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ARTICLE

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Language in the process of labour market rationalisation: A sociohistorical approach across twentieth-century Spain

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Abstract

This article analyses the role of linguistic skills in the process of defining professional classifications in Spain during 1919–1980. The aim is to determine the social evaluation of the skills involved. To retrace the classifications, a total of 114 official documents were examined, establishing a chronological division into three major stages: 1920–1940, 1940–1960 and 1960–1980. The first period (1920–1940) shows efforts toward the initial objectification of working conditions and salary scales, revealing social prejudices and tacit conventions shaping the employment hierarchy, while the second one (1940–1960) indicates the extent to which office work stood out over manual work. Finally, the third stage (1960–1980) shows processes of language rationalisation, which entailed attempts to standardise positions based on required skill sets.

KEYWORDS
language skills, professional classification, sociohistorical study

Resumen

Este artículo analiza el papel de las competencias lingüísticas en el proceso de definición de las clasificaciones

profesionales en España en el periodo 1919–1980. El objetivo es determinar la consideración social de las competencias implicadas. Para reseguir las clasificaciones se examinaron un total de 114 documentos oficiales, que han permitido establecer una división cronológica en tres grandes etapas: 1920–1940, 1940–1960 y 1960–1980. La primera etapa (1920–1940) muestra los esfuerzos hacia una objetivación inicial de las condiciones de trabajo y escalas salariales, revelando prejuicios sociales y convenciones tácitas que configuraron la jerarquía laboral, mientras que la segunda etapa (1940–1960) refleja hasta qué punto se priorizó el trabajo de oficina sobre el manual. Finalmente, la tercera etapa (1960–1980) evidencia procesos de racionalización del lenguaje que implicaron intentos de homologar puestos en función de unas determinadas habilidades exigibles.

PALABRAS CLAVE
competencias lingüísticas, clasificación profesional, estudio sociohistórico

1 | INTRODUCTION

> *(…) always use polite words and manners with the customers (…) they will always ask for the ticket orally, not with signs or by hitting the backs of the seats (…)* (Sarrià-Barcelona Railway Ordinances: Art. 125, 1933)

> … *loud and long distance conversations are forbidden*. (Train Drivers and Ticket Collectors Ordinances Art. 20, 1934)

These excerpts come from numerous working ordinances across twentieth-century Spain that aimed to 'civilize', in Norbert Elias' terms, or 'rationalize' working performance through language practice. They exemplify the long-term process that creates, reworks and enforces a natural language regime within industrial relations. We analyse how and to what extent language was rationalised, objectivised and controlled at the occupational level by analysing twentieth-century Spain. Although part of a longer-term process, the period 1920–1980 illustrates the systematic development of a language regime. During this period, in just three generations, the main population evolved from agrarian to industrial and service/information work, each demanding different literacy levels for work performance, through modernisation across sectors and industries. These processes happened within a convulsive sociopolitical sequence of Republican, Autarchic/Dictatorial and Democratic systems. We tackle this complex sequence through systematic analysis of documentary sources on labour regulations, starting in 1919 – the country's entry into the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which

promotes standardisation of professional classifications – to 1980, when the *Estatuto de los Trabajadores* [*Statute of Workers' Rights*] passed, legislation which changes the basic labour framework inherited from the Franco regime. This relatively short historical period of industrialisation and modernisation is not unique to Spain and contributes to understanding language rationalisation in many regions of the world.

Current studies of language at work in the information society emphasise its role in managing information and intercultural relations during globalisation. Recently, sociolinguists have argued that language is increasingly objectified as a market commodity by which jobs are classified, workers evaluated and occupants of positions compensated (Heller, 2010; Urcioli, 2008; Urcioli & LaDousa, 2013). Monica Heller and Alexandre Duchêne (2012), for example, suggest that language has shifted from being a sign of national or ethnic 'pride' to being a market commodity. Heller (2010) sees these changes as resulting from economic reconfiguration from the national toward the global.

Coming before these recent sociolinguistic developments is another history, the transition from speech and (il)literacy communities in older social orders to mid-twentieth-century national regulation of speech and literacy within government and corporate organisations. This is the story we tell here. Usually researchers lack an explanation about how these phenomena evolved over time. References to language at work often are generic, as Fordist 'silent' workers (represented in the film '*Modern Times'* from Charles Chaplin) shift to neoliberal regimes. Although a few publications explore specific moments of workplace language in the twentieth century (e.g., Boutet, 2001a, 2001b, 2008 in reference to standardisation of call centre work during its beginning in France or Cohen, 2009: 26, in reference to welcoming immigrant languages in US factories), a systematic analysis of change in language at work is yet to be done.

To our knowledge, this is the first attempt to analyse on a systematic documentary basis the production of a world of language in industrial relations. We use twentieth-century history to examine primarily deductive assumptions, such as the increasing role of language in the productive process, and provide them with empirical content. On this little explored territory, we aim to verify (a) the extent to which occupational classification is a linguistic operation of translation of reality in order to (b) approach the contexts surrounding the classifications over time – as well as the position of the worker within them – on the one hand, and to establish (c) the explicit or implicit linguistic skill requirements when defining and ranking jobs, on the other. In an interesting recursive manner, we examine the language (points a and b, the formal textualisation of work practices) used to describe occupational language skills and requirements (point c). The final aim is to (d) determine the social standing that such skills had at each stage, and the implications of that.

2 | OBJECTIFICATION AND LONG-TERM STRUCTURES

Few studies, like Boutet's research on call centres (2001a, 2001b, 2008) show how language has become a main working tool, a 'natural asset' that is exploited and sold. She argues that, when analysing systems of organisation of salaried work – from factories during the Industrial Revolution to present call centres – the same desire to rationalise language exists; that is, to politically manage language to control the linguistic faculty of the workers, though in different directions and with different techniques, according to the interests of production. As the reader will see, our research follows this intricate process across twentieth-century Spain, in which rationalisation of language becomes partially codified at a general institutional and intersectoral level starting in the middle part of the century.

Drawing on the perspective of Elias (1939 [2000]), we examine long-term historical processes that shape 'the subjective and intersubjective forms of relationships' (Van Krieken, 2007: 29). Elias proposes a civilisational process by which disciplined manners and forms of speech replace more direct

force and expression, giving rise to the early modern, hierarchical framework of literacy and illiteracy, crude speech and sophisticated speech. In keeping with Elias' perspective, if not his precise period, we advance these historical processes into the twentieth century, examining how previous language skills and behaviours associated with societal estates (e.g., literacy) were reworked into named workplace skills. A parallel work in the Elias tradition is Van Vree's (2011) tracing of meetings as a social form that replaced potentially violent encounters with rule-governed verbal and written interaction inside formal organisations. While meetings appear in some of the regulations we examine, the more important point is that the Elias-ian historical process seen in meeting behaviour can be seen more generally in the rationalisation of linguistic behaviours and skills within modern organisational systems.

Such changes are performed by the application of language classifications and standards in occupational codes. As Bowker and Star (1999: 10) propose, 'a classification is a spatial, temporal or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world' that imposes structure and makes other structures silent or invisible. From this approach, any professional classification, which is already itself a quasi-linguistic '*operation*' (Prieto, 1993), is a rendition of reality that tends to frame and control that reality (Nelson & Sampat, 2001; Tanguy, 2001). In this constitutive role, it claims an objective nature, that of salary clarification and criteria assurance (Burriel, 2011). The origin of those criteria and the implications of their placement are unquestioned: the prevalence of the organisation over the subject; the submission to the company needs (Prieto, 1993); and the crisis of the trade and the worker, who must continually rebuild their identity (Tapia, 2019; Martín-Barbero, 2002).

A crucial move, seen clearly in our material, is 'standardization'. A standard applies not just to one domain, but 'spans more than one community of practice' (Bowker & Star, 1999: 13) and for this reason 'control is [a] central, often underanalyzed feature of economic life' (Bowker & Star, 1999: 15). Language skills are indispensable for the controlling function of professional classification eventually to succeed. All individuals must acquire them to know (and potentially accept) their position in the discourse. Otherwise, part of the knowledge and of the individual identity would be left out of the discourse, implying the existence of gaps escaping control (De Certeau, 2000; Tanguy, 2001).

We conceptualise this as 'semiocracy'. In a semiocracy, the subject's position in reality is indicated through their position in signs, in our case, spoken and written language. In semiocracy, the symbolic constitutes the real. If so, whoever controls the symbolic (in our study, job classifications), controls the order (Montesinos, 2002, drawing on Baudrillard, 1978, 2010). This is a constitutive process that takes place over time; hence, we examine a history of change from occupational language approximating inherited social structure to language actively reformulating occupational structure.

Attewell (1990) reveals the complexity that classifications actually entail: since the skills and competencies do not establish themselves, but rather someone else establishes them, class prejudice, ignorance of the observer regarding the tasks that they classify, and previous social prestige can bias them up or down. Similar conclusions are reached by Handel (2016) whose updated analysis of standard classifications also suggests educational level as a biasing factor, pointing out the overrepresentation of higher educational professions. Competencies might not correspond to greater or lesser real skills. But, how does this complexity and bias manifest across time?

What is presented in classifications synchronously (knowing, knowing how to do, knowing how to be) arises from very different mental processes, which require diachrony to be explained. From a sociohistorical approach, linguistic skills are particularly prone to this processuality. Literacy has not always been a universal characteristic of society. Its initial shortage gives written language a measure of prestige compared with manual labour that may not correspond to a greater mastery of actual productive skills (Coulmas, 2003, 2013). As consequence, traditional know-how – procedure learnt through practice – is subordinated to writing, making explicit in words – that registers and organises reality into a hierarchy. Within the historical development of a capitalist system, the regime governing signs cannot allow know-how to be transmitted through experience, because then knowledge cannot be

appropriated. It escapes control and threatens to respond through failed acts or parapraxis (as observed in the first period of our analysis, from 1919 to 1940). On the contrary, semiocratic practices need to make visible what exists implicitly, to observe and monitor it.

Hence, we delineate in the Spanish case an unfolding process that characterises the organisation and evaluation of work in words and about words, closely linked to capitalist economic development and occurring despite national political changes.

3 | THE CASE OF SPAIN

The social and structural data of professional classification during this period indicate three major stages from 1920 and 1980 (i.e., 1920–1940; 1940–1960; 1960–1980) (Montoya-Melgar, 2016). It must be borne in mind that Spain across this time had a lower standard of living than neighbouring countries. The Spanish GDP per capita, although it improved internally over time (51–66% from 1920 to 1980), always lagged behind industrialised countries such as the USA, France or the UK (Carreras & Tafunell, 2005). In addition to GDP per capita indicators, the Human Development Index (one of its parameters being literacy) illuminates the social reality of the country in this span, since it was 0.542 in 1920 and 0.839 in 1980 (Escudero & Simón, 2012; Prados de la Escosura & Sánchez Alonso, 2020).

Table 1 summarises the basic chronology.

Spanish society starts 1920 characterised by very low income levels, dysfunctional industrialisation (despite the improvement brought about by Spain's neutrality during the First World War), great social inequality and clearly extractive elites. In such a context the strong social conflict that characterises Spanish history is unsurprising: the working class (industrial and farm labourer) become organised into labour union movements whose claims went beyond improving the working conditions to changing the social order. Trade unions belonging to the Second International (*Unión General de Trabajadores, UGT [General Union of Workers]*) but mainly the anarchists (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, CNT [National Labour Confederation]*) pressured via general strikes a system reluctant to recognise their rights, with few negotiation channels. They lost the struggle. The legislation that objectified working conditions and classified professions, including language, was not exactly the result of their claims (Canal, 2017; Julià, 2007).

This first stage is complex. The more-than-questionable liberal system of the restoration disintegrates, unable to face the deterioration in living standards and resulting territorial tensions, aggravated by the war in Morocco. This ends with a dictatorship (Primo de Rivera, 1923–30) (Castillejo, 2008). The crisis of 1929 impacts this totalitarian regime, accentuating its contradictions and giving a chance to democratising and modernising currents, which finally emerge in the Second Republic (1931–1936). With the support of the trade unions (including the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, CNT [National Labour Confederation]*), the first biennium of the Second Republic faces accumulated structural problems, including the so-called 'social issue': that is, recognition of workers' rights. Such efforts yield results during the subsequent five years, breaking with the prior tendency (Canal, 2017; Julià, 2007).

However, the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) truncated such expectations, with the triumph of General Francisco Franco and his subsequent crushing of all currents outside his National-Catholicist (fascist) ideology. An exception was the educationally ambitious project of the Second Republic and its effects on literacy rates (Figure 1). The war could not stop 16-year-old minors who learned to read and write in the Republican schools. A few years of schooling was reflected as 'literacy' in the statistics, although in fact, it should be considered more a 'semiliteracy', with no chance of subsequent scholastic reinforcement.

TABLE 1 Historical overview and main labour relations legislation in Spain (1920–1980)

	Political significance	Legislation on labour relations	Ideology of labour law
1920–1940	Disintegration of the liberal system	Entry into the ILO (1919) 1923–1930: Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship - Código de Trabajo [Labour Code] (1926) - Organización Corporativa Nacional [National Corporate Organization] (1926) 1931–1936: Second Republic - Ley Contrato de Trabajo [Labour Contract Act] and Ordenanzas Laborales [Labor Ordinances](1931) - Jurados Mixtos [Mixed Boards] (1931) 1936–1939: Spanish Civil War	Krausism Military 'regenerationism' (authoritarianism, corporatism, populism) Left Reformism (Socialists (II International) and left republicans)
1940–1960	Francisco Franco's Dictatorship: autarchy	- Ley de Reglamentaciones de Trabajo [Labour Regulations Act] (1942)	National Catholicism
1960–1980	Francisco Franco's Dictatorship: Developmentalism ↓ Democratic transition	- Ley de Convenios Colectivos [Collective Bargaining Agreements Act] (1958) - Estatuto de los Trabajadores [Statute of Workers' Rights] (1980)	Technocracy Towards the liberal system (Unión de Centro Democrático, UCD [Union of the Democratic Centre])

Source: Own elaboration.

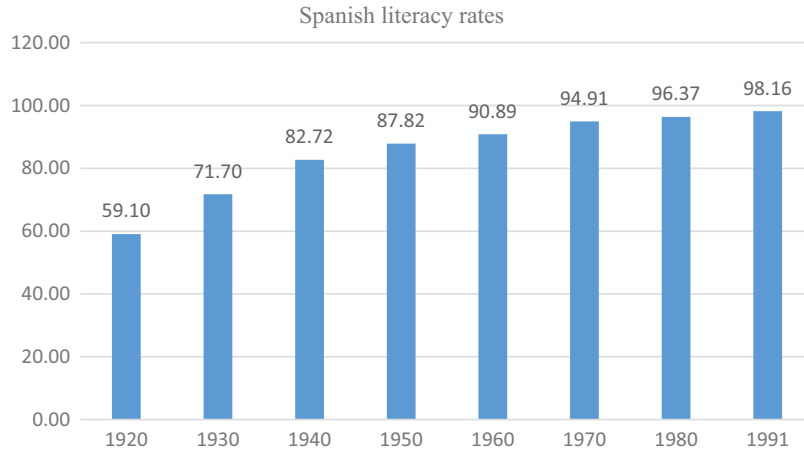

FIGURE 1 Spanish literacy rates (1920–1980). *Source*: Own elaboration with data from Carreras and Tafunell (2005)

From 1939 to 1975, Spain enters a dictatorship, divided in two major stages. The first one, from 1939 to 1959, is fascist autarchy. During this period the *Ley de Reglamentaciones de Trabajo [Labour Regulations Act]* (1942) is approved, which must be read within what the paternalism of the regime considers protection of the worker ('tutelage'), of course without his/her participation, and at the service of a project of national cohesion (Bernecker, 2003).

The second stage (1960–1975) is that of developmentalism. In a Cold War context, the regime is accepted by the Western bloc, despite not being at all democratic. The starting signal is given by the *Stabilization Plan (1959)* imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and carried out by a new force: the technocrats. It is the moment of relative opening of Spain to the outside. Against the wilful waste of the autarchy, contact with the outside involved rationalisation, efficiency and objectification. Within this orientation, the *Ley de Convenios Colectivos [Collective Bargaining Agreements Act]* (1958) was approved (Cayuela Sánchez, 2014; De la Torre y García Zúñiga, 2013).

In this framework, professional classifications and the regulation of labour relations sought not to harm any established interest group. Such groups are viewed as inherent to the development of the capitalist system, and essential for its operation. They sought a social transformation without political ruptures: ideologically, there is very little difference between a joint committee and an agreement: the worker participates in the negotiation of working conditions in a position that is always dependent (i.e., s/he is not equally situated in the market as the employer), no matter how joint the commissions appear when sitting together to discuss categories and salaries (Canal, 2017).

4 | METHODS

A total of 114 official documents[1] have been analysed in chronological order. They include *Bases* [labour standards], *Ordenanzas* [ordinances], *Reglamentaciones de Trabajo* [work regulations] and *Convenios colectivos* [collective bargaining agreements],[2] published in the Spanish official bulletin '*Gaceta de Madrid'* [*Official Gazette of Madrid], Boletín Oficial de la República [Official Gazette*

of the Republic] and Boletín Ofical del Estado (BOE) [*Official State Gazette*],[3] respectively. This documentation collects the regulations that attempted to establish arbitration mechanisms between employers and workers: *Ley de Consejos Paritarios* [*Joint Councils Act*] (1919); *Ley Contrato de Trabajo* [*Labour Contract Act*] (1931); *Fuero de Trabajo* [*Work Charter*] (1938); *Ley de Reglamentaciones de Trabajo* [*Labour Regulations Act*] (1942); *Ley de Convenios Colectivos* [*Collective Bargaining Agreements Act]* (1958) and *Estatuto de los Trabajadores* [*Statute of Workers' Rights*] (1980). In succession, these official documents characterise the working conditions, the reasons for dismissal, the forms of promotion and many of them defined the tasks that each worker had to address.[4] In the case of Spain, it is broadly appropriate to analyse together private sector and government jobs. During the researched period, most notably during Franco's dictatorship, there were shared governance structures for private and public labour for creating Collective Agreements.

Prior to 1995, none of these documents were registered on a centralised database, so that we built a specialised corpus through the historical BOE search engine.[5] Also, some control searches were carried out in relevant Spanish companies (*Navantia* –formerly *Empresa Nacional Bazán de Construcciones Navales Militares, S. A*. [*National Company of Military Naval Construction, PLC*]; the chemical company *Erkimia S.A*.–formerly *Cros, S.A*. and the automotive company *SEAT S.A*., in particular) or sectors (chemical industries, banking and office workers). Definitions, promotion, salary scales, classification, awards and offenses and sanctions have been codified in this corpus.[6]

Language skills have been approached by tabulating documents under three parameters:

a. The working conditions of a specific group within the classification '*Administrativo*' ['Clerk'] have been set as a comparative reference. Given the absence of explicit requirements for admission, it is inferred that its main competency 'is knowing how to read and write'. In order to complement this inference, a sample of calls to the body of state junior clerks, as well as the entry requirements for places of '*maestro de taller'* ['workshop master'] of the Arts and Crafts Schools between 1918 and 1950 have been analysed for each stage.
b. A second indicator that implies language skills is the requirement of a degree. Generic literature on professions, vocational training and their homologues abound. Based on the position or the person, and across nationalities, a degree is a control mechanism that can close labour market access, while the educational system also follows business needs (Psifidou, 2014; Ayuso & Arata, 2009).
c. Finally, documentation is analysed to isolate definitions, task descriptions, norms or behaviours that imply, explicitly or implicitly knowing how to read and /or write, knowing how to count, linguistic know-how (specific reading and writing techniques), language knowledge and social know-how.

The first period (1920–1940) is the formative stage when it comes to objectifying working conditions and salary scales. It is probably the most illustrative period when it comes to detecting social prejudices and tacit conventions presiding over the employment hierarchy. During 1940 and 1960, the post-war, autarchy stage, with very high illiteracy rates, the *Ley de Reglamentaciones de Trabajo* [*Labour Regulations Act*] (1942) reflected the extent to which office work stood out over manual work, even with similar qualifications according to current perspectives. Finally, during the third stage (1960–1980) openness to nations abroad increased and illiteracy rates plummeted. There were processes of rationalisation at work, which entailed attempts to standardise positions based on certain required skillsets. It was a moment of transition, where the placement of 'know-how' (manual or linguistic) in the regulatory language is evident.

5 | RESULTS

5.1 | 1920–1940: Translating pre-existing reality

As stated before, classifying involves a linguistic operation of translating reality into words. It inserts work relations that have operated tacitly into workable and manageable codes. Every classification has a purpose and a method. Initially, it was about avoiding untrammelled discretion in labour relations by objectifying mandatory requirements and functions of the worker and employer, and protecting the former from unregulated labour relations. Labour standards and work regulations in this period include criteria for hiring, promotion, disciplinary regime and functions, but also establish professional divisions that justify, above all, work remuneration.

It is worth asking what criteria were established for making these first classifications. The official documentation clearly reflects their initial absence. In a merely inductive process, each instance (jury, company or sector) wrote about the existing reality, assuming there was already a balance between services provided and remuneration, without rethinking the issue based on different criteria. The documentation generated until the mid-1940 s is interesting because of the lack of expertise behind it and the information it inadvertently exposes. See, for example, the labour standards during the 1930s:

a. The wages received by the employees establish the job category, and not the other way around. A civil servant is a person whose: *'wage (…) exceeds the highest salary indicated as mandatory for employees'* (Document Bank staff, 1930: Standard 1[7]). '*Senior clerks are employees who receive salaries of six, seven, eight and nine thousand pesetas per year. Junior clerks are those who enjoy three, four and five thousand pesetas per year. There is a temporarily preserved category of seven thousand five hundred pesetas, which will eventually disappear'* (Document CAMPSA-I, 1934: Standard 7). '*Those who, by June 1, 1933 earned a salary exceeding 330 pesetas without being Chief of Section*' (Document Retail in Madrid, 1933: Standard 3).
b. The concepts are confused when it comes to category, group and level. These terms are used interchangeably or substituted by the usual ones of the times: position, ladder, command. In parallel, the term 'punishment' is used for penalty. People's traits are classified but not their skills or their positions. Thus, there are plenty of age categories: '*Apprentices aged 14 to 15 – First-rank apprentices aged 16 and 17 (…) Clerks aged 23, 24 and 25 (…)*', while they establish a single gender group: 'Female staff' (Document Retail in Madrid, 1933).
c. The language reflects the social prejudices of the time, the structures existing in a specific company and at a given moment. Some positions are listed using singular and other ones the plural, denoting that the criterion is not being generalised. Certain positions show to be female only: '*the phone operator, the typists, the first 56 ladies of the box office track will be the box-office clerks*' (Document Metropolitan Railway of Madrid 1933: Standard 15).
d. The documents lack a formal structure: written levels and salaries appear in paragraphs, without a visual hierarchy (Document Cinema Cabin Operators 1929; Document Sarrià-Barcelona Railway 1933, among others).

As can be inferred, prejudices and non-explicit social routines are collected and included in objectified norms as unquestioned principles. Higher positions were not subject to regulation (and they would not be in subsequent agreements), while those that imply trust (section chiefs, workshop managers) or money management (collectors, accountants) are removed from the general promotion rules and will

be promoted '*by free designation of the company*'. The possession – or lack thereof – of linguistic skills is one of the issues objectified without further reflection.

5.2 | 1940–1960: Manual workers vs. white-collar workers

For centuries, European society has made the distinction between knowing how to read and write and knowing how to do something, as two opposite skills. Human knowledge was divided up by the enlightenment (eighteenth century), a movement that exalts reason (the light, the explicit) as opposed to superstition (the hidden, the unspoken).

The rules of know-how were not written, but were the result of learning in a guild system. Everything material and necessary for life (work) created non-articulated micro-languages. At the time, practical knowledge, crafts and agriculture were not considered knowledge. Not even artisans enjoyed prestige on the social scale. Lawyers belonged to the upper layers because they met their needs by privilege – not by their work or their intellect. That was the root of their prestige: They did not work with their hands or fulfil basic needs.

Professional classifications in Spain reflect this dichotomy, especially at this stage. During the post-war years, literacy was remarkably precarious with a clear gender and social class bias. At that moment, the net illiteracy rate was 42.88% (Fernández, 1997). Complete literacy was only possible for strata that could attend school without endangering their livelihoods, and we previously noted the presence of semi-literacy.

Until the 1960 s, occupational classifications had some common factors in all instances:

- A group made up of the company's hierarchical cadres, generally university graduates (although not necessarily, since all classifications contemplate the 'Chief without a degree' ['*Jefe no tiulado*'] – a person promoted on the basis of experience and services provided, which will eventually become extinct).
- A group of literate employees,[8] which includes the technical office staff and office staff doing administrative work. It is subdivided into first-rank senior clerk ['*Técnico administrativo de primera*'], second-rank senior clerk ['*Técnico administrativo de segunda*'] and junior clerk ['*Auxiliar Administrativo*'].
- A group of subalterns ['*Subalternos*'] (doormen, timekeepers) with possibilities of promotion to the previous group.
- A group of practical workers ['*Obreros*'], subdivided among 'skilled workers' ['*Profesionales de Oficio*'] (who are supposed to be qualified, and are subdivided into a 'Workshop master' ['*Maestro de taller*'], first-rank senior worker ['*Oficial de Primera*'], second-rank senior worker ['*Oficial de Segunda*'] and third-rank senior worker ['*Oficial de Tercera*'] and apprentice ['*Aprendiz*']) and specialists ['*Especialistas*'] (factory workers, who are linked to specific machinery, with a lower salary).

Over time, the categories come to have equivalent internal ladders, so that a junior clerk/specialist, a senior clerk/specialist and a boss or master have equal placement within their specific categories, since similar rank-titles share comparable training and skills for the jobs involving no, medium or high responsibility and autonomy. This is not at all the case in the earlier stage. In general, there are noticeable differences between the workers' group and the employees' group, as well as the mismatching of each group' internal categories with the other, according to the definitions provided in the regulations of this period (Table 2).

TABLE 2 Group definitions

Employees	*There are many people in offices, factories or warehouses who perform tasks not related to a product (…) In general, all those are recognized by custom as office employees* (Document Iron and Steel Industry 1946: Art. 20)
Workers	*Those who perform manual work, as well as (…) those who receive weekly or daily wages* (Document CAMPSA-I 1934: Standard 1) *After training, they work in manual, material or mechanical fields* (Document Chemical Industries-I 1946: Art. 23)
Subalterns	*(…) Those who do not pertain to another category and are assigned monthly wages* (Document CAMPSA-I 1934). *People who are not classified as workers or employees and perform functions that require up to the level of general knowledge acquired in Primary School* (Document Iron and Steel Industry 1946: Art. 14 et seq.)

Source: Authors based on the data provided in the consulted records.

From the preceding definitions, two dichotomies are inferred: manual work versus office work; literacy versus learning by practice. These imply a hierarchy of prestige linked to certain positions, which stem from pre-existing social status (conveyed by command of written language) rather than from an objective assessment of competencies.

5.2.1 | The prestige of 'knowing how to read and write'

In this section, two groups are contrasted: skilled workers (labour group) and office workers (employee group). Both are considered qualified after a career in the company. In structure, they are ruled by equivalent parameters.

Both are subdivided similarly: subordinates ['*ayudantes*'], apprentices ['*aprendices*'], first and second-rank seniors ['*Oficiales de primera y segunda*'] and workshop masters ['*maestros de taller*'] (in the case of trades); candidates ['*aspirantes*'], junior clerks ['*auxiliares administrativos*'], first and second-rank senior clerks ['*técnicos administrativos de primera y segunda*'] and bosses ['*jefes*'] (in the case of office staff). In both cases, promotions are given by seniority (after accumulating practice in the position). This well-known pattern among manual workers is included in chapter IV of the document National Work Regulation for Offices of 1948: *'bosses are promoted by free designation; the rest are promoted in two alternate shifts – one by seniority and another one by free choice'*. In addition, '*candidates with more than two years at the service of the company will automatically occupy the position of junior clerk when they turn 18'* (Art. 23). However, the preference for admission and promotion of staff members with certificate of studies is established (Art. 22).

Skilled workers are promoted by experience (seniority). Sometimes, promotion to 'master' requires examination (Document Silks sector 1946). In any case the instructions for the tests indicate: *'They should not demand memory strain but be eminently practical and oriented to the functions to be performed'* (Document Paper industry 1946: Art. 23). The demand from skilled workers for linguistic skills linked to writing is avoided, even in the competitions called between 1931 and 1944 to fill places for workshop masters in the Arts and Crafts Schools. Unlike professors, who are required to have a degree and must submit a pedagogical report that they will defend orally, teachers '*will present their applications (…) except for the 'Memoria y Programa' [Report of activities and Teaching Program], with certificates of having done work related to the specialty, while it will not be necessary to prove the possession of any degree. They must perform a practical task that will be the same for all (…)*' (Found in the instructions of several Arts and Crafts Schools: Document Escuela de Enseñanza Técnica de

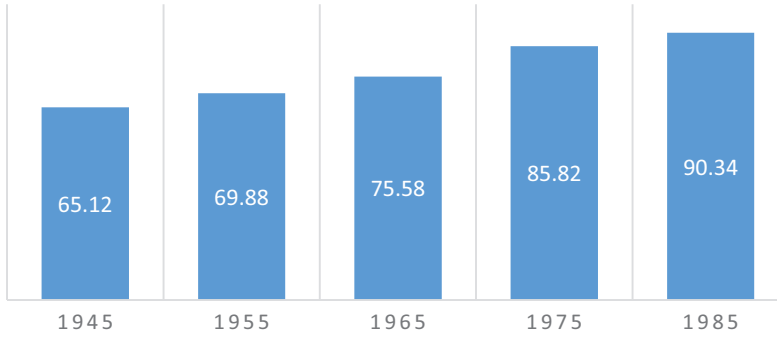

FIGURE 2 Salary of the first-rank senior worker compared with the first-rank senior clerk (%). *Source*: Authors based on the data provided in the consulted records

Reus 1931; Document Escuela de Enseñanza Técnica de Lleida 1931; Document Escuela Elemental de Trabajo de Santiago 1942; Document Escuela Elemental de Trabajo de Linares 1942; Document Escuela Elemental de Trabajo de Tarragona 1944, among others).

In the 1940s, the only merit is holding a degree (as an expert or industrial technician). Degrees are not required either for office or skilled workers. In the office workers group, they start as candidates and ascend, as the minimum conditions are limited to age: '*between 14 and 18 years (…), working in typical office duties, and willing to train in more specific tasks*' (Document National Work Regulation for Offices 1948: Art. 13). As for skilled workers, this definition can be found already in the 1960s: '*Those workers who perform skilled jobs in a specialty, according to the definition given for their qualification, which require a particular skill and professional knowledge that can only be acquired by continuous practice, or by a sanctioned methodical learning, or if it existed, by a certificate of professional aptitude'* (Document Graphic Arts industries 1966).

In short, there are two groups (office and skilled workers) who do not require a degree. They are qualified due to their skills. Later, they are promoted by seniority and subdivided into identical sections (senior and junior [*Oficiales y Auxiliares*]). However, their positions will be very different because knowing how to read and write prevents 'working with their hands', and provides more prestige:

a. Office workers or clerks (workers holding a degree, chiefs, and subalterns) receive monthly salary, opposed to the daily wages ['*jornal*'] received by the workers' group, whether they are skilled workers or specialists. The former are hired due to their skills, which conveys some confidence in their effort. In the latter, tangible service is assessed daily.
b. The salaries of office workers are higher than those of skilled workers (Figure 2). First, their minimum working hour requirement is lower (by five hours) for a given salary; but also, in absolute terms. In the 1940s, a first-rank senior worker received an average of 65.12% of the salary received by a first-rank senior clerk. Even more noteworthy is how a junior clerk – that is with a minimum entry requirement – would receive a salary 11.8% higher than the salary of a second-rank senior worker, who must have at least four years of experience.
c. Clerks are considered to deserve better social treatment. The regulations included in Document RENFE (1945) and Document Telefónica (1945) are very significant in this regard. They both anticipate possible commuting for their workers and specify in-kind allowances: chiefs and senior clerks will travel in first class; junior clerks and phone operators, in second class; while workers – no matter their rank – will travel in third class.

TABLE 3 Competencies required for junior clerks

Public competitive examination year	Degree	Linguistic 'Know How'
1918	Not required	Taking dictation. – Copywriting. – Arithmetic operations. – Write about a topic. – Write a document (Document: call 1918)
1943, 1945, 1949	Not required: Knowledge at High School level, which is credited from evidence in the same examination	Taking dictation. – Grammar analysis: '*The cleanliness and correctness of the letter and the spelling must be valued*' '*Calligraphy exercise, in which the use of round letters will be essential*' A problem of arithmetic. – Oral presentation. – Typewriting. – Stenography (optional) (Documents: call 1943, call 1945 and call 1949)
1953	Not required: Knowledge at High School level, which is given credit from evidence in the same examination.	Draft a theme '*(…) in order to appraise not only the aptitude of the applicants in relation to the grammatical composition, but also their writing practice*'. Calculations: '*the accuracy of the calculation (…) and the clarity of the figure will be judged*'. Typewriting (Document call 1953)

Source: Authors, compiled from civil servants' public competitive examinations convened by the state for junior clerks (1918, 1943, 1945, 1949, 1953).

d. Clerks are given a vote of confidence that manual workers do not receive. Clerks' functions are rarely specified, while the rest of the workers are given precise instructions. For them, capacity to do the job is not enough. Thus, in the first specific National Work Regulation for Offices (1948), one of the objectives established for this group is: '*the improvement of their training, both in the specifically professional aspect, and in general education (…) and acquire solid principles in the intellectual, social and moral orders*' (Document National Work Regulation for Offices 1948: Art. 22).

5.2.2 | 'Knowing how to write' is 'knowing how to do'

Beyond the social prestige of literates, as they do not work with their hands, 'knowing how to write' is, in a context of considerable illiteracy, a required technique for companies, rather than a generic competency that allows the acquisition of specific bodies of knowledge. The calls for civil service public competitive examinations convened by the state for junior clerks (1918, 1943, 1945, 1949, 1953), and the National Work Regulation for Offices (1948) (Table 3), illustrate this point: the description of physical traits of literacy is emphasised over the (presence/absence of) degrees. Thus, the calls evaluate questions such as writing numbers and letters 'properly' (calligraphy, spelling), and composing and mastering related mechanical techniques (typewriting, stenography, calculating machines).

We might envision that literacy 'know-how' is knowing how to write (manually or typing) and knowing foreign languages is comparable to mastering a manual skill. If we compare how the know-how among skilled workers is defined (Table 4), however, we notice a lack of equivalent parameters and effective control over their tasks, even in large sectors (Document Chemical Industries-I 1946).

TABLE 4 Expected know-how by rank in the chemical industries (1946)

First-rank Senior worker [*Oficial de primera*]	'*They use their skills and apply them with such a degree of perfection that allows them to carry out both general tasks of the same field and other tasks that involve special effort and finesse*'.
Second-rank Senior worker [*Oficial de segunda*]	'*(…) They work with accuracy and efficiency without reaching the required specialisation for perfect jobs*'.
Third-rank Senior worker [*Oficial de tercera*]	'*They have been trained (…) but they have not reached the expected degree of perfection*'.

Source: Authors based on the data provided according to the consulted records (Document Chemical Industries-I 1946).

Until the 1960s, both regulations classified individuals and not the job positions: by focusing on the qualities of the worker and their right to progress, the worker is the one who gives unity to the professional career, thus being above the organisation. *'Rationalisation and mechanisation systems cannot affect the professional training since personnel have the right to complete it with daily practice'* (Document Iron and Steel 1942: Art. 5; also present in the Document National Work Regulation for Offices 1948 for office workers).

5.3 | 1960–1980: The insertion of the 'know-how' in language

There was a gradual change in philosophy during the 1960s, which nevertheless integrated previous implicit aspects. Developmentalism began with a significant entrance of multinational companies in the Spanish economy. At the same time, net illiteracy rates fell to 13.74%, so reading and writing were no longer a scarce skill (Fernández, 1997). The *Ley de Convenios Colectivos* [*Collective Bargaining Agreements Act*] passed on April 24, 1958 led to implementing a *Reglamento para la aplicación de la Ley de Convenios Colectivos Sindicales* [*Regulation to enact the Collective Bargaining Agreements Act*], whose Article 2 states: '*trade union collective agreements are intended to promote the spirit of social justice and sense of unity in production, as well as the improvement of living standards of the workers and the increase in productivity (…)*' (Document Regulations Collective Bargaining 1958).

Those principles – 'unity in production' and 'the increase in productivity' – force companies to undergo what were called 'rationalisation processes', implying new standards to classify jobs: '*The new organisational techniques have taken an important step with the development of job qualification systems, which entail the emergence of more fair and effective salary systems (…)*' (Document SEAT-I 1959: Preamble).

In general, the process began quickly – although with multiple subsequent rectifications – in large companies (Document SEAT-I 1959, Document SEAT-II 1961; Document Cros-I 1962; and especially Document Bazán 1964), while adapting to new criteria was harder for smaller companies. All of them created specific *bureau*s, the Valuation and Rationalisation Commissions, whose members' category and wages were defined as equal to Senior Clerks [*Técnicos Administrativos*].

Although each company freely established the qualifications, big sectors show some common tendencies:

a. First and second-rank senior categories of any former group (office, technical and trades) are merged, while junior clerks now correspond to third-rank senior workers and labour managers.

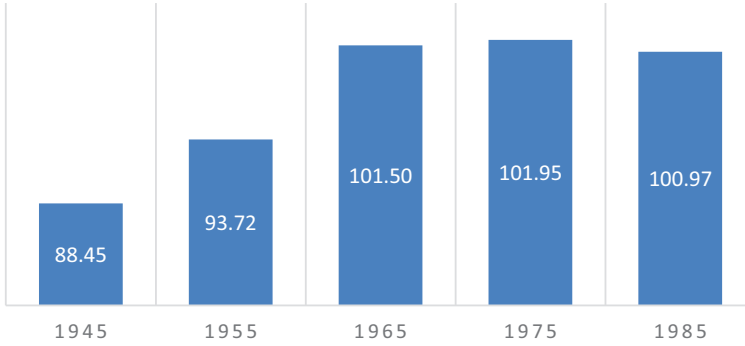

FIGURE 3 Salary of the second-rank senior worker compared with office junior clerk (%). *Source*: Authors compiled from consulted records

Such features indicate that 'knowing how to read and write' alone is no longer an advantage, a fact that is reflected in how the wages changed (Figure 3).

b. On the other hand, 'knowing how to read and write' became a mandatory condition that was never enough by itself. Only the companies Cros and Bazán explain their rationalisation criteria. Six blocks of characteristics are established for qualifications: physiological, psychological, intellectual, intelligence-related, professional and moral. Linguistic skills are implied: ease of speech, education (intelligence-related), general culture, learning, professional training, and adaptation (professional) (Document Cros-I 1962; Document Bazán 1964).

   Furthermore, a series of behaviours require language skills. 'The worker has the obligation to follow the instructions of their superiors, sign the documents where the instructions are given and fulfil a report on the daily tasks' (Document Cros-I 1962: Art. 47; also, Document Bazán 1964: Art. 32). Calls for positions and vacancies must be read on the bulletin board, and applications must be sent in written form. Explicitly theoretical tests must be passed to access a promotion ('theoretical and practical professional level exams' Document SEAT-II 1961).

   The definitions shifted from 'excellence of execution' to possessing 'theoretical and practical knowledge'. Although we understand literacy as 'knowing how to read and write', the two operations have different implications and are not necessarily related. In practice, reading is mostly encouraged, that is, the ability to access a (professional) discourse. According to De Certeau (2000), reading is governed by similar mental mechanisms as consumption (acculturation and guidelines, in addition to books with their market), while writing would be like production (criticism, new ideas and technologies, in addition to texts).

c. The uniformatisation and control process involves encouraging the workers to obtain the degree corresponding to their position. During 1959, several agreements were published (Documents CAMPSA-II, Private Bank, Tabacalera & ENCASO) rectifying previous agreements to add one clause, hereinafter mandatory for all: a bonus for holding degrees. Not only traditional university and high school graduates were rewarded, but bonuses also reach the office staff that obtains degrees in Economics, Political Science, Law or Business Administration ('*Profesor Mercantil*' at the time) (6000 pesetas), as well as degrees from a technical school (3000 pesetas): '*[the company] will understand as a desire to improve professionally those workers who, in addition to fulfilling their work in a satisfactory way, feel the impulse to improve their theoretical training (…) to be useful in their work or be promoted a higher category*' (Document Cros-I 1962: Art. 108). SEAT establishes scholarships for trade-related studies (Document SEAT-II 1961). Having a degree is considered preferential merit for promotions (Document Prensa Española 1963) or new contracts

TABLE 5 Competencies required for state office junior clerks, 1977

Degree	Language skills	Technical skills
Elementary school education	Psychotechnical test '*focused on appraising the verbal, numerical and administrative skills of applicants*'	Typewriting
Primary school education	Written exposition of a subject	Four specialties: stenography; stenotype; foreign languages; practical accounting
Basic Professional Training (FP1)		Mechanisation - Operation of data logging machines for computer entry. - Preparation of a statistical chart and a guide for a drilling machine. - Management of special calculating machines and duplicators.

Source: Compiled from the call for public competitive examination to the bodies of state office junior clerks (Document call 1977).

(Document Graphic Arts industries 1966). Bazán manifests the same development, even with local cultural agreements (Document Bazán 1964).

In the 1960s, manual workers were encouraged to obtain a certified degree in the *Schools of Arts and Crafts*. The degree belonged to workers and provided them with *adequate qualification, in which they were required to show mastery of techniques related to the degree: 'Functions of the studies they have carried out*' (Iron & Steel Industry 1946: Art. 24; identical in Documents Silks sector 1946; Chemical Industries-I 1946; Paper industry 1946, among others). Over time, the dissociation became noticeable: '*Production premiums will be related to the level requested for the job instead of being related to the professional level of the worker who occupies the position*' (Document SEAT-III 2016).

By then, the required functions varied so the general ability to do the job was replaced by the skills necessary to understand both instructions and plans. The person, who was previously a keeper of knowledge, was stripped of that credential. Knowledge is outside of her/him, not in another subject, or in a teacher, but in language – in a codification – itself. Meanwhile, high positions were left out of the agreement; positions of trust stayed outside general promotion rules. The discretion of the unspoken remained at the top of the ladder, while new language invaded the other layers. From above, 'know-how*'* was framed in a new homogeneous, uniform, and essentially linguistic hierarchy.

d. Prioritisation of technical knowledge, also in the office workers group. The type of degree that is incentivised indicates this, as specified for the senior clerks; but also, in the junior clerk category. Thus, 'knowing how to read and write' begins to become a basic competency on which new ones are based (Table 5).

5.3.1 | From 'know-how' to 'knowing how to be' (interaction)

Simultaneous with the concern about rendering consistency through titles, a campaign of domestication of habits was initiated through the 'Faults and Sanctions' sections of the agreements.

TABLE 6 Sanctionable behaviours

Poor hygiene	Lack of cleanliness – Evacuating outside of the toilets Throwing the trash outside the intended places. – Spitting in the workshops. – Eating outside the dining rooms Using a colleague's hygiene equipment
Inappropriate behaviour	Drunkenness. Entering the toilets of another sex. Smoking. Falling asleep. Engaging in gambling and reading.
Relationships and communication	Not serving the public with due diligence Discussions. Whistling, singing, humming. Blasphemy and using profanity. Using rude, lewd and curse words for regular communication. Receiving visits or answering personal calls.

Source: Document SEAT-II (1961) and Document Cros-I (1962): offenses and penalties.

In the *Ley de Convenios Colectivos* [*Collective Bargaining Agreements Act*] (1958), SEAT and Cros companies are paradigmatic because of the detailed behaviours to be sanctioned. In general, all agreements establish the same behaviours as reprehensible – quarrels, alcoholism and blasphemy. Also, absenteeism, lack of punctuality, intentional poor performance, contempt, mail tampering and political or union activities (which are not covered in this study as they require further research). Next, the sanctionable behaviours are systematised, which account for the usual behaviours (Table 6).

What this documentation reflects is a 'feral' workforce, which was more linked to nature than to culture and that, somehow, must begin to interact through standards of conduct. Such a workforce is urged to 'communicate' in a different way. Thus, new skills were required in this regard, especially for the upper layers (chiefs in general). Such a view is extracted from the analysis of the collective bargaining agreements for the period ranging from 1980 through 2016.

At this time, companies have bureaucratised in part, with numerous positions linked to control of new processes (Organisation Technicians, Safety and Hygiene Technicians, Methods Improvement Technicians, Rationalisation Technicians, Timers, Calculators). The figure in charge of public relations barely shows up, with the exception of the Labour Ordinance of the Spanish National Television and Radio (RTVE) (1977), which only indicates that it requires a university degree and equals to the Second-rank Office Chief. Their objective is set as '*adapting the staff mentality to a participatory management system*' (Document RTVE 1977: Art. 34).

These contrast with subsequent documents: the 'service managers' section for Department of Public Relations specifies: '*In this service you must also speak and write correctly two foreign languages and show ability to relate at the highest level*' (Document CIEMAT 1993). Broadly speaking, since it is a recurring wording in different collective agreements, Groups 5 and 6 of the Chemical Industries correspond to '*functions of integrating, coordinating and supervising (…). It also includes tasks that, even without involving work management, have a [high / medium] content of intellectual activity and human relations*' (Document Chemical Industries-II 1998).

6 | CONCLUSIONS

Originally, professional classifications made by Spanish companies as part of the objectification of labour relations were limited to an obvious depiction in writing of the existing reality. Not only did they lack explicit criteria that combined activity and remuneration, but wages determined the category, and not vice versa.

Throughout the studied period, laws gave instructions to better define jobs. Most of the companies followed them structurally (establishing groups, categories and levels, detailing positions), fitting existing roles in the new concepts, but keeping the initial conception. Thus, the early structure is recognisable in subsequent revisions. New formulations were subtly subsumed to previous social stratification rather than representing radical breaks with the past. Hence, major categories (clerks, subalterns, workers [*Empleados, Subalternos, Obreros*]), deserved different treatment because they belonged to certain social groups. The levels within each rarely matched across categories, despite sharing similar characteristics. On the other hand, the object of the classification was the subject as a unit, as an identity: 'Chief', 'Senior' or 'Junior' [*Jefe, Oficial o Auxiliar*], with some inseparable social characteristics, and their career in the company coincided with their personal trajectory – just the opposite of what happens in a strictly market, neoliberal logic.

The prestige of positions that did not require craftsmanship (working with hands) became part of the objectification without further questioning. In a context of high illiteracy, their distinctive feature was that they knew how to read and write. Such prestige was reflected in the form of payment (monthly vs. daily) and in salaries (higher for office workers, compared with similarly ranked technical workers).

The documents show that the higher category in the trades (workshop masters [*maestros de taller*]) could at least read, while nothing indicates that senior clerks [*técnicos administrativos*], who learned through experience, could do it as well. However, in either case, they did not have to prove their reading knowledge. The difference with office workers (even with the juniors [*Auxiliares Administrativos*]) was that they knew how to write well mechanically: spelling and calligraphy, also numerical and, over time, typing, shorthand and handling calculating machines. Therefore, knowing how to write was not a generic competency that allowed the incorporation of more specific skills, but a technique in itself – knowing how to do something, compared with the know-how of the trades.

In qualified work (Office Workers and Technical Workers [*Empleados y Profesionales de Oficio*]), the company did not have the ultimate control of what it meant to perform effectively (the worker was ultimately the keeper of knowledge), unlike the Specialist worker subgroup [*Especialistas*], which was linked to machines, to which they owed their existence.

From the 1960s, there was a change in philosophy, which also coincides with a considerable increase in literacy. The effort in this decade was directed to being able to evaluate (control) the performance of the worker according to the needs of the company, and to account for it in front of the organisational inspectors.

On the one hand, the acquisition of the title corresponding to the position held was encouraged in all layers; on the other hand, the organisation of work was endowed with a series of controls that necessarily required the worker's literacy. This is the so-called 'immersion in language': the degree corresponded to confirming preparation of the workers, while they had to follow written instructions, fill in forms, and read their future promotion on the boards. The workshop master – who had always assessed the work quality of the senior workers whom he had trained – was already becoming extinct, replaced by the workshop managers or service managers, who simply transmit commands.

If the linguistic skills involved in the previous operations are analysed, the stimulation received by workers through the mental mechanisms linked to 'reading' and to following instructions is noticeable. In other words, they had to know where they had been located, rather than bring forth their own placement. As for the title, which would become the mandatory in due time, it went from being a holistic hallmark of the person (Group of Senior Graduates, for example), to a characteristic that would be taken into account along with others: it became necessary but never sufficient.

At the end of the period, a new linguistic skill appears: knowing how to interact, how to communicate in an appropriate way (according to certain codes). Now, it does not appear as an explicit skill and very few companies include the public relations position. However, through the 'Faults and Sanctions'

sections, we can see the tendency to introduce a truly mannered workforce, not so much trained in the linguistic codes of communication, as in pre-verbal gestural behaviour. This is, of course, redolent of Elias.

Our contribution to wider sociolinguistic theory involves demonstrating a double-sided move. On one hand, we note the historical development of a modern semiocracy, in which signs (in our study, legal texts) constitute important parts of life, specifically work life. At the beginning, regulatory language largely imitated practices inherited within Spain, reflecting past social hierarchies rather than constituting organisational labour roles. But over time, regulatory language set models for how work was done work, seen in significant mandates to modernise internal roles in organisations. These characteristics of the mid-twentieth-century bureaucratic state and corporate form were inserted into Spain via legal language (we admit that we do not examine the undoubtedly significant gap between words and reality, worth future study). Applications for jobs, promotions, debates over job classifications, and so forth, all depended on fine details of words. Language came to constitute the social structure of work experience, pay, and aspects of prestige.

On the other hand, we examine language in work activities as a substantive topic. Many job classifications involve language use, most obviously literacy. Our material takes a historical process approach, moving from a distinctly hierarchical society (where literacy marks a ranked social group), through a bureaucratically structured ('coordinated') situation of state agencies and corporations. In these, language is approached in terms of job roles, as an organisational functional need. We point (once our historical period ends) toward the neoliberal period, where language skills are an individual marketable quality. This final change makes sense as a shift from language with implicit value (e.g., in job classification) inside hierarchical organisations competing as wholes in the economy, toward individuals themselves competing in the economy by possessing marketable language competencies. We thus set the stage for much-discussed neoliberal developments in sociolinguistics.

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ENDNOTE

[1] Due to the large number of regulations referred to in the manuscript, a legislation annex is provided, placed after the reference list, and arranged chronologically in ascending order. This legislation annex is listed following standard practice, that is, maintaining the original language term/title and then a translation into English provided in brackets.

[2] According to the *Diccionario panhispánico del español jurídico [Pan-Hispanic Dictionary of Legal Spanish]* (https://dpej.rae.es/), a '*Base*' [labor standard] is each of the fundamental rules or conditions that govern a competitive examination, an administrative procedure, and so on. '*Orden*' [order] is the juridical provision that some administrative decisions take, such as those dictated by a minister or a regional councillor. They are general provisions issued by the heads of the ministerial departments in matters of their own competence. Finally, '*Reglamentación de Trabajo*' [work regulation] is a general provision of a category lower than the law, issued by the Government or other administrative bodies authorised to do so, that governs the organisation and operation of any establishment or institution, public or private. While '*Base*' [labour standard] or '*Orden*' [order] are more restricted (for a sector in a place, for a specific company) and juridically practically equivalents, the '*Reglamentación de Trabajo*' [work regulation] tend to be sectoral and for the state as a whole.

[3] The *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (BOE) [*Official State Gazette*] is the Spanish official bulletin that collects compulsorily published legislation. From its beginnings in 1661 and throughout its history, the *Official State Gazette* has had various names. Thus, during part of the period this article refers to, it was entitled 'Gaceta de Madrid' [*Official Gazette of Madrid*] (1696–1936). From 1936 to 1939 it was renamed '*Boletín Oficial de la República' [Official Gazette of the Republic]*. However, from 1939 until the present, the official bulletin maintains its current name. More information about the different terminology can be checked on: https://www.boe.es/diario_gazeta/denominaciones.php?lang = en

[4] Also, each sector had – or did not – its own regulation, ordinance or agreement, which established points in common for all companies, with different regional characteristics. Moreover, for companies with more than 50 workers, the regulation, ordinance or agreement was published in the BOE.

[5] https://www.boe.es/buscar/gazeta.php

[6] Due to space restrictions, they are not listed here, but are available for verification upon request.

[7] The source documents are referred to with an abbreviation (e.g., document bank staff, Document SEAT-I, etc.) which allude to the regulations listed in the legislation annex provided. These abbreviations are included at the end of each reference.

[8] Employee here is a specific kind of white-collar worker (in Spanish, *empleado*), not just anyone paid by the company.

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