

Nation branding in Spain: Andalusia's search for recognition

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the development of nation branding practices in Andalusia, Southern Spain. It proposes that, resulting from a combination of passed imbalances between Spanish regions and the current economic crisis, nation branding has been taken up by the Andalusian regional government in an attempt to copy the so-called historic nationalities of Spain (Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country) and thus obtaining the same amount of autonomy enjoyed by these regions. Two different brands are then examined in this thesis, one aimed at the Andalusian population itself, and one at all outsiders, specifically potential investors and tourists. The former, it is argued, focuses primarily on the creation of the Andalusian nation and the establishment of symbols for this nation, while the latter emphasizes the Andalusian culture and passion.

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INTRODUCTION

Discussions on the possible death of the nation-state have become prominent in academic literature¹. While it is debatable whether the nation-state is, in fact, dying, scholarly attention has shifted from a primary focus on the nation-state as a main political actor in the global context, to a stronger emphasis on studying transnational organizations on the one hand², and sub-state forms of government on the other³. For the study of sub-state governance and identification, Spain often figures as a prominent case study. In such case studies, the primary focus lies on two regions: Catalonia and the Basque country. A secondary focus may be Galicia, yet much less research is done in this region. The other fourteen autonomous regions of Spain are in some studies merely mentioned, while in most, they are completely left out.

The Spanish constitution of 1978 brought into existence seventeen autonomous regions. While the three historic nationalities, Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque countries, regions that had enjoyed a level of autonomy before general Franco's regime, were not all that satisfied with the new constitution, scholars have argued that they gained more from the document than the other, 'new', autonomous regions did⁴. It is primarily based on this asymmetrical distribution of rights for the different sub-state governments that other regions have started to become more outspoken in favour of their own region. One of those other fourteen regions will be the core of this study: Andalusia (Southern Spain). The thesis follows the development of a new Andalusian identification, as created and promoted by its regional

¹Hutchinson, J. (1994). The end of the European nation-state? In J. Hutchinson: *Modern nationalism*. London: Fontana, p. 134-163.

²Taylor, P.J. (2005). New political geographies: Global civil society and global governance through world city networks. *Political geography*, 24(1), 703-730.

³Keating, M. (1998). *The new regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial restructuring and political change*. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

⁴Brassloff, A. (1989). Spain: The state of the autonomies. In M. Forsyth (ed): *Federalism and nationalism*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, p. 24-50.

government. It seeks to answer the question why such a renewed interest was sparked in the creation of a sub-state identification. Moreover, it provides an analysis of what the new identification entails, as well as of the ways in which it has been promoted.

The argument presented in this thesis is that because of the historic realities of the Spanish kingdom, an imbalance between the regional governments was created long before the 1978 constitution. It is argued that, in particular the Basque Country and Catalonia, have had more autonomy, and therewith more rights, than other parts of Spain. However, a discussion of the drafting process of the new constitution will provide further insights into the current situation. Additionally, it is argued that the economic crisis has furthered the differences between the region, which, specifically in the case of Andalusia, has triggered a heightened focus on the region. This renewed focus, it will be reasoned, is established through the practice of nation branding. It is proposed that two separate lines of identification are being promoted: On the one hand, an internal identification, based primarily on socio-economic markers and forms of banal nationalism⁵, and on the other hand, an external identification based primarily on cultural factors.

In the first chapter a description of Spanish political history is given, leading to the argument that inequities between the regions started long before the 1978 constitution. The chapter begins with the basic argument that nationalist rhetoric has not been as strong, or as unified in Spain as it may have been in other established European nation-states⁶. This led to a flowering of regional sentiments throughout history. The historical argument starts at the end of the 18th, beginning of the 19th century, arguing that little nationalist rhetoric was in place, while it might have been necessary to keep the kingdom together. It follows the loss of the Spanish Empire, and the failure of the first Spanish Republic to establish an image of the

⁵Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

⁶See Payne, S.G. (1991), Smith, A. & Mar-Molinero, C. (1996), Muro, D. & Quiroga, A. (2005), Núñez, X.M. (2001).

Spanish nation at that time. It continues with the liberal project at the beginning of the 20th century, arguing that, while on the surface the government attempted to create a ‘real’ nation-state, under the surface nothing was truly changing. A short section will be dedicated to the non-existing nationalizing efforts of the Second Republic. A significant part of the chapter is then devoted to an analysis of the Franco regime, which, in its attempt to nationalize Spain, created a violent, centralizing autarky⁷. It is argued that in the wake of the Franco regime, which created a disillusionment with the rhetoric of the nation-state, the drafting process of the 1978 was a delicate one. The direct consequences of the new Constitution for the autonomous regions, will finally be taken up for discussion in this chapter.

The second chapter provides an overview of theories of asymmetric federalism and provides detail about the Spanish case. It presents the process for obtaining an autonomous status in the Spanish state, and analyses the system of financial decentralization in place.

Based on theories of asymmetric federalism, the third chapter suggests two factors as catalysts for renewed interest in an Andalusian regional identification. First, illustrated by the example of changes made in the regional constitution of both Catalonia and Andalusia, it argues that a strengthening of nation-talk in the historic nationalities of Spain provides incentive for Andalusia to follow a similar course. Second, through a discussion of the recent financial crisis in Europe, and Spain specifically, it is presented that Andalusia, along with Catalonia, is hit the hardest. While national funds are being retracted, a need for the regional government arises to come up with its own funding. Arguably, it is because of this need that nation branding efforts have been initiated in the region.

The fourth chapter then outlines the main debates in nation branding theory, and provides a theoretical framework for nation branding, based mostly on national identity theories. This newly emerging field primarily deals with the nation-state, yet it will be argued

⁷Autarky is understood as a system aimed at obtaining full economic independence through a rigidly closed economy.

that it may well apply to sub-state political units, even those without full sovereignty, as well. Based on a literature review, the chapter will provide a framework for nation-branding, which is to be applied to the Andalusian case study.

The two following chapters analyse in greater detail the two, somewhat separate, lines of identification that have been promoted by the Andalusian government in their nation branding campaign. The fifth chapter deals with the identification discourse aimed at the Andalusian population. The narrative here revolves around the legacy of Blas Infante, while it aims at educating the Andalusian population about the regional autonomy, its institutions, and most important symbols. The sixth chapter discusses the identification discourse aimed towards outsiders. On the one hand it takes the Spanish population as a target, on the other, it focuses on potential investors and tourists both from within and outside national borders. The former aims at doing away with negative connotations Spaniards have with Andalusia. The latter combines several more cultural discussions on language, religion and flamenco, while additionally underlining the Andalusian golden age and its historic diversity.

While nation branding theory does not necessarily occupy itself with the effects of branding practices per se, the concluding chapter aims to provide some pointers for discussing its effects in Andalusia. It briefly introduces a grass root organization for Andalusian independence (NacionAndaluza). Additionally, it discusses some comments made on the regional government's branding attempts by the local population. While the real effects of the branding campaign lay beyond the scope of the thesis, some reference is thus made to it here, as they provide interesting questions for future research .

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In his work on Papua New Guinea, Robert Foster outlines a methodology for studying nation building in new states. While the Andalusian case does not refer to the creation of a

new state, but rather to the attempts of a sub-state government to create a unified identification, Foster's work provides useful pointers for this study. The argument presented in the book is twofold, and focuses on the one hand on the modularity of the concept of "the nation" (state nation making) and, on the other hand, on the banality of nationalism, presented mostly in mass media (commercial nation making as opposed to state nation making). The author presents an argument that citizens of a nation (in his case Papua New Guinea) are nowadays more seen as consumers than as members of a political unit⁸. Thus, while not directly indicating the nation building processes described in his work as such, Foster recognizes the emergence of branding practices in creating a cohesive nation.

The methodological approach taken in this thesis is twofold, dependent on the particular question it seeks to answer. The first question, dealing with the cause of the renewed interest in regional governance and identification will be dealt with through a literature review of secondary sources. The second question, concerning the content of, and the ways in which the new identification of Andalusia is promoted, will be dealt with through a discursive analysis of primary sources. Accordingly, this thesis works mainly with the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In CDA it is proposed that discourse is a social practice, through which individuals are shaped according to certain norms and values. As such, the aim of CDA is to not only describe, but also explain how discourse is shaped. Moreover it seeks to explain how it influences social identity, relations and knowledge⁹.

Ruth Wodak and her co-authors propose a model specifically for studying national identity through CDA, which will form the basis of the methodological approach in this thesis. They start from Stuart Hall's understanding of the narration of the nation, which is thus

⁸Foster, R.J. (2002). *Materializing the nation: commodities, consumption and media in Papua New Guinea*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

⁹Van Dijk, T.S. (2009). Critical discourse studies: a sociocognitive approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE.

shortly summarized here. First, the narrative of the nation is to be found in everyday life, in the form of literature, media and every day culture. The narrative links everyday life to a national destiny, by creating connections between individual life stories and national symbols and rituals. Second, national identity discourse has a focus on origin, continuity and timelessness. As such, national identity is presented as being the original identity, that while it is always there, needs to be reinforced from time to time. In presenting national identity in this way, an image of the nation as unbroken and unchanging is presented. A third pointer is the invention of tradition. Hall proposes that traditions, mostly of a ritual nature, may create order in a disorderly world thereby transforming a group of individuals into a community. A fourth principle is the myth of origin. Hall argues that the origin of the nation is pushed back in time to such an extent that it no longer exists in the real world. Rather it is mystified and mythicized, allowing it to become a part of the officially sanctioned narration of the nation. As also emphasized by the second aspect in Hall's scheme, the myth of origin creates a continuity of the nation. Finally, the concept of a pure folk is introduced, to aid in reifying the notion of a national identity¹⁰. While Wodak and her co-authors recognize the usefulness of Hall's scheme, they claim this list is not fully covering the idea of a national identity that may be analysed through CDA. To solve this problem, they introduce a different framework, based on the work of Leszek Kolakowski.

This second framework holds that national identity is characterized by five different building blocks. The first of these characteristics is that of national spirit (*volksgeist*). According to Kolakowski, the national spirit expresses itself in culture as well as collective national behaviours. He contends that the national spirit is not so much an object. Rather it is

¹⁰Wodak, R, et al. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 24.

a metaphysical entity that may be called upon especially in times of crisis¹¹. Secondly, Kolakowski focuses on the idea of historical or collective¹² memory. He argues that it does not matter whether or not such memory is true. Rather, what matters is that these memories provide a basis for national identity. The further back these memories go, the more they provide support for national identification. Thirdly, it is proposed that, for similar reasons as those for collective memory, a future orientation is present in national identity. The notion of a national body is introduced as the fourth factor in this scheme. Wodak and her co-authors propose that the national body links national identity to national territory and landscape. They argue that, in addition, the metaphor of the national body refers to the size and limitations of the state¹³. The final element is a nameable beginning. This element may be compared to the idea of the myth of origin as proposed by Hall, for it refers to the founding of the nation¹⁴. It is this framework of five pointers that will be used to analyse the Andalusian case later in this thesis.

SELECTION OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Considering that the purpose of the second part of this thesis is to illustrate the two different identifications as proposed by the regional government through branding practices, all primary sources taken under the loop here are government materials. For the fifth chapter, concerning the internal identification as branded by the government, one main source is analysed, while some additional minor sources are called upon. The main source concerns the exhibition of the *Museo de la autonomía de Andalucía* (the Museum for Andalusian Autonomy). The museum, opened in 2006, falls under the responsibility of the regional government and is therefore eligible for analysis here.

¹¹Kolakowski, L. (1995). Überkollektive Identität. In K. Michalski (ed): *Identität im Wandel: Castelgandolfo-Gespräche 1995*. Vienna: Institut für die Wissenschaft vom Menschen, p. 47-60.

¹²Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

¹³Wodak, R, et al. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 26.

¹⁴Ibid, p. 25-26.

In the sixth chapter, regarding the branding of Andalusia for external actors, sources differ per audience. For the branding aimed towards Spaniards in specific, the main source is the material of the debate organized by the *Centro de Estudios Andaluces* (Centre for Andalusian studies) in October 2012 concerning the transformation of the Andalusian identity. The conference was attended by numerous Andalusian social scientists, historians and politicians and primarily covered the perceived necessity of a socio-economic transformation. The brand aimed towards any type of foreign actor, draws information from three different sources. The first is a promotional material for a number of museums in Andalusia, which fall under the jurisdiction of the Cultural department of the regional government. Additionally, two materials for tourism promotion are analysed. The first of these is the government website for Andalusian tourism, which includes the government action plans for the past years. The second concerns a promotional video of the *Semana Santa* in 2013. Both videos were created by the regional government. Finally, some conclusions in this section may also be drawn from the identity debate outlined above.

CHAPTER 1 – SPANISH NATIONALISM AND REGIONALISM

It has been argued that the current imbalance between autonomous regions in Spain has been largely created by the constitution of 1978¹⁵. It is argued in this chapter that the new constitution should rather be seen as an institutionalization of differences between regions, which had culminated since the emergence of the Spanish state. The chapter begins with an argument for a general absence of a strong nationalizing rhetoric in Spain. It continues with a detailed description of Spanish political history from the late 19th century, particularly showing how the absence of a consistent nationalizing rhetoric influenced growing regional sentiments. This section is concluded by an analysis of the most important articles of the 1978 constitution. Finally, the chapter discusses the failure of Andalusia to generate strong regionalism where other regions did manage.

1.1 THE PROBLEMS OF SPANISH NATIONALISM (UNTIL 1938)

In outlining the origins of the Franco Regime, Stanley Payne produces an argument for a general absence of Spanish nationalism¹⁶. He acknowledges a number of causes for the lack of nationalism in the Spanish state. The most important of which is the fact that Spain was the first, and for a long time the largest, European Empire. According to Payne, this led to a lesser need for creating credibility on the international playing field. Additionally, Payne argues that Spain was not involved in great power rivalries, but rather retained neutrality. For this reason, there was no external threat to Spanish existence, which would have led to a strengthening of nationalist tendencies. Finally, Payne concludes that social and structural change in Spain was slow, up until approximately the First World War. This in turn ensured

¹⁵Brassloff, A. (1989). Spain: The state of the autonomies. In M. Forsyth (ed): *Federalism and nationalism*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, p. 24-50.

¹⁶Payne, S.G. (1987). *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p 9.

relatively little political mobilization, which may have called for nationalizing efforts by the Spanish government. In sum, because of its historic geo-political position, as well as a lack of both external and internal threat to its existence, the Spanish state has not been involved in nationalizing projects as much as any of the other European powers.

While they acknowledge that some efforts towards nationalizing Spain were made, Smith and Mar-Molinero argue for a failed nationalizing project. They contend that the main cause for this failure should be sought in the poverty of the Spanish state, which was the cause of poor communications (through, for example, education). An additional factor causing the failure of the Spanish nationalizing project is the extreme conservatism of the dominant liberal tradition, which had its power based in a small group of oligarchs¹⁷.

Nonetheless, some attempts at nationalizing Spain have been made throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In fact, Payne argues for a cycle of extreme nationalizing and centralizing policies, followed by a strengthening of micro-nationalisms¹⁸. A historical review of this cycle is presented below. Some scholars investigating Spanish nationalism have claimed that before nationalist rhetoric emerged in Europe, Spain showed something which may be called proto-nationalism¹⁹. While José Alvarez Junco acknowledges the existence of such defining characteristics, he proposes to call them ethno-patriotic²⁰. At the same time he proposes a blend of politics and religion, a deep-rooted xenophobia, especially against the French and the English, a strong sense of Euro-centrism, and finally a defensive and self-pitying tone as key elements of this Spanish ethno-patriotism. It is particularly the second

¹⁷Smith, A., & Mar-Molinero, C. (1996). The myths and realities of nation-building in the Iberian peninsula. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 3.

¹⁸Payne, S.G. (1991). Nationalism, regionalism and micronationalism in Spain. *Journal of contemporary history*, 26(3/4).

¹⁹Idem, p. 481.

²⁰Alvarez Junco, C. (1996). The nation-building process in nineteenth-century Spain. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 90.

item that would play a prominent part in the development of a first national Spanish identification, when nationalist politics emerged in Europe.

According to Alvarez Junco it is through the Napoleonic invasion that nationalism as a political discourse entered Spain. The conflict that ensued was skilfully dubbed a ‘War of Independence’,²¹ fuelled by the xenophobia that had previously informed Spanish identification. Through the emergence of Romanticism, those who had fought for Spain in this ‘war of independence’ became the prime example of Spain’s bravery and passion, informing the existence of a Spanish nation. Alvarez Junco continues to argue that, throughout the nineteenth century, no one seriously challenged the existence of a Spanish nation²².

However, he identifies a number of issues that prevented the Spanish intellectual elites from fully promoting the newly developed Spanish identification. The most important is the loss of the Spanish navy and of the American part of the Empire that followed, which turned Spain into a “third-rate power”²³. Moreover, Spain suffered from enormous debts, creating little sources for any nationalizing project. As a final obstacle, Alvarez Junco points to the reluctance of the Spanish political authorities to further the development and maintenance of Spanish national identification.

Like Alvarez Junco, Sebastian Balfour points to the loss of the American part of the Spanish Empire, or rather, the disaster of 1898, as the turning point for a stable Spanish national identification²⁴. He contends that, previously, the unity of the Spanish nation was based on the common goal to spread its political dominance, as well as its religion, while at the same time obtaining all the wealth coming from this endeavour. According to Balfour, the

²¹ Alvarez Junco, C. (1996). The nation-building process in nineteenth-century Spain. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p.92.

²² Ibid, p. 95.

²³ Ibid, p. 98.

²⁴ Balfour, S. (1996). ‘The lion and the pig’: Nationalism and national identity in Fin-de-Siècle Spain. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 107.

loss of this common goal produced a disillusionment with everything Spanish. This, in combination with rapid modernisation in certain parts of the country, in turn led to the developments of three different ideas for the Spanish nation. While two of these nationalist discourses were modernising, the final one, was more interested in traditional ideas of the Spanish nation, perhaps exactly in an attempt to escape the rapid modernization taking place. Regardless of the reason for such traditionalism, a permanent divide in the elites wishing to nationalize Spain was established²⁵.

Francisco J. Romero Salvadó contends that, though one should see failure as relative, the nationalizing project as launched by the liberal state in 1874 should definitely be seen as such, a failure. Romero Salvado argues that the liberal Spanish state was probably the first that made a real attempt at nationalization through education, as well as the introduction of universal male suffrage. In reality, the changes created by the liberal state were artificial, mainly because it did not pay any attention to either regionalism, or existing economic systems. Romero Salvado goes even further by claiming that the system was, far from a democracy, for all intents and purposes, an oligarchy²⁶.

Despite these issues, the system managed to exist in relative stability for a while. It was the First World War that signalled its demise. While officially Spain remained neutral during the war, an internal split between those supporting the French (mostly intellectuals and the professional middle-class) and those supporting the Germans (privileged social groups as well as right wing parties) emerged²⁷. While those supporting Germany, acknowledging that they were surrounded by allies, opted for a strict neutrality in the War, those supporting France argued that such neutrality was a scam. International events furthered the gap between

²⁵Balfour, S.(1996). 'The lion and the pig': Nationalism and national identity in Fin-de-Siècle Spain. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p.116.

²⁶Romero Salvado, F.J. (1996). The failure of the liberal project of the Spanish nation-state, 1909-1923. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 119.

²⁷Ibid, p. 124.

the two sides within the liberal party, causing its decline. Moreover, economic impacts started to affect the cohesion of the liberal party, for the rapid economic growth and industrialization only occurred in certain areas in Spain. In the end, it was the military that initiated the final spark for the Spanish population to come into action against the ruling party. A general strike commenced and a period of constitutional crisis arrived²⁸.

After the war, the social and economic situation of Spain deteriorated quickly. While, during the war they had remained somewhat hidden, the country's debts became visible once more. Moreover, while prices continued to rise, wages remained the same. At the same time, separatist voices became stronger, and were combined with violence in Catalonia, as well as in other parts of the country. It became more and more apparent that the liberal party had lost its control over the state. This finally led to claims for a new government, preferably anti-liberal and centralist, in the early 1920s²⁹.

In 1923 Primo de Rivera officially took over governing powers from the Spanish liberal party. Mainly professing to constitutional liberalism,³⁰ at first he dismissed any arguments that presented him as a dictator. In search of unifying Spain, Primo de Rivera presented Catholicism as the only plausible alternative to the previous regime. *Unión Patriótica*, the political party³¹ that represented the Primo de Rivera regime, propagated a revival of historic Spanish ideology, as well as the image of Spain as a corporation, of which Primo de Rivera would be the ultimate manager. Furthermore, they attempted to promote a positive nationalism within Spain³². Despite efforts made by the regime, economic growth lagged behind, leading to a downfall of the dictatorship in 1930. With it, the Spanish

²⁸Romero Salvado, F.J. (1996). The failure of the liberal project of the Spanish nation-state, 1909-1923. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 127.

²⁹Ibid, p. 130.

³⁰Payne, S.G. (1991). *The Franco Regime: 1936-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 19.

³¹While technically a political party, the *Unión* should, according to Payne, probably be seen more as a civic institution, for the regime was strictly opposed to the existence of any political party.

³²Payne, S.G. (1991). *The Franco Regime: 1936-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 25.

monarchy came down also. Payne explains that if elections were to be held relatively shortly after the fall of Primo de Rivera, at least the monarchy might have held. However, due to a disappearance of the political parties throughout the seven years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, as well as the appearance of more radical-right parties, hesitance occurred with regards to new elections³³.

When elections finally did take place, the outcome expressed a wish to return to Republicanism, which rang in the start of the Second Spanish Republic. While Payne acknowledges that the Second Republic is perhaps the most mystified era of Spanish existence, leading from relatively broad support to enormous political polarization over the course of five years³⁴, some comments may be made on its nationalizing efforts. According to Helen Graham, such efforts were not made. She claims that, much like their predecessors in the first Republic, the Republican elites of the second republic seemed to presuppose the existence of a Spanish nation. Whenever talk of the nation did emerge, it was merely within parliament, and only on a rather superficial level³⁵. At the same time, the government had to deal with agricultural depression and rising unemployment within its borders, as well as with the emergence of new radical trends of revolution in the rest of Europe. It was the split between those favouring revolution, and those countering the idea of revolution, that established an inability to create a stable governing coalition within the Second Republic³⁶, which would ultimately lead to counter-government tendencies.

In discussing the nationalist opposition to the Republican government, Payne illustrates the basis of the Franco Regime which was yet to emerge. He claims that, throughout the Republican regime, fascism started to emerge in Spain, as a result of similar

³³Ibid, p. 31.

³⁴Payne, S.G. (1991). *The Franco Regime: 1936-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 34.

³⁵Graham, H. (1996). Community, nation and state in Republican Spain, 1931- 1938. In C. Mar-Molinero& A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 135-136.

³⁶Payne, S.G. (1991). *The Franco Regime: 1936-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 25.

tendencies in the rest of Europe. In line with this development, the Falange was called into existence. This organisation, which promoted dictatorship and extreme nationalism, perhaps as the highest good, took up violence as well. In 1936, the Republican government officially suppressed the Falange. As political victory was thus no longer an option for the Falange, the only plausible alternative seemed to be military action³⁷. Payne then contends that, throughout the later years of the Republican regime, small groups throughout Spain were plotting an uprising against the regime³⁸.

1.2 EXTREME NATIONALIZATION: THE FRANCO REGIME

It should be noted here that the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) is key in understanding the specificities of the Franco Regime, which was to emerge directly after the war. However, the war is too complex to be fully covered within the scope of this chapter. For these reasons, this section merely scratches the surface of events that led to the establishment of Franco and his dictatorial regime, before moving on to the political campaigns implemented by the regime.

For as far as we can speak of a definite start of any violent conflict, the Spanish Civil War came into full swing after a coup d'état of a group of Conservatives in the last years of the Second Republic. The coup was only partially successful. However, it managed to create the divide between the Liberals and Republicans (supporters of the Republican government) and the Conservatives and Nationalists (mostly adherents of the Catholic Church, and members of the Army)³⁹. The two sides of the divide would become opposing parties in the Civil War.

It may be proposed that because the Nationalists, now under Franco's lead, were better organized than the Republicans, they were able to obtain a large part of the Spanish national

³⁷Ibid, p. 66.

³⁸Payne, S.G. (1991). *The Franco Regime: 1936-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 84.

³⁹Garrioch, D. (1993). The historical background. In A. Kenwood (Ed.), *The Spanish Civil War: A cultural and historical reader*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Inc. p. 3-17.

territory by 1939⁴⁰. Other factors, like international backing for the Nationalists from both Germany and Italy, as well as internal quarrels inside the Republican government⁴¹, contributed to this. However, it was not until April 1, 1939, that full victory could be claimed for the Nationalists, when Franco, with the cooperation of factions inside the city, could finally take over the national capital Madrid⁴².

Throughout the war, Franco had gained popularity primarily through making grand promises of improving the living conditions of the Spaniards and turning upside down the preceding regime. He assured the Spanish population that he would, once again, create cohesion in Spain. Moreover, he promised to regain popularity for Spain in the international playing field, which it had lost after the decline of its overseas empire. These promises form the core for understanding the regime that was established in the wake of the civil war. Michael Richards provides an understanding of the early years of the Franco Regime when he argues that the autarky of the 'new' Spain, based mostly on economic repression and terror, was based on a particular conception of the nation⁴³. First, the *Patria*, or fatherland, was to be understood as a living organism. According to Franco, this living organism reflected spiritual, social and historic unity. Second, as a result of this image, Catholicism became an important characteristic of Franco's nationalism. In order to create historic unity, regionalist tendencies had to be ironed out, leading to a highly centralized government, putting enormous emphasis on the Spanish state. A final characteristic outlined by Richards is the idea that the unity promoted, should be reflected in social and economic relations⁴⁴. In presenting these

⁴⁰Ellwood, S.M. (1991). *The Spanish Civil War*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

⁴¹Payne, S.G. (2004). *The Spanish civil war, the Soviet Union and communism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Richards, M. (1996). Constructing the nationalist state: Self-sufficiency and regeneration in the early Franco years. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 149.

⁴⁴Ibid, p.150.

characteristics for the new Spanish nation, Richards outlines three core currents that inform the Franco regime: ideology, violence and industrialization. All are shortly considered here.

Before providing any detail on the ideology that lays at the core of the Franco regime, it should be noted that seeing as the regime took its ideas from many different sources, it is rather incoherent and at times contradicting⁴⁵. David Gilmour even goes as far as to claim that the regime tried to convert all attention away from politics, by focusing on sports, business and the economy. He argues that the Franco regime was “little more than a personal rule, sanctioned by victory in the civil war, and extended by an unusually long life-span”⁴⁶.

Nonetheless, some core ideas may be outlined if one is to look into the ideology as put forward by the regime. For example, Richards claims that the ideological basis of the Franco regime was to be found in a blend of the idea of ‘Spanishness’ on the one hand, and general European fascist arguments on the other. In practice, this meant that what was emphasized by the regime was the idea of the Spanish peasantry as the embodiment of all national virtues, violence as potentially purifying, regenerationism, militarism, both a spiritual and material resurgence based on historical Spanish ‘myths’, and above all Spanish unity⁴⁷.

Franco’s politics of terror have been much discussed, mostly in quantitative studies⁴⁸. On the other hand, some authors have claimed, rather than taking a quantitative approach, it is more important to look at the psychological argument for the proposed working camps and executions of the Franco regime. They claim that doing so leads to a better understanding of the ideology and centralizing politics of the regime⁴⁹. Below, this argument is discussed,

⁴⁵Gilmour, D. (1985). *The transformation of Spain: From Franco to the constitutional monarchy*. London: Quartet Books Limited, p. 17.

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 18.

⁴⁷Richards, M. (1996). Constructing the nationalist state: Self-sufficiency and regeneration in the early Franco years. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 151-152.

⁴⁸Ibid, p. 157.

⁴⁹Reig Tapia, A. (1986). La sublevación y la represión. In A. Reig Tapia, *Ideología e historia: Sobre la repression franquista y la guerra civil*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal.

focusing on the two different forms of repression, political and economic, utilized by the Franco regime.

One type of terror used by the Franco regime was primarily political. It was the combination of the ideal of Spanish unity and the idea of Spain as a living organism, that led to the idea that Spain was 'sick'. The regions, and in particular Catalonia, that had voiced separatist ideas, were seen as deviant, wicked and ill. Additionally, during this period, the Spanish population was more or less divided into two camps, those who supported the Franco regime, and those who did not, and were thus enemies of Spain. In order to heal these people who were sick and incapable of loving the fatherland, working camps and executions were introduced. It was Franco's logic that only through hard work for the fatherland, redemption could be provided⁵⁰.

The other type of terror put in place by the regime was that of economic repression. The regime worked hard to keep the landowning elites satisfied. Yet, at the same time, it was argued that Spain needed to industrialize and modernize, in order to be able to compete with other states, as well as to ensure that Spain would not become the place for other states to obtain cheap labour and products. Richard argued that the system of autarky, put in place to ensure both needs simultaneously, was repressive in itself, as it showed the willingness of the regime to go over the backs of the lower classes in the population⁵¹. This willingness was only furthered by the enormous amounts of funding pumped into industrialization. At the same time, little foreign trade took place, nor did much investment go to the production of food. This, in the end, led to substantial food shortages. Richard claims that, due to the control of food exercised by Franco, the regime managed to stay in place for so long⁵².

⁵⁰Richards, M. (1996). Constructing the nationalist state: Self-sufficiency and regeneration in the early Franco years. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 158.

⁵¹Ibid, p. 160.

⁵²Ibid, p. 161.

In sum, it was the ideal of Spanish unity, as well as economic self-sufficiency that provided the core of the regime. These ideals were propagated through a discourse of victors and defeated in the civil war. The argument put forward was that those who murdered the good Spanish population during the civil war were sick, and they could only be healed and redeemed through hard work in the camps. At the same time, the economic and social gap between the lower and upper classes of Spanish society widened, leading to ever growing dissatisfaction with the regime.

Richard argues that, although the regime led by Franco may have had some impact on the different regions proposing separation, it did not have as much effect as Franco had hoped for⁵³. David Gilmour continues this argument by claiming that in the later years of the regime, predominantly the 1960s and 1970s, sub-state nationalist movements were on the rise again. Though all their political autonomous rights that had been granted throughout the Second Spanish Republic had been taken away by Franco, cultural and linguistic revival did occur⁵⁴. Such revival was mostly occurring in Catalonia, nonetheless, it should be noted that it was taking place, as it would greatly influence the debates surrounding the drafting of a new constitution for Spain after Franco's death.

1.3 THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION OF 1978

After General Franco deceased in 1975, Juan Carlos was appointed as his follower. Doubts existed, however, whether the regime as employed by Franco would be able to continue to exist without Franco⁵⁵. Therefore, it seemed inevitable that a new constitution was to be written. With the remnants of Franco's regime in place, this turned out to be a rather

⁵³Richards, M. (1996). Constructing the nationalist state: Self-sufficiency and regeneration in the early Franco years. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 162.

⁵⁴Gilmour, D. (1985). *The transformation of Spain: From Franco to the constitutional monarchy*. London: Quartet Books Limited, p. 125.

⁵⁵Ibid, p. 33.

difficult process. However, at the end of 1978 it was finally accepted both by parliament and by the population through a referendum⁵⁶.

The newly drafted Spanish constitution is, in all its facets, an outcome of Franco's regime. For the argument presented here, one particular characteristic of the regime is of interest. Spain, losing control over its colonies, lost prestige and importance in the eyes of the international community. To counter this trend, Franco had promised to put Spain back in the minds of international players as a strong and unified state. Regardless of the success of Franco's attempt, the way in which he approached the problem is informative for what happened afterwards. Instead of opting for the traditional path of nation building through the invention of tradition and the creation of a sense of connectedness, Franco practiced a dictatorial centralization. Therefore, after his death, the Spanish population was glad enough to move away from any form of nationalist rhetoric⁵⁷. At the same time, however, the military, which had traditionally been more favorable towards nationalist rhetoric, remained a powerful institution in Spain.

It is on this basis that the Spanish constitution was written. During the drafting process, two rather diverging opinions had thus to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, there was the demand for more autonomy for the regions. The proponents of these claims, primarily the historic nationalities, claimed that the Franco regime had taken away the autonomy they enjoyed previously. Following this logic, it seemed only fair to return these autonomies. On the other hand, there was the military, which, as a result of the tradition of pretorianism⁵⁸, had remained a force to be reckoned with. The military leadership directly opposed the claims for regionalization. The tensions between these two sides led to the uniqueness of the Spanish political system. The uniqueness is reflected in the preamble of the

⁵⁶Brennan, G. & Casas Pardo, J. (1991). A reading of the Spanish constitution (1978). *Constitutional Political Economy*, 2(1), 53-79.

⁵⁷Payne, S.G. (1991). Nationalism, regionalism and micronationalism in Spain. *Journal of contemporary history*, 26(3/4), p. 487.

⁵⁸Payne, S.G. (1991). *The Franco Regime: 1936-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 14.

final text of the constitution which reads: “The constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards; it recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed and the solidarity among them all”⁵⁹. This sentence shows that the Spanish state conceives of itself as unitary, thus not as a federation. However, the self-governing regions (of which seventeen were established in the constitution) serve an important role in the Spanish state.

Article 143 of the constitution acknowledges the right for bordering provinces with similar historic, cultural and economic characteristics to accede to self-government⁶⁰. The competences for all the autonomous regions are defined in article 148. They include the organization of self-government institutions, the maintenance of local boundaries, town planning, the organization of public works of interest, the maintenance of roads, railways, ports and airports, the upkeep of agriculture, fishery and forestry, management of environmental protection, the promotion of local fairs, economic development, handicrafts, museums, monuments of interest, culture, tourism and sports, providing health care facilities and social assistance, and finally, where applicable, the promotion of the education of the regional language⁶¹. The article indicates the equality of the constitution for all autonomous regions, as they all obtain the same competences, related mostly to the promotion of the regional culture. The text of the constitution becomes vaguer in article 150, where the possible transfer and delegation of acts and legislation is addressed. The text reads that legislative powers may be referred to “all or any”⁶² of the self-governing communities. This clause provides for future inequalities between autonomous regions.

⁵⁹ (1978) *Spanish Constitution: preamble*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.senado.es/web/conocersenado/normas/constitucion/index.html>

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, article 143.

⁶¹ (1978) *Spanish Constitution: Article 148*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.senado.es/web/conocersenado/normas/constitucion/index.html>

⁶² *Ibid*, Article 150.

It was only after the full implementation of the constitution that imbalances between the regions became visible. Payne acknowledges the emergence of a political bargaining system between the regions and the national government⁶³. Such a system emerged as a result of the regulation drawn up for obtaining regional autonomy. All final decisions were to be made by the national government. Brennan and Casas Pardo emphasize how this bargaining system influenced imbalances between the regions, specifically in the areas of political powers and financial rights. To exemplify their argument, they present the case of the Basque Country and Navarre, two regions which are allowed to levy their own taxes. While the Basque Country and Navarre are obliged to send part of such taxes to Madrid, the remaining sum is available for regional usage⁶⁴.

1.4 SUB-STATE NATIONALISM IN ANDALUSIA

As Payne argued, and is confirmed by the above historical analysis of Spain's politics, there was an ongoing cycle of change between extreme centralized, nationalizing politics and a revival of regional interest⁶⁵. The question that remains to be answered in the final section of this chapter is how and to what extent such revivals of regional interest took place in Andalusia as well.

According to Mar-Molinero and Smith the regional nationalist movements in the second half of the nineteenth century, all adhered to what can be referred to as German cultural nationalism⁶⁶. They hold that a focus on markers such as language and race was

⁶³Payne, S.G. (1991). Nationalism, regionalism and micronationalism in Spain. *Journal of contemporary history*, 26(3/4).

⁶⁴Brennan, G. & Casas Pardo, J. (1991). A reading of the Spanish constitution (1978). *Constitutional Political Economy*, 2(1), p. 74.

⁶⁵Payne, S.G. (1991). Nationalism, regionalism and micronationalism in Spain. *Journal of contemporary history*, 26(3/4).

⁶⁶Smith, A., & Mar-Molinero, C. (1996). The myths and realities of nation-building in the Iberian peninsula. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 7.

inevitable, for the regional nationalist movements were for all intents and purposes anti-statist. In accordance with the tradition of German cultural nationalism, in Andalusia, the theory that Andalusians were a mixture of Christian and Arab blood was developed. For this reason, it was believed that the people of Andalusia were a completely different race than their Spanish neighbors⁶⁷. Mar-Molinero and Smith claim that nationalisms based solely on race were not convincing in most cases. Indeed, they conclude that it was successful only in the case of the Basque country.⁶⁸

Hence, instead of focusing merely on racial features, the sub-state nationalist movement shifted attention to historiography, paying specific attention to passed glorious times. In Andalusia the golden age referred to was that of Moorish domination. Arguably, during this time Andalusia's culture, arts and literature had flourished. Moreover, it had been at the center of Spanish trade. In the constructed narrative, the Andalusian golden age had come to an end as a result of Castillian, barbaric, invasions and conquest⁶⁹. The term constructed is in place here, for in the rest of Spain, these Castillian invasions are known as the Reconquista. Once more it is proposed that only some of the regionalist historiographies were successful, most notably the Catalanist historiography⁷⁰.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, regionalist movements were once more gaining in strength. Under the leadership of Blas Infante, an Andalusian movement named the Andalucistas developed. Mar-Molinero and Smith claim that, out of all regionalist movements at the time, the Andalucistas was among the weakest for two reasons. On the one hand, they encountered difficulty in gaining support both from the landed elites as well as the peasantry.

⁶⁷ Moreno Navarro, I. (1981). Primer descubrimiento consciente de la identidad andaluza, 1868-1890. In A.M. Bernal (Ed.), *Historia de Andalucía, vol VIII, la Andalucía contemporánea, 1868-1981*. Madrid: CUPSA Planeta, p. 237.

⁶⁸ Smith, A., & Mar-Molinero, C. (1996). The myths and realities of nation-building in the Iberian peninsula. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 8.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 8.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 9.

The landholding elite formed a major pillar of the Restoration regime, while the peasantry backed the anarchists. Neither group was thus interested in regionalist rhetoric. On the other hand, the Andalucistas were facing the fact that Spanish nationalists had pointed to Andalusia as exemplifying Spanish national character. According to Mar-Molinero and Smith, the upper and middle urban classes incorporated these stereotypes⁷¹.

An additional difficulty in creating a strong regional movement in Andalusia, presents itself in the form of linguistics. In the past, the strongest regional movements in Spain, the Basques, the Catalonians, and to some extent the Galicians, each had a language rather different from national Castilian Spanish. Andalusia, on the other hand, does not. Presently, the constitution of 1978 grants autonomous regions the right to define their own regional language. In Andalusia, this provision has sparked debates over a particular local lexicon and phonology⁷². Mar-Molinero contends that it is precisely because Castilian is spoken in regions that may have a different cultural identification than the national Spanish cultural identity, such identifications are neglected⁷³.

Besides sparking linguistic debates, Payne argues that the 1978 constitution initiated the emergence of “grotesque political organizations”⁷⁴. He recognizes one of such parties emerging in Andalusia as well: The *Partido Racial Democrático de Andalucía*. With the establishment of this party, the idea of an Andalusian race, different from the Spanish race, emerged once more. Payne concludes that, with time, most of these parties, including the *Partido Racial Democrático de Andalucía*, disappeared again.

⁷¹Smith, A., & Mar-Molinero, C. (1996). The myths and realities of nation-building in the Iberian peninsula. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 15.

⁷²Mar-Molinero, C. (1996). The role of Language in Spanish nation-building. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, p. 83.

⁷³Ibid, p. 85.

⁷⁴Payne, S.G. (1991). Nationalism, regionalism and micronationalism in Spain. *Journal of contemporary history*, 26(3/4), p. 488.

This short review shows that efforts for a regional identification were made in Andalusia, like they were made in other regions. However, primarily due to the lack of a distinctive language, such efforts did not come to full strength in Andalusia. Accordingly, in a study performed by Bollen and Medrang in 1992, it is found that in Andalusia, attachment to the national government is stronger than in most other parts of the country, specifically those that have showed regionalizing tendencies in the past⁷⁵.

⁷⁵Bollen, K. &Medrang, J.D. (1998). Who are the Spaniards? Nationalism and identification in Spain. *Social Forces*, 77(2), 587- 623.

CHAPTER 2 – ASYMMETRIC FEDERALISM IN SPAIN

The preceding chapter outlined the historic imbalance between Spanish regions, nowadays known as the autonomous regions of Spain. While the 1978 constitution does not recognize the Spanish political system as a federation, the centre-region financial system that has been created after the implementation of the document, is, for all intents and purposes, that of a federation⁷⁶. This chapter commences with a literature review on asymmetric federalism and its issues. Next, it introduces the case of Spain, specifically emphasizing the decentralization of finance in Spain.

2.1 FEDERALISM IN THEORY

Since 1980, the issue of minority rights has gained in importance rapidly. While previously it was believed that no special rights should be provided for minorities, a shift towards the recognition of indigenous, and later other minority populations, rights occurred. From rather strong assimilationist policies emerged state policies based on recognition and accommodation of minorities. As a result, the first multinational, or multicultural, states started to emerge⁷⁷. With a growing number of multinational states, questions of how to institutionally accommodate these diverse groups in a state have risen. Arend Lijphart has proposed the consociational model of government, where multiple groups co-govern in a state, and equal representation is thus guaranteed⁷⁸. This model is mostly applicable to societies where all groups are of a somewhat equal size, such as the Dutch pilarized political

⁷⁶De los Ríos Berjillos, A, López Martín, C, & Pérez Hernández, P. P. (2006, August). In John Dehwurst (Chair). *Regional financing: Spanish autonomous communities versus German länder*. 46th congress of the European Regional Science Association, Volos, Greece. Retrieved from <http://www-sre.wu-wien.ac.at/ersa/ersaconfs/ersa06/papers/478.pdf>.

⁷⁷Kymlicka, W. (2001). Western political theory and ethnic relations in Eastern Europe. In: Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski (eds.), *Can liberal pluralism be exported?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 13-107.

⁷⁸Lijphart, A. (1984). *Democracies*. New-Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

system the consociational model is based on. Ronald Watts proposes that it is the notion of federalism that has emerged as the most accommodating solution for multinational states⁷⁹.

Watts notes a rise in the academic interest in theories of federalism and therewith in the definitional debates. Before moving on to the notions of symmetric and asymmetric forms of federalism, one of the key debates is addressed here. A distinction between federalism and federation was first made by Preston King in 1982. He argued that federalism is a normative philosophy arguing for federal principles, whereas a federation is the description of a certain type of an institutional relationship⁸⁰. Other scholars have argued that both these terms should be seen as descriptive, where federalism is a group of different forms of political organizations, one of which is the federation⁸¹. Watts proposes a differentiation of three different terms instead. First, federalism, which is understood in the way King proposed it. Second, the notion of federal political systems, which represents the group of political forms. One of these forms is then, finally, the federation, in which a general government works together with regional governments⁸².

The concepts of symmetry and asymmetry in federations were introduced by Charles Tarlton in 1965. He presents the key approach to federalism and federations at the time through the example of Wheate's approach. Wheate argued for the federal principle, which holds that powers between the general and regional governments should be divided in such a way that none of them is subordinate to the other. According to this, such division was to be outlined in the constitution of a state⁸³. According to Tarlton, the approach taken by Wheate, and other authors at the time, dealt mostly with such a constitutional division, thereby

⁷⁹Watts, R.L. (1998). Federalism, federal political systems, and federations. *Annual Review of Political Science*, (1), p.118.

⁸⁰King, P. (1982). *Federalism and federation*. London: Croom Helm.

⁸¹Elazar, D.J. (1987). *Exploring federalism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

⁸²Watts, R.L. (1998). Federalism, federal political systems, and federations. *Annual Review of Political Science*, (1), p. 120-121.

⁸³Wheare, K.C. (1963). *Federal government*. London: Oxford University Press.

overlooking the variances between different federations⁸⁴. In an attempt to fill this gap, Tarlton introduces the twin concepts of symmetry and asymmetry. Symmetry is defined as referring to “the extent to which component states share in the conditions and thereby the concerns more or less common to the federal system as a whole”⁸⁵. Similarly, asymmetry is defined as “the extent to which component states do not share these common features”⁸⁶.

Watts proposes that asymmetry was studied first in political terms. He argues that differences arose from differences in the wealth and population of the constituent parts of the federation. Later, attention shifted more to constitutional asymmetry, in which different rights are assigned in the constitution, which seems so core to the notion of the federation, to the varying constituent parts. Constitutional asymmetry may take two different forms. First, the asymmetry between a small unit, and a large unit, in which the smaller unit is often times an island. This type of asymmetry is mostly caused by former colonial relations, in which the former colony has less autonomy than the former colonizer. The second, which is more relevant for the discussion in this thesis, is the asymmetry between full-fledged constituent units⁸⁷.

2.2 FEDERALISM IN SPAIN

According to its own constitution, Spain is not a federation. Nonetheless, in scholarly work, the state is often recognized as a quasi-federation⁸⁸. Von Beyme also acknowledges this stance by explaining that, when the new Spanish constitution was to be drafted, German scholars were invited to make suggestions, the key one of which was that of federalism. Yet, Von Beyme argues, before the system was fully developed, concessions of autonomy were

⁸⁴Tarlton, C.D. (1965). Symmetry and asymmetry as elements of federalism: a theoretical speculation. *Journal of Politics*, 27(4), 861-874.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 861.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 861

⁸⁷Watts, R.L. (1998). Federalism, federal political systems, and federations. *Annual Review of Political Science*, (1), p.123.

⁸⁸Ibid, p. 118.

given to those regions asking for it most clearly. This created a “patchwork of regulations”⁸⁹, leading the national government to fear such strong decentralization, that it did not adopt full federalism in the constitution. Rather, it acknowledges the inherent unity of the Spanish state. Nonetheless, if one accepts the notion that, in a federation, right and duties for the general and regional governments are outlined in the constitution, Spain should be considered a federation.

Robert Agranoff proposes that the Spanish federation can be referred to as a postmodern federation⁹⁰. According to Agranoff, this understanding of the federation helps to explain how the Spanish federation came about. First, he proposes that rather than multiple units combining strengths in a federation or confederation, it is also an option for a unitary state to decentralize for efficiency reasons and form a federation. He proposes that this is what happened in Spain directly after the Franco regime. The second step of his scheme is the acknowledgement that federal compacting may well be evolutionary⁹¹. Again, this occurred in Spain. While the text of the constitution underlines the unity of the Spanish state⁹², it provides ways for the different autonomous communities to obtain further rights in years to come. The chapter comes back to this point in the discussion of fiscal decentralization in the Spanish state. Agranoff further proposes that federalization is highly compatible with the transition from a dictatorship (like Franco’s regime) to a democracy and modern welfare state. He contends that federalization may be seen as an effective way for accommodating centre-periphery relations while providing support for the unity of a state. He concludes that

⁸⁹Von Beyme, K. (2005). Asymmetric federalism between globalization and regionalization. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(3), p. 433.

⁹⁰Agranoff, R. (1996). Federal evolution in Spain. *International Political Science Review*, 17(4), p.386.

⁹¹Ibid, p. 389.

⁹²Article 2 refers to the indissoluble unity of the Spanish State. Additionally, Article 145 claims that under no circumstance a federation of the autonomous regions shall be allowed.

according to this evolutionary scheme, Spain is an incomplete form of the traditional federation, which is showing more and more signs of being a federation⁹³.

2.3 FISCAL DECENTRALIZATION IN SPAIN

The establishment of autonomous regions in Spain ensured a certain need for decentralization of financial and administrative powers. In such cases it is normally economic arguments which are made for fiscal decentralization, such as, for example, the subsidiarity argument presented by Gomez Reino and Herrero Alcalde. According to the principle of subsidiarity, (fiscal) matters should be handled by the smallest, most local level of government for reasons of efficiency⁹⁴. While such considerations may have played a role in historically highly centralized Spain, it can be argued that if economic considerations were of primary importance in Spain, a simple de-concentration of fiscal powers could have been enough. However, in the Spanish case causes for decentralization were primarily political⁹⁵.

In an attempt to deter regional identifications from gaining ever more resonance with their respective populations, concessions were made during the Second Republic. All such concessions were abolished during the Franco Regime, resulting in stronger claims for (restored) autonomy during the drafting and implementation of the 1978 constitution. Vinuela proposes that, in order for the political transition from Franco's autarky to a liberal democracy to be peaceful, the demands of the regions, particularly of those previously holding some form of autonomy, were to be taken into serious consideration⁹⁶.

Others have taken this heterogeneous legacy of the Spanish state further in arguing that the differences between the regions were prominent enough for opting for an asymmetric

⁹³Agranoff, R. (1996). Federal evolution in Spain. *International Political Science Review*, 17(4), p. 398.

⁹⁴Gomez Reino, J.L. & HerreroAlcalde, A. (2011). Political determinants of regional financing: The case of Spain. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Planning*, 29(5), p. 805.

⁹⁵Vinuela, J. (2001). *Fiscal decentralization in Spain*. Washington: International Monetary Fund, p. 1.

⁹⁶Ibid, p. 2.

decentralization⁹⁷. Garcia-Milà and McGuire present two efficiency arguments for asymmetric decentralization. First, much like the subsidiarity argument, they contend that different regions may have different tastes for public goods and values. Such diverging tastes are better represented by more localized forms of government rather than by the central government. Second, they propose that different regions have varying capacity levels for local administration. By decentralizing in an asymmetric manner, such variances can be taken into consideration⁹⁸.

Continuing their line of argument, Garcia-Milà and McGuire acknowledge that both efficiency claims may be made for Spain during the transition period. As was argued previously in this thesis, strong regional identifications existed in Spain. Specifically the Basque country, Catalonia and Galicia, had strong opinions about administrative issues concerning language use, education and similar subjects. Additionally, varying degrees of experience with public administration were present in transitional Spain. For a long time, most notably also during the Franco Regime, the regions of Navarra and the Basque Country were politically and fiscally organized according to *fueros*. Moreover, Catalonia established some form of regional autonomy in 1932. Galicia made a similar attempt at regional administration previous to the official establishment of Spanish autonomous regions. As a result, several regions were considered to have a more extended knowledge of public administration, which was to be taken into consideration for decentralization⁹⁹.

In accordance with the argument presented above, the Spanish constitution initially guaranteed two different types of asymmetry. While the system has been changed since its

⁹⁷López-Laborda, J. Martínez-Vázquez, J. & Monasterio, C. (2007). Kingdom of Spain. In A. Shah (Ed.), *The practice of fiscal federalism: comparative perspectives*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 289.

⁹⁸ Garcia-Milà, T. & McGuire, T.J. (2005). Fiscal decentralization in Spain: An asymmetric transition to democracy. In R.M. Bird & R. Ebel (Eds.), *Subsidiarity and solidarity: The role of intergovernmental relations in maintaining an effective state*. Cheltenham (UK) and Northampton (USA): Edward Elgar.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

implementation, and some of the asymmetry has been removed over time, it is important to understand the initial set-up of the fiscal system. The first asymmetry is between the *Foral* system on the one hand, and the *Common* system on the other. Only two autonomous regions fall under the Foral system, namely Navarra and the Basque Country. All other fifteen regions fall under the Common system¹⁰⁰. The main difference between the two schemes is that those in the Foral system are allowed to raise taxes within their region. At the same time, tax opportunities under the Common system are restricted, in the sense that these regions merely administer the levying of taxes, without the possibility of setting the rates¹⁰¹. In terms of spending rights, the two regions of the Foral system have similar rights to five of the regions under the Common system, those on the so-called fast track, which this chapter turns to now.

The second asymmetry to be discovered in the decentralized fiscal system set up in the 1978 constitution is one within the Common system. Within this system, a difference is made between those regions on the fast track towards autonomy, and those regions on a slow track. The main difference here is in spending rights and duties. In addition to all spending rights and duties of those in the slow track, the regions of the fast track are likewise responsible for education and health facilities in their respective regions. Here it is specified that those regions in the slow track may eventually catch up with those in the fast track, but not before a period of five years has passed. In 2001, all regions under the Common regime had risen to the same level of autonomy, thereby eliminating this second asymmetry in the system.

Garcia-Milà and McGuire propose that, while asymmetries in the initial system were indeed required for easing the process of decentralization, after 20 years of experience in a decentralized state, it is now reasonable for the Spanish state to move away from asymmetry

¹⁰⁰ Garcia-Milà, T. & McGuire, T.J. (2005). Fiscal decentralization in Spain: An asymmetric transition to democracy. In R.M. Bird & R. Ebel (Eds.), *Subsidiarity and solidarity: The role of intergovernmental relations in maintaining an effective state*. Cheltenham (UK) and Northampton (USA): Edward Elgar.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

towards a more simplified and transparent system¹⁰². While it has done so with regard to the different options within the Common system, the difference between the Foral and Common systems remains. It is argued that any change being made in the foreseeable future seems unlikely¹⁰³.

Taking into consideration the asymmetry inherent in the Spanish political system, the following chapter identifies two catalysts for a growing dissatisfaction with the system in some autonomous regions, particularly Andalusia.

¹⁰²Garcia-Milà, T. & McGuire, T.J. (2005). Fiscal decentralization in Spain: An asymmetric transition to democracy. In R.M. Bird & R. Ebel (Eds.), *Subsidiarity and solidarity: The role of intergovernmental relations in maintaining an effective state*. Cheltenham (UK) and Northampton (USA): Edward Elgar.

¹⁰³Ibid, p. 10.

CHAPTER 3 – CATALYSTS FOR REGIONALISATION

In looking for a justification for increased regional identification, one finds four general explanations. All are shortly presented here, before moving in to the specificities of the Andalusian case. The first possible cause for stronger regional identification is an economic one. The argument proposed in such cases is that there is an economic discrepancy at the national level. This usually means that the region has to pay more to the national government than other regions, and, in some cases, receives less from the national governments vis-à-vis other regions. A current example of such an argumentation is the case of Catalonia (Spain). As the region is amongst the best off regions of Spain, with the port of Barcelona as a key access point, it has to pay a large amount of tax to the Spanish national government in Madrid¹⁰⁴. Meanwhile, the region does not receive as much organizational help from the national level as do other regions. This has caused for an argumentation that the region may be better off on its own, for now it has to pay for the other regions within the Spanish borders.

A second cause is presented in the form of an argument for a balanced political representation. In this case, the region may focus on a regional identification, in order to obtain a better balanced representation, or any representation at all at the national level. An exemplifying case may be found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bangladesh). While the region is inhabited by at least 13 different groups functioning to a large extent as tribes, with growing violence in the region, the tribes have combined forces, attempting to create a stronger regional identification¹⁰⁵. Such a regional identification is created, in order to be able to have

¹⁰⁴Pericay Coll, G (11 September 2012). *The reasons behind Barcelona's massive demonstration for Catalonia's independence*. CNA Online. Retrieved from: <http://www.catalannewsagency.com/news/politics/reasons-behind-barcelona%E2%80%99s-massive-demonstration-catalonia%E2%80%99s-independence>.

¹⁰⁵ Bashar, I. (2011). Bangladesh's forgotten crisis: Land, ethnicity and violence in Chittagong Hill Tracts, *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis*, 3(4), p. 4

a stronger representation at the national level, possibly culminating in a solution to the violent episodes that have struck the region ever since Bangladeshi national independence.

A third argument that is sometimes presented is a combination of the first two causes. In such cases, while the region pays disproportionately large amounts to the national government, the political representation the region has at the national level, is small to non-existent. In order to change this, the regional identity is strengthened.

A final point that is sometimes put forward as causing a strengthened regional identification goes as follows: The region is unable to obtain full independence. This fact may be caused by a number of different reasons. Nonetheless, the region wishes to obtain as much autonomy as possible. In order to do so, more emphasis is put on regional identity than on any other political, collective identity. An example of such an argument is the case of Quebec (Canada). Currently, it seems that the region is unviable as an independent state. Nonetheless, resulting from the differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada, the region does wish to obtain full autonomy, therefore emphasizing the francophone nature of the region, setting it apart from the rest of the state.

While these four are the main explanations causing a stronger emphasis on regional identities vis-à-vis other political, collective identities, it is conceivable that other explanations play a role. Likewise, it is possible that two or more explanations, either those provided above, or any other, play a role at the same time. It is argued here that in the case of Andalusia, at least one of the explanatory factors as outlined above plays a role, namely that of representation at the national level. In the final section of this chapter it is proposed that, while economic considerations do play a role, it is in a different way than commonly understood. It is argued that the economic crisis of the 2000s and 2010s plays a role in strengthening nationalist rhetoric.

3.1 MODELLING THE “HISTORIC NATIONALITIES”

One may argue that the key reason for increased focus on the Andalusian regional identity is located in the political sphere. Though it does not stem directly from a difference in political representation at the national level, the cause for renewed interest in the region’s identity is political in the sense that it is about an imbalance in political rights resulting from Spain’s asymmetric federalism. The particular nation branding course taken by the Andalusian regional government, which will be elaborated upon in chapter 5, can be largely explained by a wish to model those regions which traditionally have had more autonomous rights.

As has been argued before, those regions which had held, prior to the Franco regime, some form of autonomy, were the ones to gain the easiest access to full autonomy after the 1978 constitution. It was proposed that those regions were culturally significantly different from the rest of Spain, perhaps even constituted a nation different from the Castilian nation, and therefore were deemed to deserve the right to autonomy. It is important to note here that, if the Spanish civil war and the Franco regime had not disturbed the course of events, Andalusia would have been the next region within the Spanish borders to obtain a certain degree of autonomy. However, with Franco abolishing absolutely every form of autonomy during his regime, the process for Andalusian autonomy was interrupted. As a result, during the drafting process of the new Spanish constitution, Andalusian autonomy was not a priority, for all focus was placed on accommodating those regions that had already obtained a level of autonomy.

In response to the situation, the Andalusian government started to adopt the language of nationhood in a similar fashion as did the historic nationalities of the Basque Country and Catalonia. A striking example may be found in the statutes of autonomy of those respective regions. Since an amendment adopted in 2006, the Catalan statute of autonomy refers to the Catalan population in terms of a nation. Already in the first article of the statute it is stated

that “Catalonia, as a nationality, exercises its self-government constituted as an autonomous community in accordance with the Constitution and with this Estatut, which is its basic institutional law”¹⁰⁶. The remainder of the statute focuses on the historic rights, primarily those related to language issues, enjoyed by the people of Catalonia. The Basque statute makes comparable claims in relation to the nationhood of its population, and particularly its distinct language¹⁰⁷. Following these examples, most notably the changes adopted in Catalonia in 2006, Andalusia amended its statute of autonomy in 2007. The most significant change made was one of definition. While previously the Andalusian statute had referred to the Andalusian people as a nationality to some extent, after the amendment, the Andalusian population was named a historic nationality much like the Catalan and Basque nationality¹⁰⁸.

Nonetheless, a mere adoption of nationalist rhetoric did not seem enough to make an image of the Andalusian people as a separate nationality surface, neither on an internal nor an external level. The creation of an internal identification path was made more difficult by the historic reality of the Franco regime. It has been proposed that, throughout the Franco regime, Andalusian cultural markers, such as Flamenco and bullfighting, were adopted by the national government, and promoted as Spanish cultural markers¹⁰⁹. In addition, Andalusia has not been able to draw on the rhetoric of language rights in the same way as Catalonia and the

¹⁰⁶Parlament de Catalunya (2006). *Organic Law 6/2006 of the 19th July, on the Reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia*. Retrieved from:

http://www.parlamentcat.net/porteso/estatut/estatut_angles_100506.pdf

¹⁰⁷Parlamento Vasco (1979). *The statute of autonomy of the Basque Country*. Retrieved from:

http://www.basques.euskadi.net/t32448/en/contenidos/informacion/estatuto_guernica/en_455/adjuntos/estatu_i.pdf.

¹⁰⁸Junta de Andalucía. (2007). *Estatuto de autonomía para Andalucía*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.andaluciajunta.es/SP/AJ/CDA/Secciones/ServicioNoticias/Documentos/I30-10-2006.pdf>

¹⁰⁹Murphy, M.D. (1994). Class, community, and costume in an Andalusian pilgrimage. *Anthropology quarterly*, 67(2), 49-61.

Basque Country have been able to do, as the Andalusian dialect has only been stereotyped as just a backward Castilian dialect¹¹⁰.

These factors combined have created a difficult road to take for the Andalusian government in branding a sound self-identification for Andalusians as a nationality. The road taken by the political elites in creating the nationality are to be discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis. However, before doing so, another catalyst, one referring more to forms of external identification of Andalusia, is to be discussed here: the influence of the economic crisis occurring throughout Europe in the late 2000s and early 2010s.

3.2 ECONOMIC CRISIS AS A CATALYST FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY TALK

In the theoretical discussion of possible causes for regionalization, an economic argument was proposed. The argument holds that in these cases where an economic argument is presented for regionalization, it is because the region would be economically better off as an independent state than as a part of the larger state. While this is true for Catalonia, the opposite is the case for Andalusia. Why then argue that the economic crisis has intensified national identification talk in Andalusia? Before answering this question, some relevant facts about the economic crisis in Spain, and Andalusia in particular, ought to be discussed.

The financial crisis in Spain started in 2008 as a part of the global financial crisis as well as the European debt crisis. While the Spanish economy had been experiencing a boom since 2004, in late 2008 and early 2009 recession commenced. The main factors playing into the financial crisis in the case of Spain were the collapse of the building market, which was accompanied by bankruptcy of a number of large companies, and staggering unemployment

¹¹⁰Mar-Molinero, C. (1996). The role of Language in Spanish nation-building. In C. Mar-Molinero & A. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian peninsula: Competing and conflicting identities*. Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd, 69-88.

rates¹¹¹ reaching levels twice as high as the rest of the European states by 2012¹¹². Additionally, tourism rates dropped significantly in Europe as a whole, again affecting Spain more than other European states.

Within the Spanish borders, it is Andalusia that has been hit the hardest by the economic crisis. While unemployment rates in Spain as a whole are relatively high already compared to European rates, the unemployment rates in Andalusia reached a whole 8 per cent higher than the Spanish national rates in 2010¹¹³. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) argues that Andalusia was hit harder than other Spanish regions for a combination of reasons. First of all, it is claimed that the Andalusian economy is dependent to a very large extent on construction. Seeing as the construction market is the market that collapsed first during the crisis, unemployment rocketed in the region as a result. The second largest contributing factor of the Andalusian economy is that of tourism. Again, with tourism rates dropping, unemployment rocketed and income dropped. Moreover, Andalusia's industry is not as diverse as is the industry in other regions in Spain. These factors combined ensured that Andalusia suffered the biggest losses within Spain, while it had no opportunities to regain strength¹¹⁴. Finally, external support for Andalusia has been going down and is predicted to get even less after 2013, when Andalusia is no longer defined as a convergence region making it no longer eligible for structural European funding¹¹⁵.

Yet, how does one get from economic crisis to talk of national identification? In the field of economic nationalism debates continue to go on about the question whether nationalism effects economy, or whether the economy affects nationalism. It is this authors

¹¹¹ N/A. (2008). Spain's property crash: Builders' nightmare. *The economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/12725415>

¹¹² House, J. & Román D. (2012). Spain jobless crisis deepens. *The wall street journal*. Retrieved from: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304811304577369253280172124.html>.

¹¹³ OECD. (2011). *Review of higher education in regional and city development: Andalusia, Spain*. Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/46572679.pdf>, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

belief that both may be said to be true. However, for the sake of the argument presented in this thesis, the latter will be focussed upon in a short theoretical discussion here. Michael Veseth argues that economic nationalism starts to take form from the theory of mercantilism. He presents mercantilism as “a theoretical perspective that accounts for one of the basic compulsions of all nation-states: to create wealth and power in order to preserve and protect their national security and independence”¹¹⁶. Mercantilism thus puts national security at the centre of national concerns.

Veseth claims that mercantilism took the form of economic nationalism in the late 18th and 19th centuries. In this form, the focus is put on the development of a strong national economy through gaining economic independence. It may be argued that Franco followed a more extreme version of economic nationalism in pursuing his wish for autarky during his regime. Veseth takes the next step in proposing that neo-mercantilist policies arose in times of high economic interdependence on a global scale. He proposes that, rather than military security, which was the core of mercantilist policies before, these neo-mercantilist strategies take economic security as their main concern¹¹⁷.

Likewise, Harry Johnson proposes that the higher the economic international threat to a nation, be it real or perceived, the higher the neo-mercantilist, or economic nationalist policies that are in place¹¹⁸. Moreover, Johnson proposes that economic nationalism is strongly linked with other types of nationalism, for it needs the nationalist discourse as a source of justification for its economic policies. According to this theory, it is reasonable to presume that in the case of Andalusia the economic crisis plays a catalysing role in the increase of national identification talk. In the OECD report on Andalusia it is proposed that

¹¹⁶Veseth, M. (2001). Wealth and power: Mercantilism and economic nationalism. In: David N. Balaam. *Introduction to international political economy (2nd Edition)*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, p. 26.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 31-32.

¹¹⁸Johnson, H.G. (1967). A theoretical model of economic nationalism in new and developing states. In: Harry G. Johnson (Ed.). *Economic nationalism in old and new states*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 5.

the geographic location of the region, as well as the cultural past of the region may be used to its economic advantage. If articulated in the right way, it may provide a boost for tourism and attract sufficient foreign investment in the region¹¹⁹. As such, it is proposed here that the economic crisis functions as a catalyst primarily for external identification talk in Andalusia.

In sum: this chapter has introduced the notion of modelling as a catalyst for internal national identification. Additionally, it has outlined the economic crisis taking place in Spain as a catalyst for higher focus on external national identification. The remainder of this thesis examines both identification paths through the theory of nation branding. As such, nation branding theory is introduced in the next chapter, before moving into the details of the two nation brands being promoted in Andalusia in the final two chapters.

¹¹⁹OECD. (2011). *Review of higher education in regional and city development: Andalusia, Spain*. Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/46572679.pdf>, p. 4.

CHAPTER 4 – A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR NATION BRANDING

In the previous chapters it was argued that because of the political arrangement of Spain, as well as the recent economic crisis in the country, Andalusia, one of Spain's seventeen autonomous regions, has initiated a regionalization campaign in an effort to obtain as much autonomy as the more established autonomous regions in Spain, for example Catalonia and the Basque Country. Unlike some of such more established Spanish regions, Andalusia does not have a long-lasting history of regional identification. Nation branding theory may provide useful insights in the situation in Andalusia, as it are the techniques of nation branding that seem to be practiced by the Andalusian elite in their quest for regionalization. Because the notion of national identity, a specific form of collective identity is the basis for understanding nation-branding theories, it is outlined here first.

4.1 COLLECTIVE IDENTITY, NATIONHOOD AND REGIONALISM

Henry Tajfel has recognized that an individual's identity is composed not only of individual aspects, but also of a so-called social or collective identity. He argues that a person's self-identification is largely based on his/her desire for a positive self-image, which is to be obtained through belonging to one or more social groups¹²⁰. On the basis of this acknowledgment, other authors have worked towards an understanding of what makes a group a group, in order to understand the sources and content of collective identity. Daniel Bar-Tal has proposed group-beliefs as core in understanding the formation and continuation of groups. He defines group beliefs as the conviction that there is a group, as well as those ideas that define group membership. The first conviction may also be called *the fundamental group belief*. The other beliefs may be a variety of different convictions (norms, values,

¹²⁰Tajfel, H. (1981). Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In Henry Tajfel: *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 254-267.

goals, ideology)¹²¹. Fredrik Barth, on the other hand, has argued that it is not so much the contents, like Bar-Tal's group beliefs, which are forming and continuing the existence of a group. Rather, he argues, it is the creation and maintaining of boundaries between the in-group and out-group, that constitute a particular group¹²². While Barth's theory specifically deals with the ethnic group, it may be enlightening also in the case of different types of groups.

Some critiques of the concepts of identity and group have to be taken into consideration here as well. Rogers Brubaker has critiqued both the idea of identity, as well as the idea of the group. He, in cooperation with Fredrick Cooper, argues that the term identity has been stretched to mean too many things at the same time. They suggest to go beyond the term, and supplement it with several other terms (identification/categorization, self-understanding/social location and connectedness/ groupness), which give a clearer idea of agency (distinguishing also between categories of practice and categories of analysis)¹²³. Additionally, Brubaker warns against the use of groupism, or the belief that groups exist in reality as somewhat fixed and bounded entities. He contends that this is not the case, and claims one should not think of groups as such. Instead, he proposes one should think in terms of groupness, which crystalizes in some cases, and does not do so in others. The basis on which it may do so should be seen as a category, rather than a group. If one does so, it becomes possible to think of group-making as a project¹²⁴. While these ideas have also been critiqued¹²⁵, they will still be taken into consideration in this thesis.

¹²¹Bar-Tal, D. (1998). Group beliefs as an expression of social identity. In Stephen Worchel(ed). *Social identity: International perspectives*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 93-113.

¹²²Barth, F. (1969). Introduction. In F. Barth (Ed). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organisation of culture difference*. Little: Brown and Company.

¹²³Brubaker, R. & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond identity. *Theory and Society*, 29(1),1-47.

¹²⁴ Brubaker, R. (2004). Ethnicity without groups. In R. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without groups*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

¹²⁵Calhoun, C. (2003). 'Belonging' in the cosmopolitan imaginary. *Ethnicities*, 3 (4), 531-553.

One possible form of collective identity is that of the national identity. Benedict Anderson has coined the term imagined community to understand the concept of a national identity. He claims that the nation should be seen as a political, imagined community, which is both inherently sovereign and limited. The community is imagined, for an individual within the community may never meet all the other community members. It is limited, as, according to Anderson, there will never be an all-encompassing nation. Finally, it is imagined as sovereign, for the ultimate goal of the nation would be to have a sovereign state¹²⁶.

The previously discussed theories focused on national identity may well apply also to another form of collective identity, namely that of regional identity. Other authors have also discussed the notion of regional identity. Anssi Paasi argues that “Regions are historically contingent processes, related in different ways to political, governmental, economic and cultural practices and discourses. These processes are in a sense unique and this must also be the case with the always contested narratives concerned with regional identities”¹²⁷. Marco Antonsich acknowledges the resurgence of the region as a political actor, yet he is more critical in his approach than Paasi. From the start, Antonsich holds that any form of institutionalization of the region cannot come from above only, as it has to resonate with the population of the region. Yet, he identifies a problem here, as the geographical concept of the region is rather vague for the population. He concludes by saying that one should be wary to see regions as mini-nations¹²⁸.

What is taken from these theories for this thesis, is first and foremost the importance of the notion of the collective identity, for national identity is the basis of any kind of nation

¹²⁶Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

¹²⁷Paasi, A. (2003). Region and place: Regional identity in question. *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(4), 475-485.

¹²⁸Antonsich, M. (2010). Exploring the correspondence between regional forms of governance and regional identity: The case of Western Europe. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 17(3), 261-276.

branding. Both the idea of group-beliefs, as well as the notion of boundary maintenance are to be emphasized in this thesis, as it is exactly what nation branding provides. Brubaker's concerns with the notion of identity and group are to be considered. Especially the crystallization of groupness is considered, since nation branding techniques are aimed directly at such crystallization. Anderson's idea of the nation as an imagined community provides insight into what may constitute the collective identity of a nation, which may then be applied also to the regional level. Finally, Antonsich's critique concerning the viewing of regions as mini-nation leads to the question whether theories based on the nation may be directly applicable to regions. In this thesis, Antonsich's question specifically addresses nation-branding theories. An answer to the validity question is put forward in the section of this chapter dealing with nation-branding theory and its limitations.

4.2 RECOGNITION

In theorizing the notion of collective identity, Tajfel already hinted at the need for positive self-identification. In doing so, he recognized a need for recognition from other individuals and groups¹²⁹. Charles Taylor provides further detail to Tajfel's notion of the need for recognition. He proposes that there is a supposed link between identity and recognition, which entails that our identity is partly shaped by recognition, or its absence. Taylor holds that one cannot only receive full recognition from oneself, but needs others to recognize one as well, due to dialogical dimension¹³⁰ of contemporary society¹³¹. While Taylor focuses primarily on the recognition of an individual's identity, it may very well be applied to groups, such as national and regional collectives, as well. This proposal is taken up in particular by

¹²⁹Tajfel, H. (1981). Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In Henry Tajfel: *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 254-267.

¹³⁰According to Taylor, contemporary society is guided by dialogue, and everything is guided by such dialogue. In the case of identity and recognition, he argues that an individual's identity is created mostly through the recognition of significant others.

¹³¹Taylor, C. (1994). The politics of recognition. In A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Will Kymlicka, in his theory on multiculturalism. Key to this theory is the focus on the need to recognize minority groups, and specifically their rights as opposed to those of the majority group. In arguing for the recognition of the rights of minority groups, Kymlicka indirectly acknowledges the importance of recognition of (minority) group identity, as such rights are in place to protect exactly those components that constitute the basics of identity, for example, language¹³².

Nancy Fraser proposes a more critical understanding of the need for recognition. She acknowledges that recognition claims have become more prominent, as opposed to claims for redistribution, in the discourse of social and political conflicts. Fraser contends that in academic literature, (mis)recognition is inherently linked to identity distortion. According to her, this linkage creates two problems: that of displacement and reification. Instead, she proposes to see misrecognition as a question of status-subordination, which may do away with the issues caused by seeing recognition as a question of identity distortion¹³³.

This thesis adopts a middle ground between Taylor and Tajfel on the one hand, and Fraser on the other. It acknowledges the need for recognition for positive self-identification, whether on an individual or collective level. At the same time, it takes into consideration the issues this may bring along. It argues that in the case of Andalusia, the argument for status-subordination may provide clarity in and of itself. Nonetheless, in the end it is a question of identity that comes out of this status-subordination.

In combining the need for recognition with the historic imbalances in recognition in Spain, the necessity for an approach focusing on the region in Andalusia becomes apparent.

¹³² Kymlicka, W. (2007). *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹³³ Fraser, N. (2003). Rethinking recognition: overcoming displacement and reification in cultural politics. In B. Hobson (Ed.), *Recognition struggles and social movements: Contested identities, agency and power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This argument is worked out in chapter 2, and the catalyst for recognizing differences between Madrid's recognition for the different regions, namely the current economic crisis is discussed in chapter 3. The chapter now turns to the theory of nation branding, for it is argued that the tools of nation branding are employed by Andalusian political elites to create a sense of Andalusian identity.

4.3 NATION BRANDING IN THE LITERATURE

The aim of the following section is twofold. First, it provides an overview of the most important scholarly works and debates about nation branding. Following Nadia Kaneva's classification of nation branding studies, some of the key arguments from different sides are presented. Moreover, the limitations of nation branding theory are touched upon. Second, based on this review, a framework for understanding nation branding is established, which is to be used in later chapters for the analysis of primary sources.

It should be recognized at first that national identity provides the basis for any form of nation branding. Two notions introduced in these theories may be considered as especially informative, namely the ideas of Eric Hobsbawm and Michael Billig. Hobsbawm argues that traditions are invented in order to create a feeling of belonging in a community. These invented traditions are defined as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past"¹³⁴. It is by creating a coping mechanism for novelties in society, that they provide a sense of belonging. Billig proposes that nationalism takes several forms. While it is the more extreme forms that are usually studied by academics, there are more banal forms of nationalism as well. He proposes that while these forms are usually hidden, they may be immediately called

¹³⁴Hobsbawm. E. (1992a). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In. E. Hobsbawm (Ed.), *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

upon in catalytic events¹³⁵. Below, a framework for nation branding in practice is proposed, in which it is argued that the invention of tradition is the main method of nation branding, while banal forms of nationalism are the primary target of such practices.

Nadia Kaneva provides a categorization of different approaches to nation branding, which is used as a guideline both in reviewing existing literature, as well as creating a framework for understanding nation branding as applied in this thesis. She recognizes first an economic-technical approach, which is the road travelled most often. Kaneva contends that these studies see brand management and nation brand management as somewhat identical¹³⁶. Peter van Ham acknowledges the rise of the nation as a brand, and argues that, without a good brand, a geographical area may be seen as handicapped. In his view, this goes for the nation, as well as the region or even the city¹³⁷. Simon Anholt argues that the world today is a marketplace, in which, ideas about the nation, both true and false, influence behaviour. He claims that, through nation-branding, which may be thought of as similar to brand management for products and corporations, such images about the nation can be favourably influenced¹³⁸. Similarly, Olins claims that countries and companies are becoming more alike, at times even changing roles. He explains that his change is occurring because of the marketization of society as well as globalization¹³⁹. To move from theory to practice, Heather Skinner and Krzysztof Kubacki¹⁴⁰, as well as Ying Fan¹⁴¹ provide models for how nation

¹³⁵ Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

¹³⁶ Kaneva, N. (2009). Nation branding: Toward an agenda for critical research. *International Journal of Communication*, 5(2011), 117-141.

¹³⁷ Van Ham, P. (2001). The rise of the brand state: The postmodern politics of image and reputation. *Foreign Affairs*, 8(5), 2-6.

¹³⁸ Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. Basingstoke: Pallgrave Macmillan.

¹³⁹ Olins, W. (1999). *Trading identities: Why countries and companies are taking on each other's roles*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre.

¹⁴⁰ Skinner, H. & Kubacki, K. (2007). Unravelling the complex relationship between nationhood, national and cultural identity and place branding. *Place branding and public diplomacy*, 3(4), 305-316.

branding works, based primarily on brand management theory¹⁴². Finally, John O'Shaughnessy and Nicholas Jackson O'Shaughnessy study the limits of seeing the nation as a brand. They point to a limitation of the nation image as opposed to brand image, namely that it is trying to capture too much for different audiences. Nonetheless, they conclude that, though it is not as simple to equate a nation brand with a product brand, it should still be seen as such¹⁴³.

Kaneva introduces a second set of approaches. These take into consideration the similarities and dissimilarities between public diplomacy and nation branding, and may thus be called political approaches¹⁴⁴. Gyorgy Szondi attempts to identify the possible relations between nation branding and public diplomacy. He reviews definitions for both terms, and the ways in which they are similar and dissimilar. Based on this review, five models for possible relationships are proposed, as well as potential strengths and weaknesses for each¹⁴⁵. Eytan Gilboa, on the other hand, claims that public diplomacy and nation branding should not even be considered as overlapping based on the argument that both fields differ in goals very much¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴¹ Fan, Y. (2008). *Key perspectives in nation image: A conceptual framework for nation branding*. Unpublished manuscript, Brunel University, Retrieved from [http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key perspectives in nation image.pdf](http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key%20perspectives%20in%20nation%20image.pdf).

¹⁴² These models are discussed in greater detail towards the end of this chapter, where they are combined in a framework for understanding used in this thesis in particular.

¹⁴³ O'Shaughnessy, J. & O'Shaughnessy, J.N. (2000). Treating the nation as a brand: Some neglected issues. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 20(1), 56-64.

¹⁴⁴ Kaneva, N. (2009). Nation branding: Toward and agenda for critical research. *International Journal of Communication*, 5(2011), 117-141.

¹⁴⁵ Szondi, G. (2008). Public diplomacy and nation branding: Conceptual similarities and differences. *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*. The Hague, Netherlands: Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

¹⁴⁶ Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a theory of public diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(55), 55-77.

Kaneva suggests a final set of approaches in studies of nation branding. These look at the implications nation branding may have on the nation that is being branded¹⁴⁷. She considers this last set of approaches to be fairly critical of nation branding. Ishita Sinha Roy proposes that nation branding may be seen as a form of neo-colonialism as it reinforces the First World – Third World dichotomy¹⁴⁸. More importantly, she argues that the particular problem with nation branding practices lies in the fact that they are highly essentializing. In a similar vein, Melissa Aronczyk argues that nation branding projects change “the moral basis of national citizenship”¹⁴⁹. She claims that, in seeking the core of the nation, it leaves out to many other aspects that may also belong to the nation.

The critiques provided by Kaneva’s last set of approaches lays beyond the scope of the thesis, for they deal with the outcomes of nation branding, while this thesis is concerned primarily with the processes creating the brand. More general critiques are proposed by Felix Stock. First, he contends that, by simply claiming nation branding does not exist, some scholars undermine the field of nation branding studies. A more substantial critique is put forward in the argument concerning the controllability of any image, specifically the nation image. Additionally, Stock proposes it is extremely hard to provide scientific evidence for a causal relationship between renewed nation branding practices and a change in the nation’s image.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷Kaneva, N. (2009). Nation branding: Toward and agenda for critical research. *International Journal of Communication*, 5(2011), 117-141.

¹⁴⁸Roy, I.S. (2007). Worlds apart: Nation branding on the national geographic channel. *Media, culture & society*, 29(4), 569-592.

¹⁴⁹Aronczyk, M. (2008). “Living the brand”: Nationality, globality and identity strategies of nation branding consultants. *International Journal of Communication*, 2, p. 43.

¹⁵⁰Stock, F. (2009). Identity, image and brand: A conceptual framework. *Place branding and public diplomacy*, 5(2), 118-125.

4.4 A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING NATION BRANDING

Grounded on the reviewed material, the chapter now turns to constructing a framework that is to be used in analysing primary sources in this thesis. The constructed framework is based mainly in the economic-technical approaches as presented by Kaneva and described above. However, some elements from the set of political approaches to nation branding are considered likewise. Before any framework can be considered, some issues of definition are to be discussed.

Simon Anholt proposes a difference between brand, and branding. According to Anholt the former refers to a product, service or organization in combination with its name, identity and reputation, while the latter concerns the process of planning and communicating the name and identity in order to influence the reputation¹⁵¹. Keith Dinnie acknowledges this distinction in claiming that it should equally be applied to nations. Before providing a definition, Dinnie proposes another differentiation to be made between national brand and nation brand. A national brand is, according to Dinnie, a brand that is nationally available, as opposed to one that may be only locally available. The nation brand, on the other, refers to the brand being the nation. He accordingly defines the nation brand as “the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all its target audiences”¹⁵². The thesis adopts Dinnie’s definition of the nation brand, as well as his further consideration of the nation brand as an umbrella brand for several different brands, including those aimed towards foreign investment, tourism and talent attraction¹⁵³.

¹⁵¹Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. Basingstoke: Pallgrave Macmillan, p. 4.

¹⁵² Dinnie, K. (2008). *Nation branding: Concepts, issues and practice*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, Elsevier, p. 15.

¹⁵³Ibid, p. 200.

Anholt recommends a distinction between four aspects of the brand. First, the brand identity entails the core concept of the product. In the case of the nation brand, Anholt proposes the national identity as the brand identity. The second aspect is that of the brand image, which may or may not overlap with the brand identity. The brand image is the reputation the branded product has in the eyes of the target audience. The third aspect of the brand is what Anholt names the brand purpose. Brand purpose may be thought off as the internal brand image. As final aspect of the brand, Anholt proposes brand equity, which covers the notion that a positive and stable reputation, it becomes a great advantage for the product, service or organization it covers¹⁵⁴.

Based on Anholt's four aspects of the brand, as well as an article by Brown, Pratt and Whetten concerning the connection between identity, image and reputation¹⁵⁵, Ying Fan proposes a model for understanding the workings of nation branding¹⁵⁶. The initial stage of Fan's framework is the realization of six aspects to the nation's image. These six aspects are schematically represented in Figure 1. Number one represents the self-perception of nation A, which is closely related to Anholt's brand identity. According to both Anholt and Fan, this aspect is based on the national identity. Number two embodies how nation A views another nation. Such a view of a different nation functions as a reference point for nation A. The third number refers to how nation A beliefs it is considered by another nation. Fan refers to this belief as the construed image. Number four signifies the reputation, or actual image, which is how nation A is actually perceived by a different nation in reality. Number five refers to the

¹⁵⁴Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. Basingstoke: Pallgrave Macmillan, p. 6.

¹⁵⁵Brown, T.J., Dacin, P.A., Pratt, M.G. & Whetten, D.A. (2006). Identity, intended image, construed image, and reputation: An interdisciplinary framework and suggested terminology. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 34(2), 99-106.

¹⁵⁶Fan, Y. (2008). *Key perspectives in nation image: A conceptual framework for nation branding*. Unpublished manuscript, Brunel University, Retrieved from [http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key perspectives in nation image.pdf](http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key%20perspectives%20in%20nation%20image.pdf).

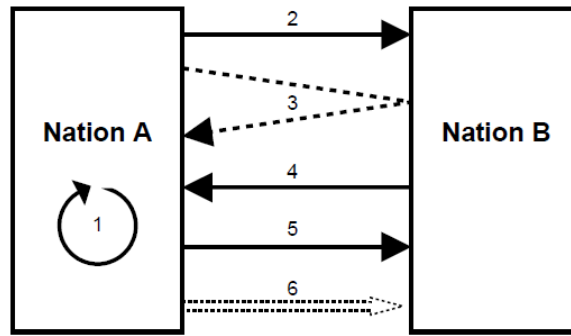


Figure 1: Six aspects to the nation's image (Y. Fan)

currently promoted image. This includes all manners in which nation A presently promotes itself to another nation. Finally, number six represents how nation A wants to be perceived by a different nation. Fan refers to this last aspect as the desired future image of a nation¹⁵⁷.

The second stage of Fan's framework for understanding nation branding is that of gap analysis. He points out four potential gaps between the different aspects of the nation's image as presented above. The first gap is that between self-perception and external perception (or reputation). The second gap exists between construed and actual external perception. A gap between the currently promoted image and the external perception is the third identified by Fan. Finally, a gap between the currently promoted image and the future desired image of a nation is proposed. Fan holds that it is the task of nation branding to identify and analyse these gaps. Through such analysis, branding practices may be altered to obtain the desired external image¹⁵⁸. The thesis adopts Fan's model for understanding nation branding and will implement it to analyse nation branding practices in Andalusia. In accordance with Peter van Ham, it is believed that both economic and political aspects contribute to the desired future image¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁷Fan, Y. (2008). *Key perspectives in nation image: A conceptual framework for nation branding*. Unpublished manuscript, Brunel University, Retrieved from [http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key perspectives in nation image.pdf](http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key%20perspectives%20in%20nation%20image.pdf), p. 12.

¹⁵⁸Fan, Y. (2008). *Key perspectives in nation image: A conceptual framework for nation branding*. Unpublished manuscript, Brunel University, Retrieved from [http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key perspectives in nation image.pdf](http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/1872/4/Key%20perspectives%20in%20nation%20image.pdf), p. 9.

¹⁵⁹ Van Ham, P. (2001). The rise of the brand state: The postmodern politics of image and reputation. *Foreign Affairs*, 8(5), 2–6.

Marco Antonsich's objection to seeing regions as mini-nation should be addressed here¹⁶⁰. In line with his argument, it should be asked whether a theory based on the nation can be implemented without hesitation to analyse materials on a regional level. The answer is presented by Simon Anholt who, after introducing the term nation branding, has started to refer to nation branding practices, as place branding¹⁶¹. In this case, the brand may be a nation, a city, and thus likewise a region. Regardless, during the analysis of primary sources in chapter 4, Antonsich's argument is taken into consideration.

¹⁶⁰Antonsich, M. (2010). Exploring the correspondence between regional forms of governance and regional identity: The case of Western Europe. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 17(3), 261-276

¹⁶¹Anholt, S. (2010). *Places: identity, image and reputation*. Basingstoke: Pallgrave Macmillan.

CHAPTER 5 – INTERNAL IDENTIFICATION

Based on the theory presented in the preceding chapters, the following two chapters analyse branding practices as found in Andalusia. This chapter aims at providing insight in the internal identification presented through such practices, while the next chapter zooms in on external identification. As such, the core part of the current chapter focuses on a national (or perhaps better regional) brand primarily for the inhabitants of Andalusia. The main source for analysis is the permanent exhibition of the *Museo de la autonomía de Andalucía*, which consists of four major sections. The first deals with the particular history of the autonomous region. The other three sections each deal with a particular part of the autonomy, one on *nuestras instituciones* (our institutions), one on *nuestros símbolos* (our symbols), and one on *nuestra gente* (our people).

As proposed in the introduction, this thesis uses Kolakowski's understanding of nation building for the purpose of analysis. To understand why it is precisely this understanding that is applied as a methodological approach for the internal identification created for Andalusians, reference may be made to the historic imbalances between regions. Since historic nationalities have previously enjoyed more rights than regions like Andalusia for the simple reason that they may be conceived of as nations, it is understandable that the Andalusian regional government opts for a strong nation building rhetoric in its branding practices. It is Kolakowski who focuses on the analysis of such rhetoric. In his understanding, nation building rhetoric includes five separate characteristics: national spirit, historic or collective memory, future orientation, national body, and a nameable beginning. This chapter first describes the four different parts of the permanent exhibition of the museum in some detail, before it moves into a discussion of the building blocks as outlined by Kolakowski.

5.1 A PRESENTATION OF THE ANDALUSIAN AUTONOMY

The presentation of the Andalusian Autonomy in the *Museo de la Autonomía de Andalucía* commences with a historical overview of how the region obtained the level of autonomy it presently has. This historical presentation is subdivided in six different phases, which are shortly introduced here. The first phase “*Los primeros pasos hacia la Autonomía*” covers the period between 1868 and 1936. It is proposed here that, due to significant underdevelopment and oppression of Andalusia, combined with constant government changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, promoted the emergence of a concept of the Andalusian nation. Moreover, it is stated that during this period, anthropologists and other social scientists became more interested in Andalusian folklore. Finally, the importance of Blas Infante for the emergence of Andalusian nationalism is highlighted here by means of the introduction of the emblem and banner for Andalusia, which will be addressed in more detail later.

The second phase of the autonomy is referred to as “*El letargo de la Guerra Civil y la dictadura (1936-1975)*”. It is emphasized here that Andalusia was particularly hit by the atrocities of the Civil War. As a result, the already underdeveloped region became an even more grim place. More importantly, the section dealing with this period emphasized the role of the Franco dictatorship in limiting all social and political opportunities for the Andalusian Autonomy. Additionally, the regime hindered the development of a cultural nationalism, as intellectuals and artists were expelled and in some cases even murdered.

The third phase, “*Un pueblo en la calle que llucha por la Autonomía*”, specifically deals with the transition period from 1976 to 1979. It is presented here that the Andalusian population went out on the streets during the transition to make claims for greater autonomy for the region. At the same time, the *Junta de Andalucía* (Andalusian regional government) was established, and the *Pacto de Antequera*, in which all political parties committed to strive towards autonomy together, was signed. Moreover, intellectuals and artists that had been

exiled during the Franco dictatorship started to come back to Andalusia. They played a large part in the creation of the Andalusian identity, which began to more and more reflect on the ideal of liberty.

The fourth and fifth phase occupy themselves with the official implementation of the constitution. In the fourth phase, “*La Autonomía en las urnas*”, the referendum for autonomy is described. The fact that 65 per cent of the population showed up for this referendum, which was the largest participation in Spanish history, is taken as a large popular support for the autonomy of Andalusia. However, at the same time, this phase outlines the debates about the official status of Andalusia according to the Constitution: would it become a fast track region as outlined in article 143 of the Constitution, or would it gain the same rights as do the historic nationalities as outlined in article 151 of the Constitution. The fifth phase, “*El estatuto de los Andaluces*”, focuses on the implementation of the constitution, through a discussion of the first autonomous elections, the first government, and the transference of powers from the national to the regional level.

The final section, “*Los logros de la Autonomía: Presente y futuro*” covers the period between 1982 and 2007. It claims that nowadays, through working together as one region, Andalusia has become one of the more advanced regions of Spain. Also presented here are the changes made to the statute of autonomy in 2007. Emphasized in this presentation is the fact that now, after these changes, Andalusia enjoys the maximum level of autonomy possible under the Spanish constitution.

The next section presenting the Andalusian Autonomy is occupied with the institutions of the regional government. For all three institutions, core powers and main tasks, as well as the city and building where the seats are located, are outlined. The *Parlamento* which is the main legislative body of the Andalusian government is presented as the centre where fundamental political decisions are made. The example provided is the election of the

President. The *Parlamento* is located in Sevilla. Also located in Sevilla is the *Consejo de Gobierno*, the executive branch of the regional government. The *Consejo* is made up of the president, the vice-president and the consejeros. Its main task is of administrative nature. Finally, the *Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Andalucía* is the judicial branch of Andalusian government, which may deal with civil, penal, administrative and social cases. The seat of the *Tribunal* is located in Granada. This section of the permanent exposition is ended by the statement that all those three institutions work together to work for the rights of the Andalusians to autonomy.

The following section of the exhibition deals with the symbols of the Andalusian Autonomy. As they will provide the key component for analysis in the final part of this chapter, substantial space is used here to describe the exhibition. What needs to be noted first is the enormous influence Blas Infante has had on the creation and adoption of the three symbols presented in the museum: The emblem, the flag and the anthem of Andalusia. It is noted that Blas Infante took most of his inspiration for these symbols from Andalusian culture and its rich history. He believed that these elements were to be linked with the present and the future to create symbols for all Andalusians. The museum explains that “From now, these symbols serve as a defining and binding factor, a vehicle of vindication for the Andalusian autonomy. They are an unequivocal expression of our identity, our unity, and they represent all Andalusians.”¹⁶².

The first symbol that is presented is that of the region’s emblem. The emblem is both shown and described in words on the website of the museum as well as in the permanent exhibition. Of main importance in the emblem of Andalusia is the figure of Hercules, flanked by two lions. It is explained that Hercules is in the emblem because all the characteristics he stands for – youth, spirit, a capability to appease nature and belief only in the strength of one’s

¹⁶² Desde entonces, *estos símbolos sirven como element definitorio, aglutinante y vehiculo de reivindicación de la autonomía andaluza. Son expresión inequívoca de nuestra identidad, nos unen y representan a todos los Andaluces.*

own effort – form the basis on which Andalusia is built. Above the figure, one finds the text *Dominator Hercules Fundator* written on a banner in the colours of the Andalusian flag. According to the museum's analysis Hercules was seen as the dominator of the world's conscience and the fundator of one world's most creative civilizations and as such forms a role model for many Andalusians. Finally, under Hercules one finds the slogan of Andalusia, also on the background of the Andalusian flag. The slogan reads *Andalucía por sí, para España y la humanidad*. It is proposed that this slogan shows Andalusia's wish to enlarge itself, yet not just for itself. Enlarging Andalusia would then also benefit the larger Spanish population and the entire humanity.

In addition to the description and justification of the emblem, the museum provides information on when the emblem was adopted and how it was changed over time. It is explained that the emblem of Andalusia is based loosely on the emblem of Cadiz. Moreover, originally there was a third theme in the emblem, namely that of the Betica (Roman) and Andaluz (Islamic) history of Andalusia. However, this theme has disappeared from the emblem that was adopted by the Asamblea de Ronda in 1918. Finally, the emblem that is exhibited in the museum is the one that was originally located at the door of Blas Infante's house. It is the only emblem that remained in its place during the entire civil war and dictatorship. For reasons of preservation, it is now located in the museum.

The second symbol highlighted in the museum is the Andalusian flag. Like the emblem, the flag was accepted as the official Andalusian one by the Asamblea de Ronda in 1918. In article 3.1 of the statute of autonomy of Andalusia the outlook of the flag is described as being traditionally formed by three horizontal rows of equal height. The colours of the flag are green, white and green. According to Blas Infante, these colours stand for the key factors of the Andalusian identity, namely green for hope and white for peace. However, further meaning is given to the colours of the flag in the statement "Green is the garment of

our mountains and countryside, adorned by brooches of white villages; lemon trees in bloom are the preferred trees of Andalusians and white are our villages and ancient towns fringed with green Jasmine branches. White and pure, like a young child, is the Andalusia resurging from our warm lap¹⁶³”. With this statement, the flag of Andalusia is linked to the landscape of the region, green to the mountains, trees and countryside, and white to the ancient little towns and farmhouses found all over in Andalusia.

The final element presented as symbolizing Andalusia is its hymn or anthem. It is explained that the text and music were written by Blas Infante and then combined by José de Castillo. The piece, based on a religious song called *Santo Dios*, was accepted by the Andalusian regional government in 1933. According to Blas Infante, the anthem of Andalusia is a song of hope, a symbol of unity among all Andalusians which shows the level of solidarity. The text of the anthem is presented, and additionally some of the key factors are highlighted in the museum’s exhibition. The text reads:

The banner, white and green (*La bandera blanca y verde*)
Remains, after ages of war (*Vuelve, tras siglos de Guerra*)
To say peace and hope (*A decir paz y esperanza*)
Beneath the sun on our land (*Bajo el sol de nuestra tierra*)

Andalusia lets stand up! (*¡Andalucía, levantaos!*)
Ask for land and liberty! (*¡Pedid tierra y libertad!*)
In favour of a free Andalusia (*¡Sea por Andalucía libre*)
Spain, and humanity! (*España y la Humanidad!*)

The Andalusians want (*Los Andaluces queremos*)
To keep being who they were (*Volver a ser lo que fuimos*)
People of light, who to the people (*Hombres de luz, que a los hombres*)
Give the spirit of the people. (*Alma de hombres les dimos*)

The museum presents a number of themes from these lyrics as fundamental for this symbol of Andalusian identity. The first of those is the personality of the Andalusian population, which

¹⁶³ *Verde es la vestidura de nuestras sierras y campiñas prendida por los broches de las campesinas habitaciones blancas, limoneros en flor son los arboles preferidos por los Andaluces y blancas son nuestras villas y antiguas ciudades de blancos caserios con verdes rejerlas orladas de jazmines. Pura y blanca, como un niño, es la Andalucía renaciente que en nuestro regazo se calienta*

accordingly is based on their historical origin, presented through a cultural heritage which goes back a long time. This is particularly true in the sentence “*los Andaluces queremos volver a ser lo que fuimos*”, the Andalusian wish to go back to be, what they were before. A second theme pinpointed by the museum is that of the vindications of Andalusia, referring primarily to the issues of liberty and land, specifically in the sentence “*pedid tierra y libertad*”, ask for land and liberty. A third theme is that of the universal nature of the Andalusian ideal. Like in the slogan found on the region’s emblem, the text of the hymn refers to populations beyond the Andalusian population. A final theme that is highlighted is that of peace, and to some extent also hope, clear from the first sentences about the Andalusian flag representing peace and hope on the Andalusian land.

The museum concludes the section dealing with the region’s anthem with a quote from Blas Infante, summarizing exactly the meaning and key themes of the anthem: “In this form, the anthem combines the vindication and pride for our history and our culture, the necessity of a transformation of social and economic structures in order to achieve a better, more just, more solidary future. Hope to live in a culture of peace and universal freedom are current challenges Andalusians must face day to day”¹⁶⁴.

The final section of the exhibition of the Museum for Andalusian autonomy presents “the people” of Andalusia. It should be clear that Blas Infante is featured rather prominently in this section. Other than him, the exhibition shows a number of pictures and names of people who have received the title of “Favourite Children” (*Hijos Predilectos*) or have received a golden medal for services to Andalusia. Finally, some other personas who have not necessarily received this honour, but have been of importance to the generation of Andalusian culture and identification, are shown as well.

¹⁶⁴ *De esta forma, el himno combina la reivindicación y el orgullo por nuestra historia y nuestra cultura, la necesidad de transformación de las estructuras sociales y económicas para alcanzar un futuro mejor, mas justo y solidario. La esperanza por vivir en una cultura de paz y libertad universal siguen siendo los retos actuales por los que los Andaluces debemos seguir apostando día a día.*

5.2 NATIONAL SPIRIT AND NATIONAL BODY: ANDALUSIAN BANAL NATIONALISM

The first building block in Kolakowski's national identity is that of *Volksgeist* or national spirit. He contends that such spirit may manifest itself in multiple ways, but is mostly present in cultural practices and collective national behaviours¹⁶⁵. While appreciating the cultural aspect introduced by Kolakowski, emphasis is put here on the expression of national spirit in collective national behaviour. The way such expressions are defined for the purpose of this thesis is in line with Michael Billig's banal nationalism, thus focussing on more tacit forms of nationalism as found in everyday life¹⁶⁶.

The start of creating national spirit within the Museum for Andalusian Autonomy is the consistent use of the word 'our'. By presenting the institutions, symbols and people as belonging to the spectators, a sense of community is created, to which all spectators can relate. The major goal of the exhibition is teaching the visitors about the Andalusian Autonomy. Primarily in the section presenting Andalusian symbols, banal forms of nationalism, such as the flag and the anthem are presented and explained in an attempt to engrain them in the spirit of the visitors. Yet, the exhibition goes further than merely introducing the symbols of the nation. It introduces the main personality of the entire Andalusian population. It is presented as a diverse population, some Christian, some Islamic, some Jewish, that stands united through their belief in ideals of hope, peace and liberty.

An additional building block for nation building rhetoric as understood by Kolakowski is that of the national body. National body should be explained as that what links national identity and national territory, and as such is often understood as a metaphor for different bodies of the state. In the exposition under analysis here, it is particularly the section dealing

¹⁶⁵Kolakowski, L. (1995). Überkollektive Identität. In K. Michalski (ed): *Identität im Wandel: Castelgandolfo-Gespräche 1995*. Vienna: Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, p. 47-60.

¹⁶⁶Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

with ‘Our institutions’ that portrays such a notion of the national body. However, it may also be found in the justifications for the flag, and to some extent in the explanations of the emblem. Both these symbols are linked to the landscape of the Andalusian territory. The flag is explicitly linked to the mountains and countryside filled with little white villages. The emblem, on the other hand, is linked to Andalusia’s landscape in the sense that Hercules is presented as being able to appease nature, much like the Andalusians.

In addition, a short side example is presented here, for it is not only in state-sponsored projects that the national body is being promoted. As argued by Robert Foster in his work on Papua New Guinea, there is also a commercial side to nation building. Moreover, he argues, this commercial side is becoming increasingly important in the marketized world of today. He presents a number of cases in which product marketing is used for nation building purposes, for example, drinking coffee is specifically Papua New Guinean¹⁶⁷. Commercialization of a nation image is introduced here, as it may also be found in the case of Andalusia, be it in a lesser form than those described by Foster. A Spanish beer brand, Cruzcampo, which is located in Andalusia, uses a similar method in its advertisement. In the figure below one particular advertisement is presented which directly links national identity to the national territory, for it shows the map of Andalusia filled with words connected to Andalusia, such as passionate, enthusiasm and light. In using this type of rhetoric, the drinking of a Cruzcampo beer becomes undeniably connected with being Andalusian, in this case directly referring to the Andalusian territory.

¹⁶⁷ Foster, R.J. (2002). *Materializing the nation: commodities, consumption and media in Papua New Guinea*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.



Figure 2: Cruzcampo advertisement 2011 campaign.

The analysis so far shows the branding of a nation in very basic, day to day forms of nationalist imagery. It may thus be argued that the branding campaign of the Andalusian government, aided perhaps by the commercial sector of the region, is aimed towards combining the different groups within the Andalusian population into one coherent nation with the goal of renewed and extended autonomous rights, if not the ideals of hope, liberty and peace. However, these basic nationalist symbols are not the only nation building blocks according to Kolakowski. He additionally focuses on the need of a collective memory as well as the notion of origin. The next section of this chapter provides an analysis of the most important factors comprising the collective memory of Andalusians.

5.3 BLAS INFANTE: THE FATHER OF ANDALUSIAN NATIONALISM

The beginning of Andalusian nationalism is clearly pinpointed in the late 19th or early 20th century, when the problems of the Andalusian region became so large, that it was felt something could only be done collectively. However, within Andalusian nationalism, a larger past is outlined, primarily through the doings of Blas Infante. Three key factors in the collective memory of the Andalusian population are presented here: the ancient times of Betica and Al-Andalus, Andalusian survival during the civil war and the dictatorship, and

finally the role of Blas Infante as father of Andalusian nationalism and in turn father of the Andalusian people.

First, it is presented that the ideals for Andalusia in the future stem from ancient times in which different peoples lived together peacefully. While not directly being referred to as the Golden Age of Andalusia, it is clear that Blas Infante takes his inspiration for the region's future from those times. The ideal of more solidarity between Andalusians, and specifically also the Spanish population as a whole comes from the times in which all (religious) groups lived together without much problems. It is argued that these different groups learned from each other, and as such enjoyed socio-economic prosperity. What is promoted then is solidarity in order to once more obtain such an advantageous economic position.

A second factor that plays a major part in the collective memory of the Andalusians is that of the civil war and the subsequent Franco dictatorship. This factor, different from the first, has a rather negative connotation. The way it is presented is that during the civil war and the dictatorship, Andalusia was particularly vulnerable. As a result, it was used and abused, resulting in more underdevelopment for the region. Additionally, by forcing creators of cultural heritage to leave the region, and taking over cultural markers, this period left Andalusia in a rather agonizing state. The collective memory promoted by the regional government now, takes the hardships endured by the region, and turns them around by promoting the strength and companionship that is shown by the Andalusian population by the mere fact that they have countered such a harsh situation.

A final feature of the collective memory of Andalusia that cannot be omitted in this discussion, is the role of Blas Infante as the father of Andalusian nationalism. Throughout the discussion of all the symbols promoted by the regional government in the museum, it becomes clear that Blas Infante has a defining role for all of them. As such, it seems like he has almost become a symbol in and of his own. Important to note here is the way in which

Blas Infante's death is portrayed in the museum, as it goes a long way to show the feeling that Andalusian's ought to have, towards this father of the fatherland. The death of Blas Infante is directly connected to the death of numerous Andalusian soldiers during the Civil War and portrayed in such a way that promotes the idea that Blas Infante died for his fatherland: Andalusia.

The last building block outlined by Kolakowski as constituting nation building, is that of a future orientation. It seems to be clear in the case presented in the identification for Andalusians: A future based on the ideals of Blas Infante, taken from the golden ages of the Andalusian territory, is to be obtained. Those ideals include a more just society and a society based on more solidarity and peace. It is also clear, from the Andalusian emblem and the text of the Andalusian anthem that those ideals should not only be reached in Andalusia. Rather, they should be promoted outside the Andalusian borders as well.

5.4 BRANDING ANDALUSIA FOR ANDALUSIANS

From all this analysis, one may deduct the nation brand of Andalusia aimed towards Andalusians themselves. First and foremost, it seeks to create a nation out of the diverse population groups within the Andalusian territory. It specifically looks at the ancient history of the region, the Roman and Moorish past, to justify the future goals of the region. In doing so, it outlines some character traits of the Andalusians: endurance, strength, and a strong belief in a just society. After this primary occupation with creating a nation, the branding measures seek symbols that may be adopted by the Andalusian population, so that they themselves can start promoting the ideals set out by the government in their branding campaign. These symbols can all be considered forms of banal nationalism. While important factors, they seem to omit a very important factor in the creation of a nation: that of a national culture. While some references are made to the rich cultural past of the region, not much is

done in the internal nation brand to incorporate this particular heritage. In the next and final chapter, it is shown that in the case of the external nation brand, national cultural forms play a much more prominent role.

CHAPTER 6 – EXTERNAL IDENTIFICATION

In addition to the development of a clear-cut identification for Andalusians, the Andalusian regional government has recently begun to show interest in changing its current external identification. This chapter is structured around the method of nation-branding proposed by Fan, particularly his gap analysis. It is Fan's idea that, at the core of nation branding practices, is an analysis of gaps between a number of factors. Two of the gaps identified by Fan, one between the currently promoted image and the external perception, and one between currently promoted image and future desired image, are particularly interesting in the case of Andalusia. This chapter presents the analysis of these gaps done by the Andalusian regional government. It then discusses some recent tourism promotional materials to examine in how far the regional government is following its own advice. From these two discussions, an image of the Andalusian nation brand for external audiences should emerge.

6.1 ANALYSING THE ANDALUSIAN IMAGE

Earlier in this thesis, recommendations made to the Andalusian regional government by the OECD to re-evaluate the image Andalusia has in other states in order to attract more tourists and new foreign investment to be able to recover from the financial crisis were presented. Such discussions have indeed emerged, yet they have been supplemented with a more general discussion about the Andalusian image and how it should change. Several reasons are thus presented for the creation of a new identification discourse in addition to the tourism enhancement argument. First, it is argued that many of the Andalusian governmental institutions have lost the ability to represent the Andalusian population and provide the population with a clear identification¹⁶⁸. Second, trends of globalization and migration are

¹⁶⁸Gonzalez de Molina, M. (2012). Notas para la discusión sobre la identidad de Andalucía en el contexto del siglo XXI. In: Salvador Cruz Artacho (ed.). *Identidad cultural y política de Andalucía*. Retrieved from:

being proposed as causing the Andalusian population to become more heterogeneous. It is proposed that current identification discourses do not take into consideration the diverse ethnicities, religions and cultures that live in the region¹⁶⁹. Claims are thus being made that the current identification discourse corresponds with a socio-economic and political situation that is no longer contemporary.

A picture of the current image external actors have of Andalusia is sketched. In this image, Andalusia is seen as an economically and politically dependent region. In this image, focus is put particularly to the special funds that have been set up since the 1978 constitution to aid those regions within the Spanish borders that are economically least developed. Special reference is made to the perceived low education level of Andalusian students, particularly when it comes to language abilities. A second key component proposed in the sketched image is that of Andalusia as an agrarian society rather than an urban society. Again, reference is made here to economic development, for industrialization is presented as less strong in Andalusia.

Gonzalez de Molina proposes that Andalusia nowadays relates to none of the characteristics mentioned above. First of all, he argues that Andalusia has now developed governmental institutions that are fully capable of functioning independently from the national Spanish government, especially now that Andalusia has obtained the full level of autonomy allowed under the Spanish constitution. He does agree that there is still some level of dependence, specifically economic dependence. However, he proposes that this dependence is much less than previously, and Andalusia should no longer be compared to developing states. Additionally, Gonzalez the Molina argues that Andalusia can no longer be imagined as an agrarian society. While still an important factor in Andalusian daily life, a more significant part of this life takes place in an urban setting. Coincidentally, the

<http://centrodeestudiosandaluces.es/index.php?mod=actividades&id=2508&cat=22&tip=1&idm=>, p.

5.

¹⁶⁹Ibid p. 6.

Andalusian culture that is developed in the new identification discourse is primarily urban. The urbanization of culture is exemplified through the development of Flamenco in Andalusia, which according to Gonzalez de Molina, occurs mostly in urban settings through the influence of the different cultures of migrants living in cities¹⁷⁰.

In addition to rectifying the wrongs in the identification discourse, Gonzalez de Molina introduces an extra factor in an attempt to deal with the influx of other cultures, ethnicities, languages and religions resulting from globalization and migration. He emphasizes the importance of cultural plurality. It is claimed that, rather than looking for the variations between the different groups, commonalities should be celebrated, as it may lead to a larger ability to live together. Gonzalez de Molina underscores that ethnic homogeneity is no longer the preferred identification¹⁷¹. Rather, cultural plurality in an urban setting is to be promoted as the identification of Andalusia.

In a report on the Andalusian image in tourism, Hernández Ramírez shows that a similar trend may be witnessed already in the early 2000s. He analyses the changes made to the main slogan used in tourism promotion. In 1997, the slogan read “From what you want, Andalusia minimally has the double. Come to Andalusia. Andalusia, there is just one” (*De lo que quieras, Andalucía tienepor lo menos el doble. Ven a Andalucía. Andalucía, solo hay una*). In 1998, the slogan was changed to “Andalusia starts, and never ends. Andalusia gives you everything. Andalusia is infinite. Come to Andalusia. Andalusia, there is just one” (*Andalucía empieza y no acaba nunca. Andalucía te lo da todo. Andalucía es infinita. Ven a Andalucía. Andalucía, solo hay una*). Another change to the slogan was made in 2002. After this change, the slogan reads “Andalusia, there is only one. Andalusia has a thousand faces, a

¹⁷⁰Gonzalez de Molina, M. (2012). Notas para la discusión sobre la identidad de Andalucía en el contexto del siglo XXI. In: Salvador Cruz Artacho (ed.). *Identidad cultural y política de Andalucía*. Retrieved from: <http://centrodeestudiosandaluces.es/index.php?mod=actividades&id=2508&cat=22&tip=1&idm=>, p. 6-7.

¹⁷¹Ibid, p. 10.

thousand expressions that make it unique. As such, you will always find yours. Andalusia, there is only one, YOURS” (*Andalucía, solo hay una. Andalucía tiene mil caras, mil expresiones que la hacen única. Por eso, siempre que vas encruentas la tuya. Andalucía, solo hay una, LA TUYA*)¹⁷². Shown through the transformation of this slogan is first of all the increased emphasis on the target audience, by emphasizing that what is found in Andalusia is yours. Another, more subtle change is one from the general infinity of opportunities in Andalusia, which may well refer to its landscapes and history, to a more humanized form of infinity. It plays into the multicultural society that Andalusia has become, by emphasizing its thousand faces and expressions.

Up to now, this chapter has discussed regional government position papers and reports. From these reports, a relatively clear image of Andalusia that the government wishes to carry out stands out. It is the cultural diversity of the contemporary Andalusian urban society that gives Andalusia its uniqueness. The remainder of this chapter analyses a number of promotional materials to examine whether this image is indeed promoted, or something else entirely is focussed upon in such tourism campaigns.

6.2 ANDALUSIAN PASSION AND DIVERSITY: PROMOTING ANDALUSIA

Much of what may be said about the brand of Andalusia for external audiences may be found in a recent tourism promotional video. The video was launched specifically for the Holy Week of 2013. It is described here in some detail, before moving on to the themes that may be distilled from this video and complementary materials. The spoken text of the video is the following: “Skies, flowers, orange blossoms, landscapes, incredible routes, sea and beaches of all colours. Emotional walks, passionate histories. Unforgettable experiences,

¹⁷²Hernández Ramírez, J. (2009). *La imagen de Andalucía en el turismo*. Sevilla: Fundacion Centro de Estudios Andaluces. Retrieved from: <http://www.centrodeestudiosandaluces.es/index.php?mod=publicaciones&cat=31&id=2385&ida=0&idm=,> p. 92-93.

streets filled with life and joy. It is much more than just spring. It is Andalusia during the Holy Week. Feel the Passion”¹⁷³. This text is accompanied by a large number of images from rural landscapes to a white village, from horse riding on the beach to a golf court and from images of snow and people skiing, to pictures of the Semana Santa processions. From this video alone, one is able to distil three different themes: The importance of passion and joy, the emphasis on both urban and rural landscapes, and a focus on diversity. These three themes form the core of the further analysis in this section, where information is taken from both the video described above and additional materials.

6.2.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF PASSION AND JOY: RELIGION AND FLAMENCO

While mentioned in the video directly, the notions of both passion and joy come back in many forms in promotional material for Andalusia, primarily in the form of religion and flamenco culture. With regards to religion, what is predominantly promoted are the processions of Semana Santa, during which the different brotherhoods of the region go out in procession to honour the memory of Jesus and also that of Maria. While this also occurs during different occasions throughout the year, specifically the Holy Week is portrayed in promotional materials, for it is the largest annual event, taking place over the course of ten days. The main emotions that is sparked during the religious processions of the Semana Santa are those of penitence and pride. Those brothers and sisters taking part in the processions acknowledge the suffering of both Jesus and Maria, doing their penitence. At the same time, pride is found in the aesthetics of the different *pasos*, statutes that are being carried around the cities. Whether it is penitence or pride that is adhered to in the images of these religious images, it is always the sense of passion that is called upon, and in turn a sense of joy in participating in or witnessing these colourful religious events.

¹⁷³ *Cielo, flores, azahar, paisajes, rutas increíbles, mar y playas de todos los colores. Emocionantes paseos, historias apasionantes. Experiencias inolvidables, calles llenas de vida y alegría. Es mucho más que la primavera. Es Andalucía en Semana Santa. Siente la Pasión.*

The second pillar which is used in tourism promotion is that of Flamenco. As argued before, flamenco was taken over by the Spanish national government during the Franco regime, and promotes as being something typically Spanish, rather than Andalusian. However, the Andalusians have found a way to deal with this process, by adopting the language of *Flamenco Puro* (Pure Flamenco). In this discourse, the flamenco that is practiced in other parts of Spain is fake, and does not have the traditional (gypsy) character the flamenco culture has in Andalusia. *Flamenco Puro* is portrayed as being traditional, and of the people. It is portrayed as taking place primarily in the old bars of Andalusia, rather than in tourist establishments. Especially in the Flamenco museum, the passionate aspect of the flamenco is emphasized, as here different styles of flamenco, in relation to the different emotion they portray, are exhibited.

In sum, images of religion and flamenco can take on two separate forms. One of those forms is that of clear passion. What is seen here is often that of crying individuals when they see the statute of their own brotherhood during the Semana Santa processions, oftentimes complemented by religious music. Another image is one particular form of Flamenco, one that allows practitioners to deal with death. However, also the tango figures prominently in such displays of passion. The second of those forms is that of pure joy. In the case of the religious processions images of the festivities surrounding the processions and the smiles of all those bystanders in full colours are presented. In the case of flamenco the more joyful forms of the dance art are presented in showing happily smiling dancing couples in colourful, polka-dotted outfits.

6.2.2 *THE PROMINENCE OF RURAL AND URBAN LANDSCAPES*

Especially in the DVD Andalusia is culture, made by the Andalusian regional government in 2006, what one sees is landscapes, both rural and urban. The images presented in this DVD, and also in the Semana Santa video as described above, show a multitude of different landscapes, much adhering to the description of the Andalusian landscape given by Blas Infante. First, urban life is presented. In the videos one sees white urban areas, clearly focussing on the aesthetics of the landscape. However, what is additionally promoted by the videos is that of cultural life in the cities, through images of the Semana Santa, flamenco culture and also that of the most important cultural festivals taking place in Andalusia. Finally, what is promoted in the more urban imagery of the videos is that of different leisure opportunities, like skiing and bike-riding. However, these latter two make a link to the rural imagery presented in these videos. The focus in the rural images in the videos lays primarily on relaxation, aesthetics and diversity. It shows, mountainous areas, beaches, rivers, and large fields with cattle. To sum up, an image of endless diversity in Andalusian landscape is promoted. By showing the large variation in Andalusian landscapes, different types of tourists may be attracted to the region. This diversity is not only found in images of both rural and urban landscapes in promotional materials. Rather it may be found in a more general manner throughout the different materials aimed at embodying the external identification discourse.

6.2.3 *DIVERSITY*

As with the landscapes, a general sense of diversity is created in the discourse aimed at branding Andalusia for external actors. A sense of endless opportunities is created in the hope that multiple different tourists are attracted to the region. Simultaneously, by promoting an image of such diversity, the Andalusian regional government aims to do away with its appearance as dull, dependent and backward.

However important this general sense of diversity may be in the discourse under discussion, there is a more particular type of diversity that is proposed: the diversity of the Andalusian population both in the past and in the present. In the videos, one may see images of the Catholic religious celebrations of Semana Santa, but at the same time images of the glorious mosques and synagogues that are to be found in Andalusia are shown, hinting at the Andalusian Golden Age. During this period, all three religions lived side by side peacefully, an image that is extended to the present day, where multiple ethnicities and religions still live side by side without any problems.

After analysing the Andalusian identification discourse for external audiences, it is argued here that this part of the Andalusian identification focuses much more on the cultural aspects of being Andalusian than the discourse aimed towards Andalusians. However, it seems that both discourses have one central theme throughout: diversity. While one focuses on creating unity out of diversity in order to create an Andalusian nation, the other tries to attract different types of audiences by adhering to exactly that diversity which makes up the Andalusian nation. It thus appears there is some coherence between the two different identification discourses, however, the influence of these discourses perpetrated by the Andalusian regional government, remains to be seen.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the development of an Andalusian nation brand has been traced from Spanish political history to the identification paths promoted by the Andalusian regional government in practice. It has been proposed that due to a historic lack of nationalist rhetoric in Spain, regionalist tendencies have been strong since the start. Moreover, it was argued that there has been an imbalance between the rights granted to the different nationalities within the Spanish borders. While Andalusia is one of the most populous regions of Spain, and enjoys a rich past particularly during Moorish times, it has not been granted the same rights as the other historic nationalities of Spain. In chapter 2 it was shown that these historic imbalances have been translated into the constitution of 1978, which forms the basis of the current political system in Spain. Two catalysts were then proposed for regionalisation in Andalusia.

The first catalyst presented was the constitution of 1978 itself, as well as the statutes of autonomy that were implemented in each of the seventeen autonomous regions that were created by the constitution. It was proposed that Andalusia, seeing as promises of autonomy were made before the civil war and the Franco regime, yet completely destroyed during it, had hoped for more autonomy than was granted by the constitution. As a result, Andalusia is looking to implement the same type of language that is practiced by the historic nationalities of the Basque Country and Catalonia: the language of nationhood. It was proposed that, because regional identification markers were taken away from the region and promoted as markers of Spanish national identity, and additionally Andalusian language had been devalued for a long time before the Franco regime already, the region was facing difficulty in adopting the language of nationhood. Resulting from all this is a search to identify Andalusia for Andalusians themselves, which has, in this thesis, been called the internal identification path. It was shown that the main elements of this particular identification discourse may be seen as part of Michael Billig's banal nationalism. It first focuses on the establishment of the

Andalusian nation, followed by an emphasis on the symbols of this nation, trying to ingrain them in the mind of the Andalusians.

A second catalyst that was discussed in this thesis is that of the global economic crisis and the European debt crisis in the late 2000s and early 2010s. Facts showed that Spain was hit particularly hard by the crisis. Within the Spanish borders it was Andalusia which was hit the hardest, for its economy was primarily dependent on the two sectors that imploded during the crisis in Spain, the building market and the tourism sector. The impact of the crisis was aided by a previously existing prejudice amongst Spaniards that Andalusia is a backward and poor region, and its population undereducated. It was decided by the Andalusian government that something had to be changed in the image of the nation, both to do away with Spanish prejudice, as well as attract new foreign investment and tourists. In chapter 6 the path chosen for external identification, the nation brand aimed towards external audiences, has been outlined as including mainly cultural references. It attempts to readopt flamenco as part of the Andalusian identity. Moreover it refers back to the golden ages of Andalusia, specifically pointing out the diversity of the region, which is still in place nowadays.

In this thesis, the theory of nation branding was used to analyse the materials under investigation. The main reason for choosing nation branding is the fact that it allows to primarily look at the intentions of the makers of the brand. In the case of Andalusia, this perspective was deemed especially interesting, as the nationalist discourse is relatively new, and strongly constructed by the regional government. In chapter 4, some main criticisms of nation branding theory were discussed, predominantly the critique that nation branding theory disregards the effects of the brand and the branding campaign of the branded population. In response to such critiques, in lieu of conclusion some hints towards influences of the new Andalusian brand on the wider population of the region are made here. It is two separate lines of possible future investigation that are presented.

The first line of influence presented here is one of a group which takes the brand of Andalusia to a next level. This particular political group is known as the *NacionAndaluza* movement. The movement adopts some of the symbols that are promoted also in the internal identification of the regional government. The most prominent of these symbols present in promotional materials of the movement is that of the Andalusian flag. Additionally, they also take Blas Infante as the origin of their nation and adopt his vision for Andalusia as their own. Nonetheless, they take it further than the regional government does. Some examples of this more extreme version of the banal nationalism promoted by the regional government are introduced here.

The Andalusian regional government wishes for more autonomy within the Spanish borders. *Nacion Andaluza*, on the other hand, is clearly searching for complete independence. One of their main slogans reads *Andalucía es mi país, Españaes mi castigo* (Andalusia is my country, Spain is my punishment). This is the message that may be found also in most of the party's rhetoric. This rhetoric blames the Spanish national government, and in part also the Andalusian political elite, for economically exploiting Andalusia, in a rather neo-colonialist way. In a document explaining the foundational principles of the organization published in 2010, the following sentence summarizing the organisation's standpoint may be read: "The hallmarks of the identity of the Andalusian population are hidden and abused through the imposition of a sociocultural Castellanisation which discriminates against the Andalusian language¹⁷⁴". In an even more extreme version, it is argued that the Spanish national government has committed an Andalusian genocide. While it mostly refers back to the period of the Reconquista, during which large parts of the Islamic population living in Andalusia was expelled from the territory, some understand the Andalusian genocide as having taken place

¹⁷⁴ *las señas de identidad del pueblo Andalus son ocultadas y agredidas por la imposición de una Castellanización socio-cultural que discrimina a la lengua Andaluza*

around and directly after the civil war. Allegedly, during this period, entire populations of Andalusian villagers were extinguished by the Spanish government.

Yet, when one follows the second line for future research proposed here, it becomes clear that Nacion Andaluza is a rather small organisation. The bulk of the population, seems to not be bothered with Andalusian identification as much as the regional government would want. When asked about the Andalusian government and their aims to promote regional identification, some will say they do not know anything about it. Some of those who do know state that the Andalusian government has made some grave mistakes in representing the Andalusian population on a national level, precisely by making such a split between the economic situation of the region on the one hand and the Andalusian socio-cultural identity on the other hand. It may be said that Andalusian political parties have been fighting amongst themselves too much to appropriately reflect Andalusian sentiments and wishes.

These first speculations may be supported and strengthened by the observation that much of the identification process in Andalusia does not focus on the region or on the Spanish state as a whole. Rather, local identification, sometimes to the level of the neighbourhood one is from, is much more prominent. A story from Sevilla may provide an example of the case in point here. It has been acknowledged that religion still plays an important part in identity creation in Spain, and in Andalusia in particular¹⁷⁵. The particular form popular religion takes in Southern Spain is that of religious brotherhoods. While focussed on religion, these brotherhoods function as social security networks. In Sevilla alone, over seventy brotherhoods exists, ranging from 400 to over 12,000 members per brotherhood. The importance of these brotherhoods for the argument presented here can primarily be found in the two main brotherhoods of Sevilla: *Hermanidad de Macarena* and *Hermanidad de Triana*. Macarena and Triana represent two neighbourhoods in Sevilla, where Macarena is located on one side of the

¹⁷⁵Murphy, M.D. (1994). Class, community, and costume in an Andalusian pilgrimage. *Anthropology quarterly*, 67(2), 49-61.

river, while Triana is situated on the other side of the city, creating a natural divide between the two. It is generally said in Sevilla that, even if one is technically part of a completely different brotherhood, one always identifies with one of those two for one's self-identification as a Sevillian, Andalusian, and Spaniard. Any other form of identification is deemed of secondary importance in such cases.

As stated before, all that can be done here with reference to the direct influence of the new nation brand envisioned by the regional government, is mere speculation, and further research is required to see how the brands evolve and are, or are not, adopted by the target audiences. What may be said here is that there is still a long way to go for Andalusia with regard to developing an identification that is so different and outstanding from the Spanish one, that it will grant the region as many opportunities and rights as do the historic nationalities. Meanwhile, those historic nationalities are on the move as well, and it remains to be seen how the Andalusian regional government, and in turn the Andalusian population, responds to these developments.

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