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THE POWER. A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: Power, its exercise and the art of government are key issues in this conference on Political Philosophy devoted to the mechanisms of domination. We use here a geographical perspective, as it is a geographer who endeavors it, and as a series of works in this discipline are cited here. This paper presents first some general considerations about the complexity of power, to then address two relevant issues: the power in the State and in the scientific communities.

KEYWORDS: power, exercise of power, political geography.

Introduction.

Power, the art of governing and the exercise of power are relevant issues in these Political Philosophy Days dedicated to the mechanisms of domination. In this communication, I will first make some general considerations about the complexity of power and then discuss two issues that seem relevant to me: power in the State and in scientific communities. I will introduce here a perspective that we can call geographical, because it is a geographer who performs it and because a certain number of works of this disciplinary origin are cited².

1. Power as a noun and power as a verb

The group of philosophers who organize these Political Philosophy Days is interested, as stated in the call, in domination and in emancipation. The first is associated with power and submission to it, with all its corollary of oppression,

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² This text was written in October 2011 for the Political Philosophy Conference, organized by the Department of Political Philosophy, held at the University of Barcelona on November 21-24, 2011 and dedicated to "Power and mechanisms of domination". The text was delivered for publication in a book that would be edited by Editorial Horsori, and for editorial reasons it was significantly abbreviated. The article published here corresponds to the complete work prepared for these Conferences. After the delivery date for publication in Biblio 3W, and of its acceptance, the announced book has been published, finally, in November of 2014. We give here the complete reference of the book: BERMUDO, José Manuel. Figures of domination. Barcelona: Editorial Horsori, 2014. This article has been produced within the framework of the CSO2010-21076-C02-01 project of the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain.

exploitation, manipulation, and exclusion. Emancipation, on the other hand, is identified with the dream of independence, which leads to an interest in everything that makes it possible or causes it (that is, it adds: justice, freedom, equality, rights...).

A quick reading of these statements seems to lead to the conclusion that there are only negative connotations in the case of power and positive in the case of emancipation. But since philosophy is sensitive to nuances, lights and shadows, it should be accepted, for starters, that there may be some in power and in emancipation, and above all, that they are not immutable, that they should have experienced changes over time. Forcing a careful reflection; and above all, in contact with reality, and with historical changes. The domination, for example, is positive - it has been said in these Days - in the case of education, where the violence that can be done on the spontaneous instincts of children serves so that they can then be free.

General reflections of a philosophical or social nature have then been able to guide reflection and concrete research on the exercise of power. Those of Thomas Hobbes, Max Weber or Michel Foucault are among those that are especially stimulating and clarifying. Like the reflections of Karl Marx, and those of other thinkers of the twentieth century such as Charles Wright Mills, with his studies on the true elite of power in the most powerful country in the world.

Power is exercised in many different ways: from family and personal relationships, on the smallest scale, to the one exercised in the State and by supranational institutions, on the planetary scale. There are, in addition, many types of power, which gives his study great complexity. This complexity appears well expressed in a well-known joke that shows the relationship of power with the different ages of man: at 15 the power of friendship, at 25 the sexual power, at 35 the economic power, at 45 political power, at 55 social power, at 65 the power to urinate.

The joke expresses very well the ambiguity between the noun and the verb. The first with the meaning of (according to the *Dictionary of the Royal Academy*): "1-Domain, empire, faculty jurisdiction that one has to send or execute a thing"; a sense that is related to synonyms such as authority, command, lordship, government, power, energy, force, thrust, vigor, and possession, possession or ownership. The second as an intransitive verb: "1-Have expedited the power or power to do a thing. 2-Having ease, time or place to do something"; that is, power as the ability to do something, have competence, have faculties or aptitude for something. Without a doubt, it is the noun to which these Days refer; a noun that gives rise to derivatives such as power, powerful,

powerful, wealthy, arrogant, power and others that express the numerous and diverse dimensions of power.

Surely, philosophers will have a tendency to consider that noun in an isolated, autonomous way. But, as the joke well reflects, in normal speech 'power' is often accompanied by an adjective that qualifies it. A thematic consultation of the catalog of some university libraries produces hundreds of results of works in whose titles these different forms of power appear: real, political, legislative, legal, judicial, criminal, business, economic, public, private, redistributive, academic power, tributary, feminine, central, peripheral, sexual, social ... What must be taken into account in these Days, as it provides a clear idea of the different forms of power exercise, the complexity of it. All the more so since some of those powers may sometimes be intimately united and many others separated. That economic and social power do not necessarily go together is easy to verify in some societies. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that there are several other derivatives of the term 'power', such as: empowering, depopulating and *empower*, terms that must also be included in the debate over power. Especially, the last two as possibilities of liberation of those who are subject to power.

2. Power in the abstract and exercise of power in its historical context

I have the impression that the organizers of these Days, and some of the participants, think of power in a general and abstract way, not in the concrete way in which it is carried out and in their specific circumstances; not in the power exercised personally by individuals with certain psychological traits, talent or temperament; not in its psychoanalytic dimension, in which features of personal trajectory and unconscious desires and frustrations intervene; not in the alliances and the complicities of the functional groups to power and that benefit from it, or in that of those submitted, who may find some advantages in such submission (the security in submission to a feudal lord, the levels of consumption in a modern society ...). It has not been a single time that some could shout: "Long live the chains!" what can not surprise us today, because Michel Foucault already showed that power sometimes achieves adhesions and consensus, comes to impose conformity to relations of domination. Something that the classic writers knew how to perceive very well; as he did, for example, Jean Racine in his *Britannicus* when, referring to the behavior of the Romans, exclaims in a well-known verse:

Au joug, depuis longtemps, ils son son façonnés:

Ils adore the main qui les tient enchaînés (IV, 4, 1441-1442)

What power is and how it acts in society has been the subject of extensive debates in the field of sociology, political science, geography and other disciplines. Some of the debates move immediately to the field of human action (of individuals, groups and organisms), and to the factors that affect it; and it is discussed to what extent they are affected by rules and conditions over which there is no (or little) control. Which immediately leads to issues related to individual and collective action. If structuralist Marxists like N. Poulantzas consider that the concept of power should not be applied to inter-individual relations, but expresses "the ability of a social class to realize its specific objective interests"³. Discussions that affect various social sciences and that are frequently biased by previous ideological positions.

In his microphysics of power, and in other works, Michel Foucault showed us how he acts, and how he manages to model behaviors. He considered power as essential in the functioning of society, and stressed the importance of the set of small local powers, below the large ones, and the multiple relationships of authority, with microscopic level-of-detail analysis.

He called attention to the numerous systems of power in the social sphere. He proposed studying power not so much in the way it is exercised from top to bottom, but also horizontally and in its acceptance from the bottom up. It attaches great importance to male-female relationships, *pater families* and the whole family group, teacher-student, labor relations, those that occur in the world of science, and others. All of them function as "specific dominations that have their own autonomy." In some cases it may be functional to the domination of the State, as Foucault proposes, but in others they probably have to do with the human condition, with ancestral social relations, and need anthropological, sociological and historical analysis.

In any case, talking about power forces us to consider two dimensions: the personal dimension, braided with so many traits of a person's character, and the institutional one, the power that an institution exercises to which individuals belong (the monarchy, the church, the capitalist company, the government...). Interpersonal power relations are the object of anthropology, sociology, psychology; while social relations

³ See Hoggart 1991, chap. one.

are best examined from political science, sociology or geography, among other disciplines.

In the personal dimension, as we have pointed out, the physiological, characterological, psychoanalytic or social dimensions of people must be considered. The tendency to evil, the madness that can be linked to the exercise of power, sex, cruelty, the ability to impose itself on terror, are all traits that can be inscribed in the personality, or appear in certain limits or normal situations.

The exercise of power can be supported by alliances, but it is also hampered by internal conflicts in the same group that exercises it. Historians have conducted insightful analyzes of these conflicts and have shown their virulence, the fratricidal or family tensions they generated and the consequences they could have for the continuation of the influence and power of aristocratic families⁴. Similarly, we could find examples today in the families of the industrial bourgeoisie, large and small. Animosity between cousins, siblings and even children and parents can be very intense and sometimes profoundly affect the operation and development of family businesses.

3. The power and the *lopintan*.

Remembering now another famous joke, in which the fierceness of the lion was overcome by the *lopintan* (for what "the lion is not as fierce as they paint it"), I think we should ask ourselves if it is so strong (or so powerful, so monolithic) the power as they paint it; if it is as decisive and immobilizing as it is presented, for example, by a part of the Foucaultians.

Since ancient times literature offers us brilliant stories in which power and the struggle to obtain it are very present, where the confrontation with power and disobedience are also common, and where the arguments and strategies to modulate and soften power also appear, to change the decisions of the powerful. The story that the *Iliada* tells is braided, from the same first rhapsody, around the impulse of power and disobedience. Agamemnon argues Nestor, referring to Achilles: "This man wants to overcome all others; He wants everyone to dominate, everyone to govern, everyone to give orders" while Achilles confronts him: "send others, don't give me orders, because I

⁴ See, for example, Terrasa Lozano 2010 and the works included in Cunha and Hernández Franco 2010.

don't intend to obey you". We also see Jupiter making decisions and Tethys and Hera trying to influence their will, disputing the fate of mortals and promoting uproar among the gods, as Hephaestus warned⁵.

For centuries literature has had a function of reflecting the power to magnify and legitimize it, but it has also satirized and questioned it, based on moral principles, despite censorship and the Inquisition. He could give an ideal picture of real power, but he also remembered that power could change, that it was temporary and fragile like glass, as history showed time and again and remembered literature in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance:

*"That you yourself saw many
in these past times,
of great states
easily overthrown;
that the windy
temporary power
is a lot of febrile metal"⁶.*

Literature was sometimes a presentation of the passions and miseries of power, or the use of all means to obtain it, including the use of fear, as in some dramas and tragedies of Shakespeare or Racine; frequently, too, a reminder of the inconvenience of certain acts by the powerful, since "the clumsiness is to believe the Prince that everything he pleases is lawful," as the eighteenth-century Spanish writers claimed, from Francisco Quevedo to Bartolomé Leonardo of Argensola⁷.

Literature has also penetrated the personality of the powerful, fictional or real, in the case of the historical novel, and has allowed us to understand, on occasion, some features of his personality, the use and abuse of power in the behavior of kings and aristocrats, and the sense of justice that may also exist in their actions⁸. He has also been able to show the relationships between submission and power, the acceptance of the

⁵ I use the direct and literal version of the Greek by Luis Segala and Estalella in the version of the *Iliad* edited by the Aguilar publishing house (6th Edition, 1960).

⁶ As read in a poem by the General Songbook of 1511, in Guell 2000. The complete poem, and other similar ones, can be seen in *Floresta of old Castilian rhymes*, ordered by Juan Nicolás Böhl de Faber (Hamburg 1821, p. 138), online.

⁷ See various works included in Redondo 2000.

⁸ See, for example, the excellent set of studies gathered by Maldonado Alemán 2005, on German literature.

former by some people, the use of physical violence as a form of communication, patriarchal power, machismo. Sometimes literary works have been able to rise to penetrating analyzes of the behavior of political regimes, of the relationship between human personality and their general characteristics. They can be significant, in this sense, the novel *Zero and Infinity (Darkness at noon)* by Arthur Koestler or, more recently, that of Gitta Sereny's study on "German trauma" and the silence of the Germans around the period Nazi and the acceptances and complicities that may have occurred at that time.

The art of governing has been theorized for centuries and codified for the use of rulers. Plato, Aristotle and other Greek thinkers reflected on the right administration of the republic, praised the performance of a power governed by moral virtues⁹, and theorized on revolutions and changes in the republic¹⁰. From the Roman era (Tacitus) to the Renaissance and the Modern Age (Machiavelli, Alamos de Barrientos, Antonio Pérez and others) there is a whole tradition of writings for the prince's use on the reason of State and the practice of government, sigils and the alliances, the attitude with the officials and the presence of the powerful in public. The reading of these treaties shows the difficulties of power, its variability, the alliances necessary to maintain it, the rules of prudence to preserve it, being this, prudence, the most repeated essential virtue¹¹.

It is not certain that the sharp statements made about absolute power take into account the many nuances that existed - in our cultural sphere - since the Greek and Roman times and, more closely, since the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in the discussions about the sovereignty and absolute power of princes. There are very interesting debates today about the meaning of the term *republic* during the Modern Age, an issue that has become one of the main themes of current historiographic trends. No doubt the writers were concerned about the obedience of the subjects to power; but also for justice and the limitations of the power of princes and rulers in general.

Just look, as an example, *The Six Books of the Republic* (1576) by Jean Bodin. When you read reread this book today, with the concern to see what it says about power, it is proven that, in general, defends the power of the king and the obedience of

⁹ As Plato did in Lawsbook VI, Aristotle defended the alternative between command and obedience, which must be common to all citizens, Politics, book IV.

¹⁰ Aristotle, Politics, book VIII (Theory of revolutions).

¹¹ You can see about it, by way of example, what they said in the sixteenth century Escalante (ed. 1975) and Pérez (ed. 1991).

the subjects. But he also clearly states: "When I say justice I mean the prudence of sending with righteousness and integrity" (Preface), and explicitly criticizes the abuse of power by the king. Surprising reflections on the submission of princes to divine and natural laws, on the obligations of fulfilling contracts and agreements with subjects and foreigners; about the prince as a debtor of justice when it comes to his own acts (book I, chap. 8); the distinctions between the law and the law, the first implying only equity while the law "carries a commandment";

Also striking are the distinctions on the monarchy, the aristocratic state and the popular state (II, 1); about the tyrannical monarchy, which "abuses the freedom of free subjects as if they were their slaves and the property of others of their own" (II, 4), and about the popular state (II, 7), about the Senate, the governing bodies and the directors (III, 1 and ss). The well-ordered republic and the balancing role that corporations and schools must have in it are also defended; and the changes in the republic and in the laws are discussed, for its perfection, on the health of the republic, on how to arbitrate between the factions and the sides that exist in it, the remedies against tyranny. The importance of censuses and cadastres is also debated to know the population and wealth and make a more balanced republic, equitably distributing taxes (VI, 1); honest means to procure funds to the hacienda (VI, 2); the popular state as the most esteemed form (VI, 4, p. 209), although its drawbacks are also pointed out, such as those of the aristocratic state, by which Jean Bodin, like other authors, preferred the monarchy.

The historical and philosophical idealization of distant benevolent powers, in time or space (for example, the valuation of the Roman Republic and the role of the Senate, or the government of the Chinese emperors during the Enlightenment), was also a criticism to absolute power and its excesses, as well as a defense of a government system guided by the lights of reason. At the same time the assessment of medieval councils or the English constitutional system could also be used by philosophers and politicians to question the real power in absolute monarchies.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the writings on the republic and the state expanded its purpose. The *science of police* it was configured as a knowledge about the social order and its control, extending the reflection to the nature of punishments and rewards, the health of the populations, their well-being and satisfaction, the habits of the population, the classification of people, surveillance, lighting, rapid transmission of information, functions and objectification of punishment. Everything is placed at the service of an increasingly capable and omnipresent power, which sets in motion new

control mechanisms, to make the city transparent: from new police forces to statistics and the rhetoric of power or scientific work. Also the organization of space at the service of control, which appears as early as the 16th century¹², and that finds in Jeremy Bentham a clear, though not the only, expression¹³.

In his theorizing about the panoptic, Bentham was aware that "a forced submission gradually produces a machine obedience." In the line of the reflection opened by Foucault, Pedro Fraile has studied the instruments that power uses to shape the will of the people and the submitted communities, has shown that space can be organized to help shape social behaviors, to bend wills: prisons, mental hospitals, hospitals, factories, or homes can be designed for that purpose. His studies reinforce the idea that the project of power was to model the space to make the city transparent and, thereby, achieve those machine obediences¹⁴.

The study of the discourses on the role and function assigned to the different parts of the city and its buildings illuminates us about the strategies of power for social control. Of particular interest was surveillance and security through the organization of police apparatus¹⁵ and the organization of municipal police services in the 19th century. The preindustrial city was, in a way, an opaque city for power¹⁶. From the XVIII and during the eight hundred the power strives and manages to control the street, trying to diminish or avoid private uses in it.

Order is needed to run the liberal and industrial city. The Municipal Ordinances, and the activity of the police in the new urban space, were dedicated to this in order to comply with the regulations that are being published. The municipal police, in particular, becomes an active agent in information and intervention on the physical and social space of the city; from the first half of the nineteenth century, in some places, and from the middle of the century, in others, "the discipline of enclosed spaces is extended to the whole city," and becomes a factor for the prevention of disorder and crime, and to help model the use of the city. But it should be remembered that the police, as the "body responsible for ensuring the maintenance of public order and the safety of

¹² In the work of Miguel de Giginta, entitled *Tractado of the remedy of the poor* (1579), see Fraile 2005.

¹³ Friar 1987, Requena 2001.

¹⁴ Friar 1990.

¹⁵ Requena 2001, and other urban realities Clémens-Denys 2001, Dufresne, 2001, Dicaire 2001.

¹⁶ In expression of Requena 2001.

citizens, *Dictionary of the Academy*), has not only had repressive functions but also others necessary to regulate and order social life, to make living together possible¹⁷.

Along the same lines the lazarettes¹⁸, immigrant hostels¹⁹, the organization of industrial colonies²⁰, health and social hygiene²¹, worker sociability²², health policy as social prophylaxis²³ and to avoid contagion²⁴, all planning²⁵.

The question of power in the territory, of how control is carried out in it requires new perspectives. That is why we have launched a research program, which currently addresses the issue of forms of domination and tries to develop an atlas of control spaces²⁶.

From another perspective, some studies on mind maps may also be useful for the knowledge of power, especially those that address issues related to the symbolism of power and the perception of power; for example, those who have dealt with the manifestations of power in the city, through, for example, the semiology of the buildings or the processions and the real itineraries in the cities of the old regime.

Max Weber's idea about the characterization of power is known as the ability to get a specific order to be obeyed. A characterization that joins many others; among them that of the ability to “achieve certain objectives”, or that of power as the possibility of “emerging victorious from a conflict”, to name just two that geographers have accepted²⁷. Undoubtedly, power always tries to achieve its ends, at one level or another, and designs strategies for it; from force, physical coercion and fear, to subtle mechanisms of coercion, persuasion, manipulation and indoctrination.

¹⁷ About what excellent contributions Jesús Requena has made.

¹⁸ Bonastra 2000, 2001 a and b, 2005, 2007, 2008 and 2010.

¹⁹ Capel 2007, Oliva Gerstner 2008.

²⁰ Oliveras Samitier 1990.

²¹ Bonastra 1999, Tatjer 2001.

²² Fields 2001.

²³ Huertas 2001.

²⁴ Bonastra 2001.

²⁵ Jori on geographical literature and social control, and Fraile 1990 b; more generally, Capel (coord.) 1990.

²⁶ Projects Control of space and control spaces. Territory, city and architecture in the design and practices of social regulation in Spain from the 17th to the 19th centuries (Ministry of Science and Innovation / CSO2010-21076-C02-01, Principal Investigator Horacio Capel) and the organization of space and control of individuals City and architecture in the design and practices of social regulation in Spain from the 17th to 19th centuries (Ministry of Science and Innovation / CSO2011-2794, Principal Investigator Pedro Fraile).

²⁷ The first in Johnston, Gregory & Smith 2000, sub voce "power", and the second by Taylor 1985. Among the characterizations of power, we can highlight those of Ferrarotti 1972, that of Mendieta 1969; Joan-Eugeni Sánchez also in his political geography devotes attention to power and obedience.

With their strategies, power imposes behavior. But this statement is only a starting point for reflection, to investigate how that really occurs and the consequences of the exercise of power. Above all, because power is diverse, and can be exercised in the political, economic or social sphere. Not everyone goes together. In addition, who exercises power can be a natural or legal person. In any case, their decisions and their views are imposed on other interests, and affects social relations and the space organization itself.

4. The power alliances

We must also recognize that power cannot be exercised in isolation, it needs alliances and support. In the feudal monarchies that situation is clearly reflected in the formula with which the nobles of Aragon paid homage to a new king: "We who are worth as much as you and all together are worth more than you." Or with this other one that affirmed its privileges and limited the real power: "We, who are worth as much as you, we make you our king and lord as long as you keep our privileges and privileges. And if not, no"²⁸.

The establishment of absolute monarchies meant a limitation of feudal power - and sometimes also of others, such as that of cities. The creation of political capital and the sedentarization of the court was an instrument for this. The power was in the capital, in the court, but it could be a diffuse power in which the king, the aristocrats, his women, the confessors, the bureaucracy (the *covachuelistas*, in the royal palace of Madrid) intervened²⁹.

Even the most powerful autocrats have limitations in the exercise of power. That is because any ruler needs the support of social groups, from which he cannot dispense or oppose his interests. The need for negotiation with other powers was also raised in the absolute monarchies, due to the complexity of the exercise of power, as recent historical studies are showing. Specifically, with local and regional powers, as shown

²⁸ Fourth Meeting on the Justice of Aragon, Zaragoza May 16, 2003. Zaragoza: The Justice of Aragon, 2004 254 p., Marongiu 1965, and the contribution of Giesey 1967.

²⁹ There are numerous studies on the courteous manifestations of power throughout history, for example the exhibitions "El potere e lo spazio", on the Florence of the Medicis, or those held in Spain on Philip V, Fernando VI or Carlos III. The congress on the Court in Europe.

with reference to the absolute monarchies of France and Spain during the modern Age, with which it was necessary to negotiate and reach compromises³⁰.

As stated with reference to Frederick of Prussia, and can be said of other absolute monarchs, the kings seemed to have no doubt that "their autocracy could subject the human spirit to obedience by a combination of strength and persuasion"³¹. The obsession with control came, in an attempt to control even the private life of state officials and servants, including permission to marry - which tried to ensure that the family had sufficient assets for their support and that the State was not to bear the woman and the children in case of death of the official³².

But some historian has drawn attention to the fact that absolutism was neither tyranny, despotism nor totalitarianism; it was considered that the king was morally obliged, since he had to observe the laws of God and of nature, as well as respect human dignity, in what was different from the despot who exercised an arbitrary power based on force. These were undoubtedly rhetorical statements made by intellectuals in the service of royalty, although they could be repeated by the king himself (they appear, for example, in the memoirs of Louis XIV). But they did not cease to have a meaning as an expression of an intention, which would be reflected in concrete norms and accepted more broadly.

Power always needs servers. For a long time there could be a general confusion between the public and the private, even in the administration; High political positions of the monarchy were linked to certain noble families, and there were social promotion strategies through political careers at the service of the King, as well as a determined attitude on the part of the nobility to control those positions and close them to other groups of nobles of lesser category, or of professionals who undertook processes of social ascent³³. Anyway, from the Renaissance and, above all, the eighteenth century is becoming a bureaucracy to the royal service. The absolute monarchies tended to constitute a military force that would allow them to resist enemies and eventually conquer other territories and increase their power. That, and the growing needs of the government, fundamentally influenced the obsession with the centralization and organization of an administrative machinery, of the State, of an authentic bureaucracy at

³⁰ Beik 2005.

³¹ Behrens 1985, p. 39.

³² Especially of army officers, Galland Seguela 2003 and 2004.

³³ The works included in Soares de Cunha and Hernández Franco (orgs) 2010, on the situation in Portugal and Spain during the time of the Habsburgs and after the Portuguese restoration of the Braganza in 1640 can be seen.

the service of its interests. But, it has also been observed that these institutions, however, "did not allow the monarchs to reach the degree of centralization or obedience that the word absolutism suggests." Describing a ruler as absolute seems to imply that his power had no limits. But, as one historian has pointed out.

The power of the army for these interior functions was limited, since, on the one hand, it was not permanent, and on the other, it could not occupy the entire territory. Instead, bureaucracy and civil servants were essential; but that structure of officials could also impose limitations on power. The contemporaries themselves observed that even the despot or the tyrant who essentially used force "owed his power to an association of ambitions and interests of the groups that perceived an advantage in allying with him"; which had even more meaning in the case of absolute monarchs who, as they used to declare, distinguished themselves from despots in their will to respect the laws of God and nature³⁴.

The role of these bureaucratic structures created primarily at the service of the State - and which would then also apply, in contemporary times, to other organizations, including companies - has been examined by Max Weber and other sociologists, who have shown the development of a process that leads "from personal prerogative to collective rational functions", by using the title of a book by Franco Ferrarotti.

To all this were added the demands that were spreading, first in the field of political theory and then in broader areas, on the need to attend to the happiness of the subjects. It was theorized by theologians, jurists and politicians since the 16th century (in Spain by Francisco de Vitoria or Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca) and would also later be considered a primary goal of the State; This would result in the implementation of policies on health, relief of the poor, attention to agriculture and other concerns about measures that could contribute to the happiness of the people and the monarchy. What would become even more pressing with the constitution of liberal states in contemporary times.

5. Power and common good in the liberal state

The construction of the liberal states was complex and prolonged. Many struggled to control its foundation and development; and it is very possible that the most

³⁴ On all this see Bherens 1985, chap. II and Part two, I, ("The bureaucracies' tasks in France and Prusia, and the conditioning circumstances, p. 41 et seq.

powerful social groups were able to build and control the state apparatus thinking primarily for their own benefit. But, even so, the novel terms that the new political reality imposed (people, citizens, popular sovereignty...) spread rapidly and had extraordinary and deeply renewing consequences.

There are many examples that can be given of the leading role of the oligarchies in the independence of the Latin American countries. Although time and again the 'people' were alluded to elaborate emancipatory declarations, proclamations and speeches, in reality that expression had an ambiguous meaning, sometimes designating an independent and sovereign political group, and sometimes directly the owners. A point of view the latter very well expressed by an author at the *Caracas Weekly* in 1810:

In a more proper and rigorous sense, the voice of the People includes those who, having properties and residences, are interested in them in the ownership of the public thing, since those who have nothing only want variations or innovations so that they can get a favorable match. In a well-organized Republic or Reyno it is the owners who make up the sovereign people: they who are to form the laws: and they who execute them or take care of their execution immediately³⁵.

But that restrictive interpretation was not the only recognized meaning, since the term was associated in most cases with 'nation', 'sovereignty', 'representation' and others that gave it a very different content, much broader and, sometimes deeply revolutionary. In the same countries, some constitutions established universal suffrage without the condition of being an owner or rentier - although that of a free man, which is significant in a society that continued to be a slave³⁶.

In fact, in the nineteenth century, with the creation of democratic liberal states the nature of power changed. The source of legitimacy became popular sovereignty, and new structures of political power appeared, new processes of territorial organization and socialization. The power acquired a more precise institutional character than in previous times, and now it has been subject - although theoretically - to democratically approved legal norms that have a public character. The inhabitants become subjects in citizens: although it was simple rhetoric, and in part it is, it is innovation that did not cease to have a great significance.

From the introduction of the liberal regime, the nature of power cannot be understood without taking into account the establishment of parliamentarism, the

³⁵ MJ Sanz. Politics. Weekly of Caracas, December 9, 1810, nº 6, p. 41-47. Cited by Silva Beaugard 2011, p. 62

³⁶ This is the case of the provincial constitution of Mérida, cited by Silva Beaugard 2011.

generalization of an independent judicial system, the extension of the right to vote, the creation of unions and other civil associations that can act publicly as a counterweight to power. The emergence of public opinion was essential for many things to change in the exercise of power.

The political and economic processes that were developed since the beginning of the 19th century are extremely relevant for the configuration of the current world. We believe that it is necessary to undertake new studies on the organization and operation of the State³⁷, and especially to know and discuss, on a comparative international scale, the exercise of power, the effective functioning of institutions³⁸, and in processes of socialization that tried to create citizens through an educational system for all, as well as in the territorial organization of administrative structures.

We need to consider the studies that exist on the exercise of power in specific spaces, from the city to the empire as a whole; perform analysis of the specific territorial dimensions through which it materializes to be able to exercise: communications networks (roads with all its accessories - bridges, sales...), ports, post and post systems. And then optical telegraph, electric telegraph, telephone, and today the control of information and communication technologies.

Now is not the time to do it. It will suffice to point out that geography has been paying attention to power for a long time, especially in the lines of geopolitics and political geography, and during the last decades with research specifically dedicated to power and space³⁹. In particular, we need to discuss with reference to concrete historical situations the issue of political independence and construction of national states, and in

³⁷ In the Department of Human Geography, several doctoral theses have dealt in one way or another on the issue of power and the functioning of the State. It is worth mentioning, in particular, the doctoral theses of Joan Eugeni Sanchez Pérez: Social formation and space in contemporary Catalonia (1936-1975), 1983; Pedro Fraile and Pérez de Mendiguren: A space to punish. Prison and prison science in Spain, 18th-19th centuries, 1985; Francesc Nadal Piqué: Territorial policy and annexations of urban municipalities in Spain (19th-20th centuries), 1985; Lia Osorio Machado: Myths and realities of the Brazilian Amazon: the geopolitical ideology and spatial strategies of the dominant groups, 1989; Muro Morales, José Ignacio: Military thought about the territory in contemporary Spain, 1990; Muñoz Corbalán, Juan Miguel: The professional work of "Bourbon" military engineers, from Flanders to Spain (1691-1718). Training and development of a new modern architecture in Catalonia, 1990; Vazquez Rial, Horacio. Ideas about the population in the Río de la Plata in the contemporary era, 1991; Hevilla Gallardo, Cristina. The configuration of the central-western border in the process of constitution of the Argentine State (1850-1902), 2001; Oliva Gestner, Laura. The idea of Argentina. Territorial concerts and invention of the Argentine national space, XIX-XX centuries, 2011.

³⁸ In what Eliseu Toscas and Santamans 1997, 2008 a, b and c, 2011, and Eliseu Toscas and Ferran Ayala 2002 and 2003 have insisted in recent years.

³⁹ You can see, as an example, the works of Miossec 1972, Claval 1976 and 1982, Raffestin 1979, Sánchez-Pérez 1979 and 1081, Nadal Piqué 1982, 1982-83 and 1995, Raffestin and Turo 1984, Raffestin and Barampan 1990.

particular the exercise of power, and the processes of territorialization and socialization as it has been taking place in various contexts during the 19th and 20th centuries⁴⁰.

6. Geography and power

The issues of power and domination have directly interested in geography over the past two decades. There is, as is well known, a long tradition of reflection on power in geography, especially in the context of what was described, since the end of the 19th century, first, as geopolitics and, later, as political geography.

The former branch of geopolitics has remained interesting until today, and has dealt with borders, states, nations and nationalities⁴¹. Political geography, for its part, has broadened the horizon of research, interested in the structure of the state, administrative organization, elections, power at the international level and at the local level in democratic regimes, local politics, and other issues of great significance on the operation of state units. Also to the examination of the relations between geography and politics and the influence of the former on the latter, or the impact of political decisions on spatial organization patterns⁴².

In geography, in the 1980s the issue of power and that of domination also became openly raised⁴³. Issues such as "*espace et pouvoir*", "*espace et domination*", and "*spazio e potere*", "power and space" appeared in those years in geographical research. Attention was given to the sources of the political power of nations and the reasons for the struggle to obtain territories⁴⁴, as well as to the power and internal organization of States.

The image that is taken when examining the work of geopolitics and political geography is that power has increasingly powerful means at its disposal, and that it uses them consciously and decisively. The means of action increased in the nineteenth

⁴⁰ It is the subject that will be addressed in the XII International Geocritics Colloquium, dedicated to "Political independence and construction of national states: exercise of power and territorialization and socialization processes, 19th-20th centuries", to be held in Bogotá in May of 2012 [The Proceedings can be seen at < <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/coloquio2012/actas.htm> >.

⁴¹ Coast 1992.

⁴² Some of those who point to these issues are Prescott 1972, Taylor 1985, Pacione (ed.) 1985.

⁴³ For example, in works such as Paul Claval (1978 and ss), Claude Raffestin (1978, 1998), Claude Bataillon (1977), Jean Marie Miossec (1976), D'Aquino (2002) and others; an examination of some of these contributions in Sánchez Pérez 1981, p. 10-15, Nadal 1982-83; Robic 2006. See also those cited by Sánchez Pérez 1981.

⁴⁴ Slowe 1990.

century with the organization of urban technical networks and communication systems, from the posts and the mail to the telegraph and telephone.

The power has always been very aware of the importance of all these means to have instant knowledge and be able to transmit orders instantly. The installation of the postal systems, the optical telegraph network and, later, the electric one, allowed considerable progress in this regard. The authors of the Spanish law of 1851 were already fully aware of what the state telegraphic network really represented. The objectives were very clear:

Know almost instantly everything that happens in the most distant points of your center of action; to be able to act immediately on them; prevent, direct, encourage or suffocate as soon as necessary all the events that are verified in good or evil of the country; turn to the most pressing needs, protect the borders; give the administrative and diplomatic relations the promptness of the will; here is the big object, the high function entrusted to electric telegraphy⁴⁵.

From the mid-nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century these means of control have been increasing formidably, that is to say, it instills awe and fear. At present, the available technical instruments, from satellites to video surveillance cameras and computer control, are making total surveillance possible, the universal panoptic. To the point that since the end of the last century there is already open talk about the end of privacy⁴⁶.

It can be accepted that today the mass media shape ideas and attitudes, and clearly influence wills. It seems there is no escape. But we need to know more about all this. It would be terrible if there was only one power and there were no counterpowers. But, thinking of today's world, we can also defend that power is less and less concentrated, that it has been spreading, and that there are increasingly more counterpowers. That is, to be clear and give an optimistic message: there is resistance capacity, at all scales.

Political geography has dealt with the geographical distribution of power, the power relations between states, how it is concentrated and how it moves over time from one place to another⁴⁷. On a world scale, and in a broad historical perspective, it must be remembered that there has been a succession of hegemonic powers in history. The

⁴⁵ Commission opinion on the bill on a complete system of electric telegraphs, *Journal of the Courts, legislature 1854-56*, sixth appendix to No. 113, p. 3,209; in Capel and Tatjer 1991-94, vol. II, p. 26.

⁴⁶ Whitacker 1999.

⁴⁷ Agnew 2002, p. IX.

tension of some states to achieve a position of dominance over others is a feature of world political history. The most specific of the geographical perspective would be to establish how power is exercised in the territory, at different scales, taking into account that an essential aspect of that domain is territorial, to achieve control of broad resources and security itself; what an army requires as a guarantee of national sovereignty, and a good communications network. The questions about the nature and causes of this impulse to domination have led to analyze those linked to political ambition, religion, militarism and greed⁴⁸.

Since the 1980s, attempts have been made to overcome the traditionally Eurocentric vision that classical political geography had and we went on to analyze what, following Immanuel Wallerstein, was described as world-systems⁴⁹.

After the Second World War, a bipolar system was established, which lasted until the break-up of the USSR in 1991. During the last twenty years, world hegemonic power has been exercised by the United States, but it is not certain that his position is secured⁵⁰. There is talk today of an emerging system of multipolarity and various suitors to hegemony⁵¹. Issues such as what makes it a great power or a potential hegemony, and under what world conditions are debated in political geography; as well as the emergence of great world hegemonic powers and the conditions of Russia, China, Japan, the European Union and others to be. Some consider that the power of the powers is today simultaneously questioned by the emergence and growing strength of supranational structures (from the UN to the IMF and the World Bank, the OECD and others), which have a growing influence on the economic and social policy of States and in world geopolitics, establishing norms that affect many countries in general. It may also be being questioned by the processes of globalization and fragmentation⁵².

Neoliberal policies and discourses have led to deregulation and questioning of states. The financial economy has come to work sometimes, in the last three decades, regardless of political power. Power and hegemony are made with all this more diffuse, more multilateral, with transnational communities difficult to control by a single

⁴⁸ Parker 1988, chap. one.

⁴⁹ Taylor 1985, Taylor & Flint 2002.

⁵⁰ Harvey (2003 chap. 2) has examined the difficulties of the United States in maintaining its power and its hegemony worldwide. That concern and the need to ensure American supremacy inspires the book by Zbigniew Brzezinski (1998), a professor at Columbia University and who was Security Advisor to President Carter.

⁵¹ Agnew & Corbridge 1995, chap. 6 p. 131 ss. This trend was perceived since the early 1980s, as seen in Short 1982, chap. 2 (“Towards a multipolar world”).

⁵² Agnew & Corbridge 1995, p. 7.

State. But with the economic crisis some things seem to change. The importance of state regulation and the need for changes in the power structure are now insisted again.

In the 1990s some geopolitical works continued to pay attention to classic issues such as the formation and functioning of the State, colonialism and post-colonialism, and power structures at the global or international level or of existing geopolitical blocks. Trying to answer the question of who has the power in the superpowers, who finally in NATO and in other multinational structures, shows the great complexity of the decision-making chain⁵³. It also examines how all this affects the structures of political power at the global, state, regional and local levels.

Geographical work has insisted on the importance of global power, in the United Nations, in its agencies and in international conferences, and, although there are still countries with veto rights in the Security Council, the significance of the General Assembly is great which gives visibility to small countries and can sometimes impose decisions on collective pressure. It is also worth remembering that the strongest do not always win, as the biblical story of David and Goliath suggests, and show us so many historical events, one of which recent and especially significant: the result of the conflict between Vietnam and the United States.

Of special interest was the examination of power and domination, from the perspective of a Marxist geography⁵⁴. In that line, the works of a Barcelona geographer, Joan-Eugeni Sánchez Pérez, must be placed, among which his book *Geography and the social space of power* in which he made an ambitious analysis of it as an articulator of space. He believes that power is an abstraction that manifests itself through mechanisms that affect space and model it. Sánchez has analyzed the mechanisms that he considers basic in the reproduction and transmission of power, considering that space is conditioned and shaped by the social division of labor and social and technical relations. Power would be the determining social variable, and the space “the total framework of power relations, the support of production relations and their distribution and the scenario of social movements and factors”⁵⁵.

Territorial expansion would begin when power has sufficiently developed the exploitation of the space in which it is located, and needs new resources to increase its power. War would be the expression of the conflict over the appropriation of space and

⁵³ Farrington 1989.

⁵⁴ Raffestin 1985.

⁵⁵ Sánchez Pérez 1981, p. 25-35.

its resources. He believes that historically there have always been three social groups, the dominated, the dominant and an intermediate one that ensures domination, and that “it has a slope of physical repression and another of cultural repression, shaper and creator of justifying ideological norms of human type and supernatural - religious, mythical, etc. - whose ultimate goal is the legitimation of power. This process leads to a desire to increase power by those who have managed to reach this level”⁵⁶.

The State is being built with economic and social policies that pursue centralization and aggrandizement. The concern for the health of the population has to do sometimes with this desire to expand population growth to enlarge the State⁵⁷. Since the 18th century, health policies were implemented to preserve and improve the power of the State. It also has to do with it the objective of establishing a good order in the republic, of preserving the health of the population.

The social groups that make up the world today have very diverse identities and loyalties, which can make control by political power more difficult. In any case, it requires new research on how power is exercised, or powers, that act on it. It can be said that today the power is more divided and fragmented than ever in the past, sometimes with contrary tensions, hardly compatible with each other. It will also be necessary to distinguish carefully between the different spheres in which power is exercised (political, economic, social, religious ...), and analyze how it acts in each of them.

7. Power in national states.

Many seem to accept that the State is an instrument at the service of the ruling class, as has repeatedly been defended. Undoubtedly, in support of this thesis there are numerous examples, and the creation of independent American nations in the 19th century provides them abundantly; This is the case, among others, of Argentina, created by the oligarchy of the former Viceroyalty of La Plata⁵⁸.

In contemporary democratic states, changes in the structure of political power are accepted and can be made as a result of the elections. In dictatorial states the change

⁵⁶ Sánchez Pérez 1990. Subsequently, he continued with that reflection in his books, *Space, Economy and Society*, (1991) and in *Political Geography* (1992).

⁵⁷ To which he dedicates his PhD thesis Gerard Jori García, entitled *Hygiene, public health and control of the urban environment in Modern Spain. The contributions of medical thought to the planning and management of the city* [would be presented in 2012].

⁵⁸ Oliva Gerstner 2011.

of power can be traumatic. This has happened frequently in the past, and also in the present, as recent political transitions in Islamic countries have shown.

It was fascism that inherited the fascination for the total power of absolute monarchies. Before, the source of power was God: in fascism to be the state, supported by mythical thinking. This is what Ernst Cassirer considered, pointing out that the most prominent aspect of the development of modern thought between the two world wars was "the emergence of a new power: the power of mythical thought", which displaces the rational in some of the modern political systems. He denounced the irrationality that had been introduced in political action: "in the practical and social life of man, the defeat of rational thought seems to be complete and irrevocable"⁵⁹. The book *The myth of the State*, in which he defends these ideas, is written in 1940, without a doubt (like the *Doctor Faustus* by Thomas Mann) under the impact of everything that had just happened and was happening in Germany

It is possible that philosophy is critical of power; At least it is what profess those who organize these conferences. But we must remember that it has also helped to theorize it, as Cassirer and others showed us. Was it not a philosopher, Hegel, who spoke of "the truth that they reside in power" ?, the one who defended that it is "the particular interest of the State that matters above all" ?, the one who wrote that "when conceiving the State should not think of particular States, but rather contemplate only the *Idea* : God as real on Earth " ?; And was not Hegel the one who, with all this, opened the way - even if it was not desired - towards the totalitarian state of fascism and Soviet communism?⁶⁰.

The idea that power is increasingly concentrated in fewer hands is widely held. But it is impossible to accept it. Despite what is sometimes simplistically defended, it is likely that power is more divided than in the past. It is more complex. There have never been so many headquarters of diverse power, and there has never been so much population and so much culture and information. It is impossible that the increase in culture is linked to an increase in domination. There are undoubtedly subtle forms of domination, but the information is wide and if people submit it is because they expect benefits.

There are also relationships between the movement of ideas and the movement of the economy and society.

⁵⁹ Cassirer 1946, ed. 1974, p. 8.

⁶⁰ See Cassirer *The myth of the State*, ("The theory of the State in Hegel", p. 311-327).

8. Local power, institutionalism and neo-institutionalism.

From the organization of the liberal State, the groups that came to control it exercised their power through various mechanisms. One of them was that of the territorial organization, building the administrative map of the State, from the central to the provincial and municipal levels.

A common feature of the reforms was that of territorial homogeneity, given the inequalities and spatial or social privileges of the Old Regime

Provincial division and municipal division were essential, but not the only ones: divisions were also made for the administration of justice (courts, provincial audiences ...), for the military organization (military governments and general captains), for the hacienda, for the Church⁶¹.

There were also resistances and changes, at all levels. In the municipal with the appearance of municipal movements, in the provincial with regionalism. Francesc Nadal, who has masterfully studied these processes, has also insisted on the transcendence and autonomy of the 'territorial' factor, since the spatial structure once established offers resistance to transformation and gives rise to conflicts; It has also shown the need for the analysis of territorial strategies “of the different political and intellectual groups that control the State, as well as those that seek to stop or mitigate their action” (regionalist and nationalist groups) based on power strategies faced with the centralized structure⁶². They offer great interest in the study of conservative regionalist alternatives against the centralized liberal model, as well as the conversion of regionalism into nationalism from the magnification of the existence of specificities and differences (economic, religious, linguistic...), which can build identities.

Resistances to the central power also arose from the scope of the municipalities, especially of the most dynamic cities. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a development of municipal feelings towards centralism and state uniformity, stimulated by the new problems faced by large cities, in terms of necessary public services. This feeling of municipal autonomy could be supported by powerful intellectual currents, including historical research⁶³.

⁶¹ Capel and Clusa 1985.

⁶² Nadal Piqué 1987, 1990.

⁶³ Sánchez de Juan 2001, bibliographic review in *Biblio3W* No. 345, 2002.

The processes of annexation of peripheral municipalities to some large cities, which occurred in the last quarter of the eight hundred and early twentieth century, were not without conflicts. This is the case of Barcelona, with efforts to annex the peripheral municipalities of the Llano, led by the conservative bourgeoisie of Barcelona, made since 1876. Some industrial entrepreneurs and representatives of the conservative bourgeoisie were worried about the risk that such annexations could have when they integrated worker municipalities, increasing the strength of the workers and revolutionary elements in the city government. These reluctances were joined by those of the local bourgeoisie of the peripheral municipalities, given the risk that, with the annexation, they could lose power and influence in front of the dominant groups in the annexing city. The process, on the other hand, was supported by landowners, who saw their land value increase⁶⁴.

Local power and municipal organization has been the subject of valuable studies by historians and geographers. The former have insisted on the complexity of the problem of exercising local power⁶⁵. For their part, geographers have also studied municipal power and urban space, territorial and urban development competencies of the liberal municipality in Spain, and the role of municipal power in the planning of the territory, and especially in the planning of the city⁶⁶.

The question of who governs has really been raised over and over again during the last half century. A recent debate on this issue has once again raised the issue of power and the possibilities of introducing reforms through law and parliament in a democratic state⁶⁷.

With reference to the French situation, it has been observed that traditional forms of government are in crisis, new forms have appeared and the actors that are present in the political scene and practices have multiplied. It is estimated that the outbreak of the political scene has occurred, and that the exercise of government and authority today face difficult situations to handle. There is also the problem of cohesion

⁶⁴ As Francesc Nadal Piqué has written, he has carried out a lucid analysis of this process “after completing the first phase of the annexations, in 1897,” with the decree of annexations the Barcelona bourgeoisie had an important instrument to build its city and impose its concentrated and centralist territorial model, relegating any possibility of building it from more decentralized criteria”, which would have given more possibilities to the local bourgeoisie of the annexed municipalities Nadal Piqué 1985, p. 88. The quotation on the concerns generated by the possible association of the revolutionary elements in p. 25-28.

⁶⁵ As it has been shown, among others, Eliseu Toscas i Santamans and Ferran Ayala, cit. in note 37.

⁶⁶ Nadal Piqué, 1981 and in the book *Bourgeois, bureaucrats and territory. Territorial policy in nineteenth-century Spain*, 1987.

⁶⁷ Garnier 2011, Capel 2011; other reactions in Jori and Capel (eds) 2011.

of power in all its dimensions, from economic power to political and professional. Governance ideas imply the acceptance of the need to agree on decisions and policies with diverse groups, public and private, which increases the need to negotiate and the number of those who participate, at the same time - it has been said - "polycentrism social or cultural does not cease to develop"⁶⁸, which can also be verified in other countries.

Undoubtedly, it has also been written, that does not mean "that domination has disappeared or that political power is a vain word"⁶⁹. But the multiplication of protest movements and their public visibility increasingly affects the exercise of power.

The problem of the relationship between politics and technocracy is especially important. The recent economic crisis has led to the constitution of governments formed essentially by technicians (in Greece and, above all, in Italy) which has been interpreted as a triumph of technocracy over politics. It's possible; but it is a debate that demands greater precision, and in which different perspectives have to be considered. There are few interpretations that have been made in previous years about the end of technocracy. What has been called the traditional technocratic class is incapable of new situations. If before the technocrats were valued for the management of knowledge, and the importance of their power, today it is called into question: "the technocrats decide everything"⁷⁰; the decisions escape them, they are taken at European level.

We have seen that since the establishment of liberal states, power is no longer absolute, it must be explained and confronted, and increasingly count on public opinion. Politicians are arrogant when they have power, but fearful of general protests. It is observed in numerous situations. Even politicians who have been questioned by the 15 M movement are quick to take their claims into account⁷¹.

Attention begins to be given to the geographies of social movements, which have political objectives and that clearly have sometimes the will to become counterpowers and, at times, they achieve it (labor, nationalist, environmental and environmental movements, pacifists, feminists, anti-racial, non-governmental

⁶⁸ Rouban 1998, p. 109-110.

⁶⁹ Rouban 1998.

⁷⁰ Rouban 1998.

⁷¹ "Winks to a 15-M that really worries. Politicians and unions approach the proposals of the outraged, but distrust them and predict little electoral influence" (Pilar Álvarez), *El País* November 11, 2001, p. 38-39.

organizations, media information groups...)⁷². In any case, today it is possible to imagine the possibility of global networks connected by new information technologies and sharing political objectives; its effectiveness is beginning to be seen in reality, both internationally and nationally and locally. The significance of all this is observed in the attention given to what are called new forms of governance, new institutions, *empowerment* of communities, or supranational and transnational structures. The conflict between world relations and networks and locally rooted cultural identities also has significance for the power structure.

The power of the State today suffers from the concurrent competition of criminal groups organized internationally, regardless of institutional power, from drugs, human trafficking, piracy, religious sects or cyber threats⁷³. At present, speeches and news about the threats of terrorist groups that may have transnational structures such as al Qaeda cannot be ignored.

The importance of the institutional framework must be stressed. It is through him, acting on him, that power relations are established. But the same framework is the result of power relations, between the social groups that elaborate it. Increasing attention is given today to what is called non-institutional power, and to the emergence of social innovations that involve new types of institutions, which is usually referred to as neo-institutionalism. We need to pay attention to all this, and to its success in full control of neoliberal ideas.

9. The exercise of power in capitalist companies.

In any case, it may be that power does not manifest itself manifestly in societies subject to consumerism, to the rules of capitalism. Economic globalization and interdependence include various forms of extra-state exercise of power, there are new forms of dependence and interference, such as the intervention of multinational and transnational companies. It is interesting, in particular, the exercise of power in capitalist enterprises, the problem of power in these large financial and technical conglomerates, the role played by specific people.

⁷² For example, Painter 1995. These issues, such as general attention to the local environment, began to appear in geography in the early 1980s, Short 1982, chap. 6.

⁷³ See Chaupérade 2007, Septième partie: ‘L’État concurrenté); A liro written for the officers of the distinguished French armies by a doctor of political science who teaches geopolitics.

Capital in some descriptions becomes autonomous and magnified, to the point that it becomes independent of people; We talk about the logic of capital, the evolution of capital. But the power is personalized, it is people who own it and make the fundamental decisions, for example, about where it is invested.

In the traditional structure the owners directly manage the company. Today it still persists in some places, for example in India, where one can talk about the dynastic nature of the great captains of the industry, who reach the fourth and fifth generation while firmly maintaining power in companies⁷⁴.

Some authors, including Alfred D. Chandler in his suggestive books on the dynamics of industrial capitalism and the management revolution in North American industry⁷⁵ have shown the importance of the changes that occurred around 1880 in the management of companies, and the increasing power of hired managers and managers, compared to the traditional role of the owners. Thanks to this, many companies were able to reach a new dynamic of expansion and deal with the processes of mass organization and sale of products.

There are also numerous situations of loss of power. Entrepreneurs and financiers have immense power, but they can lose it. The study of companies and companies shows it; in Spain the Marquis of Salamanca, or in Brazil the Baron de Mauá are significant examples⁷⁶. Also the Canadian and North American financiers and technicians who launched Brazilian Traction and Barcelona Traction, and who lost control of their companies⁷⁷.

The location of decision-making powers worldwide has led to numerous analyzes, starting with those carried out at the level of national powers⁷⁸. Global decision-making is concentrated, it has been said, in a few large cities in developed countries, due to the grouping of large multinational companies, highly specialized services, finance and infrastructure and specialized knowledge. Since in 1991 Saskia Sassen identified what he called "global cities", in which the global decision centers with leadership capacity over the whole world economy are concentrated, there have

⁷⁴ The Economist , October 22nd 2011, Special Report Business in India. Adventures in capitalism, p. 3-5.

⁷⁵ Chandler 1990, ed. nineteen ninety six; and Chandler 1977, ed. 1988. About this author, Arroyo 1999.

⁷⁶ Caldeira 1999.

⁷⁷ Capel (dir) 1994, vol. II.

⁷⁸ Miossec 1976, other works previously cited.

been many works to complete his study⁷⁹. Again, there seems to be a tendency towards territorial dispersion of the centers of economic power.

This dispersion is also observed when examining the location of large global financial and industrial companies. Although, having said that, it is always possible that companies whose headquarters are located in different countries, can establish agreements and coalesce to make decisions (for example, in the setting of minimum prices, in the division of markets, in production strategies...).

In the past, power used to show itself with all its splendor, openly, to impress. Today, on the other hand, power may have a tendency to go unnoticed, to hide, not to be called by name, especially in the case of economic power. We need only observe the current crisis and the pressures that governments are suffering from what is vaguely described as the markets.

But markets are not a kind of Invisible and Unnamed Hand. They are specific investors who decide to invest in one country or another, in one or another sector of economic activity, obtain greater or lesser interest on the sovereign debt, buy or sell shares, lower or raise the prices of the securities.

Some economic agents appear from time to time in the news of the press (Warren Buffet, Georges Soros, some emir or Arab tycoon ...), but many others do not know and try to go unnoticed or, in any case, is not known with accuracy the power they pose.

It is essential to know who really has the economic power in the world. The problem lies in the difficulty of having global data on inter-business relations through the control of action packages and participation in the boards of directors or general meetings with a percentage of the votes that, from 51 percent or with lower percentages and with alliances, gives shareholders who have that majority the ability to influence company decisions.

These global data are sometimes found in some databases that may be accessible (such as *Orbis*, *Forbes* ...), but are either insufficient or difficult to analyze due to their length and complexity. Think that the *Orbis 2007* base has information on 30 million economic actors worldwide. From a careful analysis of them it would be possible to obtain a good image of the global control of the economy.

⁷⁹ Saskia Sassen 1991, Gavinha 2008.

Recently, from this database, a group of researchers from Systems Design of the ETH of Zurich has selected 40,060 transnational corporations and has carried out a recursive investigation that has allowed to identify, believe that for the first time, the network of all the networks of ownership or control that originates or terminates in a transnational corporation. The result allows to visualize 600,508 nodes and 1,006,968 links⁸⁰.

The equity holdings and the proportion of votes in the shareholders' meetings have been analyzed. These data allow us to know the direct or indirect control, and identify the structure of the international control network by persons or corporations that are totally or partially owned by other companies; and, from there, the control that some actors have in the world economy. It has worked with the number of links of the nodes, which correspond to the number of companies in which a shareholder owns shares, which constitutes a measure of portfolio diversification; and the number of different shareholders who own shares in a given firm, which is considered an indicator of control fragmentation. It has been proven that the network of transnational corporations consists of 23,825 connected components; Most of the nodes (77%) belong to widely connected components, with 463,006 economic actors and 889,609 relations, extended to 191 countries. A more detailed and in-depth analysis of the influence of large transnational corporations has allowed the authors of the study to draw up a list of the 50 main transnational companies that together control 39 percent of the companies studied, and that belong to the United States (24), Great Britain (8), France (5), Japan (4), Germany, Switzerland and Holland (with 2 each country) and China and Italy (with 1). It is especially significant that a total of 45 transnational companies between that half hundred are of a financial nature, including Barclays, JP Morgan Chase, UBS, Bank of New York Mellon Corporation, Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley,

The study shows a concentrated corporate power, but also dispersed. Through other companies they control a part of the global economic activity. Although they frequently compete with each other, they also tend to make agreements to control the market and, if possible, monopoly situations.

⁸⁰ Vitali, Glatfelder & Battison 2011; I thank Hindenburg Pires for letting me know about this work.

10. The power in the city: the construction of urban morphology

We can also ask how the city is built, and who has the power in that process.

The city appears from the beginning of history as the theater of power, and place of performance and visible presence of it. The whole space is, in some way, modeled by power (political, economic, social...), sometimes indirectly (from the norms imposed by the legal framework) and sometimes directly as an explicit manifestation of the will of the power.

It can be said that there is an architecture of power in different dimensions: political power (palaces, walls, statues, gardens, citadels, barracks, prisons ...); religious (temples, cathedrals, monasteries, convents ..); economic (company headquarters, banks ...); social (sumptuous housing abroad ...); ideological and cultural (universities, schools ..). Few more representative expressions of the excess of power than the great architectural works undertaken by it, from the Egyptian pyramids to the skyscrapers and the iconic architectural works that are currently built. An architecture for the glorification of power, to seduce and impress, that reflects the exacerbated egos of those who commission the works, the megalomania and the excessive power⁸¹.

It is also possible to identify the performance of power in the creation of public space. And we could also easily recognize urban areas where power is concentrated eminently: the central areas, the cathedral district, the *city*, the central business district, or CBD.

A more concrete aspect is that which refers to the general urban structure as a manifestation of power. Since the beginning of urban history, the growth of population centers and cities has been made as a result of multiple individual decisions, subject to some general rules that establish certain rules to separate the public from the private, or that prevent occupying the roads and collective spaces. The disorganization and occupation of these common spaces, when it occurs, is an evident proof of the crisis of power; as happened, for example, in the final stage of the decline of the Roman Empire.

From the early stages of urban history, there has also been urban planning for growth, which has always been an exercise of power. In all cases, planning involves making decisions that determine the organization of future space, sometimes for centuries or millennia. The layout of the streets and the location of fundamental

⁸¹ See about Sudjic 2009.

equipment (the agora, the forum, the main square...) affects the entire functioning of the city, and the decisions of the individual agents (owners, builders...).

The exercise of power in the ordination of the city has been done essentially through the orderly, geometric plane. Geometry is a clear expression of rationality⁸², and a reflection of the exercise of power.

In the case of the ordination of the cities there were several possible models: among them the hexagonal, the triangular, the circular. But in the vast majority of cases, the plane used for several millennia has been orthogonal, used for the creation of new cities and the reconstruction of the destroyed ones, due to the advantages it offers for the division of the land⁸³.

It is appropriate to ask about who has the power in the construction and management of the city. From the point of view of public administrations, the governing body of cities is the city council, but the central state power also acts on them; and they can also act what we can call the power of regional intermediate regional institutions (what is called according to countries, *Länder*, states, provinces, autonomous communities). In any case, the State establishes the rules of the game through the laws that it elaborates and with the promulgation of the urban legislation; at the same time, it can also act directly on cities, building equipment.

Paying attention to the agents that build the city leads us to distinguish between public agents (the town hall, the central, regional power) and private agents. In a democratic city council, the analysis of power must examine the political power (with different political parties and with different tendencies within each party) and the technician (engineers, architects, doctors, municipal secretaries lawyers, auditors ...). Among the private agents we must point out, above all: the owners of the land, the owners of the means of production, the real estate developers, the builders, the financial capital, and the auxiliary agents (architects, publicists ...). Although some of the latter sometimes have many claims, the role of these auxiliary agents is subordinate⁸⁴.

The distinction between agents and actors allows us to focus attention on the former, who are the ones who make the fundamental decisions. But the actors, simple users who move in the city without the ability to intervene in it, can also become

⁸² Glacken 1997.

⁸³ Capel 2002 and 2005.

⁸⁴ Capel 2011a [See, also, Capel, 2013].

agents. This is what has happened on occasion, when neighborhood movements have become agents of urban change.

Urban planning is controlled through general legislation, municipal regulations and the development of urban planning plans. It is known that in the discussions of the municipal governing bodies, the important thing, frequently, is the agenda of the plenary sessions and the problems that are selected to be discussed in them, which direct the debate in specific directions and skew the entire discussion. Similarly, in the development of the urban planning plan, a fundamental moment is the same phase of development, where the pressures of the land owners, the builders, the developers and other urban agents can be felt.

The question of how cities have evolved in recent years is interesting. It could be said that power is, on the one hand, more concentrated (for example, financial power, or that of large property developers), but at the same time also more dispersed

There is no doubt that - as the organizers of these Days also believe about power, as it is said in the call for them - the mechanisms of power are intervening in an increasingly complex way in the organization and operation of the cities, and that there have been great transformations in these since the 1973 crisis, which have had a great impact on urban space. There are undoubtedly problems that are specific to the current city, in the Generalized Urbanization phase⁸⁵. And it can be accepted that the productive logic of consumer societies affects the physical space of the city.

A fundamental issue in modern urbanism is the debate on the right to the city, and the right for the city in a democratic society; that is to say, the possibility of transforming the city into a democratic society through law. A new way of urban planning is needed, with dialogue and participation. The case of Barcelona exemplifies very well everything that is happening.

We can ask ourselves if there are spaces in which power is not present. In principle we could imagine that it is the situation of the areas of marginal housing, barracks, *favelas*, *bidonvilles* ... Without a doubt the power is not absent in those areas, but it is present differently, both rhetorically and effectively (in this case, through police stations, but sometimes they don't exist ..). Perhaps the presence of power is linked to a non-institutional alternative power, drug trafficking, samba schools and the lottery or

⁸⁵ Capel 2010.

the game ... But social innovations that involve future ways of organizing power may also be taking place in these areas⁸⁶.

11. The power in science, in scientific communities and in professional corporations.

Finally, we can turn our attention to an issue that seems relevant in relation to being Jornadas: the exercise of power in science and in scientific communities.

The organizers of these Days believe it is necessary to devote special attention to the new forms of domination developed by globalized and consumer capitalism. They explicitly point out that to the classical class domination, or of the states, or male domination over women, the figures of domination through culture, consumption, imagination or epistemology are significantly added. " They consider it convenient to collect "the critical representations of other sciences, of which they speak of the conditions of possibility of domination (the classical social and human sciences) and of their techniques, devices and procedures (communication sciences, of law, of international relations...)"

The concern shown by the organizers for all this, it is appropriate to devote attention in this work to the role of science in domination and the scientific communities that produce science. Which leads us to consider two dimensions; the power of science and, at the same time, the power in science.

11.1 The power in science

We can start with this last dimension, power in science.

Scientific innovation, exercise of power, structure of the scientific community and organization of the State are closely related.

The decisive influence of social factors on the development of scientific knowledge has been affirmed, as is known, by the positions we can call 'externalists'. That is usually linked to the weight of power. Decisive weight in the definition of the relevant problems, in the structure of the communities, in the same scientific practice. Faced with this position, as well as with the opposite conception,

⁸⁶ Capel 2012.

which is customary to be called 'internalist', I think it is important to insist on the prominent role of the structure and functioning of scientific communities⁸⁷.

The question of how power is exercised in scientific disciplines offers great interest, and necessarily leads us towards the sociology of science. The scientist does not work alone, but enrolled in scientific communities and professional corporations. By integrating into them, you accept its rules of operations, its methods, disciplinary myths. Also their power structures, the influence exerted by the most influential figures and teachers.

Who are innovators and can spread their innovations to the corporation or the community as a whole is a very pertinent issue.

It has to do with power structures: those who become teachers are generally innovative and brilliant scientists, provided they have positions of power. What science always means, in addition to intellectual prestige, the control of courts and squares, the control of publications and, especially, magazines, the control of the administrative apparatus.

How the teaching and the exercise of power in scientific communities and technical corporations are linked allows us to understand some aspects of the functioning and evolution of science and technology.

The exercise of power in professional corporations offers great interest, since in some cases they are strongly hierarchized. Especially in the bodies of engineers, which have been organized since the 18th and 19th centuries as bodies at the service of the State (such as the bodies of military engineers, roads, canals and ports, mines, mountains, agronomists, geodesists, cartographers and geographical engineers and others).

The study of institutional power and change in scientific communities is of great interest; for example, in geography, or in anthropology⁸⁸. Certain revolutionary changes in certain national schools could only take place after some circumstance profoundly affected the power of university professors; This is the case of the dissemination of quantitative geography in the scientific community of geographers in France, which was only really effective after the commotions it produced at the university on May 1968⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Capel 1989 and 1991.

⁸⁸ See, in general, the works cited in note 85. On the teaching of Spanish anthropology, Capel 2009.

⁸⁹ Capel 1970.

That example, and others that we could cite, show the importance of power structures for the realization or rejection of scientific revolutions, and the triumph of new paradigms. In the case of geography, we have data on the struggle between historicist and neo-positivist conceptions in the 1960s, and then between it and the so-called radical geographies, essentially antipositivist and postmodern. A struggle that was very intense, since it deeply affected the established power structures; the winners stayed not only with the intellectual power in the scientific community, but also with the real power in them, that is, the control of the positions of professors and researchers, of the resources, of the scientific journals, of the relations With political and economic power.

11.2 The power of science

We can also make a more general reflection on the role of science in domination, and on the social implications of scientific theories, as auxiliary to the exercise of power. In the presentation of these VIII International Conference on Political Philosophy 2011, two different problems are actually raised: on the one hand, in a special way, the question of how “the control and calculation of human sciences” becomes subtle of domination; but, at the same time, the question of how “the representations and values of the new world economic order” affect scientific reflection is also proposed. We must speak, even briefly, of both dimensions.

1-Human and social sciences at the service of power

The relationship between ideology and science has been examined and defended on numerous occasions. From different positions - ranging from Marxism to the historicism of Kart Mannheim or the Frankfurt School - it has been shown that social or historical knowledge is affected by the existence of false and simplified ideas about reality, in relation to the social position in which scientists and the defense of economic or personal social interests are found. Ideology implies concealment or falsification of social relations, accepted ideas about a social order that is not questioned, and that is legitimized and justified⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ See Capel 1989, p. 19 et seq.

By way of example, and to mention something I know, in the case of debates about the American population in the 16th century, it can be seen that the ideas that were elaborated on the characteristics of the indigenous peoples, their history or the factors of their demographic decline, were affected by the interests of conquest and colonization, as well as evangelizing strategies. It would be a good example of the relationship between knowledge and interest, by using the title of Jürgen Habermas's book. It resulted in prejudices and pre-analysis positions, trying to support very specific interests and specific strategies⁹¹.

We could, perhaps, also reflect on the implications of general scientific conceptions; for example, about whether positivism and neopositivism are scientific conceptions linked to power, as has sometimes been claimed, and if historicism and antipositivism are critical and emancipated with respect to power. What historically may have happened - for example in some versions of Neopositivism - but in general it cannot be accepted. It is worth remembering that in the debate between neo-positivist and radical geography in the early 1970s, a geographer of the latter trend noted that "quantitative methods become radical when applied to radical problems."

Finally, we could debate whether whole sciences have been, at some point, functional to the establishment of a system of domination. There are many interpretations that have been made about the role of anthropology in European imperialism⁹² and geography has also been accused of serving primarily to make war and ensure the domain of the territory⁹³.

In general, the role of science in domination and in the service of power is what has to be examined in this perspective, which we cannot develop here.

2-New economic order and science

More pertinent seems to me a reflection on whether, during the last two or three decades, the dominance of neoliberal ideas and policies in economics has led to magnify a series of scientific conceptions and theories that are clearly in relation to those political positions. We can cite among them deregulation, privatization, public-private

⁹¹ Capel 1989.

⁹² Kuper 1973, Leclercq 1973.

⁹³ Lacoste 1976.

consultation, delegitimization of the State and the public, governance and neo-institutionalism or urbanism against the plan, among others.

In that same context, the scientific illusion of macroeconomic theory was exacerbated, the pretense of being able to make predictions. Science was used to ensure the triumph of ideas that economic history showed were false and that the current economic crisis has shown that they were at the service of the interests of some economic groups. The impact of neoliberal conceptions on urban planning theories and practices in cities was reflected in the growing role of financial capital in real estate development, and from the intellectual point of view, as we have seen, in the domain of ideas about private public consultation, the emphasis on concrete projects and the rejection of urban planning⁹⁴.

A part of the economic studies accepted, without further examination or discussion, the principles of neoliberalism, and incorporated them into their allegedly scientific analyzes. In many scientific papers there is an explicit positive assessment of the package of economic measures of stabilization, liberalization and privatization, the defense of the need to establish an adequate institutional structure for a market economy, to carry out reforms that favor competition, changes in the government bureaucracy with demands for its decrease, and the importance of "light business regulations, spaces to solve business disputes and little (or no) government interference in the economy"⁹⁵.

There are serious biases in the scientific discussion about democratic institutions and their relationship with economic growth. In some cases democracy is understood only as linked to the market and even to capitalism. The existence of political institutions that accept and favor the market is considered very positive to obtain high growth rates.

We find numerous solid economic arguments in sociological and economic investigations numerous times. Economists with shallow historical knowledge argue happily about the evolutions of states and colonial empires, sometimes with brazen prejudices about the past, and clearly favorable to British and English world history; and looking from today to the past with prejudices from the neo-liberal ideas that have dominated in recent decades. They are biased in their judgments about the

⁹⁴ Capel 2011.

⁹⁵ As proposed by some authors summarized by Arellano Gault and Lepore 2009; the final quotation of this section comes from the same authors, p. 275

possibility of institutional changes, estimating that they are possible in developed countries and impossible in those that are not, because of the colonial heritage; Of course, these are always those that have a non-British colonial heritage, since this is considered especially beneficial for development.

Recently, various interpretations of economic growth policies from the neo-institutional perspective, dare to understand by 'good government' those who provide incentives to move towards a capitalist economy, consider that British legal traditions are more favorable than those of Hispanics to avoid regulations abusive and expropriations to private property, and that the latter, or the French, "giving priority to the rights of the State have negative impacts on financial development."

Despite its econometric apparatus, some supposedly scientific studies are scandalously inconsistent, because one can find in them that, after deep studies, conclusions like this are reached: "the institutions that lead to good economic performance are those that show a high degree of institutional flexibility and adaptation to the environment".

Conclusion.

Philosophy is good for formulating general theoretical frameworks. But philosophers should not stay in general, but should lead to the formulation of hypotheses to investigate. And do it from historical or social research, which philosophers must also commit to do, which they often do not. Philosophical approaches are sometimes so general that they have no historical content or relevance to specific situations.

There are new situations and new problems, which were unknown or were embryonic and that force us to rethink many things, to rethink old ideas. The need to intensify interdisciplinary approaches, such as the one that inspired the organization of these Days, is urgent.

What are the strategies that power uses to achieve domination is an essential issue Just like how they have evolved historically is an interesting topic of research.

As is also the effectiveness of these strategies. We must bear in mind that they may not be effective, and also that sometimes there are contradictions and internal confrontations between those who hold it, there may also be a dispersion of power, with the emergence of new centers of power. Knowing the power in your concrete historical

reality is essential for resistance. Power can be brutal or skillful to impose domination and has numerous and increasingly powerful resources at its disposal. But power only appears monolithic seen from the outside. Seen from within, it generally is not. It needs support and alliances, it can be divided or with very violent internal confrontations.

Neither democratic governments nor large corporations are monolithic. Even autocratic power is not, as the example of the Franco regime or the Church can show.

From the point of view of those under power, not everything is inexorably determined. There is also the capacity for accommodation and active or passive resistance. It is not only once that power has changed hands.

I remember a poster that I found in a place and that said something that admits two antagonistic readings: "The duty is not to pay." In a similar way we could coin another one that shows the ambiguous use as a noun and as a verb, and also has two possible readings, one of rights and another of lefts: "Power is being able"; reading from the right: those who have power have the capacity and therefore have been able to obtain it, that is, they are the most apt for it; of lefts: the dominated classes may be able to reach power. It remains to be seen what will happen in a hypothetical post-capitalist world.

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