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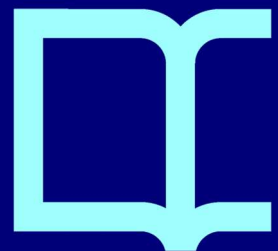
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Eugenics, sexual pedagogy and social change: constructing the responsible subject of governmentality in the Spanish Second Republic

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on eugenics in Spain, and more specifically on the 'official' eugenics whose platform was the Primeras Jornadas Eugénicas Españolas (First Spanish Eugenic Days, FSED). The aim of this paper is to relate eugenics to 'governmentality' rather than to State politics alone and to 'Latin eugenics' rather than to 'mainline eugenics'. On the one hand, the FSED were largely centred on the development of a *new sexual code* which would set Catholic sexual morality aside. For this reason, sexual *pedagogy* was one of the most relevant topics during the FSED, personal *responsibility* becoming the first step to social change. The concern about making people play an active role in their own self-regulation is typical of governmentality. The latter refers to societies where power is decentered and where the objective is to structure the field of action of others (the conduct of conduct). On the other hand, the FSED emphasised preventive eugenics such as welfare programmes and health campaigns rather than negative eugenics such as the sterilisation of the unfit. The situation in Spain was mirrored in countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, which allows us to think about them in terms of 'Latin eugenics' rather than 'mainline eugenics' from countries such as Great Britain, Germany and the USA.

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1. Introduction

Becoming aware of responsibility, yes ... But, what an awful idea, dear Huerta, the intelligent contest of couples well-disposed to breeding! (Bello, 1934, p. 317)¹

The historical significance of eugenics has stimulated a substantial increase of studies on the topic in the last decades. Some of these recent works, such as the excellent contribution of Nancy L. Stephan (1991) to the Latin American sphere, allow us to appre-

ciate the importance of considering eugenics in the context of national intellectual and scientific traditions. The fact that science is a social activity, which cannot be sealed off from the values of the society, requires us to pay attention to the social and political life within which it is practised. In the light of the above I have examined eugenics in Spain, specifically 'official' eugenics whose platform was the Primeras Jornadas Eugénicas Españolas (First Spanish Eugenic Days, FSED) in 1933:² that is, as a scientific venture that was shaped by different factors particular to the historical place in which it appeared. Thus we should take into account the fact that

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¹ All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

² I have decided to name 'official' the eugenics specially developed during the Second Republic and represented in the 1933 conference, which received the approval of the Spanish Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts (as stated in the paper, the Minister himself attended to the inauguration of the meeting). I considered it appropriate to use this adjective—for example, rather than the term 'institutionalised'—to differentiate it from other eugenic positions such as the one led by Catalan anarchism, studied in this issue by Richard Cleminson. In addition, the meeting on eugenics was attended by a significant number of high ranking professionals who represented the very wide range of theoretical positions on eugenics in Spain. Note also that before the FSED, there had been the Primer Curso Eugénico (First Eugenics Course), which had been intended to take place in 1928 and counted several intellectuals such as the criminologist and jurist L. Jiménez de Asúa or the psychiatrist J. Sanchís Banús (both authors were influenced by Freudian psychology; see Glick, 2003). The program was interrupted by the regime of General Primo de Rivera and condemned as 'pornographic entertainment'. It was reestablished in 1932 during the Republic as a real victory over the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.

the eugenics movement in Spain reached its highest point of development in the early 1930s, the years of the Second Republic (the national context) and the inter-war period (the international context). This double context is one of the keys to understanding why eugenics was deemed to be a relevant strategy (although not the only one) for *social change*.

Regarding the national context, eugenics was accepted as a new procedure to improve the nation by cleansing it of the factors considered to be damaging the people's hereditary health and consequently by regenerating populations through control over the quality of sexual reproduction. Eugenics in Spain was a programme of rationalising sexuality that stressed the troubles implied by the conventional sexual roles of men and women. There was general concern about making people responsible for their sexual actions and about setting aside Catholic sexual morality. This last was considered to be the origin of a range of what were thought of as specifically Spanish evils such as the neurosis caused by sexual repression and the double standards that apparently justified man's search for sexual satisfaction with prostitutes, a source of venereal diseases (this being a form of satisfaction that a wife supposedly could not or should not be able to offer to her husband). For this reason, official eugenics in Spain was largely centred on *sexual pedagogy*.

Regarding the international context, the regeneration of Spain also meant working towards the achievement of the same level of social, political, and economical competence as other European countries. Eugenics was seen as a scientific instrument for so doing, that is to say, eugenics was judged to be an excellent tool for progress. In addition, eugenics was thought of a peaceful way of maintaining the propagation and survival of the human race. After the First World War, and even in the wake of the aggressive colonialism of some countries, there was a demand to transform social morality based on *force* and *instinct* towards one based on *science* and *reason*. For some authors, such as Quintiliano Saldaña, professor of Penal Law and Criminology at the University of Madrid, eugenics allowed man not only to develop artificial selection, but also to create some kind of *universal* subject and society which could overcome the crisis of European culture. It is interesting to note that Saldaña (1934a) knew about and accepted Nicola Pende's biotypology, which could probably be considered as one of the first steps from the left to the right in the ideology of eugenics in Spain, in the same way as happened in Argentina, according to Stepan.

The aim of this paper is to study eugenics in Spain in relation to the period of social and political change that starts with the inception of the Second Republic. Even if there was a common intention to bring about collective improvement, there was no actual consensus on the way to carry it out. Far from being a uniform approach, eugenics in Spain was an eclectic movement which reflected the diverse positions of Spanish intellectuals (the Republic itself was ruled by different groups ranging from moderate to radical left-wing). Specifically, the most important disagreement between the authors participating in the FSED was about the suitability of using negative eugenics (eugenics used to eliminate 'the unfit' from the social body, such as sterilisation), and in general about how far the State should be allowed to take direct control of citizens' private life.

My aim is to show how the Spanish debate concerning the adoption of voluntary or non-voluntary measures was not fundamentally promoted by a religious feeling that defended the *free will* of subjects, but by the dialectical logic typical of liberal democracies between the State and the individual. I propose to place eugenics within the framework formed by the discussions about the compromise between the guarantees of civil rights and a State action that could limit them in order to protect collective interests. For this reason, I think that even if it were important to bring about the improvement of sanitary conditions and hygienic reform by making interventions in factors affecting heredity, concern about the possible abuses of power led the

majority of Spanish intellectuals to a *preventive eugenics* based on State mechanisms that would be in harmony with people (that is, there would not be reliance on either individual self-discipline or on State politics alone).

Ultimately, my objective is to pursue the connection between eugenics and the construction of 'governmentality' which refers to the new form of power that emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This modern political space is characterised by sovereignty and discipline, but also *government* in the way Foucault (1999) indicates, that is to say, the conduct of conduct. The latter includes political structures and the management of states, but is not limited to them: government also entails the practices through which we govern others and we govern ourselves in a range of personal, non-political, and often non-economic relationships. In these societies, power is decentered and its members play an active role in social regulation. Personal autonomy is not, then, the antithesis of political power, but a key term in its exercise: government develops mechanisms in order to make people regulate themselves. Governmentality implies the relational and self-regulating accountability of an (ethical) subject that takes responsibility for its own conduct (Michman & Rosenberg, 2002).

For this reason, my emphasis in this paper is on the concern of intellectuals about promoting personal responsibility regarding sexual conduct. Note that the promotion of personal responsibility implies taking into account some of the individual and collective identities which are involved in conducting sexual and health practices. As Fernando de los Ríos, minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, asserted at the opening ceremony of the FSED:

Eugenics raises a problem of *ethical character* that is translated into a series of imperatives of conduct for all individuals, absolutely, for everyone that has the awareness to project their *individuality* in the future and seeing it with a view of tomorrow; and it raises, in addition, an imperative of *collective character* for all political men who have a feeling for the future of their country. (Ríos, 1934, p. 13)

I will offer some examples of how the management and promotion of personal responsibility would to a certain extent imply the reformulation of images concerning sexual matters.

This paper is organised in three parts. In the first, I focus on the historical context in which eugenics appeared in Spain and I analyse in depth the two contexts mentioned above. In the second, I explore in some detail the eugenic tools employed for collective improvement in Spain, that is, 'preventive' eugenics as social welfare programmes, hygienic reform and, specifically, sexual pedagogy and the reconstruction of gender identities in the Spanish context. In the third part, I turn to eugenics in the problematic arena of negative measures. I introduce the 'utopian' proposal of Quintiliano Saldaña regarding 'racial responsibility' in order to illustrate that the exigency of a State that imposes constraints upon citizens, that is, one of the extremes of the compromise between civil rights and a State intervention, place him at the limits of acceptable intervention in liberal government.

2. The Spanish moment: two spheres of change and improvement

As happened in other countries, Spanish 'official' eugenics acquired its significance in the context of national self-construction which was carried out by intellectuals, and specifically by scientists, most of them doctors; an occurrence that is easy to understand given that the universal discourse of science was held to be the key to interpret progress and modernity. Below I propose three spheres in which, according to Spanish authors, it was thought change and improvement might be brought about.

Eugenics in Spain needs to be related to *Regeneracionismo*. This was one of the two ideological movements, with *Canovismo*, for the construction of the Spanish nation which came into being at the end of the nineteenth century in Spain. It was prompted by the feeling of decay and the loss of the last Spanish colonies, and its aim was to work towards the renewal of social and political life. But unlike the conservative project designed by the politician Antonio Cánovas, the regenerationist project did not assume the divine origin of nation or the people's inability to govern themselves.

Regeneracionismo believed that nations were the product of racial, physiological and psychological structures and that Spanish people had adequate characteristics (in potential) to rule their own fate. National degeneration was conceived as a circumstantial apathy that only needed to be overcome (Castro & Blanco, 2006). According to this ideological movement, national *regeneration* would be possible thanks to a programme of social and political reforms based on education comparable to the most advanced European countries.

It is not strange then that many of the measures which were developed from the beginning of the twentieth century to regenerate the Spanish race had to do with education directed to the illiterate and also with the improvement of health conditions and hygienic reform by the State (benefits deriving from Catholic charity were deemed insufficient to offset the deterioration of living conditions). The latter task started to be accomplished by social medicine, as Álvarez (1988) has specified. In fact, Álvarez considers that the Instituto de Medicina Social founded in 1919 could be taken as the first effort at the institutionalisation of eugenics in Spain. In the programme of the institute, eugenics—along with childhood education and naturalism—was one of the tools which it was thought that social medicine should employ as a therapeutic agent.

Even if eugenics comes into being at a moment when it is considered that the attention to environmental variables needed to be backed up by interventions in heredity, the Spanish context fulfils the requirements for a 'soft' interpretation on genetics linked to neo-Lamarckian understandings. This is what also happened in fact in Latin America, where there was 'a place for traditional, environmental approaches to the reform of human heredity' (Stepan, 1991, p. 34). Nonetheless, note that holding neo-Lamarckian views was not necessarily incompatible with the fact of advocating some measures like the sterilisation of 'degenerates'. The coexistence of basic concepts of Lamarckism and of a broad variety of political positions, though apparently opposed, was possible. In addition, the approach of Latin eugenics relied upon 'a wider variety of (possibly contradictory) positions, especially with regard to the question of acquired characteristics' (Cleminson, 2000, p. 53). I think this could be applied to the case of Saldaña, who took into consideration notions from Lamarckism, Darwinism and Malthusianism to support his point of view. Saldaña concluded that an environmentalist approach was too slow to obtain the degree of desired social change. It was necessary to impose direct and radical controls over reproduction which could bring immediate results (direct and aggressive, namely the very two aspects that most authors rejected, as we will see below in the example of Jiménez de Asúa). In this sense, eugenics was a sort of *revolutionary* strategy, although a strategy accomplished inside the State and its legislation (this idea which might seem utopian needs to be placed in the context of the convulsive years of the Second Republic; see (Álvarez & Huertas, 1987) or (Sinclair, 2008), this issue).

The posture of Luis Huerta (1934) in the FSED, head of the Eugenic Section of the outstanding review *Gaceta Médica Española*, is representative of the hope for a new future product of a wide-

reaching change (the Russian revolution served as an example). He indicated three phases of progress: a *classical thesis* (Christian and medieval, based on authority); a *modern antithesis* (naturalist and philanthropic, based on freedom and rationalism) and the *present synthesis* (revolutionary, based equally on material goods and moral values). This minority position that proposed a new ideal of humanity and subject and found in eugenics the proper tool for change is exemplified, once more, by the work of Quintiliano Saldaña. His thirst for social revolution made for the people, although not by the people (as he put it in his book *El momento de España*, Saldaña, 1929) represents the ambiguous position that a number of progressive intellectuals maintained at that period.

2.2. The international sphere

Discussion about the future of Spain also took into consideration some international coordinates, that is, it required consideration of the role that Spain should play in the relationships with other countries, both European and Latin American. Below I propose two different degrees of interpretation regarding the desire to obtain the same level of social, political, economical and specifically scientific competence as other European countries (1), and the desire to maintain the propagation and survival of the human race (2). I would like to mention at this point that there are a couple of factors which better clarify these two degrees of interpretation: (a) the regenerationist aspiration for a harmonious organisation of Humanity and the effects of the First World War on this aspiration; and (b) The debate about 'Europeanisation' and 'Spanishness', that is to say, the modernisation of Spain through the opening to Europe and the conservation of the Spanish character and tradition. According to *Regeneracionismo*, the decadence of Spain was linked to the separation between Spain and Europe which is why the regeneration of Spain entailed *Europeanisation*. The latter did not mean the importation of 'everything' from abroad but rather implied the recuperation of the genuine Spanish tradition.

(1) The majority of authors at the FSED endorsed eugenics as an appropriate outcome of developments in science and hence of social progress. Luis Huerta (1934a) drew attention to the fact that Spain was fifty years behind in eugenics compared with its European neighbours (even if Dr Enrique Madrazo, one of the pioneers of eugenics in Spain, had been dedicated to this subject since the beginning of the 20th century, as Huerta himself pointed out).

However, the comparison with other European countries concerning eugenics meant there was a need to think about the suitability of this scientific measure for the Spanish context. Some authors were aware of what was happening in Germany (see Bello, 1934) and warned that some eugenic tools could entail certain risks depending on the aim for which they were used and on the person in charge of putting them into practice. Besides this warning about the possible abuse of power, there were authors who remarked on the differences separating national identities. Should Spain achieve social and political modernisation in the same way as the USA or Germany? Some writers made this question clear: G. de Reparaz (1934) and his criticism of a 'Europeanisation' which involved the rejection of Semitic aspects in favour of Aryan ones, or A. Reyes (1934) and his idea of a Spanish 'spiritual' colonisation in America as opposed to an Anglo-Saxon 'economic' imperialism. We can detect in these ideas the classical debate between a supposed Latin humanity and sensibility and a concept of Anglo-Saxon practicality and materiality (discourses about Spanish degeneration were also linked to a concept of Latin degeneration at the turn of the nineteenth century; for further analysis on this subject, see Jiménez Alonso, 2003).

(2) According to other intellectuals such as L. Huerta and M. Torre it was necessary to offer a compromise in the European

sphere, precisely because of the differences between national identities. Let us pay attention to the following words:

The present crisis that the world suffers is fundamentally a crisis of culture; it is the crisis of modern world culture, one that arises with the Renaissance and dies with Romanticism, whose death rattles last until the European war. It can be said that the period of 'useless words' is over. We are in a moment of reflective, effective and decisive action. (Huerta, 1934a, pp. 8–9)

Two basic ideas are illustrated in the previous paragraph: on the one hand, science as a tool for social change (in opposition to 'useless words'); and, on the other hand, the overcoming of the cultural crisis which had its apparent end in the First World War. After the war, it was perceived that violence was not the most appropriate way of safeguarding collective life. It was also seen as necessary to change the key concept of civilisation from *Patria* (mother country) to *Estado* (state): the State was 'the perfect term of citizenship' (Torre, 1934). Only through science and specifically through eugenics, was it possible to achieve a social change and a new ideal of human nature and general culture which put an end to differences: 'a homogeneous human nature in which we fit and in which all men become related to one another' (Huerta, 1934b, p. 314).

In this latter sense, the concern about establishing a State which would take care of people's hereditary health extended to a universal context. More specifically, Saldaña refers to the need to construct a universal State and a universal subject that would defend the common good and avoid militarism (let us recall the three phases of Progress quoted by Huerta). The legitimization of a biological measure as eugenics, in order to protect the universal health and 'physical constitution' of a citizen, was an appropriate strategy for future society.

However, Saldaña's universal ideal entailed going as far as subordinating the subject to society, an 'organic' society understood in the markedly biological sense that social Darwinism had popularised from the end of the nineteenth century, and which moved away from what had been defended by *Regeneracionismo* (see Glick, Ruiz, & Puig-Samper, 1999): for Saldaña, biology and law were parallel sciences (Saldaña, 1934b). Later in this paper I discuss the different eugenic measures associated with the management of social change.

3. How to change and improve: cultural eugenics ... and prophylactic eugenics?

In accordance with what we have said above, eugenics in the Second Republic was valuable insofar as it offered useful genetic knowledge and integrated concerns about hygiene, economy or pedagogy. A variety of papers appeared at the FSED, including some on birth control, the premarital certificate and sterilisation, and also some on prostitution and its abolition, health at work, sexual pedagogy at home and at school, and so forth. The intention of the authors dealing with these subjects was to do so without dogmatic or theological prejudice (Noguera, 1934): they proceeded from the point of view of health and science (see Álvarez, 1995).

Nonetheless, even if science was able to contribute to a more progressive society, it is also true that its role was a complicating factor, especially in relation to some topics such as the premarital certificate and sterilisation. What it is necessary to understand is (1) that in general, the professional and medical classes represented in the FSED combined a range of modernist and anti-modernist attitudes, and (2) that, according to Vázquez (2006), State interventionism arrived late in Spanish society. In this way eugen-

ics can be understood on the one hand as an open space for discussion about subjects such as sexuality and on the other as occupying an official space which was integrated into State policy organizations.

It is natural then that sex education would be a particular concern of eugenicists. The participating authors in the FSED were conscious that the effectiveness of the eugenic ideal depended on each individual in society, on the internalisation of eugenic knowledge and its incorporation into daily life. In this sense, two types of eugenics could be distinguished. Saldaña (1934b) defined them in the following way: cultural eugenics, *expounded* and instilled into people through propaganda, and prophylactic eugenics, *imposed* and realised through the law: 'so that ideals are transformed into aims'. In the following section I present the two most representative objectives arising from this, and that concerned cultural and prophylactic eugenics: the reconstruction of gender identities and the legitimization of racial responsibility suggested by Saldaña.

3.1. Preventive eugenics: reconstructing subjectivities regarding sexuality

I have already commented that the purpose of leaving Catholic morality behind, especially in sexual matters, was a key subject in official eugenics in Spain during the 1930s (Sinclair, 2003). However, it is necessary to take into account two observations. On the one hand, the criticism of Catholic ideas on sexuality did not mean a rejection of religion, but rather of the existence of 'double standards' and 'distance from nature'. Freedom of belief and worship was one of the basic tenets of the politicians of the Republic and, indeed, an aspect of public life bequeathed by Spanish *Regeneracionismo*. On the other hand, the reformulation of subjectivities, specifically regarding gender roles in terms of sexual responsibility and to some degree equality before the law, did not mean a rejection of old attitudes to the need to maintain 'real' men and women. For example, in a contribution to the Eugenics Course, which was eventually curtailed by the dictator Primo de Rivera, the professor of Penal Law Luis Jiménez de Asúa pointed out:

Sexual education, conceived in its broadest meaning, teaches men the true virile ideal and women the authentic feminine aim, making men more masculine and women more feminine ... the fight against Don Juanism and regulated prostitution, and the struggle against the splitting of love that takes men to polygamy, lodging pure affection in the wife and reserving fits of passion for prostitutes and mistresses seems to me a worthier program for humanity than those other too ingenuous or excessively premature procedures with which I shall concern myself presently.³ (Jiménez de Asúa, 1934, p. 336)

I mention these two points here because they are useful in considering the limits in the way Spanish intellectuals viewed the reform of codes regulating sexual behaviours.⁴ The main objective was to bring into being a new code of sexual behaviour that might be original, and devoid of Judaic and Christian roots or connotations. The reformulation of *individuality* also implied modifying to a certain extent sexual and social identities according to the new interests—responsibility, biological concern, no dogmatic or theological prejudices—but within the limits pointed out above. Effectively, social change required an assessment of how sexual behaviours were characterised, but for authors such as Jiménez de Asúa or Gregorio Marañón this reformulation did not result in conventional gender differentiation.

³ His reference here is to 'direct' and 'aggressive' measures such as sterilisation and extermination of those who are supposed incurable.

⁴ On the subject of the different discourses concerning eugenics ideas and gender construction, see Richards (2004).

On this matter, two questions were presented in the lectures of FSED: (1) there was a criticism of the *role-relationship models* specifically regarding sexuality (criticism of the Catholic concept of shame and some classical sexual archetypes such as Don Juan and the modest woman); and (2) negative consequences of sexual repression were analysed concretely from a psychoanalytic point of view so that Don Juanism, for example, was understood as a kind of *national neurosis*.

(1) As specified, new sexual morality did not mean libertinage or free love, nor did it make physical love the main focus of the sexual code. The frivolity of 'appearances' and specifically the hypocrisy of 'flirtation' were severely criticised. Instead, it was believed that new couples should be guided by 'sincerity'. On the other hand, for several authors such as Sender (1934) or Ossorio (1934) it was not possible to reduce 'love' to a biological matter.

This emphasis on sincerity and love entailed criticism of the Catholic concept of shame ('pudor') and, with it, the criticism of certain classical roles such as the modest woman (concerned with hiding from everything in relation to sexuality and, as we see below, concerned with preserving honour) and the promiscuous or adventurous man (as much in the version of Don Juan as in the one of man visiting prostitutes).

3.2. *Feminism and conscious pregnancy*

The criticism of the concept of the modest woman was inevitably linked to the fight for freedom, equality and emancipation of women characteristic of feminism. The commitment to a new identity for woman, far removed from traditional roles (governed by macho norms), presupposed woman's control of her own body and, specifically, of maternity.

For example, Matilde de la Torre (1934), a writer committed to gender equality, showed that women had to discover their own 'power' and emphasized the importance of complying with the woman's wishes regarding her body:

And on this outcrop the formidable importance of Feminism is based. Here, exposed to the revitalising educational action of its procreative sensitivity, it will illuminate its powerful instinct, channel it towards social problems, make them include it in their very historical scheme. (de la Torre, 1934, p. 58)

3.3. *Masculinity and the abolition of prostitution*

The criticism of role-relationships also affected the traditional model of masculinity. Not only were fathers called on to be fully involved in procreation and care of their children, that is, in pater-nity, but there was also a criticism of Don Juan and certain sexual practices such as prostitution. Specifically, the criticism of the 'modest woman' implied that there should be an end to the dynamic that apparently justified man's search for sexual satisfaction with prostitutes. This is at the root of the criticism of 'remunerated love' and the abolition of prostitution.

Some authors, such as the psychiatrist César Juarros (Juarros, 1934), president of the Sociedad de Abolicionismo, alluded to the idea that 'remunerated love' was anti-masculine and gave this as a reason to abolish prostitution: 'the client is always a gross, crude, susceptible man, who buys love, and in buying it he expresses his masculine poverty. Unworthy of a woman's love, he buys the sacrifice of a female' (Juarros, 1934, p. 257).

(2) In the FSED there were several intellectuals such as Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora, Ramon J. Sender and Ángel Suñer who approached

sexual reform from a psychoanalytic point of view (see Glick, 2003). These authors insisted on the damage caused by sexual repression (neurosis):

Spain's moral culture is linked to religious tradition, and the proof it offers is in the general character of the *Spanish individual*—especially in the upper and middle classes, brought up in the Christian faith, in the Catholic Church ... With that sort of limited education which erects an insurmountable barrier against the instincts, the formation of character, its co-existent aptitude that is produced by the harmony of instinctive power and its fulfilment, is full of difficulties. (Sender, 1934, p. 95)

In this sense, eugenics was understood as 'mental hygiene' insofar as it contributed to freeing people's instincts from dogmatic and religious prejudice (a form of mental hygiene which would be disseminated beyond mental hospitals, asylums, and so on.). The medical and psychiatric expert Rodríguez Lafora (1934) spoke of the need to have friendly conversations with adolescents about sexual education (he recommended avoiding repressive methods or the imposition of abstinence):

When studying psychology it will be necessary to deal with emotions of sexual origin and their genesis and influence on body and spirit. The connections of psychology to mental hygiene will permit instruction on the interdependence between a suitable sexual life and its physical and mental effect. They will also allow us to deal with the problem of the sexual perversions. (Rodríguez Lafora, 1934, p. 110)

Note that the reformulation of subjectivities regarding sexuality also changed according to the class and social condition in which they were supposed to be implemented (for example, upper class *versus* low class, urban people *versus* rural people). It was not a question of having different ideals for each individual, but of different starting points for achieving them. Writers were aware that the promotion of personal responsibility required taking into account the way in which individuals were thought to relate to one another.

3.4. *Negative Eugenics: legitimization of racial responsibility?*

For some authors such as F. Castejón or Q. Saldaña, cultural eugenics needed to be completed with prophylactic eugenics, and more specifically with negative measures directed at eliminating those factors considered to be damaging to the health of the social body. According to them, the only way to achieve the desired social change just *at that moment* was to impose direct and radical controls over reproduction such as medical certificate and sterilisation of defectives and criminals.

It is important to take into account that the theoretical position of an author such as Saldaña, 1934a, as he clearly stated at the FSED, must be related to the notion of a *universal social defence* whose aim was to provide scientific answers to problems linked to criminality and its prevention by means of social analysis and criminal policy at an international level. The notion of *social defence*, which was originally formulated by the Italian positivist Enrico Ferri, emphasised two ideas: (1) the purpose of averting future danger to society through the punishment of offenders, and (2) the purpose of identifying and categorizing them on a scale of *dangerousness* as a form of social preservation (the Lombrosian idea of the *born criminal* was a driving factor in this policy). In this way, positivist notions of social risk and social responsibility substituted for classical notions of moral culpability and moral responsibility.⁵

⁵ Saldaña believed that personal responsibility on sexual matters needed a juridical correlative, as had happened with the legal construction of 'moral responsibility' in the seventeenth century thanks mainly to S. Puffendorf and even of 'social responsibility' in the nineteenth century largely thanks to social organicism.

Since the new interest of society was, according to Saldaña, in the protection of the 'physical constitution' of citizenship, the sense of danger here came from biological connotations that transformed social risk into *racial risk*. In fact, Saldaña demands for the protection of the social body the construction of a new legal concept, *racial responsibility*, whose function would be double: on the one hand, to draw attention to the biological capacity of citizens and hence their biological duty to society, and the other hand, to legitimise the State's requirement of individuals to be accountable and to be blamed if they showed an improper sense of this commitment. Saldaña's legal proposition entailed the classification of population according to biological condition with the purpose of detecting that universe of 'otherness' on which negative eugenics had to be implemented: the concept of social defence allowed the State to restrict the reproduction of the unfit.

In subordinating reproduction to the State's assessment of citizens' biological constitution, Saldaña removes this supposedly 'natural right' from the individual and from the voluntary sphere to place it into a collective and legal one (note that in Saldaña's position the law is not exactly the product of people's will, but expresses the social interests). In this, Saldaña looks to increasing the list of social aims (for example, Saldaña deems it wise that the State pay for a maternity subsidy) and also the list of obligations for citizens (once a woman was pregnant, she could not voluntarily have control over her body for herself).

Nonetheless, Saldaña's promise for social welfare through the limitation of individual guarantees, intended to detect and eliminate biologically dangerous subjects, could be considered as an initial stage from which any totalitarian system might develop. In fact, this is what would happen years after, when Spanish fascism would implement negative eugenics on Republicans. In the end, the concerns of the participating authors in the FSED that there might abuses of power came to be true.

4. Final reflections

In this paper, I have shown that eugenics in the Second Republic was intricately linked to the Spanish context. Even if we usually think about eugenics as related to a specific scientific theory and to certain specific practices, we cannot forget that science is a social activity which is shaped by different factors particular to the historical place in which it appears, as declared at the beginning of this paper.

We have seen that sexual pedagogy was one of the principal concerns of eugenicists, who intended to deal with it without theological prejudices. It is true that the Encyclical *Casti Connubii* of Pope Pius the Eleventh promulgated in 1930 rejected the obligatory premarital certificate and sterilisation, in line with what most of Spanish intellectuals defended. But also according to most of them, the Church had no authority in the sphere of sexuality and reproduction. In fact, other measures, such as abortion and divorce, which were prohibited by the Church, were accepted in the Second Republic. In addition, instead of arguing that family, marriage or sexuality were 'sacred rights', several authors presented practical problems in addition to their warnings about possible abuses of power. For example, regarding the most problematic practice of sterilisation, there was the argument that it was an irreversible measure and conceivably not appropriate in the light of inadequate knowledge about hereditary transmission (Jiménez de Asúa explicitly criticised Lombroso's idea of the natural-born criminal). Only in the radical anticlerical and secularized setting of Spain, was sterilisation ac-

cepted. For example, Saldaña thought that care for the weak and unfit was promoted by a religious feeling (mercy) that diminished the power of natural selection.⁶ Society should contemplate a deliberate social selection and the use of negative measures such as sterilisation to protect future generations from biological unfitness. But according to him, the rejection of sterilisation was promoted by a religious feeling that defended the free will of subjects.

I would like to make a further observation about eugenics in the Second Republic. In spite of the desire for more effective social change impelled by the slowness of economic and social reforms, there was still hope for the effect of education and hope in people, that is, there continued to be the regenerationist tenet that people presented valuable characteristics for participation in the construction of the national project. These characteristics needed only to be rescued.

For this reason, it is not surprising that the icon of degenerate Spain was Las Hurdes, a mountainous area in Cáceres, a poor province in the South West of Spain (the surrealist film-maker Luis Buñuel directed a documentary about this area in 1932 called 'Las Hurdes, land without bread'). Las Hurdes was a centre of degeneration caused by infertility of the land, lack of roads and mass media, contamination of the water supply, lack of hygiene in the houses, and deficiencies in primary education. Las Hurdes was a focus of syphilis, tuberculosis, cretinism, and so forth, and finally represented a level of degeneration *in sensu stricto* fed by alcoholism and the marriage between subjects suffering these diseases. The regeneration of the area that, according to the doctor José Goyanes had already been realised at the time of the Eugenic Days, was possible thanks to the 'rise of life', in other words, thanks to economical investment by several Ministries and some donations to medical and social aid to provide drainage, reforest the land, construct schools ... and finally thanks to bread. The revitalization of Las Hurdes was an example of the improvement of race through what Spanish authors understood to be preventive eugenic measures. This allows us to consider Spanish eugenics in the way Stepan (1991) does in relation to Latin America. There was an emphasis on preventive eugenics such as welfare programmes and health campaigns rather than negative eugenics such as the sterilisation of the 'unfit' subject. Stepan argues that countries such as Brazil, Argentine and Mexico are significant precisely because they challenge the 'mainline' eugenics movements of Germany, USA and England (see Kevles, 1985).

To continue on the topic of Las Hurdes, it is interesting that Goyanes emphasises the fact that people there were really Spanish. He commented:

Somebody said, and it was almost legendary in Spain, that Las Hurdes was inhabited by subjects from another wild race, perhaps Moorish in origin. Nothing else is more absurd than this. Mr. Hoyos Sáinz, emeritus professor and anthropologist, during our first excursion to Las Hurdes in 1922, made somatometric measures and verified this data objectively. (Goyanes, 1934, p. 420)

And he goes on:

It has been said that Las Hurdes represented an insult to Spain ... In fact, the insult is to the Governments of Spain, because the poor man from Las Hurdes, abandoned to his fate by official action, isolated, accused of being savage, slandered, has done enough with subsisting, clinging on to his miserable piece of ground, with that obstinacy, that legendary sobriety of the

⁶ Some authors such as Saldaña or Madrazo defended this social model against the one based on 'mercy', a feature associated with Catholicism. For this reason, if Progress was to be reached, mercy needed to be substituted by scientific assumptions. However, for some other intellectuals such as Jiménez de Asúa, 'humaneness' was precisely the characteristic which kept the human being away from savagery, and which led to civilisation.

Spaniards. Another race would have left the inhospitable land or it would have been extinguished. But the Spaniard, man of the land, adapts to it with the tenacity of plants from the high and frosty mountainous regions, getting devoted to it, extracting the minimum amount of nutriment to subsist. (Ibid, p. 415)

Goyanes wants to make clear of the need to take the peculiarity of the Spanish people into account, and that all strategies directed to improve Spanish race had to involve national characteristics. That is why there were for example references in the FSED to Don Juan, the national neurosis, even if this archetypical figure needed to be eliminated.

Nonetheless, the Eugenic Days showed that the national project was, in fact, basically being constructed by people from the upper and middle classes. Some authors, such as José Luis Yagüe (1934), secretary of the Spanish Society of Hygiene, noticed that the eugenic measures proposed at the Eugenic Days would be of no use in rural areas where there was still a clear distrust of any State action (besides, of course, the lack of infrastructures which were also necessary).

The lectures from the First Spanish Eugenic Days reveal the difficulty of developing eugenics in some areas: (1) where State politics was not still completely accepted, and (2) where there was even a poor psychological space or *inner life*, as it was termed by César Juarros in relation to sexual health. The majority of authors, even Saldaña, found this clear. They were conscious that the development and the implementation of eugenics depended on a complex network of relations based on different micro-worlds. Most participating authors at the FSED considered *cultural eugenics* should be adopted; a programme of rationalising sexuality that stressed the troubles implied by the conventional sexual roles of men and women typical of Spanish context. For other authors such as Saldaña, cultural eugenics had to be brought to completion with *prophylactic eugenics* such as sterilisation. For him it was necessary to impose direct and radical controls over reproduction which might bring about immediate results: only through *negative eugenics* and, if necessary, the abolition of civil rights among some groups of individuals, was revolutionary social change possible (an environmentalist approach was too slow to obtain the desired degree of social transformation). In his claim that this series of measures should be attended to, Saldaña seemed to be drawing away from the ideals of *Regeneracionismo*.

Finally, I would like to note some issues on the question of governmentality. At the beginning of this paper I observed that eugenics in the Second Republic has to be related to the construction of governmentality in liberal democracies. In these societies, the interest is in making people responsible for their own conduct, that is to say, creating mechanisms that let people govern their own conduct. Through freedom and not public measures which are incompatible with voluntary actions, particular self-governing capabilities in health and sexual matters can bring into being our own ways of conducting and judging ourselves in line with political objectives (Rose, 1996). The concern of intellectuals about promoting personal responsibility on sexual conduct needs to be understood in this framework. Eugenics was accepted as a procedure to improve the nation as long as it took individuals into account and made them get involved into the national interests (although, as declared above, the *regenerationist* ideal collided with Spanish reality). In the moment that Saldaña considers individual and other societal interests regarding reproduction subordinate to the needs of the State, he puts himself on the limit of acceptable forms of power in the matter of liberal practices of government.

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