a confidante; but at the same time, she aims to explicitly show what she sees.

Bertrana openly declared her discontent with the colonization of Africa. She considered herself an anti-colonial person. She did not believe that the Spaniards were so powerful and stable, and the Moroccans were just vulnerable and needy. Bertrana also highlighted the resilience of East on West and complained of the westernization of the East. Bertrana criticized the French and Spanish occupations, and chiefly the Spanish one since, in her opinion, it was unable to "civilize" others. She makes this point clearly in *El Marroc sensual i fanàtic (Sensual and fanatic Morocco)*, 1936:

If we are going to be teachers of civilization, we should show ourselves more civilized, less Moors and more Westerners. But could the old Spanish people consider themselves as a purely European race? Could we represent the West? Would not it be infinitely interesting as an old community, deeply respected, but unable to westernize other people? Would not it be better, if we really have to westernize, we began with ourselves? (Bertrana, 1936, p. 90)

Bertrana defends the Moroccan people as being able to deal with their land and culture. But despite the defense of the East, contempt for the Moroccans can be seen in her work in which she treats them as inferiors. The same situation applied to Moroccan women. They were

the strata of society that the author defended and wanted to know, but her approach to them led her to feel oppressed. The processes of knowing the otherness caused discomfort and dizziness for finding an internal representation of ourselves.

Bertrana experienced a change in her view of the Moroccan culture after she attended a "disgusting" religious rite in which men self-injured themselves (Bertrana, 1935, 256 - 257). Bertrana started to reject the other and she recognized her own limits for the search; she saw herself inappropriate because she was a European bourgeois woman with a Catholic moral education, even though she fought against those elements. The contradictions of Bertrana are one of the most interesting points of her writings; even though she understood herself as an authoritative intellectual, it could be said that she brought to the table many of the dichotomies that the active agents of the occupation and colonization raised.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

This is a qualitative study intended to answer three main questions. First, what made the writing style of Bertrana unique? This question is considered in Chapter two, where Bertrana's style is analyzed in depth and where her role as a literary journalist is explicated. The second question deals with the importance of the roles of modernity, colonialism, and women in Bertrana's literary journalism. Chapter 4 considers this question by identifying Bertrana as an active modern agent who promoted the paradigm changes that modernity was causing. At the same time, Bertrana was a critical voice against colonialism, as well as a staunch defender of women's and labor's rights, demonstrating a strong commitment to social justice in Catalonia. The third question to answer is how Bertrana's journalism was received by readers in Catalonia. Chapter 5 will show that because she employed a fresh and engaging style in combination with modern ideals, she was admired and publically recognized by the media and readers.

This analysis of the historical and cultural background of Aurora Bertrana is the contextual tool used in this historical study. The author uses the times and the environment of Bertrana to identify the implied meanings of her socio-political roles, and how those are portrayed in her writing. The results of the analysis are combined with historical reasoning and the culture of the societies Bertrana lived and worked in as a world traveler. Therefore, political, ideological, religious, philosophical, intellectual, and economic factors at the beginning of the 20th century help explain what motivated Bertrana to write for her audience in Catalonia.

One of the oldest methods applied to the study of history involves research in virtual archives of Spain and Catalonia. The archival method is "a descriptive research method that involves describing data that existed before the time of the study" (Jackson, 2006, p. 75). This study then combines the results of that research with knowledge about the author with the

existing theory and research — related to such things as literary journalism, the history cultural background of Bertrana and colonialism — from other scholars for triangulation. The author has also attempted to apply, as honestly as possible, epistemological constructivism, which – in the words of Maxwell – is “our understanding of this world is inevitably our construction, rather than a purely objective perception of reality, and no such construction can claim absolute truth” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 43). The conceptual framework of this historical study is based in what Creswell describes as “narrative research.” This is a study of one or more individuals, in this case Aurora Bertrana, whose life and intellect are explored by primarily using her narrative writing while using such disciplines as history, sociology, political science, and anthropology to inform the analysis (2007, pp. 78-79).

The method helps to establish a central thesis for the research, which focuses on analyzing Bertrana’s journalism and evaluating its reception by the media in Catalonia. Summarizing Bertrana’s socio-political context and how modernity influenced her, as well as the importance of the use of a journalistic genre where her voice was present, it is possible to suggest how innovative her journalism was, how much her literary journalism impacted society, how much she influenced Catalan society as a female intellectual role model, and how well received her work was by the media in a moment of paradigm change.

An expert in Catalan women’s writers, Neus Real gathered Bertrana’s journalistic articles and published them to promote their study. The data used for this research has been Real’s collection published in *Aurora Bertrana, periodista dels anys vint i trenta* (Aurora Bertrana, journalist of the twenties and the thirties) (2006), and *Aurora Bertrana, viatgera* (Aurora Bertrana, traveller) (2007). The collection has 130 articles, which are all the known articles of Bertrana. All of them belong to the stage of life when she was a journalist (the end of 1920s and

the beginning of the 1930s). Bertrana focused on fictional narratives after the thirties. They are mainly in Catalan, and some of them are in Spanish. Since we know Bertrana used to write also in French, it is quite possible there are articles that have not yet been discovered. In addition, some excerpts from Bertrana's first volume of memoirs, *Memòries fins el 1935* (Memoirs until 1935), 1973, and from the travel writing book *El Marroc sensual i fanatic* (The Sensual and Fanatic Morocco), 1936, has also been employed in this analysis.

To analyze her journalism in the chapters related to her narrative style, several critical research works have been used. To define literary journalism, this study has relied to some degree on the work of the media scholar Jan Whitt, whose book *Settling the Borderland* explores the link between literary journalism and literature and the fact that work by women in both genres has been woefully underrepresented. Whitt persuasively defines literary journalism and lists the factors that the genre deals with. Literary journalism is relevant for this study because it is the explanation proposed to answer the questions related to what made Bertrana's narrative style unique. In addition, to better define this style, the study also relies on the scholars of literary journalism Norman Sims, John Pauly, and Thomas Connery. Each of them has made an effort to explain how literary journalism is formatted, what are the tone and aim of the genre, and how other writers have used it.

Chapter 4 analyzes the findings of this research into Bertrana's work in which modernity, colonialism, and women's relevance have been studied in the context of the Second Spanish Republic. Excerpts of Bertrana's articles have been used in order to analyze the texts. To better understand the concept of modernity, this study draws on the work of several scholars, to include Carlos Barker, Anthony Giddens, Enrique Dussel, Johannes Fabian, and Frederick Powell. To better understand the historical context surrounding the Second Spanish Republic and how

modernity shaped the political and social discourse of the time, experts such as David Lynch, Angel Duarte, Ronald Coase, and Pedro Bosch Gimpera, among others, have been employed. Debra Merskin has been the main expert used when talking about colonialism, but other names have been relevant to this study, including Maribel Gómez, Joan Nogué, and Ismael Saz. In addition, two scholars of colonization theory, Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, were used to better understand Bertrana's journalism related to her time in the colonies. Other experts used for developing this chapter are Catalina Bonnín, Neus Real, Leila Rupp, and Susan Magarey, for shaping the background of Bertrana.

Another part of Chapter 4 examines the reception of Bertrana's writing by the media. This portion focuses on how the media depicted Bertrana's work in magazines and newspapers from 1928 to 1936, when Bertrana was an active journalist. In magazines, the attention will be given to which magazines, with how much frequency, and for what reasons Bertrana was named. This chapter also answers how she was publically seen in newspapers as a writer, as a politician, and as an intellectual and modern women in order to determine Bertrana's influence on Catalan journalism and society.

In order to discover how the media portrayed Bertrana's work and how her work influenced Catalan society, databases from two libraries were accessed, using three different archives. When it comes to her appearance in magazines, the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica (Virtual Library of Historic Press) has been used. The second library employed is the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya (National Library of Catalonia), where the Historic Archives of Barcelona are stored. This library offers access to *La Veu de Catalunya* (The Voice of Catalonia), the most important national newspaper during the pre-war stage. In this outlet, "Aurora Bertrana" has been searched, in the editions from 1928 to 1936. The publication was

selected because, first, it was Catalonia's longest published newspaper, which La Mancomunitat, the first Catalan government, used to introduce political discussions and other topics into the public sphere. For example, Enric Prat de la Riba, president of La Mancomunitat, used to write to promote political initiatives. To give a clear idea of the power of this outlet, Spanish political forces used it to understand what was happening in Catalonia. What it is been sought to prove by searching Bertrana's name is to get a taste of how the media of her time saw her, and how accepted or rejected she was by her peers.

It should be noted that the search system for the Historic Archives of Barcelona is confusing. When "Aurora Bertrana" was searched, the archives were not capable of searching for more than one word. So any other Bertrana, as her father or other people, was also chosen, as well as any other woman called Aurora, aurora used as a noun, or the much-cited Aurora Street in Barcelona.

At the same time, the number of entries is not related to the number of appearances of the searched word. Instead, it is related to the number of papers where the searched word appeared. That means, if in the publication of a day the searched word appeared more than once, it counted just as one found. For that reason, the first group of selections of the searched word does not indicate the number of times that it is really used in the press. Another limitation found is the fact that the newspaper had two publications in a day, in the morning and afternoon. Accordingly, some articles are constantly repeated. In many cases, it appears for several days if the new is considered politically relevant, or if it is a promotion of a book, a conference, or something similar.

Finally, the Arxius Municipals de Girona (Local Archives of the city of Girona), where Bertrana was from, were used to find any criticism of her work in local newspapers. Again, the key words “Aurora Bertrana” were used to search the Premsa Virtual (Digital Press) archive.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

This chapter aims to analyze the social, political and intellectual spheres that interacted in the life of Aurora Bertrana. Sixty-seven of her articles have been coded, from 1923 to 1936, the period of time when Bertrana was a journalist. First, seven articles of her early stage as a student in Geneva were selected to show the beginning of her social critiques. Forty more articles have been analyzed from her stage as a politician in Catalonia, since this is one of the main periods for understanding Bertrana's universe. Ten articles belong to her time in the French Polynesia and eight more from Morocco, to approach her vision of colonialism and her otherness. Finally, two random articles were analyzed of trips around Spain to have a comparative taste of the difference between already known landscapes in comparison with the exotic ones of the colonies.

The coding has been done by classifying fragments of her articles in sections such as morality, politics, colonialism, class, feminism, etc. Then, themes have been created in order to analyze the content, meaning, and values of her narrative. This chapter will first review the main findings of the coding: the presence of modernity. After a sociological and philosophical view of Bertrana's world, the chapter will address the political context of Catalan in the early 20th century in which she was an active agent of social change. Then, the colonization periods, and the colonial commentaries on her articles will be analyzed. Finally, gender and her commitment to women's rights will be shown through her writings.

It is important to remark that all these documents were in Catalan, her language, except one article that was in Spanish. Therefore, all the excerpts in Catalan of the chapter were translated into English by the author.

Modernity: A New Vision of Society and Power Relations

The origins of Modernity are the result of an amalgam of theorists' proposals, such as Machiavelli, Descartes, Bacon, Newton, Hobbs, Hegel, and many others (Smith, 1991, p. 369) from the 15th century onwards. At the end of the 18th century, Enlightenment attempted to “demystify and illuminate the world over and against religion, myth and superstition” (Baker, 2000, p. 14) with the universal use of objective science. This proposal provoked a number of changes in the traditionally rooted beliefs of some Western cultures. As a consequence, people of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries experienced an alteration in their perception of knowledge, social practices, and individual relations with the environment. Modernity, which is considered a European phenomenon, was the main effect derived from the emergent modifications. The progress of humanity was a transformative process that lost power at the beginning of the 20th century. Modernity also became a political project, the supremacy of the Nation-State, economic project (the establishment of capitalism), and a cultural homogenization of Western values (Dussel, 1993, p. 73; and Giddens, 1991, p. 215).

The three paradigms of approaching inquiry (ontology, epistemology and methodology) were also redefined during this stage of modernity by positivism. The first one, ontology, questions the nature of the “knowable” – that is, what is the nature of “reality.” The second one, epistemology, asks what is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer-the subject) and the known (or knowable-the object). The last model, methodology, queries how the inquirer should go about finding knowledge (Guba, 1990, p. 18). Positivism is the scientific method that constituted the foundation for Modernity. It allowed theorists to understand reality as a tangible and scientific way of interpreting the world (Giddens, 1991, p. 8). This philosophy converted ontology in a realist perspective, since ontology is understood as an objective matter that it is not changeable by the researcher. Reality was “out there” and was determined by

unchallengeable natural laws and mechanisms. For that reason, the idea of chronological time was basic, as it will be addressed later in the chapter. Epistemology became a dual and objectivist way for the inquirer to take distance and no interactive posture towards other entities, i.e. the subject and the object were distinct. Methodology was seen as an experimental process meant to empirically test hypotheses under controlled conditions. It is also known as the scientific method of Positivism.

The three paradigms to understand knowledge mutated, changing multiple collective ideas. Modernity founded the vision of reality, since everything was newly understood through dualities. When Western powers started to colonize the world, they used time as a way of otherness, since they created the concept of time as a natural and universal property (Dussel, 1993, p. 74) that dictated the timing of progress or the timing of incivility. Colonialism was notably conceptualized by the doctrine of time duality, establishing the idea of past and present. The ones living in the past were not evolved enough; the ones living in the present were the ones to lead. Other dualities used were “pre-literate vs. literate, traditional vs. modern, peasant vs. industrial, and a host of permutations which include pairs such as tribal vs. feudal, rural vs. urban” (Fabian, 1983, p. 23). The conception of time can be explained by Positivism and industrialization: time was understood in a chronological way, as the one that dictated the working factory time, or the one showed in a watch. This defense of time was debated, since it was used with the purpose of homogenizing society, as another tool to command who the other was. Europeans believed they were living in a time of progress. Everyone living outside of this era was considered uncivilized. As Johannes Fabian, 1983, noted:

Anthropology contributed above all to the intellectual justification of the colonial enterprise. It gave to politics and economics –both concern with human Time- a firm belief in “natural,” i.e., evolutionary Time. It promoted scheme in terms of which not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a

temporal slope, a stream of Time – some upstream, others downstream. Civilization, evolution, development, acculturation, modernization (and their cousins, industrialization, urbanization) are all terms whose conceptual content derives, in ways that can be specified, from evolutionary Time. (p. 17)

Anthropological discourse was born through the awareness of “we” and “the others,” the civilized and the primitive (Fabian, 1983, p. 2). Accordingly, another sign of Modernity arose: to see the world as a group of dualities. This dual perspective contributed to building other interesting considerations. Since the world was seen as a subject and object relation, the conception of the environment emerged. The subject was the human being, and the object was the environment. People became aware of their surrounding landscape (Dora, 2009, p. 335). Modernity also brought the end of the union between the land and men. In the previous system, people were attached to the land because of a spiritual and traditional tie. Landscape awareness, along with industrialization, caused salaried workers to forget their union with the land.

Marxism, considered either historical or cultural materialism, is a doctrine that is largely situated within Modernity. The economic division of the society into bourgeois vs. working class was another duality that emerged. Baker indicates Marx proposed that:

The first priority of human beings is the production of their means of subsistence through labour. As humans produce food, clothes and all manner of tools with which to shape their environment, so they also create themselves. Thus, labour, and the forms of social organization that material production takes, a mode of production, are central categories for Marxism. (p. 12)

Marxism, as a modern philosophy, is deterministic since progress explains socio-cultural causes, and few other explanations are presented. Progress is seen as a different mode of production, which culminates in socialism. Determinism is believed to be an economic factor because of the confrontation between classes. Marxism was a totalitarian theory. It sought for subaltern classes and models of production to fight against processes of alienation, such as social class or economic capitalism.

One of the key points of Modernity that Marxism presents is the assumption of the existence of social structures (Price, 1983, p. 723). Social structures, as well as philosophical ones, changed the understanding of power relations. Hegel and Antonio Gramsci supported the description of a society with new ways of interrelating (Powel, 2007, p. 78). They claimed that modernity brought a feeling of liberation, since power was not as evident as before. The consequences were individualism and subjectivism. One of the aspects altered is the notion of family. In the previous system, the family was extensive and included more people because of the social and labor climate. A person in a rural area most likely lived with others, serving a family that owned land. Their family unit included what we would consider co-workers today. Modernity made the bourgeois family hegemonic, i.e., the blood family. The extensive family, then, started to be viewed through another perspective. The biological factor also applied to the conceptualization and validation of who was a person (Giddens, 1991, p. 8). Before Modernity, people were differentiated by spiritual, philosophical, or theological factors. A recurrent question was who had a soul and who did not. The general conception changed into human differences based on biology (gender, for example), politics (classes and social empowerment), or time qualities (such as rural-urban or civilized-primitive). A new understanding of “race” and “gender” was born. As Giddens asserts:

Issues of class and inequality, within states and on a world-wide level, closely mesh with the arguments of this book, although I do not try to document those inequalities here. Indeed, class divisions and other fundamental lines of inequality such as those connected with gender or ethnicity, can be partly defined in terms of differential access to forms of self-actualization and empowerment discussed in what follows. Modernity, one should not forget, produces difference, exclusion and marginalization. (p. 6)

In Modernity, the sense of empowerment of the individual was a key point. Giddens called it the evaluation of the self. Individual rights became a common understanding of social relations and positions. For that reason, Modernity was an incentive for the awareness of human

rights, among other prerogatives. The past was replaced by a rationalized possibility of action taken by men, and the rules of social life were altered. It also contributed to historical rupture, emancipation doctrines, and ideologies and traditions from the middle ages.

Second Spanish Republic: A Modern State Project

Bertrana's journalism was written during the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939), just before the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Bertrana stopped writing during the war since she had to go into exile due to her political activism. The Second Republic started on April 14, 1931. After the elections called by Alfonso XIII, the king of Spain, the number of cities with Republican councilmen notably increased, even though they were less than the monarchic ones. Especially in the big cities, Madrid and Barcelona, the Republican representation was triple and quadruple that of monarchical representation. The king decided to move to Paris, first, and finally to Rome, opening doors for a Republican state, i. e., without a monarchy (Lynch, 2007, p.8).

The first action of the new government was to reform the Constitution, which was completed in June 1931. The document remarkably defended democracy and human rights, as well as individual rights. The Republican ideology was born in France, after the French Revolution. It suggests that citizens can achieve high levels of personal satisfaction and happiness through education and technological development. As Duarte and Gabriel, 2000, noted:

The republic would promote the harmonious development of society and create conditions for a slow and gradual reform. The workers constitute the left side of the Republican Party and without waiting for immediate changes they should strengthen the Republic. Then the general education system was established, and with it, workers would place appropriate legislation. (p 21)

The new Spanish system was characterized by modern politics, since it defended reforms such as progress through technology, the equity of citizens, etc. The Republican philosophy was

obviously Positivist. Bertrana actively participated as a politician, intellectual, and activist in this political period (Real, 2006, pp. 17-21). Her journalism showed commitment with individual rights, as we can see in *El fantasma del divorci (The ghost of divorce)*, 1934, an article in which argues that divorce must be legal and well accepted by society:

Do not panic, moralist ladies. Many of us advocate for divorce based just on morality reasons. Everything that tends to widen sentimental freedoms of men must be well embraced and welcomed by cultured and civilized people. While people who do not want to divorce despite unhappiness (either by religious principles, either by guilty conscience or personal feelings) can continue married, I do not understand why divorce comes as a fateful monster. (p. 127)

The Republic stood for passing the divorce bill, which was the first time in Spain's history divorce was regulated. Bertrana highly supported this, and unlike conservative people who argued that it was against morality, she argued that it was the moral thing to do. In this example, as a Positivist agent, Bertrana rejects tradition as part of a progressive society. Equally, her work shows the awareness that the defense of individual freedom was a sign of progress, without forgetting the advocacy of subjectivism. Also, Bertrana identified cultivated people as "civilized," so she is participating in the modern conception of the otherness by the duality "primitive-civilized" societies. For her, primitive societies were the ones with less human rights, and civilized ones were those with more education.

Economy was an aspect greatly influenced by Modernity. Adam Smith, the father of modern economy, was one of the creators of the law of supply-side. His theory was based on the balance between supply and demand in the market as an instrument to regulate prices. He also instituted the ideas of free circulation of people and objects. Smith defended the interchange of work for wages as a perceptual relation of the time used: wage changed from daily pay to hourly pay (Coase, 1998, p. 3). This idea was very well received by modern institutions. At the same time, he defended the notion that people had free will to choose a profession, instead of

inheriting it by family tradition. This was due to his conflict with the guilds, which he condemned for imposing what had to be produced and by whom. Similarly, Bertrana openly defended the free will to choose as part of her defense of individual rights. Moreover, she asserted the need for educating members of the working class. That was important to them because it provided the possibility of acquiring intellectual tools for their professions and even the life path they wanted. One article representative of this stance was Bertrana's *De Cara al Poble (Facing the People)*, in which she argued that "Catalan workers need and deserve a high amount of cultural publications, outside politics and class interests" (Bertrana, 1934, 158). Nonetheless, Bertrana's main claim was to advocate for women's cultural development as part of the Republican project for a better society.

Changes in Social Structures

Modernity established new social structures based on new political constructions of liberties. One interesting liberty for women that Bertrana defended was the legalization of prostitution and the promotion of education for these women. Bertrana was slightly guileless, since she never considered men when talking about prostitution. As well, she never took into account homosexual relations when describing situations in the Colonies where it was obviously practiced. When writing about prostitutes, Bertrana made a very clear point that this work was an individual freedom. That argument ignores the realities that – in many cases – forced women to get involved in prostitution such as extreme poverty, human trafficking, or sexual exploitation. Bertrana was modern, but often, also, naïve. Remarkably, she regularly called for access to education for everyone, including prostitutes. *La prostitució organitzada (Organized Prostitution)*, 1934, illustrates that argument:

And if the result of the referendum is unfavorable to the abolition of prostitution, let's recognize the right that these women have to practice prostitution, and without doing too much fuss or represent a false morality, let's help them when necessary,

making sure they are not exploited, and procuring their relief, let's worry about their health and their ageing. Therefore, we will show that we are unbiased women and that we offer all the respect this principle of human freedom deserves. (p. 166)

Another trace of modernity in Bertrana's journalism is when she talks about social classes and labor conditions. Aurora Bertrana was not a Marxist, but she condemned social inequity. Therefore, she recognized the confrontation of social strata. She affirmed this conflict was based not just on social justice, but also on ethics, as it can be seen at *La insolent autocràcia del diner* (*The arrogant autocracy of money*), 1931, in which she condemns labor inequity:

The tragic and eternal discord between master and servant and between the employer and the worker is not only social, but, by and above all, moral. League of Nations, International Labor Offices, Unions, Guilds, everything is in vain. The overwhelming insolence of money, powerful master, unique, absolute, modern society ruler, lifts and will lift an insurmountable spiritual barrier between the poor and the rich. I look with admiring dismay at the titanic struggle of the working class to improve their living situation, inevitably bad, in which they exist. And moreover I am moved by the superiority, contempt, crushing despotism by which rich people treat the poor. (p. 74-75)

Again, Bertrana is not quite a modernist. She is defending the previous order that classified people depending on philosophical or theological reasons, such as whether people have souls or not. However, modernity's perspective would say people are not seen as spiritual subjects, but as individuals with rights. Moreover, Bertrana's convincing argument against capitalism is forceful. After industrialization, at the beginning of the 20th century, the government invested resources in public civil works to stimulate economic development. In opposition, the private business sector fought for a non-regulated business organization, arguing that a non-regulated organization brings with it a natural stability (Lynch, 2007, p. 302). As a consequence, political parties took on a labor agenda. People started identifying with them, and as a consequence mass parties appeared – mainly social-democrats, Christian-democrats and fascists. At the same time, labor guilds became popular, and unions began to adhere more to anarchism. In the case of Spain, these movements had an enormous organizational power.

Labor's demands questioned many points of the economy. Therefore, the discourse that questioned capitalism became popular, even if there was not an awareness of being anti-capitalist.

Bertrana urged a better treatment of the working class, and decided to take action, becoming a politician with a left-wing party. There are many examples of Bertrana publically calling for the working class to be treated fairly. She fought for eliminating uniforms in the working place as she does in her article *Uniformes (Uniforms)*, 1934. She argued that uniforms were a symbol of social oppression:

Let's assume a man who studied languages with intellectual aspirations has degenerated to be a doorman in a hotel; let's continue assuming an intelligent and studious girl that became an orphan at seventeen and, honest and alone in life, agrees to be a nanny. Uniforms aggravate their situations. They want to work, and they recognize that their misfortunes have taken them far lower than expected, but the obligation of being part of the ridiculous high-class-social comedy must seem such an unspeakable injustice. (p. 141)

Bertrana's concerns for workers' feelings are palpable in her journalism. And even though she defended working-class rights, she was aware she was not part of that social group. In the first volume of her memoirs, 1973, she declared her family was not rich, but she had access to a very good education (p. 151). It can be argued that this is a sign of respect, since there were cases of middle-class intellectuals identifying themselves with the working-class as if they were experiencing their difficulties – certainly a questionable position.

In relation with other structural changes, Bertrana called for a better civil behavior in the use of public spaces and how to relate to others. In order to achieve this, she pointed to the need for the education of all citizens no matter their class or gender. Bertrana argued that everyone was responsible for social behavior, not just self-performance, but also taking part in other people's acts. Unconsciously, Bertrana was using the concept of the Panopticon in society because she wanted everyone to be part of the power structure by guarding and punishing others. She

maintained the importance of a non-visible power for improving individuals, under the assumption people were primitive and needed to be educated.

Changes in Religious Structures

The early government of the Second Spanish Republic was mainly composed of anti-clerical politicians. For that reason, an official declaration of religious freedom was one of the first measures adopted by the new administration, as well as the separation of Church and State. Under the influence of Positivism, many people distanced religion. Even though, among anarchists, communists, socialists, and other left-wing activists, Christian faith was very much practiced. Against this, fervent Catholics felt threatened by liberalism (Coverdale, p. 3). Even so, many believers agreed with a secularization of the system.

Dr. Bosch Gimpera, principal of the University of Barcelona and Minister of Justice during the Second Spanish Republic, affirmed that the Republic separated State and Catholic Church, under the blessing of many “sincere Catholics.” He also insisted that the Church was not being persecuted (Bosch Gimpera, 1976, p. 115). Another Republican politician, Salvador de Madariaga, regretted the no-mercy prosecution of any adherent to Catholicism during the Republic. Religious masses were suppressed and many priests and nuns were killed (Madariaga, 1978, pp. 420-421). The atrocities of the Republic, in most of cases, came from organizations that belonged to small political parties taking justice into their own hands (Cárcel Ortí, 1990, p. 15).

Bertrana did not denounce these actions. Instead, she strongly criticized fundamental Catholicism. As a modern individual, she denounced fundamentalism as an old way of social control for retaining the power of former systems. As a Catholic, she resolutely defended the values of the division of church and state. Moreover, she defended the need for secularity, i.e., to separate religion and religious traditions from everyday life actions and thoughts. In her article

El fantasma del laïcisme (Secularity's Ghost), 1934, Bertrana asserted that secularity was the better way to convert people into Christianity. Children would find an ethical and resourceful tool in having critical ability, instead of irrational religious tradition. Also, in Bertrana's eyes, transmitting secularity implies education, which is always an effort for society to do:

Not only those moderately religious, or those with temperate convictions, as we have many in our country, would convert; but those most deeply religious will find in secularism a guarantee to retain their children in a state of mind as pure and virgin as the great pantheologic mysteries. The day the mother, devout Christian or Roman Catholic, wanted to instill in children the principles of these dogmas, she could do it with the security of being understood as she wishes. A quick Lord's Prayer said commonly at the end of a class will not be as efficient as a mother talking to her child in solitude in the retreat of a bedroom. (p. 125)

Awareness of the Otherness in the Colonies

Colonialism has been defined as exploitation of resources and the enslaving of the populations by Europeans, who have been the main agent of conquering other places and people's lives. As Merkins indicated: "Eurocentrism is the engine that drives colonialism. It is the belief in the natural supremacy of Europe/Europeans and, by extension, America/Americans over other countries and peoples" (Merskin, 2011, p. 64). If we understand colonialism just as European expansionism, the conception is superficial since it involved more factors. According to Shohat and Stam, colonialism was the process by which "European Powers (or other powers) reached positions of economic, military, political, and cultural hegemony in much of Asia, Africa and the Americas" (Shohat & Stam, 1994: 2). Therefore, colonialism dominated not just tangible elements, but the cultural spheres and the concepts of identity. As Merkins affirmed: "Colonization can be both external (ruling from afar) and internal (ruling from within)" (Merskin, 2011, p. 63). Lorenz and Watkins, 2000, defined the concept in depth:

Colonialism is based on two kinds of powers: the power of the "individual to appropriate the resources, labor, and territory of another group or individual for creating hierarchy and inequality [and] the capacity to deny responsibility for

having done so to silence resistance and opposition, and to normalize the outcome.
(p. 1)

Aurora Bertrana was highly recognized in the field of journalism. She contributed a voice of exoticism to Catalan people and a fresh female perspective through her writings about and from her travels, first to Oceania in 1926 (Gómez, 2003, p. 48), then to Morocco in 1935 (Gómez, 2003, p. 71), and eventually throughout Europe. She was part of the generation of bourgeois women who opened the way for bourgeois females to have a public intellectual life. However, her actions were aggressively criticized, especially her determination to present her political opinion of Spanish society, and its colonial actions. Political and ideological subjugation are the consequences of colonization, but territorial and military domination are the consequence of occupation. Saz, 1998, masterly described the experience of the otherness by the Spanish colonies. “The history of the Spain is constructed in its large contemporary part as ‘reflections in a mirror’ in which the alien eye, from the outside, for other countries, has been at times as important as the very eyes of Spain routed towards itself and these other countries” (p.11). Saz goes on to argue that Spanish society saw itself as inferior when it compared itself to the other. And this could be applied to general society as well as academics within Spain researching and writing about their own country.

Colonialism opened the door for an anthropological vision of the world in which one defines himself through the other. Modernity offered a prominent space regarding this topic. The power relations changed, being more undefined. Firstly, colonizers became the rulers of systems that were not theirs. As a consequence, many indigenous tried to gain more privileges by differentiating themselves from others from their tribes by serving colonizers. Since these strategies did not exist before, the power impressively changed, becoming not just less visible, but less understandable for many individuals.

When in 1889 France declared Polynesia part of its colonial territory, the islands were named and a French protectorate was established. In Bertrana's articles on Polynesia and Morocco, we can detect from the beginning her fascination with the exoticism of foreign lands and their people, as well as her discomfort with colonial forces. Participating in Modernity unconsciously, Bertrana described other places in the duality of the subject and the object. Affecting epistemology, the exotic perspective was a modern way to learn from different cultures and to understand a diverse world. At the same time, Bertrana reflects on the loss of the innocence of indigenous and African cultures due to contact with Western cultures. We can see this in the article *La Martinica (Martinique)*, 1932, when a local invites a foreigner to her house to both clean his clothes and offer her daughters to him:

It seems that the old black woman has offered him an ice cream and an iced punch. Then she called her two smiling daughters. ... At every movement, they shook their round and firm hips. ... Then I thought about the old Spaniard colonizers that pulled the black settlers from the jungles of Africa. Among those primitive, naive, modest, free-soul and strong people and these sad women, centuries have gone by, we have passed by these people, we the civilized ones. Now, this gesture of dark insatiable desires, of indefinable ambitions, is our work. (p. 135 -136)

Nogué noticed in Bertana's work the deep travel reflections about scenery and monuments from the eyes of a sharp female traveler with a well-ordered style (Nogué, 2001, pp. 67-68). At the same time, she criticized the feeling of theological superiority colonizers had over indigenous population. Some of them believed the indigenous did not have a soul, or at least, a soul as valid as theirs. By disapproving this idea, Bertrana was acting as a good modern agent.

Bertrana realized it was a new world that she could accept – even its diversity – but she was not part of it. Colonizers also notice this diversity, and they wanted to import it. For that reason, Modernity brought to Europe a new space of knowledge to dominate: museums. An example of Bertrana's literary journalism is exemplified in her article *Arribada a Tahiti (Arrival in Tahiti)* in 1933. The description in this article shows the impact of the unknown nature. It

makes her writing richer in impressions, with her use of endless phrases, as if her mind were not able to come to terms with the exoticism that surrounded her:

The sky and the sea seem pure enamel with turquoise colors. The mountains close to them have become a tender green from the sharp peaks to the rolling hills that descend to the lake. And an island far from the coast, tracing its design imperfectly, the white foam bursts over the hidden reefs. ... While outside, the boats swing, sea sculpts or screws, and the wind passes soft or violent, and the protective and submerged crest receives the impetuous onslaught of the Pacific with cataclysmic bangs, the quiet and transparent lake enameled under the stars. It is hospitable, welcoming, full of silence and eternal harmony near green edges carpeted. (p. 201)

In relation to the author's colonial critique, Bertrana was very explicit about the injustice brought, not just by the colonial system, but by the colonizers. As she made several affirmations in *La moral i el salvatge (Moral and savages)*, 1930: "So the savage discovered morality along with immorality, and the savage confuses them as well, to the point that has not yet come to distinguish one from the other." (p. 57) Or more strongly: "While the missionary preached that (indigenous) people had to dress up and tried to legalize the natural bonds of love, white people took their land and women!" (p. 57) One of the first articles she wrote about the French Polynesia was titled *L'admirable esperit de concòrdia de les races privilegiades (The admirable spirit of harmony privileged races)*, 1931. In this article, Bertrana denounced the exploitation of local people by European colonizers. She openly declared the injustice as an act of racism:

The large family begins to settle down. They built houses and cleared land. But the "owners" are the English people and the "workers" poor Tahitians. To what moral, social or rational law Saxons rely to commit this human abuse with their co-partners in a simple and powerful statement: "They belong to the white race." (p. 72)

As many other critical voices about colonization, Bertrana idealized indigenous people and used the discourse of the Noble Savage. Interestingly, she also spoke of Europe as a space that could possibly be colonized, since she considered that there were many savages over there, too. This point has been ignored by researchers when approaching Bertrana's work. The author

denies the credibility of Europeans to be the civilized ones due to their primitivism. She asserted that her people were not an example of a more sophisticated way of life. This argument is related to modernity since she reflects about her own group with a critical vision instead of just accepting the other as the one that needs to improve. Saz's concept of "reflections of a mirror" perfectly works in her articles, as we see in *On és el salvatge? (Where is the savage?)*, 1931:

I believe that the word savage means hard man, foolish, stupid, and in this case, I claim the title for some citizens of Barcelona. ... I will send a message to all the falsely called savages (meaning indigenous) of the world, to apologize for having used the same adjective for them, honest, simple, noble, naive, pure, and respectfully primitives. (Compared to the ones) throwing firecrackers on the pavement of the street, stoning lamp-posts, destroying trains, making scandal and martyrizing other travelers, writing dirty sentences on public restrooms, or chasing women on the streets and yelling rude comments. I especially claim the adjective savage for those who entertain their children by tying a bird's leg, prompting him to fly because they believe are free, and laughing hysterically before the desperate efforts of the animal. Do not forget those who urinate in the middle of the streets, who ignominiously litter forests and beaches, who systematically destroy trees and plants. Reader: do you know who the savage is? I do not. (p. 77-78)

Limits in Bertrana's Writing

Joan Pla, professor in the University of Girona and expert in Contemporary Catalan Literature, used to say that there was no interesting writer who did not have some points of incoherence. Pla argued that no one is interested in perfection, but in dialogue and negotiation with oneself. Bertrana also had her internal fights, such as the ones related to the vision of a "primitive" individual. The diatribe of the journalist against the colonizer and their beliefs of being superior clashed with her opinions about how primitive and immoral indigenous people were. Again, in *La moral i el salvatge (Moral and Savages)*, 1930, we see this point revealed:

Any primitive man, when leaving the jungle, wears a thick amorality so significant that wanting him to suddenly adopt the civilized morality (the superficial one, the one they are interested to teach him) is an absurdity. (p. 57)

Bertrana's main obstacle was the abuse that Spanish authorities in colonial Morocco subjected her to because she was a woman (Gómez, 2003, p. 74). Motivated by her experience,

she dedicated herself to uncovering the reality of Moroccan women under colonialism. Shohat and Stam affirmed that the “basic legitimization of conquest over native people is the conviction of our superiority, not merely our mechanical, economic, and military superiority, but our moral superiority” (Shohat & Stam, 1994: 22). Bertrana saw herself as a well-educated woman, but she did not display a feeling of superiority towards Polynesian or Moroccan women. Bertrana showed herself as a modern intellectual, and they were “the others.” Modernity takes place in this duality of the otherness, which was bittersweet at the same time. She understood that the connections that strengthened the solidarity among women in Spain were not the same as those in Eastern cultures – see her article *Dauïa, Limina i Gmar (Dauïa, Limina and Gmar, 1935)*, in which she described meeting with three teenagers who complained of the many women’s issues in Morocco. After they vented many emotions, Bertrana wanted to offer them some tea and food, but they refused because their father would be disappointed they shared something with a Western woman, and they left. Bertrana wanted to help them, but they did not accept it. Bertrana was disappointed, since she expected women to share a common link of solidarity. Bertrana, as many other female journalists and writers, used journalism and travel writing genres as way to give them the authority and freedom to express uncomfortable views of a society. That was because they used a literary genre in which it was easier to introduce opposing opinions through narrative (Domènech 15). We can see that Bertrana recognized that literary journalism offered an arena in which she could freely criticize the colony.

In terms of the occupation, the Spanish military presence in Africa began between 1859 and 1860, with the African War, when Spain tried to attain the same level as other European powers. Berber tribes (North African natives) were positioned against Spain as well. Finally, Spain won the confrontation and, as a consequence, the protectorate. Between 1909 and 1919, a

second war was declared in which Spain worked to obtain a military position in colonial Africa after the disappointment at the loss of the last American colonies. The last war was conducted against Arabs and Berber tribes; France put up some resistance, but eventually formed an alliance with Spain. As a result, Spain obtained a different protectorate than the one it already had, which enabled Spain to establish a border with the French occupation in Morocco.

Bertrana criticized the Spaniards because of the lack of culture and manners of its officials. The author also had bad experiences in the French part, but at least, the officers were well behaved. Nogué indicated that the political spaces that Bertrana described and experienced were notably different in Spanish and French Morocco:

The Spanish Colonialism in Morocco could barely be compared to the French one: they did not have the same economical and human resources invested, they did not have the same Protectorate extension, and they did not have the same political presence between the nations with Afro-Colonial interests. (p. 67)

Bertrana provided an uncomfortable vision of the colonies. This was a modern sign, since in the name of individual female rights, she emerged as a woman with her own opinion. She criticized colonial powers in the name of human rights, with an anti-racist discourse. She effusively wrote strongly against colonization and its atrocities, arguing that the colonizer was not civilized enough to "civilize" anyone. Specifically in The Maghreb, she offered an unofficial overview of the Spanish Protectorate. Her writings were plausible since she could publish, a fact that was really difficult for a female intellectual, and were also widely accepted. Due to this, Bertrana was not well accepted by bourgeois women in French Polynesia, and she experienced administrative problems in Morocco. In Papeete she was a married woman, thus her "social decency" was proved and she did not experience further difficulties. In contrast, both in the Spanish and French Protectorate, when the authorities started to feel threatened by her work, which they tried to censor, they decided to limit her presence there.

Even if Bertrana saw herself as an observer in the colonies, she could not refrain from being an active critical agent. The author experienced a change of view of Moroccan culture, since the author felt “disgusted” when she attended a religious rite in which men self-injured themselves. Bertrana started to reject the other and she recognized her own limits, since she could not avoid judging traditions of the otherness as a “savage” practice. She saw herself as a too partial observer, because she was a European bourgeois woman with a Catholic moral education, even though she fought against her personal limits due to her education. The contradictions of Bertrana are one of the most interesting points of her writings; even though she understood herself as an authoritative intellectual, it could be said that she brought to the table many of the dichotomies that the active agents of the occupation and colonization raised.

A Modern Woman for a New Age

Previous researchers have approached Bertrana’s work to discuss her feminism, and her commitment with women. However, in the end, many of them have been captured by her life, which seemed to play out like a novel itself, as Bonnín argues. For that reason, most of the studies have focused on her life, rather than on her work (Bonnín, 2003). The conflict is based on the fact that the work of Bertrana was written from life and travelling experience. Due to this, the life of the author is always present and its writing has been ignored. This section, then, will reveal the gender interests in her articles, which is equally necessary to study.

One important achievement of pre-war Catalonia society during the 1920s and 1930s was the incorporation of women (particularly those who were married) in the work place and intellectual sphere. Beyond sporadic appearances of authors such as Víctor Català, pseudonym of Caterina Albert, Aurora Bertrana became an exponent of Modernity for Catalan society (Real, 2007, p. 13). Her articles, political ideas, travels around the world, and intellectual propositions showed her contribution to the new age, even though she was not aware of her role as a promoter

of modernity. For Bertrana, as she wrote in *Feminisme (Feminism)*, 1931, a modern woman was someone with a

Refined atmosphere and a properly understood freedom, (with the skills to) analyze their principles and get used to the responsibility of their actions. ... A constant example, willing to work and study. ... Simple, immaculate, pleasant, intellectual without pedantry, (capable of forming a home with) health, culture, education, balancing moral and spiritual refinement. (p. 62).

Modernity brought changes of previous structures. One of the groups that arose to obtain more structural power were women. Feminism, through the women's movements, also called first wave feminism during the end of the 19th century, ascended as a social force. The movement created connections across national borders, with special interest in socialism, abolitionism, peace, temperance, and moral reform (Rupp, 2011, p. 1). First wave feminism has often been misunderstood, since women did not oppose sex or sex education, but opposed such things as gender double standards and heteronormativity. "Rather than being grim and earnest, they were passionate, and passionately engaged in their political campaigns. Rather than being socially puritanical, they challenged social convention at every side. Rather than being repressed, they were utopian visionaries" (Magarey, 2001, p. 2).

The defense of women's rights was based on individualism. Bertrana saw the need for women's education as an individual right to reach. She criticized the incapability of Catalan women for doing things by themselves, as her article *Feminisme (Feminism)*, 1931 asserts:

There are still many women in Catalonia who do not see themselves capable of taking a train or even buying a fare. They are afraid of the consequences and, rather than accepting their responsibilities, they prefer that their husbands deal with this, as the priest will do with all moral responsibilities. (p. 65)

According to the modern doctrine, Bertrana stressed the biological differences between women and men. She suggested women find a useful social position to help society to improve. She pointed to the biological differences between men and women. Women needed to find a

place and a responsibility without copying men's way of behaving, since their main essence was different, she insisted. Her article *Impersonalitat (Impersonality)*, 1934, is very straight forward about this:

Being biologically different than men, and consequently also mentally, we cannot and we should not act politically as imitators of our fathers and husbands. Inasmuch as we have a female soul, even if we agree on masculine ideals, our way of acting must be different. (p.157)

Surprisingly, this defense had another modern response. Due to the concerns of male workers about competition for jobs from lower-wage-earning women and children during industrialization, discourse about biological differences entered the public sphere. Marxism accused working women of helping lower wages in factories. It was socially defended, also, that women should not work due to their reproduction capabilities. The concept of "Eugenics," which calls for improving the human race through controlled breeding, was basic in modern society, due to Positivism. Based on this premise, society has to create and help to develop better individuals. Abortion and birth control measures were defended to promote a healthy reproductive environment. Bertrana did not directly address this topic, but by inference she agreed with it in her promotion of the need to educate working-class women.

Bertrana questioned the concept of social roles for men and women, and urged a reconsideration of them. One of the proposed changes was to provide familiar and social spaces for women to freely give personal opinions. The first critique she raised was the need to show society that women could be part of a public space of opinion and that was a task of the political system. The problem she found was that women were not taken seriously, even though the ideals of the Republic paid lip service to it, as she noted in *Incompatibilitats (Incompatibilities)*, 1933):

Men do not even consider us seriously. ... Administratively and in an external way men give us all rights. Practically and essentially they refuse to admit our

political and social competence. Sometimes I doubt the strict sincerity of those that say they favor women's rights. I think it obeyed a principle of revolutionary ethics, and in conceiving this project they were not thinking, especially, of us, but of their male political opponents. (p. 103)

Bertrana understood feminism as a common agreement among men and women. She thought that once women achieved labor and educational equality, men and women could have a fair relationship. Men would show interest in women's needs in many arenas: social, commercial, intellectual, or ideological, not just in sex (*Feminisme*, 1931). Bertrana also criticized women who indoctrinated their children with a patriarchal education, against female individual rights. For example, she was against the use of the husband's last name when getting married because it was a sign of lost female identity (Bertrana, *La senyora de Tal*, 1934). It must be explained that in Spain it was and it is not legal to change your family name when marrying, but it is popularly used by conservative women. Another criticism against women was against those who, pretending to be feminists, considered men the only one responsible for macho culture (Bertrana, *Home i dona*, 1933). This point is really interesting and modern since she is capable of seeing other feminists critically as an object to study.

Reflections about Bertrana's Journalism Reception by Media

During the 1930s, the voice of Aurora Bertrana was constantly present in progressive groups through her journalism and literature. She was often interviewed in different press outlets during the thirties. Bertrana became one of the examples of a powerful female voice in society and politics (Real, 2007, p. 12). Her journalism showed passion and curiosity: to travel, and to understand the unknown, which she faithfully reported. She brought an attractive female perspective to the socio-political years of the pre-Spanish Civil War era. Most notably, Bertrana was modern, a feminist, left-wing, committed, and adventurous. Moreover, she brought the exotic to Catalonia through her journalism from far-away places.

A search in the archives was conducted to consider Aurora Bertrana's media appearances and how she was viewed in order to reveal her work as a literary journalist, its public relevance, and its acceptance by the media of the thirties in pre-war Catalonia. By social acceptance is meant the contribution of Aurora Bertrana's work to the process of modernization of pre-war Catalan society in spite of the limitations imposed by the social mistreatment for being a woman. Bertrana influenced the public sphere in writing about the modern women who, she argued in both her words and deeds, could be an intellectual. Media acceptance will also be explored to demonstrate that the impact of her work stimulated interest in Catalonia about the exotic and the concept of the otherness. Finally, it will consider how the media portrayed her and the critiques of her journalism, works of literature, and socio-political activism.

In order to discover how the media portrayed Bertrana's work, databases from two libraries were used. The first one is the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica (Virtual Library of the Historic Press, maintained by the Spanish government) where the cultural magazines from 1928 to 1936 were selected. The second one is the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya (National Library of Catalonia) where the author researched the archives of *La Veu de Catalunya* (*The Voice of Catalonia*), the most important national newspaper during the pre-war era. The use of the articles from the newspaper is relevant because it shows how Bertrana's writing and ideas were important and influential in the public sphere from the media's point of view. The interpretation of the data will be shown with charts of the frequency of Bertrana's appearance in the media and her reception. It should be noted that this was a challenging task because there is no previous work similar to this and it was difficult to process and interpret the data. Finally, the archives from the City Council of Girona, the city where Bertrana was from, were used to localize extracts of opinion columns and articles about her work in literature and journalism in

which Bertrana's work is evaluated. The results of these searches in the digital archives give us a taste of the reception of Bertrana's articles by press peers and intellectuals. The search was conducted in about 30 newspapers with views ranging from conservative to progressive. In all of them, Bertrana is praised as a writer.

A review of the journalistic articles produced by Aurora Bertrana will introduce the section, for offering a perspective to understand the media portrayal and public acceptance of Bertrana. Then, it will focus on the media portrayal of the journalist in magazines, using a database for cultural magazines of the time. The same search was conducted in *La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*. The media image she had will be explored, as an author of literary works, as a politician, and as an intellectual and modern woman.

Journalistic Publications of Aurora Bertrana

Neus Real introduced her collection about Bertrana's articles with a short summary of Bertrana's journalistic work (2007). The stages were determined by the place from where Bertrana was reporting, with an anthropological approach in many cases. Following her publications, it is possible to see Bertrana's professional evolution, as well as to better understand how the media portrayed her. In general terms, what defines Bertrana's trajectory is her desire for literary professionalization, the fight for women's causes, and her need for adventure (Real, 2007, p. 21).

With the help of her father, Prudenci Bertrana, one of the most admired authors of Catalonia at the end of the 19th century, Aurora Bertrana started to publish articles in *La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*. Her column was called *Impressions d'una estudianta (Impressions of a female student)* (1923). She published seven articles in which she explained the experience of a female international student in Switzerland. At the time she was studying education and working as a musician, she began to write articles. Bertrana intentionally

portrayed herself as a character full of modernity, since she promoted many causes of the new society Catalonia was embracing in the Second Spanish Republic.

After a five-year break in her work due to her marriage and relocation to Polynesia, she went back to Catalonia and re-engaged with journalism. She published a short story in *La Veu de Catalunya* (The Voice of Catalonia) in 1927. Fame came to her when she focused on publishing in different journalistic platforms that were connected to a modern and renovated ideology. She explained her vision of Polynesia and her experience, as well as – in less extent – some other travel experiences at the local level, opening her most productive journalistic stage. From 1928 to the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, in 1936, she published in Catalan six articles in *D'ací i d'Allà* (*From here and from there*) (1928–1929), six others in *Mirador* (*Viewpoint*) (1929–1930) and two more in *L'Opinió* (*The opinion*) (1931). Then, she published four essays focused on diverse topics in *La Nau* (*Boat*) (1929), *Mirador* (*Viewpoint*) (1931), and *La Publicitat* (*The Publicity*) (1932). Then, in Spanish, under the opinion columns *Exotismos* (*Exotisms*) and *Nuestros Colaboradores* (*Our collaborators*) she published four articles in *El Día* (*The day*) (1932–1933). Bertrana wrote a column called *Viatges* (*Travels*) in *L'Opinió* (*The opinion*), where she published twenty-three articles (1933). Finally, she published four articles in *La Publicitat* (*The Publicity*) under the title *Els darrers salvatges* (*The last savages*) (1936). At this point her literary career was growing as she published different novels and travel writing books, as well as some short stories.

In this stage, besides exploiting her travel experiences, she flourished as a feminist and leftist intellectual within a new system of government – the Spanish Republic. Her journalistic work was done “with an unprecedented style, inseparable from the growing socio-cultural and political action of a committed writer who had earned the reputation of being modern,

cosmopolitan, and liberal throughout her articles ... and the public effect they had” (Real, 2007, p. 17). During these years, Bertrana’s political activity was noticeable as she became one of the most important actors in feminist left. In terms of her social commitment, she published seven articles about feminism and the defense of women. The first one was published in *La Nau (Boat)* (1931), five articles were published in *Evolució (Evolution)* (1931), and the last one was published in *La Rambla (The Avenue)* (1933), under the premise of “the small political word ... of a woman’s calm voice” (Real, 2007, p. 18), which she used as a title for the next column she had in *La Humanitat (The Humanity)* (1933–1934), where she published 29 articles. In the same vein, another article was published in *Bondat-Bonté. Periòdic literari i social bimensual, editat a profit dels pobres i sense feina (Good and Health. Bimonthly Literary and Social Journal, edited for charity for poor and unemployed)* (1934). As we saw in the previous chapter, her purpose in writing the articles was to ideologically educate women. She participated in the public controversies related to women – for example: legalization of prostitution. Her criticism and defense were in accordance with “republican feminism” ideas – a conservative approach to feminism that did not question many essential points of patriarchy. Still, it was a progressive option at the time, expressing hope for social transformation and equality among genders.

During 1934, there was significant political unrest in Spanish politics, and Catalonia was affected the most. For that reason, Bertrana decided to go on a field trip to Morocco for the newspaper *La Publicitat (The Publicity)*. Her project was to write about the oppressive situation of Muslim women in the Spanish and French colonies. She published 19 articles (1935) that later became another travel writing book, *El Marroc sensual i fanatic (The sensual and fanatical Morocco)*, 1936, plus another article published in *Claror (Clarity)* (1935). The journalistic production at this stage of her career was clearly engaged with modernity more than ever,

including humor, liberalism, cosmopolitanism, and fearlessness. Bertrana shows the strongest commitment to her gender, offering information from a female perspective to denounce injustices against women. This vow was kept by the author until the end of her life (Aragó, 1999, p. 95).

In 1936 a Spanish military insurgent group from colonial Morocco revolted against the democratic government of the Spanish Republic. The group aimed to impose an authoritarian rule. In 1938 Bertrana's voice changed as she focused on surviving instead of writing. Due to the Spanish Civil War, she went into exile to Geneva, looking for her husband's family, who did not welcome her, and soon evicted her. Bertrana lived in deplorable conditions, renting terrible places, being hungry and cold, and even depending on charity (Pla, 1999, p. 65). She continued her literary career for many years, but Bertrana's journalism came to an end at this time.

Even so, Bertrana's short career as a journalist had an impact on journalism, politics, and Catalan society, since she had functioned as a female model for journalists and intellectuals. She promoted the ideology of the new social construct — modernity — bringing women's and working rights to the front of the public sphere with her support for such things as divorce, legalization of prostitution, and equal access to education independent of gender and class. Moreover, Bertrana brought to Catalonia a writing product and style that became unique (Real, *Les novel·listes dels anys trenta*, 2006, p. 37) as she became a model for other women and as she introduced concepts as otherness, exotic, and equality. Her literary journalism was well narrated, and well accepted by the media and intellectual spheres, as we can see in the numerous times she was named in political and literature prize speeches. With her particular style of writing, she was able to bring to the public sphere topics related to women that had rarely been discussed before.

On top of this, Bertrana helped to establish working-class educational centers for women, as well as other cultural activities to nurture working-class education. Also, she dedicated effort to building and participating in different women’s bourgeois cultural clubs, to promote intellectual female activity among women with more education.

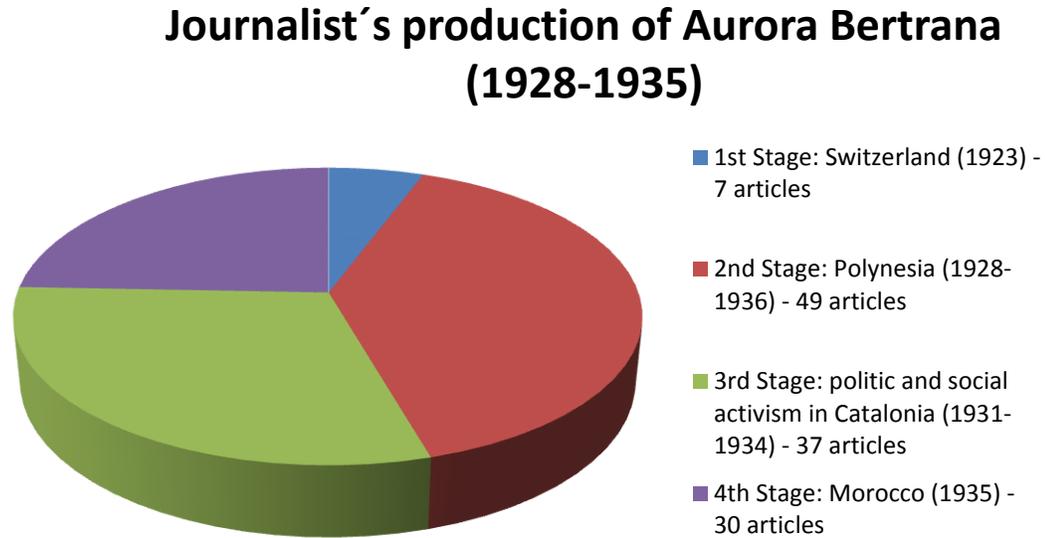


Figure 4-1: Journalist’s production of Aurora Bertrana (1928-1935)

Media Acceptance and Impact

Aurora Bertrana was well-known as a literary writer, as de *Diario de Gerona* (*Journal of Girona*) noted: "Aurora Bertrana has won a position in our Letters" (1931, June 1, p. 1). She was especially praised because of her “personal and evocative writing style” (1931, May 27, p. 2). Bertrana was adored as a writer. We can see this in examples from many critics working for different outlets with varying political views. This point is important, since Bertrana belonged to a left-wing group and could certainly have been ignored by political opponents. Some examples of the good reception of her writing are as follow. The first one was written by the journalist Pilar March in *L’Autonomista* (*The Autonomous One*):

Unfortunately, I do not personally know Aurora Bertrana, but as compatriot fellow, I am pleased to honor her with my honest congratulation and regards. I learned that she was mentioned for her enlightened ideas that distinguished her as a writer and as an intellectual. ... How accurate and subtle (in her writings)! How elegant is her way of describing religion, tradition and customs of that country paradise! ... Girona, crib of intellectuals, could happily rest ... with the scent of a very personal touch (writing style), and her exclusive and exquisite spirit.” (1931, June 1, p. 2)

Even when she was compared to her father, then one of the most important Catalan novelists, she was respected and venerated. Carles Rahola, the most important journalist from Girona, where Bertrana was from, wrote in *L'Autonomista (The Autonomous One)* an article dedicated and titled “Aurora Bertrana.” He said:

Aurora Bertrana is already a strong value to our arts. She has contributed by adding an exotic, original and brave style. ... I think any subject, any landscape, covered by her, will become interesting. Children of great writers are often received with skepticism, even when they are also dedicated to contribute to the literary arts. No one can trust them too much. An anxious shadow is interposed between them. Our writer is an exception: she honors the name she bears. There is undoubtedly the instruction and the influence of Prudence Bertrana in her ..., but there is also a strong, a coercive, and painful creative vocation. (1931, October 12, p. 1)

As we earlier saw, the literary journalism of Bertrana connected the Catalan intellectual society, especially peer journalists. She showed the world what she experienced, and Catalan readers were amazed by her understanding of exotic places and the lives of remote people whom they had never met. A journalist who signed an article as M^o. C. highlighted this point when criticizing a novel by Bertrana. He or she wrote in the newspaper *Sitios de Gerona (Places of Gerona)*:

In the form of memoirs and without leaving aside her tone of authentic and deep sincerity that contributes to the final outcome. A succulent prose, clean, tight and strongly suggestive prose, it can be read with an interest that does not allow breaks, and the reader has sensations of seeing, hearing, and meeting the protagonist ... that take part in her life, as well as to attend their sufferance and fortune. (1952, October 30, p. 7)

However, she was not recognized as a journalist as much as an author of literary works. Different reasons can be found for this lack of acknowledgement. On one hand, she intentionally

portrayed herself as a professional literature writer. On the other hand, as Real indicates, Bertrana wrote two lengthy memoirs at the end of her life. In the memoirs, she selectively explained her life and intellectual experiences (Real, 2008, p. 19). The public got to know a Bertrana that was not completely real. Scholars who have researched her life and work have found misleading and false information in her memoirs. For example, the scholar Catalina Bonín discovered that Bertrana was older than what she wrote in her memoirs. As a consequence, the year of the celebration of the centenary of her birth had to be reconsidered (Granell, 1999, p. 61). Neus Real – the main expert in Catalan female journalism and literature at the beginning of the 20th century – believed that Bertrana’s journalism needed to be seriously studied. Real contributed to the effort by publishing a collection of Bertrana’s journalistic articles that she collected from different archives. Published in two volumes, Real’s collection has opened a new door: the possibility of knowing Bertrana as a journalist, her interests in the field, and influences in the public sphere.

Media portrayal of Aurora Bertrana in magazines

When conducting a name search in the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica (Virtual Library of Historic Press), the result showed 28 magazines with Aurora Bertrana’s name. All of them were published between 1928 and 1935 in Spain and Catalonia. For that reason, some of them are in Catalan and some of them in Spanish. In every magazine it is possible to find more than one entry for the journalist’s name. Any comment included is about Bertrana’s literature, music or political work.

The magazine search result has been divided in four groups. The first one is seven magazines of literature and art, in Catalan or Spanish. They are focused on the novels, travel writing books, short stories, and tales of the author. All critiques about Bertrana are positive, exalting her quality as a writer and promoting the reading of her work.

The second group is just one periodical that talks Bertrana's work as a musician. Literature and art have been separated from music, since the first group shows her writing skills and her ideology toward some subjects, but her music is alienated from these topics. She was acclaimed as an excellent musician, as well for the quality of a jazz band she led and was part of, which was composed entirely of women. She was also praised for her advocacy of women's rights.

The third group consists of two satiric journals in Catalan. Surprisingly, neither journal used the author for humor, but for promoting her first book about her experience in Tahiti, the novel *Paradisos Oceànics (Oceanic Paradises)*. One of the articles is a review of the book, and the other one is about a conference she gave about Oceania and her novel. Both are positive visions of her literature that affirm the high quality of Bertrana's writing.

The last group is the larger one, the socio-political magazines. This group comprises 18 publications in which she is named because of her participation in the elections of 1934 and her name appeared in the electoral ballot. She also gave conferences about her admiration for the Second Spanish Republic in terms of the advancement and education of women. The other entries are about her participation in debates and public forums. It is significant that in almost all of the records of Bertrana, she is introduced as a writer, not as a politician. The same pattern is observed in *La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*, where most of the time she was titled a writer, even when she was doing something political. It is paradoxical that the impulse for most of the media comments about Bertrana stemmed from her political activism rather than her role as a writer.

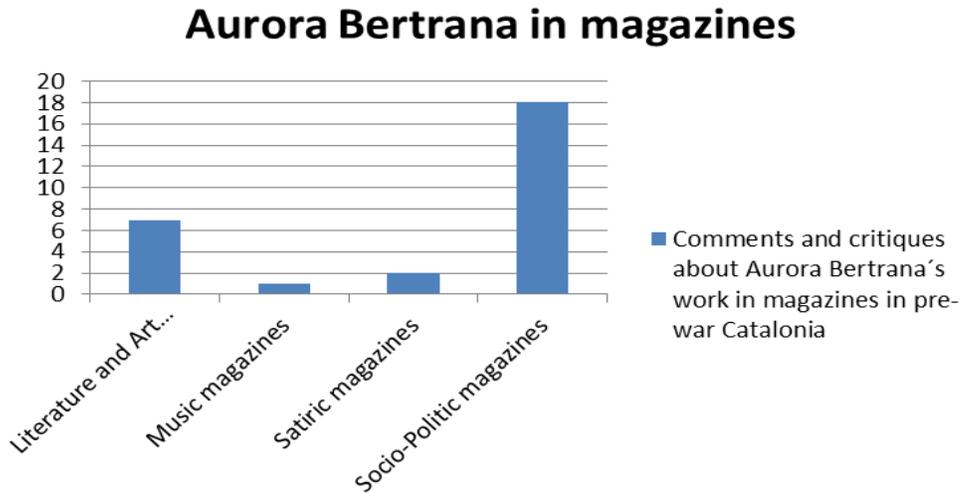


Figure 4-2: Aurora Bertrana in Magazines

Media portrayal of Aurora Bertrana in newspapers

Searches for Aurora Bertrana in *La Veu de Catalunya* (*The Voice of Catalonia*) garnered a total of 120 results out of 400 entries, since not all “Bertrana” entries were related to the journalist. Those results have been divided into three groups: the portrayal of Bertrana (1) as a writer, (2) as a politician, and (3) as an intellectual and modern woman. The author also searched for Bertrana’s portrayal as a journalist, but during this historical period, to be an author and a reporter was understood simply as a writer. In Bertrana’s equation, she is seen as a *literata* (literary author). Just one entry was found where a colleague mentioned something she said in the newsroom, so it could not be used, since it is anecdotal data.

Portrayal of Aurora Bertrana in the press

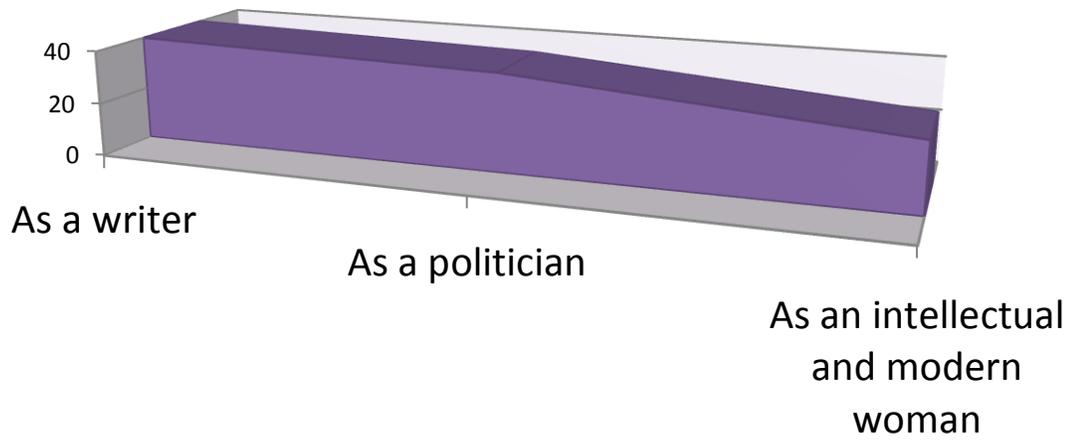


Figure 4-3: Portrayal of Aurora Bertrana in the Press

Bertrana as a Literary Writer

As a literary writer, Aurora Bertrana was named 40 times, or 38.83%. She is sometimes linked to her father, Prudenci Bertrana, since they wrote a novel together. What seems more impressive is that when she is named because of her political activities, the media viewed her activism as part of her literary work. For that reason, several entries that refer to her as a politician could also be considered entries as a writer. For example: “And one of those great things is to appoint Aurora Bertrana as a political candidate, whom he described as an excellent author” (*La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*, 1933, November 15, p. 15).

Bertrana was always praised as high-quality author in almost any entry. It does not matter if the entry is about her writing, her intellectual activities, or even a social event; she is portrayed as an excellent author. One example was a story about a round of conferences in Barcelona that gave “special mention of Aurora Bertrana, who also has been recently revealed as a good writer,

recounting her travels and her stay in Oceania. (*La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*, 1931, January 5, p. 3)

The newspaper constantly recommended the reading of her travel writing books over her novels. The most striking aspect of her literature at this time was revealing the exotic in the Catalan language: "... another delicious article by Aurora Bertrana, the first Catalan person who describes in our language the landscapes and traditions of Polynesia" (*La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*, 1928, September 7, p. 1).

She became the voice of the exotic in Catalonia, as Neus Real indicates (2008, p. 19). Her experience in Papeete, Tahiti, opened her literary consciousness. Bertrana brought her perspective of another world, and how the uniqueness influenced her understanding of life forever. The exotic gave Bertrana the motivation to grow as an author, thus she created her own style, which was well received in Catalonia. She was the one of the most distinctive voices in the media – described as fresh, young, and vibrant in different press articles. Other writers felt the experiences brought from faraway interesting places by her prose. The reception of her work by the media, as it could be seen in diverse journalist's reviews, was based in the delight of a reception of the exotic, and the possibility of feeling the otherness through her writing. For example, one writer pointed to "a suggestive article by Aurora Bertrana, where she describes the wedding of Hamné, a Polynesian girl" (*La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*, 1928, November 9, p. 1).

When Bertrana published a travel writing book about her experiences in Morocco, it was much anticipated by her bourgeois audience. It had been promoted well in advance, so colleagues were expecting it. Bertrana added pictures, and allowed other journalists to read it advance so they could reviews it. The critiques were exceptionally good, with praise that critics

today still mention. Bertrana transported the reader into the mysteries of the female Muslim soul (Nogué, 2001, p. 71):

Sensual and Fanatic Morocco. This book by Bertrana Aurora will be offered for sale on Book Day. It forms a volume of 300 pages, profusely illustrated with photographs the author took during her stay in North Africa. Few writers have managed to penetrate deep inside the Muslim soul as Aurora Bertrana did in this model travel book, published by Edicions Mediterranea. (*La Veu de Catalunya (The Voice of Catalonia)*, 1936, April 18, p. 8.)

The book was well received by the media and intellectuals, as the review above shows, but at the same time it was controversial. Bertrana explained her experience in another country, with different people, a different faith, and different traditions: the otherness. The problem was that she also explained how the military and police forces in French and Spanish colonial Morocco brutally acted. Her writing gave a vision of the colony contrary to the official one, and was critical of the government and other institutions (Nogué, 2001, p. 69). Furthermore, the book offered a consistent feminist defense of equality (Maria-Antònia Oliver, 2000, p. 14). She denounced the female oppression by two actors: Eastern men – the relatives (fathers, husbands, etc.) – and Western men – the colonizers. A search for responses and criticism of Bertrana's view of colonial Morocco proved fruitless, however. That was because just a few weeks after the publication of her book, the anti-democratic uprising against the Spanish Republic began, so the press started to focus on the civil war (Nogué, 2001, p. 67). Catalan intellectuals tried to continue its cultural duties as normal, but there was a war going on, and Bertrana went into exile during this period.

Her portrayal as a writer is highly positive as the media praised her for her contribution to Catalan literature. She was recognized as the person that brought the exotic and the concept of the otherness (Bartrina, 2001, p. 54) to the front line of Catalan society through her work. Her style, fresh, young, and modern, constructed a new world for Catalan society (Real, 1999, p. 71).

Bertrana as a Political Activist

Regarding her political activism, she was named 54 times, but 17 of them were a repetition of the election ballots, where she was included. Therefore, the total number is 37, or 35.92%. In this case, her media portrayal was not as positive as an author. Bertrana was the main character of a very controversial situation with other female politicians. The president of the Republic, Francesc Macià, was in power with the left-wing party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Left-Republican Party of Catalonia). In 1933 he was creating the electoral list for the next elections in 1934. There was a group of female activists who were travelling all around Catalonia to promote the party's program. Since they were working very hard for the party, they expected to be represented on the list. Instead, Bertrana was the woman chosen. It can be argued that the explanation for her selection was based on her popularity as a writer, the social value of being the daughter of Prudenci Bertrana and, moreover, because one of the more important politicians, Ventura Gassol, was a good friend of her father. The other activists, in fact, protested that Gassol was promoting her nomination. With this situation, there are many articles based on negative critiques of her appointment, pointing to her selection as a product of the influence of her family. The first article that explains this controversy is repeated more than six times in 15 days, since selection of the electoral list was still open and the press was collecting all the issues about it. One example of this is:

It seems the female activists have been surprised by the list because it was expected that the name of some of the female propagandists who have recently been distinguished for their enthusiast performance was to be selected, and they have been disappointed that instead of one of their names is included the one of Aurora Bertrana, which they do not yet consider to have sufficient merits. (*La Veu de Catalunya*, 1933, November 1-15).

Other media entries are about her political activities in meetings, her participation in her party's voting, and some corrections done to an incorrect list of names. She attended or

performed at promotional meetings for the party constantly. She was committed to write about the problems women faced and to defend how the Spanish Republic was fighting against them, as Velez has indicated (1999, p. 74). She is named twice because of her work for equality. In another two meetings, she is remembered as the defender of female education, and showed how the new system was correcting the lack of access for women. Therefore, Bertrana is portrayed in media as a feminist politician, standing for women's right. She was one of the elements that constructed a new society, as she constructed her public image as a new individual: a modern intellectual woman (Real, 2007, p. 22).

Bertrana as an Intellectual and Modern Woman

Finally, 26 entries as an intellectual and modern woman were found, or 25.24%. She was portrayed as a respectable intellectual, as well as an active defender of women's rights. Most of the entries promoted conferences she was presenting. But many other entries were about her attendance at intellectual, artistic, and other cultural events. For example, she is named as one of the attendants in four different award ceremonies for literature competitions. Correspondingly, she appeared in two articles as a juror for literature competitions, being praised for her good performance. Also, there are two entries about her attendance at the opening of art galleries, as well as her attendance at an art exhibition. Lastly, she is named in one as a musician, because of a concert she did with her all-female jazz band.

Concerning her cultural and intellectual presence in Catalan society, an indicative of how relevant she became, can be seen in an article in which she is named in order to excuse her absence, as we see in the text below. This fact gives an idea of how recognized in media she became, since she was even remembered when she could not attend at an event. At the same time, the host's speech praised the good work performed by the Lyceum Club of Barcelona, a kind of female working class university that Bertrana founded (Pla, 1999, p. 64):

Mr. Bulart i Rialp excused the absence of Miss Aurora Bertrana, who was unable to attend the party.... He loved the admirable task of the Female Club ... He praised the value that represents for woman to cultivate their intellect, without neglecting the social mission that they have. (La Veu de Catalunya, 1931, June 6, p. 5)

Regarding her seminars, one group of conferences was about travelling. She shared her experiences, as well as new knowledge she got from living in other cultures, with suggestive titles as “Coral Islands.” “Memories of a trip to the Polynesia,” or “Human Geography of the Polynesia.” Other conferences are about women’s issues and rights, with titles such as “Our feminism.” and “Women’s pleasures.” In these conferences, she explained what prompted her to create the Lyceum Club. The last group of conferences found is related to her political activism for creating a modern society during the Spanish Republic. She gave talks as “The trip through education and instruction” or “The new municipal elections.”

Bertrana’s intellectual contribution during the 1930s was diverse. She created associations for defending women’s rights, she gave all kinds of conferences, and she participated in cultural events. Moreover, what Bertrana did was to represent the new woman being empowered by modernity across Europe. The new woman was independent and she traveled, studied, had opinions, and remained single if she wanted to. Bertrana’s literary journalism helped her to forge a new public character. In the words of Neus Real, “Aurora Bertrana very soon became one of the models of the new intellectual for her contributions to literature that were inseparable from her public image in the 1920s and 1930s” (Real, 1999, p. 70).

Conclusion

Modernity changed the social way of thinking, mainly through dualities. As well, it influenced the political and legal structures, since the philosophical background of the governmental systems mutated. For example, Colonialism was justified through the

anthropological process of the otherness, the primitive, and the civilized. Among these dualities, topics such as the landscape, self-understanding, economics, women's rights, and many others appeared.

The Second Spanish Republic was a modern space for structural changes in society. The new Spanish political project incorporated modernity at many levels. Universal access to education and health care was established. Individual rights were legalized, such as abortion, divorce, access to desired education – instead of inherited by the family tradition, etc. The economy changed on a small scale, since families did not need to pay for education or health care. Labor rights were implemented, as well as women's rights. The union among religion and state was another important point of the Spanish Second Republic, since the separation of the two forces were openly discussed and politically established.

Bertrana called for changes in the social structure in Catalonia. The presence of the landscape in any description of her travels and her defense of women's and labor rights were all traces of modernity. Bertrana did not defend the duality of civilized and primitive people. But at times she was incoherent in her views. For example, she sometimes used the term “primitive” or “uncivilized” to describe practices and people she saw during her trips to Polynesia and Morocco. She would also sometimes describe the colonial power as “civilized” – both as an ironic jab and at other times she was entirely serious.

Still, Bertrana was committed to the claims and needs she thought society needed. She defended women's education and claimed for more intellectual spaces for females. At the same time, Bertrana defended the position of women at home, because of her reproductive values. Even through contradictory, Bertrana fully lived Modernity, being an example of a modern

woman and reproducing this stance in her articles that ultimately impacted Catalan media and the intellectual society of her time.

This chapter has gone over the political, social and intellectual powers of Bertrana's time, how they influenced her work, and how the media received her articles. Her journalism reveals Bertrana as exponent of Modernity in Catalonia and her commitment to social justice in a time of changes. She also flourished as a novelist and intellectual. In terms of politics, as an active figure of the Second Spanish Republic, Bertrana stood for the individual, women, and labor rights. She offered her gift for the cause: an inspirational and refreshed writing style to promote it. Themes such as morality, modernity or commitment could enlighten a deeper understanding of her journalism. Therefore, a profounder study on themes from her journalism could be done to complete the research upon Bertrana's writing.

As previously noted in the section about her journalism in the colonies, she was incoherent at times. Bertrana, as she would acknowledge in her memoirs many decades later, had limits because of her bourgeois and conservative education. For that reason, even in her explicit arguments defending women's rights, she held the position that women must stay at home, since children's education and family economy depended on them. On the one hand, she held that some women needed to work – such as widows, poor women, and women in situations where their husbands were ill. On the other hand, she believed women were children's educators, so they needed to be at home when possible. The following is an example in her article *Cassolanisme Spiritual (Spiritual Home-loving, 1934)*: “Female friends, artisans or workers, even if you are dedicated to the cultivation of intelligence, do not neglect cooking or washing your husband's socks. In these plain objects you will find an opportunity to show your feelings,

your intelligence and especially the purest essence of your balance and beautiful femininity” (p. 147).

Bertrana’s portrayal in the media shows how media respected and admired her as a writer. She was depicted as a literary writer mainly, in magazines and newspapers. The fact that non-fictional and fictional narratives were not perceived differently by the press could lead us to the idea that Bertrana was as respected for being a journalist as novelist. Even if the media talked about her politics or musical activities, it was regularly referred to her as an excellent author. Also, she was considered an expert in Oceania, its people, and its traditions, as it is constantly expressed when reviews refers to her conferences. At any occasion she could, she shared her experience and knowledge in foreign cultures and countries. Moreover, she was understood as an intellectual in her totality because she participated in the political discourse of the Second Spanish Republic while also publishing intellectually complex works of journalism and literature. As a journalist, her writing style was quite different from and more engaging than most other journalists. In addition, the modern topics she wrote about, such as the exotic or the concept of otherness, brought a fresh new perspective to Catalan journalism. As a politician, she was publically recognized for her activism and commitment to women’s rights. Even so, we see that other female activists where not happy with the media and political importance of Bertrana, who was seen as an elitist child due to her father’s position and influence. Some political female peers accused her of being favored and better accepted just because of the social status of her family.

The social importance of Bertrana’s family in the intellectual sphere of Catalonia was a factor in her popularity, but her talent was the key point of her success as a writer. Bertrana portrayed an image of herself as the modern women she wanted to be. She became a new

intellectual, with an admired female perspective, and a respected agenda that renewed the cultural and media scene of Catalonia.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

Previous research about Aurora Bertrana's writing has focused on both her fictional narratives and her life. This historical research instead focused on a major – but largely ignored – part of her writing output – her journalism. One of the purposes of the study was to analyze the Bertrana's fresh, new writing style, which engaged with her audience. The point was made that Bertrana employed her literary skills to craft the stories she reported – thus she was not just a traditional reporter, but a literary journalist. And in defining her as such, this study opposes the hegemony of the traditional literary journalism canon by revealing the work of an artist marginalized by both her gender and geography in that she wrote and published in a language and in a country outside the orbit of the majority of Anglocentric or Americentric discourse about literary journalism. This study, then, fits well with recent efforts to recognize that literary journalism is the product of both a pluralistic and globalized world. Recent examples of such efforts would be the 2006 founding of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies and the publication of Jan Whitt's *Settling the Borderland: Other voices in Literary Journalism* (2008), John S. Bak and William Reynolds' *Literary Journalism Across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences* (2011), and Richard Keeble and John Tulloch's *Global Literary Journalism: Exploring the Journalistic Imagination* (2012).

Another purpose of the study was to explore in depth Bertrana's socio-political agenda that she advocated and promoted through her journalism. She contributed to her society during a time of radical change with a modern proposal to improve society and respect human rights. Finally, the last purpose of this study was to evaluate the reception of her writing on the Catalan media.

Regarding the journalist genre, Chapter 3 focused on defining literary journalism, and showing how Aurora Bertrana used this narrative form, which made her be recognized as a writer with a delightful style. Bertrana renewed Catalan journalism by bringing something unexpected: the voice of a female professional with strong opinions.

However, as the media scholar John Hartsock has observed, one of the problems when addressing the study of literary journalism is the name. The style has been seen as a genre, as well as a form (Hartsock, 2000, p. 3-15). The critics of literary journalism have been frequent. It has been difficult for many of those critics to accept a journalistic form that employs the techniques of the fictionist. In order to avoid this controversy, many names have been given to the genre. Hartsock listed several names, including new journalism, literary nonfiction, and nonfiction narrative. In addition, Jan Whitt has compiled several, such as narrative literary journalism, factual fiction, art-journalism, artistic nonfiction, creative nonfiction, para-journalism, and intimate journalism (Whitt, 2008, p. 1). In this research, literary journalism was defined as synonymous with new journalism or nonfiction narrative.

While objectivity is present in literary journalism due to the factual reporting of news, places, people, and situations, subjectivity also dominates. This is not a consequence of the use of fictional narrative, but because of the voice of the reporter, who is the one that reports. Literary journalism could be seen in such texts as editorials, reportage, opinion columns, reviews, news, and travel writing. It is usually interdisciplinary, converging matters from sociology, anthropology, memoirs, and history. It tends to use descriptions, dialogue, irony and humor, symbols, and other literature resources that make the articles more compelling.

Since the reporter is sometimes openly present in the narration, which is the case in Aurora Bertrana's work, the writer's bias is exposed for the reader to see. A connotation of this

is how the reader could better identify with the narration, since it could be seen as more honest. The sources used in new journalism are interesting, too, because along with the subjects of the story, the reporter also becomes part of the story to one degree or another. The reader is eager to discover how the news changes the reporter. Traditional journalism aims to be objective. Revelation of bias is held to a minimum. John Hellman says that since the voice of the reporter is empowered, the reader perceives a subjectivity that openly shows the bias in the report. Therefore, the reader feels the report is more honest because it reveals the journalist's point of view – unlike traditional journalism (Hellman, 1981, p. 4). Between the entertaining writing style and the exposure of the journalist's voice, literary journalism easily engages the reader. This is the key to enticing and holding on to readers. We can see this in the reception of Bertrana's work in which readers and peers indicated that her personal style brought a new freshness and life to journalism in Catalonia.

Bertrana's literary journalism was deeply committed to the social issues of the countries she lived in and visited. Her articles from the colonies were a clear example of reportage with an objective tone; however, at the same time, they had a valuable sense of subjectivity when revealing the atrocities of the colonizers. In her articles dealing with her socio-political activism in Catalonia she raised her voice in a call for societal change. Bertrana's passion for her subjects informed her literary journalism's innovative writing style. She used her passions in her journalism when writing about topics such as social justice, women's and labor rights, the inequalities of colonialism, and issues of identity. Finally, what makes Bertrana's literary journalism relevant to her times is how, even when she tries to be coherent with her ideals, her writing and her very opinions are limited by the fact that she was – after all – a woman who had been educated within a bourgeoisie and conservative Catholic culture. Bertrana regularly reveals

the human battle within – the constant negotiation between what we believe and what we finally think.

Bertrana's articles were analyzed in Chapter 4 in order to reveal the historical and cultural setting in which Bertrana lived, as well as her media reception. Modernity became relevant, especially beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. It changed the paradigms of Western culture by changing the way we understand reality. How people perceived knowledge, their social practices, and their individual relationship with the environment were transformed. Things like ways of dressing, new music styles – for example jazz – and industrialization are some examples of structural changes. One of the main points was the awareness and defense of individualism. Therefore, concepts such as human rights, political ideologies like anarchism, and medical theories like psychoanalysis appeared. Modernity developed an understanding of the world through dualities. One of them was the destruction of the union between the land and men, as traditional rural employment moved to urban areas and factory jobs. Therefore, wages were created; workers were paid by the hours. Another duality was the awareness of the self and the other. Otherness was acknowledged through colonialism, since indigenous people became the other.

Modernity brought the awareness of the existence of social structures. Social structures, as well as philosophical ones, changed the understanding of power relations. A sample of these structural changes was the modern political project, which made the hegemony of the nation-state the key point of the new system. As well, the establishment of capitalism, together with other economic projects, and a cultural homogenization of Western values became the economic base.

Bertrana's journalism promoted the socio-political agenda of modernity. Bertrana was an active political agent of the Second Spanish Republic, when a cultural revival swept across Spain and politics were leading to a more democratic representative society. Bertrana stood for individual rights, such as divorce, access to education – especially for women and the working-class – freedom to choose a profession, and health care for prostitutes. Another major structural change was the separation of the Catholic Church from the state, which Bertrana supported. She also questioned the validity of colonizing other countries. Simultaneously, as a feminist, Bertrana used her journalism to denounce the treatment of women in Western and Eastern countries.

Lastly, the study has focused on the reception of Bertrana's journalism through media depictions of the relevance and impact of her writing among intellectuals and peer journalists. Aurora Bertrana was a popular musician, writer, and politician, so she appeared in media. An archive search was done to determinate how popular she was in the press and through what lens – as a journalist, an intellectual, a literary writer, a political activist or a musician – she was viewed by the critics of her work. Different virtual libraries and archives were used for this part of the research, focusing on, first, in which magazines she was named and what for; and, second, the frequency and the critics she had in a main Catalan newspaper of her time, as well as in local newspapers. Therefore, the search of the coverage of Bertrana's journalism covers a wide spectrum of Catalan media, from 1928 to 1936, when she was an active journalist.

In magazines, Bertrana was named mainly in magazines about politics, followed by art and literature publications. In newspapers, as well as in magazines, Bertrana was portrayed as a writer, which is how she was mainly seen by the Catalan media. Bertrana was praised for her personal narrative style over magazines and newspapers, as well as for bringing to Catalonia

interesting and revealing stories from exotic countries. Moreover, Bertrana was acclaimed as a committed female writer and recognized for her political agenda in the media.

There is still much left to study about Bertrana's contribution to Catalan journalism at the beginning of the twentieth century in Catalonia. One possibility could be to search for publications in French abroad, in France or Switzerland. Another option is to implement the search in archives, where many other treasures could be hidden, from or about Bertrana. Moreover, a qualitative research about the main themes in Bertrana's writing still needs to be carried out. Themes such as morality, modernity, and social commitment could enlighten a deeper understanding of her work. A deeper reading on colonialism in Bertrana's articles needs to be done to better understand her contribution to the modernization of Catalan mass communication.

Finally, while Aurora Bertrana knew she had a privileged position as a well-educated woman, she honored her special place by affirming a commitment to women's rights by defending female education and demanding intellectual respect from men – both in her own country and in the marginalized colonies of Spain and France. Still, as the scion of a notable family and a conservative tradition, she acknowledged her limitations and contradictions when defending women's rights. She was critical of feminists and at the same time she considered herself one. She was a literary journalist who used the tools of the genre to engage with writers and media as an activist for individual freedom. She was, finally, the manifestation of a thoroughly modern woman.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elisabet Liminyana Vico received her M.A in Pedagogy at the University Level (2005), and has done research toward a PhD in Interdisciplinary Studies in the Humanities (MA equivalent, 2005), with a specialty in contemporary literature in the University of Girona. She graduated in Catalan Sign Language in 2003 by the Association of Hearing Disabled of Catalonia (section of Girona). She has a BA in Catalan Philology and another in Spanish Philology (both 2004, University of Girona). She was a lecturer in "Didactics of Catalan Language and Literature for Children", and then started and developed Catalan studies for the Instituto Cervantes in Leeds, England (2005-2008) and at the University of Leeds (2006-2009). She combined the teaching of Catalan and Spanish at the Instituto Cervantes of Leeds, as well as at the Instituto Cervantes of Algiers (North Africa), and at the Metropolitan University of Leeds (2008-2009). From 2009, she has been coordinating and instructing the Catalan program at UF, where she received a Master in Arts in Mass Communication, with specialty in Journalism, as well as two Graduate Certificates: one in Women's Studies and one in Latin American Studies. Her field of interest is literary journalism, with a focus in women's journalism in the early twentieth century Catalonia, and the social construction of modernity.