

COURSE SYLLABUS



CATALAN IDENTITY AND POLITICS

IFSA Barcelona

US semester credit hours: 3

Contact Hours: 45

Course Code: PO310-02 / IS310-02

Course Length: Semester

Delivery Method: Face to face

Language of Instruction: English

Suggested Cross-listings: Political Science, International Studies

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Précis

Catalan Identity and politics is a cross-disciplinary course that analyses the reasons behind the emergence of contemporary political separatism. It begins with the origins of Catalan identity by discussing the historical background. It concentrates on the experience of Francoism and the Transition to Democracy. However, it also explores how contemporary Catalans trace their origins to the middle ages and place great importance on their conflictive (though often peaceful) history within the Spanish state. After this introduction, it moves into the fields of political sociology and political science. It transitions into a topical course that addresses constitutional arrangements, statutes of autonomy, political parties, linguistic normalization, immigration, and minority rights. It concludes by analyzing the pivotal events over the past decade when secessionism, which had previously appealed to fifteen percent of the franchise, grew to include to approximately half the population. This transformation coincided with an economic crisis in which rapid globalization brought rising inequality and shook the foundations of western democracies. The course also discusses the politics and identities of the other fifty percent -- those Catalans who feel comfortable with both Spanish and Catalan identities and wish to remain part of a union with its own historic memories. It also pays special attention to Barcelona, the traditional capital of Catalonia but also a global city, where the great majority of residents oppose secession.

Philosophy

In a globalized world that markets images and brands, and causes the massive migrations of humans and goods, individuals have increasingly coveted and defended their local identities. In many places throughout the world, such identities have gained extraordinary political purchase. Minority ethnic groups living within old imperial constellations have been attracted to separatism in Scotland, Catalonia, and Crimea. "Majority" groups in the United States, France, Great Britain, Poland, and Hungary have been viewed by many as embracing xenophobic or nationalist messages. The new politics identity affects political movements of the right, left, and center. Students will be challenged to question traditional political labels and put aside prejudices in order to approach the new politics of identity using a number of methodological tools to focus on a single area of the world -- Catalonia.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Despite many novel aspects, Catalan separatism, like similar political phenomena, runs up against some recognizable problems, such as constitutions, citizenship, minority rights, and potential irredentism. The course will explore the theory behind these concepts, and then apply theory to practice. As such, students will be encouraged to query the extent to which the solutions to historical problems remain applicable (or need to be modified) in a world in which political sovereignty no longer rests solely in the nation state. Why have new technologies promoting novel associative mechanisms promote historic identities with their roots in antiquity? How has the European Union affected the politics of identity in sub-state regions? To what extent has the economic crisis eroded traditional political parties and opened-up space for new groups expressing the hopes and fears of older and younger generations? Why does it remain important to defend the integrity of established juridical concepts to protect against discrimination and ensure the human rights of citizens?

These are universal questions that can be applied in multiple contexts, even though the focus will be fixed on Catalonia. As such, the course not only explores the particularities of the "Catalan question"; it also endows students with the theoretical tools to tackle similar issues in the world today. At the end of the twentieth centuries, identity politics was limited to confined spaces such as university campuses or the workplace. In the twenty-first century, gendered, generational, and ethnic-linguistic identities have come to challenge established constitutional systems. In this way, students will not only become versed in Catalan and Spanish politics; they will develop analytical, written, and oral-communicative skills in order to analyze and express their knowledge in multiple settings.

A background, including coursework at the 100- or 200-level in political science could greatly benefit students entering this course.

COURSE DELIVERY

This 15-week course is structured into three modules. The first module examines the history of Catalan nationalism. The purpose is not only to understand its origins, but also to demonstrate why historical memories have become so important and contested. In the second module, we will break down the analysis into its topical components by employing political scientific and sociological tools to understand the current place of Catalonia and its political parties within the constitutional state and the contemporary statutory arrangement. It then examines the challenges and stresses that linguistic normalization and separatism puts on established doctrines of citizenship and minority rights. The third and final module takes a detailed look at events taking place over the past decade and the current state of affairs. Each module is further subdivided into themed units containing diverse topics. Each topic will be the subject of a lecture, field study or guest speaker followed by class discussion.

Students are expected to read assigned resources in advance and be prepared to actively discuss them in class. In most meetings, the instructor will overview the topic and then facilitate a group discussion in a seminar format, drawing out relevant themes, following up on specific lines of inquiry, and prompting student engagement. Students may also be required to undertake short presentations. Guest speakers from separatist and unionist positions will also be invited to the course, and the course will also feature field studies to places in the city that have become particularly important to historical memory and commemoration.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Students are encouraged to bring their prior learning experiences into class discussions (based on experiential learning theory) and to make cognitive connections between this course and others in the IFSA Barcelona Program whenever possible (based on the philosophy of integrative learning).

STUDENT LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students who successfully complete this course will:

- Achieve a broad understanding of how ethnic-linguistic identities have brooked separatist movements, the implications of this for a globalized world, and its particular manifestation in Catalonia.
- Demonstrate the capacity to analyze the tensions between the rights of ethnic groups to national self-determination and the rights of minorities to maintain citizenship and protect against discrimination.
- Be prepared to propose, debate, and discuss solutions to the current constitutional crisis in Spain and Europe posed by the rise of Catalan secessionism.
- Be able to recognize and explain why history, language, and identity remain politically potent in Catalonia and elsewhere.
- Have improved their facilities for written and oral communication.
- Become familiar with resources available for further research on identity politics.
- Make cognitive connections between learning in this course and other learning experiences in the IFSA Program in Barcelona.

COURSE OUTLINE

Key: [**Modules**, Units, *topics*, ●reading assignments, °evaluation assignments]

Module One: Legacies, Path-Dependency and Historical Memory

1. Medieval Origins and Historical Memories

The Birth of Catalan Nationhood and Identity

- Freedman, "Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary origins of Catalonia," 3-28

The Crown of Aragon and the Empire

- Hernández, *The History of Catalonia*, 9-62
- Jacobson, "The Origins of the Ambiguity," 1-31.

2. Union of the Crowns: A Flawed Union from its Conception?

Castile and Aragon

COURSE SYLLABUS

- Elliott, *The Revolt of the Catalans*, 1-48.

Spanish and Catalan Dual Identities

- Hernández, *History of Catalonia*, 63-112.

3. Political Integration: Agreement, Persuasion, and War

Two Wars with Castile. The Reapers War and the War of Spanish Succession

- Tortella, *Catalonia and Spain. History and Myth*, 29-72.

*The Legacy of 1714. **Field study to the Born Cultural Center: A “ground zero” of the Catalan nation?***

- Colin & McDowell, “*Heritage and Separatism in Barcelona: the case of the Born Cultural Center*”, 1-11
- Cramer, “*Goodbye Spain*,” 73-82

4. Repression and Rebirth: Francoism

Catalonia under Franco

- Dowling, *Catalonia since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation*, 1-93.

The Concept of Cultural Genocide. Francoism and Historical Memory.

- Balcells, “*The Consequences of Victimization on Political Identities*”, 311-347
- Llobera, *Foundations of National Identity*, 116-139

Module Two: The Return of Democracy and The Recovery of Self-government.

5. The Transition to Democracy and Catalonia’s Political Autonomy

The Constitution of 1978 and the Statutory Framework

- Dowling, *Catalonia Since the Spanish Civil War*, 94-100
- Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism. Francoism, Transition and Democracy*, 70-171

*The Restored Catalan Institutions. **Field Study to the Generalitat and Parlament.***

- Dowling, *Catalonia since the Spanish Civil War*, 100-122.

6. The Creation of a Multinational State

COURSE SYLLABUS

“Asymmetrical semifederalism” and the State of the Autonomies

- Encarnacion, *Spanish Politics, Democracy after Transition*, 91-110.
- Lluch, *Visions of Sovereignty*, 45-65

The Fiscal Organization of the Spanish State: Catalonia and the Basque Country

- Gillespie, *Between Accommodation and Contestation*,” 3-23

7. Language and Nation

Midterm Exam

Linguistic Normalization policies

- Kraus, *Language Policy and Catalan Independence*, 129-141.
- Ferrer, *Languages, Minorities and Education in Spain: The Case of Catalonia*, 187-19

8. Immigration and Demos

Immigration and National Identity in Catalonia

- Franco-Guillén, *Which People? Exploration of the Role of Immigration in the Secessionist Process of Catalonia*, 115-129.
- Kleiner-Liebeau, Desirée. *Migration to Spain and Catalan Discourse on National Identity*.

Multiculturalism, Globalization and National Identity

- Crameri, *National Identity and Cultural Policy*, 30-45.
- Miley, *Who Are The Catalans? Language, Identity and Asssimilation in Contemporary Catalonia*.

9. The Limits of Self-government in Stateless Nations

Scotland, Quebec and Catalonia

- Greer, *Nationalism and Self-government*, 15-45.
- Casanas, *(Mis)Recognition in Catalunya and Quedebec*, 20-48.

The End of Accommodation

- Puhle, *Trajectories of Catalan Nationalism and its present Discontents*, 14-28.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Module Three: From Constitutionalism to Secessionism

10. The Rise of Secessionism since 2006

The Reform of the Catalan Statute of Autonomy and Nationhood

- Cramer, *Goodbye Spain?* 37-41

A Constitutional Crisis?

- López Bofill, "The Limits of Constitutionalism: Politics, Economics and Secessionism in Catalonia," 75-89.
- Bel, *Disdain, Distrust and Dissolution*

11. The Rise of Secessionism since 2010: Political Aspects

FINAL PAPER DUE

The Constitutional Court and Straw Polls on Independence

- Cramer, *Goodbye Spain?* 41-50
- Abat i Ninet, *The Spanish Constitution, the Constitutional Court and the Catalan Referendum*, 42-52.

The Disappointment with Autonomy

- Angelaguet, *From Autonomism to Independentism*, 101-117.

12. The Rise of Secessionism since 2010: Economic Aspects

Fiscal Discontent and the Onset of Secessionism

- Paluzie, *Fiscal Issues of Catalan Independence*, 141-141-157

The Economic Crisis and Gaping Inequality during the Onset of Secessionism

- Brubaker, *Economic Crisis, Nationalism and Politicized Ethnicity*, 93-108.
- Royo, *Lessons from the Economic Crisis*

13. The Right to Decide?

*Social Mobilization for Independence: Political Parties and Pro-Independence Organizations. **Guest Speaker from Pro-independence Party "Together for Catalonia"***

- Cramer, *Goodbye Spain?*, 1-26.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Self-Determination versus The Right to Decide.

- López, A "Right to Decide"? *On the Normative Basis of a Political Principle and its Implications in the Catalan Case*, 28-42

14. The Events of October 2017. The New Independent State in Europe?

*A Divided Society: Separatists versus Unionist. **Guest Speaker from The Citizens Party.***

- Minder. *The Struggle for Catalonia*, 287-305.

The Role of the European Union and the "Internationalization" of the Catalan Conflict.

- Blanke and Abdelrehim, *Catalonia's Independence - Is There a Way in International and European Law?* 52-98
- Kolling, *The Consequences of an Independent Catalonia for the German Foreign Policy*, 209-224.

15. The Future of Catalonia

Independence? Federalization? Recentralization? The Present Situation

- Rixen, *Becoming more Independent without Independence?*, 157-169
- Nagel, *Independent Catalonia –a viable new European State?* 209-224.

FINAL EXAM AND CLASS PRESENTATIONS

RESOURCES

REQUIRED READINGS

The selected readings for this course are listed below. You will not need to purchase these readings; the instructor will provide these selected readings to you in class (either in paper or electronic format).

Abat i Ninet, Antoni. "The Spanish Constitution, the Constitutional Court, and the Catalan Referendum," in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Abend, Lisa. "Barcelona Warns Madrid: Pay Up or Catalonia Leaves Spain," *Time International* (11 September 2012).

Anguelaguet, "From Autonomism to Independentism: The Growth of Secessionism in Catalonia (2010-2013) in Lluç, Jaime (ed), *Constitutionalism and Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*. Philadelphia, University of Penn Press, 2014: 101-117.

Balcells, Laia, "The Consequences of Victimization on Political Identities," *Politics and Society*, v 40, 2011: 311-347

COURSE SYLLABUS

Blanke, Hermann-Josef and Yasser Abdelrehim, "Catalonia's Independence - Is There a Way in International and European Law?" in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Bel, Germà. *Disdain, Distrust and Dissolution: The Surge of Support for Independence in Catalonia*. Brighton: Sussex University Press, 2015.

Breen, Colin & Mc Dowell, Sara. "Heritage and Separatism in Barcelona: the Case of El Born Cultural Center," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, v 10, 2016: 1-11.

Brubaker, R, "Economic Crisis, Nationalism and Politicized Ethnicity," in Calhoun (ed), *The Deepening Crisis: Governance Challenges After Neoliberalism*. New York: N.Y.U Press, 2011: 93-109.

Casanas, Elisenda, "(Mis)Recognition in Catalunya and Quebec: The Politics of Judicial Containment," in Lluçh, Jaime, *Constitutionalism and Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*. Philadelphia: University of Penn Press, 2014: 46-68.

Crameri, Kathryn. 'Goodbye, Spain?' *The Question of Independence for Catalonia*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2014.

Crameri, Kathryn, *National Identity and Cultural Policy, 1980-2003*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008.

Dowling, Andrew. *Catalonia since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2014.

Elliott, John H. *The Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain, 1598-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Encarnación, Omar. *Spanish Politics, Democracy After Dictatorship*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008: 91-110.

Ferrer, Ferran. "Languages, Minorities and Education in Spain: The Case of Catalonia." *Comparative Education* 36, no. 2 (2000): 187-197.

Franco-Guillén, Núria, "Which People? Exploration of the Role of Immigration in the Secessionist Process of Catalonia," in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Freedman, Paul, "Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia," *Past and Present* 121 (1988): 3-28

Gillespie, Robert. "Between Accommodation and Contestation: The Political Evolution of Basque and Catalan Nationalisms," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol 21, no 1 (2015): 3-23.

Greer, Scott. *Nationalism and Self-Government. The Politics of Autonomy in Scotland and Catalonia*. Albany: State University of New York, 2007.

Hernández, F. Xavier. *The History of Catalonia*. Barcelona. Dalmau, 2007.

Jacobson, Stephen. "The Origins of the Ambiguity: Nation and Empire in Catalonia from the Middle Ages to the 1880s," *Studies on National Movements* 2 (2014): 1-31.

Kleiner-Liebeau, Desirée. "Migration to Spain" and "Catalan Discourse on National Identity," in *Migration and the Construction of National Identity in Spain*. Frankfurt: Ververt Verlat, 2009.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Kolling, Mario. The Consequences of an Independent Catalonia for the German Foreign Policy in Nagel (2015), 197-209.

Kraus, Peter. "Language Policy and Catalan Independence," in Klaus Nagel (ed), *Catalonia in Spain and Europe. Is there a way to Independence*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015, 14-28

Llobera, Josep, *Foundations of National Identity. From Catalonia to Europe*. London: Berghan Books, 2004.

López, Jaume. "A 'Right to Decide'? On the Normative Basis of a Political Principle and Its Application to the Catalan Case," in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Lluch, Jaime. *Visions of Sovereignty*. Philadelphia, University of Penn Press, 2014.

Minder, Rafael, *The Struggle for Catalonia. Rebel Politics in Spain*. London: Hurst and Company, 2017.

Nagel, Klaus-Jürgen and Stephan Rixen, eds. *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Paluzi, Elisenda. "Fiscal Issues of Catalan Independence," in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Puhle, Hans-Jürgen. "Trajectories of Catalan Nationalism and Its Present Discontents," in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Rixen, "Becoming more Independent without Independence? Strong Federalism with Territorial Autonomy as an Alternative: the Case of Belgium, in Nagel (2015): 157-169.

Royo, Sebastian. *Lessons from the Economic Crisis in Spain*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.

Tortella, Gabriel. *Catalonia and Spain. History and Myth*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

The recommended reading(s) and/or text(s) for this course are below. These recommended readings are not mandatory, but they will assist you with research and understanding course content.

Balfour, Sebastian and Alejandro Quiroga. *The Reinvention of Spain: National Identity since Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007

Boylan, Brandon M. "In Pursuit of Independence: The Political Economy of Catalonia's Secessionist Movement," *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 4 (2015): 761-785.

Castellas, Antoni. "Catalonia and Spain at the Crossroads: Financial and Economic Aspects," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 20, no. 2 (2014): 277-296.

Flamini, Roland. "Scotland's Independence Bid. History, Prospects, Challenges," *World Affairs*, no. 1 (2013): 57-63.

Garvía, Roberto and Thomas Miley, "'Linguistic Immersion' and Political Conflict in Contemporary Catalonia," *European Journal of Language Policy* 5, no. 1 (2013): 5-40.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Guibernau, Montserrat. *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition, and Democracy*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Guibernau, Montserrat. *The Identity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.

Guiberneau, Montserrat, Jule Goikoetxea, Asier Blas et. al. "Symposium: Secessionism in Catalonia after Democracy," *Ethnopolitics* 12, no. 4 (2013): 368-414.

Guiberneau, Montserrat. "Self-Determination in the Twenty-First Century," *Ethnopolitics* 14, no. 5 (2015): 540-546.

Kleiner-Liebeau, Desirée. "Migration to Spain" and "Catalan Discourse on National Identity," in *Migration and the Construction of National Identity in Spain*. Frankfurt: Ververt Verlat, 2009.

Martínez-Herrera, Enric and Thomas Jeffrey Miley, "The Constitution and the Politics of National Identity in Spain," *Nations and Nationalism* 16, no. 1 (2010): 6-30.

McRoberts, Kenneth. *Catalonia. Nation-Building without a State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Miley, Thomas Jeffrey, "Who Are The Catalans? Language, Identity and Asssimilation in Contemporary Catalonia," Center for European Studies Working Paper Series #158, Harvard University, 2008..

Minder, Rafael. "Catalonia Calls Election in New Bid for Secession from Spain," *New York Times* (4 August 2015); and "Catalonia's New Leader Vows to Continue Secessionist Drive," *New York Times* (10 January 2016).

Muñoz, Jordi and Marc Gijon, "Accounting for Internal Variation in Nationalist Mobilization: Unofficial Referendums for Independence in Catalonia (2009-2011)," *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no. 1 (2013): 44-67,

Ozkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 2d. ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.

Puhle, Hans-Jürgen. "Trajectories of Catalan Nationalism and Its Present Discontents," in *Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, edited by Klaus-Jürgen Nagel and Stephan Rixen. Baden Baden: Nomos, 2015.

Serrano, Ivan. "Just a Matter of Identity? Support for Independence in Catalonia," *Regional and Federal Studies* 23, no. 5 (2013): 523-545.

Vaubel, Roland. "Secession in the European Union," *Economic Affairs* 33, no. 3 (2013): 288-302.

EVALUATION METHODS

The course instructor will provide specific requirements and grading rubrics for individual assignments for the course. Your final grade in the course will be comprised of the following course requirements:

- **Journal (20%):** As part of the experiential learning part of this course, students will be required to keep journal that reflects their personal impressions of the field studies and guest speaker sessions. For each of these activities, students are required to write a 2-page journal entry. The journal will be submitted electronically 10 days after it is assigned.
- **Midterm exam (15%):** This will use different formats to assess students' progress towards the learning outcomes in the first half of the course. The question formats will include

COURSE SYLLABUS

essay questions, multiple choice questions, short answer questions, and justified True/False questions.

- Research Paper (30%): This consists of an original research project, 7 to 10 pages long, on a topic to be discussed and agreed upon with the professor and later presented to the class for discussion.
- Presentation of Final Paper (10%): During the last days of class, students will be required to present their research paper, which will be evaluated independently of the paper itself.
- Class participation (10%). Students will be expected to come to class prepared, and to participate actively in class.
- Final exam (15%). Like the midterm exam, this will use different formats to assess students' progress towards the learning outcomes.

Timely Submissions

Assignments submitted after the deadline will be accepted at the discretion of the course instructor and generally only in the event of a documented illness or emergency.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Any academic endeavor must be based upon a foundation of honesty and integrity. Students are expected to abide by principles of academic integrity and must be willing to bear individual responsibility for their work while studying abroad. Any academic work (written or otherwise) submitted to fulfill an academic requirement must represent a student's original work. Any act of academic misconduct, such as cheating, fabrication, forgery, plagiarism, or facilitating academic dishonesty, will subject a student to disciplinary action.

IFSA takes academic integrity very seriously. Students must not accept outside assistance without permission from the instructor. Additionally, students must document all sources according to the instructions of the professor. Should your instructor suspect you of plagiarism, cheating, or other forms of academic dishonesty, you may receive a failing grade for the course and disciplinary action may result. The incident will be reported to the IFSA resident director as well as your home institution.

Institute for Study Abroad
6201 Corporate Dr., Suite 200 | Indianapolis, IN 46278
800-858-0229 | www.ifsa-butler.org