



Nationalism in Spain in a European Context
Prof. Francisco Seijo
Spring 2019

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Spain is smaller than Texas, but has four official languages. In Catalonia and the Basque Country, nationalist parties have long advanced demands for greater autonomy and ultimately independence from Spain. In the Basque Country, for over forty years, the terrorist organization ETA engaged in an armed struggle for independence, killing over 800. In Catalonia the regional government attempted unsuccessfully to hold a referendum on independence on November 9, 2014. In Galicia, Valencia, Baleares and other Spanish autonomous communities nationalist parties and electoral coalitions are on the rise seeking alliances with statewide parties such as PODEMOS that advocate for the right to self-determination of Spain's "nations".

What is going on in Spain regarding peripheral nationalism? How is this situation manageable in a context like that of the European Union which seeks political and not only economic integration? Is the Spanish situation, in fact, unique in Europe? Scottish, Corsican, Northern Italian, and Flemish nationalism are only some of the examples of national identities that exist within and apart from the dominant state wide national identity present in many European nation-states.

In this course we will look at peripheral nationalist movements in Spain from two perspectives that will be constantly interconnected. The first one will closely consider the abstract theoretical political, social, economic and cultural dimensions that drive peripheral political nationalisms in Spain. The second examines these identities and movements in a wider European perspective. In the first part of the course, we will therefore define nationalism theoretically looking at its intellectual history and influence on 19th century European politics. In the second part of the course we will trace the origins, history and evolution of nationalism in Spain, focusing specifically on the cases of Catalan, Basque and Galician nationalism, considered from historical and contemporary perspectives.

COURSE SCHEDULE

SESSION 1 JAN 14	<u>PART I:</u> <u>BACKGROUND AND THEORY</u>
	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>Introduction to the course</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Smith, Anthony D (2003), <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 1-24.</p>
SESSION 2 JAN 16	<p>Class content</p> <p><i>The state of the nation in Spain and Europe: Nation-states and peripheral nationalism in Western Europe</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Nugent, Neil (2010). <i>The Government and Politics of the European Union</i>, London: Palgrave, pp. 3-17</p>
SESSION 3 JAN 21	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>Theoretical Framework I: Definitions of Nation and Nationalism</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Renan, Ernest "What is a Nation" in Bhaba, Homi, <i>Nation and Narration</i>, (1990), London: Routledge: pp. 8-23 * Anderson, Benedict (1983), <i>Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism</i>, London and New York: Verso, pp. 5-7. * Gellner, Ernest (1983), <i>Nations and Nationalism</i>, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, pp. 6-7. * Hechter, Michael (2000), <i>Containing Nationalism</i>, Oxford: OUP, pp. 2-4.</p>
SESSION 4 JAN 23	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>Theoretical Framework II: Explanations of Nationalism.</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Anderson, Benedict (1983), <i>Imagined communities</i>, London: Verso, pp: 37-46, * Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990), <i>Nations and Nationalism since 1780</i>, Cambridge: CUP, pp: 14-45. * Smith, Anthony D (2003), <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 29-30.</p>
SESSION 5 JAN 28	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>Theoretical Framework III: The making and remaking of national identities in Europe.</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Smith, Anthony D. (1992), "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity" in <i>International Affairs</i>, 68/1, pp: 55-76</p>
SESSION 6 JAN 30	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>Cultural nationalism and its incongruous offspring: The connection between nationalism and environmentalism</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Seijo, Francisco (2007), "Environmentalism and Nationalism a marriage of equals? The case of Spain's historical nationalities". <i>WPSA Working papers: pp. 1-17</i> * Seijo, Francisco (2014). "Machiavelli: Rethinking decentralization's role in Green politics".</p>

	<p>in Peter Cannavo and Joseph Lane (eds.). <i>Engaging Nature</i>. Boston: MIT Press</p> <p>* Hughes, Neil (2014), "The 15M movement in Spain". <i>Social Movement Studies 10 (4)</i>: pp. 407-413</p> <p>* Runte, Alfred (1979), <i>National Parks</i>. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press: pp. 11-32</p>
--	---

<p>SESSION 7</p> <p>FEB 4</p>	<p>Class content:</p> <p><u><i>Debate on Scottish independence</i></u></p> <p>Required readings:</p> <p>* Keating, Michael (2011), <i>Scotland and Independence</i>, Quebec: The Federal Idea, pp. 1-19</p> <p>* Sharp, Noel et al., (2014), "Deciding whose future? Challenges and opportunities of the Scottish independence referendum for Scotland and beyond", <i>Political Geography 41</i>: pp. 32-42</p> <p>Assignment: Research the arguments for and against Scottish independence, drawing on the websites of the Scottish and British government, and the "Yes" and "No" campaigns. Bring notes for a debate in class.</p>
<p>SESSION 8</p> <p>FEB 6</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PART II: <u>PERIPHERAL NATIONALISMS IN SPAIN</u> <u>CULTURAL, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ROOTS</u></p> <p>Class content:</p> <p><i>The Spanish political system: Francoist roots</i></p> <p>Required readings:</p> <p>* Field, Bonnie and Hamann Kerstin (2008), "The Institutionalization of Democracy in Spain" in Field, B. and Hamann, K eds., <i>Democracy and Institutional Development: Spain in Comparative Theoretical Perspective</i> New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp: 1-20</p> <p>* Selection of articles on Spanish politics: The Economist: (http://country.eiu.com/spain) El Pais (English edition): (http://elpais.com/elpais/inenglish.html)</p> <p>Class content:</p>
<p>SESSION 9</p> <p>FEB 11</p>	<p><i>National identities in Spain today</i></p> <p>Required readings:</p> <p>* Heywood, Paul (1995), <i>The Politics and Government of Spain</i>, London: MacMillan, pp.11-36.</p> <p>* Núñez-Seixas, Xosé-Manuel (2001), "What is Spanish nationalism today? From legitimacy crisis to unfulfilled renovation (1975–2000)", <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies 24/5</i>: pp. 719-752</p>
<p>SESSION 10</p> <p>FEB 13</p>	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>19th century: The historical-cultural roots of national and regional identities in Spain</i></p> <p>Required readings:</p> <p>* Tremlett, Giles, (2006), <i>Ghosts of Spain: Travels through a country's hidden past</i>, London: Faber and Faber , pp. 281-362.</p>
<p>SESSION 11</p> <p>FEB 18</p>	<p>Class content:</p> <p><i>19th century: The era of European nationalism and the case of the Spanish peripheries.</i></p>

	<p>Required readings: * Balfour, Sebastian et al., <i>The Reinvention of Spain</i>. UK: Oxford University Press: pp. 17-45</p>
<p>SESSION 12 FEB 20</p>	<p>Class content: <i>19th century: The era of European nationalism and the case of the Spanish peripheries.</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Alvarez Junco, José (1996), “The Nation Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain,” in Mar Molinero and Angel Smith, <i>Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp: 89-106.</p>
<p>SESSION 13 FEB 25</p>	<p>Midterm Exam</p>
<p>SESSION 14 FEB 27</p>	<p>Class content: <i>Building a new Spain or disintegrating Spain? The transition to democracy and the 1978 regime</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Encarnacion, Omar. <i>Spanish Politics</i>, USA: Polity Press: pp. 31-50 and 69-91</p>
<p>SESSION 15 MAR 4</p>	<p>Class content: <i>Creating the institutional framework to accommodate regionalism: The 1978 constitution and “asymmetric federalism”</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Agranoff, Robert (1994), “Local governments in Spain’s multilevel arrangements” in Bertus de Villiers (ed.), <i>Evaluating Federal Systems</i>, Dordrecht: Juta and Co., pp: 23-67. * Colomer, Josep Maria (1998): 'The Spanish 'state of autonomies': Non-institutional federalism', <i>West European Politics</i>, 21: 4, 40 — 52</p>
<p>SESSION 16 MAR 6</p>	<p>Class content: <i>Political corruption in Spain’s “Estado de las Autonomias”</i></p> <p>Field trip: Visit to the Palacio de Cibeles</p> <p>Required readings: * Heywood, Paul (1995), <i>The Politics and Government of Spain</i>, London: MacMillan, pp. 83-102.</p>
<p>SESSION 17 MAR 11</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>PART III:</u> <u>GALICIA, CATALUÑA AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY</u></p> <p>Class content: <i>Case Studies of the Spanish Periphery</i></p> <p>Assignment: Presentation and discussion of topics for papers. You should bring a summary of what your paper may be about, why we should care about the topic, sources of information you will use, and a brief bibliography.</p>
<p>SESSION 18 MAR 13</p>	<p>Class content: <i>Cultural and linguistic identities in Spain: The case of Galicia</i></p>

	<p>Required readings: * John Hooper. (2006) <i>The New Spaniards</i>. "The Galicians" p. 265-273</p>
<p>SESSION 19 MAR 18</p>	<p>Class content: <i>Cultural and linguistic identities in Spain: The case of Catalonia.</i></p> <p>Required readings: * John Hooper. (2006) <i>The New Spaniards</i>. "The Catalans" p. 252-265 * Balfour, Sebastian et al., <i>The Reinvention of Spain</i>. UK: Oxford University Press: pp. 127-161 (only part on Catalonia)</p>

<p>SESSION 20 MAR 20</p>	<p>Class content: <i>The economic crisis and the push for independence in Catalonia.</i></p> <p>Required readings: * Texts and video links on "Catalan independence in focus", www.debatingeurope.eu * Selection of articles on Catalonia: The Economist: (http://country.eiu.com/spain) El Pais (English edition): (http://elpais.com/elpais/inenglish.html)</p>
<p>SESSION 21 MAR 25</p>	<p>Class content: <u><i>Debate on Catalanian independence</i></u></p> <p>Assignment: Research to gather arguments for and against Catalanian independence from the sites of the Catalan and Spanish governments and the "Yes" and "No" campaigns.</p> <p>Students will be divided into groups to present arguments for and against Catalan independence and the Catalan right to decide.</p>
<p>SESSION 22 MAR 27</p>	<p>Class content: <i>The foundations of Basque nationalism. Temptation of secession and the threat of terrorism: The case of the Basque Country.</i></p> <p>Required readings: * John Hooper. (2006) <i>The New Spaniards</i>. "The Basques" p. 231-252</p>
<p>SESSION 23 APR 1</p>	<p>Class content: Basque nationalism and terrorism: ETA</p> <p>Required readings: * Balfour, Sebastian et al., <i>The Reinvention of Spain</i>. UK: Oxford University Press: pp. 127-161 (only part on Basque Country). * "La pelota vasca" (2003) Dir. Júlio Médem. To be viewed before class. This film will be available in the BU in Madrid office or online (http://www.documaniatv.com/politica/la-pelota-vasca-la-piel-contra-la-piedra-video_a65f60a4e.html).</p>
<p>SESSION 24 APR 3</p>	<p>Class content: <i>Football and National Identities in Spain</i></p>

	<p>Required readings: * Tuñón, Jorge and Brey Elisa, "Sports and politics in Spain. Football and nationalist attitudes within the Basque Country and Catalonia, <i>European Journal for Sport and Society</i>, 2012, 9 (12), 7-32.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">RESEARCH PAPER DUE</p>
SESSION 25 APR 8	ORAL PRESENTATION DEFENSE OF RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC AND THESIS
SESSION 26 APR 10	ORAL PRESENTATION DEFENSE OF RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC AND THESIS
SESSION 27 APR 24	<p>Class content: The Future of Spain's nationalisms: Summary of the Course. Conclusions</p> <p>Required readings: * The Economist: (http://country.eiu.com/spain) * El Pais (English edition): (http://elpais.com/elpais/inenglish.html)</p>
SESSION 28 TBA	FINAL EXAM

GRADING POLICY

The final grade consists of four different elements: class participation and attendance, paper, and midterm and final exams. The final grade will be calculated as follows:

- 25% Class participation (including participation in special session debates)
- 25% Midterm exam
- 20% Research Paper
- 10% Oral presentation defense of Research Paper thesis
- 20% Final written exam

Class Participation (25%): is a requisite for this course, which is task-based and student-centered. You should come to class ready to discuss the material, express your opinion and address the different questions raised in order to progress in class. Students will be expected to contribute consistently to discussions in class as well as to take part in other activities set as course work. When instructed, students must bring written notes or reports to class. Students' level of participation will be reflected in their final grade. Lack of interest or a negative attitude will affect the grade considerably.

Mid-Term Exam (25%): A test comprising multiple choice, short answer and essay questions on the contents of the first half of the course

Research Paper (20%): A research paper focused on one of the topics discussed in class during the whole semester that you will study in more depth. It must be 5 pages long (Times New Roman 12, 1.5 line spacing) and include in-text citations and a bibliography of the sources used. You will submit a draft copy to the instructor three weeks before the final due date, which will count toward half of the overall grade for this assignment.

Oral Presentation (10%): Oral presentation defense of topic and thesis presented in the Research Paper.

Final Exam (20%): A test comprising multiple choice, short answer and essay questions on the contents of the second half of the course framed in the theoretical and empirical themes of the course as a whole.

The final grade will be calculated from these grades, weighted as indicated.

METHODOLOGY

In class the professor will use different ways to communicate graphic information to students: Powerpoint presentations, audiovisual material, press articles, readings and discussion of documents. Although there will be weekly lectures, this course requires students to participate in class by posing questions, formulating doubts, solving puzzling situations, engaging in constructive debates, and thinking aloud about the materials. The strategy followed by the instructor is the cooperative learning process. This is an interactive course in which students learn in large part by contrasting their thoughts with those of their colleagues and with materials provided by the instructor.

There are no prerequisites for this course.

ATTENDANCE POLICY

Students are allowed a total of two unjustified absences from class. Each absence beyond the limit will result in a deduction of 3 percent from the student's final grade. Regular lateness will be treated as amounting to one unjustified absence.

CLASS ETIQUETTE

Students should seek to play their part in making the class a success. Students should arrive punctually for classes, taking special care to allow for journey times between the various venues. They should come to class with the necessary materials for taking notes, and bringing with them any texts required for the class. Students will be responsible for obtaining their own copies of any missed assignments and materials.

Food and drink may NOT be brought into the classroom or consumed during class. Cell phones and other electronic devices should be switched off upon entering the classroom or lecture room.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students should remember that they are subject to the academic integrity provisions of Boston University. The principle of honesty must be upheld if the integrity of scholarship is to be maintained by an academic community. This means that all academic work—research papers, exams, and/or other assignments—will be done by the student to whom it is assigned, without unauthorized aid of any kind. Likewise, any act of academic misconduct, such as cheating, fabrication, forgery, plagiarism, or facilitating academic dishonesty, will subject a student to disciplinary action. For more information, please consult the BU Academic Conduct Code: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

REQUIRED READINGS

**All required readings for the course will be included in a course packet.*

- Agranoff, Robert (1994), "Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Federalism in Spain" in Bertus de Villiers (ed.), *Evaluating Federal Systems*, Dordrecht: Juta and Co., pp: 61-89.
- Alvarez Junco, José (1996), "The Nation Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain," in Mar Molinero and Angel Smith, *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp: 89-106.
- Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso (selections).
- Cinnirella, Marco (2000) "Britain: a history of four nations" in *European Nations and Nationalism: Theoretical and historical perspectives*. ed. L. Hagendoorn; G. Csepeli; H. Dekker; R. Farnen. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Colomer, Josep Maria (1998): 'The Spanish 'state of autonomies': Non-institutional federalism', *West European Politics*, 21: 4, 40—52
- Díez Medrano, Juan (1995), *Divided Nations. Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (selections).
- Field, B and Hamann, K. (2008) "The Institutionalization of Democracy in Spain" in Field, B. & HAMANN, K., ed., *Democracy and Institutional Development: Spain in Comparative Theoretical Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp: 1-20
- Gellner, Ernest (1983), *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 6-7.
- Gellner, Ernest and Anthony D. Smith (1996). "The nation: real or imagined?: The Warwick Debates on Nationalism", *Nations and Nationalism* 2/3. 367-368.
- Hastings, Adrian (1997). *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 2-5.
- Hechter, Michael (2000), *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 15-17.
- Henig, Stanley, *The Uniting of Europe*. London: Routledge: 1995, pp. 1-19.
- Heywood, Paul (1995), *The Politics and Government of Spain*. London: MacMillan, pp.11-36 .
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: CUP , pp. 4-45
- Linz, Juan J. "Early State Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms Against the State: The case of Spain" in Shmuel N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Building States and Nations. Analysis by Region, Vol. II*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973. pp: 32-116.
- Linz, Juan J. and Stepan, Alfred (1996) *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press (selections).
- Maravall, José María y Julián Santamaría (1986), "Polítical Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy", in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Lawrence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Southern Spain*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp: 71-108.
- Montero, A.P. (2008) "Speaking for Place or for Party? Territorial Representation and the Legislative Behavior of Deputies in Spanish Congress" in: Field, B. & Hamann, K., ed., *Democracy and Institutional Development: Spain in Comparative Theoretical Perspective* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp: 68-88
- Núñez-Seixas, Xosé-Manuel (2001), "What is Spanish nationalism today? From legitimacy crisis to unfulfilled renovation (1975–2000)", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24/ 5, pp. 719-752.E
- Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation" (fragments)
- Sanchez -Cuenca, Ignacio, "The Persistence of National Terrorism: The Case of ETA," in Mulaj, Klejda (eds.) *Violent Non-State Actors in Contemporary World Politics* (New York,

- Columbia University Press, 2010).
- Smith, Anthony D. (1992), "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity" in *International Affairs*, 68/1, pp: 55-76
- Smith, Anthony D (1994). "Gastronomy or geology? The role of nationalism in the reconstruction of nations." *Nations and Nationalism* 1/1, pp. 18-19.
- Smith, Anthony D (2010), *Nationalism*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 5-23.
- Tremlett, Giles, *Ghosts of Spain. Travels through a country's hidden past*. London: Faber and Faber, 2006.
- Tuñón, Jorge and Brey Elisa, "Sports and politics in Spain. Football and nationalist attitudes within the Basque Country and Catalonia, *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 2012, 9 (12), 7-32
- Woolard, Kathryn A. (1989), *Double Talk. Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford. Stanford University Press. (Selections).

RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Balakrishnan G. (1989) *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, 1996.
- Brubaker, Rogers. (1996) *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Field, Bonnie N. and Botti, Alfonso. (eds.) 2013) *Politics and Society in Contemporary Spain: From Zapatero to Rajoy Europe in Transition*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gunther Richard and Montero, José Ramón (2009) *The Politics of Spain*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Gunther, Richard, Montero, José Ramón and Botella, Joan (2011) *Democracy in Spain*. New Haven: YUP.
- Gellner, Ernest (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Closa, Carlos and Heywood, Paul (2004) *Spain and The European Union*. London, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Greenfeld, L. (1992) *Nationalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J (1990) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Laitin, David D., Carlota Solé, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. "Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain", *Politics and Society*, 22/1, pp: 5-29, 1994.
- Linz, Juan J. and Stepan, Alfred.(1985) *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Tiryakian, Edward A. and Rogowsky, Ronald (eds.) *New nationalisms of the Developed West: Toward Explanation*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985.
- Magone, José M. (2009) *Contemporary Spanish Politics*. Oxford: Routledge.
- McRoberts, Kenneth (2001) *Catalonia: Nation Building without a State*. Oxford: OUP.
- Mees, Ludger (2003), *Nationalism, Violence, and Democracy: The Basque Clash of Identities*. London: Palgrave.

You should try to keep abreast of Spanish and European politics by watching the news on television and reading Spanish newspapers and current affairs magazines. *El País* is the most widely-read newspaper and is highly recommended; a highly abbreviated English edition of *El País* is published online every day. *The Economist* is another source of quality topical information.

Useful on-line resources includes the Spanish government's website at www.map.es, which provides access to all ministries and has some links to other interesting sites (eg. The Spanish Embassy in Canada). Other useful online resources include the official body responsible for conducting public opinion polls (www.cis.es), which has some data in English, and the Real Instituto Elcano (www.realinstitutoelcano.org) which is especially strong on foreign policy issues.