I.
Introduction

Almost thirty years after the transition to democracy, Spain is still struggling to find common ground in the conception of the Spanish State and its political system. Many of the disputes and controversies between the conservative party, Partido Popular (PP) and the socialist Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) can be attributed to the fundamental differences in their underlying assumptions about Spain's national identity. In particular the idea that there are various nations within the Spanish State, as defended by peripheral nationalist movements and supported by the PSOE, is highly controversial. The reasons for the still unsettled conflicts lie in Spain's past.

The country, until the beginning of the 20th century a weakly centralized monarchy with strong peripheral and regional movements, for the first time in the 1920s experienced a strong official version of Spanish nationalism under the authoritarian regime of Primo de Rivera. After a very short republican period and the destructive years of Civil War Franco took over, suppressed the peripheral nationalist movements in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia and introduced strictly centralized governmental and administrational structures. He furthermore established a nationalist ideology which was based on conservative Catholic values and identified Spain with the Castilian heartland, its language, heroes and symbols. The peripheral nationalist movements, however, survived and became a synonym for the opposition and resistance to the regime. The "State of Autonomies" established after the transition to democracy with the Constitution of 1978 reflects the struggle for compromise between both, the idea of a unified Spanish nation and the existence of strong peripheral national identities. The recent debate about the reform of several statutes of autonomy, especially the Catalan, has shown once more that these internal controversies about the different constructions of national identity are still a prevailing topic in Spanish politics.

In addition, in the past fifteen years Spain has developed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration registering a fast increase in the num-

bers of immigrants from non-EU countries. Immigration is thus to be seen as another factor influencing the debate about national identity in Spain. In the political debate about immigration control or questions of immigrant integration politicians explicitly or implicitly define national identity and ascribe certain elements to it –either talking about the "Other" or about the own collective identity.

This book aims at analysing how national identity is constructed in the political discourse about immigration and immigrant integration in Spain. It examines therefore how much and by which means non-EU immigration influences the discursive construction of national identity in political discourse at both the central state level and the level of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia.

The extensive academic literature on nation-building, national identity, nationalism has studied in detail the relation between nationalism and categories such as demos, ethnos or ethnicity, and religion.[1] However, it has until now widely disregarded the field of migration research.[2] Thus "although the existence of the Other as part and parcel of the definition of the Nation has been widely accepted in scholarship, the relationship between the Other and the nation has not been investigated in depth".[3]

Vice versa, in migration research only a few studies have analysed the link between immigration, the delimitation against the "Other" and the construction processes of collective or rather national identities in a European context. Schnapper for instance, analysed the relationship between national identity and the treatment of immigrants comparing Germany, France and Great Britain.[4] Aiming at answering a similar question but using a different approach, Behr studied the migration policies of the United States, Germany and France.[5] Däu-

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[1]   See for instance Hutchinson and Smith (1994): *Nationalism*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press; Smith (1991): *National Identity*, London: Penguin Books; Bendix (1996): Strukturgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen der nationalen und kulturellen Identität in der Neuzeit, in Giesen *Nationale und kulturelle Identität. Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewußtseins in der Neuzeit*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; Smith (1971): *Theories of Nationalism*, London: Duckworth; Alter (1985): *Nationalismus*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; Hastings (1997): *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[2]   See Behr (1998): *Zuwanderung im Nationalstaat. Formen der Eigen- und Fremdbestimmung in den USA, der Bundesrepublik, Deutschland und Frankreich*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, p. 18.

[3]   Triandafyllidou (2001): *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*, London/New York: Routledge, p. 3.

[4]   See Schnapper (1994): The debate on immigration and the crisis of national identity, in Baldwin-Edwards and Schain *The Politics of Immigration in Western Europe*, Essex: Frank Cass.

[5]   See Behr (1998): *Zuwanderung im Nationalstaat*.

ble, moreover, interviewed teenagers stemming from migrant families to learn more about the sense of community of the Germans.[6] Against the background of critical theory Räthzel analyses which images of the "Other" go along with and determine the construction of the German nation.[7] Of particular interest are furthermore the works of Oberndörfer which point out the close relation between national identity and migration policy in Germany.[8]

Apart from these rare approaches in sociology, political science or pedagogy, a couple of critical linguists have addressed the discourse about immigration. In the tradition of critical discourse analysis the researchers around Ruth Wodak in Vienna studied the discursive construction of national identity in migration discourse in Austria.[9] In Germany, Jäger and others analysed the political and media discourse about immigration and asylum seekers aiming at revealing underlying racist and xenophobic tendencies in the different ways language is used.[10] Also the Dutch scholar van Dijk uses a critical approach of discourse

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6   See Däuble (2000): *Auf dem Weg zum Bundesrepublikaner. Einwanderung - kollektive Identität - politische Bildung*, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag.

7   See Räthzel (1997): *Gegenbilder. Nationale Identität durch Konstruktion des Anderen*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

8   See for instance Oberndörfer (2006): Nation, Multikulturalismus und Migration-auf dem Weg in die postnationale Republik? in *IMIS-Beiträge* 30; Oberndörfer (1993): *Der Wahn des Nationalen. Die Alternative der offenen Republik*, Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder; Oberndörfer (1996): Assimilation, Multikulturalismus oder kultureller Pluralismus-zum Gegensatz zwischen kollektiver Nationalkultur und kultureller Freiheit der Republik, in Bade *Migration-Ethnizität-Konflikt. Systemfragen und Fallstudien*, Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch; Oberndörfer (2003): Zuwanderung und nationale Identität, in Bundesamt für Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge *50 Jahre. Behörde im Wandel*, Nürnberg: Selbstverlag.

9   See Wodak *et al.* (1998): *Zur diskursiven Konstruktion nationaler Identität*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp; Matouschek, Wodak and Januschek (1995): *Notwendige Maßnahmen gegen Fremde? Genese und Formen von rassistischen Diskursen der Differenz*, Wien: Passagen-Verlag; Matouschek (1997): Soziodiskursive Analyse öffentlicher Migrationsdebatten in Österreich. Zu Theorie, Methodik und Ergebnissen einer diskurstheoretischen Untersuchung, in Jung, Wengeler and Böke *Die Sprache des Migrationsdiskurses. Das Reden über "Ausländer" in Medien, Politik und Alltag*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

10 See Jäger (2003): Die Kritik am Patriarchat im Einwanderungsdiskurs. Analyse einer Diskursverschränkung, in Keller, Hirseland, Schneider and Viehöver *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse. Band II: Forschungspraxis*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich; Jäger (1993): *Brandsätze. Rassismus im Alltag*, Duisburg: Diss; Jäger and Link (1993): Die vierte Gewalt. Rassismus und die Medien. Einleitung, in Jäger and Link *Die vierte Gewalt und die Medien. Rassismus und die Medien*, Duisburg: Diss; Hell (2005): *Einwanderungsland Deutschland? Die Zuwanderungsdiskussion 1998-2002*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Carius (2004): Im "berechtigten Eigeninteresse". Die Konstruktion nationaler Identität, in Jäger and Januschek *Gefühlte Geschichte und Kämpfe um Identität*, Münster: Unrast-Verlag; Jung, Wengeler and Böke (1997):

analysis to uncover the discursive, often implicit construction of ethnic or racist categories.[11]

As to the research on nationalism in the Spanish context in general, Nuñez Seixas highlights that "the ideological, political and social presence of Spanish nationalism" "is one of the least researched areas".[12] Besides his own historiographical research, the studies of Fusi, Fox and Beramendi provide interesting insights into the historical development of national identity in Spain.[13] Furthermore, Dolores Franco's anthology about the image of Spain in literature and philosophy[14] or Boyd's analysis of the transmission of collective representations of national history and identity in education are to be mentioned here. After the transition to democracy, the academic interest in national identity and nationalism focused rather on the analysis of the peripheral national identities in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia.[15] Consequently, academic literature concentrating on the history, development and current debate of nationalist movements in the Spanish peripheries is abundant.[16]

Die Sprache des Migrationsdiskurses. Das Reden über "Ausländer" in Medien, Politik und Alltag, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

[11] See van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman and Troutman (1997): Discourse, Ethnicity, Culture and Racism, in van Dijk *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Volume II*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications; van Dijk (1984): *Prejudice in Discourse. An Analysis of Ethnic Prejudice in Cognition and Conversation*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

[12] Nuñez Seixas (2001): What is Spanish nationalism today? From legitimacy crisis to unfulfilled renovation (1975-2000), in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42: 5, p. 719.

[13] See Nuñez Seixas (1993): *Historiographical Approaches to Nationalism in Spain*, Saarbrücken: Verlag breitenbach Publishers; Nuñez Seixas (2001): *What is Spanish nationalism today?*; Fusi Aizpúrua (2000): *España. La evolución de la identidad nacional*, Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy; Beramendi (2000): Identity, Ethnicity, and the State in Spain: 19th and 20th Centuries, in Safran and Máiz *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies*, London/Portland, OR.: Frank Cass; Fox (1997): *La invención de España. Nacionalismo liberal e identidad nacional*, Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra.

[14] See Franco (1980): *España como Preocupación. Antología*, Barcelona: Editorial Argos Vergara.

[15] See Flynn (2001): Constructed identities and Iberia, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24: 5, p. 744.

[16] In general see Keating (1993): Spain. Peripheral nationalism and state response, in McGarty and O´Leary *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation. Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflicts*, London/New York: Routledge; Valandro (2002): *A Nation of Nations. Nationalities' Policies in Spain*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang; Guibernau (2006): National identity, devolution and secession in Canada, Britain and Spain, in *Nations and Nationalism*, 12; Guibernau (2007): *The Identity of Nations*, Cambridge: Polity Press; For details on Galicia see Losada (2000): National Identity and Self-government: The Galician Case, in Safran and Máiz *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies*, London/Portland, OR.: Frank Cass. For more information on the Basque

Also studies about immigration have proliferated in the last decade as Spain transformed into an immigration country receiving considerable numbers of non-EU immigrants. Nevertheless, only a few academic references can be found proximate to the analysis of the relationship between immigration and the construction of Spanish national identity.[17] There are, though, a couple of works studying, for instance, attitudes towards the immigrants or the implication of different integration policy concepts.[18] In Catalonia, however, the question of how internal Castilian-speaking migrants influence Catalan national identity has already in the 1960s led to a controversial debate among intellectuals and politicians. Explicit considerations about the relation between immigration and nation-building are hence still part of the current political debate at the Catalan level. Consequently, the question of how immigrants are integrated into societies under the influence of strong minority nationalisms, especially in the Basque Country and Catalonia has also aroused interest among Spanish

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nationalist movement see Douglass *et al.* (1999): *Basque Politics and Nationalism on the Eve of the Millenium*, Reno: University of Nevada. A comparison between the Basque and Catalan nationalism is provided by Medrano (1995): *Divided Nations. Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press. Sources on Catalan national identity and nationalism are: McRoberts (2001): *Catalonia. Nation Building without a State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Keating (1996): *Nations against the State. The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*, London: MacMillan Press; Estruch (1991): Die Soziale Konstruktion von nationalen Identitäten. Das Beispiel von Katalonien als Nation im spanischen Staat, in Fröschl, Mesner and Ra´anan *Staat und Nation in multi-ethnischen Gesellschaften*, Wien: Passagen Verlag; Llobera (1996): *The Role of Historical Memory in (Ethno)Nation-Building*, London: University of London; Balcells (1996): *Catalan Nationalism. Past and Present*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: MacMillan Press; Guibernau (1997): Nations without states: Catalonia, a case study, in Guibernau and Rex *The Ethnicity Reader. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

[17] There is for instance Triandafyllidou's analysis discussed later on and various studies examining the historical and recent relation between national identity and Muslim immigration - often using the catchword "maurophobia". See for instance: Zapata-Barrero (2006b): The Muslim community and Spanish tradition. Maurophobia as a fact, and impartiality as a desideratum, in Modood, Triandafyllidou and Zapata-Barrero *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship. A European Approach*, London: Routledge.

[18] See Birsl *et al.* (2003): *Migration und Interkulturalität in Großbritannien, Deutschland und Spanien. Fallstudien aus der Arbeitswelt*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich; Agrela (2002): La política de inmigración en España: reflexiones sobre la emergencia del discurso de la diferencia cultural, in *Migraciones Internacionales*, 1:2; Zapata-Barrero (2008): Policies and public opinion towards immigrants: the Spanish case, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870802302280.

scholars.[19] Zapata-Barrero, for instance, has published various studies analysing the link between autonomous government and immigrant accommodation in Catalonia.[20]

Against the background of the current literature in social sciences the book at hand ranges between two major areas of research examining the link between nation-building and immigration. Although, as described above, there are some studies that deal with similar questions in countries such as Germany, France and the United States, for Spain there can be found hardly any academic reference regarding the construction of national identity in view of the immigration from non-EU-countries. However, Spain is, because of the ongoing inner-Spanish debate about national identity, a very interesting case to look at. The concurrence of a rather complex situation of different nation-building processes and the fast development of immigrant numbers in the last years is without comparison in the EU.

This was certainly also one of the reasons for Triandafyllidou to include Spain into her comparative analysis of the nation-building processes in the three "old" immigration countries (Germany, France and UK) and the three "new" immigration countries (Spain, Italy and France).[21] Her study aims at investigating the role that immigrants play in the definition or re-definition of national identity in each country. The here presented analysis is based on similar theoretical assumptions and draws thus on Triandafyllidou's hypotheses. Yet there are considerable differences in the selection of the empirical material and in the assumptions the methodological approach is derived from. The press articles and interviews examined by Triandafyllidou date back to the mid-1990s when immigration from non-EU countries to Spain was still not very strong. Moreover, it was prior to the decisive debate about the new Law on Aliens which was

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[19] See Shafir (1995): *Immigrants and Nationalists. Ethnic Conflict and Accomodation in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Latvia, and Estonia*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

[20] See Zapata-Barrero (2002): *El turno de los inmigrantes. Esferas de Justicia y Políticas de Acomodación*, Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales; Zapata-Barrero (2004a): *Inmigración, innovación política y cultura de acomodación en España*, Barcelona: Fundació CIDOB; Zapata-Barrero (2005a): Construyendo una filosofía pública de la inmigración en Catalunya: los términos del debate, in *Revista de derecho migratorio y extranjería*, 2005:10; Zapata-Barrero (2006a): *Immigració i Govern en Nacions Minoritàries: Flandes, el Quebec i Catalunya en perspectiva*?, Barcelon: Fundació Ramon Trias Fargas; Zapata-Barrero (2007): Immigration, Self-Government and Management of Identity. The Catalan Case, in Korinman and Laugland *The long March to the West*, Vallentine: Mitchell.

[21] See Triandafyllidou (2001): *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*, p. 78.

passed in 2000 and which for the first time directed the attention of a broad public to immigration issues and marked the beginning of serious considerations regarding the integration of immigrants.

Although the author mentions the multinational identity and the inner-Spanish diversity as a variable to explain the results of her analysis, the comparative approach constrains her to studying the Spanish context as a whole and leaving aside the perspective of the peripheral national identities. It is, however, necessary to cover both minority and majority national identity discourse, given that they are interdependent. In this study Catalan political discourse was chosen, because the Autonomous Community of Catalonia has received considerable numbers of immigrants, compared to other Spanish regions with strong minority nationalisms such as the Basque Country. Furthermore, Triandafyllidou chose distinct criteria for selecting the empirical material. On the one hand she analysed press discourse[22] and on the other hand the political discourse at the central state level. The latter based on eight interviews of NGO representatives of trade unions and administration officials. Apart from the small number of interviews, the choice of interviewees reflects a very broad definition of "political discourse",[23] whereas in the here presented study, statements and interviews of politicians were incorporated into the actual analysis while the interviews with administration officials, trade unionists and representatives of migrant organizations were used only to backup the results. The selection of empirical material chosen here makes it possible to distinguish between the different political parties and ideologies.

As to the actual methodological approach of her study Triandafyllidou shortly refers to discourse analysis, describing it "as a general analytical approach whose precise implementation depends upon the particular theoretical issues at hand",[24] without going into further details. As a matter of fact, discourse analytical approaches are an excellent instrument to study the construction of na-

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[22] She quantitatively analysed 43 press articles referring to immigration from Spanish mainstream weekly press (Cambio 16, Sunday edition of El País, and Tribuna de Actualidad), between 1990-1995 (3 months each year).

[23] Triandafyllidou explains her selection of interviewees with the fact that they offered "privileged testimony" of immigration issues.

[24] Triandafyllidou (2001): *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*, p. 123.

tional identity[25] and have recently also found their way into political sciences.[26] Nevertheless, it is important to explicate the applied concept of discourse, as there are distinct approaches to discourse analysis based on different underlying theoretical assumptions regarding their object of research. It is hence crucial to explain how the actual methodological approach is embedded into these overall discourse theoretical considerations.

Comparing Triandafyllidou's results for the mid-1990s with the recent data presented here in the chapters VI and VII enables me to draw conclusions about the development of migration discourse in the last decade and the changes in the constructions of national identity, at least from a central state perspective.

In chapter II the underlying theoretical assumptions regarding the construction of national identity and discourse analysis are explicated. National identity has been one of the most influential concepts of collective identity. The terms nation, national identity, nationalism are here used to describe categories which are subject to human construction-processes and must therefore be assessed in their actual representation.[27] In view of the extensive literature on nation-building and nationalism only a couple of relevant works are cited to present recurring general patterns of national identity-building such as for instance the reference to a common past. Furthermore, the idealtypical distinction of a civic nation and a cultural or ethnic nation is introduced and ideas are presented about how collective identity is constructed against an "Other", in this case the immigrants. After thorough thought, discourse analysis has turned out to be the most adequate fundament for analysing how national identity is actually constructed at the Catalan and central state level in Spain. Chapter II.2 thus deals with the basic assumptions of discourse analysis, the conception of discourse

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[25] See Sutherland (2005): Nation-building through discourse theory, in *Nations and Nationalism*, 11:2.

[26] "Frames", "belief systems" or "discourse" are also used increasingly in political sciences as analytical variables, particularly in the field of International Relations. For an overview over discourse analytical approaches in political sciences see Kerchner (2006): Diskursanalyse in der Politikwissenschaft. Ein Forschungsüberblick, in Kerchner and Schneider, *Foucault. Diskursanalyse der Politik. Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, and Nullmeier (2001): Politikwissenschaft auf dem Weg zur Diskursanalyse? in Keller *et al. Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse. Band I: Theorien und Methoden*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

[27] Conscious of the fact that the categories nation, nationalism, nationalistic and national identity are differently defined in the distinct cultural and linguistic contexts. Especially in countries such as Germany and Spain, nationalism is often, also as a descriptive category, connoted negatively, delegitimised by the Nazi and Francoist past of these countries.

and frame followed here, and the particular relation of discourse, knowledge, ideology and power.

To better understand the context of the analysis, the past and recent developments in the two fields linked in this the study are outlined in chapter III and IV: on the one hand the constructions of national identity in Spain and particularly in Catalonia and on the other hand the change from an emigration to an immigration country in the last one and a half decades.

However, as discourse analysis provides only the theoretical framework for analysis, the methodological approach of how the empirical material was actually selected and coded, is described in chapter V. Moreover intermediate data on how politicians refer to immigration and immigrant integration are presented to allow in a next step the isolation and reconstruction of the frames of national identity in Spanish central state and Catalan political discourse.

The *frames* found at each level of government are presented in separate chapters, the ones found in central state political discourse in chapter VI and the ones found in Catalan political discourse in chapter VII. The frames were subsumed in each case under different areas of interest. Some of the frames showed furthermore various dimensions or variations and were thus classified into subframes.

Finally, in the last chapter, these different elements of constructions of national identity in Spain are examined in relation to each other: beginning with the historical dimensions, then asking for the principal categories attributed in each case to national identity, thirdly pointing out the respective definitions of who belongs to the "in-group" and who to the "out-group" and finally drawing conclusions regarding the question of how to classify these constructions of national identity with respect to the differentiation between civic or ethnic nation. In addition, the comparison with Triandafyllidou's results gives hints how to answer the question, if discourse about immigration at the central state level has changed in the last decade.

Due to the rapid changes in migration patterns over the last years, a change in discourse about migration and national identity is to be expected. To conclude, the most recent developments of the political discourse about immigration and immigrant integration in Spain are described and an outlook is given on the challenges to come.