PO 245 Nationalism in Spain within the European Context

Instructor: Francisco Seijo
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Mondays/ Wednesdays, 10:30am-12:00pm
Blackboard: learn.bu.edu
This course meets for 3 hrs a week over the course of 14 weeks (42 contact hours).
It is worth **4 credits** and is taught in **English**.

Proposed Hub areas:
- **SOCIAL INQUIRY I**
- **ETHICAL REASONING**

COURSE BULLETIN

This course examines the origins of Spanish national identity and the later emergence of alternative national identities within the Spanish state in the Basque Country, Catalonian and Galician autonomous communities. We compare the case of Spain with that of other nation-states in the European Union where the emergence of peripheral nationalisms continues to challenge national and European integration politics. Non-state nationalist movements are analyzed in both a historical and contemporary context.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Spain is an officially multilingual, semi-federal nation-state in which three autonomous communities have electorally significant secessionist political movements. Simultaneously, economic globalization and the aftermath of the 2008 debt crisis have led to the emergence of radical left and right state-wide parties (Podemos and Vox) with significantly different views from those of the mainstream traditional parties (PSOE and PP) regarding the territorial organization of the state and Spain's role within the European Union, the international governmental organization that was originally created to defuse the potential for nationalist-fuelled armed conflicts in Europe like those that took place in World War I and II.

What is happening in Spain regarding peripheral nationalist movements in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia, and other autonomous communities? How is this situation manageable in an international context in which the European Union seeks not only economic but political 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. But is the situation in Europe that different from the current political situation in the USA where, much like in Europe, the globalist multiculturalist model of

society is increasingly being questioned by electorally powerful populist right, nativist, nationalist movements that perceive immigration and industrial relocation as a threat to the survival of what is defined as the "native" population of both continents?

In this course, we will examine peripheral nationalist movements in Spain from two perspectives that will be constantly interconnected. The first 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 from a wider European perspective with frequent references to the parallelisms with the current political situation in the USA. In the first part of the course, we will 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.

Prerequisites: None

Learning Outcomes

1. Students will become familiar with different theoretical definitions of nationalism and understand how they can be applied to analyze specific cases of peripheral nationalist movements in Spain and Europe.
2. Students will study Spanish nationalism and Basque, Catalan, and Galician nationalism, their complex ideological histories, as well as their evolution during the 20th and 21st centuries.
3. Students will be able to explore how nationalist ideologies and policies influence a wide variety of cultural expressions such as the use of language, music, food, and sports.
4. Students will be able to propose research or analytical questions that illuminate issues related to the interaction of nationalist movements with global trends such as European integration, the emergence of multicultural societies, and nativist nationalist counter-globalization movements.
5. Students will be able to compare nationalist conflicts in Spain with similar conflicts in Europe, the USA, and globally.

Hub Learning Outcomes

1. Social Inquiry I

   • Social inquiry I outcome 1:
   Students will explore different cultural-psychological and political economy theories, seeking to explain nationalism scientifically and apply these theories to the generation of falsifiable hypotheses related to specific comparative case studies of nationalist or peripheral nationalist movements in Spain, Europe, or in a global context.

   • Social inquiry I outcome 2

Students will develop a comparative research project in the form of a final paper that will help them identify and apply the major cultural and political economy theories to explain individual and collective nationalistic behavior, and how these affect the functioning and performance of political and social institutions.

2. Ethical Reasoning

- Ethical reasoning outcome 1:

Students will seek out, analyze and evaluate common themes and ethical dilemmas emerging from nationalist ideological narratives in comparative perspective. Through their research paper and in-class debates, they will evaluate how nationalist narratives in Europe resemble and differ from those present in their own communities in the USA at both the state and national level.

- Ethical reasoning outcome 2:

Through the study of the specialized literature, students will consider the psychological basis for nationalism and the moral foundation mechanisms that allow nationalist narratives to develop at an individual level.

SESSION 1	**PART I:** **BACKGROUND AND THEORY** **Class content:** *Introduction to the course* **Required readings:** * Smith, Anthony D (2003), *Nationalism and Modernism*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 1-24.
SESSION 2	**Class content:** *The state of the nation in Spain and Europe: Nation-states and peripheral nationalism in Western Europe* **Required readings:** * Nuggent, Neil (2010). *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, London: Palgrave, pp. 3-17
SESSION 3	**Class content:** *Theoretical Framework I: Definitions of Nation and Nationalism* **Required readings:** * Renan, Ernest "What is a Nation" in Bhaba, Homi, *Nation and Narration*, (1990), London: Routledge: pp. 8-23 * Gellner, Gellner, Ernest (1983), *Nations and Nationalism,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, pp. 6-7. * Hechter, Michael (2000), *Containing Nationalism,* Oxford: OUP, pp. 2-4.
SESSION 4	**Class content:** *Theoretical Framework II: Explanations of Nationalism.* **Required readings:** * Anderson, Benedict (1983), *Imagined communities*, London: Verso, pp: 37-46, * Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990*), Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Cambridge: CUP, pp: 14-45. * Smith, Anthony D (2003), *Nationalism and Modernism*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 29-30.
SESSION 5	**Class content:** *Theoretical Framework III: The making and remaking of national identities in Europe.* **Required readings:** * Smith, Anthony D. (1992), "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity" in *International Affairs*, 68/1, pp: 55-76 *Haidt,, J. (2013). Moral psychology for the twenty-first century. *Journal of Moral Education*, *42*(3), 281-297. Castano, E., Bonacossa, A., & Gries, P. (2016). National images as integrated schemas: subliminal primes of image attributes shape foreign policy preferences. *Political Psychology*, *37*(3), 351-366.
SESSION 6	**Class content:** *Cultural nationalism and its offspring: Nationalism and environmentalism* **Required readings:** * Seijo, Francisco (2007), "Environmentalism and Nationalism a marriage of equals? The case of Spain's historical nationalities". *WPSA Working papers: pp. 1-17* * Seijo, Francisco (2014). "Machiavelli: Rethinking decentralization's role in Green politics". in Peter Cannavo and Joseph Lane (eds.). *Engaging Nature*. Boston: MIT Press * Hughes, Neil (2014), "The 15M movement in Spain". *Social Movement Studies 10 (4): pp. 407-413*

	* Runte, Alfred (1979), National Parks. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press: pp. 11-32 * Thoreau, Henry (1862). Walking. Atlantic Magazine https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1862/06/walking/304674/ * Seijo et al. (2020). "Conflicting frames about ownership and land use drive wildfire ignitions in a protected natural area". *Environmental Management 65 (4): 448-462*

SESSION 7	**PART II:** **PERIPHERAL NATIONALISMS IN SPAIN** **CULTURAL, HISTORICAL, AND POLITICAL ROOTS** **Class content:** *The Spanish political system: Francoist roots* **Required readings:** * Field, Bonnie and Hamann Kerstin (2008), "The Institutionalization of Democracy in Spain" in Field, B. and Hamann, K eds., *Democracy and Institutional Development: Spain in Comparative Theoretical Perspective* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp: 1-20 * Selection of articles on Spanish politics: The Economist: (http://country.eiu.com/spain) El Pais (English edition): (http://elpais.com/elpais/inenglish.html) **Class content:**
SESSION 8	**Class content:** *National identities in Spain today* **Required readings:** * Heywood, Paul (1995), *The Politics and Government of Spain,* London*:* MacMillan, pp.11-36. * 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*
SESSION 9	**Class content:** *19th century: The historical-cultural roots of national and regional identities in Spain* **Required readings:** * Tremlett, Giles, (2006), *Ghosts of Spain: Travels through a country´s hidden past,* London: Faber and Faber, pp. 281-362.
SESSION 10	**Class content:** *19th century: The era of European nationalism and the case of the Spanish peripheries.* **Required readings:** * Balfour, Sebastian et al., The Reinvention of Spain. UK: Oxford University Press: pp. 17-45
SESSION 11	**Class content:** *19th century: The era of European nationalism and the case of the Spanish peripheries.* **Required readings:** * 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

SESSION 12	**Midterm Exam**
SESSION 13	**Class content:** *Building a new Spain or disintegrating Spain? The transition to democracy and the 1978 regime* **Required readings:** * Encarnacion, Omar. Spanish Politics, USA: Polity Press: pp. 31-50 and 69-91
SESSION 14	**Class content:** *Creating the institutional framework to accommodate regionalism: The 1978 constitution and "asymmetric federalism"* **Required readings:** *Agranoff, Robert (1994), "Local governments in Spain's multilevel arrangements" in Bertus de Villiers (ed.), *Evaluating Federal Systems*, Dordrecht: Juta and Co., pp: 23-67. * Colomer, Josep Maria (1998): 'The Spanish 'state of autonomies': Non-institutional federalism', *West European Politics,* 21: 4, 40 — 52
SESSION 15	**PART III:** **GALICIA, CATALUÑA AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY** **Class content:** *Case Studies of the Spanish Periphery* **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.
SESSION 16	**Class content:** *Cultural and linguistic identities in Spain: The case of Catalonia.* **Required readings:** * John Hooper. (2006) *The New Spaniards*. "The Catalans" p. 252-265 * Balfour, Sebastian et al., The Reinvention of Spain. UK: Oxford University Press: pp. 127-161 (only part on Catalonia)
SESSION 17	**Class content:** *The economic crisis and the push for independence in Catalonia.* **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)
SESSION 18	**Class content:** *The foundations of Basque nationalism. Temptation of secession and the threat of terrorism: The case of the Basque Country.* **Required readings:** * John Hooper. (2006) *The New Spaniards*. "The Basques" p. 231-252
SESSION 19	**Class content:** Basque nationalism and terrorism: ETA **Required readings:**

	* Balfour, Sebastian et al., The Reinvention of Spain. 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).

SESSION 20	**Class content:** *Cultural and linguistic identities in Spain: The case of Galicia* **Required readings:** * John Hooper. (2006) *The New Spaniards*. "The Galicians" p. 265-273
SESSION 21	**Class content:** *Football and National Identities in Spain* **Required readings:** ***** 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.
SESSION 22	**ORAL PRESENTATION DEFENSE OF RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC AND THESIS**
SESSION 23	**ORAL PRESENTATION DEFENSE OF RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC AND THESIS** **RESEARCH PAPER DUE**
FINAL EXAM	**FINAL EXAM**

GRADING POLICY

The final grade consists of four different elements: class participation and attendance, a written paper and oral presentation, as well as 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. Students should come to class ready to discuss the material, express their opinions 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 coursework. 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 questions, 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 entire semester that students 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. Students 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 questions, 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 instructor 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 arguments, 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 classmates and with materials provided by the instructor.

There are no prerequisites for this course.

ATTENDANCE POLICY

Class attendance is mandatory. No unexcused absences will be allowed. Each unjustified absence 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. BU Policy on Religious Observance

CLASS ETIQUETTE

Students should seek to play their part in making the class a success. Students should arrive punctually for classes. 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.

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, 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), N*ations 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.

Thoreau, HD. (1868). *Walking*, The Atlantic Magazine,

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.

Students 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 online resources include the Spanish government's website at www.map.es, which provides access to all ministries and has some links to other interesting sites. 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 specializes in foreign policy issues.