Running with Fire: Catalan Ethnic Identity in 21st Century Spain

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ABSTRACT

Catalan ethnic identity is an ongoing process of transformation, negotiation and meaning-making that is set within and draws sustaining energies from a field of dynamic and ambiguous connections. Many social theorists label Catalan people as an ethnic group yet very little work has focused specifically on the ongoing formation of Catalan ethnic identity. Catalans are most often mentioned alongside Basque, Québécois, Scots, Celts and Flemish. That is, they are usually categorised with groups that exhibit strong nationalist sentiments or are considered as nations-without-states. As the vast majority of works on Catalan identity focus on nationalism and few on ethnicity, I saw an opportunity to utilise an ethnicity framework to better understand an 'identity under construction', an identity that is responding in novel ways to present conditions to assert difference and uniqueness. Catalan people are not, however, simply affirming existing difference, but forging a contemporary identity that draws on tensions and ambiguities, and resists reductive inclusion into a dominant Spanish identity. I argue that there is a foreshortening of the full significance of Catalan identity construction if the interpretive grid supplied only by nationalism is invoked. This thesis harnesses the potentials of ethnicity theory to propose that the Catalan struggle for identity embraces complexities and creativities that resist attempts to resolve their identity into particular scripted meanings or contained 'essences'. Ethnographic fieldwork has enabled engagement in the everyday worlds where Catalan ethnicity 'happens' to develop nuanced understandings of *being* and *feeling* Catalan within contemporary contexts of change and contestation.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work except where acknowledged. The work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Eloise Hummell

February 2017

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

The research presented in this thesis was approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number 5201200269, on 02 May 2012, with amendments approved on 13 December 2012. The final ethics approval letter is supplied in Appendix 1.

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INTRODUCTION

Catalan ethnic identity is an ongoing process of forging difference and significance that is set within and draws sustaining energies from a field of dynamic and ambiguous connections. This thesis utilises the potentials of ethnicity theory to suggest that the Catalan struggle for identity embraces tensions, complexities and creativities that defy attempts to resolve their identity into particular scripted meanings or contained 'essences'. I employ the ethnicity paradigm to examine the research question: *how are the struggles around and transformation of Catalan ethnic identity negotiated in the ongoing search for meaning and significance*?

Ethnicity is a theory for understanding the processes of group identity formation (Barth 1969a; Roosens 1989; Nash 1989; Kaufmann 2004). It is the name given to a particular group relation whereby social organisation, social relations and identification by self and 'Others' as belonging to a group construct the identity of 'a people' (Barth 1969a). This thesis presents a critical exploration of the processes involved in identifying and transforming as 'a people' and how difference is 'created' (Roosens 1989), 'invented' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) and 'imagined' (Anderson 1991). Catalan people are not simply asserting existing difference, but are creating a contemporary identity whilst simultaneously producing and reproducing difference that resists reductive inclusion into a dominant Spanish identity and by nation-state acculturation strategies. I am interested in better understanding the particular processes and struggles around claiming this difference and transforming Catalan identity in Catalunya as it draws vitality from change, complexity and ambiguity.

My research reveals that, for many Catalans, identity tends to feel 'natural', inevitable, normal and taken-for-granted, yet Catalan difference and 'uniqueness' are made in

deliberate and strategic ways. Many Catalan people work hard to form a Catalan everyday that creates a sense of what is special and particular, and thus worth defending, against both real and perceived threats. It is 'strategic' because the ongoing project of defining and generating a *particular* Catalan identity favours and promotes *certain* cultural practices that demonstrate a heightened difference and uniqueness, especially from Spanish culture, as the dominant 'Other'. I will assert that Catalan identity is currently constructed principally around the use and defence of language, the perpetuation of shared historical narratives, appropriating space in particular ways and performing cultural 'traditions'. It is not, however, defined by these considerations and characteristics but instead by the way people organise around and give meaning to various beliefs, events and practices. People identify themselves and others as 'Catalan', however there is much variation and debate about what it means to 'belong', and the conditions for identification can change depending on individuals, context and situation.

Catalan is not a unified and homogenous group; it is not fixed and static, but fluid, complex and sometimes contradictory. Despite divisions, there are understandings and associations of shared experiences, collective memory and common hopes that unite people with feelings of attachment and belonging. Identity formation is always a process of *becoming* (Deleuze 1995: 169-176), of evolving and transforming, and of negotiation. We engage in creative and contradictory ways to appropriate and reconstruct 'identity', and to form processes and understandings of belonging. Ethnic identity is not given and stable but is socially constructed within broader contexts and interrelations (Barth 1969a, 1969b; Roosens 1989; Brubaker *et al.* 2006; Eriksen 2010), and I use 'ethnicity' as an important framework for the outsider to come to an understanding that appreciates 'identity-as-process'.

Although some social theorists label Catalan people as an ethnic group (Woolard 1989; Dion *et al.* 2011), very little work has focused specifically on the ongoing formation of Catalan ethnic identity. Catalans are most often mentioned in a list alongside Basque,

Québécois, Scots, Celts and the Flemish. That is, they are usually categorised with groups that exhibit strong nationalist sentiments or are considered as nations-without-states. As the vast majority of works on Catalan identity centre on nationalism (see Hargreaves 2000; Castells 2004; Guibernau 2004; Villarroya 2012) and few exist on ethnicity (see Woolard 1989), I saw an opportunity to utilise this framework to better understand an 'identity under construction', an identity that is responding in novel ways to present conditions to assert their difference and uniqueness. I argue that there is a foreshortening of the full significance of the transformation of Catalan identity if the only interpretive grid supplied by nationalism is invoked. The current transformations, tensions and ambiguities of Catalan identity, *including* nationalist agendas and sentiments, provide the case study to explore current ethnic processes. The result is a stimulating enquiry into the social, political and cultural processes of Catalan identity formation that utilises the ethnicity paradigm for making sense of the strategic struggle for enduring significance within broader contexts of contestation.

The title of this thesis has experienced a number of versions as the direction and analyses of the data have developed, and the significance of the title is multiple. 'Running with fire' is a translation of the *Català*[1] word *Correfoc.* A *Correfoc* is an organised Catalan cultural performance where a procession of performers dressed as devils and demons carry fireworks, typically on large pitchforks together with large mechanised 'fire beasts' fitted with pyrotechnics, chase spectators along the route of the procession as it winds through streets and squares. This occurs to the accompaniment of loud rhythmic drumming from

[1] *Català* is the specific word for the distinct language spoken by Catalan people. I use the word to help avoid confusion and limit repetition. However in capitalising *Català* I am contravening the language's orthography. I have done this because English orthography does capitalise languages and to use a small 'c' risks suggesting a level of inferiority that I do not wish to imply. Additionally I put *Català* words in italics to demonstrate that they are not the English versions but the original version. When I use the word Catalan I am referring to the group of people and their identity.

bands that are interspersed amongst the devils, demons and fire beasts. Spectators often dress in old clothing with protective scarves over their faces and heads as they alternately flee from, or defiantly run and jump through, the flying sparks. The *Correfoc* is meaningful as a way of engaging physically and emotionally with Catalan identity construction. This specifically Catalan performance is explored in an ethnographic account in the Conclusion, as I employ it to evoke the energy and vitality as well as the sense of risk and vulnerability involved in creating, transforming and promoting a Catalan ethnic identity.

'Running with fire' also became a meaningful expression for me as part of a lesson in conducting social research and being open to the particular social worlds I was inhabiting. Late on the last night of my first fieldwork trip to Catalunya, when I had thought that my research data-gathering had finished, I was surprised to hear sounds of drumming echoing through the streets as it bounced off the closely packed apartment buildings. In the Barcelona suburb of Gràcia a *Correfoc* was underway. I joined the excited crowd and resumed my data gathering. It is often necessary to 'go with the flow' as a social researcher and grasp opportunities as they arise, and I did just that – I joined the *Correfoc* to 'run with fire'.

I Ethnicity and 'Ethnogenesis'

Ethnicity is constructed through social relations, social practices, ascription and self-identification as 'belonging' (Barth 1969a). Ethnicity is thus a social category; it is produced through human interaction and interpretation. Other common identity categories include nationality, religion, race, gender, sexuality and occupation. They are all constructed socially rather than fundamental factors or inherent qualities of human beings, although they can often be perceived this way (Nash 1989). Because ethnicity is formed through social interactions, popular and enduring understandings of ethnic identity that continue to hinge on biology and 'race' can be problematic and can place

limitations on the existence and continuation of an ethnic group struggling to define itself in its own terms in the face of closed and restricted categorisation (Linnekin 1990; Sider 2003). Ethnicity can incorporate elements of the other social categories identified above, depending on *how* those markers are made meaningful to the social organisation of the identity.

Frederick Barth (1969a) developed a seminal theory of ethnicity, which I review in Chapter Two, that has continued relevance today (Verdery 1994; Brubaker 2009) as it laid down the foundational understandings of ethnicity as processual, relational and situational. Barth rejected the then-prevailing notion that ethnic groups were rigid and bounded entities formed through responses to ecological factors, ascribed using primordialist bonds and defined by territorial boundaries and observable cultural traits. The three most important assertions of Barth's (1969a) theoretical position that fundamentally challenged the status quo established by the classic primordialist approach to ethnicity were:

- Ethnicity is *not* defined by cultural content but by social organisation,
- The roots of this social organisation are *dichotomization*, so that the ethnic boundary is a *social* boundary formed through interactions between 'Us' and 'Them', and
- Ethnic affiliation is situationally dependent and can *change*.

Barth focused on the dynamics and processes that produced ethnic boundaries by presenting a theoretical framework that understood ethnicity as an ongoing *social* organisation formed through interactions between 'Us' and 'Them', which is signalled through, but not defined by, cultural markers. Cultural materials, such as clothing, are not necessarily deployed to signify ethnic group membership and do not define ethnic identity (Barth 1969b: 131-132). Cultural features can act as *markers* of ethnic identity when understood as socially significant but they do not *create* the ethnic group. Specific cultural

features may be important in some contexts and not others, they may guide behaviour for one activity but not another (Barth 1969a: 14). Even as cultural features change and individuals transfer their ethnic membership, the 'ethnic group' continues and is maintained via the "continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders" (Barth 1969a: 14). That is, an ethnic group cannot exist in isolation, its formation and continuation is dependent upon interaction with 'Others' through inter-group relations. Barth's central contribution was to encourage an understanding of ethnic groups as fluid and changeable rather than fixed and predetermined. The fundamental premises that challenged the status quo on understanding ethnic groups will be navigated in Chapter Two.

Literature from the 1970s, 80s and 90s that built on and critiqued Barth's work included, but is not limited to, Smith's (1981; 1986) 'ethnic revival'; Roosens' (1989) concept of 'ethnogenesis'; Nash's (1989) charting the course of ethnicity in the modern world; Linnekin and Poyer's (1990) identity, nationalism and ethnicity in the Pacific Islands; and Eriksen's (1991) consideration of the relations between ethnicity and nationalism. More recent works on ethnicity in the early 21st century, by Sider (2003; 2014), Kaufmann (2004), Castells (2004), Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox and Grancea (2006), Eriksen (2010) and Brubaker (2009; 2015) on 'rethinking ethnicity'[2] have further expanded and advanced on the wider influence and importance of politics, economics and the nation-state, and considered the impacts of globalisation and modernity on ethnic identities. In Chapter Two I consider the critiques of and developments from Barth's theoretical position.

Through deeper engagements with broader social, political, economic and historical contexts, subsequent works on ethnicity have contended that interactions between 'Us'

[2] I borrow this from the title of Kaufmann's (2004) book, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Majority Groups and Dominant Minorities*.

and 'Them' are not always equal and reciprocal, and that inequality and marginalisation, through various power relations, systems of dominance and subordination, and differential social values, are key considerations in the processes of forming ethnic identities (Eriksen 1991; Hill 1996; Sider 2003; Brubaker 2009). Situating ethnicity within, as well as contributing to, these contexts of influence, authority and change has helped to develop new insights into the contested character of ethnicity as one of the prime movers of ethnic formation. Considering contexts of contestation is not simply about constraints and restrictions but also about how ethnic groups respond and transform in creative ways.

A concept I strongly engage with throughout the thesis is Eugene Roosens' (1989) 'ethnogenesis', which is the process of 'creating' ethnicity within modern nation-states. This framework considers the ways in which ethnicity can be formed, emerge and indeed destroyed passively or actively by, for example, colonial administrations, revivals after periods of repression, the deliberate engineering of new identities, or as a response to dominant cultural values and power relations. Ethnogenesis is often employed to explore 'new' emerging ethnic identities and transforming existing groups as they respond to different and novel social and political conditions (Hill 1996). In this way, ethnogenesis emphasises that ethnicity becomes more salient and is an active self-conscious appropriation of identity in times of exception and disjuncture, through which societies and peoples are galvanised into considering who they are.

Roosens (1989) followed Barth (1969a) in the self-ascription, social organisational model of ethnic attachment, in which ethnicity is socially constructed and not dependent on unbroken links to historical traditions and past cultural practices. The main point of difference to Barth's ethnicity, which I further discuss in Chapter Two, is that ethnogenesis helps to capture how groups create a sense of themselves as different in contexts of contest, change and challenge, and helps to consider the significance, ambiguity and struggles that take place in the processes of constructing and asserting an ethnic identity.

We might nominally belong to a particular ethnic, national, racial group, but its relevance in structuring our lives may only come to the fore in certain situations and contexts. We are not always highly conscious in the self-reflection of our identity, but at some points – whether because of social upheaval, political discontent or disconnect, economic stresses or migration pressures – the will to assert a degree of 'group-ness' through difference and belonging becomes more important and more crucial to our sense of who we are and who we want to become. Ethnogenesis can provide the conceptual means to examine and discover insights into groups that transform and renew their identities in response to modern situations and challenges. Ethnogenesis also demonstrates that ethnicity theory is not equally relevant and applicable to all societies, but is at its most useful when it captures the galvanising moments and junctures when individuals and peoples must more self-consciously negotiate who they are.

The majority of theorists on ethnicity, including Smith (1981, 1986), Nash (1989), Eriksen (1991, 2010) Brubaker *et al.* (2006), and Brubaker (2009), observe an overlap between ethnicity and nationalism. Although views on the relations differ, there is general consensus that nationalism and ethnicity are neither one and the same, nor two discrete social spheres. They interact and co-constitute. Nationalism is an ideological movement that aims to "attain and maintain the autonomy, unity and identity of a social group" (Smith 1981: 18) and has its distinguishing feature as the relationship to the state. I engage further with the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism in Chapter Two in setting out my argument that ethnicity and nationalism in Catalunya co-exist and co-construct, and may be expressed, understood, influence interactions and structure behaviours and opinions in different ways.

Manuel Castells (2004: 45-68) argues that Catalan is solely a nationalist group, expressed predominantly as the *nation of Catalunya*. I agree in part with Castells that Catalan identity demonstrates some of the characteristics of both a nationalist movement and a political group, as discussed further in Chapter Six. I contend, however, that Catalan *can* be

accurately recognised as an 'ethnic group' and my findings support this. I argue that Catalan nationalism and Catalan ethnicity are interrelated, and I do not set out to draw a hard and fast line between where ethnicity ends and nationalism begins because, as my research will demonstrate, Catalan ethnicity and nationalism are interconnected and not always two separate domains of lived experience. There is little doubt that Catalan nationalism and the nation of Catalunya play critical roles in the current articulation and transformation of Catalan identity, and it is vital to consider the popularization of politics, changing political allegiances and the consumerism surrounding the independence movement. It is also critically important to bring to the fore the controversial issues of nation-state status, self-determination and separatist arguments, as these issues affect the daily lives of many Catalan people as well as influence the ongoing construction of Catalan ethnic identity. In Chapter Six I discuss some of the ways that organised nationalism can provide a political arena for Catalan people to articulate expressions of difference and feelings of both historic and on-going oppression inflicted by the Spanish nation-state. I argue that nationalism capitalises on the creative energies of ethnic identity construction to drive forward its own cause, while its success can provide opportunities for ethnic identity transformations through securing economic and institutional conditions. However, I also argue that a focus on nationalism as the central organising component of Catalan identity can be misleading in understanding its social construction and current articulations. As a theory for interpreting and understanding identity, in this case, the use of nationalism as the sole theoretical grid through which to understand the complexity of Catalan identity-as-process risks reducing the ambiguity and tensions that the ethnicity framework seeks to draw out. I do not deny the usefulness of nationalism as an interpretive framework, the particularities of nationalist identities in Catalunya or the value of works on Catalan nationalism. Rather, I am asserting that if we *only* use nationalism to examine Catalan identity, then we omit some of the significance and meanings of cultural forms, and the ethnicity paradigm, whilst not excluding nationalism, enables these to be identified and examined.

Neither nationalism, ethnicity, nor any other theoretical positioning, enables a complete understanding of identity formation (Sider 2014: 4). Rather, social researchers seek to utilise those frameworks that provide the best possible way to develop deeper understandings, while acknowledging that these will always be partial because the social world is complex and changing. Ethnicity uncovers the significances that are not only bound to the nation and ethnogenesis is a way of capturing what is happening more broadly. Part of the strength of ethnicity theory is the capacity to recognise creativity and ambiguity. Catalan ethnicity is a process rather than a statement of already formed identity, and the self-creation that is articulated through the concept of ethnicity is elided by the model of nationalism that refers to the struggle of an already-constituted people to claim their political and cultural rights. The struggles around ethnicity can motivate the nationalist cause but at the same time the subjective and cultural meaning of ethnicity as a struggle to be Catalan cannot be reduced to a political cause without stifling its living energies. The "interpretive prism" (Brubaker *et al.* 2006: 15) of ethnicity is advantageous because it allows researchers to explore how relations are defined and maintained, how people themselves think about and discuss their identities and allegiances, and how their practices, views and opinions are supported, challenged, manipulated and transformed. Ethnicity elucidates the tensions and ambiguities and complexities, rather than trying to reduce and simplify them. It is thus reflective of our complicated and contradictory lived experiences.

Ethnicity is a complex and debated theory both in academia and in everyday contexts. Bauman highlights the complicated use of terms and definitions: "Each term that sociologists may use will already have been heavily burdened with meanings it was given by the commonsensical knowledge of 'ordinary' people like you and me" (1990: 15). The processes and actions we study are already known by other names and have particular meanings attributed that researchers must negotiate (Bauman 1990: 15). Eriksen similarly asserts that "Since our concepts...are our own inventions, we must not assume

that the actors themselves have the same ideas about the ways in which the world is constituted – even if they are using the very same words as ourselves!" (2010: 21). Dominant *and* subordinate groups usually perceive their own identity as 'normal' and 'natural', and not as categorically 'ethnic' or 'other'. The term 'ethnicity' can be rejected by peoples whom academics, politicians or the media would otherwise label an 'ethnic group' or as having an 'ethnic identity'. I was informed by a number of Catalan individuals who assisted me with developing research information and consent forms in *Català* that to be considered 'ethnic' was often not desirable in a Catalan context. 'Ethnic' was regularly understood as a term meaning 'other', 'outsider', 'stranger' or 'immigrant', that is, an association with *not* belonging. I therefore often employed a combination of 'Catalan identity', 'ethnic revival' and 'cultural practices' when explaining the research project to potential participants. I felt that this enabled me to better communicate my research without inviting the negative connotations that could potentially cause confusion or offence.

As living and evolving social relations, neither history nor culture nor place nor language are responsible for creating an ethnic identity, although they do contribute to the multi-faceted and often complex implications and influences shaping continually renewing ethnic identities (Sider 2003, 2014b; Roosens 1989). Similarly, the desire and steps taken to revive cultural practices and re-enact 'traditions' cannot be explained solely by the modern fixation of nostalgia (Nora 2002). Identities need to be situated and understood within their particular social and political context (Linnekin 1990). It is vital, especially with globalisation, to contextualise our research and situate it within a broader global context and thus reduce the likelihood of ethnicity being understood as a stable relation. In this vein, below I give a brief outline of the social, political and historical context of Catalunya to better appreciate the complexity of the Catalan situation as it has experienced periods of expansion and renaissance, repression and decline over the centuries. These contexts will be expanded on more specifically throughout the thesis.

II Social-Political-Historical Context

This thesis does not aim to chart the entire course of Catalan social, political and historical developments. I do not seek to cover all the ebbs and flows of Catalan group identity making and marking. Rather, I investigate selected sociological processes to highlight and illuminate particular examples of the processes of representation and identity formation and transformation. I now provide a brief background of some of the most relevant matters and oft-referenced moments that inform the ongoing development of Catalan society. More detail on various events cited as well as other debates, practices and cultural performances will be expanded on in the subsequent chapters.

Catalan people mostly reside in Catalunya, an 'Autonomous Community' located in northeastern Spain on the Iberian Peninsula (Guibernau 2013). Catalunya covers approximately 32,000 km^2 and is bounded on the east by the Mediterranean Sea, and shares borders with the Spanish regions of Valencia to the south and Aragon to the west, with the Principality of Andorra and nation-state of France to the north (see Figure 1) (Generalitat 2015). The region is divided internally into four provinces: Barcelona, Tarragona, Lleida and Girona, with the greatest numbers of inhabitants residing in Barcelona (Institut d'Estadistica de Catalunya [Idescat] 2016), and a total population recorded at 7.522 million inhabitants (Idescat 2016).

As stated in the previous section outlining ethnicity, territorial boundaries do not provide the boundaries of ethnic belonging. Barth (1969a) drew our attention to the falsity of equating an ethnicity directly with cultural practices or a political-territorial border. Ethnicity 'spills over' the frontiers and borders that contain a territory or nation-state. Ethnic groups can and often do have territorial counterparts, but they *need not*, nor does the territory determine the group's *social* boundaries. While the history of and ongoing formation of Catalan people is connected with the political history and physical landscape of the region of Catalunya, Catalan people are not restricted to political-territorial borders.

I discuss the significance and relevance of place to Catalan identity construction in Chapter Four.

Spain is a federal democracy organised in the form of a parliamentary government under a constitutional monarchy (Miley 2007; Villarroya 2012). The population of Spain in 2016 was approximately 46.557 million people (Idescat 2016), with the five most populous cities being (in order) Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville and Bilbao. The Spanish nation-state is composed of seventeen 'Autonomous Communities' with Madrid as the official capital and administrative centre (Guibernau 2013). The seventeen communities were officially created and recognised in the 1978 Spanish Constitution and have varying degrees of autonomous control, but all include elected parliaments, public administrations, regional budgets, and health and education systems (Wright 2004; Guibernau 2013).

Figure 1: Location of Spain (Wikipedia 2017a).

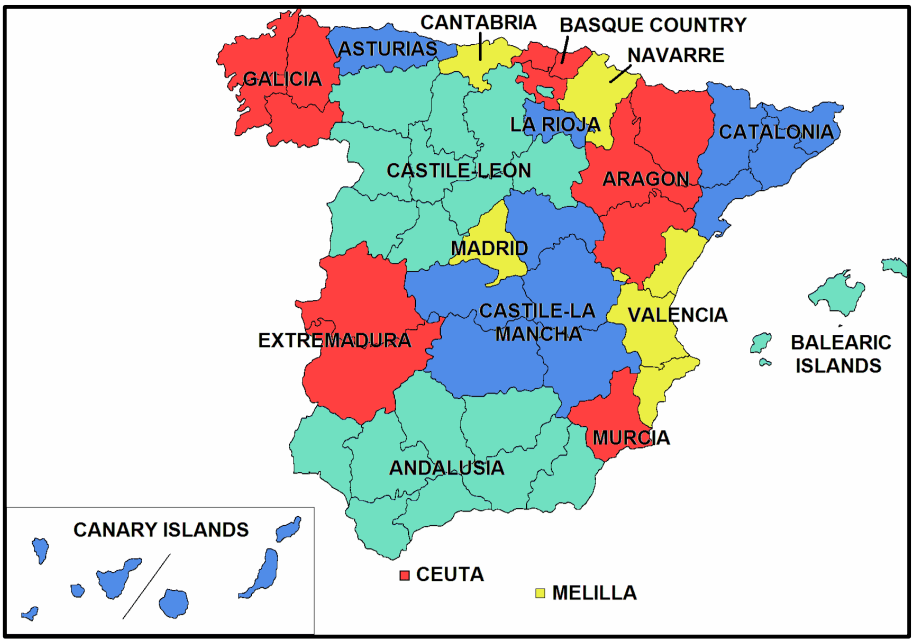

Figure 2: The autonomous communities of Spain (Wikipedia 2017b).

Figure 3: Administrative division of Catalonia (Wikipedia 2017c).

Castilian Spanish is the official language throughout the entire Spanish nation-state, and shares co-officiality with: *Català* in Catalunya and the Balearic Islands; Valencian in the Community of Valencia; Basque (*Euskera*) in Basque Country; and Galician in Galecia. *Països Catalans* is a term meaning 'Catalan countries' and refers to the *Català* speaking territories, which include both Valencia[3] and the Balearic Islands as well as parts of Aragon, and outside of Spain in the Principality of Andorra, Sardinia in Italy and the French

[3] Although Valencia is included in the group of 'countries' called *Països Catalans*, there remains debate as to whether Valencian is a dialect of *Català* or whether it is an independent language. Some participants expressed the view that calling Valencian a language is a political ploy to undermine the strength of *Català* and Catalan identity, while others thought that denying the uniqueness of Valencian could be a form of repression and denial.

department of Pyrenees Orientals (also referred to as *Catalunya Nord,* Northern Catalunya) (Generalitat 2016). *Català* speakers worldwide (although numbers vary) tend to be quoted at around 10 to 12 million (Idescat 2015; Plataforma per la Llengua 2015; Generalitat 2016). This makes *Català* currently the fourteenth most spoken language within the European Union (EU) (Plataforma per la Llengua 2015), but does not have official EU status (European Commission 2015)[4]. Catalunya is not an homogenous society of *Català* speakers, nor has it ever been. It is important to note that "linguistic hegemony is not easily reached, nor should it be conceived of as establishing social harmony" (Laitin, 1989: 309).

During the 12th to 15th centuries the Principality of Catalunya was ruled by the Count of Barcelona, under the Crown of Aragon (Miquel 2010). The Crown of Aragon and the Crown of Castile were bound as an outcome of the 1469 marriage between Fernando II of Aragon to Isabella I of Castile (Miquel 2010). Following the death of Henry IV of Castile, Isabella I became Queen and Fernando II became King Consort of Castile. When Fernando II succeeded his father as King of Aragon in 1479 the Crown of Castile and Crown of Aragon were officially united to create the single political entity of *España* (Spain) (Wright 2004). The two kingdoms were thus joined as a result of a dynastic union rather than by warfare or feudal struggle and consequently the provinces of Aragon were largely able to maintain their relative autonomy (Wright 2004; Miquel 2010). This sequence of events explains the frequent assertion, most commonly referenced in arguments in favour of greater autonomy or the independence of Catalunya from Spain, that Catalunya existed *prior* to Spain and had its own laws and governing system *before* those of the nation-state of Spain.

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[4] *Català* does have co-official status in the EU, however its use must be "authorised on the basis of an administrative arrangement concluded between the Council and the requesting Member State" (European Union 2015).

In 1640 a popular revolution began in Catalunya after peasants rebelled against Spanish troops billeted in their towns during the Thirty Year War between Spain and France, during which Catalunya, because of its location along the border between the two countries, was inevitably involved at the frontline (Alcoberro 2010). The 'Revolt of the Reapers', as this uprising became known, was subsequently adopted as a political revolution by urban elites and came to symbolise a rupture between Catalunya and the centralising Spanish monarchy (Alcoberro 2010). *Els Segadors* (The Reapers) is a song that commemorates this event and is the current 'national' anthem of Catalunya (Woolard 1989; Alcoberro 2010: 114). I discuss the significance of 'national' symbols including the anthem and flag in Chapters Four and Six.

1701 witnessed the start of the *War of the Spanish Succession*, a large-scale European war concerning the succession to the Spanish throne following the death of King Charles II in 1700 (Woolard 1989; Falkner 2015; Ker 2015). Austria, Holland, England and Portugal (known as the Grand Alliance) all supported the claim of the Austrian Archduke Charles III to ascend the throne, while Spain and France supported the named successor, Bourbon Prince Philip V of Anjou. In supporting the Grand Alliance "Catalonia placed its faith in the wrong party" (Woolard 1989: 19) as Philip V prevailed and became King of Spain. Catalunya did not, however, give up its position and resisted until it capitulated on 11 September 1714 following the final 'Siege of Barcelona' (Hernàndez Cardoner 2013). After this defeat the people of Catalunya lost much of the liberty they had previously enjoyed, as King Philip V "began a process of centralisations [based] on the French model. With the aim of homogenisation and unification, he banned most Catalan institutions, customs and laws and restricted the public use of Catalan" (Wright 2004: 204) language. Spanish policies began the gradual elimination of *Català* by banning it in administration, commerce and education, and thus limiting it to the private domains of family and the Catholic Church (Castells 2004: 48). Thus the "date of 11 September 1714 is conventionally singled out as the end of Catalonia as a discrete political entity, and it is commemorated, ironically, as the national holiday of Catalonia" (Woolard 1989: 19), known as *La Diada Nacional de*

Catalunya or simply *La Diada* (The Day). The contemporary relevance of '1714' is explored in Chapters Five and Six.

During the 18th and 19th centuries Catalunya began to industrialise and, although it remained politically weak, its economic strength increased (Castells 2004: 48). Around the same time an historical and cultural movement known as the *Renaixença* (meaning renaissance or revival) developed (Wright 2004). The *Renaixença* was an important Catalan movement that attempted to define and create a surge in specifically Catalan cultural practices, values and traditions, especially via works of literature, and thus to recover the prestige and dominant social role of *Català* (Molina & Pages 2010: 158-159) within Catalunya. As the *Renaixença* started to wane towards the end of the 19th century, a new movement that built on and extended the revitalisation of distinctive Catalan styles emerged, the *Modernisme* movement (Benton 1986; Loyer 1997; Molina & Pages 2010: 164-165). Influenced by French *Art Nouveau*, *Modernisme* focused on Catalan expression through the arts, especially architecture. I investigate the *Modernisme* movement in terms of the relationship between the appropriation of space and place, dense historical and symbolic meanings, and changing expressions of Catalan identity in Chapter Four.

As industrialisation continued in Catalunya during the late 1800s and early 1900s, especially with the booming textiles, chemical and metallurgy industries, an urgent need arose for unskilled factory labour (Molina & Pages 2010). From the 1920s onwards workers from all over Spain (the first waves were from Murcia and Andalucía) flooded into Catalunya to fill job shortages and continue the economic growth and success of the industries. As a result of migration the population of Catalunya surged, with the majority of migrants settling in Barcelona (Molina & Pages 2010: 173).

A degree of political autonomy arrived for Catalunya from 1914 with the establishment of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (governing body of the Catalan provinces) with Enric Prat de la Riba as the first president (Wright 2004; Molina & Pages 2010). This situation lasted

only a decade when it was interrupted in September 1923 by a *coup d'état* in Spain that saw General Miguel Primo de Rivera take power and lead a dictatorship for the next 7 years (Molina & Pages 2010). In 1925 the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* was officially dissolved along with all rights that had been previously acquired, and subsequently "Catalan organizations were suppressed and the language banned in the public space" (Wright 2004: 205).

In 1931 the Second Spanish Republic was declared and in 1932 Statutes of Autonomy were initiated in both Catalunya and Basque Country, which provided "re-stated liberties, self-government, and cultural/linguistic autonomy" (Castells 2004: 49), and included the establishment of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (Autonomous Government of Catalunya, subsequently referred to as the *Generalitat*). This situation, however, was to last less than 6 years as these concessions to the communities played a role in the motivations for the military coup of 1936. The Spanish Civil War (as it is known outside Spain, or *La Guerra (Civil)*, The (Civil) War, within Spain) began in July 1936 with a military uprising by the conservative Nationalists in revolt against the Republican government (Graham 2005; Preston 2006). The *Generalitat* supported the Republicans in opposing the Nationalists. By October 1936 General Francisco Franco had assumed leadership of the Nationalist forces (Richards 1998; Preston 2006).

The use of symbols and "ideas based on the notion of Spain's historic destiny as a people, as a 'living entity', chosen by Providence as a source of good" (Richards 1998: 9) supported the Nationalists in their justification for returning Spain to its former glory, one in which 15th century conquistadors represented ideal Spanish-ness against 'Others' who had degraded it, including indigenous peoples, Republicans and the working class. The

essentialist conception of the Motherland[5] (*la Patria* in Castilian Spanish), divided "people into 'Spain' and 'Anti-Spain', 'good' and 'evil'" (Richards 1998: 7).

The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 and the subsequent dictatorship of General Franco for more than three decades were characterised by fascist ideology, forms of severe repression and restructuring of the Spanish nation (Richards 1998; Preston 2006). 'Francoism' was a nationalist and totalitarian regime, whose "ideology was composed of Catholicism, specifically Spanish myths, exacerbated nationalism and European fascism" (Richards 1998: 16). National unity "entailed an iron centralism, which denied the validity of regional cultural different or the opportunity of 'foreign ideas' to Spanish society" (Richards 1998: 19). Extreme nationalism sought a unitary state with a single language, single history and single cultural tradition. The primary task of the new state was to destroy everything the Republic had represented including the education system, judiciary and administrations as well as minority cultural groups such as Catalan and Basque (Richards 1998). Catalan institutions, cultural practices and political leaders were severely repressed and *Català* was targeted by the dictatorship, which identified it as a manifestation and distinct expression of a unique Catalan identity and thus in opposition to Spanish hegemony and heterogeneity (Woolard 1989; Wright 2004; Castells 2004).

Towards the end of Franco's dictatorship "nearly half of the residents of Catalonia had almost no cultural links to the region" (Laitin 1989: 303). Mass migration into Catalunya was a direct strategy employed by the dictatorship to dilute the Catalan population in order to "achieve a melting pot situation which would eradicate Catalan difference" (Wright 1999: 46). However, the harsh Francoist policies were, Laitin argues, in part counterproductive, helping to "politicize Catalans from nearly all political persuasions

[5] Richards (1998: 7) cites a reference with the term 'motherland', however *la patria* can also be translated as 'fatherland' or 'homeland'.

against the regime" (1989: 303). Catalan cultural practices, including language, survived the violence and brutality and became a "symbol of anti-Francoism as one way of refusing to accept total defeat" (Wright 1999: 45). Laitin (1989), Woolard (1989) and Wright (2004) all concur that the Francoist ideology of centralist authoritarian control, with the aim of a unitary Spain and Spanish identity, was somewhat counterproductive in the Catalan context and instead increased the determination of Catalans to remain 'Catalan', and retain their distinct identity. Laitin asserts that repression created the conditions and "planted the seeds for a revived political linguistic project that would directly associate democracy with the replacement of Catalan for Castilian in Catalonian society" (1989: 303). While the shadow of history lingers, Catalan identity no longer reacts against Francoism, although it continues to resist perceived denial and oppression.

Modest *Català* revival began in the 1960s, taking advantage of General Franco's relaxation of repressive programs as he sought favourable impressions from international leaders (Wright 2004). Catalan people began to mobilize in earnest to regain linguistic and cultural rights in the 1970s and accelerated their calls for reinstated autonomy following Franco's death in 1975. The 1978 Spanish Constitution was enacted after democratic elections in 1977 and devolved some powers to the seventeen Autonomous Communities, with different conditions negotiated with each region (Wright 2004). In 1979 the Statute of Autonomy was reinstated in Catalunya after having been suspended for more than three decades (Wright 2004; Villaroya 2012). With the statute restored, Catalunya became officially bilingual with *Català* as Catalunya's co-official language. 1980 witnessed the re-establishment of the autonomous government of Catalunya, the *Generalitat,* which has since pursued greater autonomous powers and controls (political and economic), not all of which have been successfully achieved (Guibernau 2013: 375;). Tensions regarding levels of autonomy granted to the seventeen communities continue to varying degrees today and are further discussed in Chapter Six in relation to growing calls for the independence of Catalunya.

In 1992 Barcelona hosted the Summer Olympic Games (Hernandez 2010). Urban regeneration projects included redeveloping industrial land, improving public infrastructure, constructing a modern marina and extending the beachfront (International Olympic Committee [IOC] 2013: 5). The success of the Olympics assisted Barcelona's popularity as an international tourist destination and helped to improve the overall image of Spain following the dictatorship. Barcelona is now one of Europe's largest industrial metropolitan areas and Catalunya is a major tourist destination (Catalan News Agency 2015a, 2015b). Catalunya hosts the highest number of international tourists in Spain, with 16.7 million international visitors in 2014 (Catalan News Agency 2015a). According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (2016), in 2015 Spain received the third highest number of international tourists, behind France and the United States of America (USA).

In 2005 the Catalan parliament proposed a number of alterations to the Statute of Autonomy, which were subsequently approved in 2006 by both the people of Catalunya in a referendum and the Spanish parliament (Guibernau 2013: 380-384). In 2010 however, the Spanish Constitutional Court amended some and overruled other articles in this new Statute (Guibernau 2013). This move, as will be explored in Chapter Six, has contributed to heightened levels of dissatisfaction regarding the perceived domination of Madrid (as the administrative capital of Spain) over the people of Catalunya and has strengthened calls for independence. On 11 September 2012 a mass protest of approximately 1.5 million people in Barcelona supported independence for Catalunya (Assemblea Nacional Catalana 2014). Annually since then mass protests have been conducted in support of independence and the 'right to decide' the fate of Catalunya (Assemblea Nacional Catalana 2014). In 2013 the *Generalitat* made a request to the Spanish Government that Catalunya be able to hold a referendum on self-determination (Catalonia Votes 2014). This was rejected by the Spanish Government in early 2014 and later upheld by the Spanish Constitutional Court (Catalonia Votes 2014). An unofficial referendum was held on 9

November 2014 in Catalunya, and the results and implications of this will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Both national and regional elections were held in 2015. On 27 September 2015 Catalunya held regional elections, and the incumbent Artur Mas, running with a new pro-independence nationalist coalition called *Junt pel Sí* (Together For Yes), retained the presidency but with a significant loss of support. Following his failure to reach majority backing in the new coalition, Artur Mas resigned in early 2016 and was replaced as President of Catalunya by Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó (BBC News 2016a, 2016b). On 20 December 2015 Spanish national elections saw the return of the incumbent Mariano Rajoy to the presidency but his conservative party, the *Partido Popular* (People's Party, PP), suffered a significant decline in support and currently governs with a small majority (BBC News 2015). National and regional politics, along with the topics of control and dominance, are fundamental to exploring the processes, persistence and revitalisation of Catalan ethnicity, and provide insights as to why Catalan identity is currently highly charged, both emotionally and politically.

Centuries of human movement, political vicissitudes, wars and tyrannies, technological advancements and economic fluctuations have both altered and consolidated how Catalan ethnic identity is asserted, transformed and constructed. Catalan identity has repeatedly been challenged and has faced episodes of social, political and economic upheaval or disruption, as well as times of peace, prosperity and authority. Catalan identity is not one 'thing' or 'essence', it is not one stable identity existing unchanged for centuries. Catalan ethnic identity is engaged in dialogue with 'the past' via meanings that are imbued in objects, events, narratives, places and practices, as they are being actively and vividly appropriated in the present. Catalan ethnic identity does not exist as a stable and sacrosanct legacy, but has transformed over centuries and continues to transform. Catalan ethnicity is socially articulated, especially across contested social arenas, and is not static over time or place. In chapters Three, Four and Five I will explore a number of specific

Catalan idioms chosen for accentuation that have transformed at different rates and in response to various internal and external factors and triggers.

Participants regularly told me that their identity as Catalan *matters,* that they "*feel Catalan very strongly*" (Núria[6]). They often expressed surprise and delight that "*someone is interested in us*" (Maria) and, while at a dinner party with Núria and Xavi, some of their friends exclaimed, "*oh, you actually know who we are?!*", "*it's good that you want to understand us*", and "*our identity is important to us and we're glad others see that*". I identified above that ethnogenesis refers to those times, processes and events where the self-making of a people is raised to a heightened self-consciousness. This is what I frequently encountered during my research in Catalunya: a people with a level of self-awareness of their identity as being in a process of changing and emerging, and of needing their support and energies. With the Catalans we see their identity-in-process being explored as a question that demands to be negotiated day-by-day, and the everyday-ness of Catalan people being actively self-conscious of who they are, of considering what it means to be a modern Catalan in times of change and disjuncture.

My thesis will show that in many ways the current contours of Catalan identity are constructed, in part, in resistance to dominant Spanish[7] cultural practices and power relationships. The Spanish nation-state controlled by the governing centre of Madrid and dominated by Spanish cultural forms and Castilian Spanish language is the primary 'Other' for Catalan ethnic identity construction. This is not to assume, however, that the same

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[6] All participant names have been changed as per ethics requirements in order to protect their identity.

[7] There is a large variety of cultural differences in the various autonomous regions including Basque, Asturias, Galicia, Aragon, Valencia and Andalucía – to mention just a few in a nation-state of 17 regions. 'Spanish culture' therefore refers to a generic understanding of the dominant and common cultural forms practiced throughout the nation and often appreciated as 'national' forms and symbols.

reciprocity applies for Spanish identity and that Catalan is the main 'Other' for Spanish identity. Drawing on Nietzsche (1880), Eriksen (2010) agrees that definitions do have to be in relation to each other but *do not* have to be binary opposites, they usually exist in 'degrees of difference' and 'transitions'. In some situations the relation between Catalan and Spanish identities can be expressed as a radical binary opposite, as in the common slogan often seen in street graffiti and printed on t-shirts: "*Catalonia is not Spain"*. While in other situations there is strong complementarity and shifting, as many of my research participants self-identified as *both* Catalan and Spanish (as well as many other ethnic and non-ethnic identities) to differing degrees, and sometimes expressing an element of personal conflict with these multiple identities. For example, one research participant told me that he normally self-identifies as Catalan, but "*felt and celebrated as Spanish*" when Spain won the Football World Cup in 2010. Ethnic identity frequently exists in multiplicities: a person can identify as and 'feel' both Catalan and Spanish (as well as other identities) to varying degrees contingent on the situation. In Chapter Eight I further explore this and how individuals can belong to multiple ethnicities, as well as feel *partial* identification in belonging as or 'becoming' Catalan. My research participants placed different emphasis, interpretation and importance on 'being' Catalan and what their identity(ies) mean(s) to them.

Ethnicity is created and recreated in *everyday* interactions that have both perceived outcomes and real consequences (Brubaker *et al*. 2006). Catalan identity provides a rich and privileged terrain for observing the interplay between 'history', cultural resurgences and repressions over time; the politicisation of language and history; nationalist agendas and the independence movement; domination, resistance and accommodation; claims to cultural uniqueness; debates on recognition; and performances of 'tradition'. Catalan identity is multi-faceted and, to borrow Barth's words (used in their original context to describe Balinese ethnicity), Catalan ethnicity "is a cornucopia of diversity and creativity" (2007: 15).

III Research Approach

Catalan cultural practices, language, politics and intercultural relations are compelling and constant topics of conversation in Catalunya and are represented in many different and explicit ways including performances, celebrations, street art, the popular media and political rhetoric. To gain in-depth insights into understandings of Catalan identity construction, people's senses of belonging, and changing expressions of 'culture', 'traditions', community, politics, memory, history and 'identity', an integrated research approach using ethnography (Ortner 1995; Whitehead 2005) and phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Dreyfus 1991), and the primary methods of participant observation (Claster & Schwartz 1972; Kawulich 2005), open-ended semi-structured interviews (Whitehead 2005) and review of archival documents (Whitehead 2005) were employed.

Ortner suggests that ethnography is a broad term but minimally means "the attempt to understand another life world using the self – as much of it as possible – as the instrument of knowing" (1995: 173). That is, through relationships with research participants and their life worlds the researcher learns. By analysing one's own experience of learning about an 'Other' life world, the classical ethnographer is committed to writing 'thick description' (Geertz 1973: 6-10) and which Ortner (1995: 174) argues produces understanding through richness, texture and detail. This type of fieldwork involves taking part in the activities of individuals, a 'people', a group, an organisation or a community, or any other level of social interaction. Ethnography is advantageous because it can generate a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of human interaction that necessarily comes from personal engagement. This thesis draws closely from the work of anthropologists and sociologists who engage in ethnography for the study of ethnic groups, including Nash (1989), Roosens (1989), Linnekin and Poyer (1990), Hill (1996), Sider (2003; 2014), Kaufmann (2004), Brubaker *et al.* (2006) and Eriksen (2010).
During my fieldwork I pursued participant observation with ordinary people as my primary data gathering approach. I sought individual and personal experiences and

opinions rather than the agendas of larger organizations, reflecting a view that ethnicity is fashioned, contested and communicated in the everyday interactions of ordinary people as well as through societal structures and dominant institutions (Brubaker *et al.* 2006; Fearon & Laitin 2000; Adlparvar & Tadros 2016). Information from and about politicians and political parties, media organizations and other public and private organizations was obtained as archival data through official websites and publications. The participant observation approach entailed spending time with a number of individuals currently living in Catalunya (not all of whom identified as Catalan); conducting semi-structured interviews; participating in various organised or spontaneous activities; visiting cultural centres and museums; observing public holiday activities, festivals and cultural performances; and exploring symbolically-charged public spaces and events. It has been the relationships with Catalan people, developed especially through participant-observation interactions, which have enabled me to gain an understanding of Catalan ethnic identity to an extent that would otherwise have been unavailable. Participants in this research deliberately and often explicitly taught me both what was important to them and what they thought were or *should be* important to me *and* "*to all Catalans*" (Andreu).

Different theories regarding social 'reality' question whether it exists independently of people 'living' it or whether it is created by society. Social constructivism is a theoretical position that follows the latter by taking a position that does not assume an objective social reality exists, but instead analyses the processes through which different social realities are *constructed* through individual and group interaction (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Giddens 2006). Sociological research of the social constructivist tradition goes beyond surface-level understandings, beyond official versions and what we accept as 'natural' and demonstrates instead that much of what we take-for-granted is socially created. I draw on Benjamin (1969) and Ricoeur (1974) to frame my understanding concerning the impossibility of finding an objective and abstract 'reality', because we always interpret what we see, hear, taste, touch and experience from our cultural location, experiences and perspectives. Questioning a 'reality' is not, however, to say that nothing actually exists – it

does exist for that person or group, at that time, in that space. That 'thing', moment or meaning is perceived in different ways. We draw on different epistemologies and different observational systems that in turn produce different understandings of 'reality'. Phenomenology focuses on individuals' everyday 'reality', considering multiple perspectives within a given community with the intent of gaining knowledge and understanding of those diverse perspectives and their interrelationships (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Bourdieu 1977; Dreyfus 1991).

Clifford (1988) asserts that ethnographies are not direct representations of cultures, but are actually involved in the 'invention' of cultures, as ethnographies are researchers' interpretations. Ricoeur (1974) argues that understanding *is* interpretation. In the act of interpreting, individuals cannot escape their biases, prejudices or assumptions shaped by their cultural and historic location. In the process of recording observations, understandings and thus interpretations, researchers are part of the process of detailing and constructing identities and, if not mindful, of solidifying and essentialising the identities. By producing this text I too am part of the process of creating a certain version or 'reality' of Catalan ethnic identity, and I do so from the perspective of my own cultural and subjective lens. The analyst's chosen theoretical framework and analytical tools are not simply given and without bias. They are a product of the researcher's preferences, his/her societal interests and academic contexts regardless of how self-reflective the researcher may aim to be. The researchers' perspectives have the potential to both alert *and* blind us to other relevant concepts, while at the same time we do not have the capacity to consider everything and must develop theoretical limits to our projects.

Ethnicity as a framework is not mandated for projects such as this one, but after intense reading and consideration I chose it as the most appropriate 'interpretive prism' or analytical tool through which to better understand the social processes that make Catalan 'a people'. I follow Brubaker *et al.* in perceiving that "Ethnicity is not a thing, not a substance; it is an interpretive prism, a way of making sense of the social world. And it is

always only one among many such interpretive frames" (2006: 15). In Chapters Two and Six I argue that the other popular framework to understand Catalan identity is nationalism and it is beneficial to incorporate this with ethnicity for more holistic understandings but restrictive if it is employed as the sole framework. This research approach, outlined further in Chapter One, enables me to reflect upon ambiguity rather than attempting to analytically resolve it. At the same time, I contend that ethnicity proves itself an important framework for the outsider whose inclinations to resolve significances and reduce tensions need to be resisted if Catalan identity is to be appreciated as an on-going process of transformation, negotiation and meaning-making.

As will become evident to the reader I do not give attention to the additional 'Other' identities of Jews, Gypsies, South Americans, North Africans (or "*Black Africans*" as many participants called them), Romanians, Filipino and Pakistani to name a few significant groups who have all featured, historically and contemporarily, to different degrees in the everyday experience of identity and belonging in Catalunya. There are many noteworthy identity groups in Catalunya, yet the identity that I have singled out is Catalan, and I have explored this most strongly as 'othered' in a relationship with Spanish identity. This is not to say that Catalan is *not* formed in relation to other groups and identities, but rather that the *dominant* dichotomy and the identity that Catalan is most often constructed relative to is Spanish. Explorations of the intricate relationships and interactions with other minority groups in Catalunya is an avenue for further research. Additionally, I give more weight to the experiences of self-identifying Catalans rather than Spaniards. This "reflects…a basic asymmetry in the everyday experience of ethnicity, grounded in the ways in which ethnocultural difference is marked – and unmarked – in the nation-state" (Brubaker *et al*. 2006: 19). In other words, feelings of being 'different' is generally more salient for Catalans than for other Spaniards, in part because Catalan ethnicity has experienced episodes of repression and discrimination; is undergoing processes of revival and reassertion; and is often perceived as being under some level of threat from the dominant ethnic group.

Research participants have placed their trust in me to represent them through the narratives and views they have shared, and I am obliged and responsible to maintain these relationships honestly and be faithful to the ethics of representing them. I have a duty to truthfully yet cautiously share the personal thoughts, feelings and experiences of my research participants with a broader public. This does not, however, include championing Catalan ethnic identity or current popular political projects, cultural practices or certain 'rights' that the participants themselves may be passionate about, nor do I advocate for Catalan autonomy or independence. I have sought to achieve a greater level of understanding regarding: *how* Catalan people are making and remaking their ethnic identity; the strategies being used for boundary marking; and the struggles to actively transform an identity that will not tolerate benign inclusion into a dominant identity nor reductions to solely nationalist ambitions.

IV Thesis Structure

My research contributes to theory and knowledge through a focus on the lived experiences of Catalan ethnic identity, its history, ongoing formation and current meanings and significance. I have structured this thesis with eight chapters, each of which uses a different lens or focus through which to explore the processes of Catalan identity formation and transformation. My orderly segmentation of themes, practices and issues as chapters does not represent how Catalan identity is experienced and perceived (Rose 2004) but does enable me to investigate the multi-faceted issues of this research study. The first two chapters are predominately theoretical and introduce the conceptual positioning and research approach of my study. The six subsequent chapters each present a different key theme or topic that has been illuminated through the research, and all include short ethnographic accounts. Each chapter further unpacks additional theoretical understandings, including performance, nationalism and recognition, which are directly relevant for that frame of analysis.

Chapter One explores the methodological positioning of the research project, including ethnography and phenomenology, that are utilised to address the research question. I outline my largely participant observation method and how this generated rich data through interactions and relationships with people, performances and places in Catalunya.

Chapter Two critiques Barth's (1969a) seminal theory of ethnicity, and makes the case that 'ethnicity' provides a theoretical framework that is suited to the challenges of investigating complex, fragmented and unresolved identity formation and the struggles around claiming difference. I evaluate the contributions of other key authors and theorists including Nash (1989), Roosens (1989), Erikson (2010) and Sider (2003, 2014) to present my position for the enduring relevance of theories of ethnicity as I further introduce the concept of 'ethnogenesis' and my position regarding both the usefulness and limitations of nationalism.

Language is a marker that often summarises perceived differences between groups, and *Català* has been a prime symbolic resource for Catalan ethnic identity. Language use perpetuates the 'Us' and 'Them' dichotomy at play between Catalan and Spanish identities. Chapter Three explores *Català* as embodied, contested, manipulated, politicised, economically valuable and variously constrained within Catalan ethnogenesis.

The region of Catalunya is crucially important for arguments around Catalan distinctiveness and uniqueness, especially from Spain and Spanish culture. It is not, however, only about the land in broad geographical and territorial terms, but it is more significantly about personal and intimate places, and embodied engagement. Our everyday experiences in and of place maintain, create and influence the formation of individual and collective identity and belonging. In Chapter Four, I discuss how places can be designed and used to perpetuate specific Catalan symbols and narratives; the strategic use of place for protests, celebrations of various holidays and festivals and the varied

meanings these have for identity construction. Catalan people use space for enacting and reproducing ethnic identity through narrative, myths and performances.

Ethnic groups can articulate a 'transformation' of their identity while often using 'the past' as an underlying claim to their legitimacy and validity. Drawing on 'the past' can occur in different forms. Eller (1997) explains that this can include a cultural past of 'traditions', an historical past of actual events (wars and battles, won or lost, are particularly common) and a mythical past centred on origins, nostalgia and collective memory. 'The past' is thus a diverse resource that groups draw on strategically when responding to contemporary situations, and this past is infused with the creativity, passions and desires in the present and *for* the future. The display of 'history' is both responding to existing historical narratives and participating in a project of remaking social memory and redefining Catalan identity as it is situated and positioned both within Spain and Europe. In Chapter Five an ethnographic account of the display and perpetuation of 'history' and social memory within a new cultural centre in Barcelona demonstrates processes of imagining, constructing and reconfiguring historic accounts, pursuing recognition, and interacting with an ongoing project of redefining and revitalising a particular Catalan identity.

Chapter Six focuses on nationalism and adopts a view on the significance of the current political climate in Catalunya and Spain, especially the prominent role of the independence movement and sentiments. I provide a brief history of Catalan nationalism over the centuries and relate this to the current politics of separatism that has been gaining traction. An ethnographic account of a large-scale protest for the independence of Catalunya, the 2013 *Via Catalana cap a la Independència* (Catalan Way Towards Independence) provides an example of the relationship between nationalism and ethnicity, and the stakes involved. It is also explored as an example of the ways in which sentiments, symbols and processes of ethnicity and nationalism can overlap and diverge.

In Chapter Seven an ethnographic account of a *Pessebre Vivent* (a live Christmas nativity scene) discusses the processes of connecting with 'the past' through cultural 'traditions'. Drawing on Clifford (2004), I interpret this performance as one that is not solely about revival but also about ongoing articulation, performance and translation. The cultural practices enacted and objects portrayed throughout were deployed to articulate certain Catalan meanings and 'traditions' as a mode of expressing and participating in ongoing Catalan ethnic identity formation. Cultural 'traditions' are demonstrated as selective contemporary hallmarks of Catalan's 'unique' identity, and as symbols being brought into the present as both signs and motivators for current and future identity desires.

In Chapter Eight I further explore the sense of 'belonging and being' Catalan in terms of the various and complex identity membership boundaries. There is variation in levels of identification, as well as existing and potential levels of social inclusion and exclusion. There are differences in official and non-official versions of what it means to be Catalan and there are pressures that both fracture and unite people in belonging. Responding to an interview question about how to identify someone as 'Catalan', one participant answered: "*one knows it, can feel it, it's in the air…yes, it's in the air*" (Javier). This participant claimed that identifying someone as Catalan had become an embodied experience learned through cultural schema that becomes 'natural' tacit knowledge and 'common-sense' that is hard to define and explain to an 'outsider'. Belonging can be narrowly based on where one was born or lives or family heritage, yet my research shows that Catalan ethnic belonging is primarily created through forms of attachment that people construct through embodied experiences, and through a commitment and choice to 'being' or 'becoming' Catalan (Chaiten *et al*. 2009: paragraph 25).

The Conclusion provides an ethnographic account of the cultural performance of a *Correfoc* and delves into some of the risks, dangers, ambiguities and hopes of Catalan people who are living and evolving with the construction of Catalan ethnicity. It also highlights the significance of my research study and future research directions.

CHAPTER ONE
MEANINGS, METHODS AND MUSINGS

This thesis utilises the potentials of the concept of ethnicity to elucidate certain kinds of ambiguous significances and meanings in the struggles of Catalan people to construct their dynamic identity. Ambiguities that cling to 'ethnicity' and the associated matters of 'identity', 'culture', 'recognition', 'resistance' and 'domination' are best captured when studied from both distant and near perspectives. Weighing the political and socio-economic parameters within which the struggles around Catalan ethnicity occur, a macro-sociological perspective does not necessarily capture the important multifaceted self-understandings that stoke and sustain Catalan ethnicity as it is dynamically 'lived'. Intolerant of untidy significances regarding Catalan identity, information commonly reported in the media, political arena and historical texts does not always reflect how various meanings are played out and understood by individuals in diverse contexts. I thus begin this chapter with an overview of the 'sociological imagination' (Mills 1959), a self-understanding of social research that orientates my study to a way of thinking about social worlds as inescapably complex and intricately interconnected with wider political, cultural and historical contexts. Considering micro and macro perspectives from alternate viewpoints is essential to understanding Catalan ethnic identity formation.

This chapter then identifies the broader sociological framework in which the thesis is conceptualised and through which meaning is being made and 'reality' represented. I am interested, however, to consider not the making of meaning in general but rather in terms of how the fashioning of Catalan ethnicity is set within and draws on a field of dynamic and ambiguous connections. Following this I set out the methodology and methods utilised to investigate my research question: *How are the struggles around and transformation of Catalan ethnic identity negotiated in the ongoing search for meaning and significance?* The ethnographic research approach supports my participants' voices to be heard and enables me to reflect upon the ambiguities and tensions inherent in Catalan

identity formation rather than attempting to analytically minimize. In the final section of this chapter I employ the symbolism of 'running with fire' to reflect on the challenges, risks and rewards of the research process and my experiences throughout this project, including ongoing obligations and relationships.

I The 'Sociological Imagination'

> *The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society.* (Mills 1959: 3)

Mills (1959) shared his notion of an essential intellectual quality which all people, but especially social scientists, could attain in order to better understand how individual lives and concerns are intertwined with the wider world of social views and significances, and to affect social change. Mills called this intellectual quality the 'sociological imagination' and described it as a mind-set in which the individual analyses information from alternate viewpoints and the perspectives of 'others'. It involves a strong awareness of the relationships between the individual, broader society and historical contexts. Mills argued that what we achieve when we use a 'sociological imagination' is a shift of our perspectives to draw links between the micro – local environments, situations, everyday interactions, lived experiences and characters of the individual or group – and the macro – the social, economic, political structures and historical institutions of society at national and global levels – as these various milieux overlap and interpenetrate and produce an array of social arrangements (Mills 1959: 4-5). In contrast, a 'non-sociological' everyday consciousness locks us into an insulated worldview that fails to grasp the sense in which our personal concerns are entwined with the wider world of social values and significances.

> *We have come to know that every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out a biography. And lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of this living, he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping*

> *of this society and to the course of its history, even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove.* (Mills 1959: 3)

Neither the individual's personal biography nor the history and changing nature of society can be understood independently because they constantly interact, evolve and inform each other. The 'sociological imagination' helps to facilitate the consideration of: the structural constraints and resources which influence social life and individual action; the legacies of the past and how they are interacted with and influence the present; and a view of the diversity of social life as dynamic and fluid, always in a process of being made and remade.

The 'sociological imagination' is a self-understanding of social research that assists to orientate my study. I set out to explore the lived experiences of my participants by seeking 'realities' and meanings for individuals and communities at the micro level and situating this within macro environments, while acknowledging the constantly changing interrelationships between all these factors. Using a 'sociological imagination' perspective supported me to consider the significance of Catalan ethnogenesis in its complexity and to respond with sensitivity to the complications and internal tensions of struggles around the ongoing formation of Catalan ethnic identity as it is lived.

'Imagination' does not mean that knowledge is formed randomly or invented arbitrarily, yet the 'sociological imagination' necessarily requires creativity, vision, ingenuity, curiosity and innovation as we attempt to "grasp the interplay of individuals and society, of biography and history, of self and world" (Mills 1959: 1). It is essentially a model of the interconnections between context and subjective life that does not propose to reduce one to the other but is determined to portray them in their complex interplay. A commitment to 'sociological imagination' encouraged me to remain open minded and reflexive throughout the research process. An awareness of often-subtle political formations, cultural changes and dynamic self-understandings that can occur longer-term, rather than focusing only on more recent economic systems, political regimes or technological

innovations is critical. This awareness was crucial to gaining insights into Catalan ethnic identity. In his work on ethnicity, Sider agrees that we must "consider both how people's pasts emerge within the present and how people themselves engage, in thought and action, with the complex connections between pasts and futures" (2003: 22). Understanding the interrelationships between the past and present in influencing the dynamic nature of Catalan ethnic identity at individual and society levels is a core component of my research. Data has been interpreted within an historical present and with knowledge of broader historical contexts.

> "*Familiarity is the staunchest enemy of inquisitiveness and criticism*" (Bauman 1990: 18)

Resonating with Mills' notion of the 'sociological imagination', Bauman contends that we have a tendency to be self-focused and immersed in our daily routines, rarely reflecting on our familiar or shared understandings or to "compare our private experience with the fate of others, to see the *social* in the *individual*, the *general* in the *particular*" (1990: 15, italics in original). Bauman further argues that the social construction of 'knowledge' develops when ideas and beliefs are broadcast and repeated to a point where they become so familiar they appear to be self-evident and indisputable, such that "they present no problems and arouse no curiosity. In a way they remain invisible" (1990: 18), and often seen as 'common sense' (1990: 14).

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality* examined the construction of 'reality', 'knowledge' and 'common-sense' "to illuminate the ways in which members of society come to know and simultaneously create what is real" (Giddens 2006: 152). Differing theories of social 'reality' question whether it exists independently of people's lived experiences, or is created by society. 'Social constructivism' does not assume that an objective social reality exists but rather analyses the *processes* through which different social realities are *constructed* via individual and group interaction (Giddens 2006). Sociological research of the social constructivist tradition moves beyond

surface-level understandings, 'official' versions and what we accept as 'natural', to demonstrate that much of what we take-for-granted is socially created. We draw on different epistemologies and different observational systems, which in turn produce different understandings of 'reality'. 'Reality' is not fixed and static but created through ongoing human interactions.

Using the 'sociological imagination' within a social constructivist approach encourages greater sensitivity and inquisitiveness to interpreting situations and circumstances, with a stronger focus on the relationships between individuals, society and historical context. It promotes consideration of alternative perspectives of these situations rather than being trapped in everyday thinking in which knowledge is taken-for-granted and labeled as 'natural' or 'common sense'. The 'sociological imagination' is open to the presence of ambiguities and varied meanings in the formation of ethnic identity. The social constructivist approach and the use of the 'sociological imagination' are highly relevant to my research which explores the social, political, historical and cultural processes of Catalan identity formation and employs an ethnicity paradigm to better understand the ambiguities and tensions around Catalan ethnic identity and the varied meanings this identity has for individual Catalans. My research sought to contribute new insights on Catalan ethnogenesis by exploring the diverse narratives and lived experiences of my participants, as they are situated in particular times, places and cultural milieux.

II Methods

My research approach, which incorporated ethnography and phenomenology, was employed to gain in-depth and diverse insights into understandings of Catalan ethnogenesis, feelings of belonging and relationships through the life experiences of participants and of my own engagements. The three research methods used were participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews and archival data collection. Participant observation fieldwork produces deep, rich, broad and textured data (Geertz 1973; Ortner 1995; Kawulich 2005). The research followed a cyclical process of data

collection, analysis and interpretation (Whitehead 2005: 9) consistent with my research approaches. These research approaches and methods are detailed below. My study commenced following ethical approval that was obtained from Macquarie University Ethics Committee on the 2nd of May 2012.

Ethnography

Ethnography is highly relevant to this study because "it is ultimately in and through everyday experience – as much as in political contestations or cultural articulation – that ethnicity and nationhood are invested with meaning and produced and reproduced as basic categories of social and political life" (Brubaker *et al.* 2006: 364). What is personally significant for the individual or community may be distinctly different to the emotions hypothesised by the researcher and theorists (Brubaker *et al.* 2006; Eriksen 2010). Sensitivity to the risks, passions and emotional investment involved in identities – not only ethnic – better informs understandings of the complexity, tensions and volatility of Catalan identities, ethnicities and relations in Catalunya. The approach of ethnography utilises personal engagement to stimulate more nuanced understandings of human interactions, beliefs, attitudes and ways of experiencing and perceiving the world.

Ethnographic fieldwork importantly enables a view from 'below', a stepping away or aside from the more distanced and general theoretical overviews and engaging in the everyday worlds where ethnicity 'happens'. Brubaker *et al.*'s (2006) excellent exploration in *Nationalism and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* cites Hobsbawm's (1990: 10-11) advice for integrating both the 'above' and 'below' perspectives, the micro- and macro-analytic. For Hobsbawm, nationalism "cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people" (1990: 10-11). The everyday can shed light on larger social systems and institutions. My study explored Catalan ethnicity and ethnic identity from perspectives of both theory and the lived experiences of individuals and communities. Ethnography

critically requires the integration of different perspectives, thus encouraging a 'sociological imagination'.

Ethnography is positioned in a particular way to provide information on people's behaviours and relating this to broader social processes. "Once we see how things look from inside a given group, we are likely to develop a better understanding not only of that group, but of social processes that transcend the situation under study" (Giddens 2006: 85). This approach enables the researcher to develop a clearer understanding of contexts, interpretations, and assists in the development of culturally relevant questions and understandings when interacting with participants. As I further reflect later in this chapter, understanding, however, does not equate with adopting the beliefs of the people under study, nor the obligation to defend or support their political principles. A strength of ethnography is that the understanding being sought recognises the tensions and dynamism between aiming to comprehend participants' own perspectives from the inside and observing their behaviour from an outsider's position. This thesis draws closely on the work of social researchers who engaged in ethnography for the study of ethnic groups, including Nash (1989), Roosens (1989), Linnekin (1990), Sider (2003) and Kaufmann (2004).

Phenomenology complements ethnography "with its sense of 'being-in-the-world', or Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', which positions feeling not only in the interior subject space but also in the space of everyday engagement with the world" (Edwards 2005: 29). Phenomenology considers the underlying significance of individuals' everyday 'reality', in order to attain "a rigorous and significant description of the world of everyday human experience as it is lived and described by specific individuals in specific circumstances" (Pollio *et al.* 1997: 28). This approach endeavours to give voice to multiple perspectives within a given community and is interested both in *knowing* what those diverse perspectives are and *understanding* the interplay among them (Bourdieu 1977; Derrida 1999; Dreyfus 1991). These endeavours are consistent with my research question.

Participant observation, interviews and archival data

Following Cowlishaw (2009), classic ethnography involves analytic writing based on fieldwork, with participant observation as the primary research method. Participant observation is "a tool for collecting data about people, processes, and cultures in qualitative research" (Kawulich 2005: 1) and involves "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day routine activities of participants in the research setting" (Schensul *et al.* 1999: 91). This approach is useful for gaining a holistic understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which study participants live; the complex relationships among and between people, contexts, ideas, norms, and events; and people's behaviors and activities. However, the two aspects of participant-observation fieldwork are important to keep separate methodologically. Participation in the 'other's' life-world (Ortner 1995) can only be to the extent that the researcher can identify the differences between their own 'reality' and another's. Observation is an essential component in order to maintain the critical distance that is crucial if the researcher is to be able to write about cultural difference (Geertz 1973; Ortner 1995; Kawulich 2005).

It should be noted, that the method of participant observation can neither entail complete immersive 'insider' participation, nor unbiased observation. Due to the underlying and undeniable agenda of the researcher to 'study' 'others' and to gather data in "the systematic use of this information for social scientific purposes" (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002: 2), the types of engagement and observations, and thus the interpretations reached, inevitably involve a degree of separation and estrangement from the insider's world. This recognised tension is sometimes described as the "oxymoronic nature" (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002: 23) of the method. In addition, our varied involvement as participants and observers holds the potential to affect what we are studying. That is, research participants may, consciously or subconsciously, alter their own behaviour in response to our presence. Although not to dismiss this concern, a significant advantage of the method of participant observation in ethnographic studies is that in the course of living and engaging with

people and settings over time, our increasing familiarity and understandings can enhance our alertness and awareness to differences or incongruences in behaviour, as well as levels of acceptance of our involvement.

The writing part of ethnography occurs synchronously with fieldwork, so that being a participant observer necessarily includes conversations, interviews, questionnaires and document analysis. Field notes, journal entries, letters, emails, photos and videos are not solely data, but inevitably a form of analysis and interpretation, as the researcher builds understanding (Ricoeur 1974; Clifford 1986). Interviews are an important facet of ethnographic and phenomenological fieldwork because they provide the opportunity for research participants to present their own narratives as they wish them to be heard and understood by the world. Methodologically, narrative offers a way for participants to tell their stories and to make meaning by combining current and past experiences (Bullough & Pinnegar 2001; Connelly & Clandinin 1990).

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with ten key participants who indicated an interest in such an interview. These semi-structured interviews enriched and validated the participant observation data and supported the voices of these participants in telling their stories. The small number of formal interviews conducted reflects the situation I encountered, whereby because the highly charged experience of the struggle to 'be Catalan' is so aflame across the region, I did not need to seek large numbers of formal interviews in order for the topics of identity, culture, belonging and politics to be broached. The majority of participants saw themselves as stakeholders in the struggle and were keen to make the stakes understood to outsiders.

Archival research (Whitehead 2005: 2) conducted in Spain and Australia involved collecting secondary data from existing sources including museums, public library records, census data, economic and political surveys. Also included were scholarly literature, newspaper articles, advertisements, photographs and film.

The complementary research methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews along with the use of archival data enabled me to triangulate the data and consequently enhanced the study's methodological rigor (Giddens 2006). By engaging in reflexivity (Giddens 2006) through observing and critically reflecting on my own and others' behaviours, and maintaining an 'sociological imagination' when analysing and interpreting the data throughout the study, the rigour of the research was further enhanced.

III Participants

Consistent with my research approach and using participant observation as the primary data-gathering method, I used snowballing (Noy 2008) and convenience sampling (Noy 2008) techniques to obtain participants. Prior to commencing the research, I had a number of acquaintances who lived in Catalunya, whom I had met through colleagues and friends in Australia as well as colleagues I had met through conferences attended at the University of Barcelona. These contacts, many of whom became participants, enabled me to identify and invite others to participate, form additional connections with individuals and participate in community events. Seeking to gather a diversity of lived perspectives, I interacted to varying degrees with all adults who were interested in participating in the study. With the aim of gaining a broad perspective on ethnic identities and belonging in Catalunya, invitations were also sent to various organizations of other identity groups in Catalunya including Asturians (*Centro Asturiano de Barcelona*), Galecians (*Centro Galego de Barcelona*) and Gypsies (*Federaciò d'Associations Gitanes de Catalunya*). In addition, an invitation was sent to and accepted by the Director of the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya* (Museum of Catalan History) in Barcelona.

The dominant limitation in employing snowballing and convenience sampling techniques is the potential for a reduced social representativeness of the study. Snowballing generates participants through expanding the sample by asking initial participants to identify or nominate others. Convenience sampling generates participants primarily through their

proximity to the researcher, that is through ease of access. Both these techniques possess the drawback of potential overrepresentation and exclusion. Snowballing especially can have an inherent bias in that it relies on the original participant to judge who may or may not be suitable to engage in the research. Although in some contexts this gatekeeping role can be useful, particularly in gaining access to a marginalized community where trust and rapport is highly important, it can also be problematic in limiting the representativeness of the sample, especially for statistical purposes. These limitations were taken into consideration, and it was determined that the primary use of snowballing and convenience sampling remained highly appropriate for this largely ethnographic study. As little focused research on Catalan ethnic identity had been previously undertaken, the advantages of this approach included identifying trends and detecting relationships among different phenomena. Future research would benefit from the inclusion of individuals with more diverse identities, including migrants from other regions of Spain, immigrants, and gypsies.

I was immersed in Catalan society on two separate fieldwork visits for fourteen weeks in total. The first fieldwork trip occurred late November 2012 until late January 2013 with a duration of nine weeks, and the second took place from mid-September until mid-October 2013 with a duration of five weeks. Each of these fieldwork visits extended my familiarity with Catalan and Spanish social worlds, enhanced my relationships with key participants, increased the number of research participants and assisted me to gather meaningful data relevant to my research questions. I primarily resided in Barcelona each time and travelled to a range of areas within Catalunya to engage in participant observation. I also met with participants outside Catalunya in the Spanish cities of Bilbao, Madrid and Valencia. My main limitation to gaining a larger sample of participants was the restricted time I was able to spend living in Catalunya and that the majority of this time was in Barcelona.

I acknowledge a somewhat fragmented state of this fieldwork, in that it did not take place over one extended visit, but two shorter visits. This largely resulted from restrictions and commitments external to the research. A risk of short and fragmented fieldwork can be to

miss longer-term trends and develop ahistorical perspectives of people and places. However, like all research, this project required a balancing act of negotiating time and resource pressures, and an awareness of the benefits and limitations of the specific research approach. I argue that undertaking two shorter fieldwork trips had the distinct benefit of providing critical distance for reflection, an ability to take stock of what I was learning and enabled me the time and space to develop new hypotheses and questions that could be focused on during the subsequent fieldwork visit. As I comment on in the following section, another advantage of returning to Spain for a second fieldwork visit was that, as expressed by several research participants, it enhanced the sense of commitment to the research and to my participants.

Views, experiences and opinions from approximately sixty adult participants, across a range of ages, occupations, backgrounds, origins and languages, were obtained during this study. The majority of these were gathered during casual participant observation exchanges, including discussions in cafes and public spaces, sharing meals, attending and participating in sporting events, walking together, visiting museums and other cultural sites, attending community events, and generally talking and socializing in environments familiar to the participants. As I was largely unfamiliar with these environments, they enabled me to learn from the experience of being displaced and culturally uncomfortable. Twenty participants (whom I refer to as 'key participants') were involved in more intense and numerous engagements, and formal interviews were conducted with ten participants. Participant observation interactions were organised serendipitously when individual participants were available and generally arranged via email, text or phone contact. The formal interviews, commonly organised a week prior via email or phone, complemented the participant observation data.

My research participants included people who: were born in Catalunya and had lived there all their lives, some of these had families who had lived in Catalunya for generations; others were living in Catalunya at the time of my research but had been born and lived much of their lives in other regions of Spain including Basque Country and Asturias; some

had moved to Catalunya from other countries including England; some participants lived outside Catalunya, including in the cities of Bilbao, Valencia and Madrid and had never lived in Catalunya. Of the participants who were living in Catalunya, some lived in urban centres including Barcelona and Girona, some lived in smaller cities and others lived in small rural villages. My participants included people aged from their early twenties to their eighties with a range of occupations including: university students; professionals in the fields of academia, banking, graphic design, engineering, event management, landscape architecture, education; as well as several retirees, farmers, hospitality workers, librarians, museum directors and curators. All spoke Castilian Spanish, approximately three quarters spoke *Català*, approximately half spoke intermediate level English and a quarter spoke basic English. At the time of my first fieldwork trip I had reached an intermediate level of *Català* language proficiency (which increased to high-intermediate by my second trip), however, I spoke no Castilian Spanish. Most conversations were therefore undertaken in a combination of English and *Català*, while some were conducted entirely in English. On a few occasions, I engaged colleagues at the University of Barcelona to act as translators (for either *Català* or Castilian Spanish), or if I was interacting in a group situation, other participants casually translated for me. I acknowledge that a lack of ease of communication in a participant's preferred language may have constrained their ability to clearly express themselves or may have caused some individuals to choose not to participate. I further reflect on the constraints of language in the following section.

All of the twenty key participants could be considered middle-class and the majority had completed at least secondary education. While the majority of participants self-identified as both Catalan and Spanish to some degree, many participants felt strongly about their identity as predominantly Catalan. A small number of my participants: self-identified that they had "*become more Catalan*" (Martí) over their lifespans; self-identified as Spanish; self-identified as Catalan and Spanish but felt "*more Spanish*" (Miguel); or self-identified as having another identity. Many participants, especially those who self-identified as Catalan, participated in the Catalan independence movement, but this was not uniform. The

majority expressed views on Catalan independence, some of which changed over the course of the research. The majority of participants who self-identified as Catalan engaged frequently in 'Catalan' events and festivals and a few participants continued throughout the research to email me information on various 'Catalan' activities, practices and protests. Other participants engaged infrequently in 'Catalan' activities and some not at all.

The intensity of engagement with each participant varied. With some participants I had very brief exchanges during engagements in festivities or while sparking up a conversation in a bar, café or square. Some participants met with me on one occasion, others multiple times on each fieldwork visit. Some participants met with me for brief periods, others for extended periods of multiple days at a time. The majority of participants, particularly those who could locate me through an acquaintance, were interested to interact and frequently invited me to an event or activity they were attending and that had meaning for them. These invitations appeared to be extended for varied reasons. For example, in Chapter Three I explore a rally in support of *Català* that took place one evening in the centre of Barcelona, which I attended with Marta and her friend. In Chapter Six, I provide an ethnographic account of an independence protest that Núria and Xavi invited me to join, stating that it was important to their identity as Catalan people and an event that "*the world should know about*". In Chapter Seven I describe a 'traditional' Christmas event that Maria invited me to attend, which she described as "*a very special event*" for Catalan people.

Although a broader range and number of participants may have yielded different findings, diverse individual and community lived experiences were gathered, interpreted and documented within the scope of the research. The methodology used was appropriate to gather rich and meaningful data relevant to the research question and to enhance the rigour of the research study. The findings expand knowledge and understandings of Catalan ethnicity and identity within the current socio-political and economic environment. Ethnic identity is viewed as highly complex, dynamic and in a continual evolution, and as Sider comments, there are "partial explanations and incomplete

understandings" (2014: xv) when researching complex sociological and anthropological questions.

IV Researcher Reflections

I now reflect on my own experiences of the research process by returning to the metaphor of 'running with fire' that I identified in the thesis Introduction. By applying this metaphor to myself I do not intend to diminish it by insinuating a comparison between my experiences and those of people engaged in pursuing the survival and promotion of their identity. Rather, I seek to discuss and share the unexpected twists and turns, the ambiguities, hazards, confusions and the sheer joy and excitement this research process has brought me over the past five years. Details of the Catalan *Correfoc* – running with fire – event are explored in an ethnographic account in the thesis Conclusion.

'Running with fire' became a meaningful expression for me on a personal level for a number of reasons. Firstly, the entire thesis process sometimes felt like 'running with fire' – the risks, challenges and thrills. The last five years have certainly been an exciting, daunting, stimulating and sometimes bumpy ride. Relocating away from friends, family and university from Sydney to Brisbane, travelling four times to Spain, relocating for one year to South Africa for my partner's work, moving house, family tragedies and illnesses, as well as the birth of my first child. As one of my supervisors said to me on numerous occasions, *"life doesn't stop just because you're doing a PhD"*. This has helped to remind me that other life events, whatever they may entail, cannot be 'put on hold'. The 'ups and downs' of life continue and the skills to cope and adapt must also be continuously developed. At some points my research and thesis seemed burdensome, at other points it has been an anchor in times that were otherwise uncertain and worrying.

Secondly, 'running with fire' was part of a lesson in conducting social research and becoming receptive to the particular social worlds I aimed to engage with. On the final night of my first fieldwork trip to Catalunya, when I thought I had finished my data

collection, I was surprised to find myself participating in a local *Correfoc* festival. I learnt during my research to frequently 'go with the flow' or 'run with it' because the unexpected was often the most revealing. I had to suspend thinking of what 'should' happen and invite instead the possibility of what 'could' happen. This frame of mind is consistent with ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation methodology.

'Going with the flow' was not a case of discarding all plans, but having flexibility within the broader research design and limits. This ensured that I remained ethically aware and responsible both to my participants and myself, and that I remained open to new experiences and potential insights. On innumerable occasions when I anticipated my day would proceed in one direction, it developed in a completely different direction that opened my eyes and awareness to important aspects of my participants' lives. An invitation from one participant, Andreu, to join him and his wife for lunch and later to drive through the countryside around Girona became an entire day which started in a tiny Catalan hamlet and involved visits to increasingly larger villages and towns, each with a different level of social and historical importance (including an ancient monastery, a site of important historic political decision-making, and famous factories). Andreu, in his late sixties who self identified as a "*proud Catalan man*", had purposefully organised the day in this manner and found something unique and important about each of the places he showed me. For me this day was insightful on a number of levels, not just in terms of the physical, historical and cultural significance of the places themselves, but also in the way my participant had planned the day, what he found to be important to 'Catalan life', his pride in showing and teaching me about Catalan society, what he thought important for me to learn about and the discussions that occurred throughout the day on a range of topics.

The gems of information or insights I gained from participants most often came amongst other discussions, such as everyday conversations about family, work, study and holidays. Particularly in the initial stages of fieldwork, a direct question on a topic did not usually produce the deep and telling information concerning the research focus. Rather, this was

often revealed during a conversation or activity focused on something quite different. I gradually came to learn that sociological research of the type I was conducting is more of a process of gradually evolving, slowly grasping new understandings, and being satisfied with rather small steps of understanding instead of significant leaps of realisation. This was not for me, however, an easy research process and in opening myself up to discovery and learning I also experienced moments of discomfort, awkwardness, feeling out of place, self-consciousness and apprehension.

Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the relationships I formed with people who enabled this research to be conducted have brought another set of rewards and risks. By primarily utilising participant observation research techniques I was able to engage with individuals not just in events and discussions solely centred on my research interests and the focused questions that I had in mind, but in much broader and more varied contexts. I believe that participants need to be understood as people with complex lives, broad interests and experiences and not solely as resources for my research aims. In conducting a limited number of semi-structured interviews with my participants, the difference in style and mode of interaction between researcher and participant was stark. A structured or semi-structured interview comes with conventions that are generally understood between both parties. The researcher poses the questions, the participant answers (and perhaps asks for clarity) and then waits for the next question to be posed. Reciprocity in terms of learning about each other's views and lives is highly limited. This is not so when utilising participant observation techniques of engagement in day-to-day activities – which is both the beauty of the method and its challenges.

Participant observation fieldwork was more intensive and more time-consuming that I originally anticipated. It was often challenging to stay focused for long periods of time and sometimes there were entire days when circumstances, for example when hiking on a mountain or travelling in a car with a participant, made it impractical to record discussions or write field notes. Learning how to ask questions or engage with people for the purposes of the research that did not present as me asking impersonal or detached interview

questions was also important. I needed to demonstrate my genuine interest in their lives in order to establish good rapport and develop, through trust and openness, the foundation for ongoing engagements. My return fieldwork trips were critically important in demonstrating my commitment and interest, that our engagements were not fleeting, and for enabling the gathering of rich and meaningful ethnographic data.

Image 1: Hiking up *La Mola* mountain near Barcelona with research participants (November 2012).

A particularly surprising aspect to participant observation fieldwork was the depth of relationships that developed and the ongoing obligations this necessarily involves. Any research involves ethical obligations to the participants, including those to ensure physical and mental safety, protect rights and interests, inform about potential risks as well as possible benefits, respect of intellectual property and confidentiality, and to consider the appropriateness of sharing personal accounts. However, the obligations I had not anticipated were those that were important for maintaining relationships. Given the design and aims of this research, I engaged with key participants on more than one occasion. I would frequently spend whole days with some as they showed me around their city, village or province and introduced me to family and friends. Most participants opened up to me not just on the topics I was investigating, but shared their views on a large spectrum of their lives. I played with their children, met their parents, chatted with their

friends, cooked meals with them, visited museums and exhibitions together and attended cultural activities.

On a much smaller and more restricted scale, given the time limits and our geographical distance, I too have shared broader aspects of my life with participants and introduced them to some of my family, the latter after gaining participants' agreement. On each fieldwork trip, for part of the time I was in Catalunya, my parents or partner visited. It seemed to me that participants with whom I was spending much time and developing deeper relationships appreciated meeting my family and being able to situate me into a broader social context. They appeared to value this level of reciprocity and openness. Although I acknowledge that we possess different agendas and motivators, these relationships have been built on a genuine interest to know about and share life experiences. Together we have developed relationships from the research that extend beyond the research activities we engaged in. I did not, however, develop the same level of friendship with all participants, and for some our interactions did not extend beyond initial meetings or arranged interviews.

These relationships compel my committed engagement, ongoing obligations and moral responsibilities. Obligations to many of my participants continue beyond physical boundaries and the research parameters of topic and timeframe, and are not restricted to time and place in Catalunya. Our interactions continue as we share information via email on important life events including weddings, holidays, birthdays and the birth of children, new jobs and other more everyday updates.

In forming these relationships, I have had to consider the challenges or risks for research participants and myself of forming this level of friendship and the ethical implications. I am conscious that some participants will read the thesis and may disagree with some of my opinions and assertions. Yet I believe that our interactions have generally shown an awareness of a diversity of viewpoints and I am reminded to be clear that my work does not depict one homogenous Catalan ethnic identity. Some accounts have been provided to

me that, for various reasons, are not appropriate to repeat or include in this thesis. I have been sensitive and respectful of the need to differentiate between those aspects of people's lives that are appropriate to record for a broader audience and those which should be kept personal and private.

In this research, I am representing real people, as well as 'a people' who have previously been in positions of significant physical and emotional vulnerability and danger. I am sensitive that this historical vulnerability might have played a role in terms of a sense of caution when people told me their stories and opinions. Participants may also have perceived that they had a responsibility to tell their stories and that they have partially done so through me. Many participants were keen to have a broader audience (that is, outside Spain) for awareness of their difference and cultural 'uniqueness', their political plight, and indeed simply of their existence. I was constantly met with surprise that *"you know about Catalans?!*". Although I am not positioning myself as an advocate for Catalan identity, my time was primarily spent with Catalan people who opened their lives, homes and families to me, and this has made a strong impression and enduring connection.

The fourth direction to which I extend the metaphor of 'running with fire' is in terms of the research process as self-development as a person, a researcher and a learner. Over the course of this research process I have been exposed to different life worlds, languages, physical locations, conceptions, outlooks, people and relationships. The research process can often be as much about learning more about a topic, a problem or an issue, as it is learning about the research process itself and about oneself as a researcher.

I often felt mentally and physically exhausted during my fieldwork trips. On one level I had heightened senses – my eyes were constantly scanning the environment; my ears were relentlessly attempting to detect the different languages being used; I was 'listening' to the explicit and implicit meanings in things; and I worked hard to memorise the events to furnish the field notes that would be written later. On another level I was also more aware of my own limitations, most significantly my language abilities in *Català* and Castilian Spanish. Early in my fieldwork I often felt the tension of being physically 'there' but not

being connected in the sense of understanding and communicating. This forced me to observe more, to try to understand without being explicitly told. At the start of this project I spoke neither *Català* nor Castilian Spanish, and by the beginning of my first fieldwork trip I had gained an intermediate level of *Català* competency, however this did not mean there was always a shared language as some participants spoke neither English nor *Català*. This presented limitations in terms of engagement with potential participants who could not speak English and did not wish to use, nor was it always practical to use, a translator. My participation and observations were also initially limited as I was restricted in the forms of engagement and interpretation available to me in social encounters, such as understanding speeches at a protest. At the same time, however, due to the ongoing political and cultural debates and tensions, especially around language, expressed through the dichotomization of Spanish and Catalan identity, communication in English had the potential to offer an alternative and somewhat politically-detached form of expression for some participants. However as previously noted, not all participants spoke English.

Over the course of the last five years I have taken private lessons in *Català* and gained an intermediate level knowledge and use of the language. This was highly valuable during my fieldwork and offered me different insights and levels of engagement as my language proficiency increased and research progressed. Recognising the difficulty in attempting to learn both *Català* and Castilian Spanish, I chose to focus on *Català* because, after my scoping trip and reading various academic and news articles, I knew of its importance for Catalan ethnic identity, as discussed in Chapter Three, and that my primary participants would be Catalan people. My knowledge of even basic levels of *Català* appeared to demonstrate to participants my commitment to this research and to them. My understanding of *Català* to an intermediate level enabled me to engage in a variety of situations and to initiate engagements that provided me with a greater level of insight into broader cultural meanings. Generally, for Catalan people it was advantageous for me that I knew some *Català* and many commented that they were delighted and impressed, although at the same time often puzzled, that I was interested in Catalan people. On another level, academics or people who were aware of and/or held strong opinions on

various identity issues, questioned why I had not learnt Castilian Spanish. My personal politics underpinning this decision have had the potential to be misconstrued, as language is currently a fundamental aspect of Catalan ethnic identity. My choice to learn *Català* meant that I was almost unique in Catalunya in *only* speaking *Català* and not being able to 'switch' to Castilian Spanish when needed. Chapter Three discusses language in depth including the current politicisation of language. Speaking *Català* also carried a risk for misinterpretation, as sometimes my interest in Catalan was confused with political support, especially to those that saw 'being Catalan', which can be partly signalled through language, as equating to 'supporting independence'.

Participants often intentionally told me information that undoubtedly could have been assumed cultural knowledge had they been engaging with a Catalan or Spanish person. In many ways, it was a strength for me being an outsider. Because I did not 'live' or identify as either Catalan or Spanish, there were many aspects that I did not take for granted, that I did not see as 'normal' or 'natural', that I questioned participants 'why' this or that existed. Undoubtedly there were gaps in my ability to understand and interpret, however my objective throughout this thesis, consistent with ethnographic research and the research question, was to use my experiences of interacting with people, places, ideas, events and symbols to forge a deeper understanding and theoretical positioning on the interplay and layered dynamics of the construction of ethnicity.

Overall this has been a challenging, rewarding and exciting experience. The research process, developing deep and meaningful relationships with some participants and learning about myself on multiple levels have all created various difficulties, risks and possibilities. The symbolism of 'running with fire' struck a chord with me in terms of how I could think about and conceptualise the actual process of conducting this research project, its findings and the on-going connections I have made.

Conclusion

The social world is complex and multidimensional, and we often need to adopt a myriad of approaches to understand it and view problems and issues from different theoretical and lived experience perspectives. Ethnography and phenomenology are engaged with in order to more effectively acknowledge and explore how meaning is made and how 'reality' is a social-cultural phenomenon.

The study aimed to achieve a rich and meaningful exploration and understanding of Catalan ethnicity and ethnic identity from perspectives of theory and lived experiences of individuals and communities. I sought to capture diverse positions and interpretations at macro- and micro-levels, and explore the complex and dynamic relationships that impact on ethnicity. Participants had varied ages, backgrounds, occupations, origins and languages. The primary research approach of ethnography and the supporting methods of participant observation, semi-structured in depth interviews and archival data were used to address the research questions. Triangulation of data and reflexivity strengthened the rigour of the study.

The following chapter on ethnicity presents an exegesis of the seminal work from Barth (1969a, 1969b) and contributions from succeeding authors considering broader social, political, economic and historical contexts, in order to present my position regarding the significance and relevance of ethnicity theory for this study.

CHAPTER TWO

ETHNICITY, ETHNOGENESIS AND HUMAN CASTLES

In this chapter I make the case that 'ethnicity' provides a theoretical framework that enables an exploration into the tensions, ambiguities and creative self-fashioning of the lived experiences and struggles around Catalan identity. This is an undertaking that seeks to go beyond the representation of an already constituted identity to investigate active processes of identity construction and transformation. 'Ethnicity' is shown to be ideally suited to the challenges of investigating complex, fragmented and unresolved identity formation and the struggles around claiming difference. I argue that the ethnicity paradigm allows me to reflect upon rather than analytically compress the multifaceted and ambiguous significances of Catalan identity construction.

Ethnicity is relevant for contributing to understandings of diverse societies in the 21st century because it encourages sensitivity to ambiguity and an emphasis on identity as an ongoing creative process that does not seek to reduce complexity. A fundamental shift in ethnic studies occurred in 1969 when Fredrik Barth and his collaborators on *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* rejected the prevailing primordialist standpoint that approached ethnic groups as rigid and bounded entities. This standpoint theorised that ethnic groups were formed through responses to ecological factors that were ascribed from biological factors and defined by territorial boundaries and objective cultural traits. Working against these reductive approaches to identification that positioned individuals as passive receivers and viewed ethnicity as innate, fixed and stable, Barth's theoretical framework set out the subtle and sinuous frontiers of 'ethnic boundaries', the essential interconnectedness of 'ethnic groups' and the active transformation of 'ethnic identities'. This perspective "signaled an important shift toward an expressly dynamic and processual understanding of ethnicity" (Brubaker 2009: 29).

The contours of the ethnicity paradigm presented by Barth have been variously critiqued, utilised and advanced by subsequent theorists. The works of Roosens (1989), Nash (1989), Linnekin and Poyer (1990), Sider (2003, 2014), Brubaker *et al.* (2006), Eriksen (1991, 2010) and Brubaker (2009, 2015) demonstrate an emerging emphasis on understanding the broader influences of political and economic factors, globalisation and modernising forces and the role of the nation-state on ethnicity. The concepts of ethnogenesis (Roosens 1989; Hill 1996) and ethnic revival (Smith 1981), and the interconnectedness of ethnicity and nationalism (Eriksen 1991, 2010; Brubaker *et al.* 2006; Brubaker 2009, 2015; Sider 2014) constitute important developments in theorising ethnicity after Barth (1969). In outlining the ethnicity paradigm I am arguing for the usefulness of ethnicity as a way of capturing dimensions of the self-understanding of Catalans. At the same time, ethnicity provides an important framework for the outsider whose inclinations to tidy up – resolving significances and reducing tensions – need to be resisted if Catalan identity is to be appreciated as an on-going process of transformation, negotiation and meaning-making. Catalan ethnic identity is both a positive forging of difference and significance, and strategic resistance against perceived oppression and benign inclusiveness.

I conclude this chapter with a short ethnographic account of a cultural performance of a *castell*, which is a 'human castle' formed by agile climbers who form towers up to ten metres high. This represents the first of many small ethnographic accounts I employ throughout the thesis to explore the on-going transformation, creation and complexity of Catalan ethnic identity. The meanings attached to this cultural practice are being actively developed, however are not the same amongst all individuals, and thus evoke the complexity and diversity in the ways that individuals choose to understand, assert and mobilise behind their difference. As I identified in the Introduction, this example will demonstrate not only the vibrancy and energy, but also the sense of risk and struggle, involved in creating and sustaining a distinct Catalan ethnic identity.

I Barth - Changing the Course of Ethnic Studies

Barth's (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* "marked an epochal shift in anthropological study of ethnicity" (Verdery 1994: 33) as it challenged the foundations of anthropology, and the social sciences more generally, by arguing for the *social* organisation of ethnic groups. The theoretical position disputed established primordialist notions that ethnicity was predetermined by biology, ancestry or territory and evident through shared cultural traits from stable, isolated and contained groups. Barth's (1969a) argument asserted that ethnic groups were socially determined through interaction and that the ethnic boundary was a flexible social boundary. Before continuing, I acknowledge that Barth's contributions are not independent of the other substantive essays in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), including Eidheim's research with the Saami (previously called Lapp) in Norway (1969: 39-57), Haaland's research with the Fur and Baggara in Western Sudan (1969: 58-73) and Blom's research with mountain peasantry in Southern Norway (1989: 74-85), yet a primary focus on Barth's 'Introduction' (1969a: 9-38) is justified as it develops a theoretical framework that is both drawn from and into these works. The ambiguity and "spectacular differences" (Barth 1969a: 29) observed both within and between groups did not fit easily into existing rigid typologies of group boundedness, that is, via biology, territory or culture. A focus on comparative case studies enabled Barth (1969a) to prioritise the *processes* involved in generating, reproducing, maintaining and changing ethnic groups. Processes foregrounded the flux and non-linear development of the social organisation of groups, and shifted the investigative gaze away from aiming to summarize and categorize contained and isolated social units.

As identified in the Introduction, the three most central assertions Barth (1969a) elucidated that fundamentally challenged the status quo established by the classic primordialist approach to ethnicity were:

- Ethnicity is *not* defined by cultural content but by social organisation,

- The roots of this social organisation are *dichotomization*, so that the ethnic boundary is a *social* boundary formed through interactions between 'Us' and 'Them', and
- Ethnic affiliation is situationally dependent and can *change*.

These claims are not self-explanatory and require some unpacking. Firstly, Barth and his collaborators disagreed with locating ethnic groups via 'objective' cultural traits and sought to explicate that although ethnic categories *incorporate* 'culture' this is *not* a simple one-to-one relationship. Cultural traits are the means by which an ethnic group asserts and defines itself and they are part of the selective processes of creating difference that is consciously recognised and subjectively salient. However, only a selection of the entire cache of cultural elements available is deployed as denoting membership of the ethnic group. Features and characteristics that groups use and regard as significant cultural symbols and markers of their ethnic identity change over time, place and situation. Some of these traits are given primacy or are over-communicated while others are understated, denied or replaced, and may be reinterpreted and reintroduced at another time. Thus the history of an ethnic group cannot be wholly understood by following the trail of cultural practices across time. Current 'objective' cultural traits may show little, or indeed no, similarity to cultural practices exhibited in the past – either distant *or* recent (Barth 1969a: 13-16). Rather than focusing on cultural 'content', Barth argued that individuals fashion forms of cultural *differentiation*. To illustrate this point Barth described diverse and varied Pathan communities, living across wide geographical areas and political borders in Afghanistan and West Pakistan (1969b: 117-134). If a Pathan woman was to change her clothing and dress in Baluch-embroidered tunic fronts, this does not mean that she 'becomes' Baluch (Barth 1969b: 132). Cultural materials, such as clothing, are not necessarily deployed to signify ethnic group membership and do not define ethnic identity.

Language, another critical cultural feature, provided a revealing example to further illustrate Barth's argument that culture and ethnicity are interrelated but *not*

interchangeable concepts. Pashto language is a necessary attribute of being Pathan, but language alone is not sufficient to establish ethnic membership. Multiple ethnic groups can and do exist within the same linguistic category. While conducting fieldwork with Southern Norwegian mountain peasantry, Blom found that differences in speech are not sufficient for ascertaining ethnic identities, nor are they "responsible for the establishment and maintenance of social boundaries" (1969: 83). The differences in languages "reflect features of social organisation through a process of social codification, and thus serve as idioms of identification with particular group values" (Blom 1969: 83). Therefore, cultural features can act as *markers* of ethnic identity when understood as socially significant but they do not *create* the ethnic group. Specific cultural features may be important in some contexts and not others, they may guide behaviour for one activity but not another (Barth 1969a: 14).

According to Barth's theoretical position, a difference between groups exists not because a cultural trait occurs in a particular way, but rather a consciousness of being different to 'Others' is manifested in cultural practices. The cultural practices and associated meanings can change, depending on how difference is asserted and promoted, and this depends on the social behaviours that are central to self-identifying and being identified as belonging to that group.

Barth's second key premise was that ethnicity is produced by specific kinds of inter-group relations. Central to ethnicity is the recognition of differentiation between members and non-members. An ethnic group cannot exist in isolation, as its formation and continuation is dependent upon interaction with 'Others'. What matters for the establishment of ethnic boundaries is "the assignment of particular social meanings to a limited set of acts" (Blom 1969: 74), the construction of which is dependent on relationships with other ethnic groups – 'Us' and 'Them' categories of inclusion and exclusion. Barth explains that "the sanctions producing adherence to group-specific values are *not only* exercised by those who share the identity" (1969a: 18; emphasis not in original). That is, groups are mutually

influencing and work to maintain their differences through this dialogue. The 'Us' and 'Them' categories exist by degrees and are not necessarily in conflict or opposition with each other. Even as cultural features change and individuals transfer their ethnic membership, the ethnic group continues and is maintained via the "continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders" (Barth 1969a: 14).

Barth's third assertion challenging the status quo was that ethnicity and ethnic identities are relative and situational, meaning that the social importance of ethnicity can vary and is dependent on different spheres of interaction and behavioural codes and management. In the case of Eidheim's (1969) research with the Coastal Saami (known as Lapp when Eidheim was conducting his fieldwork in the 1960s) and Northern Norwegians, interaction occurred in three distinct spheres – public, private Saami and private Norwegian – each with their own accepted behaviours, codes, characteristics and values. By illustrating the inter-relationship across two of these spheres and the self-checking constantly being managed, Eidheim gave the example of Saami workers on the quay and in the fish storehouse, "On the quay among themselves and in direct interaction with the [Norwegian] crew on the quay edge, the local [Saami] men used Norwegian, inside the storehouse they used Lappish; they switched every time they passed the door" (1969: 51). Eidheim noted that within the community everybody knew who was and who was not Saami, yet the persistence of over-acting in public continued. Eidheim referred to this as a "shadow play" (1969: 55) because, although ethnic status was not directly referenced in interactions between Saami and Norwegians, in this context it was nonetheless pervasive in shaping these interactions and behaviours.

By focusing on *changing* membership across flexible boundaries, Barth (1969a, 1969b) demonstrated that ethnic identity is not predetermined but is a matter of choice and situation, and on-going dialogue and interrelations. Barth focused on ethnic group maintenance, interaction and identity change *across* the boundaries, stating that:

> categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories. (1969a: 9-10, emphasis not in original)

Individuals, whole households or whole communities could potentially change their ethnic identity, and this change involves altered social organisations and behaviours, and potentially also physical relocation, different modes of subsistence and economic resources, altered political allegiances and varied family arrangements (Barth 1969a: 24). Haaland (1969) gave the example of ethnic identity change from the agriculturally sedentary Fur to the nomadic Arab Bagarra in Western Sudan, Darfur. The change largely hinged on the relationship with the economic system as this was a central organisational framework for each identity. Modes of production and subsistence patterns, specifically Bagarra grazing rights and Fur land, encompassed entire ways of life, ways of being and interacting, and in turn helped to define the characteristics of each ethnic label. Another example provided by Barth demonstrated that the Yao people in China incorporated consistently large numbers of non-Yao people, especially children, via monetary exchange, adoption and assimilation. The movement of people into the Yao ethnic group was largely influenced by the need to maintain productive household units (Barth 1969a: 22). That is, economic production is central to *some* forms of boundary marking if and when it is made significant and meaningful to identity membership.

Two seminal works that Barth drew on regarding shifting ethnic *boundaries* were Michael Moerman's (1965) work with the Lue in Northern Thailand and Edmund Leach's (1954) work with the Kachin in Burma. Moerman found it near impossible to accurately and stably define the group boundary, concluding that: "someone is Lue by virtue of believing and calling himself Lue and of acting in ways that validate his Lueness" (1965: 1219). Whilst not a fieldwork defeat, this inability to identify distinct boundary rules was informative and demonstrated clearly the ambiguities of the boundaries and centrality of

social relations. The ethnic boundary entails complex behavioural organisation and social relations, and is continually negotiated and *re*negotiated by both external ascription and internal identification (Barth 1969a: 15).

In summary, Barth's work marked a significant shift in understanding ethnicity by "reacting against the static objectivism of then prevailing approaches to ethnicity, which sought to group ethnicity in stable, objectively observable patterns of shared culture" (Brubaker 2009: 29). Barth (1969a, 1969b) focused instead on the dynamics and processes that produced ethnic boundaries by presenting a theoretical framework that understood ethnicity as a *social* organisation formed through interactions between 'Us' and 'Them', which has a conscious recognition of difference, and which is signalled through, but not defined by, cultural markers. This framework is not, however, without its weaknesses and limitations, and I will now discuss a number of the common criticisms of Barth's paradigm and where subsequent theorists have challenged or extended understandings of ethnicity.

II Limits of Barth

Three of the most-criticised features of Barth's paradigm include the lack of consideration of multiple identities; the inadvertent rigidity reinserted into the paradigm; and the diminishing of the importance of cultural content. These consequently introduce the post-1969 trajectory of ethnicity studies as subsequent theorists developed a greater focus and awareness of the broader social, political, economic and historical forces that impact on ethnicity.

Multiple Identities

An area where Barth's conceptualisations are deficient is in the notion that ethnicity is always the dominant identity and always singular. Barth asserted that "ethnic identity is superordinate to most other statuses" (1969a: 17) because he perceived the social constraints that ethnicity imposes on interactions as all-pervasive. There is however an inconsistency here as Barth otherwise stresses that identity is constantly in processes of co-constitution, is situational and context dependent. Barth, as a result, not only contradicts himself but also reduces the significance of having an ethnic identity if it always simply exists and is always dominant irrespective of agents choosing and practicing it. Barth risks slipping into what he was fighting against – the essentialising of ethnic identity to a set of pre-determined factors and individuals as passive receivers. Individuals, however, belong to *multiple* social units at any given time and are not solely members of an ethnic group with an ethnic identity (Roosens 1989; Brubaker *et al.* 2006). Individuals can have multiple identities, ethnic or otherwise, that overlap and are expressed differently depending on the context, and these can be equally or more important in shaping the individual's multifaceted identity. The preferences, combinations and priorities given to our various identity affiliations can and do regularly vary, and "can simply be more relevant than others in a given context" (Roosens 1989: 16).

In Barth's (1969a) model, individuals can for a period operate as members of two ethnic groups, depending on the context of the social interaction, and yet the primary emphasis is on completely *changing from* one to the other rather than belonging as a member of a second, or multiple, ethnic identity. Barth asserted that we can have multiple *general* identities – such as gender, national, religious and occupational – but only one *ethnic* identity, which generally overrides the other identities in a hierarchy. Linnekin (1990) agreed that common Western views of ethnicity limit the individual to one ethnic identity - belonging to just one group. The intricacies of our ever-evolving identity – as our life circumstances, interests and priorities change, and as the people and world around us

transform – are not explained solely by singular ethnic group belonging. The importance, significance and meaning that we place on different aspects of our complex whole identity will shift depending on different situations and times (Brubaker *et. al*, 2006). Individuals can identify as members of multiple ethnic groups, and may perceive a greater ethnic affiliation with one or the other in different situations. Choosing to be Catalan is not the same as choosing *not* to be Spanish as they are not mutually exclusive. In asserting that Catalan people constitute an ethnic group I am not simultaneously claiming that this identity category always *determines* or influences the feelings, decisions and behaviours of all its members. Another identity category might be more influential or important in a given situation.

Barth's paradigm not only lacks the multiplicity of ethnic belonging but also the possible *in-between-ness* of identities (Bhabha 1998) and partial ethnic identification. Individuals possess multiple identities, ethnic *and* otherwise, and it seems problematic to limit an individual to having one dominant ethnic identity that subordinates all other identity categories. There can be struggle, antagonism and anxiety in figuring out the 'fit' between one's several components of identity, how it works to be several different things and a multi-faceted self (Fischer 1986). By reducing the pluralities, we risk reducing the dynamics, potential for creativity and future transformation and emergence of individual and ethnic group identities. As acknowledged in the Introduction, Catalan people may identify with more than one ethic group. In Chapter Eight I further explore this and how individuals can belong to multiple ethnicities, as well as feel a *partial* identification in belonging as or 'becoming' Catalan. My research participants placed different emphasis, interpretation and importance on 'being' Catalan and what their identity(ies) means to them.

Multiple ethnic, as well as other group, loyalties can indicate inventiveness and ingenuity, and also potential for conflict, antagonisms and contradiction. A realisation of this tension allows for perspectives and analyses on relations of control, as well as resistance,

subversion and the presentation of alternative perspectives and politics within the domain of dominant ideologies. The tensions should not be reduced because this is where ethnicity theory can be most effective, in increasing understandings by precisely resisting the temptation to simplify into easier categories.

Rigidity of Western models

Perceiving incongruities between ethnicity theories as configured and applied to colonial and European societies and the diverse experiences of Pacific Islanders in Oceania, Linnekin and Poyer (1990) demonstrated alternative schemes of conceptualizing the cultural dimensions of identity. Linnekin and Poyer (1990) believed that Barth was not sufficiently reflective of his own cultural biases, Western academic grounding and pre-conceived notions of individual and community interactions, and that this restricted the application of his theoretical understandings to Pacific Islander experiences of ethnicity and cultural identity. Although Barth attempted to break away from notions of ethnicity as biologically constructed and stable, Linnekin and Poyer (1990) considered that these remained dominant even into the late 1980s. They also asserted that Pacific Island societies were themselves increasingly adopting and implementing the rigidity of established Western models of ethnic identity (Linnekin & Poyer 1990).

Linnekin and Poyer (1990) speculated that Barth deliberately excluded 'pelagic islands' from his gaze most likely because he still somewhat prescribed to the prevailing view that Pacific Island societies were largely culturally homogeneous due to their geographical isolation. This understanding reflected ingrained notions of isolated and bounded groups with an emphasis on the ecological and biological determinants of ethnicity. Barth (1969a) was thus inconsistent in arguing to redirect the focus on ethnicity studies away from definitions resting on ancestry, ecology and culture, whilst excluding Pelagic Islands under this same assumption. Linnekin was unconvinced that Western notions of ethnicity had moved beyond the premise "that biological ancestry is the primary criterion of ethnic

affiliation" (1990: 152) and believed it remained trapped in collapsing culture into ethnicity and determined by genealogy, and that Barth risked falling back into what he was rejecting – the stability and rigidity of ethnic boundaries.

Linnekin and Poyer (1990) argued that Western notions and theories of ethnicity and the formation of cultural identity were inadequate when applied to Pacific Island societies. They distinguished between two models of understanding ethnic groups: *Lamarkian*, which emphasised the role of social relationships and the fluidity of boundaries; and *Mendelian*, which was the typically rigid Western model which emphasised biological descent as the fundamental criteria of ethnic group membership. The fluidity of social boundaries and changing memberships of Pacific Island communities were more negotiable than dominant Western theories allowed and accounted for (Linnekin & Poyer 1990). In most Pacific Island situations they discussed, including Hawaiian, Fijian and Maori, groups placed "minimal emphasis on ancestry as the unambiguous determinant of an enduring cultural affiliation" (Linnekin 1990: 149). The members themselves did not stress the importance of ancestry as a diacritic of belonging. Although this might seem consistent with the conceptualisations of Barth (1969a), one of the key distinctions Linnekin and Poyer (1990) raise is the different way of conceptualising the individual and their relationship to community. The dominant Western concept of the individual as an independent and bounded unit was inconsistent with Pacific theories of group individuals as *nodes* of social relations (Linnekin & Poyer 1990). Ethnicity theorists commonly employ examples of diverse ethnic groups to demonstrate variants of the same core phenomenon, yet, as Linnekin and Poyer (1990) argued, cross-cultural comparisons also highlight significant discrepancies and inadequacies in the application of Western ethno-theories.

The 'Cultural Stuff'

Barth (1969a) considered 'the social organisation of culture difference' (the extended title of the book) and was deliberately not a summary of groups in terms of cultural 'content' but rather of the social mechanisms. Barth's critical focus was "the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (1969a: 15, emphasis in original). However, did Barth at that time limit and disregard the 'cultural stuff' too much? The assertion that ethnic identity was *not* determined by shared culture or human biology, but by social organisation, undoubtedly enabled more freedom and creativity in studying and analysing the processes of group formation and continuation (Verdery 1994). However, as Barth's work 'released' the bind between ethnicity and culture and enabled theorists to "*problematize* the cultural side of ethnic identities instead of taking it for granted" (Verdery 1994: 41, italics in original), the 1969 text failed in some ways to communicate that culture *does* matter. Just because ethnicity is not *defined* by culture does not downgrade the importance of cultural forms, their vitality and variation, and how culture is both produced by and can stimulate identities and actions.

Following Barth's (1969a) central paradigm, contemporary ethnic studies accept that cultural difference is inadequate to *create* an ethnic identity, because "ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group" (Eriksen 2010: 16). Tracing one cultural practice through time would not provide an accurate understanding of ethnic group membership. By choosing, however, *not* to chart cultural changes because they do not accurately match the changing boundaries of the ethnic group, Barth inadvertently implied that cultural products produced and transformed by an ethnic group are not important. Indeed, studying the transformation over time of cultural aspects as they are promoted or downgraded reveals changing boundaries, altering conceptions of meaningful difference and the deep feelings effected through shared embodied experiences and memories.

A central domain for making difference evident is cultural products and practices. *How* and *why* the 'cultural stuff' is formed depends on the boundaries that differentiate who is 'Us' and who is 'Other'. The behavioural elements on which Barth focused in relation to the boundaries are often manifested most clearly in tangible cultural practices and participation. The same marker can be concurrently inclusive and exclusive, depending on the situation and context. Culture is important partly because, according to Roosens, culture can be "instruments of struggles as well as communication" (1989: 14). People can display them, rally behind them and actively engage with them to reinforce identity. However, it is not just about simply selecting fixed cultural traits but, in the selection, actively changing their form, sense and meaning. Barth was not able to theorise that choosing the 'cultural stuff' is also about reconstituting significance and meaning.

Interestingly, the overarching *popular* metaphor for ethnic identity remains genealogical and the enduring concern with one's ancestry. Ethnic ideologies employed by groups tend to stress common descent among their members, and these primordial ties, together with a 'myth of origin', are often employed, in combination with other elements, to define members and group continuity (Nash 1989; Eriksen 2010: 7-9). Nash asserts that primordial bonds are formed through social interaction and are subject to change and manipulation, rather than something to be understood as stable and static (1989: 4-5). In rejecting primordial ties and 'origins' as part of the ethnicity paradigm, Barth (1969a) did not consider that they are also a social construction rather than a fundamental 'essence' and they may still be salient and meaningful for individuals and groups themselves.

III Contexts of Contestation – developments post-1969

These critiques of Barth's work do not indicate a complete rejection or disengagement with the theory. On the contrary, Barth's (1969a) central assertions are largely continued and, as Eriksen confirms, "[d]ecades of research have shown that ethnic identities and boundaries are social constructions that change through time and have highly variable relevance" (2006: 359). As indicated in the previous section, considerations of the roles that broad social, political, economic and historical forces play in the construction of ethnic identity have received greater attention following Barth. Situating ethnicity within, as well as contributing to, relations and systems of influence, dominance and power has helped to develop new insights into the contested character of identity as one of the prime movers of ethnic transformation. Linnekin (1990) asserts that ethnic identities need to be positioned and understood *within* their particular social and political contexts to further reduce the likelihood of ethnicity being understood as a stable relation.

Ethnicity is formed through processes of interaction. This interaction is, however, broader than Barth theorised in terms of dichotomized relations between 'Us' and 'Them', and is more accurately expressed by Eriksen as being "created from two dimensions: from the inside and from the outside" (2006: 359). 'Outside' dimensions and definitions do not solely come from ethnic 'Others' but are formed through interactions with broad and dominant societal structures, systems and institutions including economic, historical, political, educational, mass media, religious and legal, which are often bound together in complex, entrenched and indivisible ways. Contemplating these 'contexts of contestations' emphasises that there are disagreements and different ideas about what constitutes a particular ethnic identity, the contexts in which an identity can be expressed, and the impact that limiting or restricting ethnic identification, such as through legal means, can have on individual members and groups. In situations where the ethnic classifications attributed by 'Others' are restrictive, stigmatising and biased, this can have significant repercussions on choices, self-representations and self-understandings. This is not to say

that individuals and groups are not without choice, but that there are constraints deriving from structural features, which can limit the significance of the choice (Brubaker 2009: 31). Considering contexts of contestations is, therefore, not merely about constraints and restrictions, but also how ethnic groups respond and transform in creative ways.

Eidheim's (1969: 39-57) ethnographic fieldwork in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* demonstrated that a stigmatised Saami ethnic identity, which was constructed as inferior to dominant Norwegian identity, played a defining role in the behavioural standards of Saami in different situations. Saami identity was expressed covertly and only amongst other Saami, and Eidheim observed that many Saami had internalised their inferiority and refused to "handicap" (1969: 46) their children by teaching them Saami language. As Eidheim identified, "In all details their miserable self-image was a reflection of the [Saami] stigma as local Norwegians define it" (1969: 44). There were discrepancies between self-understandings of Saami identity and the understanding of Saami identity expressed by Norwegians, and the negative stigmas entered into the ongoing transformation of Saami identity. Barth (1969a, 1969b), however, did not fully realise the contested nature of ethnicity.

Exploring contexts of contestation, Linnekin (1990) investigated conflicting legal definitions of *what* constitutes a 'Hawaiian'. Linnekin (1990) found that most dominant definitions continue to rest on biology and the degree of ancestry that is 'enough' to qualify. The United States of America (USA) federal government has applied various definitions of 'Hawaiian' and 'part-Hawaiian', which have also differed from the State of Hawaii's definitions, resulting in widely differing percentages of the state's population who identified as 'Hawaiian'. If Hawaiian ethnic membership was prescribed by ancestry alone, the children of one Hawaiian parent and one white 'haole' person would always be 'hapa-haole' (Linnekin 1990: 156). This, however, is not consistently the case. People with half or less than half Hawaiian ancestry are frequently considered 'Hawaiian' (Linnekin 1990: 156) because, rather than ancestry being the diacritical feature of Hawaiian

ethnicity (or rather 'cultural identity' as the term Linnekin prefers), "of paramount importance is the way one conducts social relationships" (Linnekin 1990: 155). Similarly, Linnekin presents an example from the Maori peoples in New Zealand in which 'outsiders' (Pakeha) impose external traits to define ethnic membership which are incongruent with insider definitions: "Physical criteria such as hair and eye colour are more important to Pakeha in making ethnic ascriptions than to Maori themselves; many Maori have fair skin and blue eyes" (1990: 157). Ethnic peoples and theorists continue to struggle against enduring perspectives that ethnic identity is linked to and determined by biology, 'race' and ancestry. In these prevailing understandings, often implemented in official policy, ethnicity is seen as static, closed and with clearly delineated boundaries, thus making control and management easier for dominant state institutions.

Turning greater attention to broader structural and institutional issues that impact on the formation of ethnic identity, Sider (2003) too explored the rules and limitations imposed on indigenous peoples within the legal system in the USA. According to Sider (2003), US federal legislation has imposed regulations that prescribed which groups could be legally designated as American Indian tribes. The mandatory requirements of the 1978 regulations rested heavily on proving continuity, biological descent from an Indian entity and prior recognition by various dominant authorities. The legislation also designated that American Indians must belong to only one group or 'tribe', located within rigid and easily defined boundaries (reflecting entrenched primordialist views of ethnicity). The regulations were so stringent and demanding of such high levels of 'proof' of unbroken links with the past and emphasising popular stereotypes of 'being Indian' that it ultimately prevented recognition and subsequent negotiation of access to resources by many groups which self-identified as American Indian. Sider (2003) observed that successful petitioning could barely be met by those groups with existing nation-state granted recognition, let alone groups seeking *initial* official recognition.

When petitioning for official state recognition, American Indian groups must submit to and work within the confines of the dominant group's perceptions of what Indian 'tribal' histories *should* be. To succeed in a petition to the courts, any American Indian group "must also in the midst of their autonomy adopt the dominant society's version of their history, and the dominant society's requirements for historical continuity, in order to maintain even a shred of their autonomy" (Sider 2003: 21). Dominant groups, especially when politically and numerically powerful, can often make decisions that, deliberately or inadvertently, give themselves preferential treatment and can be experienced as controlling or restricting to minority groups and lacking in respect and recognition of minorities' social, cultural and/or political differences (Smith 1981: 24). Minority peoples and groups struggling for recognition against their dominators or majority 'others' often have little choice but to engage with and express their perspectives and demands within dominant institutions that have often caused them harm and destruction. That is, groups that have been persecuted and oppressed by state institutions, including education and legal institutions, must often petition to these same institutions that may continue to oppress and express negative views. Eriksen observes that "[a] profound dilemma for the Saami movement…is rooted in the rather paradoxical situation that the state against which they fight for self-determination must also…be accepted as an ultimate guarantor for the very same rights that it threatens" (1991: 272).

The changing official definitions of ethnic groups can have real effects on the lives of groups and individuals. For example, being able to have your 'Hawaiianess' officially recognised enables claims to be made for land, access to other resources, group autonomy and self-determination (Linnekin 1990: 153-154). In these circumstances "'Who I am' now determines what I can and cannot do, can and cannot have, can and cannot be" (Linnekin & Poyer 1990: 13). Land claims, education and health projects, defence of sacred sites, repatriation of human remains, degrees of autonomy, legal rights, fiscal responsibility, economic security, political sovereignty, civil rights, human dignity and social equality are some of the important everyday issues at stake in the 'struggle for recognition' (Honneth

2001) of ethnic identity. For marginal and minority groups, including ethnic groups, the dialogue around recognition, further explored in Chapter Eight, is a "question of whether cultural survival will be acknowledged as a legitimate goal, whether collective ends will be allowed as legitimate considerations in judicial review, or for other purposes of major social policy" (Taylor, 1994: 63).

Interactions with 'Others' are essential to form our sense of who we are (Barth 1969a), but it is vital that these interactions are based on recognition (Taylor 1994; Honneth 1995, 2001). Recognition is central to how relations with 'Others' help to form self-understandings and self-interpretations. The 'struggle for recognition' (Honneth 1995) involves the need for those who are marginalised to make themselves understood in their own terms. Individuals and groups can acutely perceive the divide between their self-understandings and those understandings held by 'Others' and by broader societal systems. Misrecognition, non-recognition and imposed expectations can inflict harm on our self-confidence, hinder our interactions with 'Others' and deny our potential to contribute our own interpretations of who we are (Taylor 1994; Honneth 1995). At risk with misrecognition, as with the Saami, is also that we can assimilate imposed and stigmatised descriptions, and we may not be able to present our claims on shared resources and contribute to a more inclusive and open society. Ethnic groups face dilemmas and paradoxes in their struggles to resist the meaning and categories being imposed from the outside. Ethnicity can be 'othered', limited and restricted by dominant social groups and institutions, but members also contest and transgress imposed boundaries as they struggle to be understood in their own terms.

Group recognition that is granted or withheld by a dominant power can have significant consequences and ramifications for both groups and individuals. This, as I will discuss in Chapter Six, has become an issue particularly in Catalunya with the broader concerns around recognition of Catalan ethnic identity finding expression in debates on political autonomy, language and history. Catalan people are creating and carving out a space for

their continued existence, and the forms that this future might take is influenced by the complex interactions with 'Others', especially the dominant Spanish nation-state. Recognition denied fuels ambiguity of societal positions and can also fuel responses including the development of certain cultural practices, and greater social, cultural and political mobilisation and resistance.

Minority groups are active in creating strategic self-representations that are productive both within and against the attempted impositions of strict boundaries and categorization. This is also the case in Catalan ethnicity. Catalan ethnic identity strategically resists perceived non-recognition and benign inclusiveness. The Spanish nation-state, administered from the political centre of Madrid, together with Castilian Spanish language and culture is the prevailing 'Other' for Catalan ethnicity. In Chapter Five, for example, I investigate the popular re-emergence of Catalan collective memory around the events of '1714' in terms of a promotion of an historical event that is in stark contrast to that promoted as part of general 'Spanish' history. In Chapter Six I delve into issues around the perceived political and economic inequality as a contributing factor to Catalan nationalist sentiment and growing support for the secession of Catalunya from Spain. I return to the 'struggle for recognition' in Chapter Eight.

Considering the role that domination and control, and broader social, political and historical forces can play in the processes of developing, maintaining and asserting an ethnic identity, constitutes a development of ethnicity theory beyond that which Barth was able to theorise. Incorporating the 'struggle for recognition' within these contexts of contestation has been another important contribution by recent works on ethnicity.

IV Ethnogenesis

Following World War II many theorists predicted that ethnicity and nationalism would decline in personal significance and political importance, as they anticipated that greater global flows of people, money, ideas and practices would result in a situation in which the boundaries between each ethnic group, their distinctions, identity markers and uniqueness would fade and decrease, and eventually distinct cultural entities would disappear (Roosens 1989: 9). However, as Barth asserted, "a drastic reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organisational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintaining processes" (1969a: 32-33). The long-term liberal forecast has proven incorrect as ethnic groups have not only endured but also proliferated. Ethnic groups can, as Roosens wrote, "promote their own, new cultural identity, even as their old identity is eroded" (1989: 9). Ethnic groups have asserted and affirmed themselves more commonly in recent decades, especially utilising an international discourse of human rights (Roosens 1989: 9), as ethnic identity becomes more salient in contexts of heightened change and contestation. Rather than groups disappearing into one indistinct 'pot' of muddled and diluted traditions, symbols, practices and languages, ethnic groups spring forth, are revived and created (as well as selectively destroyed), and ethnic identities are asserted and maintained worldwide.

Roosen's (1989) concept of 'ethnogenesis' involves the *processes* of constructing, making and modifying ethnic identities in the face of significant and broad social, cultural, political and/or economic changes. Hill defines ethnogenesis as "a concept encompassing people's simultaneously cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and discontinuity" (1996: 1). Applying the concept of ethnogenesis requires "understanding collective identity construction as a historical contestation over a people's existence and their positioning within and against a general history of political and economic inequality" (Hill 1996: 1). The emergence or increasing

salience of ethnic identities often occurs during moments of rapid change where the identity is perceived as being under threat from, for example "migration, change in demographic situation, industrialisation or other economic change, or integration into or encapsulation by a larger political system" (Eriksen 2010: 81). These pressures and risks can stimulate groups to implement new ways to assert a 'unique' identity via, most commonly, accentuating differences that mark the group including language, customs and 'traditions', or by mobilising for political action. 'Ethnogenesis' assists in focusing upon and appreciating the transformation of ethnic identity in situations of change and contest, and therefore considers other issues and processes including colonialism, globalisation, modernity, nationalism and the formation of the 'nation state' (Eriksen 2010).

'Ethnogenesis' is attentive to the different practices and processes that produce ethnic identity, that is, not what an ethnic group *is*, but how it *works*, how it is constructed. Case studies of Huron Indians in Quebec, Canada, Flemish in Belgium and Aymara in Bolivia enabled Roosens (1989) to observe that the continuing affirmation of ethnic identities demonstrated the deeper complexity of ethnic groups, their interactions and networks and their formidable staying power. Roosens provided the comparison of the ethnogenesis of the Huron and the Aymara to show that there are different processes of producing ethnicity – "whereas the Hurons of Quebec…are building ethnicity almost from historical scratch, the Aymara reject their ethnic tradition, although they use it in an instrumental way when it pays off" (1989: 104). The Aymara of Turco in Bolivia have made the conscious decision to halt and dismantle their customs "in an organised, active, and self-critical way" (Roosens 1989: 104). External conditions have had a significant impact on the approach taken by the Aymara, who instead refer to themselves as being residents of Turco, *Turqueños.* By this approach of identifying with reference to a geographical location, they avoid reference to 'ethnicity', which they view as unfavourable especially for economic reasons within the dominant society's institutions. As Roosens explains, "subsidies and development projects were not awarded to ethnic groups or peoples but to administrative zones and localities…it was, therefore, pointless to present or identify

themselves as Aymara, for this was not only irrelevant but even undesirable in the eyes of those who distributed resources" (Roosens 1989: 105-106). In contrast, the Hurons of Quebec actively seek to be as publicly visible as possible. Roosens explored the various ways in which 'Indian' status is claimed, verified, defined, recognised and removed in Canada. Huron ethnic identity has been changing over time and is not dictated by one body or organisation, but is in part the result of shifting power relations between Canadians and Indians. There are diverse practices, systems and powers that can impact of the formation of ethnic identity, and how the group might respond in diverse ways to various internal and external pressures. The context in which a group can or cannot (or *chooses* to or not to) present an ethnic identity is significant because it provides insight into the nature of identity construction, power relations and the limits of ethnicity.

Roosens considered the political and socio-economic power relations that exist and influence these situations, arguing, "ethnic groups are generally most clearly delineated in areas that have one or another form of overarching political organisation" (1989: 13). Unlike some Indian groups who are in intense contact with non-Indians in the cities of Bolivia, the Aymara's more rural existence removes them from Indian nationalist movements. For the stigmatized Aymara the notion that asserting their ethnic identity could be socially, economically and politically advantageous was nonsensical (Roosens 1989). Roosens (1989: 12) similarly found that for the Flemish of Belgium, being more isolated and in less contact with other groups has resulted in a reduced likelihood to pursue ethnic movements. Degrees of social contact between groups can significantly influence the intensity with which an ethnic group defines itself. Roosens argued that, "There is more chance that the Flemish in Brussels, who always have to speak French, will become more 'consciously' Flemish than their ethnic brothers and sisters in the rather isolated rural areas of West Flanders or Limburg" (1989: 12-13). Thus there can be levels and varying degrees of ethnic self-definition within the same ethnic identity, that is, different experiences and different senses of selfhood and different interpretations of the conditions for belonging. Those in greater contact with other groups – who might embrace

and encourage, but also challenge, deny or restrict their ethnic identity – are more likely to be conscious of their ethnicity, especially when it is under threat, and take steps to maintain it via political and legal means. Although not asserting that isolated peoples have a *lesser* ethnic identity or attachment, Roosens (1989) is observing that there are contexts in which ethnicity becomes more salient and difference can be more acutely asserted and experienced.

Developed from within ethnicity theory, 'ethnogenesis' places a greater emphasis on the changing contexts in which ethnicity is produced and the creative constructing that forms and transforms ethnic identities. Ethnogenesis stresses the struggle that is precipitated by broader social, economic and political changes both locally and globally, and strives to capture the significance, ambiguity and contest involved in forming and transforming an ethnic identity. As identified in the Introduction, ethnogenesis suggests that a heightened sensitivity to ethnicity surfaces when the challenges of changing contexts bring about a greater self-consciousness of being different, of 'belonging' or of being excluded, and of the choices and limitations that confront us.

Ethnogenesis demonstrates that ethnicity theory is *not* equally applicable to all groups and societies, but is at its most useful when it captures the galvanising moments and junctures when individuals and peoples are engaged in an active appropriation and negotiation of who they are. Individuals can nominally belong to a particular ethnic, national, racial group, but the significance of these associations in our lives may only become evident in certain situations and contexts. We are not always highly self-conscious of our identities, but at some points – whether because of social upheaval, political discontent or disconnect, economic stresses or migration pressures – the will to assert a degree of 'group-ness' through difference and belonging becomes more important and more crucial to our sense of who we are and who we want to become. Ethnogenesis helps to capture those times, processes and events where the active self-making of 'a people' is raised to a heightened importance. In Catalunya I encountered the everydayness of

Catalan people actively negotiating who they are, and considering what it means to be a modern Catalan in times of change and disjuncture. This awareness of being different, confronting limitations or mobilising in the struggle for recognition is not, however, the same as being cognisant of *how* ethnic markers and boundaries are established and transform. Indeed, ethnic identity is often still perceived by members as 'natural' and 'ordinary'. Ethnogenesis considers both the contexts of change and contestation that can stimulate the struggles around claiming an identity, as well as *how* an ethnic identity is constructed and transformed.

V Ethnicity and Nationalism

Discussions on the development of ethnicity theory require us to explore the question of nationalism. Smith (1981) considers that nationalism is key to any modern 'ethnic revival', which he perceived as having the ultimate goal of achieving nation-statehood. However other authors (Nash 1989; Brubaker *et al.* 2006; Brubaker 2009; Eriksen 2010) argue that there is an inter-relationship between ethnicity and nationalism, and the ultimate goal of the ethnic group may not be the creation of a nation-state. Nationalism is a political ideology held by a 'nation', which is described as a self-conscious community that stresses notions of commonality on the level of socio-cultural practices and sentiments, exists within a defined territorial boundary and has a shared 'past', with visions for a self-determining future (Smith 1981: 18; Guibernau 2013: 368-369). The core orientation of nationalism is the relationship to the 'state' – the organised political entity occupying and governing a defined territory. A 'nation-state' is a political collective that maintains control and influence within a clear territorial space and deploys a political project to encourage its members to feel part of a shared cultural community. Conversely, a 'nation-without-a-state' or 'stateless nation' exists when a nation claims territory within a state with which it does not completely identify (Guibernau 2013: 369), however not all stateless nations (along with their nationalist ideologies) seek to become independent nation-states.

Examples of nations-without-states include: Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey; Uyghurs in China; Québécois in Canada; Kashmiris in South Asia; Basques in Spain; and Scots in Great Britain.

Smith (1981) perceives nationalism and nationalist ideologies in the modern world as giving recent ethnic identity transformations, or 'ethnic revivals', their contemporary prominence and unprecedented intensity. Smith (1981) credits the French Revolution of the late 18th century with spurring ethnic nationalisms across the globe and heralding modern ethnic revivals. He posits that it is only within the nation-state that nationalist ideologies could enable dissatisfied ethnic groups to identify the potential of developing their own nation. The success of the French people in gaining control, equality and democracy following their socio-political uprising against the aristocracy was seen as an example to other subordinated and subjugated groups ruled by monarchies, aristocracies or religious authorities (Smith 1981). Nationalism, according to Smith (1981: 24), is the key to distinguishing modern ethnic revivals from previous ones as it helped spur a new discourse in considering and legitimating ethnic aspirations and signalled the potential for excluded ethnic groups to become active participants in new nations. A fundamental claim by Smith regarding modern ethnic revival is that it is "simultaneously an ethnic *transformation*, whose ideal…is the full and genuine *nation-state*" (1981: 7; italics not in original). Smith considered nationalism as being underpinned by ethnicity and as a progression from ethnicity.

Although not in agreement with Smith, many ethnicity scholars, including Calhoun (1993), Brubaker (2009), Brubaker *et al.* (2006) and Eriksen (1991, 2010) observe a relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. Opinions vary as to the extent of this connection and, for example, whether nationalism has an inherent ethnic quality (Smith, 1981:24) or is a variant of ethnicity; whether nationalist groups are based on ethnicity (Eriksen 2001: 119); or whether the modern formation, structure and guise of ethnic groups is attributable to the burgeoning nation-state (Nash 1989: 1-2). Brubaker argues that race,

ethnicity and nationhood are part of a "*single integrated family of forms* of cultural understanding, social organization, and political contestation" (2009: 22, italics in original). My research supports the view that ethnicity and nationalism co-exist and co-construct, and may be expressed, understood, and influence interactions and structure behaviours and opinions in different ways. Catalan nationalism is specifically considered in Chapter Six where I argue that there is a strong interrelation between Catalan ethnicity and nationalism, but I do not agree with Smith (1981) that all ethnic peoples' activities in revitalising and transforming an ethnic identity always have the goal of a separate nation-state.

Although Barth (1969) did not engage directly with debates on nationalism and the nation-state, he did suggest that the increasing political organisation of ethnic groups does *not* decrease ethnic identity, stating that:

> The fact that contemporary forms are prominently political does not make them any less ethnic in character. Such political movements constitute new ways of making cultural difference organisationally relevant (Kleivan 1967), and new ways of articulating the dichotomized ethnic groups. The proliferation of ethnically based pressure groups, political parties, and visions of independent statehood, as well as the multitude of sub-political advancement associations (Sommerfelt 1967) show the importance of these new forms. (Barth 1969a: 34)

Rather than signalling a move *away* from ethnicity, new forms of political organisation can be indicative of the processes and changes of ethnicity. Barth (1969a) cautioned that a focus on political energies does not replace or override ethnicity, and such a view can limit our understandings of the complexity, diversity and disorderliness of various social situations. Just as culture and ethnicity are interrelated but not one and the same, nationalism and ethnicity are interrelated processes. However, nationalism does not automatically subsume ethnicity. The contemporary popular focus on nationalism could

exist because, suggest Linnekin and Poyer, "Modes of political action are easier to gauge than evanescent shifts in self-perception" (1990: 13).

Nationalism, like ethnicity, is neither given nor historically inevitable, "the nation is an invention and a recent one at that; to paraphrase Anderson (1991), it is an *imagined community*; it is *not* a natural phenomenon, despite the fact that the object of every nationalism is to present a particular image of society as natural" (Eriksen 1991: 266). Anderson's (1991) thesis in *Imagined Communities* is that the nation is 'imagined' as a community because the people within its territorial borders subscribe to the idea that they have something in common that unifies them, even though they will probably never meet or know each other. To encourage this feeling of unity through commonality, nationalist ideology steers focus away from the heterogeneity of the population (their varied histories, interests, beliefs) and relies on minimising differences. Effective nationalism often has "culturally homogenizing tendencies" (Eriksen 1991: 263) because it is "easier for the state to rule if it manages to create a sense of community and shared identity among the people subject to its power" (Guibernau 2013: 371). In some circumstances, nationalism can appropriate already successful identity symbols – ethnic, civic, religious, cultural – in order to achieve greater public connection and uptake of its ideological messages. This can be effective in "persuad[ing] people that some aspect of their identity is fundamental and should shape behaviour and beliefs" (MacInnes 2006: 692), and can potentially be successfully deployed to garner support for future political projects.

Nationalism has a political agenda to work towards self-determination and bringing the community together. Nationalist projects often seek to enshrine protections and preferences into laws and policies. These can both encourage and lay foundations for the construction of other social identities but can also essentialise and minimise variety of the lived everyday. Nationalism is thus a complex, diverse and "an ambiguous type of ideology. It can be aggressive and expansionist….and it can serve as a truly peace-keeping and culturally integrating force" (Eriksen 1991: 265). By accentuating the cultural similarities

of a variety of peoples within the nation, nationalism can be more assimilationist and deny cultural, religious and ethnic differences while, at the same time, encouraging other aspects of identity, such as regional belonging, can draw together a wider variety of people within the territory to support common goals. In Chapter Six I will discuss some of the ways that organised nationalism can provide a political arena for the people of Catalunya to articulate expressions of difference and feelings of both historic and on-going oppression inflicted by the Spanish nation-state. I will assert that Catalan nationalism and Catalan ethnicity co-create and are co-dependent. Nationalism capitalises on the creative energies of ethnic identity construction to drive forward its own cause, while its success can provide opportunities for ethnic identity transformations through securing economic and institutional conditions. In presenting and pursuing its own political agendas, however, nationalism must unambiguously delineate those issues, symbols and beliefs that are central to its mission. In so doing it can cannibalise and essentialise otherwise dynamic social and cultural practices, and can risk diminishing the cultural resources from which it draws.

I emphasize "the extensive overlap and blurring between" (Brubaker 2009: 25) nationalism and ethnicity. Nationalism and ethnicity can co-exist, co-create and co-construct. However, I neither wish to subsume nationalism and ethnicity into one overarching framework because they do retain different modes of interpreting and understanding group formation, nor to draw a hard and fast line between where ethnicity ends and nationalism begins because, as my research will demonstrate, Catalan ethnicity and nationalism are interconnected and not always two distinct spheres of lived experience. I do, however, argue that nationalism is not the sole grid through which to understand the ambiguity and complexity of Catalan identity-as-process. Nationalism is limiting in this context because it brings to the table an already-constituted viewpoint about the central focus and driver of identity construction. I do not deny the usefulness of nationalism as an interpretive framework, the particularities of nationalist identities in Catalunya or the value of works on Catalan nationalism. Neither do I suggest that ethnicity

is somehow 'truer' than nationalism. Rather, nationalism and ethnicity present different perspectives on they ways in which people might represent their forms of identity construction. I assert that ethnicity recognises the significances and meanings that are not only tied up with a nation, and ethnogenesis is a way of capturing what is happening more broadly. The struggles around ethnicity can motivate the nationalist cause but at the same time the subjective and cultural meaning of ethnicity as a struggle to be Catalan cannot be reduced to a political cause without stifling its living energies.

VI Human Castles

In response to Franco's despotism, Catalan identity once represented the antithesis of 'Francoism' and Catalan people became an international symbol of anti-fascism (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016; Generalitat de Catalunya 2016). Current Catalan ethnicity is reflexively and creatively responding in novel ways to the demands of the present, including changing political agendas and global economic issues. I argue that Catalan ethnogenesis mobilises around a transgressive struggle for significance and recognition and the on-going conscious choice to be different. Within this context, producing strategic cultural performances that become markers of Catalan difference strategically seek to highlight a sense of uniqueness that cannot simply be assimilated into a generic sense of dominant 'Spanish-ness'. One such cultural marker for Catalans is the *castell*. *Castells* are 'human castles', also known as 'human towers', formed by individuals called *castellers*, who agilely climb onto each others' shoulders to form high tower-like structures up to ten metres high that are topped by a child who gives a four-fingered salute representing the Catalan national flag, the *senyera*. The *castell* is currently practiced as a symbol of Catalan identity and holds meaning around social solidarity and strength (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016). I use the ethnicity paradigm, and specifically the ethnogenesis concept, to help to understand the tensions and ambiguities of lived struggles around producing Catalan identity and I use this example of *castells* not only to highlight the

processes of creating and emphasising difference, but also the changing nature of markers of ethnic identity and the different meaning and significance certain markers have for people living this identity.

As I walked around the centre of Barcelona one warm and sunny September day in 2013 with research participant Martí, we spoke about various cultural events that would take place in the upcoming *Festa de la Mercè*, the annual festival of Barcelona. Martí is a self-identifying Catalan man in his 40s living in Barcelona, passionate about supporting the independence of Catalunya. Martí, who was unsure whether he would participate in any events during the festival, asked whether I had seen *castells*, which he described as a "*great Catalan traditional activity*". At that time I had seen only one *castell* during the Gràcia *Correfoc* festival (briefly identified in the thesis Introduction). I would witness another five *castells* on two separate occasions during my fieldwork, including during a competition of *castellers* – a *festa castellera* – during the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè*.

On 22 September I made my way to the central *Plaça de Sant Jaume* (an important central square in Barcelona, to be explored in Chapter Four) to see the *festa castellera*. Within the *Plaça* it was loud and hot, with the excited chatter and body heat from approximately sixty thousand people standing close together under the glaring summer sun. A sudden concentrated movement of people wearing red headscarves and aqua green shirts alerted me to the commencement of the *castell*. Over the top of the crowd, some fifteen deep in front of me, I could see a large closed circle of approximately forty adult male *castellers* who were forming the 'base' of the castle by facing inwards and leaning in tightly on each other to provide the structure's overall support. Nine adult males began to climb over the shoulders of the 'base' *castellers* to start the *castell's* 'trunk' made of four 'towers', joined by gripping onto each others' shoulders.

Image 2: Building of the 'base' and 'trunk' of a *castell* during the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Each *casteller* wore loose white pants, a loose aqua green shirt, a thick black sash around the waist with a thinner red sash tied over the top, and some wore a red headscarf. The colours of the shirt, sash and headscarf distinguish the different *casteller* troupes. The thick waist sashes are used both for back support, especially for those in the base who bear the greatest weight, and to offer foot and hand holds for those climbing. The climbers are typically bare-footed to give them greater sensation and grip. A great deal of practice and training goes into the technique of building the *castells*, and each *casteller* has their specific position and function in the tower. A troupe of *castellers*, especially at a competition such as this one, can comprise a hundred or more individuals.

As the first layer of the 'trunk' was being completed the chatter from the crowd subsided and music could be heard playing from the covered stage erected in one corner of the *Plaça*. The characteristic musical accompaniment is produced by a band known as *gralles* and is usually made up of flutes and drums, which project and articulate sound effectively in outdoor arenas. Martí had told me that "*music is important*" in the performance,

informing the *castellers,* especially those forming the supporting base, of the progress of the *castell*. The music also stimulates the anticipation and tension of the crowd as the tower builds higher and the risk of collapse increases.

The *castellers* constructed three more layers of four 'towers', with young adult males, then with young adult females. Commonly, the *castellers* become progressively younger, and therefore lighter, the higher their position. The helmets worn by the children who are positioned at the very top emphasised the dangers of *castell* construction. The top layers were formed with three 'towers', each with two children standing facing each other and linked by gripping each other's shoulders, while another young child squatted on their shoulders. The music reached a crescendo as the final crowning element of the *castell* was achieved when one child climbed on top of each crouching child of the three 'towers' and gave the conventional four-fingered salute – a sign of the Catalan flag, the *senyera* (the meaning and significance of this flag in both nationalist and ethnic terms will be explored in Chapter Four) – to signify the completed tower. At this moment, the excited and relieved crowd enthusiastically cheered, applauded and whistled.

Image 3: A top *casteller* giving a four-fingered salute representing the Catalan flag (Author's photo, September 2013).

Quiet anticipation and tension soon settled over the *Plaça* again, as a *castell* is not successfully finished until safely dismantled. Dismantling can be the most dangerous part, and, although accidents are rare, serious injuries have been sustained (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016). Towers do often collapse but falls are dampened by the multitude of *castellers* at the 'base', which is often strengthened by spectators who also lean in on the *castellers* and extend the 'safety net' should the tower collapse. The music continued during this stage, which was comparatively rapid, as climbers almost slid vertically down the backs of their team members until hands reached up to help them climb off the base. The *castellers* then seemed to humbly dissipate into the surrounding crowd, and a few minutes later the crowd's chatter again subsided as the next troupe of *castellers* began their performance.

Constructing a *castell* requires high degrees of skill, strength, agility and, crucially, teamwork as the tower often reaches over ten metres high. There are variable elements in the construction of a *castell*, including size, height and the degree of complexity, examples of which can be seen in the Image 1,Image 2 and Image 3. *Castells* usually take place in central *plaças* (squares) of the towns or cities, where spectators gather around to support and watch. Many suburbs and towns have their own troupe of *castellers* who train, perform and compete throughout the year. An annual competition of castells, known as a *Concurs de Castells* takes place inside a stadium in Tarragona, Catalunya (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016).

Image 4: A *castell* during the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 5: A *castell* with saluting child during the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Individuals – both *castellers* and spectators – are passionately and emotionally involved in the performance of *castells*. The look of relief, sometimes even tears, in spectator's faces following the successful completion of a *castell* can demonstrate the emotional investment some individuals place in this. Participants risk their safety and parents risk their children's safety because it really *matters* to them. And what matters is the meaning this represents – the link to what it *means* to be Catalan, to participate in the expression and stimulation of Catalan identity, and the diverse significance this holds for individuals. There is a deep recognition by Catalan people that this is part of differentiating Catalan identity, and it can hold a great deal of significance and importance for those who participate and watch. There is vibrancy, excitement and energy in the performing of *castells*, but also a sense of risk and struggle – both literally and figuratively – as they are involved in the processes of creating and sustaining a distinct Catalan ethnic identity, one that, in part, fears being overwhelmed, ignored or reduced by dominant Spanish society.

For Martí, the *castell* "*symbolises a lot*", including "*strength, courage and working together as a community, supporting each other to achieve a goal*". He perceived the *castell* as being *"a symbol of Catalan society*", a society in which tasks and outcomes are achieved as a collective group, with members working collaboratively, using their fortitude, courage and trust in each other. The slogan for *castellers*, composed by Josep Anslem Clavé[8], is '*força, equilibri, valor i seny*', translated as 'strength, balance, bravery and common sense' (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016). There is an interweaving of different symbols and meanings, including the four-fingered salute representing the Catalan 'national' flag, and individuals will take varied levels of personal and group significance from the performance. *Castells* are understood by some to signal Catalan identity as different and unique, however not all Catalans are *castellers* and not all *castellers* identify as ethnically Catalan. The *castell* provides an example which demonstrates that cultural practices are neither responsible for the creation of a boundary nor do they denote ethnic group membership but serve instead as a cultural marker of ethnic identity. Although this cultural performance incorporates the common nationalist symbol of the flag, the general meaning of the *castell* is not grasped through the model of nationalism. Nationalism and ethnicity co-create and often use the same markers and symbols to construct their identity.

The descriptions in the program of the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè* provide an insight into the way that *castells* are perceived as a unique and 'traditional' Catalan practice. *Castells* were included under the program section headed "*The great festival of tradition*", and the opening page of the guide, which describes the annual festival, begins:

> *Fire-breathing dragons, human towers, great circus talents and street art, sounds of Catalunya and the world... If you had the fortune to schedule your trip to the Catalan*

[8] Josep Anslem Clavé i Camps was a Catalan politician, composer and author, and was the founder of the Catalan choral movement in 1850 (Molina & Pages 2010).

capital during the celebrations of Mercè you will have the opportunity to discover the most authentic soul. During these days Barcelona is filled with music, party, fireworks, street arts and traditions in an unusual blend that not only show the most modern and creative city, but also offers the possibility to explore traditions that mark the character of the Catalans in general and Barcelona in particular. (Translated from the original *Català*)

Image 6: Front cover and opening page of the program for the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè*. The first paragraph is translated above.

Castells were first popular in the south of Catalunya, principally around Tarragona in the 18th Century with the first known documentation from 1770 (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016). The middle of the 19th Century was named a 'golden age' of the *castells,* which was followed by a decline in the early 1900s, partly due to immigration from other parts of Spain to Barcelona for employment opportunities as Catalunya's industrial

production increased (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016). There followed a short-lived period of revival during the *Renaixença* (a period of renaissance that will be explored in relation to place and architecture in Chapter Five), which then ceased during the Spanish Civil War and the early years of the Franco dictatorship, which deliberately suppressed expressions of Catalan identity including cultural practices, language and self-governing institutions (Richards 1998). Between 1981 and 1993 there was another *castell* 'golden age'. Innovative and more daring constructions increased the popularity of the *castells*, which received greater media attention and helped the 'tradition' expand through the whole region of Catalunya (Castells – Catalan Human Towers 2016). Today, *castells* are an appealing activity both for performers and spectators, often viewed as a *hallmark* and popular expression of a unique Catalan identity. In 2010, UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage declared that *castells* belonged to the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, a list of "those intangible heritage elements that help demonstrate the diversity of this heritage and raise awareness about its importance" (UNESCO 2010). In this way, there has been degree of official recognition of the 'uniqueness' of this Catalan cultural practice as making a contribution to human diversity.

The self-fashioning of Catalan identity is looking towards 'the past', especially to 'traditions', but also has a modern orientation and drive. Catalan ethnic identity is engaged in dialogue with 'the past' via meanings that have become imbued in objects, events, places and practices, and is being actively and vividly appropriated by, and in, the present. Catalan ethnic identity over the centuries transforms with this sense of being forward-looking, progressive and creative and relevant to people now and in the future, and not as a stable and sacrosanct legacy. *Castells* as a cultural 'tradition' is highly meaningful as it is transformed within the constraints and agendas of the present, and demonstrates the creativity, inventiveness and passions of Catalan people.

Castells are a cultural feature that is asserted and promoted as uniquely Catalan and can be explored as part of the ethnogenesis process. However, it is not a diacritical feature of Catalan ethnic boundaries. *Castells* do not form a central element of Catalan ethnic identity, that is, one need not *be* a *casteller*, or participate in *castells,* in order to *be* Catalan. For some individuals, being a member of a troupe of *castells* is an important part of *being* Catalan. Engaging in c*astells* can, but need not, affect ethnic feeling and solidarity. Although it does not *create* the boundary, the *castell* can be significant when people make it so, and it can be used as a point of solidarity and ethnic mobilisation. People come to connect with, locate themselves through, and rally around certain cultural markers. *Castells* do not operate as a central indicator of ethnic belonging or the ethnic boundary, but are currently practiced as a cultural form that demonstrates Catalan difference and can be used as a *symbol* of Catalan identity.

Conclusion

Ethnicity is a valuable theoretical lens through which we can advance understandings regarding the processes that form human identities and connections, including how relations are defined and managed, how people themselves think about, discuss and perform their group and individual identities, and "how particular worldviews are being maintained, contested and transformed" (Eriksen 2010: 2). Barth's (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* marked an epic shift in the study of ethnicity. Barth's (1969a) rich analyses, insights and acute perceptions were seminal in promoting the on-going view that ethnic groups and their boundaries are relational, interactional and situational. The ethnogenesis concept has further encouraged a view of ethnicity as dynamic, transformative and enduring, as groups change and respond to the broader social, political and economical challenges of the time.

Ethnicity theory is valuable for this study because it enables outsiders to appreciate the tensions and ambiguities rather than collapsing them into neat but ultimately falsifying categories. Although I engage with nationalism throughout the thesis, I propose that there are limits to the usefulness of nationalism as the sole grid through which to understand Catalan identity constructions. If we only rely on nationalism to understand Catalan identity construction we can miss out on a greater appreciation of the uncertainties, conflicts and pluralities of everyday lived experiences. Experiential tensions are vital sources of what is taking place and ethnicity theory is resisting attempts to iron these out.

The example of *castells* demonstrated a strategic selection and ongoing promotion of a particular cultural performance in asserting Catalan difference, uniqueness and cultural forms that ethnic members can mobilise behind, but does not *define* the ethnic boundary. Similarly, the following chapter focuses on *Català* as a prime resource for Catalan identity construction, one that is often understood as expressing and motivating Catalan ethnicity as it mobilises against both historic and present day reductive inclusion into dominant Spanish society.

CHAPTER THREE
"LANGUAGE IS NON-NEGOTIABLE"

Català (the Catalan language) is passionately used, contested, politicised, economically valuable and variously constrained. In this chapter I will demonstrate through ethnographic examples that language is a fundamental strategy in Catalan ethnogenesis. All participants in my study agreed that *Català* was central to the Catalan identity now and over time, with comments including *"the language is a trademark"* (Ramon); Catalans are *"recognised mainly because of the language"* (Ramon); *"Catalan language is key for the identity system"* (Maria); and "*the key issue for Catalan identity is the preservation of the language*" (Tomàs). Although a popular understanding is that "a Catalan is a person who uses Catalan in a native-like way as a first, home, and/or habitual language" (Woolard 1989: 39), this definition obscures the complexities, ambiguities and exceptions to language as a marker. Ethnicity, as a framework that is interested in 'identity-as-process', allows the diversity of experience, the understandings of levels of significance and the tensions of the struggle to produce Catalan identity to come into view, as I explore language as a contested cultural site rather than something that directly constitutes Catalan ethnic identity.

Language is an inescapable medium of public and private life. As a mode of constructing sameness and difference, language is central to most ethnic and national identifications, frequently serving as emblems or symbols of such identification (Brubaker 2015: 5). Modern *Català* was formalised and codified in the 12th Century (Woolard 1989: 16). A Romance language distinct from Castilian and French, *Català* has been both the target of repression and a driving force for social and cultural resistance, rejuvenation and expansion, forming a central part of a 'unique' Catalan identity (Laitin 1989). The

persistence and continuation of *Català* and its contemporary widespread use "*against all odds"*[9] is testament to the importance it plays in the struggle for significance and survival of Catalan ethnicity. The grounds upon which the case for the importance of *Català* is made are not centred exclusively on an external political or nationalist agenda, but instead the language is seen to be a central part of a 'unique' Catalan identity, and worth passionately promoting and defending. That said however, just as using *Català* is not an unequivocal marker of ethnic belonging, language in Catalunya is not always inflected with potential for ethnic friction.

I Naming: "*What's in a name*"

Before I discuss the use of *Català* as a mode through which Catalan ethnic identity is fashioned and contested, I wish to analyse a number of events that I witnessed that became indicative of language, in this case specifically names, as a highly visible and socially significant marker of Catalan ethnic identity. My examples show an understanding that "names…can offer cues to ethnic category membership" (Brubaker *et al.* 2006: 220). A name can both differentiate us as an individual and join us a member of a society. When socially relevant, a name can provide information about one's identity by potentially indicating gender, class, community, 'race' and ethnicity (Brubaker *et al.* 2006).

During my fieldwork in Catalunya, research participants, friends, colleagues and acquaintances regularly placed a significant amount of emphasis on names. They would often inform me that particular names were *"typical*" or "*very Catalan*" names. New acquaintances were frequently introduced as "*having a very Catalan name*" or "*being very*

[9] "*Against all odds*" is a common statement I encountered in news articles and everyday conversations with participants, and largely references a tumultuous history of *Català*.

Catalan". At a university conference I was introduced to a colleague with the opening statement: "*you won't get a more Catalan name than Martina's*", referring to this woman's 'very' Catalan surnames. Granted, some of the personal introductions I experienced would have been inflected with assumptions by those research participants and colleagues about my research interests, as I had situated myself as an outsider exploring Catalan identity expression. Although these introductions might have been exaggerated somewhat, my research suggests that this labeling and ordering people into groups via their first or last names is a common form of Catalan ethnic boundary marking.

On one occasion I was having lunch in a restaurant with Martina and Alma. The two women, friends as well as colleagues at a local university, began to discuss[10] the start of the second season of a popular television drama called *Polseres Vermelles*[11] (literally 'Red Bracelets', referring to the wrist tags worn by a group of teenage inpatients in a hospital set in Barcelona). Martina had viewed the first season of the series and Alma followed the show because her two children enjoyed watching it. Alma commented that not only were all the characters' first names "*very Catalan*", but the actors' real names were also "*mostly very Catalan*". The six main characters of the show were Lleó, Jordi, Cristina, Ignasi, Toni and Roc. The actors who played these characters were Àlex Monner, Igor Szapakowski, Joana Vilapuig, Mikel Iglesias, Marc Belaguer and Nil Cardoner (TV3 2013). Alma said that she jokingly told her children that they would have to find a different career, because "*with their Spanish names they won't be able to work in television in Catalunya!*".

Although the show's credits provided one given name and one surname for each actor, Catalan naming actually follows a custom common throughout Spain of having a given

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[10] Although this conversation was conducted in English to enable my participation, the topic of the conversation was spontaneous and not conducted for my benefit.

[11] *Polseres Vermelles* aired on Catalan television network TV3, and ran for two seasons - 2011 and 2013.

name followed by two family surnames. A number of research participants explained the Catalan naming convention to me: the first surname is the first surname from the father, and the second surname is the first surname from the mother. In *Català* these two surnames are joined with 'i' ('and') rather than the 'y' (and) that is used in Castilian. On separate occasions, research participants Marta and Maria informed me that there is a history of individuals and whole families who changed their names during the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent Franco dictatorship to sound and appear *more* Spanish and therefore *less* Catalan. This demonstrates the understanding that *Català* has in the past been an indicator of identity, and in this case Franco's dictatorship perceived *Català* (along with Catalan institutions and cultural practices) as a manifestation of a unique identity and thus in opposition to Spanish supremacy (Wright 2004; Castells 2004; Woolard 1989). The situation regarding names has been reversing over the past few decades as names are being re-'Catalanised' including reinserting the adjoining 'i' between the two surnames. This is supported by the *Generalitat* in official policies including Act No. 1 of the 7th January 1998 Linguistic Policy, Chapter II, Denomination, Article 19, which states that: "The citizens of Catalonia are entitled to use their forenames and surnames written in a regulatory correct manner, and to use the conjunction "i" between their surnames" (*Generalitat* 1998). Marta and Núria both told me that individuals are also choosing to switch the order of their surnames so that the "*more Catalan 'sounding' one*" (Marta) is the first surname, and therefore continued to the next generation.

During the conversation about the television series, Martina and Alma questioned whether it would have been possible for *all* the actors (excluding one, as Martina pointed out[12], with "*a Russian name*") to have their names as strongly Catalan names. They commented that the names for the characters in the television series must have been a "*deliberate choice*" by the writers wanting to create a 'Catalan' show for the Catalan

[12] It can also be noted that Mikel Iglesias is perceived as a more common Spanish name.

network TV3. However, they questioned whether it was a coincidence or something "*more strategic*" that the actors' real names were also "*very Catalan*". They discussed whether the directors and producers had an active bias to make the show "*seem even more Catalan*" by including these additional markers of Catalan identity. Martina pointed out that most people in Catalunya, due to a history of interacting and mixed marriages over centuries, "*have a Spanish surname*" in full or in part. She thought it highly unusual for a television show, even one made in Catalunya, to consistently have the main actors with 'very' Catalan first *and* surnames. Alma told me that this show had been "*incredibly popular*" in Catalunya and had been exported around the rest of Spain (the second season started about one week before this discussion), with dubbing in Castilian Spanish.

The significance of these proceedings is multiple. The way in which the women perceived and interpreted the situation demonstrated an awareness of ethnic difference as it operates in Catalunya in terms of names being a feature and marker of group belonging. The interaction between Martina, who somewhat reluctantly conceded she is nominally Catalan (although dislikes the restrictions she sees the often binary identity labels as imposing) and Alma, who identifies as Spanish, was not structured along ethnic lines. Knowledge of language tensions and a dichotomy between Catalan and Spanish identities informed their views, however the interaction itself was not ethnicised and their views did not correlate with their own 'nominal' ethnic categories. Both women jointly speculated that there is a bias or preference in terms of job opportunities in Catalunya provided to those with 'Catalan sounding' names, thus recognising the undercurrent of ethnic differentiation implied through names. Simultaneously, however, they were locating an understanding in the identity distinction between Catalan and Spanish people via their names by inferring that the actors with 'very' Catalan names were *not* (or could be widely perceived as not) Spanish. They surmised that all except the 'Russian boy' were Catalan *because of* their names. Martina and Alma were complicit in this ethnicised view of names, agreeing that names 'mean something' relevant to ethnic classification in Catalunya.

The above conversation between Martina and Alma prompted other memories about the significance of names and the identification inferred from names. Martina recalled her Grandfather "*Catalanising*" her Spanish school friends' names. Martina's family has lived for generations in a small village near Barcelona. When Martina as a child attended the local school, she would play with her friends in the village square. Her grandfather would stand on the balcony of his apartment overlooking the centre square. When he saw Martina he would call down to her, inquiring with whom she was playing. He would ask Martina for her friend's first name and surnames. After a grunt and a pause…..and satisfied "*ahhh*"…..he would repeat the child's name, but 'Catalanised', that is, giving a more Catalan-*sounding* version of the child's Spanish name. Often the child would later ask Martina why her grandfather called him/her a different name and, feeling embarrassed, Martina would make an excuse, often that her Grandfather had simply not heard correctly.

This account demonstrates Martina's awareness, as well as her Grandfather's, of the different weight, meaning, assumptions and value that a name can carry. The distinction between Spanish and Catalan identities were highlighted for Martina via her grandfather's act of distorting the child's name. Although her grandfather did not stop her from associating with children who had Spanish names, by altering and somewhat assimilating their names into *Català* he, in effect, highlighted their difference and indicated names as a marker between Catalan and Spanish identities. He was assuming, based on their names, that they were either not Catalan or were not *sufficiently* Catalan. In this situation 'Catalanising' names by applying a slight twist to the actual name of the child, and specifically distorting their Spanish names, is an act of marking social difference and an act of resistance by subverting a marker of Spanish identity into one of Catalan identity. Martina's grandfather had actively participated in the process of highlighting social categories, and in a way, transgressing the boundaries between Catalan and Spanish ethnicities by showing that, by a slight name change, an identity, or rather a perceived identity, can be altered.

Names and identity are intimately connected in Catalunya. Núria and Xavi are self-identifying "*proud Catalans*" in their thirties who live northwest of Barcelona in a small town where they both grew up. They were key research participants who generously showed me around their town, introduced me to family and friends, and took me to experience places, foods and events they felt were important to their identity as Catalan people and/or to the history and ongoing development of Catalan society. Continuing this focus on the significance of names, while visiting Núria and Xavi, I saw on their refrigerator door a photograph of a young girl. On being told she was their niece and her name was Alma, I commented that I had not heard that name before. Núria and Xavi explained that Xavi's brother and his wife, as well as some other friends of theirs, have been attempting to choose names for their children that are definitively Catalan names that have no equivalent in Castilian. The "*best option*", they asserted, is to choose names that exist only in *Català*. The second best option is to choose names that are the same in *Català* as in Castilian, that is, without spelling or pronunciation differences. The significance of having a Catalan name is directly connected with locating yourself or your family as 'being' Catalan *rather* than Spanish. By way of rationalisation Núria gave her own name as an example. Núria explained that she finds it very frustrating when her Spanish colleague deliberately writes her name using the Castilian spelling of 'Nuria' even though she corrects him every time. For Núria this error is understood to be deliberate rather than accidental, and as such results in feelings of being disrespected, and a misrepresentation of her identity.

The names that parents choose for their children, in the above case, can keenly reflect the relationship between a name and an identity. It reveals an awareness of the link to a sense of personal identity that can be communicated through a name. I do not wish to infer that all Catalan parents are using the above naming priorities. However, these examples provide evidence that names *can* be important to ethnic membership (Brubaker *et al.* 2006: 220) when made socially significant and the common understanding that names are a useful and important reference for Catalan ethnic identity. Nevertheless, employing

names and language to signify ethnic identity is never completely reliable. Indeed early in my research I attached more significance to names than was necessarily accurate.

Javier was the chef at a cooking course I completed one day in Barcelona. Walking through the streets of the *Barri Gotic* (the old Gothic Quarter of the city) from the *Mercat de la Boqueria* (a large and popular market) I asked Javier where he was from, and he replied by asking me where I thought he was from. I answered that I was uncertain but did not think he was from Catalunya. He responded by asking me why I thought that he was not Catalan. I replied because his given name was not, to my mind, 'very Catalan' and was not pronounced in a 'Catalan' way. He said this was correct, that he was Basque but that he "*could be Catalan*". In Barcelona he preferred to use the Castilian version of his name because it was "*easier for all the tourists*". In *Català* his name would be Xavier (often shortened to Xavi), but in Euskera (Basque language) was Xzavier. This interaction was a potent reminder that a name does not define identity or predetermine ethnic membership. There is no one definite feature, such as his or her name, that identifies someone as Catalan. Javier demonstrated his understanding that a name does signify to others something about one's identity but that this is not a fail-safe guide.

As these examples substantiate, names and their spelling, display or pronunciation are laden with inferred meaning about identity and ethnic membership. Names are not, however, automatically or reliably imbued with the ethnic identity of the holder. My research findings are consistent with those of Brubaker *et al*.'s (2006: 217-223) research with Hungarian respondents in Transylvania, that names are a common but not a guaranteed indicator of ethnic membership.

II Normalisation and Standardisation

To speak, in many social contexts, is to mark a social position (Bourdieu 1991: 54) and there can be differences in official, informal, public, private, written and oral uses of a language and their associated 'social values'. The 'social value' of a language can reflect broader beliefs, hierarchies and attitudes, and is important to its continuation, production and reproduction:

> The social uses of language owe their specifically social value to the fact that they tend to be organised in systems of differences…which reproduce, in the symbolic order of differential deviations, the system of social differences. To speak is to appropriate one or other of the expressive styles already constituted in and through usage and objectively marked by their position in a hierarchy of styles which expresses the hierarchy of corresponding social groups. These styles, systems of differences which are both classified and classifying, ranked and ranking, mark those who appropriate them. (Bourdieu 1991: 54)

Different social values are generated, assumed and exhibited through language (Bourdieu 1991). Language in the Catalan context is imbued with meaning and understandings that can signal other social values. Languages can be central to ethnicity because they are marked and mark, they both signal certain ideologies, values and practices, and they can identify people as belonging to a particular group. Language contributes to self-identity and recognition by others through shared codes and understandings. Language is more than a direct mode of communicating, "language represents…a system of codes, crystallising historically a cultural configuration that allows for symbolic sharing without worshipping of icons other than those emerging in the communication of everyday life" (Castells 2004: 52). Language can be a more flexible boundary marker than other characteristics such as ancestry because it is acquired and can be less fixed. Language is one cultural characteristic whose use can perpetuate the 'Us' and 'Them' dichotomy (Barth 1969a) at play between Catalan and Spanish ethnicities.

In 1906, the 'First International Congress of the Catalan Language' was held and the following year the *Insitut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute of Catalan Studies, IEC) was founded in Barcelona (Woolard 1989: 24; Molina & Pages: 166). The purpose of the Institute of Catalan Studies was then, and remains now, to conduct research on, promote and develop Catalan culture (Molina & Pages: 166). Initially it sought to contribute to this venture by standardising *Català* including establishing grammar and spelling norms that became the foundation of modern written *Català*. The Institute of Catalan Studies worked surreptitiously during the Franco dictatorship until its official role was restored in 1991.

The construction of a "standard language" (Bourdieu 1991:48) or "legitimate language" (Bourdieu 1991: 45, 58-60) employs language professionals in the pursuit and maintenance of a conventional linguistic form. The creation "of instruments of production, such as rhetorical devices, genres, legitimate styles and manners are, more generally, all the formulations destined to be 'authoritative' and to be cited as examples of 'good usage' "(Bourdieu 1991: 58). The language that becomes imbued with authority is not objective, but shaped and controlled by institutions that work to create the 'legitimate' form that becomes established as 'normal' and 'proper' with acceptable levels of deviation. Institutions such as the Institute of Catalan Studies are 'instruments of production' that are important to "ensure the permanence of the legitimate language and of its value, that is, of the recognition accorded to it" (Bourdieu 1991: 58). The value of a language and its continuation is not assured simply by existing at any one time, rather this occurs through the struggles between the different authorities which compete to impose the legitimate mode, often through the education system. In Chapter Six I show that Catalan nationalism has been effective in supporting and promoting the use of *Català*, and I explore the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism as they co-construct by using language as an emblem or symbol of Catalan identification.

Despite the public suppression of *Català* and the imposition of Castilian Spanish during the Franco dictatorship, *Català* remained for many Catalans the language of family and

private life. As identified in the Introduction, Laitin (1989), Woolard (1989) and Wright (2004) all assert that the Francoist ideology of authoritarian control, with the aim of a unitary Spain and Spanish identity, failed somewhat in the Catalan context and instead *Català* became a symbol of resistance, democracy and freedom of the Catalan people in Catalunya (Laitin 1989: 303). For Catalan ethnogenesis, that which was denied and repressed could more readily be called upon as points of difference and elements of the identity to mobilise behind. *Català* has become, as Castells asserts, a "trench of cultural resistance" (2004: 56). It was understood by all of my participants as part of Catalan identity now and over time, even through periods of repression and decline.

The use of *Català* fell sharply after the 1930s and during the Franco dictatorship. Figure 4: Graph of Spoken *Català*, cited in Rendon (2007:671).is a graph from Rendon (2007: 671) illustrating the changing percentages of the population who spoke *Català* in each of the regions of *Països Catalans.* From 1930 to 1975 the level fell in Catalunya from 75% to 60%; in Valencia from 75% to 55%; and in the Balearic Islands from 90% to 75%. Due to different policy trajectories and implementations in these regions, the percentages continued to fall between 1975 and the mid 1990s in both Valencia (down to 50%) and the Balearic Islands (down to just above 65%), while spoken competency in Catalunya increased rapidly to return back to the initial 75% in 1995 (Rendon 2007: 671).

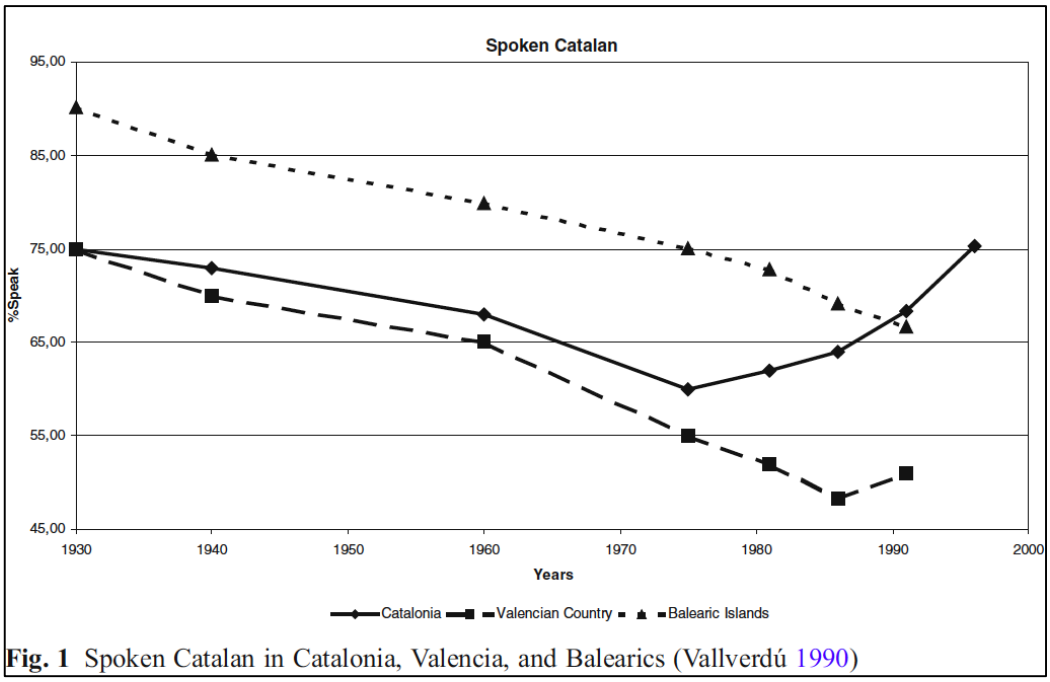

Figure 4: Graph of Spoken *Català*, cited in Rendon (2007:671).

In 1983 the *Generalitat* set in place the framework for *Català* as the main language of education, public administration and public media, and promoted *Català* as the 'normal' language for both public and private use by adopting the 'Law of Linguistic Normalisation'. This policy was not only directed at migrants to learn *Català* for assimilation purposes but for local Catalan people to "become more proficient in the use of their own language" (Rendon 2007: 670). People schooled in Catalunya during 1939-1975 had not been formally taught to read and write *Català*. Subsequently, Castilian Spanish was progressively replaced by *Català* as the principal language of instruction in primary, middle and secondary schools. In 1998 the Catalan Parliament approved the 'Law of Linguistic Policy' which extended laws regarding the presence of *Català* to domains such as privately-owned media, cultural industries, information technology, client services in business, consumer information, signposting and civil and commercial contracts (Rendon 2007). These two laws will be discussed further in Chapter Six regarding language policy

as a strategy for building a Catalan national identity and the benefits for Catalan ethnogenesis.

The *Generalitat's* 1983 'Law of Linguistic Normalisation' and 1998 'Law of Linguistic Policy' not only promoted but also sought to institutionalise the 'normal' learning and use of *Català* in Catalunya, seeking to gradually reverse the trend of the falling rates of *Català* competency (Rendon 2007). Taylor (1994: 52-53) outlined a similar situation in the Canadian province of Quebec, whereby claims to safeguard cultural and ethnic uniqueness in the form of linguistic laws around French have been made by Québécois living in Quebec. Québécois have argued that cultural survival, and particularly the survival of the French language in Quebec, require distinct policies that will ensure "that there is a community of people here in the future that will want to avail itself of the opportunity to use the French language. Policies aimed at survival actively seek to create members of the community, for instance, in their assuring that future generations continue to identify as French-speakers" (Taylor 1994: 58-59). A number of laws regarding language use relevant to schooling, commerce and advertising have been passed in Quebec.

Although *Català* and Castilian are co-official languages in Catalunya, only part of the population is bilingual. Data from the 2011 census collated by the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* (Idescat, Statistical Institute of Catalunya) (2011) demonstrated that for the population of Catalunya aged 2 years and over (7.3 million people), 73.2% can speak, 55.8% can write, 78.7% can read and 95.2% can understand *Català*. Statistics for the population over 15 years in 2013 showed that 80.4% can speak *Català* and 99.7% can speak Castilian; 60.4% can write *Català* and 95.9% can write Castilian; 82.4% can read *Català* and 97.4% can read Castilian; and 94.3% understood *Català* and 99.8% understood Castilian. In addition, statistics for language use for those aged 15 years and over in 2013 were given as: for 31% *Català* is the first language; for 55.1% it is Castilian; and for 2.4% of the population it is both. In terms of the language of habitual usage in everyday life, 36.3% predominately used *Català,* 50.7% predominately used Castilian, and 6.8% used

both (Idescat 2013). Regarding the language of *identification*, 36.4% identified with *Català*, 47.5% with Castilian, and 7% with both (Idescat 2013). This data shows that in Catalunya, *Català* proficiency is not guaranteed and even those who can speak and understand *Català* may not regard it as the language with which they identify, given that over 80% can speak, read or write *Català* but only 36.4% identified with and 36.3% predominately used *Català*. The strong correlation between those who choose to habitually use and those who identify with *Català* will be further explored in Chapter Eight.

Wright (1999, 2004) and Rendon (2007) agree that it is nearly impossible to maintain symmetrical bilingualism, and indeed "functional differentiation and diglossia [is] the only feasible way to maintain societal bilingualism" (Wright 2004: 214). Diglossia is the widespread existence within a society of sharply divergent formal and informal varieties of a language (including dialects and different languages), each used in different social contexts or for performing different functions. In Catalunya the influx of large numbers of Spanish migrants from the 1920s to 1960s, "together with the decades-long absence of all public and formal use of Catalan [during the Franco dictatorship], had allowed diglossia to institutionalise" (Rendon 2007: 672), with Castilian being the dominant language. During the Franco dictatorship the public and official use of *Català* was repressed and restricted to the private domain of family, while Castilian was used for education, in the formal and public sectors, and in published literature. The use and appropriation of language can reflect and encourage uneven social values and power relations, and two or more languages rarely have the same social value.

Although Castilian Spanish is generally perceived as the dominant language, there are particular situations in which *Català* has greater social value. Rendon used census data from 1991 and 1996 to "measure the contribution of knowing Catalan to finding a job in Catalonia" (2007: 669). Rendon's interrogation of the census data drew him to conclude that there is an advantage, which he termed the "positive Catalan premium" (2007: 669), to reading and speaking (3-5 percentage points) and additionally writing (2-6 percentage

points) *Català* when it comes to gaining employment in Catalunya. This, Rendon concluded, demonstrates the "economic value of knowing Catalan in Catalonia for an individual" (2007: 669)[13].

Agustí Alboberro i Pericay[14], the Director of the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya* (Catalan History Museum, MHC) in Barcelona, Professor of History at the University of Barcelona and self-identifying Catalan, perceived the class and language situation as:

> *in contrast with other countries in Europe, Catalonia has a very large and porous middle class, penetrable. And this urban middle class has always used Catalan as the vehicle language. This hasn't happened in any of the other nations-without-states in Europe. Therefore immigrants they have normally understood that the best way for their kids to make it in Catalan society is to learn Catalan as a language. In order to have access to equal opportunity you need Catalan. It is defined as such. It is also the key to the integration of immigrants into Catalonia*.

According to Agustí's comment and similar comments from other research participants, greater opportunities are provided to those who adequately assimilate via learning *Català*. I will further explore in Chapter Eight how learning and using *Català* as an 'outsider' has complex and ambiguous meanings and outcomes for belonging and establishing boundaries of Catalan ethnicity.

Frekko's research with language professionals found that class relations were typified via the use of *Català* and Castilian Spanish – "Talk about and representations of language in Catalonia tend to contrast middle-class people (a.k.a. Catalan speakers) with working-

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[13] Rendon (2007) did not place a monetary figure on this 'economic value'.

[14] This participant has not been given a pseudonym due to his engagement in his official capacity as director of a prominent museum and his wish to be named.

class people (a.k.a. Castilian speakers)" (2009: 83). Frekko (2009: 83) provided the example of a taxi driver, commonly seen as a working-class job where the typically male worker speaks little *Català* with bad grammar and poor pronunciation. Earlier research by Woolard had similar findings: "within the economic order of Barcelona [that] language is strongly associated with the working class, and particularly the unskilled sectors where southern immigrants and their offspring are concentrated. The higher one moves on the economic scale, the more frequently Catalan is likely to be the spoken language" (1989: 95). Although my research was not able to further explore this class-based aspect of language (the majority of my participants were from middle socio-economic backgrounds), the above section demonstrated that there are complexities to the social and economic value accorded to *Català,* and as I explore below, a passionate struggle for the recognition and social value of *Català* continues to take place.

III Language-Switching Norm

One late afternoon, I was interviewing Ramon, a retired physician, in his apartment in Barcelona. His wife, an academic working at a local university, joined us to assist Ramon with his English. Ramon was born in the Spanish region of Extremadura and moved as a child to the city of Manresa in Catalunya when his father, a Spanish military man, was relocated. Ramon later moved to Barcelona for university study and employment. During our interview Ramon described a 'language-switching norm' operating in Catalunya:

> *with Catalan people, if talking with them, if they see that you are not Catalan-speaking or your Catalan is not very good then they turn quickly to Spanish…because they think you are going to understand them better…they don't keep - there are always exceptions - they don't keep speaking Catalan.*

As the previous statistics demonstrated, the shared co-officiality of *Català* and Castilian Spanish does not equate with the population of Catalunya being equally fluent in, nor

choosing to habitually use, both languages. Thus there is a common language norm operating in Catalunya, as described above by Ramon. This convention generally expects a *Català* speaker to defer to Castilian Spanish in social situations where one party has a lower or no competency in *Català*.

Many research participants referred to "*the switch*" as a demonstration of Catalan "*good manners*" (Andreu). I was told on several occasions that switching to Castilian with another, who it is presumed will not understand *Català*, demonstrates Catalan "*politeness*", "*manners*" and "*respect*". This finding concurs with Brubaker *et al.*'s (2006: 251) assertion that it is part of the generally- accepted and mutually-understood language ideology that bilinguals should accommodate monolinguals by using the shared language. Woolard (1989) claimed, however, that this 'accommodation' can also demonstrate asymmetry and, in this case, the accepted dominance of Castilian Spanish. The linguistic behaviours of both Catalan and Spanish ethnic communities accept a consistent norm that accommodates Castilian Spanish. Atkinson explains that "where one of two languages benefits consistently from strategies of convergent accommodation, this suggests that it enjoys a status…. [of] a dominant, majority one" (2000: 196). The values that become assigned and imbued with a particular language can influence whether individuals and groups choose to learn and use it, switch to it in interactions and/or change their habitual language (Woolard 1989). The expectation to switch languages from *Català* to Castilian Spanish (even though official statistics indicated that over 90% understand it) is one example of the markedness and minority status of Catalan ethnicity.

A switch, therefore, from *Català* does not merely signify "*good manners*", but can also the accepted dominance of Castilian Spanish, that can provoke displeasure amongst some Catalans. A number of research participants expressed dissatisfaction in that the switching norm undervalued *Català,* and they defended the deliberate choice to sometimes maintain *Català* unless the 'Other' explicitly asked them to speak in Castilian Spanish. On entering a café in a small coastal town south of Barcelona, Marta, a recent university graduate in her

early twenties and self-identifying Catalan, spoke *Català* to the waitress who approached us. After many experiences of my own in cafes, bars and restaurants where my order given in *Català* has been repeated back to me in Castilian Spanish, I asked Marta how she knew that the woman spoke *Català* too, if it was because most people in the town primarily spoke *Català* or if she knew this from previous encounters? Marta replied that the waitress was "*not Catalan*" and was "*from somewhere else*" in Spain, "*but she understands it* [*Català*]". If the waitress was not fluent in *Català* then she knew "*at least enough to understand orders in a café*". Marta added a clarification, quite firmly, that if the waitress (or by implication anyone else) didn't understand, "*she could ask*" Marta to say it in Castilian Spanish. The limit to *not* switching was identified as that point when it was perceived to be "*rude*" because the other person/s could not understand enough *Català* for any communication. This situation with Marta demonstrated that the 'switching-norm' is not immediately applied by everyone and in every context, and that switching instantly can be perceived as acknowledging inferiority or feeling pressured into a deferential position.

Marta understood that it could be perceived as impolite not to 'switch' but also reasoned that some migrants, referring largely to foreign rather than Spanish migrants, want to practice and improve their *Català*. She believed that the instant deference to Castilian Spanish denied them this opportunity. In line with this concern that the 'switch' can be exclusive rather than inclusive, Woolard asserted that "The traditional linguistic etiquette sometimes makes a secret world of Catalan, which may vanish from the hearing of Castilian speakers who are not part of the intimate circle" (1989: 128). The 'switching norm' can limit 'Others'' exposure to *Català* and thus assist in maintaining its subordinate or non-habitual status.

The *Generalitat de Catalunya* is active in encouraging *Català* speakers *not* to switch to Castilian Spanish and is trying to reduce the deference to the ideology norm in an effort to advocate *Català* as the main and dominant medium of public interaction in Catalunya:

> *The organism in charge of the execution and application of these laws which verse upon linguistic policy, as well as the fomenting and promoting of the Catalan language, is the Secretary of Linguistic Policy. With this objective, the organism has, throughout the last twenty-five years, successively started various campaigns of linguistic promotion and awareness which have adapted to the different social situation of Catalan, like for example 'El Català, cosa de tots' (1982), 'Depèn de vostè' (1985-1986), 'Tu ets mestre' (2003), 'Dóna corda al Català' (2005-2007) and 'Encomana el Català' (2009 onwards)*[15]*. The deep aim of all these campaigns, especially the more recent ones, is to avoid Catalan speakers changing, without a justified reason, from Catalan to Spanish when coming face to face with people who the speaker identifies as a non Catalan speaker, who understands or speaks Catalan, and foment the role of Catalan as a common public language and a welcoming language in a region which today has more linguistic diversity than ever before.* (*Generalitat* 2013)

Further discussions on the role and impact of a Catalan nationalist agenda in the promotion of *Català* as a feature of Catalan identity will be presented in Chapter Six.

Switching languages can become an habitual, routine or automatic response rather than *always* a conscious language choice with ethnic undertones (Brubaker *et al*. 2006). Everyday speech practices may or may not be ethnically and politically inflected. Ramon gave thought-provoking examples of when, where and to whom he speaks *Català* and who addresses him in *Català*. Castilian Spanish is the language of his family, however his "*sister addresses me in Catalan but she's a Spanish woman. And my brother-in-law, he's Catalan, he*

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[15] *'El Català, cosa de tots'* (*Català*, a thing for all); '*Depèn de vostè'* (It's up to you); '*Tu ets mestre'* (you are master/teacher); '*Dóna corda al Català'* (Set *Català* in motion); and *'Encomana el Català'* (The *Català* charge).

addresses me in Spanish." The friends he grew up with in Manresa, in Catalunya, always speak together in *Català* regardless of their background and identity. This appears to reflect habit rather than ethnicity. Ramon's examples reinforce that it would be erroneous to infer ethnic status from merely listening to conversation. It is ineffective to rely on cultural traits, of which language is one, to locate an ethnic boundary. Listening to a conversation between people will not always enable an accurate distinguishing of ethnic identities (Brubaker *et al.* 2006: 218-220). The *Català*-Castilian Spanish 'boundary' can be fluid and flexible in some contexts and more rigid in others.

Ramon recognised a sense of solidarity and comfort experienced by Catalan people through language. He gave an example from his professional experience:

> *I, as a doctor in medicine, I…with the patients that they come to me from villages, you could feel that they felt better with me because I was speaking with them in Catalan and joking with them in Catalan, provoking them in Catalan, than for example a doctor, better than I that was perhaps, Spanish speaking because was South American….they feel better with me because of this, the brotherhood of the language….'Brotherhood of the language', I like this…(chuckling).*

Even though the language of Castilian Spanish was also shared, and *Català* was not Ramon's first or habitual language, for some of his patients he perceived a greater level of ease and well-being in using their habitual language. As Brubaker *et al.* comment, "talk is a profoundly embodied activity" (2006: 241). Through language we develop social and cultural understandings, the intricacies of knowledge and interpretation, and

> Comfort is not simply a matter of grammatical mastery…It is about style, rhythm, wit, charm, playfulness, nuance, and spontaneity; it is about relating (and relating to) stories, telling (and understanding jokes), making (and appreciating) allusions. (Brubaker *et al*. 2006: 255)

Similarly, with regard to Hungarians speaking both Hungarian and Romanian in Cluj, Transylvania, Brubaker *et al*. found that "the contrast between the phenomenological ease and comfort involved in speaking one's native language and the unease or discomfort often felt in speaking a language that is not "one's own" is central to Hungarian's experience of ethnicity" (2006: 241). Joking and provocation require understanding of the nuances of language, including what is culturally appropriate. That said however, this does not inevitably result in ethnicity being constantly relevant to everyday experiences (Brubaker *et al*. 2006: 242).

My father, a volunteer rugby referee in Australia, contacted the Catalan Rugby Union Referees Association to inquire about assisting to referee some games while he was visiting me in Barcelona in 2013. Members of the association were welcoming and keen to have an Australian participate[16]. He and I attended a referees meeting (that occur weekly during the season) with approximately 40 people in attendance. This meeting was conducted in both Castilian Spanish and *Català*. The head of the association, Edu, was introduced as having "*a very Catalan name*" by Isabel, a referee who openly self-identified as Catalan. Another senior referee, Miguel, was introduced to us with the qualifying remark that *"he doesn't speak Català"*. Yet another referee who entered the meeting room was identified as originally from Argentina, had lived in Barcelona for 3 years and spoke fluent *Català*. Isabel introduced these referees by locating their language use *and* by implication their identity (she was not, for example also telling us what their occupation was or whether or not they were married[17]). During the hour-long meeting Edu spoke in *Català*, Miguel in Castilian Spanish, and the other referees appeared to speak in the

[16] Although rugby union is played in Catalunya, it has only a small following but is gradually growing in popularity. Football, or soccer, is the 'national' sport in Catalunya and Spain.

[17] I note that Suzanna was aware that I was in Barcelona for research into Catalan identity and this knowledge may have played a part in the information she shared with us.

language they preferred, and a 'switch' was not required nor expected. There was no overt evidence of tension or antagonism. These meetings occurred weekly during the rugby season. Everyone knew each other, attended these meetings regularly, was aware of the social rules and norms. There were no questions for clarification based on language, only regarding the complex rules of the game (Isabel was translating for us).

Ethnic identity was not made overtly relevant during the meeting and nor did the 'switching norm' operate during this interaction. Choosing which language to speak was not necessarily (or interpreted as) demonstrating an ethnic position, having a political message or resulting in conflict. Rather the language used appeared to be the one each individual was most comfortable with in that context.

In their research Brubaker *et al.* (2006) found that some people were unhappy in the workplace when they thought the person should 'switch' languages, and felt left out or talked about because they could not participate. Although this was a genuine concern, Brubaker *et al.* concluded overall that the language ideology and general expectations about everyday language use and communication meant that interactions were largely unproblematic, "rather than a constant source of friction or a continuous vehicle of ethnicity" (2006: 241). Similarly, using *Català* is not in itself an unequivocal gesture of ethnic membership, nor does it indicate constant ethnic tension as this is highly dependent on context. Language in Catalunya is not always inflected with the potential for ethnic conflict and tension. As outlined, the practice of switching languages with strangers, colleagues, friends and family does not always appear to be a site of everyday ethnic friction in Catalunya. Language use does not necessarily reflect or trigger social divisions, as the examples above demonstrated.

IV Language in Education

In the process which leads to the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language, the educational system plays a decisive role. (Bourdieu 1991: 48)

Recent tensions and political debates can illustrate the strategic importance of the education system in *Català* linguistic revival and survival in Catalunya. In September 2011 the Catalan regional government appealed a decision by the High Court of Justice in Catalunya which had ruled that Castilian be given the same importance as *Català* in the classroom (Catalan News Agency 2012a, 2012b) In mid-2012 the government of the Balearic Islands (the region is part of the broader *Països Catalans*) decided to cease using the education model which taught in *Català*, and instead give parents the choice between *Català* and Castilian as the language of instruction in schools. The current governing party of Spain, the *Partido Popular* (Peoples Party, commonly referred to as 'PP'), was at that time also the ruling party in the Balearic Islands. These moves to alter education systems that prioritise *Català* have been seen by many Catalan people, including Maria, Joan and Marta, as an affront to Catalan autonomy and identity, and an attempt to eliminate *Català* from public venues and thus to increase its marginalisation. I spoke to many participants who expressed their distress and disappointment at this ruling and viewed it as an opportunistic push to undermine *Català* by manipulating a small number of parents' requests to change a system that, it is argued, has been "*working effectively*" (Marta). Others considered it as another example of repression by the dominant Spanish government.

Eduard, an older Catalan man who was born in Tarragona in Catalunya and had lived in Barcelona since the age of seven, perceived language as a source of conflict because the "*Spanish state is not accepting the Catalan context*". Eduard described the conflict as emanating from "*a State willing to spread Spanish [Castilian] across the peninsular. That is denying one of the features of Catalan identity*". He saw *Català* as an essential element of

Catalan uniqueness, and perceived that the Spanish state were active in making moves to reduce the teaching of *Català* as a threat to Catalan identity. There appeared to be a distinct fear of history repeating itself, that *Català* has been repressed and denied before and could be again *if* Catalan people did not resist. It was common among my participants who self-identified as Catalan to view *Català* as a source of tension between Catalan and Spanish identities, and Catalan and Spanish politics.

There is ongoing debate regarding the current linguistic model in Catalunya in terms of its ability to achieve a bilingual society and provide the option to be schooled in one's mother tongue. In response, the Catalan government and many Catalan people resist what they perceive as undue Spanish government control, attempts to assimilate and deny an element of their identity. A protest was held one evening in *Plaça de Sant Jaume*[18], Barcelona, against potential moves by the *Partido Popular* to change the education system. It was primarily convened in response to comments from José Ignacio Wert, the national Minister for Education, who stated the government's desire to 'Spanishise Catalan students' by removing *Català* as the vehicle language in schools in Catalunya. The then Catalan Education Minister, Irene Rigau i Oliver, had previously refused to continue a meeting with Wert, declaring that "*language is non negotiable*" (Catalan News Agency 2012b). A common rhetoric in this statement, subsequently repeated at protests, was that there should be no compromises about the prioritised role that *Català* plays in Catalan society and especially in education.

Marta, who has a keen interest in regional and state politics, independence debates and social welfare, invited me to attend this protest with her. On Monday 10 December 2012 we met outside the entrance to the University of Barcelona, and were joined by one Marta's friends, Anna, a self-identifying Catalan and a student at the university. We walked

[18] Discussed in Chapter Four as a specific place for *performing* politics.

towards the central square of *Plaça de Sant Jaume*. The streets and square were festively decorated with Christmas lights. On arriving at the *Plaça*, we waded through a mass of people who had already filled the square and were spilling into the side streets. We moved through the crowd until Marta and Anna decided they had a good vantage point. By standing on my toes I could just see the stage that had been erected in front of the *Ajuntament de Barcelona* (Barcelona City Hall). Throughout the crowd people waved various flags – the Catalan flag (the *Senyera* – to be described in Chapter Four), the Catalan independence flag (the *Estelada* – to be described in Chapter Six), and various banners and balloons for different associations.

Marta informed me that similar protests against proposals to change the education model were also being held in other Catalan cities. According to Marta and Anna there are "*no problems*" with the current language immersion strategy. Anna commented that it "*has worked for over thirty years*" and there was "*no reason to change it*". Together they concurred, "*We don't know anyone who disagrees with it or is unhappy*". This reflected one of the central arguments made in the protest – the assertion that the 'Law of Linguistic Normalisation' is successful and there is 'absolutely no need' to change it. One commonly-cited piece of 'evidence' that the current system is effective and should remain is the claim that school students in Catalunya achieve the same or better proficiency in Castilian Spanish than the other regions in Spain (Rodà-Bencells 2009: 68; Petrovic 2010: 140). This is repeated to counter the argument that Castilian-speaking students are disadvantaged by the model that teaches in *Català*.

Marta translated[19] some parts of the speeches by speakers on the podium, whom she assumed were members of various political parties and educational organisations, as well

[19] I note that Marta was not able to translate everything in a coherent narrative as she was not there primarily to be my translator but to participate and lend her support for the protest.

as recognising a few popular celebrities. Television and radio crews moved through the crowd to capture the event. The crowd of thousands was noisy – chatting amongst themselves – then quieter when people were delivering speeches, cheered in response to speeches, and a few times broke into chants of '*In-inde-independencia*' (this common chant for independence will be further discussed in Chapter Six). At one point the crowd broke into song to sing the Catalan 'national' anthem, *Els Segadors*, and there was a sea of raised arms with many people holding up four fingers, representing the four bars on the Catalan flag.

At one point during the protest, after cheers erupted from the crowd, Marta told me that the speaker was directly congratulating and thanking those people who had been integral to *Català* language continuation during and after the dictatorship. Many older people in the crowd had worked as volunteers to build up language skills, and that countless individuals, especially trained teachers, had worked underground during the dictatorship. It was common for my participants who were in their late 30s and younger (therefore falling into the years when *Català* had been officially reinstated in the education system) to lament that although their parents spoke *Català* perfectly, they were unable to write it well because they were only instructed in Castilian Spanish during their years of schooling. Some, including Marta's mother, chose to formalise their *Català* by studying it later at university. The parents and grandparents of Maria and Joan (both self-identifying Catalans, aged in their mid-thirties who and live with their young family in a rural village in northern Catalunya) did not have any official schooling in *Català* and now find it difficult to write, and make many grammatical mistakes when, for example, writing Christmas or birthday cards. According to Maria, her grandparents are embarrassed by their poor *Català* writing competency but do not wish to write in Castilian Spanish, feeling that Castilian was forced onto them during their education. Maria described them as somewhat "*scared of education*" and they have "*tried to forget Spanish, and prefer to speak Català*". As will be explored further in Chapter Five, past events continue to play a significant role in

the identity struggle that is often manifest in a divide between *Català* and Castilian Spanish.

Marta conveyed another point made at the protest that "*Spain want to reduce cultural difference*". This represents a wariness about nationalist constructions of identity in that they employ a reductionist logic in the search for greater unity. There is a fear amongst some Catalans that a previous state of repression could return and the social value of *Català* would decrease. Some feel this threat acutely and are passionate about the issue, and consider language as key to the survival of Catalan identity historically and contemporaneously. In discussion about the debate regarding the proposal by the Spanish Education system, Maria and Joan were seriously considering sending their then-toddler to school in Andorra, where the only 'official' language is *Català*, should education policies change in Catalunya. Maria and Joan both viewed changes in language instruction in schools, that is, instruction in Castilian Spanish, as a definite possibility although not imminent. For them it is vital their children are instructed in *Català* and learn it as a first language. They perceived the importance of *Català* as central for 'being' Catalan. Maria lamented that not all Catalan families would have the option of sending their children to Andorra, and they both commented that they are in a fortunate geographical location close to the border.

Castells (2004: 50-54) asserted that one of the primary reasons why language is central to Catalan identity is political, in that language enables a mode of expansion that does not conflict with the Spanish state. However, this issue around language education in schools disputes this, in that language *is* an issue of contention and the Spanish state *does* perceive a conflict. The protest in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* provides evidence that language is a key ground for contestation for Catalan ethnogenesis. At stake is linguistic survival connected to the ongoing existence of an ethnic group and the will for a greater level of autonomy to decide the direction of the group's future. The issue of language is indicative of the broader process of ethnic revival and survival. A position of uncertainty and ambiguity in terms of

social and legal recognition can be difficult and distressing for individuals and groups (I further discuss this in Chapter Eight). It is apparent that peoples' hopes and dreams for their lives, both as individuals and as members of groups, can exist in quite precarious socio-political situations with associated feelings of doubt and insecurity.

I will explore further in the following chapters that the efforts of Catalans in asserting and maintaining an identity that is in many ways crafted as distinct from, and sometimes in opposition to, the dominant Spanish identity can be fraught with issues surrounding the validity of this 'uniqueness' as recognised by the state and debates regarding the need for additional rights and protections. As Eduard remarked "*the Spanish side do not tolerate other views on identity*". Eduard's comment reflects the feelings of many research participants regarding the lack of recognition of Catalan identity within Spain, both by the Spanish government and by other Spaniards. This is a concern that I return to in Chapter Six on nationalism and in Chapter Eight when discussing recognition.

Conclusion

The history of *Català* has been turbulent, experiencing multiple episodes of both repression and revival. The most recent institutional repressions, during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), were discussed as continuing to fuel an ongoing struggle to retain and revive the social value of *Català*. In 1979, following the transition from dictatorship to democracy, Catalunya became officially bilingual and the implementation of the 'Law of Linguistic Normalisation' and the 'Law of Linguistic Policy' have been outcomes of fundamental strategies, both cultural and political, to support the social value of *Català* as related to Catalan identity.

A desire by Catalans for the 'survival' of *Català* as a means of everyday communication should not be underestimated. There was a common rhetoric and feeling expressed by my

self-identifying Catalan research participants, as well as in many protests and media reports, that Catalan identity as expressed through language continues to be under attack and must fight to preserve itself. The example of the protest in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* demonstrated that *Català* can be a site of contestation and is a rallying point for Catalan solidarity.

Català is a key marker which summarises perceived differences and boundaries between Catalan and Spanish identities. *Català* has been, and continues to be, a prime symbolic resource for Catalan identity (Woolard 1989), although this, I identified, is not unambiguous. Context and interconnections are crucial for the development and maintenance of ethnic groups and their boundaries. My research findings that *Català* is a key marker of, but does not define, Catalan ethnic identity supports a core component of Barth's (1969a) ethnicity paradigm that a cultural feature can act as a marker of an ethnic group but is by itself inadequate to establish ethnic membership.

CHAPTER FOUR

DRAGONS, ROSES AND FOUR BARS OF BLOOD: SYMBOLISM AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE AND SPACE

> *Now let us close our eyes and, turning within ourselves, go back along the course of time to the furthest point at which our thought still holds clear remembrances of scenes and people. Never do we go outside space. We find ourselves not within an indeterminate space but rather in areas we know or might very well easily localize...*
> (Halbwachs 1950: 15)

Our everyday experiences and interactions with and within space contribute to creating, perpetuating and transforming identity, both individual and collective. We learn about our world and shape our environments through interaction with and in places and spaces rather than in neutral 'indeterminate' expanses. As Halbwachs (1950: 15) states, "Never do we go outside space". Even when recollecting an event or a feeling, in our minds this memory is physically situated, it has a material setting along with a duration in time (Giddens 2006: 143). Although definitions of 'space' and 'place' differ, contemporary authors including Rodman (2003) and Bijoux and Myers (2006), consider that 'places' are the local and everyday settings in which our social interactions occur, as spatial arenas that have an immediate and tangible relation to our situated experiences. 'Spaces' are somewhat more removed or abstract, for example the country as a whole is a space and we cannot interact with it all at one time. Space is notably less 'everyday' (Babacan 2005/2006) yet both place and space have meaning and significance. The importance of these concepts, especially in considering ethnic identity formation, is that there can be no fixed and singular meanings for the spatial arenas we inhabit, rather they are formed and transformed through interaction, practice and performance (Bijoux & Myer 2006). They

can be familiar and overlooked, exciting and wondrous, challenging and oppressive or a combination of these simultaneously, contingent on how they are experienced and interpreted.

I begin this chapter with an exploration of the dimensions of 'place' and 'space' as concepts that are intimately connected with Catalan ethnogenesis. I do not assert that Catalan ethnic identity is reducible to the physical territorial boundaries of Catalunya nor that it is containable in one geographical location. Space is not a static container of or physical boundary for Catalan people, rather space is practiced, created and interacted with and in by Catalans to represent a sense of themselves as 'a people' who respond to a changing world with an awareness and desire to be unique and different. Spaces and places are intimately involved in the construction of identity by shaping and mediating meanings relating to who we were, who we are, and who we want to become.

The title of this chapter references central symbols that help to locate and reinforce the fashioning of a distinct Catalan ethnic identity. 'Dragons and roses' refers to the legend of Saint George[20], known in *Català* as *Sant Jordi*, who slayed a dragon and, on the spot where the blood spilled, a rose grew. 'Four bars of blood' references the legend of the origins of the Catalan flag, the *Senyera*, when four fingers dipped in blood were wiped across a golden shield. Selected examples of the ongoing physical situating of these symbols centre on Barcelona. Barcelona is sometimes called the *cap i casal*[21], which literally translates as 'head and house', relating to the relationship between, and the central importance of, Barcelona to Catalunya. The symbols explored, however, are not restricted to Barcelona.

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[20] Saint George is the patron saint in many other countries and cities, being celebrated in, among others, England, Portugal and Bulgaria, Bavaria in Germany, Genoa in Italy and Beirut in Lebanon.

[21] The title 'cap i casal' is also sometimes used in the region of Valencia to refer to the capital city of the same name.

There is consistency in the deployment of certain identity symbols throughout Barcelona and throughout Catalunya, linking geographically distant places and people to central Catalan narratives. With recurring references to founding myths and legends, Catalan is not, however, a backward looking or nostalgic identity, but engages with contemporary ideas and forms, and appeals for international significance in the ongoing dialectic of constructing a modern identity, one partly shaped through the creative 'social construction' (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003) of space.

This chapter reflects on the ways in which the lived character of space and place emerges in Catalan ethnogenesis. I provide ethnographical examples including diverse uses of *Plaça de Sant Jaume*, a central square in Barcelona, and details of *Modernisme*, a specific Catalan architectural style, to help illustrate that Catalan people affirm an experience of space that is thick with living significance as it is connected with 'the past' through active engagement in the present. The importance of space and place for Catalan ethnogenesis is strongly influenced by the nature of experiences in those spaces and places over time and the meanings that become attached to them. For Catalans, 'the past' is constantly and actively being appropriated in the present, it is neither an immutable legacy nor sacrosanct memory. As well as Catalan ethnicity being constructed in dialogue with 'the past' through using and developing meaningful space and place, I argue that it is very much expressing an orientation towards engaging with being and living as modern and progressive.

I Being in Space and Place

All our interactions occur in time and space, and our memories, even vague ones, also situate us in particular physical settings (Halbwachs 1950:15), which may or may not still exist (Chaitin *et al*. 2009: para 22). We are not present in abstract, empty worlds, but in physical, material, tangible locations. We inhabit and interact in and with places across time that have particular vistas, smells, climates and topographic features. Our

experiences do not exist outside space but are always physically located and the physical place holds significance in both shaping and stimulating memories, tradition, heritage and collective actions. Massey states, "Social relations always have a spatial form and spatial content. They exist, necessarily, both *in* space (i.e. in a locational relation to other social phenomena) and *across* space" (1994: 168, italics in original). A focus on space and place offers an important vantage point for exploring how we negotiate the physical world and how identity is constructed and transformed through these ongoing interactions with and within our environments.

In this chapter's introduction I gave a brief definition of the terms place and space, however they require further clarification regarding their differences and significance. According to de Certeau (1984: 117) "*space is a practiced place"*. That is, 'space' is how 'place' is used, claimed and designated with meaning and 'space' can change depending on how it is appropriated and contested. One space is not always represented in the same way over time and between individuals and groups. Space is dynamic. Bourdieu argues that, "Space can have no meaning apart from practice; the system of generative and structuring dispositions, or habitus, constitutes and is constituted by actors' movements through space" (1977: 214). As claimed by Bourdieu, we call 'space' those spatial arenas in and with which we interact in an everyday way, locales that we come into direct contact with and mutually constitute. 'Space' influences our interactions as we simultaneously shape it.

Bijoux and Myers (2006) give definitions which reverse the terms 'place' and 'space' as used by Bourdieu and de Certeau. They posit that the distinction is:

> between a definition of area that is primarily spatial and one that is socially important. The former is based on some kind of administrative or physical boundary and called 'space'. The latter takes into account the meaning of that particular area for a particular individual or group of people and is called 'place'. (Bijoux & Myers 2006: 45)

In this same vein, Muir and Weissman differentiate space and place thus: "Places are spaces with names, spaces with evocative, multidimensional identities" (1989: 93). Thus we create 'place' by making 'space' meaningful, by associating particular significance with it. Similarly Rodman asserts that places are "politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (2003: 205). Places have different meanings for individuals and groups as they are interpreted in varied ways depending on context and perspective and become associated with certain events, purposes and experiences over time. 'Space' refers to a broader and more conceptual physical entity, whereas 'place' is constructed on a level of more immediate social interaction.

The definitions given above by de Certeau (1984) and Bourdieu (1977) on one side and Bijoux and Myers (2006), Muir and Weissman (1989) and Rodman (2003) on the other, although initially appearing to be in opposition, generally conceptualise the *differences* between 'place' and 'space' in the same ways but with the terms reversed. One term is more general and broad, the other specific and made distinct through practice. They all theorise that the physical spheres in which human interaction occurs should be seen in terms of movement and flux rather than static containers of human activity. Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga articulate this clearly: "Because social practice activates spatial meanings, they are not fixed…but are invoked by actors, men and women who bring their own discursive knowledge and strategic intentions to the interpretation of spatial meanings" (2003: 10).

I follow Muir and Weisman (1989), Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003), Rodman (2003), Bijoux and Myers (2006) and Babacan (2005/2006) in conceptualising 'space' as general whilst 'place' is particular and more everyday. I chose to use the approach of these authors and reverse de Certeau's (1984) framework, employing the understanding that '*Place is practiced Space'*. This is a more contemporary conceptualization than that of de Certeau and Bourdieu and also better reflects the lived experiences of space and place as described by my research participants as well as my own experiences while living in Catalunya.

Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga draw on Foucault, Boudrillard, de Certeau and Deleuze to define 'spatial tactics' as "the use of space as a strategy and/or technique of power and social control…The assumed neutrality of space conceals its role in maintaining the social system, inculcating particular ideologies and scripted narratives" (2003: 30). Although space is often perceived as impartial and unbiased, it is produced by certain ideologies, influences and beliefs which are designed with certain uses and users in mind, and thus encourages certain ways of *being* and *not being* in the space. Lefebvre agrees that there is an "illusion of transparency" (1991: 28, quoted in Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 30) such that we are often unaware of the structures of power and influence that act upon us. Artworks, buildings and landscapes can all participate in "the cultural process of creating human meaning and articulating power" (Agnew & Duncan 1989: 6). Place can thus be created purposefully, according to a deliberate strategy or subliminal notion of how society will, should and can use space, and consequently the level of power, control and influence that can be exerted. We often take it for granted that certain behaviour is appropriate for a particular place or environment, such as being quiet in a library or museum, and do not consider that this understanding has been socially shaped and created. Because the identity of place is "constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretch beyond" (Massey 1994: 171) the physical location, the concept of 'spatial tactics' is useful in considering how spatial form can be employed as a strategy to galvanize, fortify and specific beliefs, behaviours and social goals.

Venues and architecture can be designed and imbued with certain meanings that can exert limitations and control over populations, permissible practices and social behaviour as well as action. Actors, however, are not passive, and in de Certeau's 'Walking in the City' (1984) he demonstrated the possibilities of everyday resistance to spatial forms and showed how we make, reject and re-appropriate place that has been designed *for* us and turn it into 'our' place:

> if it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities…and interdictions…, then the walker *actualizes* some of these possibilities. In that way,

> *he makes them exist as well as emerge.* But he also moves them about and he *invents* others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking *privilege, transform or abandon* spatial elements. (de Certeau 1984: 98, italics not in original)

The pedestrian confirms some of the official planned uses of the place, alters and re-appropriates others and denies others again. A common example is not using designated pedestrian footpaths, but rather walking across parks or grassed areas or over garden beds to make a route more direct. In response to this resistance or transformation of the intended uses, sometimes small barricades such as chains with signs saying 'do not walk on the grass' are erected to try to further curb users' behaviours. Thus there is a negotiation between 'spatial tactics' and the practicing of space. The spatial practices of the city walker do not always adhere to urban planning, but often elude or reject it, while creating alternative places. We regularly use places in quite different ways to those intended for them. For example, the front steps of the Sydney Opera House, Australia, are used for music concerts on rare occasions, rather than purely for people to move from one location to another. The use of the *Ajuntament* building in *Plaça de Sant Jaume,* Barcelona, as a backdrop for a live projection spectacle is a Catalan example of appropriating place that is described later in this chapter. Both physical and social structures and systems of control and influence intersect and interact with individuals and groups, creating and recreating each other in a myriad of ways (de Certeau 1984; Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 32). In this way, the identity of place is also "for ever open to contestation" (Massey 1994: 169). The meanings attributed to places are not stable and therefore can be appropriated in ways for which they were not designed or intended (de Certeau 1984: 98). Drawing on Low (2000), Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) discuss a useful distinction between the physical and material development of space and the symbolic aspects that furnish and transform meaning. 'Social production' is "responsible for the material creation of space as they combine social, economic, ideological, and technological factors" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 20), whereas the 'social construction' "of space defines the experience of space through which 'peoples' social exchanges, memories, images and daily

use of the material setting' (Low 2000:128) transform and give it meaning" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 20). Catalan ethnic identity is partly made and remade through the 'social production' of physically situating symbols, myths and narratives that are 'socially constructed' to be experientially meaningful. In this way, the meaning-making I am focused on in this chapter relates to the lived character of space – how space is interacted with and appropriated in the process of Catalan ethnogenesis and how specific symbols are reproduced in place. Catalan people form a sense of themselves as different, in part, through an active and ongoing dialogue with and in space.

More than physical arenas, places exist in our minds, our memories and our embodied experiences. Embodiment is a "perceptual experience of presence and engagement in the world to understand being-in-the-world" (Dion *et al*. 2011: 312). 'Being-in-the-world' refers to how we perceive and comprehend the world through our lived experiences, which are enabled by interaction through our physical existence. The body (in terms of both our physical and emotional being) is not a detached container soaking up fixed social structures that act upon us and shape us, but is "a mode of experiencing and interpreting the ever changing environment" (Dion *et al.* 2011: 312). How we use and interpret our environment depends upon embodied understandings, that is, how one comprehends and experiences place that is also influenced by past involvements, expectations, sensory engagement with the location and the feelings that the interactions evoke (Bijoux & Myers 2006). 'Embodied space' is a useful concept which underscores "the importance of the body as a physical and biological entity, as lived experience, and as a centre of agency, a location for speaking and acting on the world" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 2). 'Being in place' is a phenomenological experience of interpreting and deriving meanings from interactions with our physical world that furnishes individuals' everyday 'reality'.

As individuals with different backgrounds, histories, preferences, physicality, understandings and 'realities', we each experience place in slightly different ways, and place can thus have varied meanings. Therefore, "the identities of place are inevitably

unfixed" (Massey 1994: 169) because, in part, the way we experience them and "the social relations out of which they are constructed are themselves by their very nature dynamic and changing" (Massey 1994: 169). Places can elicit different experiences depending on many factors, including the interconnections between external factors such as time of day and weather conditions, and social perceptions of safety and shelter. Thus the same place can involve significantly different uses, meanings and interactions. Drawing on theories of the place/space distinction (Massey 1994; Babacan 2005/2006) and the understanding that spaces do not have fixed and bounded meanings and uses, the site of *Plaça de Sant Jaume,* a square in the centre of Barcelona, will be explored as illustrating the variety of significances that the same physical location can become imbued with depending on how it is practiced. In this way I will show that Catalan ethnogenesis takes cues from 'the past' and acknowledges its heritage whilst fashioning a modern and innovative identity.

II *Plaça de Sant Jaume*

> *While the patterns of everyday life may often be regular and routine, the same spaces can be utilised, experienced and perceived in vastly different ways. The places of everyday life are where geographies of the local and the global interface and intertwine and these geographies are constructed and made 'real' by the people living their lives there*. (Bijoux & Myers 2006: 46)

Both identity and place are shaped through interactions and not through a uni-directional relation of making meaning (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 14; Massey 1994: 167). Space can be transformed (short- or long-term) through diverse practice and imbued with different meanings over time. The various ways the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* is practiced and the performances, events and activities that occur within it provide an example of how the same physical location can become imbued with markedly different uses and meanings. These differences demonstrate that space is not simply a vessel for activity and identity

formation, but space is intimately part of how Catalan ethnic identity is lived and transformed. I concluded Chapter Two by introducing the performance of the Catalan 'tradition' of *castells* that I watched during the annual *Festa de la Mercè* in Barcelona. In Chapter Three I included my experience of attending a protest regarding language education in schools in Catalunya. Both events took place in the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* yet each was highly specific, with markedly different purposes, meanings and actions. A third example of an *espectacle de projeccions* (projection show) will further illustrate how the same physical location can be used, transformed and given meaning as it relates to a Catalan ethnicity that responds to and participates in producing place for cultural engagement and the ongoing development of a contemporary identity.

The *Plaça de Sant Jaume* is a square in the centre of the *Ciutat Vella* (Old City) and *Barri Gotic* (Gothic Quarter) of Barcelona. The area in and around *Plaça de Sant Jaume* is a hub of Barcelona's civic life and the city's political centre. Facing each other across the square are the two large and stately buildings of the *Palau de la Generalitat* (seat of Catalunya's regional government, the *Generalitat de Catalunya*) and the *Ajuntament de Barcelona* (Barcelona's town hall). The *Generalitat* is considered one of Catalunya's most valued symbols, commonly understood as an emblem of the longevity and perseverance of the Catalan people's will to self-govern despite several periods of repression and perceived ongoing denials of their 'unique' identity (Molina & Pages 2010: 194-195).

Image 7: The *Palau de la Generalitat* in the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* (Author's photo, November 2012).

Image 8: The *Ajuntament de Barcelona* in the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* (Author's photo, November 2012).

Image 9: *Placa de Sant Jaume*, Barcelona (Author's photo, November 2012).

Places and spaces do not have authority and influence in and of themselves. It is what they represent and the meanings that are attributed that infers authority in them, and the authority of a place only exists while its representations are recognised as 'authoritative'. Housing these esteemed institutions that are understood not only as sites for the decision-making and governing of Barcelona and Catalunya, but also as symbols of Catalan identity, the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* is imbued with a level of authority. The *Plaça de Sant Jaume* has become instilled with prominence, influence and authority that can be recognised and experienced in different ways by those practicing space, including by those who seek to resist various regional and national politics. If *Plaça de Sant Jaume* was not perceived as a site with authority, as the seat of governmental power, then it would not be the site commonly used for protests and cultural performances. Power and authority are not only resisted and challenged but are also conferred and given through the various uses of space.

Plaça de Sant Jaume is used as an everyday thoroughfare and meeting place; a tourist 'destination' and start of a 'gothic walking tour' organised by the city's tourism centre; an exciting site for cultural celebration during ceremonies and festivals; and a site for challenging and resisting politics and policies during demonstrations. I have been in the

Plaça de Sant Jaume on innumerable occasions for a variety of events both with research participants and alone, and this one unmistakable 'place', for it always remains the *Plaça de Sant Jaume*, had different atmospheres and layers of uses, purposes and significance. While the embodied meaning people derive alters through these transient re-appropriations of the use of place, the underlying symbolic significance of the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* is necessary for these changing practices and meanings. As Massey states:

> the singularity of any individual place is formed in part out of the specificity of the interactions which occur at that location (nowhere else does this precise mixture occur) and in part out of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location (their partly happenstance juxtaposition) will in turn produce new social effects (1994: 168).

Each evening of the same five-day *Festa de la Mercè* where I watched the *castells*, an *espectacle de projeccions* (projection show) was beamed onto the façade of the *Ajuntament de Barcelona*. One warm September evening in 2013 I waded into the crowded *Plaça de Sant Jaume*, knowing that the *espectacle de projeccions* should commence every fifteen minutes from 8.45pm. Locals and tourists were mingling side by side in small groups, their various accents and languages swirling together in the pulsating energy that came from approximately 60,000 people excitedly and expectantly awaiting the show. On striking up a conversation with a woman standing next to me, I asked if she had seen this before. She replied that yes, she lives "*close by*" and "*likes to come with family and friends*" because "*it's very fun and lively*", "*always different*" and "*the festa is a special time for Barc*elona, *for Catalans, for all*". Her friend was visiting from Germany and thought the "*atmosphere is great, so much excitement, can't wait*" for the show to start.

The grand building of the *Ajuntament* was used as a canvas for a dynamic 'projection mapping' light display in which moving images were projected onto the surface of the building, giving various illusions of movement, colour and distortion. The columns and

windows of the *Ajuntament* were incorporated into the moving images, as, for example, cartoon figures slid down the columns like firemen's poles, farmyard fences bordered the building's windows, and the whole building became a popcorn machine.

Image 10: Light projection display on the *Ajuntament* in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 11: Light projection display on the Ajuntament in Plaça de Sant Jaume (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 12: Light projection display on the *Ajuntament* in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* (Author's photo, September 2013)

There was humour and absurdity in the artwork being projected onto the *Ajuntament*, which was combined with music for a whole audio-visual experience. This was not, however, solely about fun, frivolity and entertainment, but was linked to the processes of fashioning a modern Catalan identity.

The *espectacle de projeccions* was a contemporary use of place but the significance I draw from this spatial practice is not centred on whether the artists were self-identifying Catalans or whether the images were understood as displaying something quintessentially 'Catalan'. The point I make here is that this contemporary and innovative art form of projection mapping can be interpreted in part as assisting to 'project' an image of a modern Catalan identity. Projection shows are a modern art form but are not unique to Catalunya. Sydney, Australia has an annual festival lighting show, *Vivid,* which also uses buildings as backdrops, including the Sydney Opera House. Rather, the use of the specific place, the *Ajuntament* in the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* with its historical and current socio-political significance, as a canvas for a modern high-tech art form created a meaningful arena for the active dialogue with the past, present and future of Catalan identity.

Other activities and performances throughout the *Festa de la Mercè* included multiple 'traditional' and 'modern' cultural forms. The festival program explained:

> During these days Barcelona is filled with music, party, fireworks, street arts and traditions in an unusual blend that not only show the most modern and creative city, but also offers the possibility to explore traditions that mark the character of the Catalans in general and Barcelona in particular. (*Festa de la Mercè* event guide 2013: 1; translated from the original *Català*)

The festival sought to locate both Barcelona and "Catalans in general" as "modern and creative", and this in part came through the practicing of space. 'Modern' and 'traditional' elements of the *Festa de la Mercè* broadly reflect the complex intertwining of cultural forms, social relations, nostalgia and innovation in Catalan ethnogenesis. The ethnogenesis of Catalan identity takes cues from and transforms elements of Catalunya's 'past' and takes inspiration from contemporary forms including art, dance and music. The varied meanings, uses and significance of the *Plaça de Sant Jaume*, now and over time, demonstrate the broader processes of Catalan ethnicity that draw on the lived character of space, that negotiate and appropriate the environments we inhabit.

III Dominant Myths & Symbols

Structures and buildings can display symbols and the entire structure can itself be a symbol. Architects and planners can add figures and marks that give clues to the intended uses of a place or to influence the ways users feel and respond. For example, art galleries with busts and names of famous artists carved into the façade can make a symbolic claim to a specific artistic heritage or the gallery's national or international importance. Structures built in different decades or centuries can retain symbols that are effective and affective in the present depending on the levels of meanings and significance they hold for the society. An abundance of symbols reference Catalan history and identity throughout

Catalunya, some of which are embedded in architecture. Symbols from legends and myths of significant importance to Catalan ethnic identity are reproduced in space.

Infusing architecture with historically meaningful figures and symbols is a common practice in asserting a group identity. Identity is not only declared and debated in conversation, practices, texts, museums, memories and political movements, but also in physical spaces. Catalunya is saturated with images, figures and names that continue to reinforce a view of Catalan identity as unique and 'other', especially to Spanish identity. Many of these exist in an "antithetical relationship" to Spanish identity, which "reinforces the functionality" of the symbol (Rovira 2009: 46). As outlined in Chapter Two, asserting a difference between 'Us' and 'Them' is central to ethnic boundary marking (Barth 1969a). Claiming a sign that is deliberately different from or in opposition to a more dominant symbol (or symbol *of* the dominant group) can be deployed as a strategy to imbue that sign with greater significance via the comparative effect. The image of a bull's black silhouette, *El Toro* (or the 'Osborne bull'), is often viewed as a symbol of power, strength and majesty in epitomising the values and virtues of Spain and Spanish culture. In this way a symbol of Catalan identity of a donkey[22] or *burro*, commonly thought of as hardworking, stubborn and determined, and associated with rural agricultural production, can be viewed as a somewhat whimsical opposition to the might of the Spanish bull. The *burro* is sometimes seen as an unofficial 'national' symbol of Catalunya, and is often found as stickers on car windows and bumper bars (Rovira 2009: 46). My research participants explained that the *burro* also asserts a playful side to the construction of Catalan difference, and even a joyful rebellion as the rage of a bull is markedly diminished when confronted by the sometimes-ridiculous stubbornness of a donkey[23]. However, some

[22] The Catalan donkey is a native breed of large domestic donkey.

[23] I pick up on this sense of whimsy and joyous rebellion further in Chapter Seven when discussing the modern adaptation and engagement with 'traditions'.

participants expressed mixed views on the donkey as a symbol of Catalan identity, concerned that it could promote the interpretation of Catalans as being ordinary, servile and stupid. This clearly demonstrates the complexity and ambiguity of symbols.

Symbols can work in opposition, however they need not. Similarly, the construction of place, including the situating of symbols, is not just about a "negative counterposition with the Other beyond the boundaries" (Massey 1994: 169). As symbols are "the condensation of socially constructed meanings" (Rovira 2006: 10) they can and do transform and renew. Cultural symbols are both created by and sustained in processes of social relations and interactions that alter over time (Turner 1974). The forms and expressions that symbols take are "'multivocal', susceptible of many meanings" and not "timeless entities" (Turner 1974: 55). Symbols are not interpreted and used in the same way by every person or group within the society. Rather, they have different meanings, uptake and deployment across time and place, and the existence of a symbol is not a guarantee of its ongoing significance.

As shown in the previous section, the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* can be considered symbolic as a whole place and can be practiced in ways that alter and add different layers of symbolic meaning. Symbols on a range of scales can be incorporated into buildings to contribute to meaning making. Whilst symbols proliferate in Barcelona, two of the most ubiquitous icons and myths embedded physically and performatively are the patron saint of Catalunya, *Sant Jordi* (Saint George), and the Catalan regional flag, the *Senyera*. These symbols appear in architecture and ornamentation, at cultural performances and festivities, at protests and in site names. They can be situated permanently or transiently, and meaning can be altered momentarily. The central sculpture on the façade of the *Palau de la Generalitat* in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* depicts *Sant Jordi* on horseback slaying a dragon. Opposite the *Palau de la Generalitat*, the *Ajuntament de Barcelona* is crowned by a sculpture incorporating the flag of Barcelona, which is a combination of the *Senyera* and the red and white cross of *Sant Jordi*. 'Traditions' and myths are introduced, maintained and destroyed selectively as they are influenced by various social factors partnered with

contemporary social understandings on their importance (Hobsbawm 1983; Clifford 2004). The *Senyera* and *Sant Jordi* have been and remain powerful and important symbols in Catalan ethnogenesis today.

The *Senyera,* with its four stripes of red on a yellow background, is one of the most important and recognisable symbols of Catalan identity. The *Senyera* is sometimes referred to as '*les quatre barres (de sang)*' translated as 'the four bars (of blood)' referencing the myth of its origins. According to a display at the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya*:

> *The legend attributing the origins of the coat of arms of Catalonia to Guifré el Pelós [Wilfred the Hairy] was first published in the 14th century. According to the story, the French king Louis le Pieux dipped his fingers in the blood issuing from Guifré's wounds and ran his fingers down the golden shield of the count of Barcelona. This legend remains one of the best known founding myths of Catalonia*.

Image 13: Display of the legend of the *Senyera* in the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya* (Author's photo, September 2012).

The museum's display comments that the story cannot be historically verified and, although the narrative has been broadly discredited as historical fact, the legend has been reproduced over the centuries in art, literature, performance and celebration. Irrespective of debates on historical accuracy the narrative retains symbolic significance within Catalunya and the 'truth' and 'facts' of its origin are not crucial to its ongoing use. Eriksen observes that the "hidden meaning of flags, which thus are not, in practice, as empty vessels as they may seem in theory, are both historically rooted and based on contemporary usage or interpretation" (2007: 11).

Image 14: The *Senyera* flag flying on Montjuïc in Barcelona. (Author's photo, September 2012)

Flags are 'condensed symbols' that can "compress a broad range of meanings and are rich in aesthetic and emotional connotations" (Eriksen 2007: 3). They are recognised as standard emblems of groups, nations or institutions and can mark or signal allegiances, positions and commitments (Rovira 2006, 2009). The *Senyera* is a symbol with varied and contested meanings. Rovira observed that "the *senyera* is for some the flag of the 'autonomy' of Catalonia (which they counter with the starred flag as the symbol of the wish to become an independent nation) and for others a perfectly 'national' symbol" (2009: 46).[24] The *Senyera* can be a more or less political symbol, depending on social context and interpretation. I will delve further into the modern meanings and uses of flags in Catalunya, including for current nationalist politics, in Chapter Six.

One quickly notices the proliferation of the *Senyera* flying from flagpoles and balconies of buildings when walking the streets of Barcelona and throughout Catalunya. It is also evident in architecture with crests and images throughout the city. Official and unofficial signs are seen over doorframes, in paving stones and stone-masonry, inside churches, on statues, street signs and monuments, in stained glass, floral decorations and on Christmas

[24] The starred flag that Rovira (2009) refers to is the *Estelada*, which is commonly understood as signifying the wish for Catalan independence from Spain.

trees, hung from balconies, waved at football games, and printed onto clothing. The symbol of the *Senyera* is also incorporated into performances of the Catalan cultural hallmark of *castells*. As described in Chapter Two, the child who stands at the top of the 'human castle' formed by *castellers* raises four fingers into the air, representing the four bars of red on this Catalan symbol. I agree with Bollens when he asserts, "The manifestations and forms of Catalan identity and nationalism are evident even to an outsider" (2012: 111) because, once attuned to the symbol of the *Senyera*, the ubiquity is astounding. Catalan ethnic identity is not just asserted overtly and is not just evident in special events or distinctive practices but in the actual spaces and places people inhabit. The built physical arena is *made* Catalan and the natural landscape is also *made* Catalan through the reproduction of legends and narratives.

Image 15: The Senyera as a floral decoration in a church in Barcelona (Author's photo, December 2012).

The second symbol I highlight is that of *Sant Jordi*, the patron saint of Catalunya. The legend of *Sant Jordi* is not unique to Catalan culture, and is celebrated in many countries and cities around the world. Different versions of the legend exist and each is made specific and relevant through variations to the narrative. The legend is made uniquely Catalan through specific details, including the physical location. According to legend, as narrated by a guide during a 'Gothic Walking Tour' I took around the city of Barcelona (organised

by the Barcelona Tourism Office), a terrifying dragon lived outside a rural village (this version located the village in Montblanc, southwest of Barcelona). The story goes that the dragon ate all the animals in the village and then began to eat its people. In order to appease the dragon's hunger, the villagers randomly chose a young person each year to be sacrificed to the beast. One year the mayor's daughter was chosen but, just before she was to be sacrificed, a knight known as *Sant Jordi*, rode into town, killed the beast with his sword and saved her. Where the dead dragon's blood was spilled a red rose grew, which the knight picked and gave to the princess.

This legend is commonly accepted as a fable, yet its significance to Catalunya is continually reaffirmed through recurring motifs of the knight, dragon and rose. Especially in the *Ciutat Vella* (Old City) of Barcelona, many murals and sculptures of *Sant Jordi* can be seen. *Sant Jordi* is usually depicted in his knight's armour, on horse or on foot, wielding a sword and sometimes slaying the dragon. *Sant Jordi* is often depicted through the symbol of a red cross on a white square. As noted above, the official flag of Barcelona combines the *Senyera* with the cross of *Sant Jordi*. Roses are also common motifs in ironwork and stone carvings, frequently separate to the dragon and *Sant Jordi*. However, it is not just in the old part of the city in which one can witness the proliferation of this symbol, the symbol is stamped across architecture from different eras and continues to be reproduced in different forms today. Various decorations, activities and celebrations centred on the legend of *Sant Jordi* serve to link places, events and people together over time.

Image 16: Stone decoration depicting *Sant Jordi* and the dragon (Author's photo, December 2012).

The celebration of Catalunya's patron saint is continued through holidays and performances including the annual *La Diada de Sant Jordi* (the Day of Saint George) on April 23rd. During this day the *Palau de la Generalitat* is open to the public, within which is the Chapel of *Sant Jordi.* Andreu explained the annual day on which *Sant Jordi* is celebrated:

> *Perhaps you know that Sant Jordi is the patron of Catalunya (the protecting saint) and that the day of Sant Jordi here is called "the Day" and we celebrate by doing a very pretty and traditional festival that consists of the men presenting roses to the women and the women giving books to the men. It is a very nice day and, while the people still work, they take advantage of the afternoon when they can leave work to go out on the street to celebrate the festival, buy roses and books. Multitudes of people are out on the street. Also it is a day of national claim and Catalan difference. The people position the Catalan flag on the balcony and also the independence flag with the star with a blue or yellow triangle.*
>
> *Here I give some economic data to show the magnitude of what this day means: the sales figure of books is 18,000,000 Euro and the number of roses sold far exceeds 3,500,000 (every rose costs an average of 3 Euro).*

(email correspondence, translated from the original *Català*)

In Barcelona on April 23rd *Las Ramblas*, a central thoroughfare in Barcelona, becomes a sea of stalls amassed with either roses or books. As Andreu identified, the day is important for the flower and publications sectors of the economy, with millions of roses and books sold during this single event. This event is highly popular and, as Andreu perceived it, is not just a novelty but an event that actively links to Catalan identity. A broader understanding that it is "*a day of national claim and Catalan difference*" (Andreu) is demonstrated in the flying of flags. There is a dialectic between the ethnic self-exploration taking place and the relationship with a nationalist cause, which I pick up on further in Chapter Six.

The examples above demonstrate a strategy in which specifically 'Catalan' symbols and motifs are reproduced over time and brought into the present through interaction with and in these spatial forms. This is not to say that myths and symbols are always experienced overtly, but rather they can be part of the literal 'backdrop' of everyday life. Symbols are perceived in the architecture in Barcelona and elsewhere in Catalunya and in the use of place for various functions including the celebration of events and festivities, with spatial practices part of the reproduction and ongoing transformation of Catalan ethnic identity. Place is used by Catalan people now and over time to represent a sense of who they are, and this assertion of ethnic difference is embedded into their surroundings through physical structures and enduring narratives.

IV *Modernisme*

Physical spaces are intimately involved in the construction of memory, 'history', 'tradition' and heritage. Places hold significance in both creating and stimulating memories, cultural beliefs and collective feelings (Preziosi 2011). Motifs and figures not only help to tell the

history of places and their intended purposes and evolution, but also the meanings which are continued, revived and challenged over generations and centuries and which form narratives of ongoing Catalan identity construction. Symbolic images, including *Sant Jordi* and the *Senyera*, have been embedded physically over centuries into Catalan architecture as a way of 'writing' space to promote Catalan identity.

Catalan *Modernisme* was a political and social movement in the late 19th century that sought to promote a modern and 'national' Catalan identity (Loyer 1997; Molina & Pages 2010). The movement took specific cues from Catalan gothic style and symbols including the *Senyera* and motifs from the legend of *Sant Jordi*. *Modernisme* promoted a specifically Catalan canon for design that had artistic and political ideologies. *Modernisme* sought to create art and architecture that represented a sense of a unique Catalan identity. Although commonly famed for its architectural distinctiveness, *Modernisme* was a broader movement across the arts and overlapped with the Catalan *Renaixença* (meaning rebirth or renaissance). The *Renaixença* and *Modernisme* movements deliberately cultivated forms of art, literature, design and politics that were saturated with specific Catalan symbols in order to encourage a certain Catalan identity. These were both political as well as aesthetic movements. The movements were political in terms of having official political branches that struggled for changes in broader government politics, but they were also political in the sense that they encouraged a particular ideology of a strong Catalan *nationalist* identity.

In the early 19th century Catalunya experienced a growth in wealth, due predominately to booming textile and manufacturing industries (Castells 2004; Molina & Page 2010). The region began a period in which it sought to re-establish its identity, separate to dominant Spain, firstly by restoring its language and literature (following 150 years of repression subsequent to the War of the Spanish Secession), as well as by a conscious injection of modern ideas designed to invigorate and elevate Catalan society and culture, and to assert Catalunya's distinctive cultural personality and qualities. The *Renaixença* was an

important and well-organised Catalan revivalist movement that aimed to define, select and create a surge in specifically Catalan culture, values and traditions (Molina & Page 2010). This movement demonstrated a Catalan intellectual, political and artistic re-emergence and the broader trend of cultural revival prior to the two world wars and the Spanish Civil War. By the middle of the 19th century, the *Renaixença* had gained ground with cultural reform, had created a presence in Catalunya's media, and extended its influence from politics and literature into art, science and law in an attempt to increase its agenda to 'Catalanise' the society.

As the *Reniaxença* started to wane towards the end of the 19th century, *Modernisme* continued some of its ideological foundations and took up the reins of promoting Catalan cultural forms (Loyer 1997; Molina & Page 2010). *Modernisme* was strongly influenced by the French *Art Nouveau* movement that gained popularity in Europe (*Modernisme* is also sometimes called the 'Catalan *Art Nouveau'*). *Modernisme* covered the decorative, illustrative, performing and literary arts including architecture, painting, sculpture, craftsmanship (carpenters, metal workers, plasterers), music, theatre and poetry, and thus engaged seminal intellectuals and artists who sought to celebrate and modernise Catalan identity (Loyer 1997). They aimed to achieve this through innovative and creative forms that drew inspiration and symbols from a selected Catalan 'past' and iconography, as well as from contemporary and pioneering global mediums (Loyer 1997). Although a detailed outline of the history and development of *Modernisme* is beyond the scope of this thesis, here I wish to illuminate that an ideology underpinned the movement which sought to promote a Catalan identity that incorporated 'traditional' and mythical elements alongside contemporary forms and innovative thinking. Thus the movement was both inward and outward looking in the 'social production' of place. Then, as now, Catalan identity was not narrowly looking to the past with nostalgia and reproducing an 'original' way of life, but aiming to employ heritage in the ongoing transformation of a modern identity.

Modernisme sought a contemporary aesthetic interpretation and promotion of Catalan identity, one that drew on elements of 'the past' and of modern creativity. It has a characteristic style striking in its difference. The style is readily recognisable in form, often with exceptionally ornate and elaborate decorations, pushing the boundaries of function and art, and challenging traditional architecture (Benton 1986; Loyer 1997). *Modernisme* architecture is "characterised by the use of the curve over the straight line, organic and botanical shapes and motifs, a great richness of ornamentation, bright colours, a disregard of symmetry and a wide use of symbolism" including "influences from traditional Catalan rural life and Catalan mythology" (Loyer 1997: 1). *Modernisme* ideology shows the use of overlapping symbols in an attempt to construct and perpetuate a particular Catalan consciousness and identity. With *Modernisme* we can identify that symbols, repeated in architecture, are understood as potential instruments for shaping 'a people', and can still be relevant even as these 'people' change over time. As well as the aim to create a style that reflected a specific modern, unique and innovative Catalan 'spirit', designers sought to create a distinctive aesthetic, one that would differentiate Catalunya, and Barcelona especially, from Spain and the world. Prominent *Modernisme* architects included Lluis Domènech i Montener, Antoní Gaudí and Josep Puig i Cadalfach (Benton 1986; Loyer 1997).

Image 17: Gaudí's *Casa Battló* in the centre (Author's photo, December 2012).

Image 18: Gaudí's *Casa Milà*, better known as *La Pedrera* (Author's photo, December 2012).

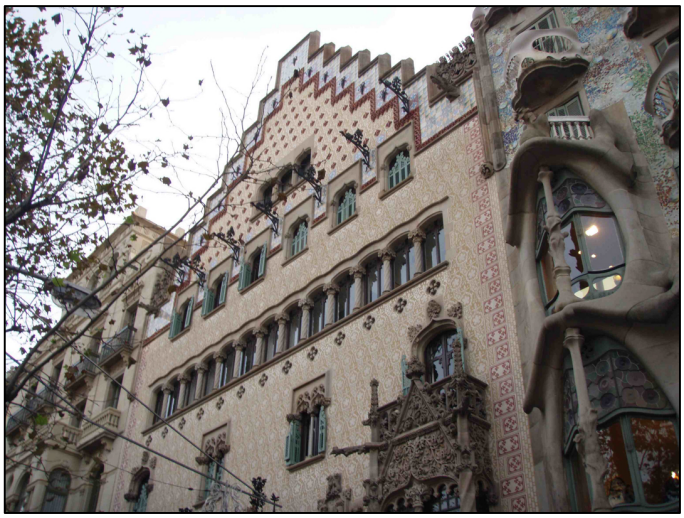

Image 19: Puig i Cadafalch's *Casa Amatller* (Author's photo, December 2012).

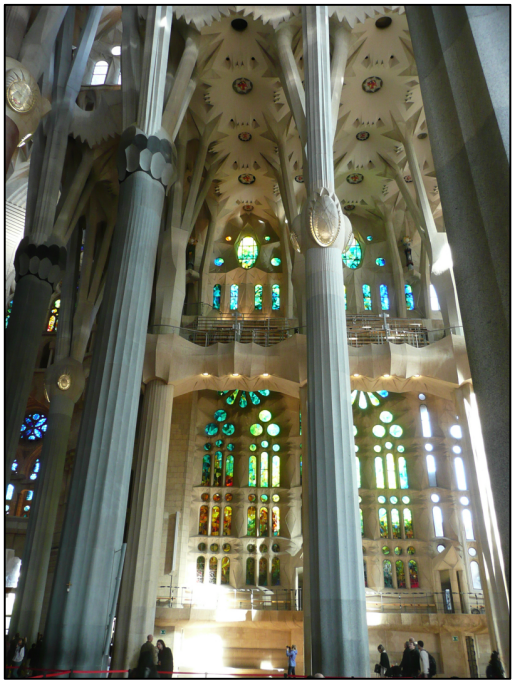

Image 20: Inside Gaudí's cathedral of *La Sagrada Família*, Barcelona (Author's photo, December 2012).

Image 21: *Palau de la Música Catalana* (Author's photo, January 2013).

The *Palau de la Música Catalana* (Palace of Catalan Music) is an example of *Modernisme* design with the saturation of flowers, flags and historical figures. The *Palau de la Música Catalana* was built for the *Orfeó Catala*, a Catalan choral society founded in 1891 Palau de la Música 2015). The *Orfeó* was a leading force in the *Renaixença* and performed Catalan choral repertoires, including reviving many 'traditional' Catalan songs. The *Palau de la Música Catalana* was designed by Lluís Domènech i Montaner and built between 1905 and 1908 (Palau de la Música 2015). Construction was funded by public donations and the building is considered one of the most iconic examples of Catalan architectural and musical heritage:

> Domènech attained in the Palace a perfect equilibrium between the national symbolism of the building, the urban scale, the limitations of the plot and the imposing interior. By an innovative metal structure, he created spaces of grand dimensions with stained glass windows that filled with light and illuminated the fantasy and colourist ornamentations of the rooms. (Generalitat 2013)

The *Palau de la Música Catalana* is located in a narrow street in Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella* suburb of La Ribera. The majority of *Modernisme* buildings were, however, constructed in the new Eixample (meaning 'Extension') district of Barcelona, which spread out from the

Ciutat Vella and linked the nearby towns of Gràcia, Sants, Sant Marti and Sant Andreu into the broader city limits. The *Palau de la Música Catalana* can be almost overwhelming to a visitor unfamiliar with the extraordinary level of decoration and detail common to *Modernisme* architecture. In describing the *Palau de la Música Catalana,* Benton has aptly pointed out that: "To eyes unaccustomed to the architecture of Barcelona, the impression of a riot of ornament lacking any logic or control seems overwhelming…yet the building follows exactly the exhortations of the rationalists. The structure, in brick and iron, is clearly expressed" (1986: 58).

Image 22: *Palau de la Música Catalana* with renovated and original parts of the building (Author's photo, September 2013).

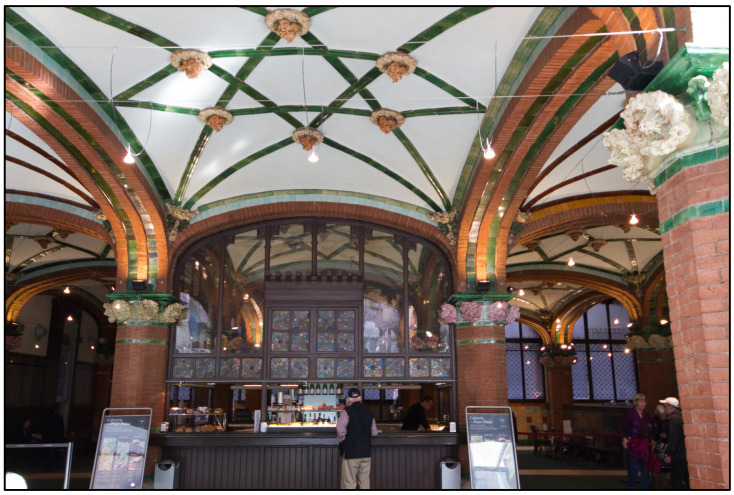

Image 23: Ornamentation inside the *Palau de la Música Catalana* (Author's photo, September 2013).

The interior of the concert hall is dominated by the theme of choral music and references many famous Catalan and international musicians including Anselm Clavé (a choir director who was instrumental in reviving Catalan folk songs), Wagner and Beethoven (*Palau de la Música* 2015). Two of the hall's four walls consist primarily of stained-glass windowpanes, and overhead is an enormous inverted dome of stained glass in shades of gold surrounded by blue that enables natural light to illuminate the space during the day. The design of the *Palau de la Música Catalana* references both the old and the new. It drew inspiration from elements of 'traditional' Catalan cultural forms and the revivalist movement, but also situated itself at the forefront of modern forms of art and construction.

Other significant Catalan iconography can be seen in a large sculpture situated on one external corner of the building. The grey stone carving *La Canço Popular Catalana* (Popular Catalan song) by Miquel Blai i Fabregas stands in stark contrast to the red brick of the *Palau de la Música Catalana*. In *La Canço,* a group of figures is dominated by *Sant Jordi* who is holding a *Senyera* and a sword. In the centre of the sculpture is a young woman singing, surrounded on either side by people including farmers, peasant men, women and children, and soldiers. This is a representation of Catalan popular and cultural tradition and, as I discuss in Chapter Seven, is partly linked to a romanticism of 18th century peasant society.

Image 24: Sculpture on the façade of the *Palau de la Música Catalana* (Author's photo, January 2013).

To many, *Modernisme* designs can appear absurdly elaborate and gaudy, and it is noted that *Modernisme* has not received continuous acclaim since the late 19th century (Benton 1986). Many *Modernisme* buildings were demolished, especially in the following *Noucentisme* period, as they were seen as excessive, ugly and abhorrent. Indeed, some called for the *Palau de la Música Catalana* to be demolished. Admiration for *Modernisme* became re-established in the 1960s alongside other revivals, such as *Català* discussed in the previous chapter, as the severe controls of the Franco dictatorship were relaxed and people sought to reclaim and reassert a distinctive Catalan identity. Over the decades since they were first designed and erected, many *Modernisme* buildings have had different levels of significance. Some are now primarily tourist attractions, while others retain their original intended purpose as offices, apartment buildings and public spaces. *Modernisme* structures currently have international significance and are widely used in advertising to promote Barcelona as a tourist destination. Tourists are strongly encouraged to visit *Modernisme* structures, which are publicised as unique to Barcelona and Catalunya, as reflective of Catalan identity and as worthy of global recognition. Between 1982 and 1989,

the *Palau de la Música Catalana* underwent extensive restoration and remodeling and in 1997 the building was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Palau de la Música 2015). The *Palau de la Música* is described as a "masterpiece of the imagination and exuberant art nouveau that flowered in early 20th Century Barcelona" (UNESCO 2008).

Modernisme has left a strong architectural and cultural legacy in Catalunya, especially in Barcelona. *Modernisme* is an example of the way in which Catalan identity, as dynamic and changing, is not contained in one place, in one stable ideology, or in one cultural form. The example of *Modernisme* demonstrates that over time Catalan identity construction has drawn from 'the past', especially in terms of 'traditional' symbols and myths, and from creative innovation and desires to be modern. Catalan ethnic identity is dynamic and draws on varying cultural forms and boundary markers over time. The projection show in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* during the *Festa de la Mercè* is another example of this direction towards being contemporary while incorporating and transforming elements of a 'traditional' past. Space is used by Catalans to create and represent themselves as dynamic, innovative and modern.

Conclusion

Individual and group identities are negotiated over time through interactions with environments, and with social, historic, political and economic systems. My engagement with the concepts of 'place' and 'space' enabled me to discuss the ongoing articulation of Catalan identity through the making of symbolically significant place. The various ways *Plaça de Sant Jaume* is practiced demonstrates that the same physical place can be imbued with multiple meanings and symbols and these can be incorporated in different ways and with various intentions. There is ambiguity and complexity in the ways that space is practiced, how place is experienced, and how messages are interpreted. All of this indicates the lived character of space, and that Catalan people inhabit spaces that have

dense and evolving meanings that are constructed through an ongoing dialogue with 'the past' that forms part of current Catalan ethnogenesis.

The symbolism in Barcelona and throughout Catalunya depicts some of the dominant narratives, myths and 'traditions' being perpetuated and shaping identity. Two of the most ubiquitous symbols of Catalan identity are the *Senyera* with its associated myth of the four bars of blood, and the celebration of the patron *Sant Jordi* with the recurrent motifs of the dragon, rose and knight. The ongoing formation and revival of Catalan identity often relies on historical accounts, narratives and myths as hallmarks of Catalan identity. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, 'history' is often central to the construction and transformation of ethnic identities, and architecture is a way of embedding 'the past'. However, Catalan ethnogenesis is not mere backward-looking nostalgia. *Modernisme* was, and continues to be, strategically used to promote a unique and contemporary Catalan identity. The *espectacle de projeccions* used an existing symbolically meaningful place, the *Plaça de Sant Jaume,* to showcase a modern aspect of Catalan identity. Catalan people use space for enacting and reproducing an ethnic identity that draws inspiration from their past, responds to present challenges and aims to project a future existence that is unable to be physically contained.

CHAPTER FIVE
HISTORY AND MEMORY ON PUBLIC DISPLAY

In *How Societies Remember,* Paul Connerton (1989: 20-21) refers to observations made by the exiled prisoner Carlo Levi in the town of Gagliano in Southern Italy in 1935. Levi noted that the Great War in Europe (World War I, 1914-1918), an important narrative for the majority of Europeans, received almost no attention within that community. Whilst a commemorative stone with the names of approximately fifty townspeople who died during the war stands there, beyond that, for the people of the town, that war played little role in their annual commemorations and collective memory. Rather, the conflict that was highly significant for them was the 1865 War of the Brigands, which occurred well before the living memory of the villagers with whom Levi lived. This war was regularly referred to in public speeches, place names and sites in the village, and as such continued to be reinforced and cultivated in the townspeople's collective memory, heritage and identity (Connerton 1989: 20-21).

In a similar vein to Levi, I noted with some surprise that the events of the final year of the War of the Spanish Succession (1713-1714), culminating with the defeat of the Catalans at the end of the Siege of Barcelona on 11 September 1714, are currently being powerfully promoted and commemorated in Catalunya in a variety of ways. My surprise was based on my assumption that the more recent Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) would be the conflict to receive overwhelmingly greater public attention and prominence given that it is within living memory. This is not to say, however, that the Spanish Civil War has not been critical in shaping Catalan identity and relations between Spain and Catalunya, nor that it is not an event of ongoing significance for Catalan people today. Rather, I assert that '1714' is more overtly and visibly commemorated and memorialised in part because it is further in 'the past' and less contested. '1714' is more than a reference to an event three

hundred years ago, it involves many meanings, events, politics and characteristics condensed into this one symbol that holds contemporary significance for the shaping of Catalan ethnic identity.

Museums and exhibitions are sites for the complex representation, interpretation, integration and negotiation of knowledge, politics and experience (Aronsson 2011:46). The display of history can play a significant role in influencing collective memory and can, in turn, potentially guide social and political action. As Connerton writes, "our experiences of the present largely depend upon our knowledge of the past, and…our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order" (1989: 3). Museums can be powerful institutions in influencing the ideology and beliefs of the present, and can either support or undermine the longevity and control of the current dominant society (Aronsson 2011). Museums can provide an avenue to challenge dominant historical accounts when they yield space to present alternate versions. The construction of history and memory around '1714' in Catalunya responds to a benignly inclusive national Spanish narrative that evades historical disparities, and participates in a project of asserting Catalan difference.

Ethnic groups commonly draw on 'the past' in the construction of difference and this difference is often demonstrated and developed through cultural forms, both tangible and intangible. In this chapter I consider how the displays within the new *El Born Centre Cultura i Memòria* (El Born Centre of Culture and Memory[25], subsequently referred to as *El Born CCM*), in Barcelona, reflect, inform and influence the current directions and expressions of Catalan ethnogenesis. The history and collective memory presented and promoted in *El Born CCM* around '1714' are participating in a project of imagining a certain future for Catalunya and Catalan identity by drawing on *selected* depictions of 'the past'.

[25] At the time of my research the centre was called the *El Born Centre Cultural* (El Born Cultural Centre), and *i Memòria* was added at a later date.

'1714' has become a principal symbolic marker for the history and trajectory of Catalan identity and understandings about why Catalan people *are* different and should *remain* different. The significance of investigating Catalan ethnogenesis through '1714' and the *El Born CCM* is not to reduce Catalan identity to the retrieval of an 'original' identity, but to show some of the ways in which historical narratives are being employed as tools to mobilise people around an idea of what constitutes Catalan *difference* and how this is relevant to 'being' a Catalan person in the present and future.

I Historical Reconstruction and Collective Memory

Exhibitions, museums, showcases and productions emerge from highly specific webs of political, economic and social interactions. They are not created and recreated in a vacuum but through a wide range of influences, factors and agendas from interest groups, financial backers, political ideologies and social organisations, not all of which are visible and transparent (Aronsson 2011). These complex and fluid social processes are at play in the identity formation of Catalans and in the formation of *El Born CCM. El Born CCM* functions not only as a museum in terms of historiography and archaeology, but is also involved in cultural revival, celebration, commemoration and education. Using various modes of presentation and communication including information displays, posters, music, names and promotional materials, the depictions and narratives produced in *El Born CCM* work together in a way that asserts the prior and ongoing autonomy of Catalan people. *El Born CCM* has been produced by and contributes to Catalan cultural and historic revival, and to the transformation of Catalan identity. As a heritage project, the representations being mobilised within the centre are, I assert, engaged in influencing the future orientation of Catalan society.

With its focus on what 'really' happened, 'history' has generally been controlled and reproduced by dominant authorities and scholars, and has cultivated for itself scientific

status as being related to fundamental 'truth' and 'fact' (Nora 2002). 'Memory', on the other hand, has traditionally been perceived as "idiosyncratic and misleading, nothing more that private testimony" (Nora 2002: 6), however more recently it has become the "history of those denied the right to History" (Nora 2002: 6). Memory, with its strong connection to the *personal* past, has in many ways become valued as something "more 'truthful' than that of history, as the truth of personal experience and individual memory" (Nora 2002: 6). Although the perception of history as the domain of historians and academics remains in part, these groups no longer dominate the writing of history and interpretation of 'the past'. History and memory need not, however, be polar opposites, and can work together, especially with regards to minority groups, to transgress and resist dominant versions. Thus, "the past has ceased to have a single meaning" (Nora 2002: 8) as cultivated by the dominant group, and both history and memory can be contested and transgressed.

A recent "worldwide upsurge in memory" (Nora 2002: 1) which is generating an "age of commemoration" (Nora 2002: 2) is manifested most notably in criticisms of, and resistance to, 'official' versions of history. These criticisms counter dominant views by employing the recovery of repressed histories, increases in genealogical research, the proliferation of commemorations and memorials, large numbers of museums and archives and the growing attachment to 'heritage' (Nora 2002). The increased emphasis on memory can have a strong social justice impact as it often "takes the form of a marked emancipatory trend among peoples, ethnic groups and even certain classes of individual in the world today; … rehabilitating their past is part and parcel of reaffirming their identity" (Nora 2002: 5). History, memory and identity are intimately linked. 'The past' can play a crucial role in the present and future orientations and demarcations of a group, whether that is through events that are deliberately suppressed, 'forgotten', transformed or celebrated anew. It can be liberating and powerful for individuals and groups to assert alternate depictions of history and can be a form of resistance in the face of exclusion or oppression. The aspects of history and memory that minority groups regularly emphasise

is often the content that is omitted, suppressed, glossed over, ignored, misrepresented or distorted in dominant historical accounts (Sider 2003: 10). Eriksen writes:

> While many historians try to find out what *really* happened…most anthropologists would rather concentrate on showing the ways in which historical accounts are used as tools in the *contemporary* creation of identities and in politics. Anthropologists would stress that history is not a product of the past but a response to requirements of the present. (2010: 72)

The "explosion of minority memories" (Nora 2002: 6) has enhanced the notion of social or 'collective memory'. That is, memory does not sit solely with individuals but also with groups. While 'history', in its search for certitudes about legacies of the past, was seen to exclusively represent the authority of the communal group, memory was traditionally scorned as being unreliable, highly dubious and limited to the individual. Our experiences and memories, however, are formed through social experience: "social groups are the basis of memory, not just because they help to establish memories or because they articulate the space and the time of shared experience, but because moreover, the group as such is the bearer of a way of *feeling* the past" (Rovira 2009: 38). Rovira (2009) considers Paul Ricoeur to be the theorist who best explored the connection between history and collective memory. Ricoeur postulated a strong link between the two, rather than as separate entities circling each other but never touching: "For Ricoeur, the collective memory constitutes the ground in which historiography is rooted. In other words, memory is history *experienced*" (Rovira 2009: 39).

Connerton elaborates on the interaction between historical reconstruction and social memory,

> the practice of historical reconstruction can in important ways receive a guiding impetus from, and in turn give significant shape to, the memory of social groups. A particularly extreme case of such interaction occurs when a state apparatus is used in a systematic way to deprive its citizens of their memory. All totalitarianisms

> behave in this way; the mental enslavement of the subjects of a totalitarian regime begins when their memories are taken away. When a large power wants to deprive a small country of its national consciousness it uses the method of organised forgetting. (1989: 14)

A central point in these works is that 'memory' admits that it is fallible and there is an insistence upon the contested character of 'the past'. Whereas 'history', as a search for the authority of 'the past' that is derived from the recovery of the 'facts' on *what really happened*, reduces the ambiguity and complexity.

Collective memory is not stable, it can be manipulated and altered via both subtle and extreme measures. Preziosi recognises the connections between and mobilising power of memory and history: "Every political regime, both ancient and modern, has always been fundamentally devoted to managing and controlling collective memory. This normally entails a retrograde fabrication and projection of 'cultural memories'" (2011: 59). Nora warns, however, against adopting the view that memory is always positive, emancipatory and liberating. Memory, just like 'history', has the potential to become "a form of closure, a grounds for exclusion and an instrument of war" (Nora 2002: 8). This possibility for 'memory' to exclude and destroy should not be glossed over. Rovira similarly reminds us that we must be careful to recognise that just because something is collective does not mean there is consensus. In collective memory there are conflicts, differences of opinion and interpretation, where individuals will *feel* and experience "different levels of significance" (Rovira 2009: 40).

A duty and "obligation to remember" (Nora 2002: 2) 'the past' is linked not only to debt and morals, but also to the loss of something material and heritage-based. Richards observed, when referring to the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship, that when parts of history and memory were suppressed and destroyed, war and its aftermath "represented more than military failure, it also meant a loss of the past, of identity and

ideals, and of visions of the future" (1998: 28). The victors write the subsequent 'history' books, whilst the losers' experiences and versions of events are relegated to comparative insignificance or benign inclusiveness in the form of a footnote or annotation. A loss of history, memory and identity is overtly present in Catalunya. It is precisely this denial or non-recognition of history and memory that minority groups seek to overcome, and partly explains why groups often fervently want to regain a different past, even if it is fragmented and piecemeal.

As memories are formed in social interaction, they belong to and are recalled in social spaces (Halbwachs 1950). Memories are not abstract but physically located and the physical place holds significance in both creating and stimulating memories and collective feelings. Place, as discussed in Chapter Four, is important for influencing, reproducing and manipulating the ways people and societies feel, think, behave and also remember. Museums, as physical spaces, are a tangible way of presenting and constructing objects and narratives that are socially significant. Museums are institutions that can represent and recount 'the past' as history and memory to both explain and legitimise the nation, society or group, and these images of 'the past' work to shape and justify a certain image of the future. The museum's space is designed to "engender more salient experiences and more memories" (Lowell 2013: 6), and thus has the ability to influence identity production. Museums play a role in guiding people in how to locate themselves within the broader society's past, a past that is often presented as "celebration and affirmation" (Mason 2011: 247). Museums frequently perpetuate and

> manufacture a twofold belief: belief in what its contents or collected objects signify, and belief in the independent existence or agency of what is signified. The latter can be as various as the soul, spirit, character or mentality of a single individual, or that of an entire tribe, gender, class, race, nation, climate or species. (Preziosi 2011: 56)

The "social management of memory and desire is the central business of the modern museum" (Preziosi 2011: 58) as they present patrons with 'evidence' that will glorify, affirm, challenge or change existing images of society and in turn where and how they locate themselves within it. The modern museum plays an important role in affecting how societies view their history, collective memory, achievements and futures, and also registers of how this collective memory is being constituted. Museums often succeed in this role because they have marked out a function of being official and authoritative providers of conventionally understood 'history' as 'fact' and 'truth'. Museums are both the product of and part of the processes of social construction and transformation. They are the outcome of social, political, historical and economic factors that interact to determine the agenda, scale, scope and support given to particular images and versions of society's past. These messages in turn produce, promote and transform society by influencing the selection of symbols, practices, rituals and objects that can become undisputed and uncontested group 'heritage' (Aronsson 2011: 49).

Preziosi uses the term 'stagecraft' to describe how the social management of memory is enhanced and enacted in museums via the presentation of artefacts and objects as intrinsic proof and 'truth':

> Museums are uniquely powerful semiotic and epistemological instruments for the creation, maintenance, and dissemination of meanings by fielding together and synthesizing objects, ideas, bodies and beliefs. The significance of any object can be made to appear a uniquely powerful 'witness' to past or present events, and to the character, mentality, or spirit of a person, people, place, or time. (Preziosi 2011: 55)

Knell agrees that there is a measure of deception in that it is illusory to think that the museum provides an objective representation of the world (2011: 5). Museums work to bring events out of the everyday and give them an aura of the sacred, special and significant. For example, a selective narrative might be told in such a way as to evoke

suspense, wonder or sorrow by accentuating certain elements, or the music in a display might play a popular song or the national anthem to deliberately stir existing feelings in the viewer through the linking of different symbolic devices. On visits to *El Born CCM* I encountered a combination of objects, text, images and film that work not solely to demonstrate a continuous 'history' of Catalan society, but more significantly, the messages coming through the exhibits explicitly link a particular event in the past – '1714' – in order to encourage and influence its ongoing significance in the present *and* the future for Catalan identity, including to the ongoing nationalist project.

When I entered *El Born CCM* for the first time, shortly after its inauguration on 12 September 2013, I was handed a pamphlet. The text on one side read:

> *Welcome to El Born Cultural Centre.*
>
> *El Born Cultural Centre de Barcelona is part of our collective heritage. This unique public space brings the past to life, and is the first historical facility of its kind that, through its programme of activities, aspires to become a hub of Catalan culture.*
>
> *Standing in the neighbourhood of La Ribera and closely linked to the foundations of the old city, offers visitors a new interpretation of the past from the standpoint of the present day and relate it to Barcelona and Catalonia's future.*
>
> *On the long, tenacious and uneven journey that Catalonia embarked upon generations ago to assert its identity, El Born Cultural Centre represents a further step in recovering the collective memory of the Catalan people.*
>
> *Welcome to your home!*

The creators of *El Born CCM* have positioned the centre to play a role in Catalan identity formation processes. This text makes a strong and clear statement about the intention of *El Born CCM* to be an "*historical facility*" that "*aspires to become a hub of Catalan culture*" by offering "*new interpretations of the past*" in part through recovering "*collective*

memory". Although *El Born CCM* does address a variety of audiences – local, regional, national and international (and thus the questions being stimulated will vary according to the visitor's perspective and prior knowledge) – according to the use of insider rhetoric of "*our*" and "*we*", the audience targeted to engage most intensely is "*Catalan people*", those who are part of the social space in which the *"collective memory" and "collective heritage"* is situated and recovered. The cultural centre in this way represents and contributes to the broader construction of Catalan ethnogenesis. "*Bringing the past to life"; "a new interpretation"; "Catalonia's future";* and *"further step in recovering"* all express how the institution is oriented to shape the renewed significance of a certain previously excluded 'past' and memory. The messages in *El Born CCM* are not about returning to an 'original' Catalan identity of the 1700s but rather to articulate an historical heritage that can be connected with renewed relevance to the present context of heightened calls for greater autonomy and independence. This enhancement of a specifically Catalan history and memory (as opposed to one that was benignly assimilated into Spanish history) is part of the ethnogenesis process of making and shaping an ethnic identity as it faces contemporary challenges (Roosens 1989: Hill 1996).

Aspiring to "*become a hub of Catalan culture*", other daily and weekly events also occur within the space and demonstrate that the role of *El Born CCM* is broader than the 'history' of '1714' and will change depending on the directions and motivations of Catalan society. For example, during October 2013 the program included puppet shows (*Coneixem món amb els titelles del Born – know the world with the puppets of the Born*); games (*Els triquets de joc reviuen al Born CCM – the game of Triquets revived at El Born CCM*); history (*Mirar cap a l'ahir per projector el demà – look towards yesterday to project tomorrow*); literature (*El preuat paper de conserver la llengua – the valuable role to preserve the language*); music (*La música torna a sonar a la ciutat de danses i guitarres – the music returns to sound in the city of dances and guitars*); cinema (*El segle XVIII brilla el la foscor – the 18th century shines in the darkness*); arts and dance (*Teatre, dansa i arts imprescindibles com fa tres segles – theatre, dance and arts as essential three centuries ago*). All of these tie into the overall

discourse of difference and reclaiming 'the past' to assert an identity that resists passive inclusion into dominant historical narratives.

Symbols act as reminders to "make memory present" and are "tools for *experiencing* the past" (Rovira 2009: 41, italics in original). In the process of ethnogenesis, specific symbols chosen to represent a group are only a small selection among a large variety of symbols encompassed in the shared history. Symbols are maintained in collective memory as long as the social context enables and sustains it (Rovira 2009: 47). As social contexts change so too the "context in which history appears to us is also transformed" (Rovira 2009: 47).

In the "dynamic developments" of society, "Symbols instigate social action" (Turner 1974: 55) and the symbols able to generate the greatest diffusion, uptake and consensus may become institutionalised symbols, including, for example, those explored in the previous chapter – the *Senyera* and *Sant Jordi*. 'Symbolic action' refers to activities and measures that are taken in order to promote the inculcation of some symbols over others (Rovira 2009). Through 'symbolic action', certain images, meanings and ideas are enhanced and socially embedded whilst others may be deliberately or inadvertently downgraded. The symbolic representation of a particular Catalan ethnic identity is being contested, recreated and transformed in the *El Born CCM*.

II Events of 1714

'1714' is being renewed and transformed as a central symbol of Catalan identity in the present and to guide sentiments that relate to the future direction of Catalan society, especially in relation to debates regarding greater autonomy. '1714' condenses a host of events, symbols and meanings, and a brief timeline of key events around the 11th of

September 1714[26] provides context as to why this event can be so effectively renewed today.

Following the death in 1700 of King Charles II of Spain without an heir-apparent, a conflict commenced between two would-be successors, the Bourbon Philip V, backed by France and Spain, and the Hapsburg Archduke Charles III, backed by England and Holland (known as the Grand Alliance). This became known as the War of the Spanish Succession, which was actually a large-scale European war (Alcoberro i Pericay 2010; Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 25). Opposing the absolutist ideology of Philip V, the government of Catalunya supported Charles III (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 26). In November 1705 Charles III entered Barcelona and was proclaimed King of Spain by the Catalan government and people. In 1706 the forces of Philip V attacked Barcelona in retaliation but were forced back, and the war continued on many fronts for years (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 26).

1713 witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in which England agreed to a compromise with Philip V, largely because England had suffered severe military losses and crippling economic costs in the war (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 28). In addition, following the death in 1711 of King Joseph I of Austria, Charles III was designated as his successor. With the possibility of Charles III governing Austria, France and Spain, together with all their colonies, the British and Dutch feared this arrangement would be overly powerful and withdrew their support for him (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 27). The treaty thus recognised Philip V as King of Spain.

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[26] This is a history of complex negotiations and political allegiances, changing economic factors and ideologies. For further explorations of this period written in English see Alcoberro i Pericay (2010), Faulkner (2015) and Ker (2015). A great many publications on The War of the Spanish Succession have been written in *Català* and Castilian Spanish but have not been translated into English.

Catalan leaders were unhappy with this agreement and continued to refuse to support Philip V. The 'War of the Catalans', as these last years of the War of the Spanish Succession alternatively became known, intensified on 25 July 1713 as Bourbon troops bombarded Barcelona and the Siege of Barcelona began (Hernàndez Cardona 2013). Barcelona was attacked for months but resisted with a combination of trained army personnel, regular citizens, peasants and priests, who continued their resistance for over one year. At 4.30am on 11 September 1714 the Bourbons launched what became their final attack on Barcelona (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 33). The Catalans launched counter attacks led by commander-in-chief Rafael Casanova i Comes and central army commander Antoni de Villarroel. However, by 11am both sides had suffered significant casualties and the Catalan commanders realised that their resistance had become futile, and at 3pm the Catalans surrendered (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 33). After this defeat the Catalans lost much of the liberty they had previously enjoyed, as King Philip V "began a process of centralisations on the French model. In the cause of homogenisation and unification he banned most Catalan institutions, customs and laws and restricted the public use of Catalan" (Wright 2004: 204) language. The 1716 *Nueva Planta* (New Plan) Decree abolished the Catalan constitution and institutions (Hernàndez Cardona 2013). Catalan people experienced harsh repressions, and in Barcelona 1000 homes were destroyed to build the Citadel, a military fortress that effectively kept the people of Barcelona under surveillance (Woolard 1989; Wright 2004; Castells 2004; Hernàndez Cardona 2013).

11 September 1714 "is conventionally singled out as the end of Catalonia as a discrete political entity, and it is commemorated, ironically, as the national holiday of Catalonia" (Woolard 1989: 19). The date is celebrated annually as *La Diada Nacional de Catalunya,* or simply *La Diada*, and I explore the significance of this commemoration in Chapter Six. In present-day Catalan society, '1714' represents more than the commemoration of a battle, a siege or the end of a war. The culmination of events on 11 September 1714 represents more than the defeat of one side and victory for the other: '1714' has become a modern symbol of the loss of Catalan rights (and many argue 'national' rights), governing

institutions, liberties and sovereignty. As a contemporary symbol of Catalan society, '1714' is being constructed to encapsulate the meanings and characteristics of bravery, perseverance and honour and an emblem of freedom, autonomy and a 'unique' Catalan identity that people today can form an attachment to and mobilise around. The emphasis is on *difference* – a different history, a different political will and a different autonomous people.

The current remembrance of '1714' not only references 'the past', but is also firmly and explicitly oriented towards the future as a symbol of the ongoing struggle for identity and self-determination: "The memory of those epic deeds would survive 300 years and would always spur the Catalans on towards liberty" (Hernàndez Cardona 2013: 33). The rhetoric surrounding '1714' is reproduced in the *El Born CCM* to promote a view of the existence of an independent and honourable Catalan 'spirit' which lives on in the people who continue today to struggle for their unique way of life and autonomy. '1714' is becoming increasingly visible, pervasive and is performed in a variety of ways in Catalunya, including through public commemorations, museum exhibitions, floral tributes, clothing, memorabilia and books.

III *El Born CCM*

El Born CCM is housed in the old *Mercat del Born* (Born Market) building, originally designed and built in the 1870s as a large (indeed the largest at the time) undercover market place in Barcelona, and is an iconic example of the architectural style of early Catalan *Modernisme* (Fernández Espinosa 2013; Guàrdia & Oyón 2013; Sòria i Badia 2013). The structure provides a beacon for this lower section of the *La Ribera* district (literally 'The Shore', referencing its proximity to the harbour), which is also referred to as *El Born.* The building was left disused and deteriorating for almost a decade after 1971 until it was partially restored and used intermittently for hosting community events

during the 1980s. At the end of the 1990s, after much public debate and contention, a community library was chosen to be the purpose of the reinvigorated building (Sòria i Badia 2013: 63). However, the unearthing of city ruins from the 16th century during excavation works resulted in renewed and heated debates about the future of the building. An agreement was eventually reached in the early 2000s to preserve the symbolism of the site as a hub of Catalan community life in which the buried ruins would be exposed while the spaces around would be used for cultural events and exhibitions (Sòria i Badia 2013: 64).

The *Mercat del Born* building is a cast iron structure with patterned red and cream bricks on the base, metal-louvered windows, red and blue coloured roof tiles, and large high glass windows with stained glass in the corners. The roof structures, with sharper peaks at each of the four entrances, are symmetrically brought together at the centre in an octagonal shape, topped with a domed watchtower decorated in yellow and orange tiles. In the slightly haphazard narrow streets of Barcelona's *Ciutat Vella*, with buildings crowding in close together and where getting lost is an ever-present possibility for the uninitiated, it comes as some surprise to reach the wide open pedestrian zone that surrounds *El Born CCM*.

Image 25: View of *El Born CCM* through the surrounding streets (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 26: *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Large white letters on the high glass of the main entrance proclaim the site as *El Born CCM*. A few meters above, at the peak of the metal arch, lie four square tiles making the flag of Barcelona: two diagonally-opposed with the white and red cross of *Sant Jordi*; the other two squares contain the red and yellow bars of the Catalan flag, the *Senyera*. The official

inauguration of *El Born CCM* occurred on 12th September 2013, one day after the *La Diada* annual public holiday that marked the 299th anniversary of the end of the Siege of Barcelona.

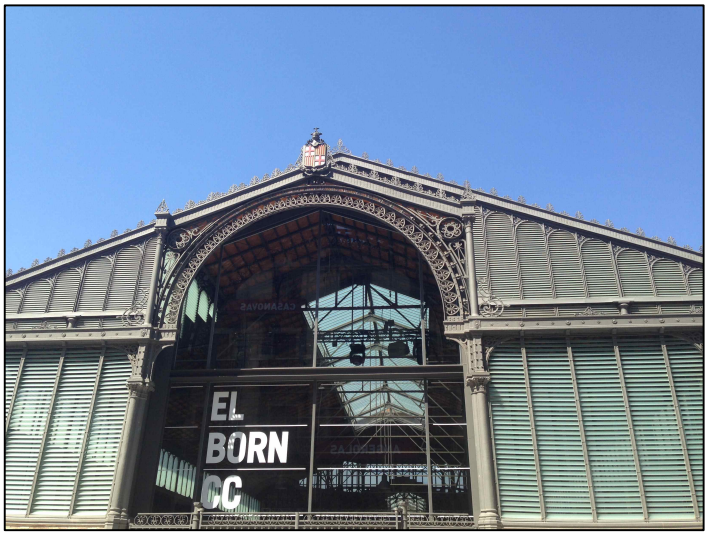


Image 27: *El Born CCM* entrance as I encountered it during my fieldwork trips, with the original name of 'El Born CC' (Author's photo, September 2013).

The area around the market is comprised of large apartment buildings, many of rendered and painted stone standing between five and seven stories high, with small narrow balconies and French windows. The street-level floors are most often used as restaurants, shops and bars. Many of the buildings in the *Ciutat Vella* date back to medieval times. During the 13th - 15th centuries *La Ribera* was an area of wealth and prestige, as evidenced by some of the larger and more ornate stone buildings. It has also been an old working-class *barri* (suburb) of Barcelona that has become increasingly gentrified and popular with tourists in recent decades and now contains many art and clothes boutiques, small hotels and holiday apartments, bars, restaurants and cafés. As noted above, following the fall of Barcelona in 1714, substantial sections of La Ribera were demolished and replaced by the *Ciutadella* (military Citadel). Almost 250 years later, in 1968, demolition of the majority of the military fortress began and the space was turned into a city park (Fernández Espinosa

2013), the *Parc de la Ciutadella* (Park of the Citadel), including a zoo, with the few remaining structures used as official government buildings, including the Catalan Parliament.

Within the building's open floor space of approximately 140m by 60m, two large rectangular and identically sized 'pits' extend below street level, with a wide walkway over the centre. The street-level floor overlooks the excavations of an archaeological site that reveal the stonework of former buildings. Floodlights on stands further illuminate the ruins. Every few metres around three sides of each 'pit' an information placard at floor level extends out approximately one metre over the ruins below. Information on the placards (twenty in total, ten around each pit) is written in *Català*, Castilian and English. While some placards describe the history of the building and others Catalan society of the 1700s, the majority of the information provided describes the history of the War of the Spanish Succession and events leading ultimately to the fall of Barcelona on 11 September 1714.

Image 28: Inside *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 29: Inside *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 30: Centre walkway and ruins inside the *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 31: Information placards that extend over the ruins inside *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

During my visit in September 2013 to *El Born CCM*, one of the first things I saw when entering the space was a large banner hung from a central crossbeam, with large words proclaiming "*Viure Lliure*" (Live Free). Above these words was a drawing of three pairs of dancing feet wearing rope sandals that are commonly worn when dancing the *Sardana*, a 'traditional' or 'national' Catalan dance. Under the feet were the numbers '1714' and '2014', referencing the upcoming 300-year anniversary. Beneath "*Viure Lliure*" was a photo of a crowd of people in contemporary dress with their hands raised, seemingly in celebration. This banner presents strong political undertones within the broader context of the Catalan independence movement, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Image 32: Banner of '*Viure Lliure'* inside *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

The presentation of historical messages within *El Born CCM* through slogans is both subtle and overt. Subtle because the visitor is not definitively told to make the link, yet overt because the words are repeated and prominently displayed: "*Viure Lliure o Morirem*" (Live Free or Die)[27], "*Fins a Aconseguir-ho*" (Until we succeed) and the Latin "*Donec Perficiam*" (Until we prevail). The repetition of these selected slogans, which were used by resistance fighters in Catalunya during the War of the Spanish Succession and Siege of Barcelona (Hernàndez Cardona 2013), reinforces the renewed relevance of the past to the present and also asserts an ongoing struggle for political autonomy and cultural rights. A different variation of the slogan can be seen in another banner hanging from a beam inside *El Born CCM*:

[27] Sometimes moderated by removing the "*o Morirem*" (or die), as in the large central banner which declares *"Viure Liure"*.

Un viatge a la Barcelona del 1700

La defensa de les llibertats Catalanes

Vencer o Morir!

(*A trip to Barcelona of the 1700*

The defence of Catalan freedom

Overcome or Die!)

El Born CCM has two exhibition rooms[28]. In one of these the display was titled "*Fins a aconseguir-ho! El setge de 1714*" (Until it is achieved! The siege of 1714). The lighting was dimmed and deep-red information boards with backlit writing provided information about the final battle in Barcelona. The displays detailed political decrees, military strategies, Catalan soldiers' uniforms, weaponry and details of battles. Audio displays replayed quotes and proclamations by Catalan political and military leaders, calls to arms and sounds of battle. The space was quiet and visitors spoke in hushed tones as they moved through, the mood sombre and solemn.

[28] These were free to enter on my first two visits but now visitors must pay to enter.

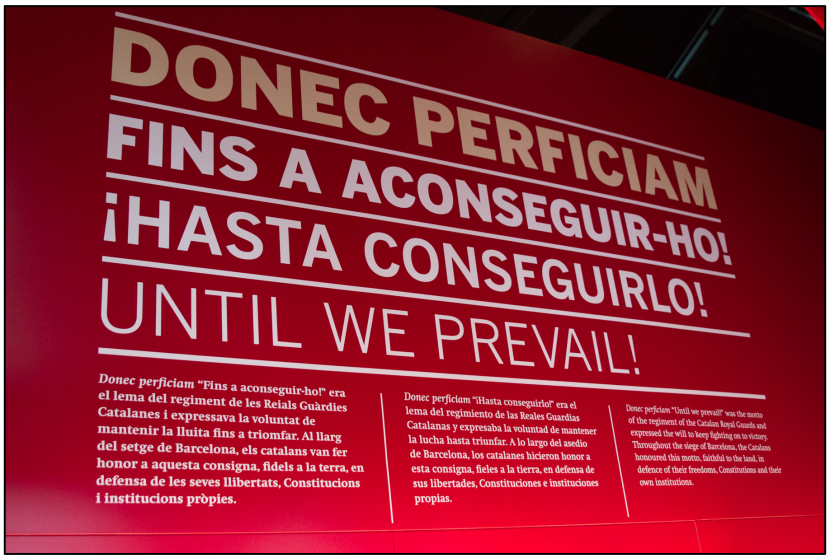


Image 33:Exhibition sign inside *El Born CCM* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 34: Display inside the exhibition '*Fins a aconseguir-ho! El setge de 1714*' (Author's photo, September 2013).

The final display room within this section of the exhibition showed moving images projected onto opposing walls. Shown in a loop was a short film re-enactment (approximately five minutes) of the final battle scenes of the siege. The sound of shouting, bombs exploding and gunshots was loud and clamorous. The images switched and combined in the centre screen displaying the confusion and panic of the war. The re-

enactment ended with the quote (spoken in *Català* and written in English): "*The capitulation marked the end of Catalonia as a state....The actions of the fighters for freedom remains engraved in the memory of the Catalans*." The significance of this summarises the exhibition space as presenting an image of 'the past' that is encouraged as part of present day collective memory, and constructed as central to Catalan identity and political autonomy both then *and* now.

At the end of this exhibition space was a large leather-bound visitors book. The comments on the pages that stood open as I walked past included: "*visca Catalunya*" (*long live Catalunya*); "*viurem lliures o morirem*" (*we live free or we die*); the four lines and a star drawing of the *Estelada*, the Catalan independence flag; "*Som i Serem*" (*we are and we will be*); "*Ara més que mai, Catalunya independent*" (*Now more than ever, independent Catalunya*); "*ho aconseguirem*" (*we will succeed*); "*mès clar, l'aigua*" (*any more clear, it would be water*). Three comments also included the Latin "*Donec Perficiam*" (meaning 'Until we prevail', although the spelling differed slightly). Of the twelve comments, ten were written in *Català*, one in English and three incorporated some Latin. These comments allowed me a brief insight into a small number of visitors' interpretations of the space and what it meant to them. All expressed a strong feeling of appreciation for the exhibition and most expressed support for the 'freedom' of Catalunya. Although *El Born CCM* exhibition did not include explicit statements supporting *current* calls for Catalunya's independence from Spain, many of these visitors' comments implied that they had interpreted the exhibition in this way. Although these twelve comments cannot be considered representative of all visitors, it does present a more widespread utilisation of the slogans and rhetoric regarding the present relevance of '1714' to Catalan society.

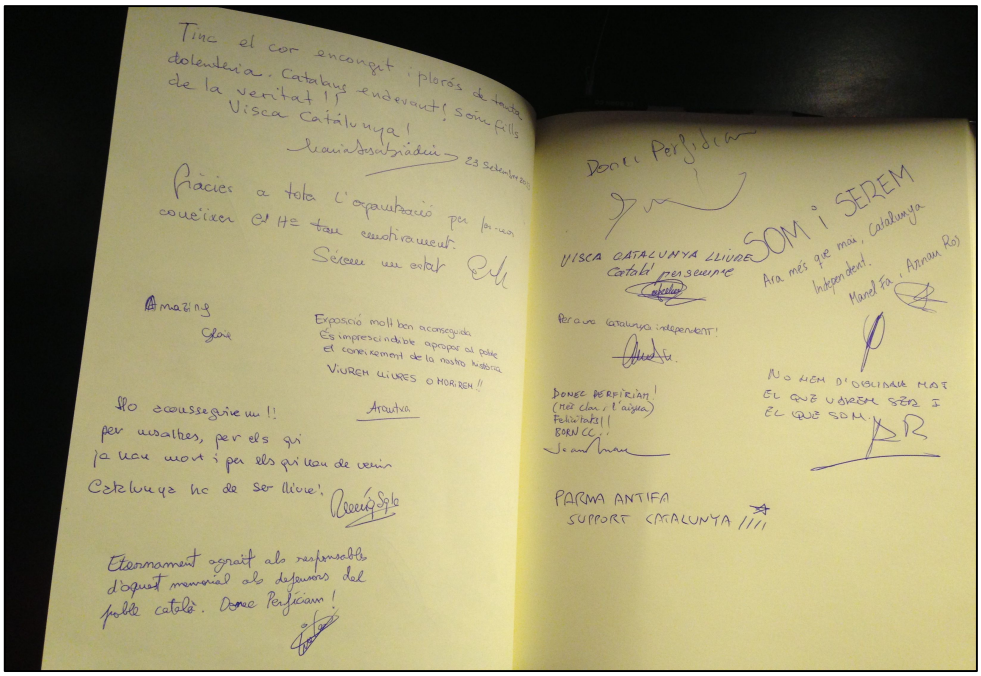


Image 35: Visitors' book at the exit of the exhibition "*Fins a aconseguir-ho! El setge de 1714*" (Author's photo, September 2013).

The various slogans are part of the discourse and rhetoric regarding a life-or-death struggle that was relevant 300 years ago and is being encouraged as relevant today – where to give up and lose liberties is presented as akin to losing Catalan identity. The options presented, then and now, are to continue to struggle for a 'unique' Catalan identity or to perish. "*Fins a Aconseguir-ho*" and "*Donec Perficiam*" convey the message that Catalan people have the fortitude to continue the struggle in the face of oppression and loss. These are powerfully emotive slogans and, as their repetition in the visitor's book above indicates, they can enhance and stoke sentiments and mobilisation around Catalan identity struggles. This is an example of the ethnic struggle for difference provoking and interacting with a political and nationalist agenda. There is an ongoing dialectic I expose further in the following chapter between the ethnic self-explorations forming Catalan identity and its complex and constructive relationships with the space of politics and nationalist causes.

A second exhibition space within *El Born CCM* was titled '*De les pedres, a les persones*' (From the stones, to the people) with the words "*Nothing was ever the same again*", showed a progressive and prosperous Catalan society in Barcelona prior to the war. The theme of aggrievement is central to Catalan ethnicity and the struggle narrative. This exposition detailed Barcelona of the 1700s, described as progressive and prosperous, democratic, liberal and innovative. It was presented as a society with thriving trade, commerce, manufacturing and export industries, and international innovations that reached Barcelona before any other part of Spain. The exhibition displayed thousands of objects discovered during the excavation works including ceramics, jewellery, sporting equipment, ammunition and documents. Although the same size and general layout of the other exhibition space, the lights were not dimmed and the displays were brightly backlit with multiple tall glass cabinets and vibrant red walls. The lightness and positive language was starkly opposed to the darkness and reverence of the other exhibition space.

The projected societal depiction was one of a Catalan 'golden age' of progress, prosperity, modernity, ingenuity and equality, which was showcased through examples of artistic excellence, enlightened politics, diverse cultural practices and architectural innovations. Barcelona of the 1700s was described as a forward-thinking and forward-looking city until the events of 1714 (Garcia Espuche 2013). This space moves through the pre-1714 period with themes of positivity, hope and glory of Barcelona in the early 18th century and comments on the devastation, destruction and decline wrought after 1714. '*Des les pedres, a les persones*' evokes this rhetoric through highlighting the successes and progress of a once-sovereign Catalunya that was "attacked and mutilated" (*El Born CCM* display 2013) following the war by the Spanish Bourbon monarchy. Catalunya is represented as an advanced and prosperous nation in the 1700s, which deserves the 'right' to be so again. Claims are made that Catalunya *was* and *is* different to Spain, especially in terms its political system, decisions and historic alliances.

El Born CCM archaeological site, which has been dated back to the 14th to 18th centuries, is part of the space that the visitor first encounters as they enter the building. The ruins act, in a real and palpable sense, as a physical testament to the destruction of an independent and thriving Barcelona and Catalunya. The link between the past and the present is partly established through the physical space, which itself stands above the significant and somewhat 'sacred' ruins from a Catalan 'golden age'. The old *Mercat del Born*, a space originally for the provision of physical sustenance, commercial exchange and community interaction, has been transformed and renewed into a physical testament and ongoing reminder of an event almost 300 years ago that is being called upon as relevant to the lives of Catalan people today.

IV The Broader Diffusion and Effectiveness of '1714'

On the eve of the 2013 *La Diada* public holiday, which I further discuss in Chapter Six in terms of its meaning for nationalism and independence politics, I shared a lively dinner with Núria and Xavi in their apartment with eight of their friends. Núria and Xavi are self-identifying "*proud Catalans*" in their thirties who live to the northwest of Barcelona in the small town where they both grew up. They were key research participants who generously showed me around their town, introduced me to family and friends, and took me to experience places, food and events they felt were important to their identity as Catalan people and/or to the history of Catalan society. That evening Núria's sister Montse and her partner Josep, whom I had met on my earlier fieldwork trip, greeted me warmly and presented me with a gift of an illustrated children's book about the War of the Spanish Succession, titled *1714* (Sierra i Fabra & Blanch 2013). Montse and Josep told me that although it was a children's book, it presents a "*good history*" of "*important events*", and would be "*helpful for my Català"*. Others around the table agreed it was a "*very good gift*" and "*very relevant*" given the political climate and on the eve of *La Diada*.

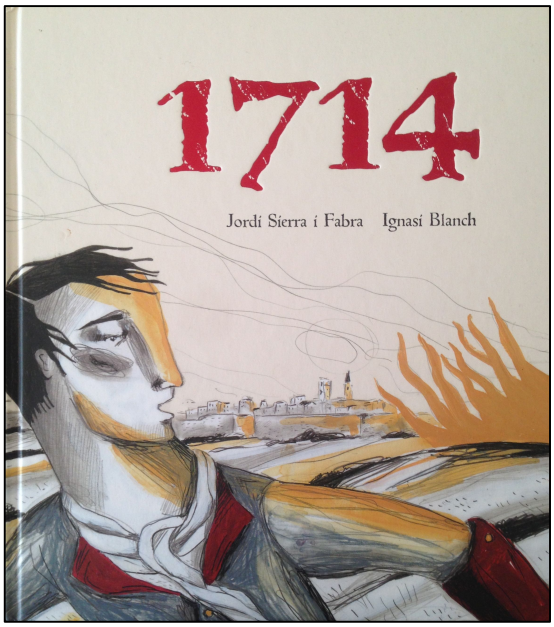


Image 36: Front cover of *1714* (Sierra i Fabra & Blanch 2013).

The prologue to this book reads (the original version is in *Català*, see Image 37):

Come all, small and large
Boys and girls, pay attention
It's time, good Catalans
To remember with plenty of emotion

These events three hundred years ago
Three centuries of lived history
In Catalunya all of the places
Are fresh in the memory

Listen to what we have to say,
My chained verses
Because what happened yesterday
Marks the road together

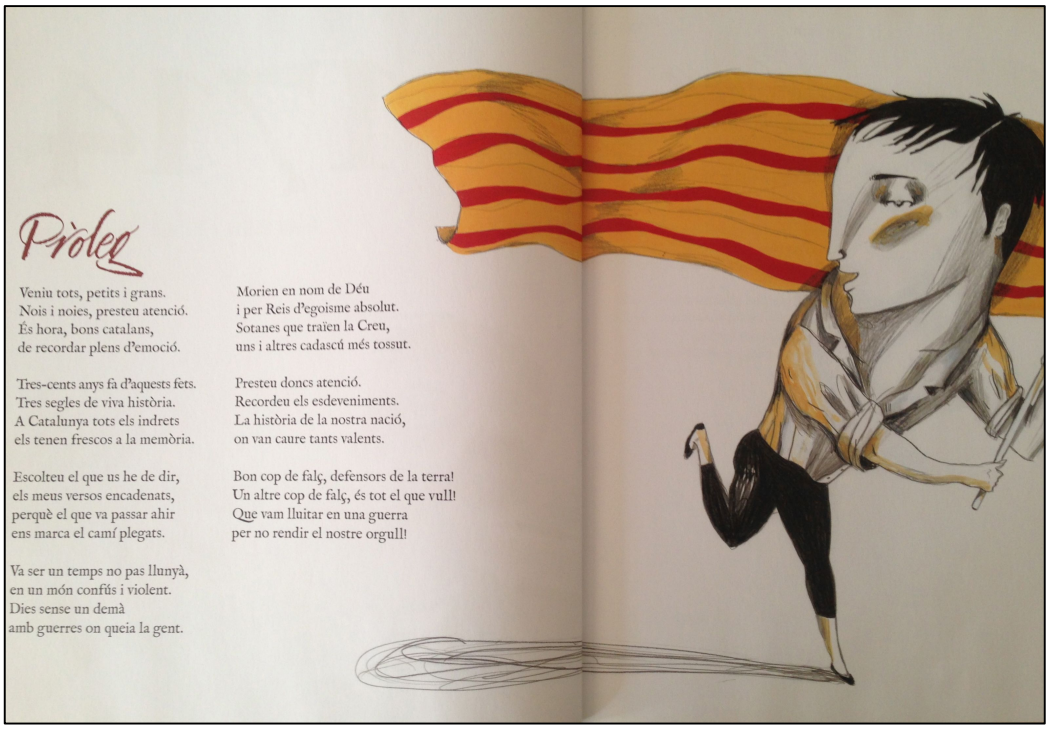
It was a time not long ago,
In a world confused and violent.
Days without a tomorrow
And wars where people fell

They died in the name of God
And for kings of absolute egoism
Priests that betrayed the cross
Each other more stubborn.

Pay attention therefore
Remember these events.
The history of our nations,
Where they fell so bravely.

Strike with your sickle, defenders of the land![29]
Another strike with your sickle, it's all I want!
That we fought in a war
To not surrender our pride!

[29] This line comes from the chorus of *Els Segadors*, the Catalan 'national' anthem, which references another battle, that of the 1640-1659 War of the Reapers (Alcoberro 2010: 114).



Pròleg

Veniu tots, petits i grans.
Nois i noies, presteu atenció.
És hora, bons catalans,
de recordar plens d'emoció.

Tres-cents anys fa d'aquests fets.
Tres segles de viva història.
A Catalunya tots els indrets
els tenen frescos a la memòria.

Escolteu el que us he de dir,
els meus versos encadenats,
perquè el que va passar ahir
ens marca el camí plegats.

Va ser un temps no pas llunyà,
en un món confús i violent.
Dies sense un demà
amb guerres on queia la gent.

Morien en nom de Déu
i per Reis d'egoisme absolut.
Sotanes que traïen la Creu,
uns i altres cadascú més tossut.

Presteu doncs atenció.
Recordeu els esdeveniments.
La història de la nostra nació,
on van caure tants valents.

Bon cop de falç, defensors de la terra!
Un altre cop de falç, és tot el que vull!
Que vam lluitar en una guerra
per no rendir el nostre orgull!

Image 37: Prologue from *1714* (Sierra i Fabra & Blanch 2013).

'1714' is being effectively mythologised as an important symbol for Catalan identity. The notion of myth-making is not to say that the history of '1714' is false or misleading, but rather that this period is being selectively promoted through narratives that emphasise certain events, symbols and attributes. It is about making these feelings and connections seem natural and given rather than created and manipulated. Encouraging "*good Catalans*" what to hold dear and feel, and what should *matter* to them, this prologue is emotively instructing Catalans what is important to belonging as a member of the group, and encouraging a particular collective memory.

The narrative of '1714' as presented in this illustrated children's book and in *El Born CCM* is being imbued with the characteristics of heroism, honour, fortitude and solidarity of Catalan people holding steadfastly to the belief in freedom and autonomy. This helps furnish a notion of current Catalan ethnic identity as having these characteristics and encouraging Catalan people to hold dear '1714' as a manifestation of Catalan values,

especially in the current socio-political environment. In this way, the symbolism of this narrative has the power to influence both the present and the future. Chapter Six will explore the connection between Catalan ethnicity and nationalism, and the socio-political factors that are influencing debates on separatism.

The use of '1714' as an event from 'the past', well beyond living memory, is highly amenable to current cultural politics. As identified in the introduction, much of my original interest in the historical situation in Catalunya and impact on Catalan ethnic identity came through documents, novels, films and photographs about the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship[30]. Although texts and displays on the Spanish Civil War exist, including a plethora of books, as well as some films, photographic exhibitions, commemorative plaques and statues, there have been few dedicated exhibitions or museum displays in Catalunya. Indeed, some of my research participants in their twenties and thirties, including Ramon, Miguel and Javier, told me that they had learnt more about the Spanish Civil War when they travelled overseas than during their schooling in Spain. This is not to say that the histories and memories of the Spanish Civil War or the Franco dictatorship are not important or significant in Spain and Catalunya today. For example, as discussed in Chapter Three on language, arguments for the continuation and preservation of *Català* consistently recall its repression during the Franco dictatorship and its survival '*against all odds*'. Rather then, in the process of ethnogenesis the ways in which the historical importance of '1714' is being actively constructed as relevant for Catalan people in today's socio-political climate is partly because it is *not* within living memory. In part, the effectiveness and renewed relevance of '1714' is *because* these events occurred three centuries ago and beyond living memory. Unlike the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship (with ongoing controversies today, including, for example, the

[30] Notably 'The Mexican Suitcase' exhibition I saw in New York at the International Centre of Photography in November 2010.

appropriateness of Franco's burial place at the grand monumental memorial of *Valle de los Caidos* outside Madrid), the emotional distress is less immediate and the ability to glorify and romanticise this era is heightened.

A 'pact of silence' or 'pact of oblivion' around the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent Franco dictatorship was important for Spain's eventual transition to democracy (including the political amnesty) (Richards 1998). Richards explains that in Spain there was a "monopolization of public memory and the public voice by the victors" (1998: 4) of the Spanish Civil War, where closure of the past was imposed and 'the defeated' effectively had no history. A forced forgetting was brutally imposed upon Spaniards, and a static and triumphant version of the recent past was employed. The attempt to destroy a sense of diverse history and social memory, and to impose silence represented a continued and aggressive cultural destruction. Silence was also employed as personal and collective strategies for survival as "'Spain' itself became forbidden territory for 'the defeated'" (Richards 1998: 25). Maria, a research participant whose parents and grandparents lived through these perilous times and supported different sides in the war, told of the words her grandmother spoke: *"don't talk, don't hear, don't see and you will live*". This references the denial and repression of experiences and identity in the face of extreme danger for the purposes of survival, and this denial persisted during the Franco dictatorship, as well as into the current era.

This enduring 'pact of silence' makes the era less open to current discussion and interpretations and very little of this 'collective partial blindness' has been recovered (Richards 1998). The 'pact of silence' continues to hang heavily over societies in Catalunya and Spain in a way that currently restricts the reconstruction of collective memory around that era. The Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship remain culturally and politically sensitive (as well as continuing the legal amnesty) and are, therefore, in the current climate, less amenable to the same degree of mythologising as '1714'. Thus, I assert that part of the success of '1714' in mobilising collective memory and social engagement is in

relation to the reduced availability of the Spanish Civil War and subsequent dictatorship to be widely inserted officially into the public domain and discourse. Events within living memory are, in this context, more contentious and difficult for the foundation of developing identity symbols that resist and transgress dominant history.

Conclusion

Museums and exhibitions are part of the social processes of transmitting and transforming knowledge and relationships. The display of '1714' as history and social memory within a new cultural centre in Barcelona demonstrates current processes of imagining, constructing and reconfiguring historic accounts as part of an ongoing project of redefining and reviving a *particular* Catalan identity. *El Born CCM* is a product of broad and widespread practices of historical reconstruction that have received guiding impetus from and in turn give shape and significance to the history, memory and feelings made important to Catalan ethnic identity. *El Born CCM's* public displays, archaeological site, and educational and cultural activities are explicitly intended to revive, encourage and transmit selected Catalan history, heritage and collective memory. '1714' provides an example of how reconstituting and reviving history and collective memory is part of an ongoing process of ethnogenesis in Catalunya. 'The past' as history and culture is being used as a mode of resisting benign inclusion and to develop a space for significance. It is not about the retrieval of an 'original' identity based on life in the 1700s, but rather exploring what it means to be Catalan in the present with reference to and by mobilising around a particular reading of 'the past'.

CHAPTER SIX

A CHANT RINGS OUT ACROSS THE CROWD: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE

Nationalist sentiments and agendas espoused in the political arena of Catalunya can provide a means to articulate expressions of difference and feelings of historic and ongoing oppression with the aim of liberating Catalunya from the perceived yoke of Spain. Catalan nationalism fervently asserts political autonomy through historic nationhood; employs 'national' symbols including a flag and anthem; and draws strongly on regional and nation-state political and economic disputes to mobilise support. In providing an avenue for the expression and attainment of degrees of political and economic autonomy, Catalan nationalism can support and facilitate opportunities for other forms of identity constructions that are not preoccupied with asserting nationhood. As the example of *Modernisme* in Chapter Four demonstrated, Catalan nationalism and Catalan ethnicity do not run parallel to each other but co-create and are co-dependent.

I assert that Catalan nationalism capitalises on the energies of ethnic identity construction to drive forward its own cause, and its success can provide opportunities for ethnic identity transformations, especially through securing economic and institutional conditions. For example, laws guaranteeing the protection of minority languages can enable linguistic practices to innovate, experiment and expand without being preoccupied with mere survival. In presenting and pursuing its own political agendas, however, nationalism must unambiguously delineate those issues, symbols and beliefs that are central to its mission. In so doing it can cannibalise and essentialise otherwise dynamic social and cultural practices, and can risk diminishing the cultural resources from which it draws. Therefore, understanding identity construction processes in nationalist terms alone reduces the complexity of everyday lived experiences as the significance is funnelled

into a narrow vision of identity related to nationhood. If nationalism is employed as the only interpretive prism it can deny the ambiguity of what I am examining and can risk reifying and stifling identity construction. Ethnicity theory brings into view the ambiguities and creative self-fashioning capacity of identity that nationalist ideology seeks to minimise. In presenting my argument I do not discount the significance of nationalism, and suggest instead that nationalism can provide a crucible for dynamic identity negotiation *even though* it is commonly intolerant of ambiguity.

My first fieldwork trip to Catalunya commenced one day after the region's elections on 25th November 2012. This date was brought forward by two years for variously cited reasons but that most commonly referenced in the media and discussed by my research participants was the public pressure that followed a mass rally in Barcelona on 11 September 2012 in favour of the independence of Catalunya (Assemblea Nacional Catalana 2014). 11 September is celebrated annually as *La Diada*, Catalunya's 'national' day, drawing on the symbolism of '1714'. On this day in 2012 approximately one million people participated in a *manifestació* (protest) using the slogan "*Catalunya, nou estat d'europa"* (Catalunya, new state of Europe) (Assemblea Nacional Catalana 2014). This period of elevated political tension and anticipation was the broader context in which I found myself. Prompting research participants to discuss politics and independence was not required as it was a 'hot topic' at the time and has remained so since. In this chapter I explore celebrations of *La Diada*, including a 2013 protest for independence, as demonstrating both the productive interrelation of Catalan nationalism and Catalan ethnicity, and the risk that a nationalist ideology orientated towards seeking secession could overstep its boundaries and essentialise Catalan ethnicity.

As outlined in Chapter Two, I do not contend that all ethnicities have or need a nationalist dimension, or that other political or economic issues cannot be addressed without a

nationalist agenda[31]. In the case of Catalan ethnogenesis however, nationalism can help to secure some of the conditions – political and economic – that can assist the more dynamic transformations and flourishing of ethnic identity.

I Catalan Nationalist Politics post-1975

In 1969 Francisco Franco named King Juan Carlos I as his royal successor with the intent that the Francoist regime would be maintained beyond the dictator's death (Preston 2006: 324). Unintentionally however, this move began Spain's transition to democracy as King Juan Carlos noted that the majority of the Spanish population wanted democracy to return to their country (Preston 2006: 324). Franco died in November 1975, and in the following year King Juan Carlos I appointed Adolfo Suárez, a somewhat controversial figure who had held government posts in the final years of the Francoist regime, as Prime Minister. The first democratic Spanish elections were subsequently held in July 1977 and Adolfo Suárez, leading the centrist *Unión de Centro Democrático* (Union of the Democratic Centre, UCD) party,[32] became Spain's first democratically elected Prime Minister in 41 years (Catalan News Agency 2014b).

Spain is now a 'quasi-federal democracy' (Miley 2007: 2; Villarroya 2012: 35) organised in the form of a parliamentary government under a constitutional monarchy. In 1978 the draft Spanish Constitution was approved by the Spanish Parliament, sanctioned by the

[31] Many protests are united against other political and civic issues, for example the protest that became known as 15M – referencing the date it occurred on 15 May 2011 – that was against broader social issues including unemployment and housing.

[32] There is a complex political history behind these developments that are beyond the scope of this research to provide. For further readings on the dictatorship, Spain's transition to democracy and Catalan nationalism see Tusell (2007), Guibernau (2004) and Hargreaves (2000).

Spanish people in a referendum[33] and signed into effect by the King, thus becoming official on 29 December 1978. This event marked a significant moment in Spain's transition to democracy.

The seventeen 'Autonomous Communities' of Spain were officially created and recognised in the 1978 Spanish Constitution to assist a peaceful accommodation of regional nationalisms (Guibernau 2013: 375). The constitution had the difficult task of attempting "to recognise so many points of view, it both recognised the autonomy of national groups such as the Catalans and at the same time underscored the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation" (Wright 2004: 206). As identified in the Introduction, each of the Autonomous Communities has an elected parliament, public administration, regional budget, and health and education systems. In the devolution of powers to the autonomous communities, Villarroya identifies that "the framework established by the Spanish Constitution has given regional governments great autonomy in establishing their priorities and policies" (2012: 35). In particular "the Constitution sought to guarantee access to culture (Articles 9 and 44) and recognised the country's cultural and linguistic pluralism (Article 3.2)" (Villarroya 2012: 34). Tensions regarding these arrangements remain however, and will be further explored later in the chapter.

In Catalunya the reinstated 'Statute of Autonomy' was approved by regional referendum in 1979 after having been suspended for more than three decades. In 1980 the first regional elections in Catalunya saw Jordi Pujol i Soley become President of Catalunya (Guibernau 2013: 373-374). Pujol served as President until 2003 and was a founder of the *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* party (Democratic Convergence of Catalunya, CDC) which formed government with *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Union

[33] Voting is not compulsory in Spain.

of Catalunya, UDC) in 1980 to become the coalition party *Convergència i Unió* (Convergence and Union, CiU). Guibernau observes that

> Once in power, the CiU promoted a nation-building process focused upon the re-establishment of Catalan institutions, the promotion of the Catalan language – on the brink of disappearing after the political and cultural repression exerted by the dictatorship – and the construction of Catalan identity. (2013: 374)

MacInnes agrees with Guibernau that the

> CiU prioritized the 'recovery' of a specifically Catalan national identity, not only to challenge Spanish state centralism and globalization but for its own sake, presenting its 'project' of 'fer país' as transcending individualism and providing meaning and a sense of belonging. (2006: 687)

'*Fer país'* literally means 'to make country' and called for the revival and recognition of the Catalan 'nation' and 'national' identity (Magone 2002). It was a "strategy of national reconstruction in economic and cultural terms" (Dowling 2013: 89). That is, the '*fer país'* project aimed to create cultural and economic institutions that promoted the development of Catalunya as a region with a specific and unique 'Catalan' identity focused on language, history and cultural traditions. Thus Pujol's was a nationalist government that emphasised defence of identity and culture, modernization of the economy and regional development, but did *not* seek an independent nation-state.

This specific nationalist ideology influenced the cultural policies created by the CiU in government over more than 20 years. The policies "were aimed at promoting folk and traditional culture, investing in infrastructure for the cultural sector with a strong symbolic element, and setting up publicly funded radio and television broadcasting with the aim of promoting linguistic and cultural identity" (Villarroya 2012: 37). The nationalism promoted by the government pursued selected Catalan identity markers through promoting and protecting them in legislation, policies and funding.

The first law passed by the restored Catalan Parliament in 1980 officially declared *La Diada* on 11 September to be the 'national day' of Catalunya. *La Diada* was first officially celebrated in 1886 but was later suppressed during the Franco dictatorship from 1939. The 1980 law describes a national day as that "through which the nation promotes its values, remembers its history and the people that were protagonists and creates projects for the future" (*Generalitat* 1980). It continues,

> The Catalan people in times of struggle emphasised a day of celebration on September 11th as the Catalan National Day. A day that not only referred to the painful memory of losing liberty on September 11th 1714 and an attitude of vindication and resistance against oppression, but also the hope of full national recovery. (*Generalitat* 1980)

'Article 8: The Symbols of Catalonia' in the amended 2006 Statute of Autonomy (discussed below) specified that "the flag, the holiday and the anthem are the national symbols of Catalonia, defined as a nationality by Article 1" (*Generalitat* 2006). Thus these symbols of Catalan national identity have legal recognition and protection. Article 8 of the 2006 Statute continues:

> 5. Parliament shall regulate the diverse expressions of the symbolic framework of Catalonia and shall define their order of protocol.
> 6. Legal protection for the symbols of Catalonia shall be the same as that for other symbols of the State.

Symbols, including Catalunya's 'national' flag: the *Senyera*; the 'national' anthem: *Els Segadors*; and the 'national' day: *La Diada,* are consistently employed to promote and reinforce particular narratives and 'traditions' and, as detailed above, have become enshrined in law. This is part of the effectiveness of nationalism as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991), in employing shared symbols and experiences that work to create a sense of community, shared values and ideals and a sense of belonging that people can mobilise around. Other symbols and markers of Catalan ethnic identity are drawn on

to promote a national identity, such as the *Sardana* dance, *castells* and *Sant Jordi*. Although these do not have legal recognition and regulations, they still benefit from the support of a strong nationalist project.

> In recent years, expressions of popular and traditional culture, with their ability to create a group and build an identity, have been the region's main element of cohesion. In October 2009, the association of *castells* (human towers traditionally built in festivals all over Catalonia) launched a project called 'Together we make a team' with the support of the Departments of Culture and the Media, and Social Action. This project aims to promote immigrants' integration through their participation in expressions of popular and traditional culture of this kind. (Villarroya 2012: 42)

In the previous chapter I explored a new cultural centre in Barcelona, the *El Born CCM*, displaying the history and memory of events surrounding 11 September 1714. '1714' is part of the strategic cultural revival process of Catalan 'ethnogenesis' in imagining and reproducing selected historical narratives, heritage and collective memories. Catalan nationalism also employs the symbolism and discourse of '1714' to enhance and perpetuate a certain vision of Catalan identity and society. The nationalist ideology engages this event to evoke a sense of injustice and resolve to restore the previous autonomous status and to demand greater control and self-determination due to Catalunya's existence as an 'historic nation' (Guibernau 2013: 373). The current rhetoric seeks to remind people that Catalunya was previously an autonomous and historic 'nation' and has been unfairly repressed by aggressive states over the course of history. This fuels current nationalist sentiments that the Spanish government is denying Catalan people what is rightfully and historically theirs. As asserted in Chapter Five, '1714' is promoted as a symbol of the loss of rights, liberties and sovereignty, and encourages understanding that the values of freedom and determination are central to Catalan identity and need to be passionately upheld now and into the future. The discourse does not just 'exist' but is shaped as Catalan nationalism employs 'history' for its own agenda. Therefore, what

makes these symbols 'national' is not some essential characteristic but part of constructing the 'nation as narrative' (Bhabha 1994: 212).

The *El Born CCM* provides an official space for historical exploration funded by Catalan institutions including the *Ajuntament de Barcelona* (the Barcelona city government). That is, in part through the success of Catalan nationalism seeking a suitable narrative and performance for the nation, the space has been facilitated for this historical account and the promotion of creative and revived cultural aspects. Ethnicity and nationalism are interrelated and can co-create, there is overlapping and interweaving. Ethnicity and nationalism do however have different interests in narratives, events, exhibitions and policy trajectories; and have different ways of shaping and understanding the significance of what is taking place. Nationalism seeks to ensure that what is taking place feeds into other agendas, as a means to other political or economic ends.

Language is another area of public policy that the *Generalitat* has focused on, "ensuring the use of Catalan as a personal vehicle of social, economic, political and cultural communication is seen by the whole of the Catalan government (not only by the Department of Culture and the Media) as one of its biggest objectives" (Villarroya 2012: 39). As I explored in Chapter Three, *Català* is considered to be central, though not unambiguously so, to what it means to be ethnically Catalan. The *Generalitat's* 1983 'Law of Linguistic Normalisation' and 1998 'Law of Linguistic Policy' preferences *Català* as the 'normal' language both publicly and privately for all citizens of Catalunya (Rendon 2007). The laws were directed at migrants for 'civic' assimilation purposes and to 'ethnic' Catalans who had received no formal education in *Català* during the dictatorship (Villarroya 2012: 40; Rendon 2007: 670). In this sense, "language policy is used to strengthen national identity and to contribute to the nation-building process, rather than employed merely as an ethnic indicator (Keating 1997)" (Villarroya 2012: 38). Bourdieu outlined that in the building of a 'nation', along with the creation of new usages, functions

and institutions, "it becomes indispensable to forge a standard language, impersonal and anonymous like the official uses it has to serve" (1991: 48).

The 1983 and 1998 linguistic policies were designed to encourage *Català* as the 'standard' mode of everyday communication. Frekko explains that "national publics seem to go hand in hand with ideologies of standard language – ways of imagining and attempting to construct uniformity in language as an icon of societal homogeneity" (2009: 74). Thus language 'standards' are not objective but rather ideological constructions. Formulating and encouraging the uptake of a 'standard' language is, similar to 'tradition', an invention in constructing the image of a cohesive society. The 'standard' "is often imagined as neutral, unconnected to any particular group of speakers, and therefore able to express the interests of 'everyone'" (Frekko 2009: 71).

Stressing similarities and minimising differences to help shape and create members and non-members, citizens and non-citizens (Eriksen 1991; 2010) was especially important to the Pujol government as it attempted to enhance national unity amongst a heterogeneous Catalan society (Villarroya 2012: 37). As identified in Chapter Three, language was seen as such a central issue for Catalan society post-Franco partly because it had been a direct target of repression during the dictatorship, and partly because of the high levels of migration into Catalunya from the mid 19th century to mid 20th century due to economic growth. Miley observes that "By the time of the transition to democracy, Castilian-speaking immigrants from the rest of Spain constituted clear majorities in most municipalities in the industrial belt surrounding Barcelona, and significant minorities throughout all Catalonia" (2007: 6). With a national identity that delineates itself strongly through *Català* as Catalunya's 'own' language, promoting and enhancing it as a vehicle for belonging and community was and remains a key strategy of political projects.

The *'fer pais'* nationalist project assisted in the revival of Catalan national identity after decades of repression by specifically promoting certain ethnic, social and cultural

practices and giving them official space, funding and recognition. The focus on language as a central element of constructing and promoting a Catalan national identity also helped to support the revival of *Català* as important to a Catalan ethnic identity. The 1983 and 1998 laws supported the more everyday role of *Català* in people's lives.

One risk, however, in structuring the promotion of language around a 'standard' form is the potential to make it somewhat static and unchanging that does not reflect the diverse social reality or everyday usage. Frekko (2009) undertook research that focused on the work of language professionals including teachers, newspaper copy editors, television linguistic assessors and parliamentary transcribers in Barcelona. These occupations are relatively new since *Català* became co-official in Catalunya in 1979. Language professionals "became necessary because most of the people who would now use Catalan in public, though native speakers, had experienced no formal training in the language because of Franco's prohibitions" (Frekko 2009: 77). Generations of *Català* speakers had no formal language education and no knowledge of its written form as a result of repression during the Franco dictatorship. Such language professionals became fundamental in efforts to distribute and institutionalise standard *Català*.

Frekko's research found that some language professionals expressed concerns regarding a lack of registers, that is, a lack of different accents and styles of speaking to reflect different backgrounds and classes. As it was being practiced, all accents, especially in television programs that were dubbed, were made in a single 'neutral' form of *Català*. Frekko provides an example from a language 'corrector' working for a Catalan television show whose "job was to edit the original script before it was distributed to the actors and to intervene on the set when the actors' improvisations took them too far from Catalan normativity" (2009: 79). Actors were encouraged to pronounce any Castilian Spanish words or phrases "with phonological assimilation into Catalan", called "*castellanades a la catalan,* 'Castilianisms Catalan-style'" (Frekko 2009: 80). Although most *Català* speakers incorporate Castilian Spanish words (Frekko 2009; Woolard 1989) the lack of an internal

Català linguistic diversity resulted in the failure to recognize social multiplicity and different social roles. According to Frekko this was predominantly due to "a desire to preserve a boundary between Catalan and Castilian" (Frekko 2009: 80). Furthermore, Miley identifies an ethno-linguistic divide in Catalan society (2007: 9). He argues that nationalism in Catalunya is predominately ethno-linguistic rather than civil and is promoted by political and bureaucratic elites.

Although *Català* uniformity can be an effective form of boundary marking in the processes of both Catalan nationalism and ethnicity, it can also be at the expense of reflecting a more linguistically diverse public, who have origins not only in *Català* or Castilian Spanish, but also in Arabic, Romanian, French, Portuguese, English and Russian. Frekko argued that "a national public depends on a language imagined as standard and homogenous when contrasted with other national languages, but as internally variable when examined within the national context" (2009: 73). Therefore, with only the first part of the above process occurring, that is, presented as standard when compared to Castilian Spanish, internal variability is removed. The risk arises that language received especially from media sources does not match the linguistic experiences of diverse Catalans and might negatively impact on their feelings of solidarity and community.

During my research I perceived high levels of internal variability in spoken *Català,* particularly with accents and colloquialisms, and I was frequently told that physically locating someone's place of origin within Catalunya could be recognised in their speech. Indeed many with whom I spoke commented that they could recognise the way I used and pronounced words as coming from the Girona region, where my teacher was born and lived. According to Frekko however, diversity in speech is not reflected officially:

> the ready availability and prominence of contrasting speech in Castilian and between Castilian and Catalan has made historical contrasts within Catalan irrelevant. The unavailability of contrasts within Catalan makes recourse to

> Castilian even more necessary, and the increasing recourse to Castilian renders the remaining Catalan contrasts ever more irrelevant. (2009: 76)

Frekko's (2009) research demonstrates that a narrow version of the language that does not reflect actual social diversity and plurality is being officially produced and represented. The language needs to have both a standard orthology (including a standard form) as well as being able to recognise and incorporate a range of speech variability in order to represent the broader community. An absence of *Català* speech variability and the standardising restrictions placed on the 'official' *Català* can limit its ability to relate to the broader Catalan population.

Internal variation does exist in *Català* and is important in many contexts, however, the desired nationalist intent of promoting a singular *Català* for the image of national unity and oneness can potentially work to essentialise identity and encourage closure. The propensity of nationalist ideology to emphasise cultural similarities and homogenise the community (Eriksen 1991: 263) can be a central issue and potentially negative aspect of nationalism which seeks to unite people – the 'many as one' – by minimising internal differences and accentuating or essentialising certain cultural practices, traditions and social organisation. Nationalism tends to present its members as unified, and in this example the emphasis on a standard *Català* risks narrowing variability and excluding people from feelings of belonging to the community.

Nationalism draws on the energies of other social, cultural and political identity constructions. However, in appropriating selected elements for its cause, that is, for political, economic and cultural autonomy, it carries the potential to reduce internal diversity and feelings of belonging. With regard to language, which is a key marker of Catalan ethnic identity, limiting *Català* to what is recognised as 'correct' and 'standard', nationalism can, in its co-constructive relationship with ethnicity, decrease diversity. Catalan nationalist efforts to promote *Català* also carries the risk of reducing the ambiguity

and multiplicity of lived everyday experiences. This example of language appropriation illustrates the dual effects of successful nationalism in setting political agendas and shows that nationalism and ethnicity can be co-dependent and co-creative. However, the nationalist project that gives preferential treatment to 'standard' *Català* can have a negative impact in reducing the ambiguities and complexities through its search for commonality.

I reiterate that I am not arguing that there are nationalist agendas and ethnic struggle agendas at play whereby I seek to defend the latter from the former. As I contend above, Catalan nationalism and ethnicity co-construct and draw on the creative and productive energies of the other. Instead, my examination of the processes of Catalan identity creation and transformation would be curtailed of the full significance of what is taking place by an exclusive reliance on the interpretive grid supplied by nationalism.

II Catalan Independence Movement – Current Context

Following a meeting (briefly described in Chapter Three) of rugby union referees in Barcelona, I joined seven members at a local bar. They asked what I was doing in Barcelona and after briefly explaining my project, one man put his arm around his colleague's shoulders and said in English "*he is Nationalista*". Without pause the friend quickly corrected this, "*nooo, Independentista*!". There was no aggression or rebuke in his correction, it was said with passion, pride and a smile. The other men at the table chuckled at this, which did not seem to disregard this distinction, which was, as I perceived it, done in more of an 'of course' tone, and the general discussions remained jovial. No further explanation was offered and the conversation did not turn to discussing political issues – the identity distinction was accepted and the conversation moved on. This distinction reveals a gradation in Catalan nationalism operating in Catalan society whereby a *'nationalista'* takes a more moderate political stance, commonly that of supporting greater

autonomy, whereas an *'independentista'* categorically supports the secession of Catalunya from Spain. Thus there are different levels of nationalism operating in Catalunya in terms of their political agenda or objectives, and there is both variety and indecision in terms of individuals' opinions and preferences.

The most common symbol of the desire for independence is the Catalan independence flag, the *Estelada.* The design of the *Estelada* incorporates the four red bars on a yellow background of the *Senyera*, with the addition of a white five-pointed star in a blue triangle at the hoist[34]. Marta informed me that the star inside the triangle symbolises freedom and was inspired by the flags of Puerto Rico and Cuba, former Spanish colonies.

[34] This blue version is the most common, but a red star in a yellow triangle also exists. The two versions of the *Estelada* are often perceived as interchangeable, although a number of participants, including Marta, told me they do have slightly different meanings, with the red *Estelada* being more socialist or leftist.

Image 38: *Estelada* and *Senyera* flags hung from balconies in Vic (Author's photo, September 2013).

Before leaving their apartment for an independence protest, Núria and Xavi both became disappointed when they could not find their large *Estelada*, only the small *Senyera*. While Núria was looking for a pole on which to hang the *Senyera* she excitedly came across their *Estelada* in the back of a cupboard. They both laughed with relief, as it was "*important*" to them to have and be seen with the *Estelada* because it accurately "*expresses our view"* that Catalunya "*should be an independent country*". In this sense, they understood that the *Senyera*, in its moderateness, does not accurately convey their own desires for the future of Catalunya. This aligns with the previous example of the rugby referee, demonstrating that there are different degrees of Catalan nationalism that people feel and perceive.

The *Estelada* is ubiquitous throughout Catalunya. Flags are hung across balconies and windows, waved at cultural events and sporting games, and printed onto everyday clothing and accessories. Other more simplified and temporary versions of the *Estelada*

are found all over Catalunya spray-painted as four vertical bars topped by a star, usually painted in one colour. These are commonly seen on walls, mailboxes, lamp posts and bins. In many ways nationalism and independence saturate both political rhetoric *and* public space in Catalunya.

Image 39: *Estelada* and *Senyera* flags hung from balconies in La Seu d'Urgel. (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 40: *Estelada* flags hung from balconies. (Author's photo, September 2013)

Image 41: *Estelada* being waved at a cultural event during the 2013 *Festa de la Mercè* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 42**:** Stylised graffiti *Estelada* (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 43: Stylised graffiti *Estelada* on rubbish bin (Author's photo, September 2013).

Rovira argues that "In the case of nations not formally recognised, there is a competition established to occupy the *official* ground of the nation, to counteract its symbolic power" (2009: 45, italics in original). One of the ways employed to claim symbolic power is through the use of flags. Eriksen asserts that "the degree of intensity in flag use varies with the degree to which the identity represented through it is challenged, and with the extent

of personal resources invested into it" (2007: 10). In the case of the independence movement in Catalunya what is being declared is the unity of the people of Catalunya and their division from the nation-state of Spain. The *Estelada* is the central symbol signifying the goal for independence. When flown, held or worn the *Estelada* is a flag that leaves "no doubt as to which side you are on" (Eriksen 2007: 5).

The *Estelada* has replaced the Spanish national flag in some towns throughout Catalunya. During a 2012 visit to research participants and passionate supporters of independence Núria and Xavi in their small village north-west of Barcelona, I observed four flags on the flag poles of the local town hall. I did not recognise them all, nor did I notice the Spanish flag among them. On asking which flags were flying I was told they were the European Union (EU) flag, the *Senyera*, the local *comarca* (province) flag and the *Estelada* (see Image 44). On expressing my surprise that it was possible for the local administration to fly the independence flag, Núria explained that many towns had "*symbolically cut ties with Spain*" and "*declared their support for Catalan independence*" by removing the Spanish flag and replacing it with the *Estelada.* She further detailed sometime later that "*There are a lot of towns with the flag in the town hall - Gurb, Sant Cugat, Viladecavalls, Tàrrega, Taradell, Caldes, Vic.... And also there are a lot of fire parks (stations), police stations with the Estelada*" (Núria, email correspondence). Their village took part in "*the Municipalities for Independence association and now in the edge of the village is a plaque proclaiming its membership of this association*" (Núria, email correspondence). Guibernau explains that "On 13 December 2009…166 Catalan towns held referendums on Catalonia's independence" (2013: 384). These were "not legally binding, but they contained an important symbolic meaning" (Guibernau 2013: 384) with participating towns overwhelmingly voting in favour of independence. Guibernau notes, however, that overall participation rates were low.

Image 44: Four flags outside the local town hall in the village where Núria and Xavi live. From left to right these flags are the: European Union (EU), local *comarca, Estelada* and *Senyera* (photo courtesy of Núria).

As previously identified, nationalism in Catalunya today exists on (at least) two definite political levels regarding the type of nation being envisaged – towards autonomy and towards independence. As with the nationalism expounded by the Pujol government for more than twenty years, Catalan nationalism has not and does not automatically equate with seeking secession from the Spanish nation-state. Nationalism's political project, including within a nation-without-a-state, is not always seeking to become an independent nation-state (Castells 2004: 32-34), and there can be different motivators and agendas within the same broader nationalist system and identity.

Many of my research participants expressed changing levels of support and belief in the future political direction of Catalunya. In 2012 Maria thought "*they* [the government, policies and 'the people'] *should focus on health and education*", and that "*the independence movement was misdirecting peoples' focus*". At that time she did not support independence and described herself as a "*typical Catalan*" for holding this view. When I spoke to Maria again in 2013, she had changed her mind and thought that "*now is the moment, now is an*

important moment for change" and she "*voted 'yes' for independence in the unofficial referendum*" (discussed below). Her stated reasons for a change in view were primarily because "*Spain does not recognise Catalan people, its laws, culture, and language as much as they should*". Many of my research participants felt that supporting Catalan independence was part of their identity as Catalans (I return to *feeling* Catalan in Chapter Eight). As with Maria, however, these views can and do change. Identities are flexible. Catalan nationalism is not only directed towards independence, and Catalan nationalism is not the same as Catalan ethnicity and, although nationalism *can* be a significant marker for some people, it is not a stable and uncontested indicator of ethnic belonging.

The above examples beg the question: why has the political project changed? Or, more accurately, why has an arm of Catalan nationalism begun to wholeheartedly pursue independence with a swell of public support? Guibernau (2013: 370) observed a significant change since 2000, with a shift in public opinion growing towards independence. According to data cited by Guibernau, "In 2010, 42.9% of Catalans said that they would vote in favour of independence. In December 2012 support for independence rose to 57% (CEO, 2012)" (2013: 384). Guibernau (2013: 380-381) identified three factors in explaining why secessionism in Catalunya had been growing in popularity over the decade to 2012. Firstly, the failure of the Spanish Aznar government of 2000-2004 to address requests from the government of Catalunya for greater autonomy; secondly and relatedly, the successful legal challenge to the amended 2006 Catalan Statute of Autonomy at the Spanish Constitutional Court after it was earlier revised and accepted by the Spanish Parliament; and thirdly, the impact from perceived imbalanced financial arrangements between Catalunya and Spain.

Guibernau's first two points revolve around levels of autonomy in Catalunya. Since reinstatement of the Statute of Autonomy in 1979 the *Generalitat* has pursued greater autonomous powers and controls (political, economic and social). A change in the governing party of Catalunya at the 2003 regional elections saw Pasqual Maragall i Mira,

leading the *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (Socialists' Party of Catalonia, PSC), become President. Maragall's new government pursued a renegotiation of the 'Statute of Autonomy' (Guibernau 2013: 80). In 2005 the Catalan parliament proposed a number of alterations to the statute, to give the regional government greater powers and fiscal autonomy. Both the Catalan people in a regional referendum and the Spanish Parliament subsequently approved these in 2006. In 2010 however, the Spanish Constitutional Court amended some and overruled other articles in the revised statute (Guibernau 2013: 382). This decision was cited by a number of my research participants as spurring levels of dissatisfaction over the domination of Spain (or often referred to as simply "*Madrid*") in preventing Catalunya from exercising the ability to self-govern. I was variously told that Spain was obstructing "*our ability to decide what our priorities are*" (Maria), *"we should be able to decide our own direction"* (Anna) and *"we know what's best for us*" (Martina). This is supported by 2016 data from Catalunya's *Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió* (Centre for Opinion Research, CEO), which found that, of those surveyed about the levels of autonomy in Catalunya, 4.3% thought Catalunya had too much, 23.1% thought there was a sufficient level, 68.1% thought it was insufficient, 3.7% did not know and 0.7% did not answer (CEO 2016: 8).

A majority of my research participants expressed feeling that a detachment existed between the views and governance in Madrid and the will and needs of the people of Catalunya: "*Madrid does not understand the Catalan people*" (Montse), "*our difference and why and how our needs and desires are different*" (Maria). Although this did not automatically equate with supporting independence, this issue around autonomy has contributed to feelings of dissatisfaction and the choice to support independence. Andreu explained to me that:

> *For some time, we could say that for a year and a half and especially since September 11* [2012] - *the manifestation - things have been even poorer. Spain wants to stifle the independence of Catalonia and nationalistic sense and makes it blatantly in all areas: language, imposing their customs (the bulls, the fiesta...) forcing to place the Spanish*

> *flag…at official sites, offices, councils, Catalan Government departments, schools, universities, etc. etc.* (email correspondence, translated from *Català*)

Eriksen observed that minority groups, whether cultural, ethnic, religious or national, are often perceived as a problem for the nation-state "to the extent that they communicate their distinctiveness in contexts where this distinctiveness is incompatible with requirements of the nation-state, notably those referring to formal equality and uniform practices" (1991: 273). Setting up the Spanish constitution was a difficult task, partly because it sought to take into account multiple different nationalities within the one nation-state (Villaroya 2012). This can be a dilemma for nation-states, which must decide the extent to which they grant extra protection, different rights or additional concessions to minority groups, be they ethnic, religious or national. Grants of greater autonomy to minority groups can be viewed as potentially destabilising to the nation-state. What some view as fair demands and just concerns, others perceive as threats to national unity and this may result in tensions between majority or dominant groups and the minority, marginal or sub-groups.

Although Catalan nationalism within Catalunya has been powerful and successful in effecting laws and policies that promote certain specific Catalan ethnic and civil practices and products, within the broader nation-state of Spain, Catalan nationalism is in a subordinate position where it must employ and engage with the systems and institutions of the dominant state. In this case minority groups are dependent on the political, legal and economic structures of the state to launch their claims and appeals (Eriksen 1991). This can cause a great deal of frustration amongst the subordinate groups seeking more self-determination. For example, the fact that *Català* cannot be used in the Spanish Parliament, the Spanish Supreme Court or the Spanish Constitutional Court is a source of tension and disagreement for some Catalans who perceive this as an act that denies them a feature of their identity by forcing them to assimilate, and thus places them in a inferior role.

Guibernau's third factor in the rise of the independence movement in Catalunya is perceived economic inequality. Guibernau observes that Catalunya's annual deficit of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is increasing "due to the financial arrangements imposed by the Spanish state. In this context, support for Catalan fiscal autonomy (*Pacte Fiscal*) is rising rapidly and secession, for the first time in Catalan history, appears as a legitimate option" (Guibernau 2013: 383). Catalunya is reportedly the main contributor to the Spanish economy, with nearly 19% of Spain's GDP (OECD 2010: 15).

Comments and discussions amongst research participants frequently outlined an unsatisfactory state of the economy, prices and regional investment, which segued into talk about politics, political parties and often towards arguments for greater autonomy and independence. Eduard expressed his concerns that: a *"large amount of money transferred from the Catalan...from the Catalan taxes, a lot of money, been transferred from Catalunya to different regions in Spain",* and the *"root of the [political] problem is that there's no investment back into Catalunya".* Research participants often claimed that the Spanish central government demands an excessive and imbalanced level of revenue and taxation from Catalunya. I was frequently told that "*other Spanish regions were profiting from Catalunya*" as the "*wealthiest region*" (Martí), and that this was "*unfair and deliberately undermining the autonomy of Catalunya*" and "*stifling our social, cultural, political and economic development*" (Marta). I was told that unlike other regions that *"do not know how to spend money wisely"* and made *"stupid decisions"* (Maria), Catalunya was *"responsible"* and "*sensible*" (Andreu). Other research participants described "*wasted money*" (Anna) and "*Madrid makes stupid constructions in regions that don't need it*" (Marta) for example train lines, airports and roads, or claimed that there was an unfair distribution of public spending, in that "*people in Catalunya pay tolls for every road*" but in other parts of Spain "*they are all free*" (Marta's mother). Many participants expressed a lack of support, recognition and understanding from Madrid, with sentiments that the interests of Catalunya are being disregarded and the Spanish government is not able to represent the Catalan people. This view helps to fuel the argument for, at the very least, greater fiscal

autonomy of the region, but increasingly common, secession from Spain (Guibernau 2013).

It is relevant in this discussion on the economic situation to situate Catalunya and Spain within a broader global context. The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) began in 2007-2008 with the collapse of the sub-prime mortgage market in the United States of America (USA) (The Economist 2013). In September 2008 the vast global financial institution Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy, which subsequently triggered a global economic meltdown (The Economist 2013)[35]. The hardest-hit economies were those of the USA and Europe, where banks stopped trading, stock markets fell, major global firms went bankrupt, unemployment skyrocketed and trade volumes fell dramatically (The Economist 2013). The GFC evolved into the 'Euro Crisis' in Europe as banks collapsed, recessions deepened, housing booms burst, unemployment rose and increasing government debts resulted in European Union (EU) countries, especially economically weaker countries such as Greece, requiring multi-million Euro bail-outs financed by the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and other European governments (The Economist 2013).

The GFC and Euro Crisis have had significant negative economic impacts on Spain, leading the government to implement financial austerity programs and economic reform measures in attempts to stem the deepening crisis (The Economist 2013). Spanish banks required and obtained approximately 100 billion Euro in bailouts and the country entered a deep recession in early 2009. In 2012 Catalunya requested a 5 billion Euro bailout from the Spanish government. The Spanish housing boom of 2004 to 2008 collapsed and high GDP growth fell steeply.

[35] This explanation is highly simplified. The complex and convoluted situation is beyond the scope of this research to explain.

National and regional debt increased and Spain experienced the worst unemployment crisis in the Eurozone (Trading Economics 2016). In the third quarter of 2015, Spain's unemployment rate stood at 21.18% (having peaked at 26.94% in 2013) while youth (16 – 24 year old) unemployment was at 46.7% (having peaked at 55.8% in July 2013) (Trading Economics 2016). The economy and unemployment rates of Catalunya have followed similar trajectories to those of Spain since the crisis. In the third quarter of 2015 the unemployment rate in Catalunya was 17.49% and the youth unemployment rate was 40.66% (Trading Economics 2016). A number of my participants had directly experienced the impact of falling job rates and rising unemployment opportunities. Xavi and Martí, both university qualified professionals, were each unemployed for almost two years. Javier, a university student, had accepted poorer working conditions in order to keep his current employment in the hospitality industry. Other participants described forced pay cuts and staff shortages, especially at government-funded institutions such as universities. To varying degrees these situations impacted on how these individuals perceived the Spanish and Catalan governments in their ability to manage finances, and especially the opinions regarding "*unfair*" financial arrangements that were seen to disadvantage Catalunya.

Javier moved to Barcelona in 2004 for employment opportunities. He had previously moved to the Asturias region from his birthplace in Basque Country. As we sat together at a café in the busy *El Raval* area of Barcelona, Javier outlined his understanding of the current ethnic, national and political tensions in Catalunya. In Javier's opinion there was

> *a larger sense of belonging because Spain is not doing well, the economy of Spain I mean, and this question is central to people of Catalunya. If the Spanish government and Catalan government might come to an agreement….then on this issue, things would slow….Catalonia needs investment. We are 8 million people living here. Ok, so our needs in some ways have been traditionally disregarded in favour of other regions…..government paid lip service to this question in general. Over the years some tokens [from the central government].*

The economic crisis has and continues to impact the whole of Spain, not just Catalunya. The economic situation was, however, mostly expressed by my research participants in terms of taxes and unemployment exacerbated by Madrid rather than the general 'Euro Crisis' impacting widely on European countries. The broader economic situation in Spain is exacerbating a stereotype that Madrid cannot manage funds and that Catalunya is unfairly supporting the rest of Spain financially. Already-strained relations between Catalunya and the central government in Madrid have been intensified by this global economic crisis.

From the central reasons Guibernau (2013) identifies for the increase in support for independence we can see both liberal and economic motives. Economic factors are not the only issues motivating people (Eriksen 1991) but can trigger and exacerbate existing tensions (Smith 1981), in this case regarding dissatisfaction with levels of self-determination. This highlights that nationalism is not static: it changes, adapts and responds to broader social, political and economic events and fluctuations. New strategies and agendas are introduced and levels of support wax and wane.

In 2013 the Catalan *Generalitat* made a request to the Spanish Government that they be able to hold a referendum in 2014 on self-determination in Catalunya (Catalonia Votes 2014). This was rejected by the Spanish Government and the decision was later upheld by the Spanish Constitutional Court, which found the proposed referendum to be unconstitutional due to the "indissoluble unity" of Spain. Article 2 of the Spanish Constitution reads:

> The Constitution is based on the *indissoluble unity* of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible country of all Spaniards; it recognises and guarantees the right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed, and the solidarity amongst them all. (1978 Article 2, italics not in original)

The phrase 'indissoluble unity' is emphasised when entering into debates around secession or greater autonomy for Catalunya (Guibernau 2013: 375). The argument consistently presented to the Catalan population on why a vote on independence would be unconstitutional is the 'indissoluble unity' of the Spanish nation-state. One difficulty arises because levels of autonomy that are 'guaranteed' are not specified and therefore ambiguity ensues and is a source of tension and dissatisfaction for the other 'nationalities' (Guibernau 2013: 375).

In September 2014 Artur Mas, then President of Catalunya, decided to forge ahead and signed a decree to hold a poll on independence on 9 November of that year (The Guardian 2014). Because of the legal argument with the Spanish government, this became an unofficial referendum and asked two questions: *Do you want Catalonia to be a State? If so, do you want Catalonia to be an independent State?* (Generalitat 2014) The yes-yes vote received 80.76%, the yes-no vote 10.07%, the no vote 4.54%, and other answers, including leaving blanks, 4.62% (Generalitat 2014). Although this yes-yes vote was very high, a total of 2,305,290 people voted (Generalitat 2014), which represents "about 36% of the total census and a long way off the 69% of the census who turned out to vote in 2012 for the Catalan government election" (The Conversation 2014).

As Catalunya was unable to hold an official referendum on the matter of secession, regional elections within Catalunya were brought forward to 27 September 2015 and promoted as a plebiscite on independence. In these regional elections, candidates who ran on a platform favouring independence won with 47.9% of the votes, whilst those supporting the unity of Catalunya with Spain received 39.1% and the voter turnout was considered to be high (The Guardian 2015). Although separatist parties won almost 48% of the vote, this fell short of the overwhelming majority they sought (Minder 2015; The Guardian 2015). A new nationalist coalition called *Junt pel Sí* (Together For Yes) was established early in 2015 as a Catalan independence coalition between the *Convergènica Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Convergence of Catalunya, CDC) (a member of the

previous governing coalition and the party of Artur Mas), *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (Republican Left of Catalunya, ERC), *Demòcrates de Catalunya* (Democrats of Catalunya, DC) and *Moviment d'Esquerres* (Leftist Movement, MES). *Junts pel Sí* won the elections, with Mas remaining as President, vowing that Catalunya would become an independent state by mid-2017. However Mas' leadership was short-lived as disagreement within the coalition led to his resignation as President, and Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó was appointed President on 12 January 2016. Puigedemont maintains the target for independence (BBC 2016a, 2016b).

Research conducted by the Spanish national *Centro Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Sociological Research Centre, CIS) with residents of Catalunya following the 2015 regional elections included a question regarding the territorial organisation of Spain. The CIS (2015) found that 7.6% of respondents felt that Spain should have one central government without autonomous regions; 3% supported the retention of regions with less autonomy; 17.1% supported retaining the status quo regarding levels of regional autonomy; 26.1% supported greater levels of regional autonomy; 41.4% supported the possibility of independent states; 1.9% were not sure; and 2.9% had no comment. Posing a similar question, the CEO (2016: 9) found that 4.1% of respondents thought that Catalunya should be a non-autonomous region of Spain; 25.1% wanted to retain the status quo of Catalunya as an autonomous region; 26.3% wanted Catalunya to become a state in a federal Spain; 38.5% wanted Catalunya to become an independent state; 4.5% did not know and 1.5% did not answer.

Pablo, a self identifying Asturian-Spanish man, expressed his view that although he does not support independence, "*this matter regarding independence will not disappear*" but needs to be "*addressed soon so that the argument can be settled*" and "*society can move on*". He voted Yes-Yes in the unofficial referendum because he views the issue as dominating public life and wants it to be "*resolved as soon as possible*". Maria also perceived that independence dominates other important social issues. She expressed her view that "*our*

health and educations systems need support too", "*we need to put our energies there*". The "*politicians are only interested for themselves, not the people*" (Pablo) and "*they are misdirecting us away for other important areas*" (Pablo). Pablo and Maria's comments centre around the risk that nationalism directed towards independence can become so focused on its end goal that overrides other debates and issues, and inhibits effective government.

Nationalism towards independence need not stifle creativity, but it does carry a higher risk of this as it tries to simplify and streamline its argument and social support base towards one primary goal. The shift to a nationalist ideology with the dominating political goal of independence can restrict the dynamic meaning and ambiguity so that all aspects of socio-political life is aligned and mobilised towards achieving that goal and in the process sidelines other interests and issues.

III La Diada and an Unbroken Human Chain

In Barcelona on 11 September 2012 for the annual *La Diada*, approximately 1.5 million people from across Catalunya demonstrated their support for independence in a mass protest (Assemblea Nacional Catalana 2014). Annual protests for independence have since taken place each *La Diada*, including 2013's *Via Catalana cap a la Independència* (Catalan Way Towards Independence) which formed a *cadena humana* (human chain) to traverse 480 kilometres of road from north to south of Catalunya. For the 2014 *Via Catalana* people crowded into Barcelona's central streets of *Avinguda Diagonal* and *Gran Via,* coming together at *Plaça de les Glòries* to form an 11km long 'V' signifying *victoria* (victory), *votar* (vote) and *voluntat* (will) (Assemblea Nacional Catalana 2014). The slogan for this protest for independence was *'Ara és l'ho*ra' (Now is the time). In 2015 the *Via Lliure a la República Catalana* (Free Way to the Catalan Republic) was held in central Barcelona. In 2016 mass protests were held in five Catalan cities, using the organising

slogan *A punt – Endavant República Catalana* (Ready – Forward Catalan Republic). Other slogans used by the Catalan independence movement in recent years have included: *'Nou estata d'europa'* (New European State); *'Catalonia is not Spain'*; *'Proclamem la independència ara'* (We proclaim independence now); '*Independènica per canviar-ho tot'* (Independence to change everything). Participating annually, Andreu described the 2014 protest as *"an example to the world of Catalan character and a sample of their demand and anxieties for freedom!!"* (email correspondence, translated from *Català*).

Núria and Xavi invited me to join them in attending the 2013 protest. In preparation, Núria told me that the "*Next 11th of September the ANC (Catalan National Assembly) and Omnium Cultural are preparing a new and important event, an human chain from Perpinya to Terres de l'Ebre!! It will be an emotional protest ceremony*" (email correspondence). The plan for the 2013 event was to form a *cadena humana* of supporters holding hands along a route following the ancient road of *Via Augusta* from the border with France in the north to the border with the region of Valencia in the south. Núria explained "*The human chain will be based on the human chain celebrated in Baltic way that defied Soviet rule on 1989*" (email correspondence). The 'Baltic Way' was a human chain to link the capitals of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on 23 August 1989 in favour of independence from the Soviet Union (Assemblea Nacional Catalan 2014). At this demonstration a reported 1.8 million people participated, representing one quarter of the population. Each these republics became independent in August 1991.

To ensure that the *cadena humana* could spread unbroken along the 480 kilometres in Catalunya, not all participants could remain in their own city, town or village but were bussed to set locations along the route, arranged by the ANC. The *cadena humana* event began in the early afternoon of Wednesday 11 September 2013. Our position was near the industrial town of Sant Vicenç dels Horts, on an otherwise indistinct and uninteresting road between two industrial towns. The meaning from this 'being in place' was not about the specific physical location but one of appropriating the entire region of Catalunya,

making the whole geographical territory a *place*, and as such resisting the 'indivisibility' of the Spanish nation-state. The practicing of space was not about giving meaning to this one stretch of road but laying claim to place along the length of the region.

Image 45: The section of the *Via Catalana Cadena Humana* that I participated in on September 11 2013 near the town of Sant Vicenç dels Horts (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 46: Participants lining up for the *Via Catalana Cadena Humana* that I participated in on September 11 2013 (Author's photo, September 2013).

Image 47: The *Via Catalana Cadena Humana* near Sant Vicenç dels Horts on September 11 2013 (Author's photo, September 2013).

As discussed in Chapter Four, space can be differently practiced to give diverse and altered meanings and purposes. By employing space in novel and dramatic ways the *Via Catalana* claimed Catalan boundaries and marked territory that was deliberately opposed to the territorial union of Spain. The protest event resisted the Spanish constitution that claims the 'indissoluble unity' of the 'nation-state'. The message portrayed physically and symbolically through the human chain was that Catalunya is not only different to Spain – its culture, language and history – but that Catalunya is *not* Spain. The *cadena humana* enacted a strategic use of space to become 'contested space' in symbolic resistance to the perceived power and control of the Spanish nation. Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga define 'contested spaces' as

> geographic locations where conflicts in the form of opposition, confrontation, subversion, and/or resistance engage actors whose social positions are defined by differential control of resources and access to power. (2003: 18)

During the bus ride back to Núria and Xavi's village I was engaged in a conversation in which a number of participants commented that they felt the 2012 protest created more of an impact on them personally than the 2013 protest. Núria remarked, "*I cried last year during the singing of Els Segadors, it was so emotional being there with everyone*". Núria and Montse expressed their disappointment that the singing of *Els Seg*adors during the *cadena humana* was haphazard and not united. For some participants the embodied experience of the *Via Catalana* was less impressive, less emotive and less moving than the previous year when they gathered en-masse in the centre of Barcelona. They acknowledged however that the impact of the 2013 protest would probably be somewhat removed from the action of participating. Montse thought that the impressive nature of the protest would only really be appreciated when seen from the sky, and therefore on the images shown in the media.

Drawing on the success of the 1989 'Baltic Way', the 2013 *Via Catalana* was designed to garner attention and to be newsworthy. It was, in part, about gaining attention at an

international level through the high impact value of being a monumental physical display of unity and cooperation. Secessionists often perceive that it is "crucial to obtain international visibility, recognition and support regarding the legitimacy of its objectives" (Guibernau 2013: 372). Nations-without-states often orientate themselves towards the international community for support (and inspiration) and to assist the process of recognition and legal guarantees. When minorities succeed in obtaining international support, the application of external pressure upon the nation-state can play an important role in a nation's struggle for autonomy or independence by encouraging 'appropriate' responses to minorities' requests according to international laws, sanctions, conventions and levels of conduct.

The example of the 2013 *Via Catalana's cadena humana* demonstrates a strategy of a nationalist agenda seeking to unite people and encourage them to feel part of a shared project. However, not all of my participants felt themselves included in this nationalist project. Ana spoke of her concern that the pro-independence movement in Catalunya had "*hijacked*" *La Diada,* which she perceived to be primarily a celebration of Catalan history and culture. Ana and her husband William celebrated *La Diada* in 2012. On viewing the news later that night she was displeased to see it reported as "*everyone supporting independence*" in a mass protest. Ana thought they were participating in an event "*celebrating Catalunya*" and were upset that their involvement had been somewhat "*taken advantage of*" for political purposes. She said that it was to her, as a non-independence supporter, harder now to celebrate *La Diada* because the mass events were primarily about independence and she felt restricted and unable to simply celebrate Catalunya and its diverse Catalan identity and history that was not orientated to a political agenda. Other participants, including Javier, also did not participate in *La Diada* because they felt it was "*only about independence, not really about Catalan people*", "*so I'll stay at home*".

This potential for exclusion extended beyond the *La Diada*. Ana considered that, within some social groups, *not* supporting independence led to the perception of being *"not*

Catalan" or even "*anti-Catalan*". She thought that this was unfair and potentially ostracised people. Ana expressed disappointment that some of her friends who strongly support Catalunya's independence movement view it as necessary to show allegiance to this side of politics exclusively. These friends perceived pro-independence as pro-Catalunya and anti-independence as anti-Catalunya and pro-Spain. Although many participants described lively and respectful conversations with differing views that did not create lasting tension or hostility, other research participants felt that they were being pressured to choose between having a Catalan or a Spanish identity and nationality even though they felt they could have and feel a connection to both. Thus there is the potential for Catalan nationalism to become increasingly polarising. The boundaries drawn around it can be both differently flexible and increasingly narrow, shutting down new forms of meaning and belonging.

For many Catalan people nationalist feelings, goals and politics really *matter*. Many of my participants were passionate and emotionally invested in the Catalan nationalist movement and felt that nationalism was an essential element to how they identified as Catalan, how they felt they belonged as a Catalan person. For others, however, a powerful and overt nationalist movement in Catalunya can act as an obstacle that narrows the gates for what is considered 'Catalan'. If they are not nationalist or not nationalist *enough*, then their ability to identify as Catalan is restricted or under threat. Thus, although not always pervasive and explicit in individual's everyday experience, an inflexible dichotomy between Catalan and Spanish, as it is represented and reproduced in nationalist terms, can risk stifling the transformative dynamism of Catalan ethnicity.

Conclusion

The contentious issues of nation-state status, self-determination and separatist arguments affect the daily lives of many Catalans. Nationalism presents an important perspective that is crucial for understanding current Catalan identity constructions. The nationalist ideology used in this context has stressed previously, and continues to stress, similarity and homogeneity by utilising legislation and official policy. Emphasising the 'many as one' can fail to reflect the lived diversity of 'being' Catalan and risks essentialising and constricting creativity and ambiguity. Nationalism is not, however, the only prism through which to understand identity construction, struggles and challenges. Through my interest in the tensions and pluralities of lived experiences, understanding the interplay between nationalism and ethnicity can open up new meanings regarding the importance of the ongoing struggle for significance. While nationalism draws on the dynamic energies of ethnicity to support its cause, its ambitions and successes can provide greater recognition and support for ethnic groups. In Catalunya, nationalism and ethnicity are co-connected and co-creative, rather than mutually exclusive. Nationalism as discussed in this chapter has the potential to both increase the profile of Catalan ethnic identity and limit its diversity and inclusivity. Nationalism can work to strengthen the boundaries between Catalan people and 'Others' but can also inhibit the dynamic nature of Catalan identity in its search for greater uniformity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE NARRATIVE (COMM)UNION OF A PESSEBRE VIVENT

An ethnographic exploration of a 'live' Christmas nativity play, a *Pessebre Vivent*, will discuss the processes of connecting with selective 'traditions' and, drawing on Clifford (2004: 8), I interpret this as a performance that was not seeking the retrieval of a 'true' or 'original' identity but ongoing ethnic identity articulation and transformation. A Christian nativity scene is not a practice unique to Catalan people, rather, what makes a nativity distinctively Catalan is the incorporation of selective and meaningful cultural 'traditions', objects and place. The *Pessebre Vivent* did not solely re-tell a religious story about the birth of Jesus Christ, but also told a particular narrative of Catalan identity utilising items and symbols drawn from 18th century peasant lifestyle. The performance of the *Pessebre Vivent* is part of the ongoing process of asserting the ability to create and explore difference and develop a positive cultural space for the contemporary self-fashioning of Catalan ethnic identity.

This chapter clarifies and extends the argument that when we refuse to allow nationalism as the monopolising framework for understanding Catalan identity, what we have is the imaginative social space for enacting an identity that produces the contours of a way of living and being that actively cultivates its difference and uniqueness as an end in itself. Ethnogenesis helps to appreciate the *Pessebre Vivent* and various incorporated 'traditions' and icons as not simply non-consequential entertainment and story telling but as elements that have significance in themselves, and in which Catalan people actively create and transform who they (uniquely) are with both joyous celebration and serious practice. The framework of ethnicity captures the cultural significances and *self-understandings* of Catalans that are not contained within the crucible supplied by nationalism and the search for an identity as an already constituted political 'cause'.

I *Sant Esteve*

Sant Esteve (Saint Steven) is celebrated in Catalunya as the day after Christmas, where it is a public holiday (although it is not throughout the rest of Spain). On this day in 2012, my partner Anton and I had been invited to visit Robert, a research participant who is a university lecturer I had met at a conference the previous year. He had moved to Barcelona from England over thirty years prior and self-identified as "*more Catalan than British*" (Robert's identity will be explored further in Chapter Eight). Anton and I arrived in the afternoon at Robert's house in a tiny country village in the Catalan province of Llieda, approximately 120kms northwest of Barcelona. The village is set on a hill overlooking flat farming land which is dotted with long thin barns for rearing pigs or housing laying chickens, and the smell of manure wafting from the pig barns was almost overwhelming when first exiting the car on arrival in the village. Old dilapidated stone huts with collapsing roofs and walls, which farmers have used for decades to shelter from the sun, are scattered around the open fields.

Robert's house is a three-storey stone building that he and his wife Marta, a self-identifying Catalan, had restored and "*rebuilt stone by stone*" after purchasing it in a ramshackle condition a few years earlier. In the small farming village four other families currently live alongside a number of empty and neglected stone houses, a cemetery and a small children's play-ground. Robert told me that there is "*widespread rural dislocation all over Spain*" that has resulted in many small villages either abandoned or almost uninhibited on weekdays. During the week Robert and his family live in a large city to the north of Barcelona and this is their "*second house*" which they often visit for weekends and holidays. Robert explained that for "*city people with adequate incomes*", owning a second home in a small country town is not uncommon. I had witnessed a similar situation in a number of other small villages, including Maria and Joan's in the north of Catalunya.

In addition to Robert and Marta, in the house for Christmas were their teenage daughter and Marta's elderly mother, as well as Robert's sister and niece (both visiting from England). That evening of *Sant Esteve*, Marta invited us all to visit a nearby small town for a "*Pessebre Vivent, a live nativity"*. A lack of understanding must have shown on our faces because Robert quickly explained that this was a Christmas nativity scene with "*real people*" rather than statues or figurines. With his characteristic cynicism and dry wit, Robert volunteered to stay at home with his mother-in-law, explaining that he attended a *Pessebre Vivent* last year during which the actors "*stayed completely still the entire time*" and he had been "*very bored*". Ignoring her husband's sarcasm, Marta expressed her feeling that they are "*very special*" events to attend and she "*likes to go to one every year*".

I remained unsure about what the *Pessebre Vivent* would entail, although I was familiar with the popularity of *pessebres* in figurine form throughout Catalunya. The nativity scene typically has a manger with baby Jesus, while Mary and Joseph watch over him in a barn with animals such as cattle and sheep, and often the three wise men stand nearby or sit on camels. During a walk around his village, Robert showed us the small nativity scene that had been set up in the oven of the old communal bakehouse (see Image 48). I had previously seen large and small scale nativity scenes set up in churches throughout Catalunya, as well as in shop windows, hospital foyers, inside homes (including Robert's), shopping centres, large city centres (including in *Plaça de Sant Jaume* in Barcelona) and small town squares (for example, outside the Cathedral in La Seu d'Urgell, see Image 49).

Image 48: *Pessebre* in the old community bread oven in Robert's *"second house"* village (Author's photo, December 2012).

Image 49: Figures as part of a *pessebre* outside the Cathedral in La Seu d'Urgell (Author's photo, December 2012).

Although nativity scenes are common in diverse Christian societies around the world, there are figures included in *pessebres* that make them *specifically* Catalan. These are the *caganer* and the Roman sentry. The Roman sentry is depicted as a soldier urinating somewhere obscurely in the scene, usually behind a rock or a wall. However, it is the *caganer* that is a highly popular, beloved and enduring figure in Catalan *pessebres*. The *caganer* is literally a "crapper" or "shitter", in the figure of (most commonly) a boy or young man, wearing 'traditional' peasant clothing, with his pants down and squatting to defecate (see Image 50). Robert explained that in a nativity scene the *caganer* is not ordinarily in the foreground as this is viewed as disrespectful, but is "*hidden*" behind a tree, a building or a rock. Hiding and finding the *caganer* in a *pessebre* is often played as a game with children. One participant said that "*we always look for the caganer*", "*it's odd if it's not there*" (Martina) in a *pessebre*. Before going to the *Pessebre Vivent* on the evening of *Sant Esteve*, I wondered whether and how a *caganer* might be included into a 'live' performance with 'real people'.

Image 50: A common 'traditional' *caganer* wearing 'peasant' clothing (Flickr 2015).

Image 51: A 'gothic' style *caganer* in the *pessebre* in La Seu d'Urgell (Author's photo, December 2012).

When initially told about the custom of the *caganer* by a supervisor I was highly sceptical that symbols associated with defecating would be popular during a religious holiday period, let alone included in nativity scenes. During a visit to Barcelona before Christmas of 2011, however, I was surprised to see the magnitude of these figurines being sold and bought in the stalls at the large *Fira de Sant Llúcia* Christmas markets in front of the *Cathedral de Barcelona*. Increasingly prolific are *caganers* of famous people including actors, sportsman, cartoon characters, politicians and royalty (see Image 52), with a wide variety of *caganers* available for purchase at Christmas markets, gift shops and department stores, as well as tourist shops and novelty shops all year round. The *caganer* is in many ways a comical figure but it is not only deployed in jest. Catalan people have a genuine attachment and affection for the *caganer* as something that symbolises their unique identity.

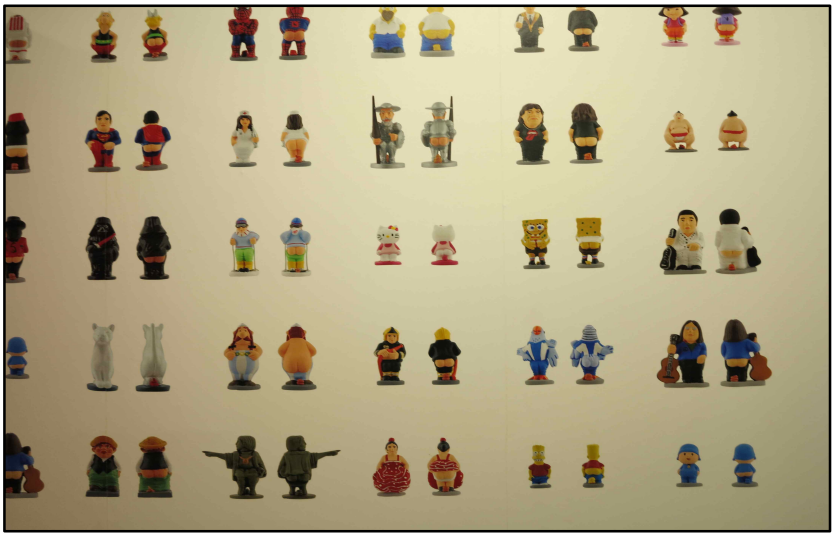


Image 52: A variety of contemporary comical *caganer*, displayed on wallpaper in a large Puma sports store in Barcelona (Author's photo, December 2012).

The meanings drawn from the figure of the *caganer* are varied. When I asked, the majority of research participants told me the *caganer* represents "*fertility*" and "*good luck*" (Maria) for the coming year and is linked to agrarian and "*Catalan peasant life*" (Anna). A few participants added that it was about the basic needs of humans, thus making a statement that "*we're all equal*" (Martí). Some participants perceived it more lightly as "*having a bit of fun*" and showing "*that we Catalans are not always so serious*" (figurine stall holder at the *Fira de Sant Llúcia* Christmas markets, Barcelona). Participants explained these meanings in a casual manner, in which any historical background was, at most, given as linked to 'Catalan peasants' rather than a concern with accurately tracing the origins of this 'tradition'. The need to trace and agree on the 'origins' of the *caganer* was commonly expressed as being of little importance for its ongoing contemporary inclusion and significance.

Similar to the donkey discussed in Chapter Four as a symbol of Catalan identity in whimsical opposition to the Spanish bull, the *caganer* asserts a playful side to the construction of Catalan difference. The *caganer* is a somewhat humorous figure like the

donkey – it is playful, bizarre and even outrageous in its open defiance of respectable public behaviour, as well as somewhat incongruous with the religious reverence of the birth of Jesus Christ. We can understand the *caganer* as meaningful humorousness that demonstrates the creativity and selection of Catalan identity symbols. However, the *caganer* is not only for humorous entertainment. It is both a blend of whimsy and something more serious, because Catalan ethnic identity is not a cause for amusement and people display their identity with both a sense of joyous celebration and serious practice and consumption.

The common 'peasant' attire on the *caganer* contributes to what makes this figure specifically Catalan. As in Image 50, the *caganer* is most often dressed in a floppy red felt hat known as a *barretina* and rope soled sandals called *espardanyes*. The *barretina* is currently deployed as a recognisable symbol of Catalan identity. Sitting in Robert's home before going to the *Pessebre Vivent*, his teenage daughter was wearing a *barretina*. Partly in banter Robert knocked the *barretina* off her head, questioning whether it could "*actually be proven*" that it was worn by peasants on the farm, as to him it seemed "*impractical*" because being made of felt would be hot and "*did not protect from the sun*". This teasing implied Robert's view that the *barretina's* historical accuracy was questionable and that perhaps it was not as 'traditional' as typically claimed. Appearing to take some offense at this opinion, his daughter argued that there indeed there was "*proof*" in written and graphic works, and she put the *barretina* resolutely back on her head. This small interaction demonstrates different views regarding the modern usage and interpretations of 'traditions' and that continuity with 'the past' (as identified in Chapter Five on the *El Born CCM*) can be perceived as a required test for contemporary validity (Linnekin 1991: 447).

Linnekin (1991: 447) recognised that in popular thought the appearance of having consistency over time is important for a perception of legitimacy. The ability to validate current 'traditions' commonly requires imbuing them with symbols and values that

establish historical continuity or links with past practices (Hobsbawm 1983: 2). Ethnic groups can articulate a 'transformation' of their identity while using 'traditions' as an underlying claim to their legitimacy and validity. Barth explained that "A great amount of attention may be paid to the revival of select traditions to justify and glorify the idioms and the identity" (1969a: 35). Historical continuity of cultural practices is often sought to help confer legitimacy, yet it is not necessary to establish an accurate historical link for a practice to have importance and meaning to a people (Hobsbawn 1983). Roosens emphasised that group "participants themselves make use of certain cultural traits from their past, a past which may or may not be verifiable historically" (1989: 12). The idioms chosen to mark the group as having long established roots do not actually need to be based in historical 'fact'.

Ethnic groups practicing 'traditions' are not reproducing 'original' forms as a mirror image but rather expressing variations in the processes of rediscovering and practicing cultural styles. New or revived cultural practices, or what Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) call 'invented traditions', will have variations of meaning, style, performance and interpretations across different contexts. Although groups appeal to 'the past' and 'history' to legitimate their practice, historical accuracy is not required for these to have contemporary validity and significance (Hobsbawm 1983). Part of the misunderstanding generated by the term 'invented traditions' is that it appears to challenge claims to genuineness and cultural distinctiveness (Linnekin 1991: 447). However, the 'invention of tradition' according to Hobsbawm (1983) interests, is not about testing the legitimacy of a cultural practice, but about understanding that groups are not passive recipients of a given nature or 'essence' transmitted across time, but actively shape, discover and give meaning to their cultural practices and identity. A lack of continuity and exact reproduction of past practices does not degrade their importance and does not minimise group claims to uniqueness. As deployed in Chapter Five, this framework is useful for exploring ethnogenesis in terms of paying attention to *how* 'history' and 'the past' can be "tools in the contemporary creation of identities and in politics" (Eriksen 2010: 85). 'The

past' is commonly employed within the shaping of cultural markers that become central to the way ethnic group members imagine themselves in the present and future.

I agree with Linnekin when she asserts that "tradition is the contemporary interpretations of the past, rather than something passively received" (1990: 152). New versions of cultural practices and alternate interpretations and presentations (which therefore do not look exactly like the old ones) do not result in them being any less significant, nor prevent them from becoming highly important symbols of collective identity (Linnekin 1990: 161). Understanding traditions as static reproduction (similar to discussions in Chapter Two on ethnic groups seeking official recognition who are pressured to conform to dominant views and legal requirements on what their identity should look like from the outside) does not capture what is being invested in various cultural practices over time. Roosens explains, "The ethnic 'past' is always a subjective reconstruction" (1989:17). Without this view of change and invention over time, 'culture' would remain static, rather that in the sense of Turner, that "The social world is a world in becoming, not a world in being" (1974:24)[36].

As demonstrated in Chapter Five on the *El Born CCM* and the '1714' historical narrative, 'the past' is often used to validate the legitimacy of an ethnic group in the present (their continuity), to solidify group identity and justify present identity struggles. Giving 'the past' new meaning by reformulating it as a physical and emotional space to inhabit is important because, Lattas asserts, "If one is to repossess oneself then one has to do so through repossessing the landscape of the past" (1993: 254). 'History' is perpetuated using specific symbols, narratives and remembrances, it is not neutral and unbiased. From 'the past' we draw selected 'traditions' into the present – but these are not repeated or

[36] For Turner (1974), 'becoming' is not linked with progress, growth, advancement or any other notion that emphasises forward movement, but rather as change, flux and process.

exact copies. 'Traditions', along with language, place and history, were the most common reasons my participants gave in explaining why Catalan identity is distinct and unique. Varying views, however, regarding the importance of historical accuracy, for example with the *barretina* as expressed by Robert and his daughter, demonstrates different degrees of uptake, meaning and significance of Catalan symbols, and the existence of contested understandings and representations of Catalan identity.

As well as being worn by the *caganer* and *caga tio*[37], modern associations and interest groups, including the *Confraria Barretínaíre* (2014), actively promote the everyday wearing of the *barretina* and organise events, such as cycling events around the streets of Barcelona to display the hat and connect with other enthusiasts. *Barretines* are on display in different forms and places including alongside 18th century Catalan peasant clothing in the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya* (Museum of Catalan History, see Image 53); and painted by the artist Joan Miró in the surrealist series 'Head of a Catalan Peasant' (Gale 2011). Notwithstanding the *barretina* being worn by Robert's daughter, I only saw the barretina worn casually in public as an everyday accessory on a small number of occasions. Rather, the *barretina* is more commonly brought out for large cultural events and performances, celebrations or protests (as well as being more visible at Christmas time) to help articulate specifically Catalan meaning and identity.

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[37] A similarly popular figure also present at Christmas time is the *caga tio,* meaning the "defecating log". The *caga tio* is usually made from the log of a cork tree, with a face painted on one end, little legs stuck underneath, a hollow part on the top of the log and a cape that covers the open section. Often they also wear a *barretina*. The hollow part in the top is 'fed' by children with lollies on the days leading up to Christmas and is then hit with sticks by the children to 'defecate' the candy (*turron*). The *caga tio* is regularly explained as having similar meanings and connections to a peasant lifestyle as the *caganer* but is mostly for children and not included in nativity scenes.

Image 53: A man wearing a red *barretina* in a *pessebre* scene in a shopping centre in Barcelona (Author's photo, September 2012).

Image 54: Display of Catalan peasant attire from the 18th century in the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya*, including the red *barretines* (Author's photo, September 2012).

The *barretina* can sometimes be regarded as a symbol of nationalism, freedom and liberty[38], and has been worn in response to suppression of Catalan identity and language, including at various protests over the centuries[39](*Confraria Barretínaíre* 2014). Juan Miró's series of four paintings entitled 'Head of a Catalan Peasant' was painted in 1924-25 (in Paris and Catalunya) during the Spanish dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, a time when *Català* was suppressed (Gale 2011). This surrealist series, generally interpreted, all abstractly depict a Catalan peasant, usually with a red *barretina*, two eyes, a beard and a pipe (Gale 2011). Incorporating this symbol of Catalan identity during the turbulent times of dictatorship and suppression suggests Miró was to some degree challenging the state of politics at the time and asserting Catalan identity in the face of everyday repression. As discussed in regards to *Català* in Chapter Three, the importance of a single symbol should not be underestimated. A symbol can be deployed as an act of defiance and resistance that people can mobilise behind. Irrespective of any precise origins, the *barretina* has been used for different purposes and has had different meanings and significance to Catalan identity over time, including to a Catalan nationalist project. When people wear the *barretina* they are not doing so to create a witticism, it is not fancy dress. There is a seriousness in recognising and embracing these 'traditions' as uniquely Catalan.

II *Pessebre Vivent* Performance

Leaving Robert's village in the early darkness of a cold winter's night, Anton and I drove in convoy with Marta and her family, along narrow, unlit country roads approximately thirty minutes west to another small town named Ardèvol. On arriving from the dim and

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[38] Sometimes associated with the 'cap of liberty' worn during the French Revolution, deriving meanings of freedom and liberty (Gale 2011).

[39] See A. Smith's (2014) *The Origins of Catalan Nationalism 1770-1898.*

empty roads we suddenly and unexpectedly came across a section of road illuminated from floodlights and car headlights. Approximately thirty cars were parked on either side of the narrow road. We were directed by a 'marshal' to drive through a gate and park inside a concrete soccer court. After we had exited the cars and rugged up in big jackets and scarves, we followed Marta as she walked towards a long cement-rendered community hall and joined approximately one hundred people, similarly warmly dressed, eagerly standing around outside. Marta rushed off to buy tickets while we stood outside rubbing our hands together in the windy winter's evening. I was eagerly anticipating moving into the warmth of the hall, as I was expecting to watch a small nativity scene, possibly similar to school nativity plays I had been involved in as a young child in primary school, where the story of the birth of Jesus was enacted on a small stage.

There were two showings of the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol* (meaning the 'live nativity of Ardèvol') that evening (6.30pm and 7.30pm) and we had planned to watch the second one. But as Marta hurried back with the tickets she explained that the first session was running late and we were able to join that instead. Looking around, the audience were of a wide variety of ages, mostly in small family groups of parents, children and grandparents. Marta commented that this was "*not a usual tourist attraction*", that most people attending were from the local area and that this performance was by local people and for local people. As the crowd started moving away from the community hall and walking up the road, I thought that the performance must be in another nearby hall or perhaps the town's church. With the chilly temperature it had not crossed my mind that the performance could be held outside, but indeed that is exactly what occurred: the squares, paths, barns and staircases of the village became the 'stage'.

The opening scene depicted the archangel Gabriel appearing and speaking to Mary (in *Català*). During this first scene the audience watched silently as one large group, standing in the courtyard and driveway outside a house. Afterwards the audience, chatting animatedly yet quietly, narrowed into a single file as we entered a low, small barn with

chicken feathers on the ground and cobwebs hanging from the eaves to see the figure of Mary cradling an infant Jesus. The audience was generally quiet or speaking in hushed tones throughout the difference scenes, and parents would at times stop with their children, together pointing at objects of interest.

Approximately fifteen minutes into the almost one hour-long walk-through I was suddenly struck by the combination and merging of the biblical narrative of Christianity with symbols from Catalan peasant society. In a scene with a group of shepherds huddling around a campfire, I was surprised to see that all were wearing *barretines* and *espardenyes*. *Espardenyes*[40] are a casual shoe with a cotton or canvas fabric upper and a sole (flat or wedged) made of rope (some modern ones have a rubber sole which has a rope-like pattern around the edge). The shoe is slipped on and then tied around the ankle with long ribbon-like strips of material. This shoe is frequently worn to dance the *Sardana* (see Chapter Five) and other peasant-related performances such as the *bastoners* (see Conclusion), as well as being a popular and fashionable everyday shoe.

[40] Or *espadrilles* as they are more commonly known using the French word, or *alpargatas* in Spanish.

Image 55: *Espardenyes* and tools initially used to produce the shoes on display in the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya* (Author's photo, September 2012).

Image 56: *Espardenyes* being worn to dance the *Sardana*. (Author's photo, September 2013).

As I became alert to these items I noticed that throughout the scenes most of the performers were wearing *espardenyes*, and many were wearing *barretines*. Aware of the incorporation of Catalan 'traditional' items into the nativity story I did not immediately notice a change in narrative theme. It took me a few scenes of viewing the candle making and a compounding chemist, to start to question what role this had with the story of Jesus Christ and whether the story would be weaving back into the biblical narrative.

Indeed the *Pessebre Vivent* presented two narratives combined – that of the birth of Jesus Christ and that of Catalan peasant life from the 18th century. The full title of the production, as printed on one of the event's leaflets was: '*Pessebre Vivent i Oficis i traditions del Segle XVII'*, which translates as 'Live Nativity and Crafts and traditions of the 18th Century' (see Image 57). It was not clearly specified that these were 'Catalan' crafts and traditions, but the sole use of *Català* in the leaflet, the specifics about the description of the event in the second leaflet (including the types of practices included in the second part – 'Our Grandparents'), and the objects (including the *barretines* and other clothing) used throughout the entire performance made it unambiguous that these were depicting a distinctive 'Catalan' way of life from the 18th Century.

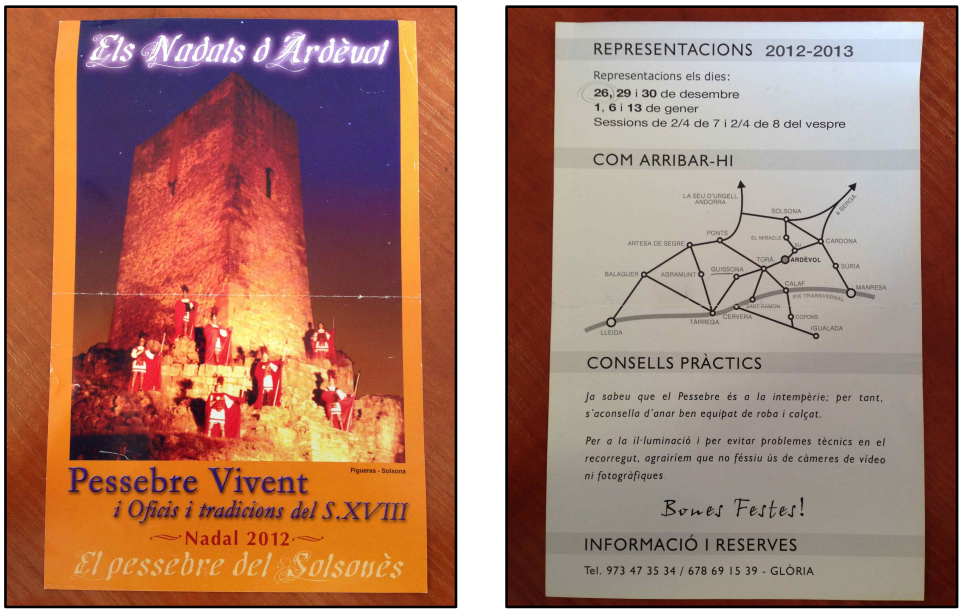


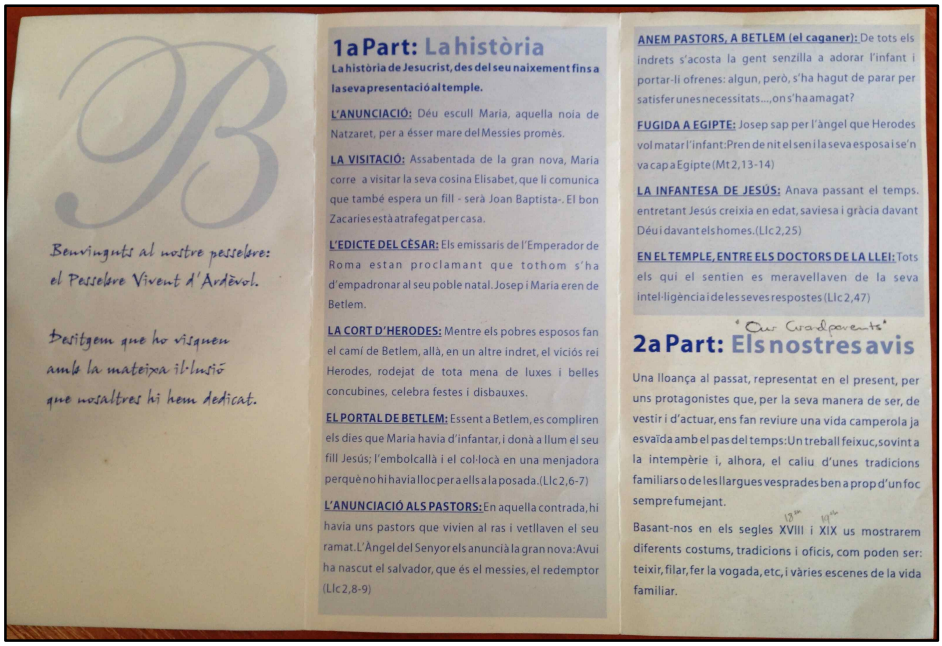
Image 57: Front and back of a leaflet from the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol.*

On the second small leaflet we received (see Image 58), this second part is described as (translated from *Català*):

> *Our Grandparents:*
>
> *Praise to the past, represented in the present, by protagonists who, by their way to be, to dress and to act, relive a rural life since vanished with the passage of time: heavy*

work, often in the open, and also, the warmth of familiar traditions or of long afternoons spent close to a fire that is always smouldering.

We will show you from the 18th and 19th centuries different customs, traditions and crafts, such as: knitting, spinning, making vogada, etc, and various scenes of family life.



Benvinguts al nostre pessebre:
el Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol.

Desitgem que ho visquen
amb la mateixa il·lusió
que nosaltres hi hem dedicat.

1a Part: La història

La història de Jesucrist, des del seu naixement fins a la seva presentació al temple.

L'ANUNCIACIÓ: Déu escull Maria, aquella noia de Natzaret, per a ésser mare del Messies promès.

LA VISITACIÓ: Assabentada de la gran nova, Maria corre a visitar la seva cosina Elisabet, que li comunica que també espera un fill - serà Joan Baptista-. El bon Zacaries està atrafegat per casa.

L'EDICTE DEL CÈSAR: Els emissaris de l'Emperador de Roma estan proclamant que tothom s'ha d'empadronar al seu poble natal. Josep i Maria eren de Betlem.

LA CORT D'HERODES: Mentre els pobres esposos fan el camí de Betlem, allà, en un altre indret, el viciós rei Herodes, rodejat de tota mena de luxes i belles concubines, celebra festes i disbauxes.

EL PORTAL DE BETLEM: Essent a Betlem, es compliren els dies que Maria havia d'infantar, i donà a llum el seu fill Jesús; l'embolcallà i el col·locà en una menjadora perquè no hi havia lloc per a ells a la posada. (Llc 2,6-7)

L'ANUNCIACIÓ ALS PASTORS: En aquella contrada, hi havia uns pastors que vivien al ras i vetllaven el seu ramat. L'Àngel del Senyor els anuncià la gran nova: Avui ha nascut el salvador, que és el messies, el redemptor (Llc 2,8-9)

ANEM PASTORS, A BETLEM (el caganer): De tots els indrets s'acosta la gent senzilla a adorar l'infant i portar-li ofrenes: algun, però, s'ha hagut de parar per satisfer unes necessitats..., on s'ha amagat?

FUGIDA A EGIPTE: Josep sap per l'àngel que Herodes vol matar l'infant: Pren de nit el seu i la seva esposa i se'n va cap a Egipte (Mt 2,13-14)

LA INFANTESA DE JESÚS: Anava passant el temps. entretant Jesús creixia en edat, saviesa i gràcia davant Déu i davant els homes. (Llc 2,25)

EN EL TEMPLE, ENTRE ELS DOCTORS DE LA LLEI: Tots els qui el sentien es meravellaven de la seva intel·ligència i de les seves respostes (Llc 2,47)

2a Part: Els nostres avis

Una lloança al passat, representat en el present, per uns protagonistes que, per la seva manera de ser, de vestir i d'actuar, ens fan reviure una vida camperola ja esvaïda amb el pas del temps: Un treball feixuc, sovint a la intempèrie i, alhora, el caliu d'unes tradicions familiars o de les llargues vesprades ben a prop d'un foc sempre fumejant.

Basant-nos en els segles XVIII i XIX us mostrarem diferents costums, tradicions i oficis, com poden ser: teixir, filar, fer la vogada, etc, i vàries escenes de la vida familiar.

Image 58: The leaflet from the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol,* describing the two parts of the performance.

The *Pessebre Vivent* scenes of this part entailed 'traditional' Catalan wares and tools, goods and chattel from the 18th and 19th centuries, including lace making, candle making, a chemist, rope making for the *espardanyes*, the spinning of wool, cotton clothing, and little market stalls with fresh vegetables. Men wearing 'traditional' peasant clothing were tending to farm plots and caring for sheep, practicing leather making and metal work. The final scenes of historical recreation involved a number of small rooms in a house, from which we entered into a wedding ceremony, the audience walking through the service and around the performers dressed in elegant peasant-style clothing. The bride stood wearing a knitted *barretina* and the bridegroom wore a red *barretina*.

The second part of the *Pessebre Vivent* almost seamlessly attached itself to the story of Christ through the incorporation and continuation of various symbols. This demonstrates a creativity and dynamism in terms of asserting identity and making it 'theirs', making the *Pessebre* unmistakably 'Catalan'. However, what was presented in the *Pessebre Vivent* was not advocating a return to the particular ancestral way of peasant life from the 18th century, but rather engaging with certain material and physical aspects of it (such as artisan production, handicrafts and farming) in showing that there is a connection rather than a direct reproduction.

As I became increasingly aware of the incorporation of Catalan identity symbols in the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardevol*, I was curious to see whether there would also be a *barretina*-wearing *caganer*, although I wondered how this would be possible given the 'live' performance and the temperature. Indeed in the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol* the *caganer* was well hidden, squatting on a grassy slope partially obscured by bushes, except that the bottom (which was a white plastic bottom worn over trousers) was reflected in the light from the village. In the leaflet about the *Pessebre Vivent*, within the biblical history section of the '1st Part' was written (translated from *Català*):

> *Shepherds we go, to Bethlehem (the caganer): from all the places come the humble people to adore the infant and give him offerings. Some, however, had to stop to satisfy needs…where is he hidden?*

The *Pessebre* was not solely about telling a religious story, but also about narrating a selective story of Catalan people and culture. Signs and symbols of Catalan 'traditions' and identity were situated throughout the entire performative space. In many ways the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol* presented a romanticised and idealised version of Catalan identity from the 18th century – the peasant lifestyle of hardworking people, living on the land and close to nature, humble and honest. This is the era from which some of the most striking and conspicuous symbols of Catalan identity as currently characterised come from, for example, the *barretina* and *caganer.* Internationally, 'peasant culture' is often

contemporarily venerated for being closer to nature, more in tune with the land, more connected to daily living and having a stronger sense of egalitarianism and community than modern city lifestyles.

Viewed as one whole performance, the *Pessebre Vivent* appropriated the Christmas narrative but not to critique the bible or Christianity, or to undermine the Catholic Church[41]. The performance was not foremost concerned with confirming the collective belief or faith of the audience. Understanding and making meaning from this performance did not depend on the visitor's knowledge of and commitment to Christianity. The *Pessebre Vivent* can be experienced as meaningful without adopting the religious narrative of the first part of the performance and without implementing 'traditional' wares and practices. The *Pessebre Vivent* performance was attempting to configure a degree of continuity with 'the past', not by exactly reproducing life, meaning and symbols, but in ways that give meaning to 'traditions' in a new socio-historical context, that give them new significance and contribute to the ongoing transformation of Catalan identity.

III Performance and the stage of Ardèvol

The setting of the performance in the village of Ardèvol contributed to the meaning making and significance of the performance. I have used the word 'performance' to describe the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol*. Performance is a broad term used for a wide array of events including concerts, theatre, live art, sporting events, political protests, inaugurations, rituals (religious and secular), festivals, parades and ceremonies. Consequently it may seem difficult to imagine what cannot be included as 'performance'. In limiting what is or is not 'performance', Lowell outlines what he calls 'special events', which are:

[41] Catholicism is the dominant religion throughout Catalunya and Spain.

> occasions that are set apart from the ordinary daily round of activities. These can be rare or frequent, highly elaborated and planned or fairly informal, depending on the case in question. Such events are marked or framed as special, either explicitly (through naming, rule-making, codifying, prescribing) or implicitly (through simple emergence, unspoken practice, or mere attitude). (2013: 4-5)

Certain distinctive events are generated that are more meaningful, memorable or more intensive compared with the routine acts and occurrences in 'ordinary' daily life – these are 'special events' or performances. People, groups, communities, nations and institutions can specify or favour particular activities, tasks, attitudes, experiences and undertakings around which they develop events in order to explore and emphasise their importance, value or moral worth (Lowell 2013: 5). Thus performance requires deliberate actions in carrying out an activity, practice or task that is differentiated from everyday life. Performances are distinguished from daily life by the degree to which they demand greater involvement, enhance meaning and stimulate powerful awareness, and as such they "tend to engender more salient experiences and more memories" (Lowell 2013: 6).

Rather than providing the reader with a list of activities that can or cannot be definitively labelled 'performance', Lowell places events along "a continuum of more or less special events" (2013: 7): "At one end are the highly elaborated, specially marked, rare but important planned events (like coronations, cosmic rituals, and important funerals), and at the other end are routine or habitual practices that may fade from awareness altogether" (Lowell 2013: 7). This continuum is not fixed or stable but is always in a process of change and transformation as different event types emerge and gain or lose importance and social significance[42]. For Marta, the *Pessebre Vivent* was high on the

[42] Lowell uses (P) Performance for special events and (p) performance for everyday

continuum of special events as described by Lowell (2013). In an excited tone, she described the *Pessebre Vivent* as "*a very special experience*".

Existing on continuum also means that there is a process of co-constitution involved, as 'special events' and everyday life interact and there is no strict line drawn between them, they intermingle and influence the other. In *The Anthropology of Performance*, Turner argues

> that this relationship [between everyday socio-cultural processes and cultural performance] is not unidirectional and "positive" – in the sense that the performative genre merely "reflects" or "expresses" the social system or the cultural configurations, or at any rate their key relationships – but that it is reciprocal and reflexive – in the sense that the performance is often a critique, direct or veiled, of the social life it grows out of, an evaluation (with lively possibilities of rejection) of the way society handles history. (1987: 21-22)

Although we define performance as being set aside from daily life, in actuality performances and everyday life are in a process of co-constitution whereby they influence, infuse and enliven each other as they each change, adapt, emerge and are disregarded (Lowell 2013: 6). Social, cultural and historical context is crucial for forming meaningful understandings. There can be wide variation in both the intended meanings and purposes of events and the meanings that participants construct (Lowell 2013; Turner 1987: 24). This contention is supported by the markedly different meaning and purpose the *Pessebre Vivent* held for Marta and Robert. For Marta, the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol* was a strongly meaningful event, "*these events are important to maintain*". Robert had a different view: "*Marta loves them [pessebres], but they're not for me*." Different levels of engagement and ethnic affiliation are discussed in the following chapter.

From the start of the *Pessebre Vivent* performance, the scenes of the nativity physically wrapped their way around the buildings and fields at the northern end of Ardèvol. The

Pessebre Vivent was set throughout Ardèvol, in and around sandy-grey coloured stone houses and old barns with large wooden beams, paved courtyards, dirt paths and fields, the church of *Santa Maria d'Ardèvol* and the rectangular watch tower of *Torre d'Ardèvol* from the remains of a castle. It was warm with the glow of dim electric lights and candles inside the buildings, but cold and windy outside. Surrounding the entire site were braziers filled with burning wood, disturbed occasionally as a gust of wind blew up, spraying burning embers up into the air and sending the audience scrambling to avoid the hot ash. We walked down and up dirt and log steps on the side of a ridge, farming fields and vegetable gardens just visible via the glow from the braziers. The barns and outdoor areas had a smell of moist earth, animals, straw and burning wood. The physical landscape contributed to the meaning-making of the performance.

The place and people of Ardèvol were integrated into the event. There were thirty scenes performed by approximately 200 people, all of whom were volunteers from the local town or area. In a number of scenes all performers were perfectly still, while in others they moved about in their roles, for example, tending animals, repairing clothes or managing a market stall. Some scenes were performed outside and others were inside buildings or partly sheltered by huts. The community of Ardèvol was actively participating in the construction of the performance by opening their homes, fields and barns, being 'performers', preparing the site and backdrops, and maintaining the braziers and stalls.

For the audience, the performance space was partly interacted with and partly viewed from a distance. There was little audience participation in terms of interaction with the performers or the narrative, although the audience was effectively 'within' the performance space, passing through the various stages with the performers. Ropes, fences and doors marked off some areas and kept the audience to an observing limit, and at other times the audience had to walk within touching distance of the performers, brushing past them on narrow stairs. In this way the *Pessebre Vivent* enabled the audience to physically interact with the performance, to somewhat inhabit the performative space. This

heightened interaction held the potential to engender more salient shared experiences. Embodied experiences will be further explored in Chapter Eight in terms of embodied engagement strengthening feelings of belonging.

The centre of the village was the 'stage' for this performance. Ardèvol was not, however, a bare stage. The town was already a place with meaning and significance to the local community, but for the *Pessebre Vivent* it was altered place, in that it was differently practiced and imbued with different layers of meaning. We were not, for example, being shown what life was like in this village for the people of today. This stage of Ardèvol became infused with additional meanings as the space for and of the performance through the various props and symbols, the performers and the audience. The *Pessebre Vivent* worked to imaginatively and creatively transport the audience to another temporal space. We were not in present-day Ardèvol, but neither were we transported to Bethlehem or some ancient Ardèvol. It was, rather, both an entirely specific and unmistakable place, while at the same time being somewhat unfixed and vague for the *Pessebre Vivent*. My observations of the *Pessebre Vivent* at Ardèvol support Hastrup's (1998) assertion that time, space, performers and the audience interact to create a specific place imbued with meaning and significance.

IV Give Us Today Our Daily Bread and Sausage

Market and Grilled Toast:
At the closing of the nativity, you can purchase, if you want, our artisan products. And, presented at the entrance, you can prepare toasts: bread with oil, botifarra (sausage) *and good wine.*
(Description from the *Pessebre* leaflet, see Image 59, translated from *Català*)

El mercat i la torrada

Com a cloenda del pessebre, podreu adquirir, si voleu, els nostres productes artesans.

I, presentant l'entrada, podreu fer la torrada:
Pa amb oli, botifarra i un bon vinet.

El Pessebre

El Pessebre consta de més de 30 quadres o escenes i compta amb l'actuació de 200 persones.

El vestuari i ornamentació han estat confeccionats per les mestresses de casa que, desinteressadament, hi van treballant mesos i més mesos.

La reestructuració ha pogut ser realitzada gràcies a l'esforç i bona voluntat de tot el poble.

Per a tots, l'enhorabona.

BONES FESTES!

ORGANITZA
Centre Cultural d'Ardèvol

DIRECCIÓ I ASSESSORAMENT
Màrius Codina

DONEN SUPORT:

Ajuntament de Pinós

Impremta Figueras - Solsona

Pessebre Vivent
ARDÈVOL

El pessebre del Solsonès

Image 59: Leaflet from the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardèvol.*

It took approximately one hour to walk through the entire *Pessebre Vivent* performance, after which all spectators congregated in the town square between the tower of Ardèvol and the church of *Santa Maria d'Ardèvol*. All six people in our party wished something to eat and drink, so, following Marta we each collected a large slice of dry, crusty bread. Marta showed us how to use the barbeques filled with wood and topped with grill plates to toast the bread, which we then poured olive oil over and lined up to receive a freshly barbequed *botifarra* or *botifarra negre* (a type of regular sausage or blood sausage). We then sat around the base of the tower while other spectators stood chatting in small groups or staring into the fire. This was no longer part of the acted performance but still part of the broader 'special event'. While seated and eating our meals Marta commented again that this *Pessebre Vivent* was "*very special*", "*very Catalan*", and "*good for us* [her guests] *to see*". She enthused: "*Ardèvol is a very old Catalan village", "some families have lived here for a very long time, generations",* which she felt contributed to the depth of meaning of the performance.

Glass wine pitchers with a long thin spout on one side, called *porrons,* were dispersed around the tables, filled with either red wine or water. A *porró* is not used to pour the wine into a glass but rather straight into one's mouth from the long thin stream that pours out and is passed around to share with the group. I watched as a young boy attempted to drink from a *porró* with water but accidently spilt it down his shirt. George Orwell described the *porró* in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938: 6) based on his experience during the Spanish Civil War when he was fighting for the Republic, although, as his description shows, he was not enamoured with this item:

> *We ate at long trestle-tables out of permanently greasy tin pannikins, and drank out of a dreadful thing called a porrón*[43]*. A porrón is a sort of glass bottle with a pointed spout from which a thin jet of wine spurts out whenever you tip it up; you can thus drink from a distance, without touching it with your lips, and it can be passed from hand to hand. I went on strike and demanded a drinking-cup as soon as I saw a porrón in use.*

The *porró* is another popular Catalan item that is associated with the 18th century peasant era and carries meaning regarding community and conviviality. The *porró* was described by Xaví as "*strengthening bonds*", as it is "*passed around from person to person*" with "*everyone sharing and everyone treated as equal*".

A month after seeing the *porró* at the *Pessebre Vivent d'Ardevol,* I asked a research participant, Anna, where I could buy one. She did not understand me for a moment, surprised that I knew what a *porró* was. Anna asked "*you actually know what it is?*", "*tourists don't know about these things*". She said she did own a *porró*, yet did not know where to buy one. I received a similar response from Núria and Xavi, who after much thought decided to try looking for one in a local Chinese dollar store. Núria explained that

[43] This spelling is the Spanish version.

she and Xavi have a *porró* but rarely use it because it is "*difficult to drink from*" and "*can be messy*". At a dinner with Nùria, Xavi and many of their friends, the *porró* was primarily used as a wine decanter, although when it was first brought out a number of the guests encouraged each other to try to drink from it without spilling wine down their shirtfronts. The *porró* is an object with meaning as being 'Catalan' but not necessarily cherished in a practical sense. As is common with many objects that symbolise identity, it is used for what it represents rather than for its function. The *porró* represents not only romanticism with Catalan peasant life but the value of egalitarianism, as it is "*something that everyone can share*" (Joan).

The 'traditions' within the Pessebre Vivent were being interacted with and made relevant to today, they were not items in glass museum displays. Symbols and 'traditions' continue to serve a core function in identifying a contemporary Catalan ethnic identity. My research participants who self-identified as Catalan, clearly demonstrated pride in their traditions and the uniqueness of Catalan culture. As Maria told me, "*we are different because of our traditions*".

Unlike the previous chapter on nationalism and the current and historical struggles for Catalunya to become an independent nation-state, the *Pessebre Vivent* was a uniquely Catalan event with a biblical component, which can be performed and celebrated regardless of a nationalist agenda. What is invested in and actually *makes* the event is the continuing sense of Catalan identity as an ongoing production that unites the present with the past in a cultural revisiting that makes sense (and only *needs* to make sense) to the participants themselves. It is a performance of difference that creates a cultural space full of significance for Catalan people through incorporating 'traditions' and symbols of importance for ethnic identity that transform to enable contemporary relevance.

Conclusion

The *Pessebre Vivent* was explored from my experience as an observer and participant as I joined the extended family of a research participant on *Sant Esteve* in the small village of Ardèvol. The *Pessebre Vivent* connected with 'traditions' in a contemporary manner and was a means of expressing and participating in ongoing Catalan identity formation. It was creating an imaginatively satisfying link with 'the past' not dependent on the presentation of historical details or 'facts', and making sense of cultural phenomenon not dependent on meaning drawn from a nationalist 'cause'. The ethnicity framework helps to make sense of the merging of the irreverent with the sacred, and the whimsy with the hallowed as not simply frivolous amusement but as important and meaningful for Catalan people who are embracing and performing their distinctiveness.

The enacting of a Christian nativity scene is not in itself novel or unique (we see adaptations globally of the nativity scene incorporating local symbols, characters, sensibilities, attire and landscapes) but rather it is the elements of the performance that make a *pessebre* – both in 'live' and figurine form – unique and specifically 'Catalan'. The *caganer*, *barretina, espardanyes* and *porró* are common and recognisable markers currently deployed in signifying Catalan identity. The *Pessebre Vivent* demonstrates a particular kind of Catalan 'traditional' identity by referring to a romanticised peasant era, further glorified and imbued with religious authority through the (comm)union with the story of the birth of Jesus Christ. Cultural and ethnic revivals are not about reproducing 'original' forms of 'tradition' as a mirror image, but rather expressing variations in the processes of transforming and practicing cultural styles.

Identity is not predetermined and is not dictated by 'Others', and Catalan people are active in creating a positive cultural space for exploring and transforming identity. The following chapter will further explore understandings of what it means to *be* and *feel* Catalan,

including the modern importance of the need for recognition as an essential component of our relationships, crucial for self-realisation, self-determination and social justice.

CHAPTER EIGHT
BEING AND FEELING CATALAN

In previous chapters I identified central processes and markers that contribute to the making and asserting of Catalan ethnicity. These included the language of *Català*; symbolic meanings and embodied experiences in place; promotion of alternate historical narratives; nationalist sentiments and the independence movement; and transforming traditions. However, these do not constitute a prescription for *being* Catalan, and not everyone identifying and identified as Catalan has the same ideas and understandings of what it *means* to be Catalan, of what makes them and others *feel* Catalan. There are differing images and meanings of 'Catalan-ness' because it is not an objective identity but subjective and inter-subjectively recognised. Individuals have different experiences and different senses of selfhood that change over their lifetime, and thus there can be varying levels and degrees of ethnic self-definition within the same ethnic group. For example, *Català* is a meaningful marker of one's ethnic identity only when its significance is understood as such. Likewise, the *Sardana* dance is understood as uniquely Catalan, yet those who dance it need not be. Individual and group identity is not a fixed state of being and these ambiguities indicate the dynamic nature of Catalan ethnic identity. This final chapter draws together many of my key participants' voices as they described experiences, opinions and thoughts regarding how and why they *feel* Catalan; what it means to them to be and become Catalan; and the various conditions they use to identify themselves and others as Catalan.

Being Catalan involves a way of living with ambivalence between the identity constructions of Catalan and Spanish (as the dominant 'Other'), and often negotiating the personal relevance of these two distinct ethnic identities. Taylor reminds us that "we define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our

significant others want to see in us" (1994: 32-33). As ethnicity is a social construction formed through social relations, ethnic identity involves forms of recognition. In the final section of this chapter I consider the tensions and frustrations that can arise, in part, through the perception of the Spanish government's *mis*recognition of Catalan difference and the encouragement of a benign inclusiveness into a general 'Spanish-ness'. Spain is seen to oppress through its failure to recognise the significance Catalan people place on their difference, which can extend the sense of separation felt between Catalan and Spanish ethnic identities.

I Living, Working and *Wanting*

There are varied and competing definitions regarding what it means to identify and be identified as Catalan. These definitions can be explicit or implicit, official or unofficial, operating and competing simultaneously, and with more or less relevance depending on the context and the individual. Woolard (1989: 37) explains that a legal definition of a Catalan centres on being a Spanish citizen and officially residing in Catalunya. Although this can represent one way of belonging on a regional level, I have identified in previous chapters that this is inadequate when considering the diverse forms of Catalan ethnic belonging. There are differences, tensions and ambiguities between identifying in nationalist, regional, linguistic and ethnic terms, as they converge and co-construct in complex ways. Martí, for example, placed little personal and emotional value on being identified as a Spanish national. As a self-identifying Catalan who considers being an independence supporter part of identifying as Catalan, he would prefer to solely have "*a Catalan passport*", as he felt this more accurately reflected his identity in both ethnic and national terms.

A former President of Catalunya, Jordi Pujol provided a still regularly cited definition of 'who is Catalan'. Pujol asserted that a Catalan is "someone who lives and works in Catalonia

and wants to be a Catalan" (Pujol 1980, quoted in Guibernau 1997: 91 and Wright 1999: 46). Wright explains that *wanting* to be Catalan can be demonstrated by "learning to speak the language, embracing the culture and taking part in Catalan civil society" (1999: 46). Although somewhat conventional, this definition from Pujol illuminates a crucial aspect of Catalan ethnic identity – that it requires a desire and commitment to a particular way of living. Based on analysis of my participants' comments and actions, I argue that *wanting* to be Catalan is importantly about engaging in meaningful ways and understanding the significance of certain social markers being deployed. Although language, place, history, traditions and nationalist sentiment, as discussed in earlier chapters, are common markers of Catalan ethnic identity, they are not prescribed and must be supported by the choice of individuals to deploy and understand their significance.

After unexpectedly seeing a troupe of *castellers* training in the streets of an outer Barcelona suburb one weekend, Miguel and I engaged in a conversation about the participants and spectators, during which he stated directly:

> *Sometimes I watch castells or go to festivals and enjoy them, but I'm not Catalan. Yes I live here, I was born in Barcelona and grew up here. Now I work here, have friends here and it's my home. So I can understand Català…but I don't really use it. I'm Spanish, I feel Spanish.*

For Miguel, even though he fitted Pujol's description according to living and working, and demonstrated some of the example for what *could* constitute wanting in that he spoke *Català* and participated in Catalan society, this was not accompanied by the desire to be and be recognised as Catalan. Miguel did not deploy these conditions as relevant to his sense of identity.

Image 60: Watching a castell in the streets of Barcelona with Martí (Author's photo, September 2013).

Miley presented data that showed that general notions of what constitutes a Catalan person change over time. The percentage of the population of Catalunya between 1979 and 1998 who agreed that working and living in Catalunya was a requirement to be Catalan fell from 56.5% to 42.1% (Miley 2007: 26). During the same twenty-year period Miley (2007: 26) found the number of positive responses to the notion that to be Catalan one must speak *Català* rose from 33.3% to 43.5%. Perceiving a similar significance placed on language, Woolard asserted that "it is the criterion of language that is both the most commonly used and the most powerful" (1989: 38). All my research participants who were self-identifying Catalans expressed that speaking *Català* was an important component of their identity, that *Català* holds significance in indicating personally and to 'Others' that they are Catalan. My research participants (both Catalan and non-Catalan) widely identified the use of *Català* as a "*trademark*" (Ramon) of Catalan identity that could enable people to be recognised as Catalan.

For Martí, language was highly important to being Catalan. When Martí was in his early twenties he made the conscious decision to "*become more Catalan*" and as a first step he

chose to speak *Català* in preference to Castilian and to engage strongly with other *Català* speaking people. Martí grew up on the outskirts of Barcelona and told me that *"my father is Catalan"* but *"he doesn't speak Catalan"* and *"at home we all speak Castilian Spanish"*. When Martí was approximately twelve years old his mother started speaking to him in *Català*. He described that he *"was at first upset because I didn't understand why my mother was doing this".* His parents had not learnt *Català* at school and when his mother started speaking *Català* at home Martí was *"very upset and angry at her"* and *"didn't understand what she was doing and why"*. Approximately ten years later however, Martí began to want to speak *Català* more frequently as he identified its significance for *feeling* more Catalan. Martí explained that he was from the first generation that learnt *Català* at school following its reintroduction in 1975, and so he knew *Català* but had not been habitually using it. Martí actively sought out other *Català* speakers and gradually built up his network of friends who were self-identifying Catalans. Now, he noted with some surprise, most of his close friends are Catalan and he primarily speaks *Català*. In this way, language was part of Martí's process of self-identifying as Catalan because he perceived an important level of significance in this marker. Martí *wanted* to self-identify and be recognised as Catalan, and perceived language as an important means to achieve this.

As I acknowledged in Chapter Three, there is a strong correlation between the choice to speak *Català* habitually and identifying as Catalan. I argued, however, that although *Català* is a rallying point for Catalan identity and solidarity it is an ambiguous marker of ethnicity. *Català* is a strong criterion for Catalan ethnic membership, and language forms a central element of individuals becoming enculturated into society, but it is not unequivocal. The experiences of my research participants often contradicted the simplicity of using *Català* as a marker of ethnic identity. Ramon, who has lived in Catalunya for most of his life, explained that when he travels to Madrid or other areas of Spain outside Catalunya, he is often referred to as 'the Catalan'. Other Spaniards recognise the he has a certain *Català* inflected accent when he speaks Castilian Spanish and thus often view him as Catalan. However, although Ramon speaks *Català* fluently, he prefers to communicate in Castilian

Spanish and does not self-identify as a Catalan. Knowing *Català,* alone or in combination with living and working in Catalunya, does not provide the *wanting*, the choice and commitment to identify as Catalan.

Javier's experiences also support the view that *being* Catalan is more complex than living and working in Catalunya, speaking *Català* and engaging in Catalan society. Javier has lived and worked in Catalunya for almost one decade after moving from another region of Spain. He *"feels comfortable"* there and anticipates living in Barcelona for the foreseeable future. Javier learned *Català* soon after relocating because he understood it as an important way to show his sincerity to "*become part of the community"* and, observing the 'switching norm', is happy to converse in it if someone prefers, but otherwise speaks Castilian Spanish and does not actively seek to engage in Catalan cultural practices. Javier perceives that he belongs to the Catalan *regional* community, especially in terms of participating in civil society. However, for Javier, living and working in Catalunya, and learning and speaking *Català* are not adequate for belonging to the Catalan ethnic group and he identifies neither nationally nor ethnically. Even though Javier lives, works, speaks and engages to some degree in Catalan society, he does not deploy these as significant markers of his identity as he does not *want* to be Catalan.

When explaining the differences between Catalan and Spanish people, Maria, a self-identifying Catalan, stated that the language, traditions and celebrations, make Catalan "*feel*" different, "*the way of life is different here*". Focusing on difference from Spanish ways of living, Maria elaborated that Catalans have "*our own special traditions*" including "*beating caga tió*", *Sant Esteve* which is "*only from us*", *cava* (Catalan sparkling wine) and *Sant Jordi* (Saint George), stating that we "*feel Catalan for these different things*". For Maria, participating in Catalan traditions was important, whereas for Martí understanding their symbolic meaning was more important than participating. Living and working in Catalunya, knowing *Català*, and/or engaging in cultural activities can be conditions for

being Catalan but only when they are appreciated and deployed as *significant* and when accompanied by *wanting* to be Catalan and *wanting* to be recognised by others as Catalan.

Image 61: A *caga tió* set up in a participant's village (Author's photo, December 2012).

II Ancestry and Birthplace

In addition to language, Woolard identified what she perceived to be the three other common criteria for 'being Catalan' as "birthplace, descent, sentiment/behaviours" (1989: 38). MacInnes takes a stronger position, arguing that:

> Identity in Catalonia is about lineage rather than resistance. Five out of every six who say they prioritize their Catalan identity over a Spanish one and who think of Catalonia as a nation have at least one parent born there and over nine out of ten were born there themselves. Conversely, barely one in twenty in-migrants think of themselves as members of a Catalan nation rather than a Spanish one…The rhetoric may be about 'living and working', but its reality is about descent. (2006: 689-690)

Although MacInnes collapses descent and birthplace into one criterion, both hold potential for being used as socially meaningful markers of ethnic identity. Ancestry, descent or

lineage all refer to the notion that one's genetic heritage plays a key role in identity. Not all understandings are restricted to biology, but all place a primary level of importance on familial bloodlines rather than on social milieus and social interactions. Birthplace is also about origins but generally recognises that the physical location of one's birth, or more precisely the situated societies and cultures we are born into, strongly influence our sense of self-hood.

Both Martí, who identifies as Catalan, and Ramon, who identifies as Spanish, linked birthplace, family heritage and growing up in Catalunya as influencing *being* Catalan. Martí described his family as *"not a typical Catalan family"* because they were *"not Catalan for generations"* due to his grandparents having moved from Asturias to Catalunya for work. In this way, Martí recognised that a 'typical' Catalan family would have ancestors who were born in Catalunya. Similarly Ramon perceived that being born in Catalunya was important to having a Catalan identity: "*Nowadays if you come here to Catalunya and you are from Poland or from Australia…ahh…you are not going to feel Catalan or be held as Catalan…but your offspring will be Catalan*".

In not having previously explored ancestry as a marker of Catalan ethnic identity, I do not disregard the assertion that it can play a role. However, as I argued in Chapter Two, it is incorrect to consider biology as a direct *determinate* of ethnicity because ethnic identity is a social construction. Ancestry *can*, however, become a marker when it is socially constructed as meaningful (Nash 1989: 4-5). Although some of my participants, including Martí and Ramon, did perceive ancestry and place of birth as influencing Catalan ethnic affiliation, other participants did not perceive these as vital markers of *feeling* and *being* Catalan, thus demonstrating the complexity and ambiguity of these criteria. Gabriela has Catalan ancestry, was born and raised in Catalunya, speaks fluent *Català*, and participates occasionally in Catalan cultural activities, yet does not identify as Catalan. Gabriela speaks *Català* with her father (who identifies as Catalan) and Castilian Spanish with her mother. Gabriela strongly feels Spanish is her identity. Superficially, Gabriela satisfies many of the

main markers for a Catalan ethnic identity, however, as ethnic identifications are based on both ascription and self-ascription (Barth 1969a) because Gabriela herself does not choose to identify as Catalan and does not deploy the significance of these markers, although the markers may be meaningful for others, they are not sufficient in her case for determining ethnic identity.

Miley's survey data showed that "The proportions of the general population that register affirmative responses to the idea that either descent from a Catalan family or having been born in Catalonia constitute necessary prerequisites for considering oneself a Catalan have fallen from 82.4% in 1979 to 51.1% in 1998" (2007: 26). This data again clearly demonstrates that markers of belonging change and transform over time, and that descent *can* be employed as a marker, although it is not socially significant for all Catalan people. Categories of belonging are not fixed and stable, and "the sense of belonging is a dynamic process continuing throughout a person's lifespan" (Chaitin *et al*. 2009: paragraph 20). Restricting ethnic identity to descent alone overlooks other issues and tensions around feeling and becoming Catalan. The claim that ancestry determines ethnic identity fails to explain the different levels of identity affiliation experienced by my participants.

Further illustrating the complexity of ethnic identity, Woolard observed that "People can 'feel Catalan' but not 'be Catalan' at one and the same time, or find that they are Catalan but not 'Catalan Catalan'." (1989: 59). There can be differences between self-identifying and being recognised as Catalan. Gabriela, for example, may be recognised as Catalan, but does not *feel* Catalan, whereas Robert, who was born in England but has lived in Catalunya for over thirty years, *feels* Catalan, but considering MacInnes (2006) and Woolard's (1989) claims about the importance of ancestry and birthplace he may not be considered by everyone as 'Catalan Catalan'.

Pablo provided another example of the complexity of ancestry as a marker of ethnicity. Pablo moved to Catalunya as a small child and his father is Catalan, however he does not identify as Catalan and he choses to pursue his Asturian heritage. Pablo is passionate about living as an Asturian man in Catalunya by engaging with Asturian practices, people, events, and promoting Asturian culture. For him Catalan ancestry and speaking *Català* are not enough, and living and working in Catalunya are not enough because he does not have a desire to identify as Catalan. Robert, on the other hand, does not have Catalan ancestry, was born and raised in England, and yet "f*eels more Catalan than British"*. He has lived in Catalunya for more than half his life. Robert explained that his identity began to change around the time that he decided to settle with his wife and *"chose to make a life here"* in Catalunya. His wife identifies as Catalan and her family welcomed Robert into their lives. For Robert therefore, although he does not have ancestors who identified as Catalan and was not born in Catalunya, he perceives that living in Catalunya and committing himself to a life and family in Catalunya are important conditions for his sense of *feeling* Catalan. As these examples all demonstrate, individuals can employ different conditions and combinations of conditions for their sense of ethnic affiliation, although they draw from the same cache of potential markers.

A problem with employing descent as the central criteria is that is fails to account for the complexity of the lived experiences as exemplified by Gabriela, Pablo and Robert. While some may consider that being born in Catalunya and/or having Catalan ancestry are key markers of Catalan ethnic identity, what I demonstrate here is that these are not prescriptive and the boundaries of Catalan identity are more fluid and complex than birthplace or ancestry. As raised in Chapter Two, part of the ethnogenesis process can involve making identity feel 'natural' and 'inevitable', and this can help to explain why ancestry and birthplace are often perceived as necessary for ethnic membership. I argue that ancestry and birthplace, rather than being determinates of identity, support embodied and shared experiences. That is, these markers are more about inhabiting social milieus that place meaning and significance on certain practices, views, behaviours and

relationships. We become socialised into understanding and appreciating certain symbols, sentiments and behaviours relating to identity in ways that are so embodied as to *seem* 'natural', which encourages the deep feeling and belief that identity is given rather than socially constructed.

III Embodied and Shared Experiences

> ethnicity is not just *who one is* but *how one feels* in and about a particular situation (Stayman and Deshpande 1989). (Dion *et al*. 2011: 311)

Participants commonly described being Catalan as a way of *feeling*, a way of *being*, and as an embodied experience. As Martí explained: *"It's a feeling to be Catalan. My grandparents were from other parts of Spain and I don't know if they feel Catalan but I do. Knowing Català is important but being Catalan, it's a feeling."* While responding to an interview question about how to identify someone as 'Catalan', Javier who identifies as Basque, answered: "*one knows it, can feel it, it's in the air…yes, it's in the air*". Javier felt that identifying someone as Catalan was an embodied experience learned through cultural schema that had become 'natural' tacit knowledge and 'common-sense'. Javier identified characteristics, behaviours and beliefs that enabled him to differentiate Catalan people (especially) from other Spaniards and had become part of his embodied understanding.

As raised in Chapter Four, ethnicity is formed through our embodied 'being-in-the-world' experiences that entail engagement with others, with objects and with places, combined with the social, political, historical and cultural meanings in which we are immersed and with which we interact (Csordas 1994: 143). Even though "experience is individual and phenomenological" (Dion *et al.* 2011: 322), it is the embodied interactions with others in particular settings that enable the development of shared understandings, and thus

reinforce the ways in which we engage. As we shape and make sense of our identity through embodied experiences, our here-and-now presence in the world forges and strengthens ethnic belonging (Dion *et al.* 2011). Dion *et al.*'s (2011) research on ethnic belonging included a vignette from a participant who identified as Catalan and talked about his experience on Mount Canigou in the French Pyrenees: "climbing the Canigou peak is a way of getting the myth of Catalonia embedded" (2011: 320). Mount Canigou is a symbolic place for Catalan pilgrimages and important for the festival of *Sant Joan.* Josep explained that the celebration of *Sant Joan* is:

> *a very significant day in Catalunya, a festive day. We celebrate the beginning of summer with a festival, which is held on the night of the 23rd[June]. We light large bonfires with wood and old junk, throw firecrackers, drink cava and eat coca [a type of dry flat cake].*
>
> *The fire of Sant Joan, is a tradition that is ignited with the 'Flame of the Canigó'. This flame is obtained the day before by lighting a fire at the top of the mountain of the Canigó (2784m), in North Catalunya, in France, and it is carried across all of Catalunya to light the thousands of fires of Sant Joan, in all the towns.* (email correspondence, translated from *Català*)

Dion *et al.* contend that "individuals can look to experiencing specific sensory experiences in order to feel and to be recognized as a member of an ethnic community" (2011: 324). Engagements in cultural and social practices that are recognised symbolically as 'Catalan' can be made in search of deeper community and personal connections. Individuals can choose to engage in particular practices, events and situations and to seek out certain experiences that are understood as meaningful to that ethnic group and to themselves, and thus can work to strengthen their ethnic affiliation.

Journeying to various symbolic and special sites is common for Catalan people, and popular sites include Montserrrat, Montseny, Núria and La Mola. Many people want to

immerse themselves in particular events, practices, places and landscapes that have special meanings that can engender a deeper sense of connection and belonging (Dion *et al*. 2011). For many people, visiting Montserrat, a Catholic monastery situated on a mountain-side with a striking physical landscape near Barcelona, is a predominately religious experience, while for others it is a tourist destination, and for others again is it strongly linked to Catalan identity.

Image 62: The monastery of Montserrat, Catalunya (Author's photo, December 2012).

Engagement need not be solely physical but, as Chapter Five explored, can also include how one engages with history and memory. Following an interview with Agustí Alcoberro i Pericay, the Director of the *Museu d'Historia de Catalunya* (Museum of Catalan History), he drew my attention to a large painting hanging on the wall behind where we had sat. He explained that the abstract painting told the story of the execution in 1940 of Lluís Companys, a former president of Catalunya, by Franco's forces at Montjuiic in Barcelona. Agustí described the meaning of the work of art, and how he felt "*proud*" and *"honoured"* to have it in his office. He elucidated that Companys' last words as he faced the firing squad

were "*Per Catalunya!*" (For Catalunya!) and that he requested to be barefoot, to be connected to the land of Catalunya. It was clear that the painting was highly meaningful for Agustí, "*For Us it is important*". He spoke with reverence and wanted me to understand the significance it held for him and "*for us*" Catalan people. For Agustí, understanding the symbolic meaning and significance of the last acts of this historic figure is strongly connected to how he identifies as Catalan.

> *"Estàs una mica catalana!" (You are a little bit Catalan!)*
> "*Do you feel a little Catalan now?"*
> *"Do you feel more Catalan?"*

Various participants who self-identified as Catalan asked me these questions and made this statement on a number of occasions during my return trips to Catalunya. Initially these comments took me by surprise because, although I knew I had learned more about Catalan ethnic identity, I did not *feel* I was *becoming* Catalan, and thus found the comments unexpected and somewhat strange. On reflection, being told that I was, or asked how I felt about being, "*a little bit Catalan*" reinforced the possibility of *becoming* Catalan, that the boundaries of Catalan ethnicity are not closed and that being Catalan is about engagement, self-understanding and recognition, and not solely restricted to the conditions of descent and birthplace, living and working in Catalunya and habitually speaking *Català.* Maria and Joan, who both proudly self-identify as Catalan, delightedly told me that I was "*more Catalan*" because I could communicate in basic *Català*, had more knowledge of history and society, and had experienced multiple aspects of Catalan society and culture including food, festivals, traditions, places and people. I understood that these questions and comments about my evolving degree of 'Catalan-ness' signalled a perception that I was making deeper emotional and embodied connections with Catalan people, society, history and place through shared experiences and engagements.

Andreu, who describes himself as *"proudly feeling very Catalan",* purposefully took me to places he frequents, including small towns with historical significance to Catalan society, and events that he regularly attends. Andreu chose to provide me with opportunities to learn about what he perceived as quintessentially Catalan places, traditions, histories and other aspects of a Catalan 'way of living' with the intent that I gained an embodied understanding of the uniqueness of Catalan people, its products and places. Other key participants who self-identified as Catalan including Marta, Maria and Joan, and Núria and Xaví, also chose to deliberately expose me to elements that they considered important to their own Catalan identity, primarily by including me in shared experiences and social engagements, including visits to local food markets, weekly get-togethers with friends, meals in their homes, and casual walks around towns and villages. This was about encouraging and enabling an immersed experience and engagement with everyday Catalan people, places and things, and not just 'special' events such as the *Pessebre* explored in the previous chapter or the various protests described in Chapters Three and Six.

Although it was not my agenda to seek to *become* Catalan, my interest and commitment to learning about Catalan identity was interpreted by some research participants as an important level of engagement that was recognised as a commitment to 'them' and their identity 'project'. Signing up as a sympathizer for a political 'cause' was not required, but rather my willingness to immerse myself in the various social, cultural, historical and political dimensions of *being* Catalan was important and signalled to some the condition of *wanting.*

I remind the reader that being, feeling and wanting to be Catalan is not the same as rejecting a Spanish identity, as they are not mutually exclusive. Although discussions can often be framed this way because they are distinct ethnic groups, people who belong to these groups need not do so exclusively. As Massey states, "While it is frequently accepted

that identities are relational, the possibilities are often closed down by the assumption that such relations must be those of bounded, negative counterposition, of inclusion and exclusion" (1994: 169-170). Individuals can perceive a greater ethnic affiliation with one or the other, but can also exist as members of both ethnic identities, which data consistently shows and my participants' lived experiences support.

A 2015 study conducted by the Spanish *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Centre for Sociological Research, CIS) found the following:

Question 33

Which of the following statements would you say best expresses your feelings?

I feel only Spanish	5.9
I feel more Spanish than Catalan	5.1
I feel as Catalan as Spanish	38.0
I feel more Catalan than Spanish	23.4
I feel only Catalan	23.6
Not sure	0.8
No comment	3.2
(N)	(1,392)

Table 1: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, Centre for Sociological Research) (2015): Post-Election in Catalunya, 2015 regional elections.

Although 23.6% answered feeling 'only Catalan', and 5.9% 'only Spanish', the majority of 66.5% responded that they felt to some degree both Spanish and Catalan, and the highest single percentage – 38% – 'feel as Catalan as Spanish'. That is, the majority of individuals in this study recognised different identity groups, but did not perceive that these were mutually exclusive. Many of my participants also identified to differing degrees, as both Catalan and Spanish, and for many their Spanish identity was in terms of official nationality and feeling part of a broader Spanish community. Most of my research

participants had a greater inclination towards feeling 'more Catalan', but did not in general perceive a problem in identifying in part as Spanish, although many felt the existence of tensions and pressures in certain, especially historical and political, situations. Belonging to two or more ethnic groups does not require a lack of ambivalence but is negotiated by individuals in terms of personal relevance, which may alter in different situations and contexts. The intensity of ethnic affiliation differs from person to person and across different times in an individual's life. The examples presented above from Martí and Robert demonstrate that feelings and group membership can change over an individual's lifetime. When I write that he or she 'identifies as Catalan', I do not contend that they *only* identify as such because, as discussed in Chapter Two, ethnic identities are not mutually exclusive and, as data above shows, the majority of individuals feel some level of multiple ethnic belonging.

IV The struggle against *mis*recognition

In this final section I consider the role of recognition to better understand that what is at stake in Catalan ethnogenesis is not an ongoing struggle to have an already allocated and stable identity acknowledged as worthy and included as 'the same' (such as a migrant might seek to be recognised as Spanish), but a struggle to be recognised as *not* 'the same', as *different*. The importance of recognition lies in its relationship to identity, because the ways 'others' see and acknowledge us is critical in determining how we understand and relate to ourselves and develop confidence and wellbeing in our identity (Taylor 1994; Honneth 1995, 2001). As ethnicity is also formed through our interactions with 'others', recognition is highly relevant in terms of understanding ways in which we form a sense of who we are both as individuals and as members of groups.

Interest in recognition has been highly influenced by Charles Taylor's *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (1994). Taylor explored the contemporary 'need' or 'demand' for recognition (1994:25) that was largely emanating from political movements around feminism, race, sexuality and multiculturalism. According to Taylor (1994) recognition is an indispensable means of understanding and justifying the demands of identity movements such as these, and for many theorists recognition is integral for modern social justice and modern democratic societies. Recognition focuses on the *need* of those who are marginalised to make themselves understood, to express their points of view and their needs (Taylor 1994). Honneth agrees with Taylor that recognition is crucial for self-realisation, self-determination and for social justice, and that it can be applied to groups: "we have come to realise that the recognition of the dignity of individuals and groups forms a vital part of our concept of justice" (2001: 44).

Honneth clarifies the theoretical move from redistribution to recognition:

> Whether in discussions about multiculturalism, or in the theoretical self-clarification of feminism, there quickly emerged as a shared ideal the normative view, that individuals or social groups have to be accepted and respected in their difference. From here, it was a small step to the generalised realisation, that the moral quality of social relations cannot be measured solely in terms of a fair or just distribution of material goods. (2001:45)

Redistributing resources is not sufficient for ensuring dignity, respect and social justice. Recognition is also not about positively validating different views and practices, or acknowledging specific characteristics as constitutive of the group, but about having the space to express and have these views and practices understood (Honneth 1995).

A denial of recognition or *mis*recognition (as a disputed interpretation of who we are) can inflict harm on our self-confidence, hinder our interactions with 'others' and deny our potentials to contribute our own interpretations of who we are (Taylor 1994). There is a

risk that we will incorporate imposed expectations and stigmatised perceptions, and we may not be able to present our claims on shared resources and contribute to a more inclusive and open society. Taylor explains:

> our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. (1994: 25)

Recognition plays a key role in acknowledging and valuing the pursuits of an ethnic group, or denying and restricting identity construction. The latter can often fuel more active social and political struggles, as feelings of being illegitimately denied recognition or *mis*recognised can be a motivational factor for social and political action. My research suggests that for self-identifying Catalan people, the perception of *mis*recognition of Catalan ethnic identity from Spain (both in terms of the government and 'Spanish people') can strengthen ongoing resistance and vitality in the maintenance of Catalan ethnic boundaries. The defence of language identified in Chapter Three, the assertion of alternative historical narratives in Chapter Five, and the upsurge in support for independence discussed in Chapter Six, are all being partially influenced by the perceived *mis*recognition on offer by the Spanish nation-state.

Eduard, an elderly self-identifying Catalan man, whom I interviewed at his local coffee spot in central Barcelona, claimed that: *"the remarkable issue is that the Spanish side do not tolerate other….views on identity"; "Here the problem is failure to recognise identity across Catalunya. No way for central government to recognise singularity of Catalan regarding identity…no way".* As explored in Chapters Three, Four, Five, Six and Seven, in the Catalan case it appears that asserting and maintaining an identity that is in many ways crafted as distinct from, and sometimes asserted in opposition to, the dominant Spanish identity can

be fraught with issues surrounding its 'uniqueness' as recognised by the Spanish nation-state, and debates regarding the need for greater autonomy. Eduard's comments reflect the feelings of many other research participants regarding the lack of recognition of Catalan identity within Spain, especially by the Spanish government (in terms of politicians, policies and the Spanish legal system), as well as to some extent other Spaniards "*who don't understand us and why we are different*" (Maria).

Catalan ethnicity enacts an identity that actively cultivates its difference and uniqueness, a difference that is most strongly fostered in relation to the dominant 'Other' Spanish identity. As I stressed in the previous sections, this does not mean that the identities are mutually exclusive, nor that they are always experienced in conflict. Catalan ethnicity is, however, often perceived as oppressed by the failure of Spain to recognise *difference* and which instead encourages a more benign inclusiveness into a general 'Spanish-ness'. Spain is seen to oppress through its failure to recognise the significance Catalan people place on their difference. The *mis*recognition is in the easy invitation to be the same, to be 'essentially Spanish' but with some quirks, regional idiosyncrasies and peculiarities admitted. Catalan people are struggling against feelings of being *mis*recognised, and the frustration that this refusal to recognise *difference* can be encountered as a gesture that insists on the incomprehensibility and strangeness of being Catalan. Many self-identifying Catalan participants commented that "*they don't understand us*" (Maria), "*they don't get it, that we're different*" (Xavi), "*they (Madrid) want us to all be the same*" (Marta). I encountered a strong desire for the uniqueness of Catalan identity to be recognised as *different* from Spanish identity constructions, they do not want to be recognised as 'one of us' – with their differences disregarded or played down.

Catalans thus confront a task of producing themselves against a dominant 'Other' that is unwilling to recognise their difference, and therefore unable to recognise Catalan people's feelings of oppression. In many ways it appears that if Spain will not recognise difference then Catalan people will continue to demonstrate their being and feeling Catalan more

boldly, cultivate it more distinctively and mobilise behind it more strongly. This is not to say, however, that this vitality would disappear if appropriate recognition was given, but rather, that Catalan ethnicity transforms more rapidly and intensely within these contexts of contestation and change. The broader context of change and contest makes Catalan people more aware of and sensitive to questions of identity, and more prone to defend their choice to *be* Catalan and want to assert feelings of difference.

Honneth views the significance of recognition and especially its denial, as justifying social struggles (2001: 44). For Honneth, recognition is precisely a *struggle* because it is a process in which those who are different seek to build the grounds for mutuality, respect and solidarity in terms that do not extinguish their difference but offers it a sustaining relationship. Because shared understandings are not simply given, it is necessary to develop the conditions that enable individuals and groups to have their different experiences, world-views and self-interpretations heard. Drawing strongly on Hegel and Mead, Honneth identifies "three patterns of recognition: love, legal order and solidarity, [which] appear to provide the formal conditions for interaction, within which human beings can be sure of their 'dignity' and integrity" (2001: 50). Firstly, the demand for *love* is a form of recognition that comes from primary social relationships (immediate circles of family, friends and associates) in which immediate contact with 'Others' promotes reciprocal emotional acceptance that leads to trust in oneself, self-confidence and self-assurance. Honneth (1995, 2001) elucidates this through exploring the relationship between parent (although he focuses on the mother) and child, whereby the development by the child of an identity separate from its parents is necessary, and he argues, the condition of unconditional love supports this. Second is the demand for *legal order* whereby dignity and self-respect are achieved via official and legal accommodation. As discussed in Chapter Six, Catalan nationalism can help to achieve the conditions for this 'legal order' when directed towards various policies. Thirdly, the demand for *solidarity* "enables individuals to acquire a measure of self-esteem, that can be found in the

solidaristic acceptance and social regard of an individual's abilities and way of life" (Honneth 2001: 49-50).

For Honneth (1995, 2001), in the case of recognition for groups, love is not the appropriate condition, and neither is solidarity in terms of acknowledging individual abilities and characteristics. Rather, the confidence that group identity claims will be recognised by 'others' can be established through legal rights, which provide "the possibility of seeing their actions as the universally respected expression of their own autonomy" (Honneth 1995: 118). Honneth further explains, using the comparison with love:

> The idea that self-respect is for legal relations what basic self-confidence was for the love relationship is already suggested by the conceptual appropriateness of viewing rights as depersonalised symbols of social respect in just the way that love can be conceived as the affectional expression of care retained over a distance. Whereas the latter generates, in every human being, the psychological foundation for trusting one's own sense of one's needs and urges, the former gives rise to the form of consciousness in which one is able to respect oneself because one deserves the respect of everyone else. (1995: 118-119)

For Honneth (1995), legal rights function as a forum in which groups can seek recognition for their particular needs, ambitions and world-views. The law can provide the opportunity for groups to be understood in their own terms. Many self-identifying Catalan participants expressed feeling this was currently not available – that the Spanish government was blocking attempts by Catalan people to make Catalan identity understood, especially via a recourse to the nation-state being 'inviolable' (outlined in Chapter Six), political obstructionism, and the refusal to engage in debates on, for example, an official referendum on autonomy and independence. The Catalan struggle against the *mis*recognition on offer through a benign inclusivity into a general 'Spanish-ness' is thus also a struggle to build the conditions that permit the establishment of common ground through which Catalan difference might be recognised.

Conclusion

In contrast to frequently-cited definitions of what constitutes 'a Catalan', my research has demonstrated that living and working in Catalunya is not a clear determiner of ethnic belonging; knowing *Català* is also not sufficient without the choice to deploy it as significant; and having Catalan heritage or being born in Catalunya does not automatically make an individual *feel* or *want to be* Catalan. Individuals interpret and give meaning to some or all of the potential markers of Catalan ethnicity – including but not limited to language, embodied experiences in place, historical narratives, nationalism, practicing traditions, ancestry and birthplace – in varied ways and within diverse social relationships and interactions. Individuals interpret and 'live' their Catalan identity in different ways as my research participants' experiences show. The *wanting* that former President of Catalunya, Pujol, identified is essential and must accompany a way of viewing and deploying the meaning and significance of various markers of Catalan ethnic identity. The framework of ethnicity helps appreciate identity as an ongoing process, and resists the urge to reduce complexities into consistent, stable categories.

Feelings of ongoing marginalisation and oppression by the Spanish government in its various guises over centuries have played and continue to play a role in furnishing Catalan resistance, opposition and transformation. Many of my Catalan participants explained that the failure of the Spanish government to adequately recognise Catalan *difference*, including in terms of granting greater levels of legal autonomy, increased Catalan people's perception of oppression and being under threat, and in some cases has fuelled the desire for independence. Catalan people must negotiate this tension and produce themselves against this *mis*recognition.

CONCLUSION
RUNNING WITH FIRE

In this conclusion I provide an ethnographic account of a *Correfoc* ('fire run' or 'running with fire') festival. I integrate key elements of Catalan ethnogenesis that were separated for analysis in previous chapters, including embodied experiences, symbolic use of place and space, historical narratives, nationalist sentiment, engagement with traditions and feelings of belonging. I use 'running with fire' here as a metaphor to help convey the energy and vibrancy as well as express a sense of the risks and uncertainty inherent in the creative self-fashioning, struggle and transformation of a Catalan ethnic identity, one that must confront a way of living with ambivalence and tension.

The *Correfoc* exemplifies the focus and findings of my research. This thesis investigated the formation and transformation of Catalan ethnic identity, how a specific group claims and identifies itself as 'a people' and how 'otherness' is produced in deliberate and strategic ways. My research sought to gain deeper understandings of Catalan ethnic identity through exploring my participants' lived experiences, my own engagements when living in Catalunya and established ethnicity theory, and to subsequently contribute new insights on Catalan ethnogenesis. My research question was: *how are the struggles around and transformation of Catalan ethnic identity negotiated in the ongoing search for meaning and significance?* With the aim of gaining rich and meaningful data relevant to my research question, my research approach incorporated ethnography and phenomenology, and the three research methods used were participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews and archival data collection.

My research findings have contributed to the body of knowledge on Catalan ethnogenesis. A key finding is that the complex and varied self-understandings of what it means to be

and feel Catalan sustain Catalan ethnicity as dynamically lived and able to transform and respond to changing conditions. Creating significance and meaning is central in the struggles of Catalan people to construct their dynamic identity and resist the reduction of their difference to narrow 'essences' and benign inclusiveness into the Spanish nation-state. Ethnicity theory has enabled a way of understanding Catalan identity as continually evolving and fuelled by these living tensions and ambiguities. I have utilised ethnicity as a vital framework for the outsider to come to an understanding that appreciates identity-as-process without trying to subsume it into respectable and neat categories.

I Lighting a Spark

On the evening of 26th January 2013, on the last night of my first fieldwork trip, I was relaxing in my apartment in the Barcelona suburb of Gràcia after I had packed my bags in preparation to return to Australia. I vaguely detected an unusual succession of muffled bangs coming from outside. Upon opening the heavy glass doors onto the apartment's small balcony, I was suddenly bombarded with loud booms echoing off the surrounding apartment buildings. These sounds initially played havoc with my senses and I was unable to determine exactly what they were or from where they originated. When I looked onto the street below, I instantly noted it was abnormally busy for an early Saturday evening, with a large number of families, couples and small groups walking towards the local square, the *Plaça de la Vila*. By tracking their movement I could see a congregation of perhaps one hundred or more people crowded around the south side of the large central clock tower that stood in front of the local Gràcia town hall. As the beginnings of powerful rhythmic drumming grew louder, I grabbed a jacket for the chilly winter evening and headed outside to join the flow of people advancing towards the *Plaça*. My primarily participant-observation approach to data gathering lent itself well to serendipitous situations such as this.

Upon reaching the back of the encircling crowd, I saw that some spectators were standing on chairs from local cafes in search of a better view of the spectacle. I did the same, enabling me to see one dozen performers in devil and demon costumes with horns and masks, and another dozen performers who formed a drumming band. The pounding of the drumming reverberated through my chest, demanding my body sway to the beat. The *'colla de diables'* (group of devils) brandished pitchforks with fireworks attached. They danced in the centre of the circle and then ran at intervals in all directions towards the crowd to discharge firecrackers with accompanying sparks and explosive sounds. As sparks flew and smoke filled the air, spectators shrieked and cowered or attempted to flee before being enticed back to the spectacle as the firecrackers fizzled out. The mesmerized crowd swayed with moving hips and tapping feet to the beat of drums but were, at the same time, warily watching the performers as firecrackers were reloaded. I did not know the name of this event at the time, but I was observing and participating in a Catalan *Correfoc* festival.

Image 63: *Correfoc* performers surrounded by spectators in the *Plaça de la Vila*, Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2013).

Image 64: *Correfoc* performers in the *Plaça de la Vila*, Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2013).

After performing in the *Plaça* each troupe of devils, demons and drumming bands moved off to join a procession winding around the narrow streets of Gràcia. At the conclusion of another performance from a *colla de diables,* this time with a large dragon figure that sprayed fireworks and sparks from its head and nostrils, I too started to follow the procession. This became for many both more exciting and more dangerous at times. Spectators, especially audacious teenagers and young adults, charged into the flying sparks. Parents and their children tightly held hands to run close to the devils' fireworks. Participants would sometimes have a short respite by staying very close to, even touching, a spinning devil or dragon where the sparks were not coming directly down. This tactic was effective for a few seconds only until the devil stopped spinning and moved off in another direction to chase other spectators and shower sparks elsewhere. Some spectators cowered in shop doorways in their attempts to avoid the flying sparks from the fireworks, which sometimes failed as, caught in those confined spaces, they often became easier 'targets' for the devils and demons.

The thick and pungent firework fumes became trapped in the narrow streets and the acrid smell stung eyes and noses. Many in the crowd came well prepared by wearing old clothes, safety glasses and scarves tied around their heads to cover their mouths. The mood during the *Correfoc* was one of excitement and anticipation. People were smiling, laughing and shrieking. People filled the streets and there were no physical barriers between performers and the participating audience. Spectators would always part for the drumming band to pass through but would dash in and around the twirling, running devils.

Image 65: *Correfoc* performers with fireworks (Author's photo, January 2013)

Image 66: *Correfoc* procession through the streets of Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2013).

Image 67: *Correfoc* performers dressed as devils and demons (Author's photo, January 2013)

Image 68: A *Correfoc* drumming band in the streets of Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2013).

Image 69: A dragon in the smoke-filled streets of Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2012).

The procession snaked past the back of a local fresh produce market, the *Mercat de l'Abaceria*, around its far side and along a narrow alley that became *Carrer Torrijos*. The parade of drummers, devils, demons and dragons continued for a further 800 meters to stop in the crowded square of *Plaça de la Virreina.* In this *Plaça,* within which a bonfire was burning (watched over by the local fire brigade), the crowd had formed a large open circle for the final performance of the *Correfoc* devils and drummers, where the last of the fireworks were discharged. The performers then quickly dispersed, swallowed up by the mass of spectators. Small groups of mainly young adults were sitting on the steps of the church of *Sant Joan de Gràcia* on the high side of the square, while spectators of all ages moved to warm themselves around the bonfire or stood talking in small groups.

Image 70: The crowd mingling in *Plaça de la Virreina*, Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2013)

It was not until I entered *Plaça de la Virreina* that I began to deduce this festival was a specific or 'unique' Catalan event. It was largely due to the subsequent inclusion of various other performances including dance, music and objects that the significance of this event as unmistakably Catalan became evident. Cultural performances don't just display an

ethnic identity, they actively shape and produce them (Sider 2003: xxiii), and in this sense the *Correfoc* was part of the process of sharing, enacting and reproducing Catalan ethnic identity.

Looking around the busy square I noticed two *Gegants* resting up against a building, appearing to have already been used in a performance. *Gegants* (giants) are hollow oversized human figures made from papier-mâché from the waist up with long flowing fabric that covers the lower part of the body and hides the person carrying them. They usually stand approximately two to four metres high. Andreu had informed me that

> *in Catalunya it is very common at all festivals to have the 'Gegants' (giants) and the 'Cabessuts' or 'Cap Grossos' (large heads) and in some places a 'Bestia Grossa' (large beast). All this forms part of the local customs and the 'bestiari' (bestiary). They are allegorical figures of people: kings, warriors or people with popular significance, made out of cardboard with large proportions – some two metres in height for the Gegants, or with very large heads for the Cabessuts and figures of dragons, horses, donkey etc. They are representative of each town, have a presence in festive elements and they do performances at the festivals where there are usually several villages around and dance to the sound of the gralles (trumpets).* (email correspondence, translated from *Català*)

Although *Gegants* are not uniquely Catalan and do exist elsewhere in Spain, they have experienced a particularly strong revival in Catalunya since the end of the Spanish Civil War and are now popular and ubiquitous at Catalan festivities (*Generalitat* 2014). In 1980 there were less than five hundred *Gegants* in Catalunya, they now exceed 3,500 (*Generalitat* 2014), demonstrating the popularity of this cultural element that has become linked to Catalan identity. On a subsequent research trip I saw a large parade of *Gegants* called the '*Xambanga de Gegants*' comprising performers from different towns and cities in Catalunya, who were part of the festivities of the annual Barcelona *Festa de la Merce*.

Image 71: *Gegants* in the annual festival of Besalú, a town near Girona (Author's photo, September 2013).

A short time after the conclusion of the *Correfoc* parade, the festival continued in the *Plaça de la Virreina* when the crowd parted for another performance. A group of ten dancers, each holding two sticks of about 50cm long, stood in two rows facing each other about 1.5 meters apart. Called *bastoners*, they wore white tops and pants, with red sashes around their waists and heads, and rope-soled shoes. To one side of the *bastoners* stood a musical group called *grallers* (pipers), which was composed of two men and one woman who began to play high-pitched woodwind instruments. The dancers, each with their clapping sticks, moved around one another for the '*ball de bastons*' (dance of sticks).

Image 72: *Bastoners* performing in *Plaça de la Virreina*, Gràcia (Author's photo, January 2013).

After the *bastoner* performers departed the crowd again filled in the open circle. People chatted but did not move away. Some amongst the crowd then began to move through the throng of people and removed their winter coats to reveal blue tops, white pants and black sashes, with a thinner red sash around their waists. More people, identically-dressed, began to politely push through the crowd from all directions and the atmosphere shifted slightly as people began to look around in anticipation and talk to each other excitedly. A sudden hush fell as ordered movement began with the formation of an inward facing circle – the *castellers* (described in Chapter Two) had started to form the 'human castle'. Gradually, as the *graller* music played and soft murmuring from the crowd continued, more layers of people quickly climbed onto the shoulders of the group beneath, finishing with 5 levels and at the top two young children saluted by extending four fingers in the air, representing the *Senyera*, to which the crowd erupted into applause and whistles. Following this dismantling of the *castell* the crowd began to slowly disperse, filtering away

along the local streets, while many remained mingling around the *Plaça*. The *Correfoc* festival had concluded.

Image 73: *Castell* in *Plaça de la Virreina,* Gràcia during the *Correfoc* festival (Author's photo, January 2013).

Image 74: People wearing protective clothing during the Correfoc at the *Festa de la Mercè* (Author's photo, September 2013).

II Fueling the Fire

Martí commented that the "*Correfoc is unique to Catalunya, no other countries do this*", "*maybe there is something in China, but it's not the same*" (referring to the Chinese New Year celebrations with dragons and fireworks). Martí was not sure if he would participate in the *Correfoc* that was to be held as part of Barcelona's 2013 *Festa de la Mercè,* but felt it an important Catalan cultural tradition to be maintained and celebrated. As outlined in Chapter Eight, to be Catalan it is not necessary to participate in *Correfocs*, dance the *Sardana* or climb Montserrat – these activities and elements are all part of the cultural cache that *can* signal, but do not define, Catalan ethnic identity, depending on the significance individuals place on them. In Chapters Three and Eight I similarly argued that *Català* is a key marker of, but does not define, Catalan ethnic identity. This supports a core component of Barth's (1989a) ethnicity paradigm: that a cultural feature can act as a marker of an ethnic group but is by itself inadequate to establish ethnic membership.

A *Correfoc* is a Catalan performative event that is often combined with other Catalan ethnic identity markers. The cultural practices and objects present in the broader Gràcia *Correfoc* festival described above, including *gegants*, *bastoners*, *grallers* and *castellers*, were used to express and participate in ongoing identity formation through engaging certain Catalan 'traditions' and cultural hallmarks. 'Traditions', explored in Chapter Seven, are strategically selected, constructed and used for creating heightened levels of tangible difference and cultural forms that ethnic members can mobilise behind.

Held in the open streets of Gràcia, the *Correfoc* was not only an 'open-air' event but also open to all spectators. Neither invitation nor ticket was required. In this way, festivals and performances have the ability to mobilise a wide variety of people to engage with various practices, 'traditions' and heritage and to potentially develop community connections through shared experiences of *being-in-the-world* (Dion *et al*. 2011; Merleau-Ponty 1945; Bourdieu 1977). This event enabled continued embodied experiences with symbolically

important performances and with each other in place to potentially foster shared experiences and heightened community feeling. Shared experiences are important for enhancing solidarity, but this also depends on the interpretations of individuals and how and why they choose to engage. For some, the *Correfoc* festival could have been centrally about entertainment, excitement and frivolity; for others a unique and novel cultural event; and for others an important cultural practice to maintain and promote in asserting Catalan difference.

Normally, the *Plaça de la Virreina* and *Plaça de la Vila* in Gràcia are open squares with cafe tables and chairs spilling onto them, where children ride around on scooters, residents and tourists pass through, and small groups, often older people and teenagers, sit around on benches. For the performance of the *Correfoc,* however, both these places were transformed and became imbued with very different meanings and symbols. They were no longer everyday spaces, but places of 'special events', of performances. I argued in Chapter Four that place is not simply a carrier for multiple meanings or diverse purposes, but rather is actively used and created. The physical place holds significance in creating and stimulating memories, tradition, heritage and collective feelings and bodily actions. Place is part of ongoing Catalan ethnogenesis, not empty containers of static and bounded identities. Catalan people use space to enact and produce an ethnic identity that draws inspiration from elements of 'the past' (including recurring narratives and myths of *Sant Jordi* and the *Senyera*), responds to present challenges and aims to project a future existence that is unable to be physically contained. For the Gràcia *Correfoc*, place was reimagined and transformed in effect to represent a sense of Catalan as 'a people' who engage with a changing world with a joyous awareness of themselves as different.

Although the *Correfoc* was a very different performance and performative space to the *El Born CCM* discussed in Chapter Five and the *Pessebre Vivent* explored in Chapter Eight, it involved similar processes of reproducing and promoting hallmarks of Catalan identity. The *El Born CCM* and the *Pessebre Vivent* were discussed as being not about the retrieval

of an 'original' or 'true' Catalan identity, but self-fashioning positive cultural spaces and exploring ways of living and being Catalan in the present, with reference to 'the past' that shapes contemporary significance. The ongoing formation and revival of Catalan identity often relies on historical accounts, narratives and myths as hallmarks of Catalan identity. Shared symbols and practices are a way in which identity is expressed and a way individuals can partake and *feel* included in their group (Rovira 2009). History is often central to the construction and transformation of ethnic identities, whether factual or not (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1989; Linnekin 1991). However, this does not mean that Catalan ethnogenesis is about backward-looking sentimental recollection and nostalgia. The exhibition at the *El Born CCM* was discussed as contributing to an ongoing project of redefining history and collective memory and constituting a *particular* Catalan identity as part of an ongoing process of ethnogenesis. This reconfiguration of history and culture is also being used as a form of resistance to dominant Spanish narratives and practices, with the intent of developing an alternative space for transmitting and transforming knowledge and relationships of significance for Catalan people.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the dichotomization between members and outsiders, between 'Us' and 'Them', is a central component of the social construction of ethnic groups. Dichotomy and dominance are fundamental to the processes, persistence and revival of Catalan ethnicity and considering this provided insights into why Catalan identity is currently highly emotionally and politically charged. Many of the hallmarks used and promoted for Catalan belonging and boundary marking – especially the use and defence of language, public cultural performances, the perpetuation of selected 'shared' traditions and historical narratives, nationalist sentiments and an emphasis on a physical place and embodied interactions – strategically emphasize elements of greater cultural, political and historical distinction from Castilian Spain as the dominant 'Other'.

The strategic promotion of cultural symbols including *Sant Jordi*, the *Senyera* and '1714' are intimately connected to the processes of social resistance and cultural opposition.

Many cultural practices, identity markers, myths and symbols, linguistic practices and ways of relating to place and each other are being constructed with a chronic comparison to Spanish, a persistent desire to be recognised as different and 'unique'. The 'proof' of this difference is often demonstrated by the prior socio-political autonomy, the practice of distinctive 'traditions' and linguistic difference, alternative historical narratives and/or embodied connections to the physical place of Catalunya. Ethnic identity is often forged and transformed within on-going struggles for recognition of existence, difference and significance.

Catalan ethnic identity is ambiguous and dynamic and holds different meaning and significance for different members. Consistent with this, the *Correfoc* included elements indicating the different conditions that people assert for understanding and negotiating identity in Catalunya. At the front steps of the church of *Sant Joan de Gràcia* a large makeshift red banner was hung, with the words "*Independència i Socialisme*" in black letters (see background in Image 72). The banner did not appear to be part of the official proceedings, nor did it play an essential role in the significance of the organised festival. Rather, similar to other occasions where the chanting of "*in-inde-independència"* occurred during sporting events, it appeared to have been opportunistic to insert a political statement into this festival. This was done, however, without apparent hostility or conflict. Spectators appeared to be focused on the festivities and, similar to spectators who carry independence flags to *Barça* soccer games or Catalan cultural festivities, or individuals who wear casual clothes with independence symbols or slogans, it did not seem to be out of the ordinary or seek to override the purpose of the festival as joyous celebration. I heard no chants of "*in-inde-dependencia*" nor did I see people in the crowd with the *Senyera* or *Estelada* flags. The political stance made by the banner was indicative of broader Catalan identity politics but was a marginal element of the *Correfoc*. As discussed in Chapters Six and Eight, the separatist movement is but one option that gives focus to the Catalan struggle over identity. However, as argued, the *significance* of Catalan identity is not reducible to nationalism or independence. The *Correfoc* did not present an institutional

nationalist message but, with the banner strategically inserted into proceedings, it served as a reminder of the broader socio-political context in which current Catalan identity and ethnogenesis is situated.

In Chapter Six I considered the 2013 independence demonstration, the *Via Catalana's cadena humana,* as claiming territory as separate to the nation-state of Spain in order to challenge power relations and contest the meanings attributed to space. The *Via Catalana* communicated multiple layers of symbolism in terms of promoting an image of rootedness, identity linked to place and unbroken connections between people, land and culture. It was about making and marking space both physically and figuratively. The symbolic action and opposition presented the region of Catalunya as 'contested space'. We can recognise here a type of inversion of meaning and intention between the *Correfoc* and *cadena humana*. The *cadana humana* was officially organised around protesting for the independence of Catalunya from Spain and informally incorporated 'traditional' Catalan cultural practices, whereas the *Correfoc* was centrally a cultural event that unofficially included a small display of independence politics. Both events are part of the processes of shaping and constructing broader Catalan ethnic identity, and the significance and meaning individuals choose to self-identify as Catalan.

Chapter Six demonstrated that nationalist ideology can capitalise on the energies of ethnic identity construction to drive forward its own cause, while its success can provide opportunities for ethnic identity transformations through securing economic and institutional conditions, including linguistic laws that protect and promote the learning and speaking of *Català*. However, I have argued that the limits of nationalism as an interpretive framework can, in its focus on the relations between identity and the nation, obscure broader processes and experiences of self-creation and struggle that is articulated through the concept of ethnicity. Catalan ethnogenesis is a project rather than simply a statement of already formed identity and the self-creation that is articulated through the concept of ethnicity is elided by the model of nationalism that refers to the struggle of an

already self constituted people to claim their political and cultural dues. I have argued, rather, that Catalan is best understood *not* solely as a nationalist group but as an *ethnic* group with an identity that is formed partly through social and political resistance and cultural opposition.

The ethnogenesis concept from Roosens (1989), employing Barth's (1969a) foundational theory of ethnicity, was utilised to help advance understandings of the complex social mechanisms that create and shape groups and identities, as well as the emergence, constitution and persistence of ethnic groups. Ethnogenesis, discussed in Chapter Two, encourages a view of ethnicity as dynamic, as groups change and respond to the challenges of the time. Although not solely about reactive processes, ethnogenesis captures how groups create a sense of themselves as different in contexts of change and challenge. Change is a prime mover in the creative fashioning of ethnic identities to create new meanings. In the current climate of strong nationalist sentiment and the contest for greater autonomy and independence, Catalan ethnicity has become more salient. Further research could delve into what happens should this salience reduce, either through successfully becoming an independent nation-state or remaining part of Spain. If, for example, Catalunya gained independence, how would this alter the struggle for Catalan recognition? Or, if the central Spanish government further obstructed Catalunya's bid for independence, what alternative avenues might Catalan people (especially those who place significance in supporting independence as part of their identity) seek to understand their role within Spain and Europe? New contexts and challenges will be identified and varying levels of uncertainty around identity and solidarity will be met with novel responses. Further research may employ different theoretical perspectives that enhance understanding of these potential contexts of change, while ethnicity theory retains value through highlighting that ambiguity and tensions need to be incorporated into these new theories and not restricted or minimised.

Even as Catalan ethnic identity is regularly asserted and managed in relation to Spanish identity and politics, and this boundary is accentuated, it is not rigid and unwavering. Ethnic identity in Catalunya frequently exists in multiplicities: a person can identify as and 'feel' both Catalan and Spanish to varying degrees, as well as many other identities. Catalan ethnicity is not irreconcilable with other identities, including nationalist and ethnic. Future research into multiple and transitional identities would be beneficial in gaining a greater understanding of the processes of ethnic belonging as related to Catalan ethnicity. A larger focus on inter-group interactions between Catalans and Spaniards, and between other migrant populations would be enlightening, including in terms of potentials for partial and multiple belonging and ethnic affiliation.

There are differences in what it means to identify as Catalan and there are pressures that both fracture and unite people in belonging. Catalan identity is neither singular nor static. It is not a stable identity that has remained unchanged over time and, as discussed throughout, it is ambiguous, debated and transforming. Language, as discussed in Chapter Three, is repeatedly deployed as a powerful characteristic that identifies someone as Catalan. *Català* has experienced significant forms of repression and persecution over centuries and, although one of the top ten spoken languages in Europe by population, *Català* continues to be perceived as fragile, precarious and under threat. Episodes of targeted repression have in part helped to fuel its perseverance and strength as a marker of difference. However, there is ambiguity and lived complexity to this marker. Speaking *Català* is not an organic 'Catalan-ness' but its significance comes from a conscious commitment to a way of living and of understanding its deployment. There are variations of cultural practices, symbols, political sentiments, language use and levels of social engagement and commitment that individuals attach personal meaning and significance to in identifying as Catalan.

People choose, reflect on and pursue certain identities over others. Individuals, especially those pursuing marginal identities, are often highly self-conscious of the identities they

choose and the ways in which they define themselves in relation to 'others'. Although much is taken-for-granted in this process, such as the reasons *why* certain characteristics are membership markers and hallmarks, Catalan people actively seek to maintain a 'unique' identity. The selection of forms and styles that promote 'uniqueness' serve a purpose or advantage in articulating a Catalan identity that is different and special. This helps to reinforce arguments for rightfully deserving recognition as singular, special and worthy of being preserved, protected and encouraged. Feelings of ongoing marginalisation and repression by the Spanish nation-state in its various guises over centuries have played and continue to play a role in furnishing and justifying continued Catalan opposition to the dominant Spanish 'Other' who is unable or unwilling to recognise difference.

III Final Comments

The Gràcia *Correfoc* festival was broadly part of the ongoing project of transforming and redefining a *particular* Catalan ethnic identity. Traditions and cultural practices engaged with in various forms are a means of expressing and participating in ongoing identity formation in the present, as they help to imagine a particular future. We make meaning, interpret and create the world around us and construct versions of 'reality' via experience and embodied interactions (Lowell 2013). This account of a *Correfoc* festival has demonstrated that elements of embodied experience, place, history, nationalism, tradition and belonging are not separate, but form interacting, mutually influencing and overlapping elements of the complex nature and processes involved in Catalan ethnogenesis.

This captured diverse positions from participants of varied ages, backgrounds, occupations, origins and languages to explore complex and dynamic relationships that impact on ethnicity. In using ethnicity theory I have been able to establish an

understanding of Catalan identity that allows for the lived contentions and ambiguities, dynamism and tensions consistent with my participants' stories. If we consider Catalan identity predominately through the lens of nationalism, then we risk missing core aspects of my participants' lived experiences, we lose something of the creativity and self-fashioning of Catalan identity if the framework is about engineering significance in institutional politics. Being and feeling Catalan is not solely based on where one was born or lives, family heritage, nationalist sentiments or language use, but exists through multiple forms of belonging which people create through their emotional and embodied experiences and thus through generating, remembering and imagining social-cultural meaning.

Concluding with an ethnographic account of the *Correfoc* was used to demonstrate the vibrancy and excitement of Catalan ethnogenesis. Catalan ethnic identity is lived with passion, pride and enthusiasm along with tensions and struggles. The challenges and ambiguities within this struggle should not be minimised as they fuel the ongoing creative formation of a dynamic Catalan ethnic identity.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Final Ethics Approval Letter

Ethics Final Approval - Issues Addressed - Ref. 5201200269

Faculty of Arts Research Office <artsro@mq.edu.au> Wed, May 2, 2012 at 9:38 AM To: Dr Kristina Everett <kristina.everett@mq.edu.au> Cc: Faculty of Arts Research Office <artsro@mq.edu.au>, Miss Eloise Hummell <eloise.hummell@students.mq.edu.au>

Ethics Application Ref: (5201200269) - Final Approval Dear Dr Everett, Re: ('The limits of ethnicity: Catalan Identity in 21st Century Spain')

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee and you may now commence your research.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf. The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Kristina Everett Miss Eloise Hummell

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the

National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 02/05/13 Progress Report 2 Due: 02/05/14 Progress Report 3 Due: 02/05/15 Progress Report 4 Due: 02/05/16 Final Report Due: 02/05/17

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

Dr Mianna Lotz

Chair, Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee

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