
PO371 POLITICS AND REGIONALISM
IES Barcelona Syllabus – Last updated: March 27th, 2008

DESCRIPTION: Nationalism is an increasingly crucial force driving political competition, struggles and outcomes. This course will study this phenomenon and will be divided into three component parts.

Part I will be devoted to the main concepts and theoretical framework. Topics include:

- Conceptual clarification (nations, states, nation-states, stateless nations, nationalism, identity);
- Origins and theories of the nation;
- Historical, sociological and political approaches to the rise of nationalisms;
- Creation of collective identities;
- Ethic and civic nationalism;
- Conflictive logics of nationalism and democracy.

At the end of part 1 there will be an exam. The contents of this part are not tested again in later exams. However, we will make references to these contents when analyzing and interpreting the topics of Part II and Part III.

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The remainder of the course consists in an application of this general framework to the Spanish case – one of the most important cases from a political and theoretical point of view.

Part II will briefly review Spain's history in the dawn of nationalism and then focus on nationalisms and institutions in 20th century Spain. A key issue here is the death of Franco and the end of the dictatorship, which unleashed pent-up centripetal forces in Spain. Topics include:

- Building of the Spanish nation and State;
- Transition to democracy and federalization of the State;
- Development of regional autonomy as a response to nationalist demands.

At the end of part 2 there will be another exam. The contents of this part are not asked again in the final exam. These contents will be nonetheless used to achieve a better and deeper understanding of Part III.

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Finally, part III will study the regional problem in Spain. Most specifically, it will look at the regional cultural differences in Spain, the rise of regional political and cultural movements in Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia, and their impact upon the Spanish state and nation building processes. Topics include:

- Rising demands for autonomy and independence in Catalonia;
- Basque independence movement and the problem of terrorism;
- ETA ceasefire, conditions for the end of armed conflicts, and prospects for the future. (3 credits)

This is an especially interactive part, which includes several special activities and Field Studies, since this type of methods allow to profit to the maximum the experience in Barcelona, to understand the specific, differential features of the Basque and Catalan cases, and to internalize what has been learnt all along the course.

INSTRUCTOR: Andrés Santana

METHOD OF PRESENTATION: Lectures, class discussions, open questions, student presentations, field studies to significant sites and film viewings.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT: midterm exam 1 (20%) midterm exam 2 (20%); final examination (20%); students presentations (20%); class participation (20%)

LEARNING OUTCOMES: By the end of the course the students are able to:

- distinguish and compare the different approaches / perspectives to the study of nationalism;
- discuss how nations are defined and illustrate the different ways in which nations are built;

- explain the differences between the different types of nationalism and criticise certain national conceptions;
- describe the building of the Spanish nation and State and portray the transition to democracy and federalization of the State;
- reconstruct the elites national justification and interpret the development of regional autonomy as a response to nationalist demands;
- illustrate the rising demands for autonomy and independence in Catalonia;
- debate about the Basque independence movement, the problem of terrorism, and the possibility and requirements for an ETA ceasefire.

IES Attendance Policy

Attendance is mandatory for all IES classes, including field studies. Students are permitted 3 absences in IES area studies courses and 5 absences in IES Spanish language with no impact on the final grade. These include absences due to illness, delayed flights, interviews, family celebrations, or any other personal commitments. Beyond these absences, one half of a letter grade will be deducted from the final grade for each additional absence. If a student is absent more than 7 times for area studies courses or 10 times for language courses, the student will receive an F for the course.

CONTENT:

Session 1: *Introduction of the course. Presentation of the students and the course. Political issues of interest. The problem of identity.*

Assignment for the next session: Ask your Barcelona-and-surroundings fellows whether they feel Catalan (only Catalan; more Catalan than Spanish), Spanish (only Spanish, more Spanish than Catalan), or both and try to figure out why.

Part I. Main Concepts and Theoretical Framework

Session 2: *Conceptual clarification: Nations, States, Nation-States, State-less Nations, Nationalism, National Identity. Theories of the Nation.*

Recommended readings:

Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: Chapter 1 (Definitions).

Moreno, Luis (2000). *The Federalization of Spain*. London: Frank Cass Publishers (*The Cass series in regional and federal studies*). Chapter 1 (Concepts and Assumptions): 9-35.

Renan, Ernest (1996). What is a nation? In Eley, S., and R.G. Suny (eds.). *Becoming National: a Reader*: 42-57. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Session 3: *Theories of the nation (1). Discuss the different definitions of nationalism (Anderson, Handler, Gellner, Breuilly, Hroch, Renan, Billig, Brubaker and Hechter, in the nationalismproject's web: see reading).*

Required readings:

<http://www.nationalismproject.org>: definitions of nationalism.

Session 4: *Theories of the nation (2). Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities".*

Required readings:

Anderson, Benedict (1991[1983]). *Imagined Communities (revised and extended edition)*. London: Verso. Chapter 3 (The Origins of National Consciousness): 37-46. Chapter 4 (Creole Pioneers): 47-65.

Recommended readings:

Anderson, Benedict (1991[1983]). *Imagined Communities (revised and extended edition)*. London: Verso. Remaining chapters, most especially Chapter 2 (Cultural Roots): 9-36.

Session 5: *Theories of the nation (3). Ernest Gellner's "Nations and Nationalism".*

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Recommended activity the day after this lesson: Visit to the headquarters of CIU, Catalan right-wing, moderate nationalist party, organised by professor A. Davis for the "Catalan Nationalism in Comparative Perspective" subject.

Required readings:

Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: Chapter 5 (What is a nation?).

Recommended readings:

Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: Remaining chapters.

Session 6: *Theories of the nation (4)*. Eric Hobsbawm's "Nations and Nationalism".

Required readings:

Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (The nation as a novelty: from revolution to liberalism): 14-45.

Required readings:

Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Remaining chapters.

Session 7: *Ethnic and civic nationalism*.

Recommended readings:

Keating, Michael (2001). *Nations Against the State: the new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia, and Scotland* (2nd edition). New York: Palgrave. Chapter 1 (Nations, Nationalism, and the State): 1-26.

Kymlicka, Will (1997). *States, Nations and Cultures*. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum. Lecture 1 (Liberal Nationalism): 13-44.

Session 8: **Mid term exam (1)**

Part II. Nationalisms and institutions in Spain

Session 9: *Politics and society in Spain. Spain's history and the Dawn of nationalisms*.

Recommended readings:

BARTON, Simon (2004). *A History of Spain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 4 (The Enlightened Despots, 1700-1833): 134-171, and Chapter 5 (Liberalism and Reaction, 1833-1931): 172-209.

Recommended film-viewing:

Aranda, Vicente (director). (2001). *Juana la loca*. [Historical film about Juana la Loca].

Molina, Joaquín and Josefina Molina (directors). (1988). *Esquilache*. [Historical film about the Marquis of Esquilache].

Saura, Carlos (director). (1999). *Goya en Burdeos*. [Historical film about Goya]

Session 10: *Special Session*.

Field Study: Visit to the exhibition, at the Catalan History Museum.

Session 11: *19th century: The era of nationalisms. The case of Spain in Europe*.

Required readings:

Alvarez Junco, José (1996). The Nation Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain. In Mar Molinero and Angel Smith (ed.), *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*: 89-106. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Session 12: *More on the 19th century: the case of the Spanish peripheries in the era of nationalisms*.

Recommended readings:

Linz, Juan J. (1973). 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*: 33-38, 59-84. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Session 13: *Special Session*

Film Viewing: Camus, Mario (director). (1999). "La Ciudad de los Prodigios"

Recommended film-viewing:

Aranda, Vicente (director). (1990). [Los Jinetes del Alba. 3-disc series of an uprising of proletarians in Asturias in 1934].

Session 14: *Building a new Spain or Disintegrating Spain? Civil War and the dark night of the authoritarian regime and the hopes of the transition.*

Recommended reading:

Maravall, José María y Julián Santamaría (1986), "Political 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.

Recommended film-viewing:

Cuerda, José Luis (director). (1999) *Alas de mariposa*. [The last days of the Spanish II Republic].

Loach, Ken (director). (1995) *Land and Freedom*. [The Spanish Civil War].

Bardem, Juan Antonio (director). (1987). *Lorca, Muerte de un poeta*. [The Spanish Civil War and the killing of Lorca].

Trueba, Fernando (director). (1992). *Belle époque*. [The political conflicts in the Republic and the hiding of a soldier who abandons the army].

Martin Patino, Basilio (director). (1977). *Canciones para después de una guerra*. [Documentary film of criticism to the Francoist regime].

Martin Patino, Basilio (director). (1977). *Caudillo*. [Documentary film criticising the Francoist regime].

Saura, Carlos (director). (1965). *La caza*. [Allegoric film against the Francoist regime].

Trueba, David (director). (2002). *Soldados de Salamina*. [Journalistic thriller on crimes during the Civil War committed by the Republican side].

Sáenz de Heredia, José Luis (director). (1941). *Raza + Espíritu de una raza*. [Films the script of which is attributed to Spanish dictator Franco himself].

Arnold, Jan and Christina Hardt (directors). (2005). *Los héroes nunca mueren + muerte en el valle*. [Documentary films on the Spanish Civil War].

Peseckas, Hermann and Carlos Ceacero Ruiz (directors). (2006). *España, última esperanza + Una inmensa prisión*. [Documentary films on the Spanish Civil War].

Navarro, Antonio and Katherine Halper (directors). (2005). *La columna de los ocho mil + La memoria es vaga*. [Documentary films on the Spanish Civil War].

Carvajal, Pedro (director). (2002) *Exilio*. [Documentary films on the exile which followed the Spanish Civil War].

Serra, Jaime + Daniel (directors). (2002). *La guerra cotidiana*. [Documentary films on the Spanish Civil War seen by ordinary people].

Corcuera, Javier (director). (2001). *La guerrilla de la memoria*. [Testimony of the last guerrilla people in Spanish Civil War].

Camino, Jaime (director). (2005). *Los niños de Rusia*. [Documentary films on the Spanish Civil War].

Session 15: *The past comes back: Creating the institutional framework to accommodate regionalism: Constitution and asymmetric federalism.*

Recommended activity the day after this lesson: Film viewing: "The Wind that shakes the Barley", directed by Ken Loach, on the topic of the Irish nationalist movement, organised for the "Catalan Nationalism in Comparative Perspective" subject (March, 12th).

Required readings:

Agranoff, Robert (1994), "Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Federalism in Spain" in Bertus de Villiers (ed.), *Evaluating Federal Systems*, Dordrecht: Juta and Co., pp: 61-89.

Session 16: **Mid term exam (2)****Part III. The regional problem in Spain**

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Session 17: *The regional problem in Spain.*

Required readings:

Coller, Xavier (2007). *Society and politics in Spain. A comparative European Perspective.* Madrid: Fundaci3n Real Instituto el Cano.

http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/materiales/docs/XavierColler_SocietyPoliticsSpain.pdf

Aranda, Vicente (director). (2006). *Tirante el Blanco.* [Historical film about one of the most important books in Catalan literature, where it is possible to see the importance of Catalan armed forces in the peak of Catalan's expansion]

Session 18: *Special Session*

Field Study: Visit to one of the political parties headquarters. Most likely, the political party will be ERC, Catalan left-wing, pro-independence nationalist party.

Session 19: *Cultural differentiation and participation in Spain: The case of Catalonia.*

Required readings:

Woolard, Kathryn A. (1989). *Double Talk. Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia.* Stanford: Stanford University Press: Chapter 3, 34-60.

Recommended readings:

Woolard, Kathryn A. (1989). *Double Talk. Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia.* Stanford: Stanford University Press: Chapter 2, 12-33.

Conversi, Daniele. (2000). *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation.* London: Hurst & Co Publishers. Chapter 7 (Language and other values): 162-186.

Session 20: *Special Session.*

Field Study: Visit to the Catalan Parliament. Write some paragraphs indicating the relevance of the Parliament of Catalonia for Catalan nationalism.

Recommended readings:

Llobera, Josep R. (1996). The Role of Commemorations in (Ethno)Nation-Building. The Case of Catalonia. In Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (eds.), *Nationalism, and the nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities.* Chapter 9 (The Roots of Violence): 191-206. Oxford-Washington, D.C.: Berg.

Session 21: *The foundations of Basque nationalism. Temptation of secession and the threat of terrorism: The case of the Basque Country.*

Required readings:

Díez Medrano, Juan (1995). *Divided Nations. Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia:* 1-17. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Session 22: *Special Session*

Film Viewing: "La pelota vasca".

Recommended readings:

Conversi, Daniele. (2000). *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation.* London: Hurst & Co Publishers. Chapter 3 (Basque Nationalism from its Beginnings to the Civil War): 44-75.

Session 23: *ETA ceasefire. Commentaries about the movie and prospects for the future.*

Recommended readings:

Fearon, James. (1998). "Commitment problems and the spread of ethnic conflict." A D.A. Lake & Rotchild (eds.). *The International spread of ethnic conflict:* 107-26. Princeton: PUP.

Session 24: *Special Session. Film Viewing: "Lobo"*

Recommended readings:

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Conversi, Daniele. (2000). *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*. London: Hurst & Co Publishers. Chapter 9 (The Roots of Violence): 222-256.

Final exam

REQUIRED READING:

- Agranoff, Robert (1994). Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Federalism in Spain. In Bertus de Villiers (ed.), *Evaluating Federal Systems*: 61-89. Dordrecht: Juta and Co.
- Alvarez Junco, José (1996). The Nation Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain. In Mar Molinero and Angel Smith (eds.), *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*: 89-106. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Benedict (1991[1983]). *Imagined Communities (revised and extended edition)*. London: Verso. (selections: pages 9-65).
- Barton, Simon (2004). *A History of Spain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (selections: 134-209).
- Coller, Xavier (2004). *Spain at a bird's eye: society and politics in modern Spain*, Barcelona: Fundació La Caixa.
- Conversi, Daniele. (2000). *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*. London: Hurst & Co Publishers. Chapter 3 (Basque Nationalism from its Beginnings to the Civil War): 44-75.
- Definitions of nationalism by Anderson, Handler, Gellner, Breuilly, Hroch, Renan, Billig, Brubaker and Hecter in <http://www.nationalismproject.org>.
- Díez Medrano, Juan (1995). Divided Nations. Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (selections: 1-17).
- Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (selections: pages 1-87).
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (selections: pages 14-45).
- 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, 33-38, 59-84. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973. pp: 32-116.
- Llobera, Josep R. (1996). The Role of Commemorations in (Ethno)Nation-Building. The Case of Catalonia. In Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (eds.), *Nationalism, and the nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Chapter 9 (The Roots of Violence): 191-206. Oxford-Washington, D.C.: Berg.
- Maravall, José María y Julián Santamaría (1986). Political 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*: 71-108. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. (1989). *Double Talk. Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Selections).

RECOMMENDED READING:

- Balakrishnan G. (1996). *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso.
- Brubaker, Rogers. (1996). *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conversi, Daniele. (2000). *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*. London: Hurst & Co Publishers. Chapter 7 (Language and other values): 162-186.
- Eley, S., and R.G. Suny (eds.). *Becoming National: a Reader*. 42-57. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Greenfeld, L. Nationalism. (1992). Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge (GB): Cambridge University Press.
- Hroch, Miroslav. (1985). *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (selections).

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- Johnston, Hank. (1991). *Tales of Nationalism: Catalonia 1939-1979*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Laitin, David D., Carlota Solé, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. (1994). Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain. *Politics and Society* 22/1: 5-29.
- 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.
- Moreno, Luis (2000). *The Federalization of Spain*. London: Frank Cass Publishers (*The Cass series in regional and federal studies*). Chapter 1 (Concepts and Assumptions): 9-35.
- Tiryakian, Edward A. and Rogowsky, Ronald (eds.). (1985). *New nationalisms of the Developed West: Toward Explanation*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.