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# 1. Introduction

“Catalunya is not Spain” - a slogan that visitors often find on their journey through the cities and landscapes of Catalonia. Yet the culture and language of Catalonia do not remain hidden. At street festivals one can encounter human towers instead of bullfighting and flamenco, or rather bid farewell with an “Adeu” instead of an “Adios”. There are certain rituals, symbols and characteristics of Catalonia through which they clearly distinguish themselves from Spain and, whether reproduced consciously or unconsciously, give rise to a sense of community. Nevertheless, it does not seem intuitive for everyone, especially for many Spaniards, to consider Catalonia as a distinct nation apart from Spain. However, as the introductory slogan shows, the claim of being a distinct nation without a state within a so-called nation-state clearly stands out in Catalonia.

In fact, the roots of the current conflict reach far back into history laying in the process of the European emergence of modern nation-states during the 19th century. Simultaneously with the development of the central and administrative state in Spain, Catalonia began to reconsider its own cultural and historical traditions. This led to a socially supported urge to achieve greater political freedom. With the (re)discovery of a Catalan identity, the controversial concept of the ‘nation’ has gained importance. When we speak of nation, we usually intuitively assume a union between a territorial unit with a supposedly common nature, history and culture and a sovereign constitutional state with political powers. However, what is important to consider especially in the case of Catalonia, is that this claim of “one nation - one state” is not a natural phenomenon and is only formed through the process of modernization in the 19th century. Nevertheless, taking the unity of nation and state as the basis for analysis in academia still is widespread. As already mentioned, Catalonia does not fulfill the criteria of this unity of nation and state. Even though the state has great power to form national minded people, especially through legal framework, Catalonia also shows strong efforts to create unified and cohesive national minded people without the official state form.

Many studies and reports have already shown how the political and social context led to a strong identification of the people with Catalonia as a nation. The aim of this thesis is now to add the power of the education system to constructing a national identity, thereby referring to a significant research gap in academia. This gap results from two shortcomings, in nationalism studies in which education has not received sufficient attention, and in education studies, which do not question the essential concepts of nations and their construction of their citizen. For this

reason, studies of nationalism mostly consider the development of modern mass education systems as a consequence of the development of a nation-state. Neither the national tradition of each school system nor the mass public education system as a common feature of nations is paid academic attention to. Moreover, most of the research which depicts a relation between nationalism and the education system focuses on established nation-states. For this reason, the close interrelation between the nationalism of Catalonia, a nation without a state, and the development of the mass public education systems presents a special case that still needs more attention in the academic debate.

Addressing this research gap, this thesis investigates how the education system with a focus on textbooks as a materialization of curricula was used in Catalan schools after the Franco regime to educate a Catalan loyal citizen. After considering the historical, political and social background of Catalonia and the theoretical approaches to nationalism, I assume that since the end of Franco's dictatorship there has been a tendency toward increasing radicalization of Catalan autonomy aspirations. These go hand in hand with the aim of reinforcing a Catalan identity that supposedly is looking back on a long history. My underlying assumption is that the increased autonomy in the Catalan education system has been instrumental in forming an even stronger Catalan national identity.

To answer the research question, the thesis is divided into the following chapter. In chapter 2, the theoretical framework, the question of which important theoretical concepts of nationalism and curriculum are needed to refer to the research gap, is explored. Therefore, in the first part of the theoretical framework, I give an overview of the three classical approaches in nationalism studies (Primordial, Modernist and Ethnosymbolist) which try to explain the emergence and the origin of a nation. The clarification of these three approaches is important to better understand the difference and the need for the applied constructivism approach. Within the framework of this approach, which does not aim to uncover the origins of nations but rather to question mechanisms and structures that sustain a nation, I focus on the theories of Umut Özkırmılı (2017) and Michael Billig (1995).

As already mentioned, Catalonia is not considered a nation-state, but rather a nation without a state. Therefore, in the course of this thesis, it is elementary not to understand nation as nation-state, but as a cultural thesis about identity, raising questions about who we are and who we are not. As a theoretical basis I follow Özkırmılı (2017) who sees nationalism as a discourse, which constructs, reproduces and maintains social identity. In addition to Özkırmılı's (2017)

theoretical approach, it is important for this study to refer to Billig (1995). According to him, it is not enough to solely deal with the phenomenon of the so-called *hot nationalism*. By *hot nationalism*, he refers to forms of nationalism that are usually associated with violent attempts to secure self-determination. However, there are also banal forms of nationalism that receive far too little attention despite having a significant influence on the construction of social identities. According to Billig (1995), nationalism refers to the way in which everyday processes and everyday objects help to reinforce forms of national identity. This new explanatory approach forms the starting point of the thesis for revealing the strategies used by schools to educate pupils into loyal citizens.

In the second part of the theoretical framework the field of curriculum research is elaborated on. Since this academic field is a very broad one, the origins of curriculum research are discussed first. It is important to explain earlier theories in order to understand why a newer approach is elementary for answering the research question. More specifically, in the context of curriculum research there has been the so-called *reconceptualist shift*. Instead of questions aimed at improving the quality of the curriculum, this shift made it possible to question the underlying premise and imbedded cultural and national ideologies. In this process, the curriculum in research is understood as a cultural construction that forms certain ideas about an ideal child or an ideal citizen. This new perspective enables educational research to understand the close connection between the emergence of nation (-states) and the creation of the mass school system as a fundamental interrelation. However, as within this interface education refers to all possible forms within the education system, the focus in this thesis will be on textbooks.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological assumptions and how a methodical framework for the analysis of the textbooks is developed. As already stated, this thesis is grounded within the contemporary ‚social constructionist‘ approach to nationalism according to Özkırımlı (2017). Therefore, a form of discourse analysis is applied to the contents of textbooks and curricula in regard to their presumed contribution to educating loyal Catalan citizens. A variety of methodological approaches within discourse analysis and the need to address each individual case of nationalism in terms of its individual features, are the reason that the method aims to follow the particular case of Catalan nationalism. With this, fundamental assumptions of critical discourse analysis as well as theoretical framework are taken into account. Building up on the methodological assumption that nationalism is constructed through discourses, the methodical framework of the thesis pays special attention to the Cambridge school with the theoretical representatives John Greville Agard Pocock (1987) and Quentin Skinner (1969).

Pocock (1987) highlights the need of knowing the social context in which the 'langue' was developed and utilized, as well as the events and circumstances to which the utterances relate. Therefore, the first step in the case study of Catalonia (chapter 4) is to study the development of the Catalan nationalism and the development of the Catalan education system thereby understanding discourse as a powerful instrument. With Skinner (1969), the question is finally explored how, that means through which discursive strategies, the textbooks of the subject social sciences have been used to construct a Catalan national identity over time. For Skinner (1969) it is important to focus on the scope of actions of the creators of the discourses. Moreover, the social and political context also plays an essential role, but creators of discourses are not completely dependent on it. They rather have their own scope to use discursive expressions in a targeted way. In order to give space to possible different representations of nationalist utterance, the analysis of the textbooks focuses on three different publishers (Barcanova, Vicens Vives and Grup Promoter Santillana). These textbooks are then analyzed for common topics and expressions drawn from national motifs.

In a final step (chapter 5) of the thesis, different strategies used by the publishers to educate students to become future Catalan citizens are discussed. In addition to the similarities, the focus is also placed on the supposed differences between the results. To present a holistic picture, these results are finally considered in terms of significance in the case of Catalan nationalism and further placed in the academic field of nationalism studies and educational science.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Nationality feels very powerful, especially in today's times, in a "world of restless identities and uncertain connections" (Özkırmı, 2017, p. 240). Even though the nation and nationalism serve for many people as a fundamental way to identify themselves with other people in their day-to-day life, it was not until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that nationalism has aroused academic interest. To understand how and why people feel connected to *their* nation, definition and meanings of nationalism have for a long time been discussed and different theoretical approaches have emerged. To understand the need of the applied constructivist framework of Michael Billig's (1995) banal forms of nationalism to explain the education of a loyal Catalan citizen, it is important to point out the different understandings of nationalism. Therefore, leading to the

theoretical framework, this chapter is firstly devoted to a short overview of the development of the nationalism debates followed by an overlook of the relevant traditional theories. Since these traditional theories were subject to a significant turnaround and have been almost completely replaced by contemporary approaches, this is followed by a brief presentation and explanation of the need for the current approaches. However, the focus is already placed on the explanation of the constructivist approach according to Umut Özkırımlı (2017) in order to ultimately understand the theoretical application of the banal forms of nationalism according to Michael Billig (1995) within this case study. As already mentioned in the introduction, the study of the construction of a Catalan identity through education refers to the theoretical interface of nationalism studies and curriculum studies, to which too little academic attention has been paid so far. This is due to the fact that in research focusing on nationalism the educational factor has been too little included and on the other hand that in research focusing on education the importance of nationalism studies has not been sufficiently considered. These two shortcomings then lead to the research gap, which Maricic (2020) very appropriately depicts as coins with two sides. To bridge this gap, a look is then also taken at the history of curriculum studies, which has undergone a significant shift. However, in order to get to the theoretical basis of the research gap, the part of curricula studies in which national ideologies are embedded is focused on. This important theoretical interface, which arises between two academic fields, nationalism studies and curricula studies, makes it possible to analyze the strategies which were used to educate a loyal Catalan citizen.

## **2.1 Nationalism studies**

At present, in a large part of the world the union between nation and state is regarded as the dominant form of polity (cf. Malešević & Pavasović Trošt, 2007, p. 1). Equalizing nation and state, most contemporary political thinking is based on “assumptions about the existence of bounded, unified political communities that seem suspiciously like nation-states” (Canovan, 1996, p. 27). Though the idea of a state having existed for a long time, the concept of the nation-states is rather a concept of modernity, and especially of the west. This thinking is also widely spread in social and political theory that take nation-states for granted and making it the background of their analysis. But it does not seem natural in today's times, and probably neither in past times, that people only identify themselves with the territory and, above all, with the political authorities, which often are represented through a central state. Consequently, the

reshaping of political spaces has led to new forms of territorial politics (cf. Keating, 1997, p. 689). In addition to the so-called nation-states, in which the nation is institutionalized in one state, such as France, there are also nations that are institutionalized in several states (Korea, Cyprus). Furthermore, there are nations which lack a state autonomy, which then can appear in the form of stateless nations like it is the case of Catalonia (cf. Guibernau, 2003).

Moving away from taking the existence of binding nations, mostly within a state, for granted, question of national identity and nationalism took a new relevance. Even if the academic debate and theoretical discussion about nationalism only started in the mid/late 20th century, the ideological idea was already born in the 18th and 19th centuries based on philosophical writings of Kant, Rousseau, Herder and Fichte. Although it has been criticized that these initial reflections have been more concerned with nationalism as an ideology focusing on ethical and political issues rather than trying to explain nationalism, these early ideas on the still shapes the understanding of the contemporary notions of self-determination, popular sovereignty, democracy, and equal citizenship (cf. Özkırmılı, 2017, pp. 12–18). It was then the early writing of historians like Hans Kohn, Carleton J.H. Hayes, Louis Snyder, which made nationalism to a topic of academic inquiry that dealt with different forms of nationalism spreading across the globe and all through the history (cf. Özkırmılı, 2017, p. 32).

With the development of social sciences since the 1960s and 1970s nationalism studies further gained more importance. Within this time, nationalism was understood primarily in the context of nation building, which referred to the process of modernization leading the nation from a traditional to a modern society. However, scholars haven't seen and understood nationalism as a driving force of this process, but rather as a side effect that helps the community to rely on a common identity during rapid changes. Consequently, authors such as Daniel Lerner, Karl W. Deutsch and early modernist Elie Kedourie considered nationalism more as a temporary, incidental phenomenon, which does not have to be investigated any further. Only when nationalism reaches extreme forms like separatist movements or insurgencies by right-wing extremists it did arouse interest for investigation. The fact of neglecting the analysis of nationalism further referred to the perception of many established nation-states that nationalism itself is only a problem of the *others*, which consequently do not need to be dealt with. Noticing only extreme forms of nationalism, which only appears by *others*, the impact of banal forms<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The banal forms of nationalism according to Michael Billig (1995) and his writing *Banal Nationalism* will be discussed in more detail later, as they form the theoretical starting point of this study.

of nationalism, which shape the everyday life of society, was underestimated and therefore not seen as a necessary topic for investigation (cf. Billig, 1995, pp. 37–39).

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, theories of nationalism have become more and sophisticated, and different schools of thought had developed. Özkırmılı (2017) argues that from the end of the 20th century a new stage on the debates of nationalism had begun. This new stage was characterized by the break with the naturalization of the nation-state, whose conceptual assumption in studies of nationalism has been called *methodological nationalism* (cf. Özkırmılı, 2017, pp. 48–49). According to Anthony Smith (1983) it refers to the analytical hypothesis of equating state and nation and thereby limiting research to the framework of the nation-state. The framework of analysis was expanded “by casting doubt on the fundamental tenets upon which [they are] based and adding new dimensions to analysis of nations and nationalism” (Özkırmılı, 2017, p. 47). This opened the space for new questions within nationalism research and led to an exponentially increasing number of publications including case studies, theoretical treaties, handbooks and readers, introductory texts, encyclopedias, etc. These publications were less concerned with questions of origin, rises and development of nationalism, but more with the influence of nationalism into everyday life, which extended the nationalism studies to an interdisciplinary field (cf. Özkırmılı, 2017, p. 7). In the course of the growing debate on nationalism, numerous scientists have attempted to embed the national question in theories. According to Özkırmılı (2017), three different paradigms, termed as *Primordialism*, *Modernism* and *Ethnosymbolism* explain the origin and the development of nations and nationalism. Though these traditional approaches are not homogenous within themselves, they still can be grouped.

Supporters of *Primordialism*, which is regarded as the oldest approach of the three traditional accesses, and which is mostly used by historians, understand nation as a natural phenomenon, which has always existed since the coexistence of people in groups is inherent in human nature (cf. Özkırmılı, 2017, p. 51). The theory defines nation as “a naturally occurring social grouping often marked by cultural features such as a shared language, a single religion, shared customs and traditions, and a shared history” (Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, p. 51). This natural state of grouping is characterized by primordial attachments, which creates loyalty among their members. How these primordial attachments emerge among the members depends on the primordial theory. The classical primordial theory bases the origin of this attachments on purely sociobiological arguments, whereas the Perennialism, which is regarded as a weaker form of the primordial theory, explains this attachment ethno-historically. Both forms of *Primordialism*

refer to a historical traceability of socio-biological and cultural traits. It refers to a group with a common culture, religion and same language (cf. Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, pp. 51–58; Özkırmı, 2017, pp. 51–62). For many commentators the most important contribution of *Primordialism* is explaining the power of emotions to understand nation and nationalism. This strong reference to emotional power often comes under criticism for being too irrational and unscientific to analyze the origin of nations and nationalism. Additionally, the assumed ‘naturalness’ of nations and nationalism is also strongly debated by emphasizing ethnic and national identities as socially constructed (cf. Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, pp. 53–54; Özkırmı, 2017, pp. 63–68).<sup>2</sup>

The modernist approach coming out of classic sociology theory is a critical reaction to the primordial approaches. In debates on nation and nationalism, it is a strongly represented approach resulting from a high number of authors who see themselves as modernists (cf. Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, p. 9). Within this approach nations are not natural or biological, nor have they always existed. The central claim of the so-called modernist is that nation and nationalism has developed out of modern historical development. They argue that the roots of nation and nationalism lie in the rise of the modern nation-state and are therefore a recent political formation (cf. Day & Thompson, 2004, p. 49). Furthermore, *Modernism* sees nationalism as a social feature, which only emerged and remains under specific social and historical constellations. Therefore, *Modernists* think of modernity as a distinct form of social organization and culture, which developed in the transition to modernity (cf. Day & Thompson, 2004, p. 41).

However, differences between various theorists of the modern approach lie in the assumptions which constellations were decisive for the emergence of a modern nation. While some authors focus on an economic transition leading to modernity (cf. e.g. Hechter, 1975; Nairn, 1997), others see political (cf. e.g. Brass, 1991; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) and social (cf. e.g. Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983) changes as the driven source of the development of a nation-state. Even though this approach is widely used and serves as an explanation for the construction of nation-states, *Modernism* also comes under severe criticism. Several commentators question the interpreted causal and temporal correlation between modernity and nationalism. They state that by focusing on structural changes in the process of modernization, nationalism is only seen as a product of this transition. Here, above all, the power of politics is not included. When

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<sup>2</sup> However, some authors contradict this criticism again by arguing that the writers of the primordialism theory do not themselves assume that nations with their social practices are naturally given, but rather assumed to be given by individuals (Brubaker, 2006, p. 83).

assuming that nationalism necessarily and inevitably goes hand in hand with the industrial society, no attention is paid to the actors who generate modernization. Additionally, the idea of the nation's origin laying in the period of modernization in the 18th and 19th centuries leads to a strongly western-influenced ideal picture of a nation. Therefore, it is criticized that this approach only applies to Western Europe and cannot be transmitted to other nation-states. Further, one of the most frequently mentioned criticisms regarding *Modernism* builds up on the statement that this theory cannot explain the emotional power and passions of nationalism and does not regard the power of identity (cf. Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, pp. 11–17; Özkırımlı, 2017, pp. 130–143).

The third traditional theoretical approach to nationalism is *Ethnosymbolism*. *Ethnosymbolism* is a theoretical critique of both, *Modernisms* and *Primordialism*. According to *Ethnosymbolism* both approaches lack the historical depth and the long-term formation of national identities. *Ethnosymbolism* focuses on past cultural resources as the only way to explain the population's ability to mobilize and feel connected to their nation. The persisting role of ethnic myths, historical memories, symbols and traditions, which always have to be maintained and the need of analyzing them in exploitation and propagation of a collective identity of a modern nation is therefore highlighted within this approach. As the name of the theory suggests, especially ethical symbols play a central role in constructing contemporary reality (cf. Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005, pp. 89–92; Özkırımlı, 2017, pp. 154–167).

Alike the other two approaches, *Ethnosymbolism* also comes under criticism. This approach has been criticized in several respects for being simplistic and for failing to adequately represent the complexity of nations. Moreover, *Ethnosymbolism* has been criticized for the vaguely expressing and mixing the terms of ethnicity, ethnic groups and nations. Based on this misleading underutilization of these terms, the critic of underestimating the difference between modern nations and earlier ethnic communities is built up. This “terminological chaos” (Özkırımlı, 2017, p. 168) leads to a further criticism of lacking an analytical rigor. Since *Ethnosymbolism* puts the analytical focus on ethnic groups that aspired to great nationalist projects, unremarkable ethnic groups are not examined. Consequently, only the case of ethnic groups becoming nations is analyzed. Furthermore, the critique states that ethnicity and nation are assumed to have long persistence. However, this again simplifies the complexity, since usually only the dominant elite is persistent (cf. Özkırımlı, 2017, pp. 168–181).

All three traditional approaches have observed the question of ‘when and what is the nation’ from different perspectives. Besides the criticisms of the individual approaches, as they have already been listed above, the meaningfulness and targetability of the overall question about defining and determining the origin of nations was critically challenged (cf. Özkırmı, 2017, pp. 182–183). Thus Connor (2004) argued that to deal with the origin of the nation and to develop theories for it cannot explain the phenomenon of nationalism.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, in nationalism research it must be more about the question of how the nation is sustained and maintained once established (cf. Connor, 2004, p. 45). Özkırmı (2017) agrees and further states that the question of dating the origin of the nation cannot really be answered without doubt, since it depends strongly on the respective theory. In addition, besides the problematization of theorizing the various debates on the definition of nation and nationalism, Özkırmı (2017) lists the categorization of these theories as questionable. Although some aspects of the different theories overlap, a clear separation on the basis of a clear line of the theoretical approaches builds up boundaries, that prevent exchange (cf. Özkırmı, 2017, p. 218).

Building up on these critiques and proposing new ways of thinking, a growing body of work has emerged that refused to remain within the boundaries of the traditional approaches. They are doubting the general assumptions of the traditional approaches and are seeing the need to analyze the neglected or ignored issues. It is important to mention that these approaches have also partly been influenced by a shift in social science termed as the ‘*cultural turn*’. *The cultural turn* means that the culture is no longer seen as a static phenomenon that is passed down through the generations and in which social differences are excluded from the ‘national body’, but rather as a (social) construct that is shaped by „social fragmentation and discrimination on the basis of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity [...]“ (Özkırmı, 2017, p. 182). Viewing society no longer as rigid and recognizing its (social) constructiveness implies a new way of thinking. It is based on a critical view towards truth, knowledge and reality, which is not universal but constructed by interaction with others (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

Questioning the obvious and what tends to appear to be normal also took new relevance in the new field of nationalism studies. Contemporary approaches see nationalism no longer as a casual phenomenon, but as a social construction that is performed by the society on a daily basis

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<sup>3</sup> It must be added that to determine an exact time when a nation came into being was not the intention of the respective authors of the various theories. Rather, for them, the nation is a result of social processes that took place at a certain time (Uzelac & Ichijo 2005, p. 212).

aiming at - consciously or unconsciously – sustaining the nation. By doing so, on a methodological level they reject taking the nation and nationalism for granted. Further they point out, that the conceptual framework and the analytical vocabularies of traditional theories are themselves already influenced by the discourse of nationalism (cf. Özkırmı, 2017, p. 182).

Though, contemporary approaches further reject the theorization of nationalism debates aiming to explain the emerge and rise of nationalism, it does not mean, that individual theories cannot examine certain aspects of nationalism. They still can serve as an analytical framework that can then be examined from a constructivist perspective (cf. Özkırmı, 2017, p. 218). Thus, Özkırmı (2017) establishes an analytical framework drawing on the theoretical edifice outlined before. But instead of trying to embed nationalism in a theoretical definition „in order not to fall into the trap of ‚reification‘ and treat ‚categories of practice‘ as ‚categories of analysis‘” (Özkırmı, 2017, p. 218), he rather treats nationalism as a discourse<sup>4</sup>, which reproduce, maintain, and therefore defines the nation. For him, discourse “is a particular way of seeing and interpreting the world, a frame of reference that helps us make sense of and structure the reality that surrounds us“ (Özkırmı, 2017, p. 218). Discourse analytical approaches then focus attention on ways how the collective belonging is reproduced in our everyday life treating nationalism as a constructed process not a given condition.

Seeing nationalism as a discourse, as Özkırmı (2017) further states, enables us to understand discourse not merely as a form of a speech act but also an ideology that manifests itself in various ways and shapes our consciousness. Therefore, discourses are statements that reproduce social power, giving people a feeling, where they belong to, who they are and who they are not. To distinguish nationalistic discourses from other discourses Özkırmı (2017) further points out that three sets of claims – identity, temporal and spatial claims -have to be identified. Firstly, identity claims that reflect a construction of a homogenous group, to distinguish ‘us’ from ‘the others’. Secondly, temporal claims which establish a continuity between the past and the present to legitimize the nation. And lastly, spatial claims, with the aim of constructing a sense of belonging to a demarcated territory (cf. Özkırmı, 2017, pp. 220–221).

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<sup>4</sup> Here Özkırmı (2017) refers a lot to Foucault (1981) and his 'archaeology of knowledge'.

Besides the analytical framework of Özkırımlı (2017) it is important for this study to point out to Michael Billig (1995) who is regarded as one of the greatest representatives of the constructivist approach.<sup>5</sup> For Billig (1995)

“[...] the term banal nationalism is introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. [...] Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’, in the lives of its citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nation-states, is the endemic condition” (Billig, 1995, p. 6).

With his work ‘*Banal Nationalism*’ (1995) he is considered the first to engage in a systematic analysis with the constant reproduction of nationalism. *Banal nationalism* refers to the way in which everyday processes and everyday objects help to reinforce forms of national identity. Examples of banal forms of nationalism include flags outside the public building, sporting events such as football, the currency of a nation or national newspaper, which not only uses the language of *we*, *our* and *us*, but also is separated in home and foreign news. As briefly touched upon above, he breaks with the methodological nationalism in science and points out that the impact of banal forms of nationalism, which receive too little attention in debates about nationalism, is underestimated. He argues that in terms how people understand their politics there has been what he calls a “double neglect” (Billig, 1995, p. 38). Firstly, only *hot nationalism* tends to be noticed meaning mostly violent attempts to secure forms of national self-determination. This leads to nationalism as being seen as an extraordinary politically charged, emotionally driven form of politics thereby associating many nationalisms with various forms of extremism. By contrast the banal every day processes are failed to be observed. Secondly those, which are not explicitly labelled as nationalists, did not somehow forget on national identity. In everyday life through symbols and rituals, the money, the press, nationalism becomes, as Billig (1995) puts it, a form of life which is daily lived in a world of nation-states. Consequently, to mindlessly remember where one belongs to, the national ideology „[has] to be flagged discursively. And for that, banal words, jingling in the ears of citizens or passing before their eyes, are required“ (Billig 1995, p. 93).

While it has already been mentioned, as will be explained in more detail later, that schools play an important role in teaching national ideologies to children, little research has been done on

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<sup>5</sup> Özkırımlı (2017) lists some more in his compilation: Nira Yuval-Davis (feminism and the politics of belongig), Partha Chatterjee (postcolonial theory), Craig Calhoun (nationalism as discursive construction), Robert Brubaker (ethnicity without groups) and Andreas Wimmer (ethnic boundary making). For a detailed discussion of their constructivist approaches, see. Özkırımlı (2017) p. 187-216.

*how* this is done. In this regard, Tröhler (2016b) comes back to the banal forms of nationalism and points out that these are included in school curricula. On the one hand, these can be songs that are sung in classes and are shaped by lyrics about the beautiful homeland or the teaching of ‘our’ history. On the other hand, these are also stories that are not told. Stories from or about the ‘others’. And it is precisely here that the intersection of two shortcomings from the academic fields of nationalism studies and curriculum studies arises. More precisely, this lies in the fact that the banal forms of nationalism that have been used in schools to educate a loyal citizen have so far received too little attention. Since the aim of this study is the contribution to the research gap of this intersection the history of curriculum studies which allows the intersection of these two theories, will be outlined in the following.

## **2.2 Curriculum studies**

Knowledge is a significant factor in today's society setting the base for many conscious or unconscious thoughts. Since knowledge conveys specific ideas about individuals or groups, it transmits certain feelings. A feeling of togetherness and belonging characterized by the demarcation from others can create a kind of security which is followed in a seemingly natural way. It is the flag that hangs outside the building as a matter of course, with certain symbols or colors that gives us the knowledge of belonging to a certain nation. It is the stories that are told about certain events of the nation that give us exactly the knowledge we need to feel like we belong to ‘our’ nation and not identify us with the ‘others’. Nevertheless, knowledge does not just appear out of the air. The sociological traditions of Emile Durkheim and Karl Mannheim already connected the creation of knowledge with society's collective goals (cf. Popkewitz, 2015, p. 3). And also Foucault, one of the most famous philosophers when it comes to knowledge, shows how power and knowledge are inextricably related (cf. Foucault, 1977). Thus, knowledge is not naturally given, but rather it's construction and transmission is accompanied by power, voices, and resistance, which will be seen later in the case of Catalonia (cf. Popkewitz, 2015, p. 3). One area that uses the power of knowledge is education. The school then has the task of passing on this knowledge, which is laid down in the curricula, to the students as the correct and only knowledge. It is foremost in the schools, that future citizens become the knowledge what it means to be a citizen, what unites them with other citizens and simultaneously differentiates them from non-citizens or ‘foreigners’, Of course, the education of children also depends heavily on the teachers and their attitudes, but there are certain

guidelines about values and about ideas what a good life in one's own nation looks like, which are to be taught to the children. The curriculum, in which these values and goals are set, thus is key for production, certification and legitimation of specific knowledge (cf. e.g. Goodson, 1995; Grumet, 1987; Pinar, 2011).

Today, contemporary curricula studies form a large interdisciplinary and international academic field that now also questions, among other things, the taken-for-granted knowledge and its transmission trying to understand the background of the curriculum (cf. Pinar, 2011, p. 5). Although curriculum studies are a large and crucial academic field, only the part of curriculum studies that shows the embedding of national ideologies will be pointed out here. This part represents the interface of curriculum studies and nationalism theories, the coin with the two sides, which has received too little attention in current research. Within this interface, nationalism is understood as a discourse, as shown in the section before, and curriculum “as culture” (Tröhler, 2019, p. 533) constructing national ideologies. Although contemporary curriculum studies have developed first in the US, only through a re-contextualization of this field the national character of curriculum history and studies were pointed out and has created the opportunity to expand the field into an international research field (cf. Pinar, 2014, p. 1). To explain how the significant shift occurred, which enables the academic intersection of nationalism studies and curricula studies, the origins of curriculum studies will be traced in the following.

The beginnings of curriculum history date back to the United States, where in the 1920s the field of curriculum studies was formed as a subfield of education administration. Due to the increasing number of students migrating and the experience of the First World War the traditional values of the ‘American society’ were seen to be under threat. With the aim of creating a sense of belonging in times of uncertainty and change, the social role of the school system and especially the need for curricula theories was recognized. Because of this, the U.S. central government saw the need to intervene into the school system, which had earlier been more decentrally regulated by individual federal states or communities (cf. Popkewitz, 2006a, p. 90). With applications like *Methods of Teaching Patriotism in the Public School* by George Thacher Balch in the year 1890, it should be ensured to make the immigrants to ‘the American citizens’, clearly distinguish them from ‘the others’. As the necessity to teach the Americans who they are and who they are not, with the ‘help’ of the school system was acknowledged more and more, first studies of curriculum emerged in the 1970s and 1960s in universities at the departments of teacher education making the study of curriculum and curriculum history to

an academic field. Back then, curricula studies were primarily characterized by behavioral objectives, seeing the curricula as a means of citizen education (cf. Tröhler, 2016a, p. 5). The institutionalization of the educational discussion was also favored by the time of progressivism, which is based on the fundamental ideas that both natural and social science serve as a way of defining, describing, and solving social problems. In this context, social studies were first embedded into the curriculum to overcome social barriers (cf. Popkewitz, 2006a, p. 90).

Using the school system as a significant element to manifest democratic values in uncertain times shows the close connection both in social practice and in the academic field between education and national traditions of ways of thinking. Even though the approaches of the emerging curricula research, which were considered to be traditional, pursued the same goal of using the curricula as an instrument to establish the 'good citizen', there was no general clarity about which preferred sources were to be used to achieve educational purposes. Thus, there were different approaches, such as subject-centered, child-centered and activity analysis, through which the upper goal of the curricula studies at that time, to produce a better American school system, should be fulfilled. Cuban (1995) therefore speaks of a “stubborn disarray” (Cuban, 1995, p. vii), which still characterizes the academic field of curriculum studies today.

In contrast to America, curriculum studies were hardly a research topic in non-English speaking Europe and there was no great transnational interest. The only academic discussions that have linked education to democratic citizenship have been about school-subjects-didactics. To understand the difference between the development and history of curricula research between the USA and Europe, it is necessary to distinguish between the two different terms *Lehrplan*, defined by the teacher of history methodology Erich Weniger and *curriculum*. The research referred to the *Lehrplan* was much more narrow than the Anglo Saxon term *curriculum* as *Lehrplan* was strongly tied to the “non-negotiable epitome of ‘Bildung’” (Tröhler, 2016a, p. 6). *Bildung* „can be understood as a „counterpart“ to life’s political and social structures, and implies the pure development of the individual, a process that, in principle, should be conceived apart from any external constraints” (Horlacher & Vincenti, 2003, p. 477). Consequently, Tröhler (2016b) cautions that “curriculum as an academic field of research and study has to be regarded as being largely an offshoot of a particular US way of understanding the organization of schooling and instruction [...]” (Tröhler, 2016b, p. 280).

However, it is important to note that there were already international discussions and comparison about educational practices all over Europe and the United States (cf. Tröhler,

2016b, pp. 282–283). For example, Hughes (1902) already stated 100 years ago in his study *The Making of Citizens: A Study in Comparative Education* that “the school is a political institution maintained by the State for the cultivation and propagation of national ideals” and that “every school is a machine deliberately contrived for the manufactures of citizens” (Hughes, 1902, p. 4). Only the institutionalization by intellectuals at universities took place later in the 1960/70er.

By trying to extend the theoretical and methodological assumptions of the American curricula research to the international level, there is the risk of falling into “epistemological pitfalls” (Tröhler, 2019, p. 525). Tröhler (2019) explains that American curriculum research has no comparable character since curriculum studies and curriculum history contain cultural idiosyncrasies. Therefore, he states, that there cannot be ‘the one’ global development evolution toward ‘the one’ ideal citizen emphasizing that research is always nationally biased (cf. Tröhler, 2019, p. 525). The internationalization of curricula research, which Pinar (2014) had recognized, has only become possible through a significant shift that have set the basis for uncovering embedded national idiosyncrasies. This shift represents a rethinking against traditional approaches to curricula studies. Young American researchers have questioned the programmatic constructive character of the traditional American curriculum theories und put the question of „What knowledge is of most worth” into focus of the research as traditional approaches present knowledge as the single absolute truth favoring the dominant culture (cf. Apple, 1979, p. 19; Popkewitz, 2006b, p. 86). Consequently, the need of questioning the background of the curriculum meaning the selection, organization, and evaluation of what is considered as legitimate school knowledge had increased.

Therefore, to understand instead of just implementing the curriculum a new analytical critical movement named *reconceptualist movement* has developed in the 1990 with William Pinar as an important theorist.<sup>6</sup> This critical approach sees the need to look behind the scenes to identify national ideologies embedded in the curricula whereby theory, method and practice are “blurring the lines” (Schubert, 2009, p. 399) and a wide range of disciplines are included. Therefore, to grasp the background of the curriculum, the curriculum is understood as a cultural construction that forms certain ideas about an ideal child or an ideal citizen (cf. Popkewitz, 2006a; Tröhler, 2016b).

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<sup>6</sup> Pinar organized a conference in Rochester that brought together various theorists such as Huebner, Macdonald, Greene to discuss the field of curriculum studies with its tensions and divisions under the notion of "cultural revolution" and "heightened consciousness" (Pinar & Grumet 1982, pp.14ff).

Grumet (1989) as a major co-founder of the *reconceptualist movement* has pointed out similarities as well as differences in the *reconceptualist movement*. She states that the traditional curricula research has followed taken for granted assumption both in the theory and the education practice. By not questioning the embedding of national ideologies, the traditional curricula research is too action-oriented in that they only aim to make the curricula, which should serve as a tool to promote national integration, more effective and efficient. Building on this criticism the *reconceptualist movement* sees a great need to understand the circumstances in which the curriculum is constructed. Goodson (1995) also a major theorist of the movement, states that curriculum “is a valuable source for understanding certain external intentions and agendas as they impinge on schooling” (cf. Goodson, 1995, p. 6). This can be seen, for example, in the school projects of the 1960s and 70s, which were strongly influenced by state interventions in the sense of 'The Making of the Citizen' (Roulhac Hamilton & Knight, 1922) in which continuing patterns of sexism, racism in US. Schools were exposed.

Not only the curriculum as a given fact should be questioned, but also the taken for granted assumption of the subject as a school subject neglecting its double meaning as both, school subject and person. Pinar (2004, 2011) therefore brought two meanings of the US. Curriculum research which are associated with rather different concepts of education into use for his approach to curriculum research. The concept of the German *Bildung* as “the cultivation of the inner life” (Biesta, 2002, p. 345) which haven't played a major role in the US curriculum studies and the verb *currere* as curriculum stemming from the Latin root of curriculum. In the understanding of the US curricula research, the improving orientation of the subject was exclusively connected with the improvement of the contents of the school subject and their direction towards social and economic objectives. Pinar (2004, 2011) criticized that in this understanding, the individual subject, the teacher and the student, only assume a functionalist role in society and the economy, but not a subjectivist role in the form of culturally or spiritually. Consequently, Pinar (2011) rather advises that the curriculum has to be understood as “cosmopolitan, encouraging the ongoing understanding of the world as historical, as always changing and different, and as always unchanging the same” (Pinar, 2011, p. 20).

Therefore, the *reconceptualist movement* argues that the curriculum must be subjected to both theoretical and historical analysis in order to break down fundamental continuities embedded in the construction of the curriculum. In this context, the approach has repeatedly been criticized for having a too strong theoretical orientation. In response to this criticism, however, the importance of the separation between theory and practice in curricula studies is pointed out, as

this can prevent the instrumentalization of theory and practice. To do this, Pinar and Grumet (1982) argue that it is necessary “that curriculum theory seeks to restore the contemplative moment in which we interrupt our taken-for-granted understandings of our work and ask again the basic questions that practical activity silences” (Grumet, 1989, p. 13). Pinar (2011) further claims that if in the traditional curricula research the intellectual resources and history would have been inquired in their eagerness to improve the school system it might have enabled their initial ameliorative goal of the field (cf. Pinar, 2011, p. 11). Furthermore, to uphold their rather passive role, the new movement nowadays also suggest practical interventions in curricula question. In this way, teacher should be more a political and collegial community to be in exchange to understand the curriculum as a cultural construction (cf. Grumet, 1989, p. 15).

To look behind the scenes, acknowledging the cultural construction of the curriculum, enables educational research to understand the close connection between the emerge of a nation (-state) and the creation of the mass school system, not only as a temporary relation, but rather as a fundamental interrelation. Though the perception of the modern school aiming to educate the future (ideal) citizens is already acknowledged by various studies in the field of curricula research, its close cultural interrelation still lacks academic attention (cf. Tröhler, 2019, p. 526). Tröhler (2016a) argues that this is due to the fact that there is a large ignorance about the role of constitutions in the interrelation between curriculum and its citizen. But constitutions play a crucial role when it comes to the creations of (ideal) citizen. Tröhler (2016a) demonstrates this fact in several studies in Europe and in the USA, where educational changes aiming at creating an ideal citizen usually occurred within five days after a new constitution was introduced or the existing one was changed. This connection, however, is not merely temporary or causal, but arises strongly from the reciprocal cultural relationship between constitution and school laws. Only the formal, normative framework and the theoretical content of the constitution alone do not enable the school system to make a citizen feeling like a citizen who would die for his or her nation. It is a cultural level, where the constitution and the school system provide the feeling of togetherness through transmitting traditional enculturated beliefs and values. While on the normative level the link between constitution and school is one-sided and only the constitution determines the content and implement school laws, on a cultural level the relation between the constitution and the school laws functions like “brothers in arms” (Tröhler, 2016a, p. 11). It is therefore the essential task of the school to make the citizen feel in a natural way as a part of the constitutional nation-state with its enculturated beliefs and values (cf. Tröhler, 2016a).

Tröhler (2016a) states that the fact that powerful individuals are aware of using the school system as an instrument to shape the ideal citizen, has been overlooked in educational research (cf. Tröhler, 2016a, p. 12). Most of the studies in curriculum research, that analyzed the connection between nation and education were mainly conducted in and about powerful nation-states, namely England, Germany, France and the US. They take the concept of nation-states for granted, that goes hand in hand with certain ideas of nation, citizen und society. If these taken-for-granted concepts are not questioned, educational research runs the risk of not paying enough attention to the cultural connection between the constitution and school laws, and thus to the crucial transmission of certain values through the school system. To break this down and to not fall into cultural biases in the educational research, Tröhler (2019) proposes to decontextualize the essential concepts ‘citizen’, ‘society’ and ‘nation’, which are taken for granted in curriculum research, and to create “floating signifiers” (Tröhler, 2019, p. 528). This is, he says, the only way to ensure an unbiased research approach. Within this research approach education cannot be understood when nationalism studies, the questioning of the taken for granted assumptions are excluded. In addition, however, nationalism cannot be understood if the education aspect is excluded, because nationalism “[...] is also deeply educationalized, as theories on nations and nationalism have failed to realize more accurately” (Tröhler, 2020, p. 10). And it is precisely from these two shortcomings, both in nationalism studies, in which education has not received sufficient attention, and in education studies, which do not question the essential concepts of nations and their construction of their citizen, that the research gap that (Maricic, 2020) aptly describes as a "coin with two sides" (Maricic 2020, p. 6) results. This research gap is not about whether the school has been used to fabricate a loyal citizen, but rather how the school has been used. It is neither just about the individual school subjects per se, but rather which content is mapped and which not, which school subjects are implemented, and which are not. Only by looking at these strategies is it possible to understand the national aspirations, how a child should be educated into a loyal citizen.

A few studies already exist that help to fill this research gap. How differently a same story can be told and how closely this telling of the actually same story depends on the national aspirations is shown by Gotling (2020) on the basis of the analysis of history and geography textbooks from different countries that use very different narratives to tell the objectively same story of the Prussian War. In addition to examining the subject of history, which presumably is more associated with the transmission of national ideologies, Boser (2020) shows how the

school subjects of mathematics or physical education can also contribute significantly to shaping a loyal citizen.

And exactly to this research gap, the “coin with two sides” (Maricic, 2020), which was broad up theoretically in this chapter, the case study of Catalonia will contribute aiming to explain how the school in Catalonia has fabricated loyal citizens. In order to understand, how the school, in a nation without a state, has fabricated loyal citizen, the assumptions based on the nation-state must be questioned and rather the cultural thesis that tells us who we are and who we are not must be brought into focus.

### 3. From Methodological assumptions to methodical procedure

Seeing nationalism as a discourse based on Özkırımlı (2017) not only leads to the theoretical approach of the thesis of *banal nationalism* by Billig (1995), but also to the underlying methodological assumptions. Therefore, to examine how the Catalan government want(ed) to construct a Catalan loyal citizen, a form of discourse analysis will be applied. As there is no unified methodological and methodical approach to discourse analysis, nor is there a universal and precise definition of the term discourse, the single steps which led to the actual methodical framework of this study are presented in the following. First, I outline the basic assumptions about the term discourse and further the discursive construction of a nation followed by the process of the selection of the textbooks. Once the methodological assumptions are underlined, the methodical framework is developed to pursue the underlying question of how a Catalan identity was constructed in discourses.

#### 3.1 Methodological assumptions

The term discourse underlies a wide-ranging use in social sciences and can take on a variety of meanings. To develop a method for analyzing the discursive construction of a Catalan identity, it is necessary to define what exactly is understood by discourse. The term discourse already implies a linguistic sense. Therefore, to examine the discursive construction of a Catalan national identity I will follow the so-called *linguistic turn* understanding reality as linguistically

constructed.<sup>7</sup> In the 1950's the *linguistic turn* not only influenced the field of philosophy but also the education sciences constituting a significant step in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It represents the acknowledgment of the subject (researcher) as not separated from an objectively given world. Rather the given world, the reality, is linguistically constructed (cf. Tröhler & Fox, 2019, p. 3). In academia, the *linguistic turn* is usually associated with the Geneva linguist Ferdinand de Saussure whose lecture *Cours de linguistique générale* from 1914 on can be seen as a source of inspiration. He builds upon the fundamental distinction between the two aspects of the language, the *langue* and the *parole*. The *parole* represents the actual speech act, the words that a person reproduces in his speech. The *langue*, in contrast, denotes a system that is "on the one hand a social product of human linguistic ability, but equally a complex of necessary conventions" (Saussure, 2016, p. 10). This means, a speaking person is framed by the *langue* without actively thinking about it, rather passively absorbing it as a cultural and social construct.<sup>8</sup>

Understanding the world as linguistically constructed is insofar important for the following discourse analysis as it forms the basis for understanding of nationalism as a discourse. This, in turn, means that discourses linguistically construct the world and its history with the aim to remind the individual continually of their national identity. Of course, the form of linguistic expression or text to be investigated is strongly dependent on the research question. Building up on the thesis that the school system plays a central role in framing national minds, the material culture of schools comes into focus. Although teacher instructions or posters, which also might have an impact on reproducing national ideals, are also a big part of the material culture of schools, only textbooks will be examined to answer the research question. This is on the one hand, because they can be found in printed form in archives and libraries and, on the other hand because textbooks represent a significant instrument of power, as later will be explained in more detail. Furthermore, discourses in textbooks are representing a form of *banal nationalism*. They are contesting ideological habits which are reproducing 'our' nations as nations, and which are embedded in the children's education into a loyal citizen. In the words

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<sup>7</sup> Especially in the history of philosophy, language has long played only a subordinate role. It served as a pure medium of communication, which changed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Philosophers such as Frege and Russell were then convinced that only through an analysis of language phenomena such as meaning, thought, and the representation of the world could be adequately understood and clarified at all. Thus, language analysis became a fundamental method of philosophy. (cf. Searle, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> However, the *langue* can also have an individual side, which Saussure describes as a deposit, which is the potential of the intentions of speaking, which are then expressed through the *parole*. That is, a person passively draws on his or her existing depot, both culturally and socially constructed and individual, during his or her active speech act. In this context, however, the depot should not be regarded as rigid. Rather, it is a flexible system that has been shaped by socio-political changes over the course of history (cf. Tröhler & Fox, 2019, pp. 5–6).

of Billig (1995), the national identity is “[...] flagged discursively (Billig, 1995, p. 93). Therefore, especially textbooks are assumed to serve as an instrument to frame the national minds through linguistically expressed national motifs.

### 3.2 Textbook selection

For the case study of Catalonia, little research can be found on the actual use of the textbooks by the teachers in the classroom. To answer the research question of how textbooks have been used to educate a loyal citizen and construct a Catalan identity, two aspects are elementary. Firstly, a high rate of use of the textbooks in the classroom and secondly, the official approval of the textbooks. No officially published study or inspection report can be found that lists which exact textbooks had been used the most for the study period from 1990 until 2016. Presumably, this is due to the many educational changes, which meant that adjustments were often necessary regarding the content of the curricula and textbooks. Nevertheless, to ensure a representative value of the textbooks, the selection refers to the largest publishers of the textbook in Catalonia, that are *Vicens Vives*, *Grup Promoter Santillana*, *Cruilla*, *Barcanova* and *Teide*. Even though there are no studies on the development process of specifically Catalan textbooks, it can be assumed that the created content of the textbooks is mostly framed by the publishers. Publishers have the power to choose authors aligning with their ideological standpoint. Even if authors have some control over the context of textbooks, it is unlikely that publishers hire authors that oppose the general ideological view of the house. Since this study looks at the general ideological construction of a Catalan identity, publishers have a larger power by choosing authors for their textbooks. Therefore, the focus in the analysis of Catalan textbooks lies on the individual publishers, not on the authors.

The second aspect that is important for the selection of the textbooks refers to its official approval. In addition to the publishers, the examination and approval process plays a significant role, since in the textbook, only that knowledge is presented which, from the point of view of authorities, appears to be significant for the education of a loyal citizen. Since the school system of Catalonia is characterized by many changes in power between the *Generalitat* of Catalonia and the central state of Spain, the approval or non-approval serves as an important instrument of power. Thereby, the process of approval does not represent a constant in the Catalan education system. Based on the *Ley General de Educación (LEG)* from 1970 to 1990, there was no official approval body and no unified state examination for Catalonia. This changed with the

*LOGSE* system in 1990, which gave the Autonomous Communities the possibility to establish the curriculum of different levels and degrees (cf. Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993, p. 1942). Since the research question relates to how Catalonia was able to educate a Catalan citizen, the textbooks selected for this study are officially approved by the *Generalitat*.

Furthermore, the selected textbooks are all chosen from compulsory secondary education whose structure and content especially changed through the *LOGSE* reform. As the *LOGSE* reform is considered the most important reform in the powerful Spanish/Catalan education system in the last 50 years, the analysis of the discourses in the secondary school textbooks can be informative regarding the education of a Catalan citizen. In particular, the subject of Social Sciences including Geography and History are selected for the study. The teaching of history serves as an elementary subject of investigation as in the teaching of history a shared past can be constructed where the idea of a unified nation(state) with a nationalist identity is thought (cf. e.g. Carretero, Asensio, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014). Teaching geography can then add an idea of the understanding of *home* in a territorial sense, thereby providing the opportunity to instill the territorial claims (cf. Özkırmı, 2017, p. 221).<sup>9</sup> In summary, the collected material consists of 21 textbooks<sup>10</sup> carefully selected from compulsory secondary education from the subject of Social sciences, officially approved by the Catalan government and published by one of the largest publishers.

### 3.3 Methodical framework

Coming now to the methodical framework of the textbook analysis, it is important to bear in mind that there are many different approaches to discourse analysis. Additionally, following Özkırmı (2017) when analyzing a form of nationalism, the unique features of that specific nationalist case must be examined (cf. Özkırmı 2017, pp. 205- 206). For this reason, the developed method aims to follow the particular case of Catalan nationalism, taking into account the fundamental assumptions of critical discourse analysis as well as the conceptual framework. Building upon the methodological assumption that the world is linguistically constructed, the methodical framework of the thesis thereby pays special attention to the *Cambridge school* with the theoretical representatives Pocock (1987) and Skinner (1969). Both build upon the

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<sup>9</sup> It must be added that the textbooks of the subject Social Science in secondary education primarily concentrate on the presentation of history, in which then the geographical circumstances of Catalonia are included.

<sup>10</sup> A table of all the textbooks selected in this thesis can be found in appendix 1 and 2.

assumption of the *linguistic turn*. Thus, for Pocock, the relationship between *langue* and *parole* is at the center of his investigation. He asks himself in which ideological repertoire (*langue*) a certain speech act arises. Further, he examines how this repertoire can change over time using words (*paroles*). It requires a close historical analysis, in which the meaning of linguistic utterances (*paroles*) must be reconstructed in their respective discursive contexts (cf. Tröhler & Fox, 2019, pp. 15–16). Thereby, Pocock (1987) raises the aspect of the power of discourses. He stresses the influence of politicians and churchmen in creating and diffusing a language, as he emphasizes the institutionalized mode of speech as the primary source on which the *paroles* draw upon. Consequently, „[it] is important that the study of language takes its departure from the languages of ruling groups [...]“ (Pocock, 1987, p. 24). Consequently, in the case of Catalonia, where the constant struggle of power between the *Generalitat* of Catalonia and the central state of Spain plays a central role in the development of the education system, in a first step, the social and political and as well the development of the education system of Catalonia will be studied.

Skinner (1969), like Pocock a researcher of the *Cambridge school*, also emphasizes the high necessity to grasp the context of the discourse, but he focuses more on the scope of action of the creators of the discourse. As described above, it is above all the publishers who have a certain power to interpret the curriculum according to their ideological ideas and can thus create nationalist discourses. Skinner (1969) points out that the creators of the discourse are not completely dependent on their political context. Rather, they, in this case the various publishers of the Catalan textbooks, can make use of the illocutionary power of speech acts and direct them specifically. This leads to the importance of capturing “how what was said was meant, and thus what relations there may have been between various different statements even within the same general context” (Skinner, 1969, p. 47) in a discourse and especially between various publishers. Therefore, an important methodological step within the analysis of textbooks is to look at the discursive strategies of forming a Catalan future citizen from the perspective of different publishers.

Moreover, it is also important to understand different political languages, as there is not only one *langue*, even if one is more dominant than the others. According to Pocock, "the political discourse is typically polyglot" (Pocock, 1987, p. 21) which means that in order to understand national utterances and movements in the corresponding language, one must be aware of the diversity of different political languages. Therefore, in order to be able to recognize and distinguish national utterances from other discursive utterances in Catalan textbooks in the post-

Franco period, it is assumed that national utterances comprise either identity, time or space claims. In doing so, I follow Özkırmılı (2017), who uses these three claims (identity, time and space) to distinguish nationalism from other discourses. Through an identity claim, nationalist discourse creates a homogenous group with a fixed identity defining who ‘they’ are and opposing ‘the others’ with different characteristics. Temporal claims are important to construct the legitimacy of nations through history, looking back at time and thereby creating a continuity of the nation’s history. And lastly spatial claims create a national belonging, mostly fixed on territory, to a place called *home* (cf. Özkırmılı 2017, pp. 220-221).

Besides analyzing the social and political context as well as the development of the education system with its curricular changes, the next step within the methodical framework is to identify what comes into view as a ‘parole’, meaning the actual utterances in the textbooks. Therefore, based on a critical survey of theoretical literature that deals with the relationship between nationalism and the construction of a national identity and secondary literature on the context of post-Franco Catalonia I have established a preliminary dictionary of narratives<sup>11</sup>. These narratives shape imaginaries about who is ‘we’ and who are the ‘others’ by forming national ideals and constituting power.

After a quick first run-through the 21 selected textbooks, especially three publishers stood out the most, as some real differences between the national utterances, for which the preliminary dictionary served as a reference point, occurred. For this reason, I concentrate the further detailed analysis on 14 books<sup>12</sup>, which have been produced by three publishers. The following presentation of the publishers is based on the publishers' self-representation. Even if publishers try to present themselves neutrally, the subsequent analysis shows that an ideological construction takes place.

The first publisher is Barcanova, which was founded in Catalonia in 1980. Its publications fall into two areas. The first, and significantly larger, is the design of textbooks and materials. However, Barcanova also produces literary works for all age groups, such as first readers, children's literature, children's books, but also adult literature. Barcanova especially is of high interest for the analysis as the publisher emphasizes that since its foundation, its activity has been integrated into the educational and cultural fabric of Catalonia and very closely linked to

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<sup>11</sup> The preliminary dictionary can be found in appendix 3. Moreover, the theoretical literature, upon which it is built, is listed separately in appendix 4.

<sup>12</sup> A list of the textbooks that have been utilized for the analysis can be found in appendix 1.

the dissemination of the Catalan language and culture. Though Barcanova belongs to *Grupo Anaya*, a Spanish publishing house controlled since 2004 by the French group *Hachette Livre*, it forms its own publishing house (cf. Editorial Barcanova, 2022).

The second publisher the analysis of the textbooks is focused on, is Vicens Vives. Vicens Vives is considered the largest publishing house in Spain (cf. Segura et al. 2001, p. 16), with its headquarter in Barcelona since 1975. In addition to Spain, Vicens Vives also publishes teaching materials in Colombia, Chile, Mexico, and Peru, for example (cf. Editorial Vicens Vives, 2022). The name of the publishing house goes back to its founder. Jaume Vicens Vives was a historian and history teacher who focused specifically on Catalonia during his education (cf. Universitat de Barcelona, 2022).

And lastly, the third publisher is Grup Promoter Santillana. Grup Promotor Santillana belongs to the publisher Santillana as one of its publishing lines. Santillana is a publishing house founded in 1959 and based in Madrid, with a presence in Spain, 18 Latin American countries, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States. Santillana publishes books for all stages of non-university education: Infant, Primary, Secondary, and Baccalaureate, in Spanish and Catalan (cf. Editorial Santillana, 2022).

Through a detailed analysis of these books, the preliminary dictionary was filled with all national utterances of the 14 books, coming from the three mentioned publishers. In order to provide a concise picture of all the findings, certain narratives of the preliminary dictionary were summarized, so that in the end the following four national motifs emerged.<sup>13</sup>

(1) Catalonia as a distinct nation, (2) historical achievements of Catalonia (3) Spain as the ancient enemy (4) Catalonia as superior of Spain.

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<sup>13</sup> Which narratives have been combined into which national motifs is demonstrated in appendix 3.

## 4. Case study Catalonia

Based on the research gap in the interface between nationalism studies and curriculum studies, the example of Catalan nationalism is now be used to bridge this gap. Following the theoretical and the developed methodical framework, the case study of Catalonia consists of the following three parts. To be able to examine national utterances, or *paroles*, the first part of the case study (4.1) illuminates the development of Catalan nationalism through looking at the socio-political context of Catalonia. To further understand the importance of education as an instrument of power within this socio-political context, the second part of the case study (4.2) presents the development of the educational landscape of Catalonia and Spain. Finally in the last part (4.3), in order to be able to answer the central question of how the textbooks are used to construct a Catalan identity, the 14 selected textbooks are analyzed on the basis of the four national motifs.

### 4.1. Catalan nationalism

There are different views in literature when speaking of the emergence of nationalism in Catalonia. The disagreement results not only from the determination of a point in time and the different approaches to analyze nationalism as explained in the first chapter. It also refers to the variety of terms used in the literature to express the aspirations of a stateless nation to gain greater authority. Catalan nationalism has thereby been defined over time by several conceptual ambiguities, best described by the mainly used term *Catalanism*. The term *Catalanism* covers a wide range from a vague patriotic feeling to a doctrinaire definition, such as federalism, emphasis on autonomy or even the demand for a Catalan-Spanish double confederation. Some also confirm a frequent use of the term ‘provincialism’ for early developments and then attest to the existence of a ‘regionalism’ for the later 19th century (cf. Harrington, 2014, p. 39).

Others do not differentiate diachronically, but exclusively in terms of content and consider ‘regionalism’, for example, as an identarian, self-referential, non-separatist movement focused on local and historical-cultural peculiarities. Further, they see ‘nationalism’ as an identarian movement that strives for the differentiation of the own and the foreign realizing it through political independence “ideally (if not exclusively or everywhere) in the form of a state for the nation (or a nation-state)” (Spencer & Wollman, 2002, p. 3).

However, the “fully-fledged Catalan nationalist movement” (Llobera, 2004, p. 15) was only intensively dealt with in academic debates after the Franco dictatorship. The reason for this is that mainstream theories of nationalism have tended to only focus on analyzing nationalism movements in the nineteenth century within established nation-states such as France, Germany, and the US. Thereby, regional differences and even strong identities, which are assumed to be deeply rooted in Catalan history, was in no way recognized as a challenge to the basic loyalty that the citizen felt for the nation-state. Although Catalan national aspirations are dated back to the 16th century, it was not until the 20th century that the declaration of the bond of Catalan identity was increasingly recorded in literature (cf. Llobera, 2004, p. 15)

Especially after 1939, when many Catalans were in exile due to the drastic repression of the Franco regime, several Catalan philosophers wrote a large number of publications to explain the history of Catalan identity. For example, the philosopher Josep Ferrater Mora wrote in his work *Formes de vida catalana* in 1944 about the personality of Catalan society followed by *L'esperit de Catalunya* in 1953 by Josep Truèas. Though these initial texts lacked an appropriate scholarly apparatus, they had a striking impact in generating a discourse on the Catalan question. Most notably, the historian Jaume Vicens-Vives, who along with Pierre Villar was considered one of the most influential Catalan historians, wrote a prominent essay. When contemporary history was not yet a widespread and dominant discipline in academia, he argued that Catalonia should abandon its traditional reticence towards Spain and lead the democratization and modernization of the entire state. Together with the increasing interdisciplinarity within the study of Catalan identity, international interest in the literary reflection of Catalonia's history increased with works such as *Rural Catalonia under Franco* in 1977 by E. Hansen or John Elliot's work *The Revolt of the Catalans* in 1984. Alongside the history-focused works, there have always been isolated sociological studies such as *Social Structure of Catalonia* in 1980 by Salvador Giner. However, only after the strong Catalan movement in the 20<sup>th</sup> after the Franco Dictatorship, the specific study of the Catalan nationalism arose as a field of interest not only for mainly historians, but also for anthropologists, sociologists, as well political scientist and literacy critics (cf. Llobera, 2004, pp. 11–15).

As pointed out in the theoretical part, national identity is strongly constructed through alterity and requires an environment from which it can distance itself. Therefore, to understand the emergence of a Catalan identity and national Catalan consciousness today, it is necessary to take a look at the historical roots of the so called *Catalanism*. In the following, the focus is not on a detailed treatment of historical events, but on the presentation of significant identity-

forming moments that shapes the cultural and collective memory of Catalonia and creates a feeling of belongingness.

The historiography of Catalonia dates the beginning of Catalonia to the union of the counties Urgell, Cerdanya, Barcelona, Girona and Besalú in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Seidel, 2018, p. 20). Without going into more detail about the period before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is necessary to point out that in the historiography, Catalonia's independence and sovereignty up to the year 1714<sup>14</sup>, when during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) all Catalan institutions and the *Generalitat*<sup>15</sup> were dissolved, is repeatedly emphasized. Before that, in the late Middle Ages, Catalonia already had parliamentary structures with a civic administrative, an autonomous legal basis and election of city councils, clearly different from its centralized Castilian neighbors (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 96–100).<sup>16</sup> The further period up to 19<sup>th</sup> century is then strongly characterized by a constant change between autonomous forms of Catalonia vis-à-vis other dominions and monarchically or authoritatively governed forms of Spain. This tumultuous history was mostly connected with high violence, escalations and wars. In order to explain the emergence of Catalan nationalism, which is essentially directed against Spain's centralist aspirations, this turbulent time period is seen as the starting point of the still ongoing disputes between Catalonia and Spain (cf. e.g. Bernecker, Eßer, & Kraus, 2016; Marí i Mayans, 2016; Seidel, 2018; Ucelay da Cal, 2018).

The following period from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mostly the second half of it, onwards is often referred to as a reawakening of Catalonia, in which a Catalan movement emerged. The Catalan movement initially manifested itself mainly through the codification of the language and the revival of Catalan literature and thereby represents a period in which Catalonia's national

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<sup>14</sup> The 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1714 went down in Catalan history due to the capitulation of Barcelona. Since 1901, the 11<sup>th</sup> of September has been a national holiday, the *Diada Nacional de Catalunya*, to commemorate the violent takeover of Catalonia by Spain in 1714. This day (*Diada*) stands for the loss of all traditional institutions and rights of the Catalan estates. Especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the phase of the so-called Catalonia's reawakening, but also still in today's demonstrations, the *Diada* thus became a symbol for the struggle to restore Catalan freedoms (cf. Seidel 2019, p. 150).

<sup>15</sup> The *Generalitat* is understood to be the totality of all the political institutions of Catalonia which, within the framework of the Statutes of Autonomy, exercises the self-government of the Spanish Autonomous Community of Catalonia. Which political institutions were subject to autonomous decision-making power, changed several times in the course of Catalonia's history (cf. Seidel 2018, p.199).

<sup>16</sup> Especially in the earlier history in the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is important for the purpose of completeness to mention not only Catalonia, but also the Valecian community and the Balearic Islands, which were two important parts of the Catalan *comunitats autònomes* and shared a significant part of history with Catalonia. For a detailed discussion of the history of all parts of the Catalan-speaking area, see for example 'Breve historia del separatismo catalán' from Ucelay da Cal, 2018) or especially for the part of the Second Spanish Republic 'The Catalan countries project (1931-1939) from González i Vilalta, 2006).

consciousness rises sharply, affecting both cultural and linguistic levels. This has much to do with Catalonia's strong economic growth, which puts Catalonia in a special position compared to other regions. Through this growth of the Catalan national consciousness, there is a return to Catalan independence movements. This re-emergence of the recollection is called *Renaixença* (regeneration, renewal) in history. However, in contrast to Catalonia, the Spanish state was strongly characterized by political changes and instability in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Above all, the economic interests of the Catalan bourgeoisie stand in a strong contrast to the interests of the Madrid oligarchy and the Castilian and Andalusian landed aristocracy, which found expression with more and more vehemence on the part of Catalonia (cf. Marí i Mayans, 2016, pp. 106–112). Meanwhile, Catalan self-confidence is considered to have grown stronger and the Catalan self-expression to have reached one of its high points in 1906 with the work *La nacionalitat catalana* of Enric Prat de la Riba. Eight years later, Prat de la Riba became the first president of the *Mancomunitat*, a political union of the four provinces of Catalonia: Lleida, Tarragona, Girona and Barcelona (cf. Ucelay da Cal, 2018, pp. 66–67).

That language is a central tool for the construction of a national identity in Catalonia has been shown in many academic debates on the emergence of Catalan nationalism (cf. Hoffmann, 2000; Miller & Miller, 1996).<sup>17</sup> Within the cultural reawakening of Catalonia Schulz (2011) emphasizes the linguistic-nationalist movement in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in which nationalistically motivated cultural and increasingly political struggles of intellectual groups strove for independent nations in many regions of Europe, including Catalonia (cf. Schulz, 2011, p. 287). The Catalan language has thus become one of the most important defining features that has served to re-establish a Catalan identity. The importance of the Catalan language was also expressed by the former head of government Pasqual Maragall Catalan by saying that the Catalan language is the DNA of the Catalans (cf. Bernecker et al., 2016, p. 254).

The rise of Catalan nationalist movements is attributed not only to Catalonia's cultural awakening in the historiography, but also on the awareness of Catalonia of its economic strength. Catalonia had a much higher degree of industrialisation than the rest of Spain and additionally, pursued divergent economic interests. Since Catalonia, despite its strong position

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<sup>17</sup> The instrumentalization of language for the purpose of nation-building is largely based on the thoughts of the German philosophers Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottfried Fichte. In the works of Herder (2001), as well as those of Fichte (1978), the idea of the nation as an organism with a collective soul and character can be found. Thereby, language is seen as a natural expression of the soul of the people, which most distinguishing feature is the national language. According to Herder, every nation has a language that corresponds to it, which is the sounding soul of the people (cf. Schulz 2011, p. 264).

within Spain, was economically weaker compared to non-Spanish competitors during the period of industrialization, they demanded protectionist measures. However, these were not implemented by the economically liberal Madrid. Jauk (2019) considers this exclusion of Catalonia in attempts to the state modernization in the industrial time as a crucial cause for the emergence of a modern political *Catalanism*, as Catalonia felt strong frustration due to the unfulfilled hopes and expectations (cf. Jauk, 2019, p. 138). Marí i Mayans (2016) further claims that if these demands had been heard and if Spain's central state had included Catalonia in the reform attempts, Catalonia would not have subsequently had to define itself by its own identity of *Catalanism* (cf. Marí i Mayans, 2016, p. 107).

The creation of a Catalan identity soon was accompanied with political demands. Even though the first political demands were made during the 19th century, the dichotomy of Spain and Catalonia was dominated until the 20<sup>th</sup> by regionalist aspirations and did not yet aim at complete independence. Valentí Almirall, who is considered the founder of political *Catalanism*, is one of the most important pioneers of political regionalism. As early as the 1860s, he advocated a left-wing ‘particularist’ *Catalanism*, which was to be understood as federalism. The so-called federal catalanistas claimed a Catalan self-government that would operate within a federal system compatible with Spanish unity (cf. Jauk, 2019, p. 137). After a legal framework had been created in Madrid for the formation of regional associations at the administrative level, four Catalan provinces joined together in 1914 to form *Mancomunitat de Catalunya*. Out of this union, a Statute of Autonomy was submitted to the Spanish government in 1919, which granted Catalonia lower and middle administrative powers. Up to then the movements had taken place in a relatively peaceful framework. This changed with the emergence of the nationalist party *Estat Catala* of a republican movement in 1922, which for the first-time propagated separatism and an armed struggle on the Irish model (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 154–157).

The Catalan national movement increased to a broad base of different social and political cohorts. However, with the appointment of Primo de Rivera as dictator in 1923, the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* and the Statute of Autonomy was abolished again. In this period, the violent fight against *Catalanism* was evident in the banning of Catalan symbols and the Catalan language in public institutions (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 157–161). In his analysis of the changing relationship between the nationalist issue and the structure of the state Beramendi González (2003) points out that the dictator’s radical strategy of repression was counterproductive. Although Catalonia had to forfeit much in its culture, the number and radicalization of national movements also increased as a result (cf. Beramendi González, 2003,

p. 55). Moreover, during this period the conflict between Spain and Catalonia reached the international level. Francesc Macià, president of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia in 1932, whose party demanded full sovereignty, travelled through Europe and Latin America after his imprisonment to make the large rift between Spain and Catalonia known internationally (cf. Ucelay da Cal, 2018, p. 111).

The end of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera was accompanied by the emergence of the Second Catalan Republic with a Catalan regional government in 1931. The victory in the municipal elections of Catalonia by the political party *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* founded by Francesc Macià is presented as a historical event in the history of Catalonia which have led to a political change. But as the October Revolution of 1933 was imitated by the victory of the right in the Madrid elections and the death of Francesc Macià, there was a suspension of all Catalan institutions and an arrest of the entire government. The main consequence of this was that in the following period many groups collectivized, and revolutionary violence broke out (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 163–168).

The beginning of the following civil war in 1936 and the period of Francoism (1939-1975) is presented as the phase in Catalonia's history in which Catalonia suffered massive repressions. Since the ultimate goal of Franco's dictatorship was a centralist concept of the nation-state in which no autonomous regulations were allowed, the Catalan nationalist movement presented a danger to this concept and therefore had to be fought. The Catalan identity that had been built up over the years was completely suppressed by the regime with the help of a controlling police apparatus and the goal of one Spanish nation-state was violently pursued. However, to gain diplomatic recognition from abroad, Franco had to limit his *Anti-Catalanism*. Furthermore, he had to assume that by curbing the Catalan economy, there would have been a drastic decline in economic activity throughout Spain. As a result, Catalonia remained the economically strongest area of the Iberian Peninsula, but its profits were used to consolidate the Franco system. It was not until the end of the 1960s that Catalonia was able to regain its cultural and linguistic freedom bit by bit. In 1971, during the consequences of the severe economic crisis, political and social opposition forces united to form the *Assemblea de Catalunya* (cf. Mari í Mayans, 2016, pp. 143–156; Seidel, 2018, pp. 180–187).

With the death of Franco in 1975, a democratic transition began in anticipation of a political restructuring and with it, a strong movement to restore Catalan identity. After a period of oppression, a new self-confidence emerged and the aspiration for independence grew.

Significant examples of the great willingness of the demanded restructuring especially existed within the cultural sphere. For example, the *Congrés de Cultura Catalana*, where thousands of congress participants in all Catalan-speaking regions met in various cultural events, discussed the Catalan history and culture, and subsequently established guidelines for the recovery of Catalan culture. The Catalan language, which had been relegated to the private sphere during the dictatorship, was clearly on the rise again in the public sphere through the publications of the Catalan-language daily newspaper *Avui* (Today), the Catalan-language radio *Radio 4* and many Catalan-language book publications. Even though Catalonia's linguistic and cultural presence was an important component of the revival of the Catalan identity, the central demand of the *Catalanism* after the Franco dictatorship was the institutional implementation of its recognition. To express their desire for a new statute of autonomy the first mass demonstrations in Catalonia took place on the Catalan National Day, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1977 (cf. Mari í Mayans, 2016, pp. 166–167).

The following Spanish constitution of 1978, which resulted from the first democratic elections in Spain after 40 years, was intended as a basis for institutionalizing Catalan identity. Although the new constitution spoke of the indivisibility of the Spanish region, the term nationalities was nevertheless used regarding the autonomous regions. Within the framework of the required autonomy status, the extent of the transfer of powers was then to be determined (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 200–201). Responsibilities in the health and education systems were granted to the Catalan government. Besides gained responsibilities in public building as well as in matters of agriculture, industrial settlement, internal trade, justice, territorial administrative division and culture, the regional Catalan government was also authorized to establish its own police force. However, Catalonia's autonomy was particularly limited by the fact that the collection of taxes was largely reserved for the Spanish state (cf. Seidel, 2018, p. 201).

In the following years, various laws were drafted to contribute to the cultural and political strengthening, but also of the weakening of Catalonia. For example, in 1982 the *Ley Orgánica de Armonización del Proceso Autonómico (LOAPA)*, which aimed at strengthening the legislative power of the *Cortes* in Madrid and vis-à-vis weakening the parliaments in the Autonomous Communities. One year later, in 1983 the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* was passed, which also had an impact on the education system (chapter 4.2.4.). The title suggests the content and thus also the goal of this law: The linguistic normalization – in this case – of Catalan. In order to strengthen Catalan in everyday life as well, the use of Catalan in regional and municipal administration as well as in the media was promoted. There were also significant

improvements at the economic level. In 1986, Spain joined the European Union, which gave Catalonia, above all, the opportunity to become an emerging economic region. The economic strength gave Catalonia its own point of connection to Europe. In 1988 Catalonia was a founding member of the 'Four Motors for Europe' network, which aimed to strengthen the regional level in the ongoing process of European unification (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 205–211).

Beramendi González (2003) points out that although this created the basis for the central Spanish state to give Catalonia its own scope of action in order to resolve temporary tensions between the state and Catalonia, it also tended to strengthen regional nationalisms. This would happen because Catalonia can now control those institutions of self-government that further deepen certain nationalization processes (cf. Beramendi González, 2003, p. 66).

As has been shown in the historical narratives of the 19th and 20th centuries, the desire for independence did not only arise in the recent past. Whereas during that time autonomy discussions were mostly based on federal goals, the desire for more autonomy seems to have transformed more and more into a vehement demand for independence, especially in the 21st century. The *Centro de Investigación Sociológica* provided statistical evidence for this. Between 2006 and 2019, the number of people who wanted Catalonia to become an independent state approximately tripled. Clua i Fainé (2014) lists two reasons that are often used to explain this recent increase. One is an economic one, resulting from the fact that the effects of the financial crisis are linked to the Catalan tax deficit. Secondly, according to Clua i Fainé (2014), political motivations, which emerged with the effects that the process of reforming the Statute of Autonomy brought with it, play a decisive role in the increased support for the idea of independence. The envisaged Statute of Autonomy was declared unconstitutional in many areas, leading to great disappointment and the realization that the autonomous framework for action had been exhausted (cf. Clua i Fainé, 2014, pp. 86–87).

The situation in Catalonia came to a head not only at the political level, but also among civil society. This was not only due to the increasing radicalization of demands for an independent Catalonia, but also to the split in society that still prevails between the demand for (complete) separation and inclusion into the Spanish central state. In Catalonia, with the recognition of basic democratic rights, the old political parties that had existed in secret during the dictatorship were legalized and additionally new political parties developed. Thus, the Catalan parties reflect different political identities that are evident in the context of nationalism movements. The strong spread of political separatism was due to the rise of the *Esquerra Republicana de*

*Catalunya* (ECR) party. When, with the support of the ECR, the socialist and mayor of Barcelona Pasqual Maragall was elected in 2003 as the new president of the *Generalitat*, no further work was done on increasing Catalonia's competences in the current constitution, but rather a new autonomy statute was drafted. Apart from the *Partido popular*, the largest conservative and Christian-democratic party in Catalonia, the draft of the new autonomy statute was supported by all other parties represented in the regional parliament. In 2006, after some contradictions and negotiations on the part of Madrid, the new Statute of Autonomy was subsequently approved in a referendum in which the turnout was less than 50 per cent. A major achievement of this statute of autonomy was that there was a clearer demarcation between the competences of the *Generalitat* and the central government. The president of the *Generalitat*, Pasqual Maragall, states that the Spanish state was only a residual phenomenon anymore. After the PP was not satisfied with the result, it filed a constitutional complaint, which led to the repeal of various articles of the Statute of Autonomy by the Spanish Constitutional Court (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 213–216).

The deletion of individual articles of the Statute of Autonomy has led to numerous mass demonstrations and the Catalan national movements have become more and more radical. With many people on the street shouting ‘We are one nation – We decide this’ the question of independence heated up, especially in Barcelona. The election campaign in 2015, which was dominated by demands for independence, therefore took place in a very tense atmosphere. Nevertheless, the election result did not shift in favor of the separatists, who again achieved a narrow majority in the *Generalitat*, but whose combined share of the vote was less than 50 per cent. The new government in Catalonia was then formed under Carles Puigdemont, who belongs to the Catalan separatist party *Junts per Catalunya*. The subsequent referendum in 2017, that despite various rulings by Spanish constitutional courts was held and that should vote on the independence of Catalonia, can be seen as one of the political high points of Catalan nationalism. 90 percent voted, in the context of the referendum for which Carles Puigdemont was subsequently arrested, in favor of Catalonia's secession, although the voter turnout was again only 42 percent. During this referendum, the situation in Barcelona escalated and there were strong outbreaks of violence by the state police. After the Catalan parliament subsequently declared Catalonia's independence on 27 October 2017, the Spanish state referred to Article 155 and took over the function of the Catalan executives, placed the police forces under the Spanish Ministry of the Interior and removed Carles Puigdemont (cf. Seidel, 2018, pp. 219–222).

To date, the political situation in Catalonia still is tensioned. After various electoral changes, the separatist parties in Catalonia have elected Pere Aragonès of the left-wing *ERC* as the new head of the regional government in 2021, who wants to campaign for a new referendum on Catalonia's independence from Spain. In view of this election and the historical development, it is not likely that in the foreseeable future there will be a lasting calming of the disputes over competences and not least over the question of the Catalan nation, which have been conducted and continuously intensified since the 19th century. Compared to many other nations without a state, Catalonia has achieved a high level of autonomy rights. In the historiographical discussion about the basis of modern Catalan identity, the origin and success of *Catalanism*, there is a disagreement about which factors were the most decisive, the political economic or the cultural. Both have been much explored in the existing literature, a brief outline of which is presented in this chapter. However, the aim of this study is not to distinguish between the importance of these two aspects, but rather to focus on the need to include another aspect, that of education, in the analysis of the construction of Catalan nationalism. Therefore, in the following subchapter, the development of a Catalan-Spanish school system is outlined.

#### **4.2 The development of a Catalan-Spanish education system**

Within the second and third decades of the 19th century, a process of building a liberal state took place in Spain.<sup>18</sup> It was accompanied by the creation of a Spanish national identity, for which a public education system was necessary. The education system has experienced several changes throughout its history mostly related to the shifting of competencies and resources back and forth between the central state and the autonomous communities. In contrast to today, where the autonomous regions within Spain have a share of the decision-making power, the education system before and especially during the Franco regime was mainly in the centralized nation (-state) hands. The only exception was during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936/39), when attempts toward decentralization were successfully implemented in the education system. These attempts had essential impacts on the further development of today's education system (cf. Kölling & Rambla, 2018, p. 165).

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<sup>18</sup> The Constitution of Cadiz 1812 is considered to be a significant starting point in the period of the liberal movements. Delegates from the regional Junts, representatives of the cities, elected deputies from the provinces and representatives of the nobility and clergy came to the liberal southern Spanish port city of Cadiz. Despite the adverse circumstances of the French occupation, the representatives of the Spanish nation drew up a constitution that established Spain as a sovereign national body and that was solemnly adopted in 1812 (Suárez, 1982).

In the academic debate, the story told about a Catalan education system mainly begins with the transition to democracy, when Catalonia, as an autonomous region of a particular community, was granted more and more decision-making powers based on the Spanish constitution of 1978. Before that, only the development of a Spanish-national education system is usually spoken and written about. However, as could be found in very few sources (cf. e.g. Grant & Docherty, 1992). Catalonia had its own school system even before the democratization was taking place. Therefore, it seems, that it was only with the beginning of the debates on the emergence of nation (-states) that the Catalan education system became an academically significant topic.

Even though the beginning of a Spanish education system is often traced back to 1857 with the passing of the *Moyano Act*, several authors emphasize that Spain was unable to establish a functioning national education system until the transition to democracy after Franco's death in 1975 due to various factors (cf. e.g. Bañuelos, 1997; Flecha Garcia, 2011; Serrano, 2013). However, the lack of nation (-state) control and implementation of the education system does not mean that schools did not contain nationalist discourses. López Facal (2011) points out that especially since the mid-nineteenth century, history textbooks in Spain have included nationalist discourses.

While the education system before the transition to democracy was built primarily on a religious foundation, efforts increased from 1970 on, when the *Ley General de Educación LGE* (General Education Law) was introduced. Based on the *LGE*, a national-centralist education system should be established, in which, however, the autonomous regions also had some decision-making powers for the first time since the Second Spanish Republic. The beginning of a Catalan education system is therefore usually attributed to this period (cf. e.g. Oller Freixa, 2013; Santisteban, 2013). For the establishment of a decentralized Spanish education system, the arguments of political aspects then suffice, stating that closer government can make schools more responsive to citizens' requests and interests. There are also mercantile ideas provided, which try to tear down bureaucratic systems that stifle competition as a motivator of efficiency and improvement. Additionally, pedagogical and educational arguments aimed at making curricular adaption easier or promoting teacher participation and engagement are being used. In any event, there is a consensus that institutional autonomy can be a tool and an incentive for mobilizing educational and social actors and improving the operation of public institutions by creating a shared identity (cf. Bolívar, 2004, p. 92).

Even though the period of modernization<sup>19</sup> of the Spanish education landscape, which was taking place even before the implementation of the *Ley General de Educación* 1970, does not refer to the period of investigation of this study and its development mostly refers to the whole of Spain, it seems important to shed light on it, since the educational aspirations of the state implemented by an education system became more and more evident. Therefore, the following chapter is divided into four subchapters. In a first step (4.2.1) the educational developments before the Franco regime are placed in their historical and political context. In a further step (4.2.2), the changes in the education system during the Franco regime (1939-1975) are described. Subsequently, and this is the major part for this thesis, the educational developments of the period after the transition (4.2.3) are examined by referring to six important educational laws. In addition to the contextual classification, the focus will thereby also be on the curricular changes that accompanied the introduction of the new laws. Within all these curricular reforms, one aspect proves to be very central. Since the nationality of Catalonia is strongly expressed through language, it also plays an important role in the educational context. Therefore, in a final point (4.2.3), this core point, the use of language in Catalan education, is examined.

In doing so, the aim and purpose of the chapter is, in addition to a descriptive presentation of the events that took place in the educational landscape, to show how the Catalan and the Spanish education system has been designed to form the identity of Catalan and/or Spanish citizen. By taking a closer look at the developments of the educational landscape, it becomes even more apparent how strongly the school was used as an instrument of political litigations and power concerning a contrasted nationalism, like it is the case of Spain and Catalonia.

#### **4.2.1 The education system before the Franco Regime**

Before the transition to democracy the role of schools in Spain is often referred to as the opposite of that in France. Mariano Fernández Enguita (2012) describes the „debatable but expressive dichotomy of Anthony Smith“ (Enguita, 2012, p. 74) that sees France as the prime example of a nation-state, where, among other factors, the school managed to link the nation with the state. Spain, on the other hand, a state-nation according to Smith, was the exact

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<sup>19</sup> Modernization of the education system primarily refers to the nationalization of education. Other aspects can be, for example, the expansion of modern natural sciences.

opposite. Spain had not managed to establish a sound public school system „running from the denominational nature of the Constitution of Cadiz (1812) through proclaiming a fictional education system without funding or infrastructure by the *Moyano Act* (1857), to the exorbitant privileges granted to the Catholic Church by the concordat with the Vatican (1953)” (Enguita, 2012, p. 74).

For a long time, the Catholic Church had a privileged social, cultural and also political position, which was reflected in its hegemony also in the field of education. The history of the secular Catalan school is actually dated back to 1560, when the *Consell de Cent*<sup>20</sup> (Council of a Hundred) created one of the first free public schools in Europe. In 1718, when the Bourbons recaptured Barcelona and integrated Catalonia into Spain again, Catalan as the instruction language in education was prohibited and even the schools were closed, but resistance persisted (cf. Grant & Docherty, 1992, p. 156). The primacy of the Church throughout Spain during the 19th century<sup>21</sup> was expressed not only in the enormous development of a network of private religious schools in which the children of the bourgeoisie were educated, but also in the fact that a clerical ideology was also disseminated in public schools. Nevertheless, some prominent Spanish intellectuals and politicians contributed a nationalist discourse that began to spread in textbooks in the mid-19th century (cf. López Facal, 2008, p. 173).

The beginnings of a Spanish comprehensive public education system can be traced back to the Public Instruction Act 1857, also known as the *Moyano Act*, which in fact became the basic document for Spanish education until 1970. It established a legal framework in which, for the first time, compulsory education for children aged six and nine was introduced throughout Spain. Since then, there has been an increasing need to extend culture and education to the masses as an indispensable prerequisite for social, but also economic, change. In this document, the role of the church was clearly defined. The church was allowed to do inspection of instruction. Moreover, aspects of the curriculum which put a higher focus on humanistic intentions in schooling than in scientific education was strengthened (cf. Owens & Frago, 1984, p. 604).

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<sup>20</sup> The *Consell de Cent* was a democratic governing body in Barcelona. It was founded in the thirteenth century and continued into the eighteenth. The body's name 'Council of a Hundred' comes from the number of people who make up its membership (cf. Orti Gost 2001).

<sup>21</sup> In the 19th century, Spanish liberals undertook the construction of a nation-state with considerable difficulty, as defenders of the privileges of the Ancien Régime retained considerable political importance (cf. López Facal, 2008, p. 173).

The myriad difficulties of the nineteenth century had provoked indignation and led to a sense, as Flecha Garcia (2011) argues, of Spain's decline (cf. Flecha Garcia, 2011, p. 17). At the beginning of the century, more than half of the population was illiterate and there was hardly any funding within the school system. Another aspect that is repeatedly focused on in literature is the contrast of the poor primary education and the much higher proportion of students in secondary schools. This very unbalanced education system reflected the focus on educating a Spanish elite through classical and humanistic content (cf. Serrano, 2013, pp. 106–107). To improve this situation, the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts was formed in April 1900. However, the political instability that prevailed during this period of the desired modernization of the education system was clearly demonstrated by the frequent change of ministers in the Ministry of Public Instruction. Between 1902 and 1923, there were 53 different ministers, including some who were appointed ministers more than once. Even though Spanish politicians at this time placed great hopes in the public instructions of these ministries, and even though some efforts due to governments authorities could be achieved, individuals and institutions of diverse ideological positions also played a role. They were a crucial part of the general cultural and educational projects that took place throughout Spain in the course of the 20th century. The enlightened and liberal attitudes strongly influenced the regulations that set the criteria and rules for a national education system (cf. Flecha Garcia, 2011, pp. 19–20).

These changes in the education system were also demanded and influenced by the Regenerationist movement. The *Regenerationists* were a middle-class intellectual movement that was formed after the humiliating defeat in the Spanish-American war of 1898. They were united by a critical attitude towards the old Spanish structure, its political practices and its economic and technical backwardness. Many writers, journalists, politicians and philosophers sought the reasons for the decline of Spain and believed to find cure in Spanish nationalism. In search of the essence of the nationhood, they demanded a renovation of Spain. They were convinced that several urgent goals, ranging from technological and economic development to the formation of national consciousness, had to be achieved through schools and that only decisive state intervention could improve the poor educational situation (cf. Bañuelos, 1997, p. 103). Spain thereby used France as a model for implementing a centralized education system. The subsequent decrees that led to the creation of the national teachers' corps were intended to embody the teaching profession as a humble but dignified one, establishing the teacher in the role of a political-cultural agent of the state, ready to spread modernization regardless of the interference of local forces (cf. Serrano, 2013, p. 109).

As Catalonia gained a limited form of devolution in 1914 with the creation of the local government, the *Mancomunitat*, the importance of speaking and teaching the Catalan language in education, could be asserted for the area of Catalonia. The *Mancomunitat* created a policy to support Catalan medium education in schools, funded Catalan research in higher education and supported the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute of Catalan Studies), which was founded in 1907 (cf. Grant & Docherty, 1992, p. 156). In the context of the increasing decay of the Spanish political system and the still prevailing underdevelopment of the education system within the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Serrano (2013) concludes that what was needed would have been a strong financial and thus political commitment. However, he also stresses the importance of asking about the ideological reasons for the underdevelopment of the education system. In this context, he sees the role of the church as a strong force that prevented the creation of a nation-state education system (cf. Serrano, 2013, p. 110).

As already briefly mentioned, attempts at modernization at the beginning of the century largely followed the French model. The education debate in Spain in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was closely interwoven with the controversy over secularization, and modernizing positions were in practice associated with anti-clerical attitudes. The conservatives always tried to counter the French component of the liberal-laicist measures, but many historians point out that they were unable to establish their own education system (cf. e.g. Bañuelos, 1997; Grant & Docherty, 1992; Serrano, 2013). The reason for this, as already mentioned above, is seen in the fact that the educational approaches of the Catholic camp, to which the conservatives tended, were not aimed at alternative development, but rather at maintaining underdevelopment. The educational thinking of the Catholic Church was characterized by a radical interpretation of the rights of the Church. They were firmly committed to the right to run their own schools, which led to the widespread view that any expansion of the state school system in one way or another was an attack on the Church. In Spain, unlike in other European countries, these strong rights of the Church, which were against the expansion of a state education system, were brought into the educational approaches of the conservative forces of order (cf. Serrano, 2013, pp. 110–111).

Serrano (2013) presents the subsequent experience under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), despite its anti-democratic and illiberal aims, as neither a setback nor an interruption in the modernization of the education system. In this process, the school played an important role in combating the nationalization of the masses through authoritarian, military and religious values. This, Serrano (2013) argues, would have put Primo the Rivera's

dictatorship in a contradictory position (cf. Serrano, 2013, p. 111). However, it seems that even if the improvement of the education system through modernizing measures did not take a step backwards, the political intentions behind the education system changed greatly, as can be seen especially in the case of Catalonia. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) outlawed Catalan-medium schooling once more, and the *Mancomunitat* was dismantled. The existence of a distinct Catalan culture clashed with Primo de Rivera's vision of a one Spanish-speaking family unified by the ideal of the *Hispanidad*. During the long period when the Spanish government rejected the Catalan school system, Catalan school was established with private funds on an unauthorized basis. Above all, the economic and financial dominance of the Catalan bourgeoisie gave the Catalans an advantage that many minority groups, such as the Scots, lacked. When Primo de Rivera prohibited Catalan education again in the 1920s, the activities of the previous years had still laid the foundation for the creation of a Catalan school that would preserve Catalan culture while considering multilingual and multicultural educational strategies (cf. Grant & Docherty, 1992, p. 156).

When the Spanish Republic was founded in 1931, these efforts began to have successful effects. Through the creation of a local government structure, the *Generalitat*, initial responsibilities were transferred to the autonomous Catalan level. This gave Catalonia a large degree of political autonomy including control over educational policy and administration. During the Second Spanish Republic, an entity of the *Generalitat* known as the *Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada* (Council of the New Unified School) was in charge of the education in Catalonia. The New Unified School was a secular, free, and co-educational institution with a strong multicultural and linguistic component. However, the question about who should have which responsibility in the education sector of Catalonia was a very controversial debate. At the nation-state level, a unified system of school, cost-free and compulsory primary education and academic freedom were introduced during this period. On the autonomous level, for the first time, the teaching of Catalan and in Catalan at all levels of education was introduced at all levels of education. Grant & Docherty (1992) show that these changes, although they did not involve great autonomous responsibilities and decision-making powers compared to today, laid a significant foundation for the development of the Catalan education system during the transition to democracy. Firstly, these changes have made it clear that the education system must also consider the culture and language of minorities within a state. Secondly, it demonstrates on a practical level that it is possible to reconcile school functioning with the simultaneous recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity. And as a third aspect, Grant & Docherty (1992) argue, a role model for

teachers teaching in a multicultural and multilingual environment was developed through this period. In the period of the Second Spanish Republic, teacher could take free courses from the *Generalitat*, while teachers in more remote rural regions could study Catalan by correspondence. At the outbreak of the civil war in 1939, Spain was on the verge of completing the process of modernization to bring the education system up to Western European standards. However, most of the new regulations could not even be implemented due to the Spanish civil war that began (cf. Grant & Docherty, 1992, pp. 157–158).

#### **4.2.2 The education system within the Franco Regime**

The period of Franco's regime (1939-1975) is considered to be the time when the school and the curriculum were most intensively used to produce a loyal Spanish citizen towards the authoritarian centralized state. During this period, Franco's highly repressive dictatorship made it unambiguous and non-negotiable what the school was supposed to teach the students. From the start of the Spanish Civil War 1936, Francoism entailed the abolition of any political or religious tolerance that did not serve Catholic interests thereby giving education a crucial role. As a powerful political instrument, the school exercised ideological control over the pupils banning different languages, mythologies, ethnicities and territories, as well as alternative visions of society from the curriculum. In 1951, a complete restructuring of the education system took place. The newly created 'Formation of National Spirit' was now the task of the new regime, which especially wanted to ensure it above all through reproducing Spanish nationalist stereotypes from the nineteenth century (cf. Santisteban, 2013, p. 35).

The Catalan culture and language did not fit into this centralized image of only one national spirit within Spain which is why Franco violently opposed all Catalan culture. Seeing the school as a powerful instrument to help constructing the ideal Spanish child, Franco returned the administration of most Catalan schools to religious groups, reversing the secular policy of the Spanish Republic. On 14 November 1939, the *Boletín de la Provincia de Barcelona* stated that the Catalan language is banned from the education and that the language of instruction is exclusively Castilian. Furthermore, the general use of Catalan was prohibited in public (cf. Grant & Docherty, 1992, p. 158). Thus, all the achievements in the educational sector of the Second Spanish Republic were reversed. Therefore, all institutions and organisms responsible for the Second Republic's political and educational ideas were accused of pitting interests

against the nation and, as a result, were forced to conceal or transform their identity features in accordance with the regime's new models of citizen, society, and state (cf. Pericacho et al., 2019, p. 140).

Spain's very weakened economic situation and above all the takeover of power by technocrats were the starting point for overall political, but also educational changes. In addition, there was an increasing number of immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s, which changed the sociological structure of Catalonia and led to urban growth in the surroundings of Barcelona. Given this initial situation, this was the time when several groups of teachers who were part of education reform associations got together and wrote joint proposals. These set the goal of bringing the teaching of Catalan language, culture and history back into schools. This shows how strongly anchored the language and culture were in Catalan society, despite Franco's harsh repression. Furthermore, it can be seen here that the role of education was attributed a high value in achieving political and cultural ideals. Additionally, in the following years, several movements developed, such as the 'Rosa Sensat' or 'the active school', which wanted to establish more local knowledge and thereby also supported the teaching of Catalan language and history (cf. Santisteban, 2013, p. 35).

The educational situation during the Franco regime was nevertheless maintained, with few exceptions, until the adoption of the *LGE* in 1970, which brought about the greatest transformation of the Spanish school system to date. The *LGE* began a process of modernizing the education system in Spain, adapting it to the new socio-economic realities of a Spain that was no longer agrarian and in which even the political elites of the Franco era aspired to the process of European integration (cf. López Facal, 2008, p. 175). Among the most important improvements brought about by the new law were comprehensive education up to the age of fourteen, the widening of the vocational training's accessibility and the raising of existing secondary schools to university level (cf. Carabaña, 1988, p. 215). Another central aspect of the *LGE* was the change of power in educational policy, namely the complete detachment of the state from the Catholic Church. This transfer of responsibility for school education from the church to the state made it possible to establish private schools alongside expensive private Catholic schools (cf. Palt, 1997, p. 22). Additionally, the new *LGE* law also included the first, apart from the short period of the Second Spanish Republic, separation between the central state and autonomous regions in the education system. García Rubio (2015) points out, however, that at that time one cannot speak of decentralization, but rather of deconcentration. This law did not result in any division of decision-making powers (cf. García Rubio, 2015, p. 204).

### 4.2.3. The education system from transition to democracy to now

The 1980s were a turbulent time of change and hope throughout Spain, including Catalonia. The resulting desire for renewal and social change in society is thereby strongly reflected in a multitude of educational initiatives constituting a transformation. The history of educational renewal in Spain shows a temporal continuity that, since 1860, has developed at different speeds, depending on the political moment and the different socio-cultural concerns that belonged to certain historical contexts and periods. Until today, this constant critical, reflecting approach towards educational reforms and school development has resulted in a rich heritage of initiatives. While in the period before the Franco regime, the *reconceptualists* had been a decisive movement regarding the modernization of the school system, criticizing the old Spanish structure, between 1975 and 1985 it was teachers' expectations of reform that were not yet a priority in the now democratic state. But it was from these innovation groups that the center-left socialist party *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* first took impetus to push for a major educational reform in 1985 (cf. Palt, 1997, p. 25).

The period of transition to democracy is therefore often seen as a time of educational renewal. Even though there was a great turn in the education system mainly in favor of the autonomous communities, it is still subject to constant changes until today. Generally, the academic investigation of the history of Catalan education, as already mentioned above, seems to begin with the transition to democracy in and after 1970. It is mostly linked to the beginning of the increase of autonomy under the first Spanish constitution 1978 and the Statute of Autonomy. That the increased autonomy in the Catalan education system has been instrumental in forming an even stronger Catalan national identity is the underlying assumptions of this study. Therefore, the strong connection between educational reforms, curriculum revision and political change processes will be demonstrated. As discussed in more detail in the theoretical framework, the school system serves as a significant element to manifest democratic values in uncertain times. The period after the end of Franco's violent, oppressive regime was indeed an uncertain time that brought about major changes on many different levels, socially, politically and economically for the whole of Spain and also specifically for Catalonia. Therefore, the analyzed period begins from the transition to democracy. It resulted in the 1990 reform, which was followed by several education reforms. In the following the *Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE)*, *Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación (LOCE)*, *Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación (LOCE)*, *Ley Orgánica de Educación (LOE)*, *Ley de Educación de Catalunya (LEC)*, *Ley Orgánica para la Mejora de la Calidad Educativa*

(*LOMCE*) and the current education law *Ley Orgánica de Modificación de la LOE (LOMLOE)* are presented as they are a particularly clear demonstration of the path to the school system of the 21st century. As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the focus is set on the education laws in their historical and political context and also on the curricular changes that have accompanied these laws. The focus of curricular changes is thereby mostly set on secondary education as this refers to the following analysis of the textbooks.

#### **4.2.3.1 Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE)**

After five years of socialist government had consolidated democracy in Spain in 1985, a general reform project for education was announced. Building on Article 27 'Right to Education' of the new Spanish Constitution of 1978 the reform should enable a strong decentralization in the education system (cf. Pereyra, 2002, pp. 668–669). Three years passed between the announcement of the reform and its approval by the parliament, during which it was subject to strong political and corporate pressures resulting in a much more conservative direction. The initial reform proposals suggested that teachers and schools should be given wide freedom to determine their curriculum which was named as an open curriculum. Subsequently, the Ministry of Education published a Basic Curriculum Design, in which the pedagogical intentions were made explicit to guide pedagogical practice, but the concretization of the curriculum was left to the curriculum project of individual schools. Nevertheless, this aspect was strongly limited in the upcoming *Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE)* (cf. Santisteban, 2013, p. 36).

The *LOGSE* of 1990 was a comprehensive law that replaced the 1970 *Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento (LGE)*, which had been enacted still under the Franco regime. The *LOGSE* was not only a law intended to bring about a technical advance in terms of modernising school administration, but rather to adapt the education system to the new political, social and economic context and the cultural and linguistic plurality of Spain (cf. Martin, 2001, p. 78). Furthermore, *LOGSE* reflected for the first time the decentralisation of curricula in Spain, in which the central state sets the minimum requirements for teaching in its educational laws and their development, and the autonomous communities complement them. It is therefore a tiered curriculum that starts from a nationally binding basis and allows for more and more

differentiation through the autonomous regions to the individual schools and students (cf. García Rubio, 2015, p. 211).

“The Government shall establish, in relation to the objectives expressed in terms of competences, contents and assessment criteria of the curriculum, the basic aspects of the curriculum that constitute the minimum teaching to ensure a common education for all pupils and the validity of the corresponding qualifications. The basic content of the minimum teaching may not exceed 55 per cent of the curriculum in the Autonomous Communities that have an official language other than Spanish, and 65 per cent in the Autonomous Communities that do not have an official language” (Gobierno de España, 1990, p. 28930).

From this extract from the LOGSE law, it is clear that by setting the minimum requirements to ensure a common education for all pupils, the central government wants to frame the education of a Spanish pupil, not a Catalan pupil.

Oller Freixa (2013) indicates that although the autonomous communities have to adhere to the minimum teaching, the core content is relatively open. Conceptually, the curriculum is designed to be neither a syllabus nor prescriptive in content. It was only defined which key qualifications should be achieved and which concepts and possibilities of teaching can be connected with it. Besides, it was not specified which methods teacher should use that gave teachers a great deal of freedom in their methodology and thus also in *their* teaching of content (cf. Oller Freixa, 2013, p. 2). The curriculum of the secondary education (age 12-16) also stipulated that participation in religious education had to be voluntary. Furthermore, in addition to the nine subject areas<sup>22</sup>, it defined additional goals to be pursued through the open and flexible curriculum. First, flexibility was to be increased and subjects and content were to be able to adapt to scientific, technological and social changes. The second goal regarding the openness of the curriculum was defined as giving teachers freedom to act (cf. Palt, 1997, pp. 43–44).

In addition to the curricular changes at the central level, it is also important to add the particularities of the curriculum of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia. Even if the *Generalitat* had to adhere to the so-called minimum teaching requirements, Catalonia obtained the permission, following the Spanish Constitution which gave autonomus power to Catalonia as well as the Autonomous Status (1979), to develop a curriculum. The changes of nationhood at this time

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<sup>22</sup> The nine secondary subject areas were language and literature, mathematics, science, geography, history and social sciences, artistic and visual expression, physical education, modern languages, music and technology (Palt, 1997, p. 43.)

are clearly visible in the accompanying changes in the curriculum of Catalonia, especially in the subject of history.

According to Oller Freixa (2013), the curriculum “explicitly stresses that studying social sciences must involve an ideological functionality in the service of Catalan nation” (Oller Freixa, 2013, p. 2) by giving the following example:

“Contents: in the field of the social sciences are not to be addressed to individuals or abstract societies: they must be directed at the young citizens of Catalonia. Consequently, the diverse and pluralistic features of the Catalan nation, as well as its history, must both structure and be present without exception in the configuration of the field’s context [...] recognise history’s role as a source for national rootedness.” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1989 in Oller Freixa, 2013, p. 2)

This quotation particularly expresses how strongly the *Generalitat* used the curriculum to spread its idea of the Catalan nation. The pedagogical struggle for regional supremacy is even more evident in the fact that with a change to a conservative government in 1996, a new education law, the *Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación (LOCE)* has been passed in 2002 that severely restricts this flexibility.

#### **4.2.3.2 Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación (LOCE)**

The main purpose of the new law, as its name suggests, was to improve the quality of school education. The 1990 education reform *LOGSE*, especially the openness and the flexibility, had been fiercely opposed by conservative circles even before it was passed, and they announced their intention to change it if they would win the election. The subsequent *LOCE* could never be fully implemented due to a quick change of government, but it is important to point out as it shows how strongly curricular decisions are linked to political choices. Through the implementation of the *LOCE* the open curriculum, as it was called before, was abolished. At the time of the conservative government, there was a great debate about the fact that, from the point of view of the *Partido Popular*, the conservative party in Spain that opposes Catalan independence, the Spanish nation would only be considered a side line in the classroom. The then Minister of Education Esperanza Aguirre 1996 expressed concern about what he saw as the loss of the identity of Spanish history in the curricula (cf. Oller Freixa, 2013, p. 3).

As a result, the *Partido Popular* restricted the openness of the curriculum by specifying the content that had to be taught. The subject of Religion was also made compulsory again, the subject of Latin was added and the teachers were severely restricted in their methods of passing on the prescribed content to their pupils. For compulsory secondary education, a general assessment test was administered. The law describes the sole purpose of these tests in providing both educational administrators and centers, parents and students with data and in accumulating information on the degree of achievement of the objectives related to the basic competencies of the corresponding educational level. While flexibility is further referred to, it now no longer concerns content and subjects, but rather structure and organization, which substantially limits flexibility compared to *LOGSE*. Furthermore, the freedom of the teacher to act is no longer mentioned, but the recognition of the teaching function as an essential factor for the quality of education. The need for these changes has been justified, among other things, by the importance of education responding to the new characteristics of the information and knowledge society and promoting the economic progress of the Spanish country. Particular emphasis is placed on the great failure of schools in Spain and the decline in the educational level of students (cf. Digón Regueiro, 2003, pp. 2–3).

Although the autonomous communities have not been specifically limited in their autonomy in the education sector, this was achieved indirectly through the concretely established content and methodologies of teaching. In this context, the new role of the director is also worth considering. He is no longer elected by a regional school board, but by a selection committee consisting of representatives of a state education administration and members of the center. In addition, his competences are strengthened and he is in constant exchange with the central education administrations. Thus, the new law reduces the participation and decision-making power of the members of the educational community, as individuals, such as the director as a representative of the state educational administration, are assigned much greater power (cf. Digón Regueiro, 2003, p. 5).

#### **4.2.3.3 Ley Orgánica de Educación (LOE)**

Just as a new education law can be created that restricts autonomous powers, a government can also increase autonomy in education decision making through a new law. This was the case when the center-left-socialist party *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* returned to government

and suspended the *LOCE* law by decree and repealed it with a new law in 2006. The new education law, the *Organic Law on Education (LOE)* focused on the quality of education spreading out instruction and making it available for the whole educational community to live in a knowledge based community. It replaced the *LOGSE* and provided implementation within five years. The main objective of this law was to improve the quality of education at all levels of the education system and to involve all social forces, such as students, parents, teachers and education administrators. Bolívar (2004) shows a significantly higher degree of autonomy for schools in curriculum development. Schools had the possibility to actively intervene in the curriculum and school organisation through experiments, work plans, forms of organisation or extensions of the timetable. This is an important aspect in the debates on the autonomy of the education system because, as he describes, decentralisation in education does not mean at the same time decentralisation in schools (cf. Bolívar, 2004, pp. 100–104).

Oller Freixa (2013) takes a closer examination of the curriculum of the *Generalitat* and indicates that “the notion of identity as a goal is remarkably prominent” (Oller Freixa, 2013, p. 3) giving two important examples from the new secondary school curriculum:

“Know, appreciate, and respect the basic values and way of life’s of one’s own culture and the culture of others, and respect the cultural and artistic heritage of those cultures” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009 in Oller Freixa, p. 3).

“Identify with historical, cultural, geographical and social features of Catalan society, and advance in the sense of belonging to the land” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009 in Oller Freixa, p. 3).

Furthermore, Oller Freixa (2013) shows that this knowledge is also associated with the formation of an identity.

“Historical awareness, understood as the ability to think of oneself as a historical being and to make sense of the past. It is fundamental for constructing the personal and social identities of young people so that they know they are members of a group or collective with which they share a history, land, traditions and a given view of the world.” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009 in Oller Freixa, p. 3)

The *LOE* education law thus stands again in contrast to the previous implemented law *LOCE*. This strong change between the orientation of the laws shows how highly the importance of education has been valued, by both the Spanish and the Catalan governments This is an expression of the assumption that education laws contribute to the stability of the desired political system.

#### 4.2.3.4 Ley de Educación de Catalunya (LEC)

An elementary example that reflects the pedagogised struggle of regional domination is the introduction of the *Ley de Educacion de Catalunya (LEC)* in 2009. The *LEC* was not an education reform law that changed several aspects in the education system, but rather represented a new legal framework which appeared for the first time in the history of the education system of Catalonia. This legal framework still refers to the division of educational competences between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Education of the Autonomous Communities. Already in the early 2000s, with the Catalan government in the hands of a coalition of left-wing parties led by the socialist party, an ambitious process of educational reform began, culminating in the approval of the *LEC* in 2009. The process of drafting the law was lengthy and marked by controversies and tensions between the parties of the Catalan parliament and the central government. The possibility of creating a new Catalan legal framework for the distribution of educational competences is based on the Statute of Autonomy of 2006, which established the base that Catalonia could define its own laws on key public domains, including education. This ultimately led to the creation of this new legal framework (cf. Verger & Pages, 2018, pp. 123–124). The main objective of the *LEC* “includes ensuring that centres operating within the Catalan Education Service tailor their educational action to address the diverse and specific educational needs, promoting integration of students and their adaptation to their social and economic environment” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009, p. 6). However, Verger et al. (2009) point out that the law leaves many aspects open and many questions unresolved. In this sense, it is a law that gives the respective government a scope to develop its own policies in its implementation (cf. Verger et al., 2009, p. 8).

Despite this scope granted, the *LEC* must still comply with the laws, which are implemented by the central government. As has already been seen in the course of this chapter, political parties make great use of education as an instrument to achieve the political stability they desire. It is therefore not surprising that this division of competences has led to major conflicts between the *Generalitat* and the central government. As is shown in chapter 4.2.4, particularly with regard to the language of instruction, disputes arose.

#### 4.2.3.5 Ley Orgánica para la Mejora del a Calidad Educativa (LOMCE)

Another good example that shows how much education has been used as an instrument to enforce political interests is again the introduction of a new education law seven years later. With the main aim to improve the quality of the school system, the *Ley Orgánica para la Mejora del a Calidad Educativa (LOMCE)* was introduced 2013, which was heavily contested on the streets and in schools since it has been accompanied by a substantial cut in the budget for education. Additionally, ethics instruction was eliminated, religion was upgraded, private schools were favored over public educational institutions, and private Catholic schools, where students were segregated by gender, were again given money from taxes. Therefore, the new education law of the *Partido Popular* was understood as a tool of its neo-liberal policy, which wanted to privatize public services and institutions in order to improve the quality of the education systems (cf. Subirats, 2014, p. 48).

Besides the cutting of public budget for education and the reinforcement of a conservative Catholic school education, a major criticism was the centrality and importance of an assessment system. An increasing central government control over both the learning standards of the core subjects, but also significantly over the outcomes of learning central government was introduced. Garcia Rubio (2015) argues that as soon as assessable and also comparable learning outcomes have to be achieved, the curriculum has to specify what the student should know, understand and be able to do in each subject. Therefore, learning and teaching will be done for the assessments. Thus, Garcia Rubio (2015) does not call the law centralistic in terms of numbers, but rather because of the role of assessment and the very strong focus on measuring performance through external testing across the curriculum. He further describes the law as a profound change in the decentralisation process, as it alters the traditional division of responsibilities between autonomous communities and the state. The *LOMCE* law has divided primary, compulsory secondary and baccalaureate subjects into core subjects, specific subjects and autonomous free subjects. The aim of this division is, following García Rubio (2015), to distinguish the essential or important subjects from those that are not important to the legislature. In fact, almost all the contents of the core subjects are determined by the central administration. The autonomous communities can only supplement them (cf. García Rubio, 2015, pp. 212–213).

Through various terminological, semantic and structural changes, the new bases of curricular ordination of the *LOMCE* allow the state to introduce a greater centralization of the curriculum.

In this regard, the terminology of "simplification" and "rationalization of the educational offer" is used, which aims to limit autonomous powers, thus guaranteeing the unity of the market and strengthening the sustainability of local governance. It is argued that, especially in the area of linguistic regulation, the *LOMCE* has repeatedly shown ambiguities and contradictions, which is why its interpretation and application have repeatedly led to difficulties. For example, although regional competence is respected with regard to one's own language, this terminological openness has often led to confusion between curricular content and the actual use of Catalan as the language of instruction. Rather, the general goal of the legislature, it is argued, especially by the social-democratic parties, is to homogenize the educational language models used by the Autonomous Communities and, in particular, to force a change in the Catalan language teaching model. Furthermore, the *LOMCE* formulates a complex system of inspections, replacements and sanctions applicable to non-compliant autonomous communities. In 2012, this resulted in several constitutional complaints by Catalonia against the Constitutional Court, referring to the undermining of legal principles that guarantee the position of Catalan as the predominant language under the Statute, Catalan legislation, and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Since many schools in Catalonia refused to follow the new law, there were also complaints from the central government to the Court of Catalonia to adapt to the new situation and also to use Spanish as the language of instruction. In doing so, they established 25 percent of the use of Spanish as the introduction language (cf. Pons, 2014).

As is shown, without going into too much detail, since it was a legally complex law, the *LOMCE* was considered as a highly controversial law from many sides. During the eight years that the law was prescribed the discussion between autonomous region and the state continued, both consciously recognizing the strong framing education can have on the (future) loyal citizen.

#### **4.2.3.6 Ley Orgánica de Modificación de la LOE (LOMLOE)**

The ongoing pedagogical struggle over the definition of Catalonia, i.e. the question of whether Catalonia is Spanish or can be seen as a distinct nation, finds particular expression in the current education law. The current, and thus the 8th education law called *Ley Orgánica de Modificación de la LOE (LOMLOE)*, passed in November 2020, is also considered to be a very controversial education law, especially in the wake of the growing separatist movement and its opponents. It is the result of a broad participative process that has been led mainly by the

Autonomous Communities and was introduced 2021 by the center-left-socialist party *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Sanmartín, 2020). At the moment, one and a half year later, logically, there are not yet many studies about the effects of the law reform to be found, but what is important to mention is that Spanish is no longer compulsorily defined as a vehicle language for everyone. This was, as explained above, enshrined by *LOMCE* in 2013 in order to make Catalans ‘more Spanish’, as the then Education Minister José Ignacio Wert of the conservative party *Partido Popular* had explained. A sentence, that was highly discussed in the Catalan, but also in international media (cf. e.g. Catalan News, 2015; The Economist, 2012).

As with the *LOCE* education reform before, there were also both fierce demonstrations on the streets and strongly critical articles in the media because of this law. For example, Antonio Jimeno (2019), the president of the teacher’s union AMES (Action to improve secondary education) wrote an article with the title “LOMLOE or how to destroy a state through education policy” and criticizes the fact that there are no more external evaluations at the end of a school year (Jimeno 2019). However, external evaluations are, according to him, absolutely necessary “to prevent the partisan indoctrination that is carried out in several Autonomous Communities” (Jimeno, 2019). In addition to the critical voices, which came mainly from the conservative party, there were also many supporters who had been campaigning for reform for some time. Besides the weakening of the test assessments and the transferring of the decision to Autonomous Communities on which language to teach in - Catalan or Castilian - the *LOMLOE* brought other changes. For example, there is also a strong focus on gender equality and citizenship. Additionally, the minimum requirement of teaching takes 50 per cent of the school timetables for the Autonomous Communities with a co-official language, like Catalonia (Universidad Europea Online, 2021). Having seen how quickly education laws can change, but also what a powerful tool they are for various political ideologies, it remains exciting to see how the *LOMLOE* will fare.

The story of the development of the Catalan-Spanish school system shows how the fighting between different forms of nationalism, the centralist nation-state nationalism and Catalan nationalism are opposed to each other. It becomes clear that within this debate about reforms, the education system serves as a suitable and powerful instrument to establish the desired political system.

#### 4.2.4 The Catalan language immersion system

Besides determining how much content the central government and how much content the autonomous government are allowed to set up in the curriculum, especially decisions regarding the language of instruction have had a major impact in the pursuit of centralist/autonomous goals. The language of nation (-states) is considered a central tool in the process of nation-building (cf. e.g. Fainé i Clua, 2017; Foucault, 1981; Pocock, 1987). Many authors who have dealt with the construction of Catalan identity even refer to it as perhaps the most important cornerstone (cf. e.g. González, 1997; Llobera, 2004; Woolard, 1989). Therefore, the question of which language should be used for teaching in Catalonia is not only a consideration of the linguistic competences, but rather a strong political debate. Fainé i Clua (2017) describes the emotionally charged political debate by stating that “any action that pretends to change or question the use of Catalan at the school is regarded as an attack against Catalan identity and immediatly sparks all kinds of protesting reaction – both political and social – in Catalonia” (Fainé i Clua, 2017, p. 42). As schools serve as places where language experiences a great deal of social use, the introduction of the Catalan language in schools appeared to be very important for the normalization of the Catalan language. In this regard, the *Programa de immersió lingüística* (linguistic immersion program), through which Catalan and Spanish have achieved a co-official status in education, is considered an important reference in the world of bilingual education (cf. e.g. Fainé i Clua, 2017; Grant & Docherty, 1992; Woolard, 1989). Knowing that linguisticity is not decisive everywhere, Catalans consider it an important aspect of their identity. Therefore, after looking at curricular changes and political debates within the education system, the last step is to focus on language as a specific point in the construction of a Catalan identity within the education system.

The foundation and the beginning of the language policy for Catalonia was laid down in the Spanish constitution 1978, in which official status was granted to languages other than Castilian in certain geographical regions. As a result, Catalan was to be taught in schools in Catalonia for three hours a week. The overriding concern that has accompanied this change was to find teachers who had a good command of the Catalan language in the short time of the changeover. Officially, Catalan teachers first had to take part-time courses at the Institute of Education of the University of Barcelona for two years, where they learned both the language and culture of Catalonia, but also language teaching skills. However, in order to speed up the implementation of Catalan teaching, teachers with lower qualifications could also be hired as a temporary measure (cf. McNair, 1980, p. 37).

To ensure the speaking of Catalan in schools, the *Programa de immersió lingüística* was introduced by the psycholinguist Miguel Siguan in 1983. He promoted the idea of normalizing minority languages by officially introducing them into schools. Children should be placed in a ‘foreign’ language environment in order to internalize it (cf. Strubell, 2011, p. 9). The *Servei d'Ensenyament del Català* (Catalan Education Centre *SEDEC*) thereby played a central role as it was responsible for the implementation. It was considered as one of the successes for Catalonia during the institutionalization of a Catalan national identity after the death of Franco and was intended to ensure the exclusive power of education of the *Generalitat* (cf. Fainé i Clua, 2017, p. 48). The introduction of the *Programa de immersió lingüística* was additionally based, besides the Spanish constitution, on the approval of the *Language Normalization Law*, which was passed five years after the Constitution in 1983 by the Catalan Government. *The Language Normalization Law* preserves the Catalan language as the own local language of Catalonia and of education at all levels and had the goal of establishing a bilingualism system in Catalonia. It meant that all citizens spoke both, Castilian and Catalan. For Catalan-speaking citizens, this was mostly already the case, but among those, who spoke Castilian, not all were able to speak Catalan or even had the access to learn Catalan. The Law on Language Normalization thus gave schools the opportunity to integrate Catalan more in their teaching until the academic year of 1983/1984, when the *Programa de immersió lingüística* was implemented for the first time in a public school. Since then, Catalan was officially used as the language of introduction. In addition, however, at least one subject had to be taught in Spanish. The idea behind this program is described with the aim that children with different language backgrounds should not be separated during class time. Moreover, Catalan should not only be spoken during lessons, but also for the entire school environment, i.e. in the school corridors, on the playgrounds etc. Fainé i Clua (2017) states, that this program was very well received by the Education Department as well as by teachers and parents, and was applied to all public schools in Catalonia less than 10 years later in the school year 1992/1993 (Fainé i Clua, 2017, pp. 49–51).

Until 2010, this language division of teaching remained in place. In the years before, there had already been isolated complaints that children who had moved to Catalonia and could not speak Catalan, now had Catalan as their language of instruction. Moreover, several changes in the new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia of 2006 had been made, as several points were classified as unconstitutional. This also affected the *Programa de immersió lingüística* which was

subsequently amended so that Spanish and Catalan were both considered as introduction languages (cf. Bianculli, Jordana, & Lopez, 2018, p. 83).

Fainé i Clua (2017) classifies the following developments as a paradox. Although the *Programa de immersió lingüística* was changed, the *LEC* (chapter 4.2.3.4) on which it was based, remained in place. The *LEC* states that the Catalan language is the officially used language and the language of communication, instruction and learning at school. It also poses that pupil should not be separated because of their language – Castilian or Catalan. And thirdly, that at the end of their schooling they are able to speak both languages. Thus, according to Fainé i Clua (2017), the developments in the school system from 2010 onwards are not seen as a "change in the overall system". Rather "it has supported parents opposed to language immersion, who have begun to win the grievances [...]" (Fainé i Clua, 2017, p. 51). The following changes in 2013 through the *LOMCE* law, which are discussed in more detail in the subchapter (4.2.3.5) did not change the language used in schools to the extent that Mr. José Ignacio Wert, the education minister, thought it would. The law would increase the minimum content teaching from 55 per cent, as established by the *LOGSE* act, to 65 per cent. This means that 35 per cent of the content of the curriculum would be left to the autonomous communities. In addition, after further complaints from parents, it was decided that 25 per cent of the core courses should be taught in Spanish. Again, Fainé (2017) notes that although this was officially mandated, very few schools would comply. However, she also argues that the *Generalitat* would nevertheless urge schools to adhere to these measures, because otherwise the schools themselves, or even the school management personally, would face heavy financial penalties (cf. Fainé i Clua, 2017, p. 52). However, as can be seen here, it seems that in Catalan schools, above all, the importance of language has continued to prevail despite new regulations.

Strubell et al. (2011) reiterates the impact and consequences of the implementation of the *Programa de immersió lingüística* through empirical research and states that all these changes and developments are more a political than a linguistic pedagogical debate. He shows in his study that Catalan students perform better in the PISA tests than the average of the rest of Spain. Even in terms of knowledge of the Spanish language, where Catalan students performed better than students where everything was taught only in Spanish (cf. Strubell, 2011, pp. 9–10). Fainé i Clua (2017) refers to this study to explain why this political debate about the *Programa de immersió lingüística* is a sensitive topic for the Catalan population. She explains that the linguistic debate „resolves around a narrative that stresses the idea of aggression, of a Spanish desire to eliminate the Catalan identity through an offensive against its language and against

the social cohesion attained through the implementation of language immersion” (Fainé i Clua, 2017, p. 53).

The education system was examined from several perspectives addressing the driving causes of the changing school system, including political and social dynamics, as well as altering features of the curriculum. While it seems that before the Franco regime the education system, or more specifically the school, was less used as a powerful instrument for the construction of a nation by governmental structures mainly because of the dominance of the catholic church, this changed during the Franco regime and later within a democratic system. Above all, the *LOGSE*, which was introduced in 1990 on the basis of the Spanish constitution, brought about many curricular changes, which were mostly due to political and ideological reasons rather than pedagogical or educational ones. Thus, it is important to always be aware of the constructedness of curricula and to question supposedly purely pedagogical decisions for their political and ideological intentions. This is also the case in the following analysis of the textbooks, where it is very important not only to ask oneself what is being presented, but also to look at the strategies of presenting the selected contents.

#### **4.3 National motifs in Catalan textbooks**

The previous parts of this thesis highlighted the strong framing of national minds through education both theoretical and in the context of Catalan education policy. In particular, the role of textbooks could be shown to be used as an instrument that seeks to tell the future Catalan (ideal) citizens who they are and who they are not. Therefore, the following subchapter presents how exactly, that means through which discursive strategies, the textbooks of the subject social sciences have been used to construct a Catalan national identity over time by education. For this purpose, building on the preliminary dictionary (see chapter three) used for the study of the textbooks, four national motifs are presented that repeatedly appeared in the textbooks and which, following the constitutional claims of the nationalism discourse (identity, territorial and temporal claims), were given particular expression. These national motifs refer to (1) Catalonia as a Distinct Nation, (2) Historical achievements of Catalonia, (3) Spain as the ancient enemy and (4) Characteristics of superiority. National textbook motives are written from a particular perspective and, in this case very important, with a specific goal. The three analyzed textbook publishers Barcanova, Vicens Vives and Grup Promoter Santillana, show significant

differences in representing one and the same history. Accordingly, the following comparative analysis sheds light on their different interpretations

#### **4.3.1 Catalonia as a distinct nation**

The academic debate on whether Catalonia can be defined as a nation was presented in the theoretical and historical framework of the thesis. Within the analyzed textbooks that cover a long period of Catalan history, from the Ancient Regime in the 15th century to the current status of Catalonia, the central question about Catalonia being a distinct nation is clearly portrayed by every single publishers, but answered differently.

##### **I. Barcanova**

The historiography of Barcanova aims at teaching the (future) Catalan citizen to see Catalonia clearly as a distinct nation. Therefore, to perceive Catalonia within the widespread and often taken for granted construction of nation-states, as a nation without a state, Barcanova's historiography repeatedly raises the distinction between nation and state. Thus, during the emerge of nationalist movements in Europe, Barcanova consciously points out the necessity that "in order to understand nationalism [...], the concept of the nation must be clearly distinguished from that of the state" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 99; 2008, p. 19; 2016, p. 26). In doing so, the nation is presented as a "group of men and women united by a set of common elements such as history, language, tradition, religion, law, etc." (Barcanova, 2003, p. 99; 2008, p. 19; 2016, p. 26) clearly distinct from the state. The state, in fact, is "on the other hand, the political and administrative organization (laws, officials, armies, borders, etc.) through which an independent territory is governed" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 99; 2008, p. 19; 2016, p. 26). To further distinguish the historical development of Catalonia from the development of other European nation-states during the 18th/19th centuries, Barcanova, using France as a counterexample, stresses that "these two concepts [nation and state] do not always have to coincide" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 99; 2008, p. 19; 2016, p.26). Moreover, Barcanova refers in this context to the possibility of a multinational character of a state, an "estats plurinacionals" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 99; 2008, p. 19; 2016, p. 26), thus again breaking with the unitary concept of the nation-state. To provide an even more diverse European historical picture, beyond aiming at the construction of a nation-state, Barcanova is the only publisher to cite Ireland as an example of a nationalist movement fighting for complete independence or more autonomous powers. Thus, Baranova's

historical narrative clearly shows that the nationalist movements in Europe have not only pursued the goal of forming a nation-state, in which the borders of the nation inevitably merge with those of the state (cf. Baranova, 2003, p. 99, 2008, p. 19; 2016, p. 26).

It must be added here that neither in the definition of a nation nor within the context of the emergence of nationalist movements in the 18th/19th century, Baranova refers directly to Catalonia. However, this point still seems elementary in the presentation of Catalonia as a distinct nation as it gives the (future) Catalan citizens the (theoretical) framework to classify and understand Catalonia as a nation without a state. The strategy behind this, which Baranova consciously uses, is to use the past to legitimize current ideas, in this case, the idea of what a nation is.

Moreover, Baranova presents Catalonia as a distinct nation by referring to Spain's first democratic constitution in 1978. In this context, Baranova uses the notion of a "multinational democracy [...] that organizes the territory into autonomous communities" (Baranova, 1995, p. 86; 2003, p. 313, 2008, p. 258). Thus, Baranova shows that Spain has evolved towards a democracy in which several nations are anchored, giving again the future citizen the basis to see Catalonia as one of these (distinct) nations.

The narrative of Catalonia as a distinct nation stands out mainly in the more recent textbooks of Baranova (2003 – 2016). It seems that this image has developed strongly only over the years. Although nationalist movements, based on a "deep sense of belonging" (Baranova, 1996, p. 107) and combining "identity features [...] such as language or culture and a common history" (Baranova, 1995, p. 86), are mentioned both in 1995 and 1996, this is not contrasted with the unity of the nation-state. Breaking up this unity seems to be the crucial point in the following years in portraying Catalonia as a distinct nation.

## **II. Vicens Vives**

The historiography of the textbook publisher Vicens Vives shares similar aspects in representing Catalonia as a distinct nation but shows significant differences in how the story is told. Thus, in contrast to Baranova, certain parallelism between Spain and Catalonia can already be discerned through the structural organization of the content. This can be observed in the placement of the Catalonia and Spain chapter headings right next to each other. This parallelism, for example "*Espanya i Catalunya al primer terç del segle XX*" (Spain and

Catalonia in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) or "Industrialització i societat a Catalunya i a Espanya al segle XIX" (Industrialization and society in Catalonia and Spain in the 19<sup>th</sup> century), suggests that there are two independent entities being considered in the textbook (cf. Vicens Vives, 2006, 2012, 2016).

While this structural set-up presents Catalonia as a distinct 'entity', the history about the developments of the national movements in Europe is framed differently. While Barcanova explicitly points out over the years that building up a nation-state was not the only aim of nationalist movements in Europe, Vicens Vives presents a far less differentiated history. Vicens Vives brings up the distinctiveness between the concept of a state and nation, while it never uses an unambiguous concept of nation. Instead, Vicens Vives points out that there exist "different ideas" (Vicens Vives, 2006, p. 110) about how the nation can be defined or that one definition of a nation" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 29) could be as a set of individuals who have a series of cultural ties of their own" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 29). By providing two examples Vicens Vives underpin the existence of several possible definitions of a nation. First, France functions as a symbol for a nation-state. In this definition, the nation is regarded as "a contract between free and equal citizens" that "brings together all who wish to live together and share the values of freedom and equality" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 110). The second example refers to Germany, where the nation is understood as a "cultural proposal" implying that "the nation is based on language, race and blood" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 110). However, Vicens Vives does not refer to the importance of dividing the concept of the unity of the nation and the state. Instead, Vicens Vives (2012) further emphasizes the "need to reconcile state and nation, that is, to regroup members of a national community within the same borders" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 29). In line with Barcanova, however, Vicens Vives never refers to the current state of Catalonia in these definitions but presents events of the past.

Unlike Barcanova, Vicens Vives does not distinguish the concept of nation and state. This becomes even clearer in the analyzed textbook of the years 1998 and 2016 (cf. Vicens Vives 1998, pp. 78-83; Vicens Vives 2016, pp. 38-41). Moreover, nationalist aspirations are presented with the aim of achieving a nation-state. In doing so, nationalism is described as "adhering to the need to merge state and nation" (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 39). While Vicens Vives does exclude the possibility that a nation can also be separate from its original state, it neither highlights the possibility of one or more nations with powers of autonomy within a state (cf. Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 38).

With regard to the current status within the 1978 Constitution, a consistent picture can again be seen in the representation of Catalonia. Here, Vicens Vives presents the 1978 Constitution as a democratic and social one that endows different "nationalities and regions" (Vicens Vives, 1996, p. 302; 2003, p. 212, p. 282; 2016, p. 297) with the right to form their own self-government. The main difference compared to Barcanova is that Spain is not defined as a multinational state, which seems to place the national question of Catalonia in a difficult relationship within Spain.

### **III. Grup Promoter Santillana**

While Barcanova and Vicens Vives make use of various strategies to present Catalonia in part as a separate nation through the structural construction and breaking up of the unity of nation and state, these strategies are not discernible at the publisher Grup Promoter Santillana.

Instead of parallelism with Spain on the structural level of the content, Grup Promoter Santillana presents a clear subordination in form of an additional chapter. Thus, there is no juxtaposition of Spain and Catalonia, which gives the impression that Catalonia is a part of Spain and not a distinct nation (cf. Grup Promoter Santillana, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2016). While the textbooks analyzed before 2005 do not provide any definition of nation and state, Grup Promoter Santillana discusses in 2005 different currents of nationalism, distinguishing between cultural and legal currents. The cultural current views the nation "as a living entity formed by individuals of the same cultural community, with one language, a common history" (Grup Promoter Santillana, 2005, p. 133), while proponents of the legal current "held that the nation was formed by the citizens of a state" (Grup Promoter Santillana, 2005, p. 133). Similar to Vicens Vives, Grup Promoter Santillana does not use a clear concept of nation and, thus, does not specify exactly what its idea of a nation is. Grup Promoter Santillana also distances itself in 2016 from a clear distinction of nation and state in the following years. Accordingly, Grup Promoter Santillana (2016) describes the nation in relation to the 18th century as a "word" that "denotes a group of people born in the same place and under the power of the monarch" (Grup Promoter Santillana, 2016, p. 62), which is not contrasted with a definition of a state.

Finally, the historiography of Grup Promoter Santillana presents Catalonia, like Vicens Vives, as a *nacionalitat* within a "democratic system" (Grup Promoter Santillana, 1996, p. 49; 2001, p. 49; 2005, p. 301; 2016, p. 297) but does not describe the new constitution as a system with a

multinational character. Again, it is the textbook of the year 2016 that presents an exception. From 2016 on, the focus lies on the "creation of autonomous regions" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2016, p. 297), whereas there is no mention of the *nacionalitat* anymore.

### **4.3.2 Historical achievements of Catalonia**

Creating a nation without a state requires considering its distinctiveness through creating a common history and thereby shaping a national mind. In the case of Catalonia, the recurring scheme bases on the continuous quest for autonomy. It is the demand for autonomy that remained the central point of self-determination thereby creating heroes, to which one can owe historical successes. In the following it is shown that the autonomy narrative in Catalonia reaches far back into the past and makes a common thread in the historiography of the textbook publishers.

#### **I. Barcanova**

The schoolbook editor Barcanova highlights the continuous striving for autonomy as the basis of Catalan historical memory through various key historical moments. As a result, Catalan future citizens are continuously reminded that political *Catalanism* has a long history, and that Catalonia has never stopped striving for more autonomy over decades and centuries. In the Restoration period in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Spain developed towards a political liberal system. This period is illustrated as a powerful time resulting in the political, as well as institutional strength of Catalonia. It is clearly emphasized that it is a political current "against the centralized state" (Barcanova, 1995, p. 108; 2003, p. 197; 2008, p. 128; 2016, p. 180). To highlight the Restoration period as the starting point of the continuous striving for more political autonomy, Barcanova presents the 'Memorial de Greuges' as "the first important action of Catalanism" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 198; 2008, p. 128; 2016, p. 180). The Memorial de Greuges is a document subsequently presented to King XII denouncing the oppression of Catalonia by Castile and calling for the promotion of the Catalan language. Furthermore, the founding of the Catalan party *Lliga Regionalista* in 1901 is described to be elementary, as it became "the most important force of political *Catalanism* with broad voter support" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 204; 2008, p. 128; 2016, p. 190). While the bourgeois nature of this party is repeatedly criticized, it is nevertheless emphasized that it was at odds with central government aspirations, defended the Catalan

language and demanded more autonomy (cf. Baranova, 2003, p. 204; 2008, p. 128; 2016, p. 190).

Besides the Restoration period, Baranova particularly highlights the success of political *Catalanism* in relation to the Second Spanish Republic, the first democratic period in the history of Spain. The Second Spanish Republic is presented as a key achievement in the striving for more autonomy, describing this period as the "road to a decentralized state" (Baranova, 2008, p. 184; 2016, p. 184) where Catalonia and the Basque Country "were the only territories [that] achieved autonomy" (Baranova, 2003, p. 246; 2008, p. 184). Thereby, specific focus lies on the historical narrative of granting more autonomy which was successfully demanded by Catalonia. The party *l'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* is seen as the reason for this positively perceived outcome. Baranova underlines the importance and strength of this new party by describing Francesc Macià and Lluís Companys as "highly respected leaders [who] gained considerable support among the non-property peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the working class" (Baranova, 2003, p. 243; 2008, p. 182). Francesc Macià is given a very special role in this, namely not only as a national hero for Catalonia but also for the whole of Spain. Francesc Macià proclaimed the Catalan Republic shortly after Lluís Companys proclaimed the Spanish Republic. In the subsequent negotiations with Madrid, Francesc Macià is described as having compromised on the one hand to reunite the Catalan Republic with the Spanish Republic, but also having been granted autonomy "immediately in return" (Baranova, 2003, p. 244; 2008, p. 183). Francesc Macià is thus portrayed as a national hero for his good negotiations and for re-establishing the *Generalitat* in Catalonia in 1931. Moreover, he is seen as the one who managed to create democratic conditions in the context of the Second Spanish Republic for the whole of Spain, which is expressed in the following part of a speech of a Catalan writer called Pere Coromines Montanya.

*"The people did not go to the polls to form town halls. The people marched against the king. To lead the people, therefore, there was no need for municipal political programs, but for a leader who offered minimal guarantees of action. Francesc Macià threw down his gauntlet to the king and the people followed him."* (Baranova, 2008, p. 182)

Looking at the speech it appears that even in the face of municipal elections Francesc Macià's achievements are presented as if the whole Spanish people had needed him and as if he had stood up for the whole of Spain.

The continuous striving for the restoration of Catalonia's self-government during various political upheavals, such as the Restoration period or the Second Spanish Republic, is presented as a consequence of Catalonia's previous existence, culminating in the autonomous status of the first democratic elections in 1978 after 40 years. Barcanova emphasizes the continuity that lies in the quest for more autonomy for Catalonia by saying that "the left party was always in first place" in Catalonia and also "later still with *Iniciativa per Catalunya* an absolute or relative majority of the left" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 308; 2008, p. 249; 2016, p. 356).

Just as Barcanova's historiography has only increasingly emphasized Catalonia as a distinct nation, the same phenomenon can also be seen in relation to Catalonia's continuing autonomy aspirations. Thus, in the analyzed schoolbook of the year 1995, the Restoration period is also titled as the beginning of Catalonia's political nationalism, but it is not attributed the same importance as in the following years, since this period is no longer underpinned by powerful and strong key elements like creating the *Memorial de Greuges* or the foundation of the *Lliga Regionalista* (cf. Barcanova, 1995, pp. 108-110). Even regarding the second Spanish republic, subsequently portrayed as a historical success of Catalonia mainly through the representation of a Catalan hero, this representation cannot yet be seen in 1995 (cf. Barcanova, 1995, pp. 33-35).

It is especially striking that in the context of the Second Spanish Republic, not only in 1996 but also in the most recent textbook of 2016, Francesc Macià is not presented as a national hero. Previously, the continuous striving has been increasingly highlighted along with the success of Macià's political party *l'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*. But he himself is not portrayed as the person who ushered in a democratic phase for the whole of Spain (cf. Barcanova, 2016, p. 240).

## II. Vicens Vives

Although the events described in which political *Catalanism* is mentioned overlap strongly in Vicens Vives and Barcanova, the achievements of political *Catalanism* are portrayed in a different light, especially through the different portrayals of national heroes. As with Barcanova, the Restoration period is seen as the starting point for the emergence of political *Catalanism*. Vicens Vives describes the political movements that emerged from the cultural movement as a reaction against centralism, which was primarily committed to promoting the

Catalan language and culture as the starting point of political *Catalanism*, but without particularly emphasizing their importance. Thus, the *Memorial de Greuges* is also considered "the first strictly Catalan organization" [...] that "denounced the repression of centralism over Catalonia" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 85; 2016, p. 86). The founding of the *Lliga Regionalista* in 1901 also represents a significant step in the achievement of Catalan autonomy in Vicens Vives' historiography. It emerged "through a broad citizens' movement" that wanted to end the corrupt Restoration system (Vicens Vives 2012, p. 85; 2016, p. 87) and "achieved the first electoral successes of Catalanism" (Vicens Vives, 2006, p. 149).

Besides the Restoration period, Vicens Vives, in contrast to the history telling of Barcanova, gives far less importance to political *Catalanism* striving for autonomy within the Second Spanish Republic. Francesc Macià is not given the role of a national hero. It is presented rather unemotionally that he proclaimed the Second Spanish Republic, without titling this as a great achievement, neither for the Catalan people nor for the Spanish people (Vicens Vives, 2006, p. 223; 2012, p. 214; 2016, p. 194). Instead, a historical event is used by the embodiment of a hero in the context of the Spanish constitution and the restoration of the *Generalitat*. However, it is not a Catalan hero, but Adolfo Suarez, the new president of the new Spanish democracy. He is portrayed as the person who contributed significantly to the decentralization process by "taking the initiative to negotiate directly with Josep Tarradellas on the re-establishment of the Generalitat [...]" (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 294; 295), finding a "compromise between all party-political forces" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 280).

While the presentation of Catalonia's historical events seemed relatively similar over the analyzed years from 2006 to 2016, a significant difference has emerged regarding the introduction of the *Generalitat* in the analyzed textbook of 2016. When referring to regaining the *Generalitat* after the first democratic elections in 1978 Vicens Vives also emphasizes the achievements of Josep Tarradellas, the first president of the Generalitat of Catalonia. Thereby, not only Adolfo Suarez is portrayed as a national hero in the textbook of 2016. Josep Tarradellas was also given a crucial role in the decentralization process of Catalonia. A president Catalonia has been waiting for a long time, which is given special attention through the depiction of an important speech on the balcony of the *Generalitat*.

*"Citizens of Catalonia: I am already here! I am here! Because I want the statute too! I am here! To share your sorrows, your sacrifices and your jewels in Catalonia. I am here. To work with you for a prosperous, democratic and free Catalonia. I am here. So that this Catalonia, which has to work harder than ever to make it very strong and prosperous, can also be an example for all the other peoples of*

*Spain. That together with all those, Catalans and non-Catalans, who have fought for so many years to be able to achieve a day of this burst of joy, of this enthusiasm, we can still do, as I said before, more successful, stronger, that our Catalonia" (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 295).*

As can be seen, unlike Barcanova, it is not only the Catalan merit that is highlighted to emphasize the success of the continuous striving for more autonomy, but also the Spanish merit.

It seems, as with the other national motifs that only over the years Catalonia's historical achievements have been partially highlighted. They were not merely mentioned in the previous years, as in Barcanova's case, but rather presented in a different light. In 1998, the emergence of Catalan nationalism, a political movement that "felt the need to have autonomous governing bodies" was presented as an "essential problem of this period" (Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 198). Even when the *Generalitat* was re-established during the first democratic constitution in 1978, the striving for more autonomy of Catalonia was classified as a "problem of historical nationalities" (Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 304), which could be solved by the introduction of the *Generalitat* by President Adolfo Suarez.

### **III. Grup Promoter Santillana**

The formation of Catalan nationalism is given far less attention in the textbooks of Grup Promotor Santillana. While Vicens Vives highlights the positive influence of the Spanish government on Catalonia in certain parts, Grup Promotor Santillana consistently attribute the achievements of Catalonia more to the Spanish government as opposed to the Catalonian movements or parties. Although Grup Promotor Santillana describes that the "unified, centralist and unifying sense of the Restoration disturbed large sections of Catalan society" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 216) leading to the emergence of political *Catalanism*, it was not the primary aim of opposing centralism per se. Rather, political *Catalanism* was directed against the "inefficiency of the state" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 216), which presents the central state comparatively less as a direct 'opponent'.

The image that the organization of the central state was not optimally solved, but that the centralist efforts were not directly directed against Catalonia, continues to permeate historiography. For example, the *Mancomunitat* in 1914 is referred to as a significant achievement during the restoration period. The *Mancomunitat* was the first territorial reunification of Catalan provincial regions since 1714 when Catalonia had to surrender the self-

government of Catalonia to the centralist state of Spain for the first time. In the depiction of the *Mancomunitat*, Grup Promotor Santillana embodies not a Catalan but a Spanish national hero and describes President José Canalejas as a "brilliant politician" who began with a decentralization policy that was later made possible the founding of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* under the presidency of Prat de la Riba. With this "outstanding policy" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, p. 9; 2001, p. 9), Grup Promotor Santillana argues, he was able to confront the problem of the resurgence of nationalist movements.

A few years later, the historiography changes, similar to Vicens Vives, by presenting nationalist aspirations no longer as a problem or by presenting President Jose Canalejas as a brilliant politician. Instead, it shows that although it was a "long process" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2016, p. 174) the *Mancomunitat* had brought achievements such as "modernization policies in the areas of education, culture and infrastructure" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 218; 2016, p. 174), considering it more as a strong historical achievement of Catalonia.

The time of the first successful decentralization during the Second Spanish Republic is also outlined differently. The 1931 Constitution recognizes the autonomy of the regions, "but within the strict unity of Spain, which was seen as an integral state" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, p. 13; 2001, p. 13). This image changed over the years in different books of Grup Promotor Santillana, and the new territorial organization was no longer presented within the strict unity of Spain (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 221). As with Vicens Vives' historiography, Grup Promotor Santillana does not further emphasize Catalonia's achievements within the second Spanish republic by portraying Francesc Macià as a national hero. To the contrary, the proclamation of the Catalan Republic by Francesc Macià is represented as "the first serious problem for the Republic to face" (Grup Promotor Santillana 2005, p. 220).

As in the context of the Second Spanish Republic, Catalonia's quest for more autonomy in the course of the first Spanish constitution in 1978 is also examined as a situation with "serious problems" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, 2001, p. 48, 2016, p. 230; 2005, p. 289) which requires to find a solution that opposes the narrative of a historical achievement. In this context, Grup Promotor Santillana speaks of "one of the difficulties inherited from the Franco regime that immediately arose was how to deal with the various nationalist demands" (Grup Promotor Santillana 1996, 2001, p. 48). The vast majority of Catalan parliamentarians demanded a return to the autonomous state of the Republican era and therefore decided to "invent a formula of government": a provisional autonomous government (*Generalitat*) without effective powers,

governed by Josep Tarradellas. From that moment on, an autonomous state was organized in parallel with the establishment of democratic institutions (cf. Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, 2001, p. 47).

Similar to Vicens Vives, however, Grup Promoter Santillana emphasizes the skills and ability of President Adolfo Suarez of the so-called '*Transicio*'. He is described as a president who, although he had not pursued a great political career before, achieved an important change in the social and political context in a very short time. Grup Promotor Santillana portrays Adolfo Suarez's individual skills such as "his realistic tone and his willingness to talk to everyone" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, 2001, p. 46) and thus describes him as a politician who "pursued a policy in agreement with the various forces to solve the country's problems (cf. Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 296; 2016, p. 300).

### **4.3.3 Spain as the ancient enemy**

Given the historical background of Spain and Catalonia, which is characterized above all by Spain's centralist aspirations of building a nation-state on the one hand, and Catalan's desire of building a nation without a state, on the other hand, tensions arise inevitably between the two entities. The fact that Spain's centralist aspirations are opposed to Catalonia's desire for self-government is a recurring thread through both the national motifs of being a distinct nation and Catalonia's historical achievements throughout history. One aspect, however, that is particularly emphasized in the following, is the portrayal of Spain as an enemy through the depiction of Spain's experiences of oppression towards Catalonia.

#### **I. Barcanova**

As seen in the presentation of Catalonia's historical achievements, Barcanova tells the story that Catalonia once was independent and that the striving for autonomy, which is a dominant thread through the historiography, is so strong because this independence was once taken away from them. This moment is very strongly emphasized in Barcanova's historiography. It happened on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1714, which Barcanova describes very emotionally as a fateful year for the Catalan people. It was a day when the Catalans had to join the Spanish nation after having tried for a long time to defend their own nation from the Spanish. Thus, Barcanova describes that "despite their heroism [...] on 11 September 1714 Philip V had to surrender after suffering a very heavy siege" (Barcanova, 2003 p. 74)". This fall enabled Philip V to "impose

his authority on Catalonia" (Barcanova, 2008, p. 66). Felip V's laws and institutions strengthened royal power and meant the subjugation of Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca and Catalonia to the centralizing policies of the Barbós. In doing so, Felip V's goal was to "eradicate political institutions" (Barcanova, 2008, p. 66) that had always made absolutism difficult to put into practice. Barcanova ultimately establishes a direct causal link between these successful suppressions of all institutions and cultures in Catalonia and the emergence of the Spanish state (cf. Barcanova, 2008, p. 66). Barcanova particularly emphasizes the oppression by once again reinforcing the enemy image of Felip V. Thus, in addition to political oppression, there a "personal, economic and cultural oppression" (Barcanova, 2016, p. 50) is mentioned. Facing personal oppression, the dramatic fate of many Catalans is highlighted, of whom "4,000 Catalans were imprisoned, and many of them died in prison. More than 30,000 people had to leave the country, half of whom were Catalans" (Barcanova, 2016, p. 50). Furthermore, the cultural repression consisted of the prohibition of the Catalan language in public spaces (cf. Barcanova, 2016, p. 51). Another repressive experience of Catalonia is presented during the time of Primo de Rivera, who exercised an "anti-Catalan policy" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 241-242.; 2008, p. 138-140). Barcanova emphasizes that the repression of Catalonia "could be seen as particularly harsh" (Barcanova, 2016, p. 194). Primo the Rivera is considered to be the enemy since he "banned political parties and trade unions " (Barcanova, 2003, p. 241; 2008, p.138).

The period that is probably presented as most drastic and violent in the history of Spain towards Catalonia is the Franco dictatorship. During this period, particular emphasis is placed on repression of Catalonia that aimed to produce a unified, homogeneous, and centralized nation-state (cf. Barcanova, 2003, p. 299; 2008, p. 238; 2016, p. 388). Barcanova, again characterized by very emotional language, describes Franco's deep "aversion to Catalonia and the Basque Country as nations" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 299; 2008, p. 238). The antagonism of Spanish nationalism within the Franco regime is thereby reinforced by arguing that "with the Franco regime those parts of the Spanish population [fell] that viewed the existence of other nationalities in Spain, that is, nations with their own language, culture and history, with bad eyes" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 298). The narrative which emerges here shifts the image of the Spanish state oppressor to the Spanish population oppressing the Catalan population.

As with other national motifs, it seems that Barcanova has built up the perspective of being a victim of oppression increasingly over the years. In the analyzed book from 1995 the event of the *Diada* is not presented at all. Additionally, there is no mention of the oppression during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. Instead, Barcanova mentions a "new political orientation" that,

among other things, "slowed down the transfer to Catalonia" (Barcanova, 1995, p. 37). Within the Period of the Franco Regime, Franco pursued a "conquest" of Catalonia (Barcanova 1995, p. 45) which is not associated with the consequences of oppression of Catalonia.

## II. Vicens Vives

In contrast to Barcanova, the story about the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1714, the *Diada*, is not written from the victim's point of view. Rather, the resistance that Catalonia showed against the troops of Phillip V is emphasized. Thus, Catalonia decided to resist the occupation by Phillip's troops without outside support. During the siege 40,000 men surrounded the city with some 6,000 fighters inside defending it. Catalonia managed to resist for 14 months until, on 11 September 1714, Catalonia was eventually occupied. Resistance from Catalonia as well as from the other participants in the War of the Spanish Succession was directed against the "very uniformist and centralized" (Vicens Vives, 2006, p. 20; 2012, p. 16). French absolutist model of government.

Thus, the Catalans are those who have been conquered, but not those who have surrendered to this conquest. Vicens Vives also shows the strength of Catalonia, especially that of Catalan culture. For example, although the defeat of 1714 led to the closure of Catalan universities, in response Catalan civil society encouraged the creation of new institutions to promote the arts and sciences, which embraced the new European enlightened spirit (cf. Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 16).

However, the period under Primo the Rivera is portrayed as repressive in general, but not directed only against Catalonia. Although Primo the Rivera takes an "anti-Catalanist stance" (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 189), this is not associated with the oppression of Catalonia in particular. Rather, Vicens Vives provided an overview of the suspension of the constitution, establishment of a strict press censorship, ban of political parties and trade unions, and removal of all elected officials by the new regime (cf. Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 201; 2006, p. 220; 2012, p. 209; 2016, p. 16).

In reference to the Franco regime the term "fierce repression" (Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 294; 2006, p. 306; 2012, p. 263; 2016, p. 273) against the whole of Spain and especially against Catalonia is used. Thereby, the Francoism is characterized by suppressing all opposition. It aimed to punish those who had supported the Republican cause and to prevent the emergence of new opposition movements. It is pointed out that Francoism was based on an intensified

Spanish nationalism and aimed to suppress any cultural and linguistic manifestation other than official Spanish. Therefore, Catalan distinct signs were persecuted, and the use of the Catalan language was banned in the administration, at school and in public spaces such as theatres, shows, the church, but also in books and newspapers (cf. Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 294; 2006, p. 306; 2012, p. 263; 2016, p. 273). Similar to the period during the War of the Spanish Succession with the accompanying conquest of Catalonia in 1714, Catalonia's strength is also highlighted alongside the strong repression, which saw tens of thousands of people imprisoned, tortured and killed for their political activity. One of the priorities of the new regime was to put an end to so-called "Catalan separatism" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 263) by banning the Catalan language in the administration, in schools and in public spaces, as well as in the publication of books, or newspapers, in the theatre, in shows and in churches" (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 263). Despite repressions against the Catalan language and culture, the "popular and individual resistance was always kept alive in this sense" (Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 294, 2006, p. 306, 2012, p. 263).

### **III. Grup Promoter Santillana**

If the *Diada* is mentioned at all as a historical event in Grup Promoter Santillana's historiography, it is neither by presenting a myth of sacrifice nor by highlighting a Catalan strength (cf. Grup Promoter Santillana, 2005, p. 80; 2016, p. 27). Instead, the perspective is shifted from the oppressed to the perspective of the nation-state. In particular Phillip V, is also much less highlighted as the enemy oppressing Catalonia, but rather it is written from the perspective of Spain, not from the perspective of the oppressed. Instead of highlighting the ban on the Catalan language, for example, the focus lies on the introduction of the Castilian as an official language of the royal court, and the fact that local administrative and judicial officials in Spain were given instructions to promote the use of Castilian (cf. Grup Promoter Santillana, 2016, p. 27).

Furthermore, the period during the dictatorship of Primo the Rivera is presented as a time "in which there was generally much social peace" (Grup Promoter Santillana, 1996, p. 11; 2001, p. 11). Grup Promoter Santillana does not discuss the repression of Catalonia in particular. It is only shown in general terms that "political parties and freedom of the press" (Grup Promoter Santillana, 1996, p. 11; 2001, p. 11) were suppressed. The only movement that is proven to have been against the regime is the movement of intellectuals and students. This movement is presented in a very general way and does not refer directly to Catalonia (cf. Grup Promoter

Santillana, 1996, p. 11; 2001, p. 11). Over the years of the historiography of Grup Promotor Santillana, the relative peaceful perspective on the period of Primo the Rivera's dictatorship, changes. In 2005, Grup Promotor Santillana points out that "nationalisms and rationalisms, especially Catalanism" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 219) were suppressed and furthermore speaks of an "opposing policy" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2016, p. 177) that involved the closure of Catalan parties and the arrest of prominent politicians and trade union leaders.

The repression during the Franco dictatorship is also depicted, although not in as much detail as in the other textbook publishers. Grup Promotor Santillana speaks of a "political repression" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, p. 40; 2001, p. 40) of the opposition but does not make a direct reference to Catalonia. Instead, they mention a "strict control" of all cultural activities and of the media and press" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1996, p. 40; 2001, p. 40). Over the years, Grup Promotor Santillana's historiography changes from political repression against all those who opposed the Franco regime to systematic repression (cf. Grup Promotor Santillana, 2016, p. 294), accompanied by "very harsh repressive measures" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2016, p. 294) against Catalonia in particular. Within this time, the dictatorship suppressed autonomy and closed most institutions, banned the Catalan language and symbols, repressed culture and completely controlled public life (cf. Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 287).

#### **4.3.4 Catalonia as superior to Spain**

A representation of Catalonia being the 'hostile other' alone could not be enough to convey to the future citizens of Catalonia what it means to belong to Catalonia. To further distinguish Catalonia from Spain as a nation without a state, one strategy can be to present it as superior. This superiority has been reinforced already in the framework of the construction of a historical memory, through the portrayal of a national hero. Just like the national motif 'Spain as the enemy', this narrative cannot be clearly separated from the others. However, there is one particular characteristic that makes Catalonia standing out as superior, especially to Spain. Namely, the economic strength and progress of the Catalan industry. Therefore, in the following sub chapter a way of how future Catalan citizens are taught about Catalonia as a superior nation is presented in order to complete the analysis on the construction of a Catalan identity through textbooks.

## **I. Barcanova**

During the 19th century, Spain experienced the beginning of the industrial revolution and changed from the old absolutist regime to a liberal democracy. Barcanova's historiography clearly shows that Spain had difficulties in industrialization and that only Catalonia was able to fully achieve industrialization. Thus, Catalonia was the "protagonist of a series of economic changes that prepared it for industrialization" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 141, 2008, p. 68). The industrialization of Catalonia is described as an outstanding achievement for several reasons. The Catalan countryside managed to increase production and some counties began to specialize in export products. In this way, wines, spirits, and nuts were sold to European markets and Spain's various American colonies. The sale of Catalan products in America is presented as another remarkable achievement. As an important industrial center, Catalonia enjoys an excellent position for exporting its products (cf. Barcanova, 2008, p. 266). According to Barcanova, Catalonia has managed to specialize in products and thus present a strong export force through the territorial position and the hard-working people Catalans also had the freedom to trade directly with the American territories through the free trade decree obtained. Barcanova explains Catalonia's special uniqueness and superiority to other territories in Spain through emphasizing that this "direct trade had been forbidden by Hispanic monarchs since the discovery of the New Continent" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 142; 2008, p. 68).

Barcanova further expresses how exceptional Catalonia's progress in industrialization was by pointing out the narrative of foreign travelers who say Catalonia was "a prosperous country" of "working people" and that it was "the only country in Spain ready to receive the industrial revolution" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 142; 2008, p. 68). Catalonia's superiority to Spain is further portrayed not only by Catalonia's special achievement but also by the representation that the Spanish state did not have an industry that could employ the entire population, which increased significantly in the 19th century. Barcanova attributes this to the fact that, in contrast to Catalonia, Spain in the 19th century was an agricultural country dominated by a nobility that owned the land (cf. Barcanova, 2003, p. 142; 2008, p. 68).

Catalonia was not only superior in laying the essential foundations for a steep path in industrialization but also in the further consequence. Barcanova explains that from 1833 onwards, the industrialization of Catalonia "continued without limits" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 143). According to Barcanova, each time more factories were founded, there were more and more machines more workers and the production capacity gradually increased. Moreover, at

the end of the 19th century, Catalonia's superiority is compared with other European countries. Accordingly, "only Catalonia seemed to be changing at a similar pace to other Western European countries" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 144; 2008, p. 81) and ranked in one of the most advanced positions in continental Europe (cf. Barcanova, 2008, p. 78).

It does not seem surprising that the clear emphasis on economic strength has also only reappeared in Barcanova's historiography over the years. In the analyzed textbook of 1995, the role of England was mainly discussed as the country that assumed the pioneering role during the first industrialization (cf. Barcanova, 1996, p. 74). However, again in the analyzed textbook of 2016, there was a markedly different portrayal of Catalonia. While in previous years, as shown, Catalonia has been highly emphasized in its preparation to become an industrial region, Barcanova only briefly states that Catalonia "had already undergone a series of changes by the 18th century that could favor the development of industrialization: Population growth, agricultural specialization and the growth of foreign trade" (Barcanova, 2016, p. 86). Through this depiction, Catalonia does not take a pioneering role for the industrialization of Spain. Moreover, Catalonia's economic strength is not equated with other European countries as in previous years. Instead, it only refers to the weakness of the Spanish economy, claiming that Spain is "far from other more advanced countries such as the UK, France and Germany" (Barcanova, 2016, p. 86).

## **II. Vicens Vives**

Like Barcanova, Vicens Vives also describes a strong industrial development in the 18th and 19th centuries, albeit with fewer details. However, the main difference is that although the industrial development in Catalonia is described as strong, its specialty, which was mainly due to "hard-working people" (Barcanova, 2003, p. 142; 2008; p. 68), is not emphasized. Compared to the other publishers, the industrial revolution is given far less attention in Catalonia. Instead, the role of England, where the first Industrial Revolution began in the 18th century, is examined in more detail. And even during the so-called second industrialization, which spread parallel to the political revolutions in the 19th century, the focus is primarily on the industrial development of whole Europe and the social changes that went hand in hand with industrialization (cf. Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 52 – 69; 2012, p. 51 - 60; 2006, p. 116 - 125; 2016, p. 48 – 56).

Nonetheless, Catalonia is still considered a "factory Spain" (Vicens Vives, 2006, p. 154; 2012, p. 96; 2016, p. 98) within the second Industrial Revolution and, in addition, is "counted among the small group of European regions that had industrialized" (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 95). Thus, similar to Barcanova, Catalonia is put on a level with other more industrialized European regions and hence is depicted as economically superior to Spain. This is further reinforced by showing Spain's weakness in the path of industrialization. Thus, much of the country remained in the hands of large landowners, many of whom lacked incentives to innovate. In Catalonia, on the other hand, ownership of the land was more favorable for peasants, and this drove agricultural modernization (cf. Vicens Vives, 2006, p. 158; 2012, p. 2016, p. 95 - 96).

All in all, in the course of the second industrialization in the 19th century, in which Catalonia took a superior place to Spain in the following years, an economic strength or superiority is not yet recognizable in the analyzed book of the year 1998 (cf. Vicens Vives, 1998, p. 122 – 129).

### **III. Grup Promotor Santillana**

Grup Promotor Santillana's historical narrative also does not refer to Catalonia's pioneering role during the first phase of industrialization, but, as in Vicens Vives, to Great Britain. Great Britain is described as the country with many natural advantages over the other European countries due to cheap labor and favorable soil (cf. Grup Promotor Santillana, 1998, p. 22 – 25; 2005, p. 120 - 125; 2016, p. 40- 43).

Even in the context of the second phase of industrialization, no direct reference is made to Catalonia's economic development. Thus, as in Vicens Vives textbooks, the industrial development during the 19th century, which was mainly characterized by the internationalization of the economy and changes in energy sources, is also focused on by the whole of Spain (Grup Promotor Santillana, 1998, p. 28 - 33; 2005, p. 159). Although the economic strength of Catalonia in the 19th century is also discussed in this context, Catalonia is clearly recognized as a part of Spain. Catalonia is both the first and the most industrialized "territory of Spain" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2016, p. 97). Moreover, Catalonia's economic strength is further integrated into the merit of Spain as a whole by arguing that "19<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish industry was mainly concentrated in Catalonia and the Basque Country" (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 159). The fact that Catalonia does not stand apart from Spain with its strength of industrialization means that Catalonia's economic superiority is hardly conveyed at first glance (cf. Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 159).

## 5. Discussion

In the previous chapter, different national motifs were shown that have repeatedly dominated the national discourse in Catalan textbooks of the years from 1995 to 2016. Through the discursive representation of these national motifs namely (1) Catalonia as an independent nation, (2) the historical achievements of Catalonia, (3) Spain as the ancient enemy, and through (4) characteristics that portray Catalonia as superior to Spain, the general conclusion of this thesis is that textbooks served as an essential tool to form an identity within the tensions of Catalan and Spanish nationalism. However, the findings showed that the textbooks did not only serve to present Catalonia as a distinct nation claiming the right to have a state. The three publishers Barcanova, Vicens Vives and Grup Promotor Santillana rather present clear differences in the use of national motifs when writing about the history of Catalonia. The telling of history undoubtedly carries out a crucial function in the construction of the concept of a nation. What finds its way into this narrative is subject, with certain limitations, to the narrator's choice - just like the presentation and explanation of contexts. The telling of history and also the description of the current state of Catalonia is a strong cause for political disagreement. The debate revolves around the question of whether the history of Catalonia is considered the history of a region of Spain or of a distinct nation with its own rights. To better understand the underlying respective objectives behind the different presentations of nationalist discourses within the textbooks the findings are summarized and discussed in the following.

The representation of the above-mentioned national motifs is particularly strong at the publisher Barcanova. This finding stands in line with the general aim of Barcanova's publishing house, which is to spread the Catalan language and culture. To achieve the construction of a strong Catalan identity, Barcanova uses an unambiguous concept of nation, clearly showing what its idea of a nation is. Thus, it seems clear to Barcanova that Catalonia has always been a distinct nation and did not belong to Spain. To be able to use and advocate such a clear concept of nation may be due to the fact that Barcanova writes from the minority point of view. For those Catalans who do not count Catalonia as part of Spain, it is easier to be unambiguous in the definition of a nation. Instead, if the complexity and the problems behind the central question of whether Catalonia is a nation with a claim to its own state are illuminated, the question of how to define a nation seems to have to be broader.

In addition, Barcanova uses the representation of national heroes, in particular Francesc Macià, to present historical events that went hand in hand with more autonomy as a merit of Catalonia.

In this way, a common history of Catalonia is constructed that culminates in the already perennial, common striving for more independence. As many historians and philosopher claim, the teaching of a common history is indispensable for the establishment of national identity (cf. e.g. Carretero et al., 2014; Montesano Montessori, 2014). Using the power of writing a national history, Barcanova places all historical achievements in a glorified lineage of the uniformly presented 'Catalan nation'. The common history was further reinforced by Barcanova by contrasting Catalonia with Spain as the original enemy that had oppressed Catalonia since 1714 with a strong anti-Catalan policy. In particular, maintaining the attitude towards Spain as being the ancient and natural enemy of Catalonia and the hostility between them as something that should never be forgotten, clearly favors the construction of a Catalan identity. The uniqueness and strength of Catalonia were lastly depicted through the protagonist position of Catalonia within the economy. Again, the specificity of economic strength is particularly emphasized by depicting it over a long period of time. Through these strategies, it can be clearly seen that Barcanova, within the longstanding pedagogical struggle over regional domination, uses the reproduction of content in textbooks in such a way as to legitimize Catalonia, always and still now, as a distinct nation from Spain.

Despite some significant differences, the publisher Vicens Vives presented many overlaps with Barcanova in the presentation of national motifs. The impression made by Vicens Vives was that this publishing house usually gave a larger picture of historiography, which did not specifically focus on the legitimization of Catalonia as an independent nation over all the analyzed years. This could be seen in the use of the concept of a nation. In contrast to Barcanova, Vicens Vives opened the possibility for several definitions of a nation and thus did not pursue a clear concept. In addition to an ideological, and political position, this broader presentation is supposedly based on economic efficiency as Vicens Vives presents the largest publisher with the highest circulation volume. The broader the content of a textbook, the lower the risk that the publisher will have to make changes depending on which political party is in government. As could be seen by the many changes of the education laws in Spain, the importance of education has been highly valued by the political parties. Moreover, presenting a broader content also leads to the consequence that the transmission of the content depends strongly on *how* the content is conveyed, i.e. both the teachers' attitudes and the possible addition of further teaching material, such as posters, workbooks, etc., This, in the end, additionally defines to what extent the textbooks serve as an instrument to educate a Catalan citizen. Furthermore, the presentation of historical achievements, which, similar to Barcanova's, is essentially underpinned by an emphasis on national heroes, also presents a broader picture of

Vicens Vives' historiography. Thus, Vicens Vives not only resorts to the portrayal of a Catalan hero but also repeatedly emphasizes the Spanish merits within the autonomy efforts. However, this is not done by devaluing Catalan or Spanish achievements, rather it seems that these achievements are both seen as successes that lead to a democratic Spain, in which Catalonia is seen as a nation, but clearly belongs to Spain. This image of two nations facing each other on the same level is further strengthened by the fact that although Spain's centralist aspirations are presented as an oppressive experience for Catalonia, the strength of Catalonia's resistance to Spain's centralist aspirations is also emphasized. Thus, Vicens Vives tells the story less from the perspective of the victim, further contributing to equality. In the aspect of economic strength, Catalonia's superior position is clearly emphasized. Nevertheless, in contrast to Barcanova, Vicens Vives pursues less of a strategy of tracing this superiority back to the 18th century but rather concentrates on current perspectives. By not emphasizing the distant temporal origin as much, this leads to a weakening of continuity in the representation of superiority. Thus, Vicens Vives represents a publishing house that also raises the question of Catalonia's own (political) identity in or rather through its historiography but does not consistently use historiography to legitimize Catalonia as a nation that has existed for years.

The publisher that seemed to make the weakest use of all four national motifs is Grup Promotor Santillana. Several points serve as an indicator for that. Grup Promotor Santillana, like Vicens Vives, was much more careful with the concept of nation, so as not to give Catalonia a clear definition of a nation. Especially in the presentation of historical events, it becomes clear that the goal of educating a Catalan citizen is much less pronounced here. Thus, nationalist aspirations were presented more as a problem that could be appeased by a Spanish hero, by a territorial reorganization meaning more autonomy for Catalonia. Especially within this aspect, the historiography, even if the same facts have been presented, has been used very differently, especially in comparison to Barcanova. It is not wrong to link the autonomous aspirations to a problematic situation that could be solved through territorial reorganization. It is rather another telling of the history that uses the power of narratives to express its ideological view. Therefore, it appears that Grup Promotor Santillana aims at teaching Catalan pupils much less to be a Catalan citizen than to be a Spanish citizen living in the territory of Catalonia. Furthermore, again in contrast to the other two publishers, the period of oppression was used far less as an instrument to portray Spain as the ancient enemy. Often, the anti-Catalan measures are not described in detail, but rather as general repressive measures. Moreover, Grup Promotor Santillana emphasizes much less Catalonia's superiority, by not establishing a counterpart to

which Catalonia is superior, but Catalonia with its economic strength has always been established as part of Spain. Through all these aspects, it seemed that Grup Promotor Santillana does not aim to convey to the pupils an image of Catalonia, which has always been a nation and only lost its importance through the modern construct of a nation-state. Rather, the story is told that Catalonia has always belonged to Spain as a region within the nation-state.

Summing up, the findings show that it is above all the various publishers that have used national motifs with different intensities and especially with different intentions. What can be concluded, however, is that all three publishers use textbooks to form a national identity. How the nation is understood, rather a Spanish nation-state or a Catalan nation, seems to depend strongly on the ideological and political orientation of the publisher. Even though there is no public information about the publishing policies of the single textbook publishers, it still could be seen that the publishers construct different narratives about Catalonia. The extent to which publishers incorporate their ideological and political views into the presentation of the content is also shown by the temporal factor. Since a crucial factor of the textbook analysis was also to detect possible changes over time in the presentation of national motifs, the relative stability of the presentation of national motifs in textbooks between 1990 and 2016 seemed to be a surprising factor. Due to the many legislative changes within the education system, especially concerning curricular changes, the initial intuition before the textbook analysis was that the representation of the content would fluctuate greatly over the years. As could be seen in the results section, this was not the case. No clear line could be discerned to what extent the textbooks reacted to new educational laws. This raises an indication that the publishers found their own ways of presenting the content according to their ideological and political views, even if they had to follow certain regulations. Looking at the educational context of Catalonia, this leads to two conjectures as to why this might be possible.

Firstly, it seems that the various laws gave some scope to the publishers. The fact that the educational law set the minimum content, the *what* that had to be taught, still left open the question of *how* it can be presented. A strong example, which shows *how* the content can be presented in order to follow the *what* is allowed to be presented, but at the same time conveying its ideological positions, is the national motif of Catalonia being a distinctive nation. Catalonia was never described as a nation in its own right, yet it could be clearly seen in the Barcanova publishing house that they used the description of other nations and national movements in the past, which also strove for more autonomy, to legitimize the present. Thus, it is possible that certain guidelines were avoided which shows that within the legal educational framework,

publishers have found a way to be able to transmit the content according to their ideological point of view. Since it can be assumed that the direct titling of Catalonia as an independent nation would not have been permitted, this strategy made it possible, for example, to circumvent certain guidelines.

The assumption that the textbook publishers exploit a relative scope within the percentage guidelines and thus use textbooks to promote their own ideological views is further strengthened by a first comparison of the results of this thesis with the study of the Jaume Bofill Foundation on the teaching of history and other historical sciences. This study served as a response to the report of the Royal Academy of History initiated by the conservative *Partido Popular*. The reason for the report was the *Partido Popular's* impression of a disastrous state of the teaching of history in, among other subjects, social sciences at secondary level. The study, which was then carried out by the Royal Academy of History, stated in general that there is not enough focus on Spanish history in the teaching of history. The main issue here was the minimum teaching of 55 percent decided in 1990, which is set in the curriculum by the Spanish government in addition to the 45 percent set by the autonomous regions aiming to ensure a common education for all pupils and the validity of the corresponding qualifications (Segura, Comes, Cucurella, Mayayo, & Roca, 2001, pp. 7–9). What is indeed interesting in view of the results found here is that the Jaume Bofill Foundation's response to this report clearly refuted that too little was taught in the autonomous communities, also in Catalonia, about Spanish history as a whole. However, these results were collected more on a quantitative basis in order to produce a percentage of how many pages were concerned with the history of the autonomous communities and how many pages addressed Spain as such. However, the findings of this thesis do not only show *what* has been presented, but rather *how*. Even if it has been proven that the historiography of Catalonia does not go beyond the percentage, it is still possible, as could be seen above all with the publisher Barcanova, to generate a Catalan historiography through certain discursive strategies, which contributes significantly to the formation of a Catalan identity (Segura et al., 2001, pp. 23–27).

The second conjecture for the reason of the different representation of the national motifs, besides the scope within the percentage specification of the curriculum, refers to the division of educational competences between the central Spanish government and the *Generalitat*. The *LEC* law (chapter 4.2.3.4), passed in 2009, has given schools significantly more autonomy in educational processes and decision making. Therefore, as seen especially at laws that regulate the use of the Catalan language (chapter 4.2.4), paradoxical laws can occur between the legal

framework of the *LEC* and newly drafted laws established by the central government. Based on many of the inaccuracies that arise from this division of educational competencies, it can be surmised that publishers can also create scope for themselves in how they present their content. However, since the legal situation of the relationship between the central state and Catalonia within the education system seems to be very complex, this can only remain a conjecture.

Even though a rather clear strategy of the individual publishers was visible over the years, it is all the more striking that the textbooks in 2016 often broke with their depiction of national motifs. This change was particularly visible in the textbooks of Barcanova, where there were several downturns in the depiction of (Catalan) national motifs. Looking at the educational landscape at this time, it becomes apparent that this change in 2016 may be related to the highly controversial *LOMCE* of 2013 (chapter 4.2.3). Although the *LOMCE* was primarily aimed at improving the education system through the standardization of assessments, it also had significant consequences for the setting of content for the autonomous communities. The *LOMCE* law has divided the subjects into core subjects, specific subjects and autonomous free subjects, whereas almost all the contents of the core subjects, which include social sciences, are determined by the central administration (cf. García Rubio 2015, p. 212). Moreover, in the context of socio-political developments, it can be seen that from 2014 onwards, after the first attempted declaration of independence by the regional government of Catalonia failed, the political mood in Catalonia and in Spain heated up and another attempt at independence was not ruled out. Therefore, the changes in the presentation of national motif in the year 2016 and the increasing radicalization of the autonomous aspirations of Catalonia at the same time, suggest that the scope that textbook publishers could use to pass on their ideological (Catalan) views has been restricted by the new education law *LOMCE*. This means that the instrument of education, especially textbooks, has been used by the *Partido Popular* to counteract the growing *Catalanism*.

Whether the new education law had other consequences besides the definition of a presumably more centrist content by the Spanish government cannot be examined within the framework of this work. It could have also led to changes in the approval process of certain textbooks or to changes in the processes within the publishing houses. In general, this research is subject to further limitations. Since the analysis of the textbooks was limited to three publishers that provided interesting insights after an initial quick run through, this selection only represents a certain section of the teaching material. Furthermore, it cannot be said within this research how

the textbooks are used. Teachers, in their subjective role, can to a certain extent, by emphasizing or omitting certain contents, also significantly influence the imparting of knowledge.

Consequently, for the future research, there are aspects that can be added within the case study of Catalonia in order to achieve an even broader result. Primarily, it would be reasonable for further research to be based on textbooks that are not only selected from the largest publishers but on those that have been used the most. Unfortunately, as described in chapter 3, there is a general lack of data documenting the use of textbooks in Spain and Catalonia. In addition to the selection of the most used books, it would be particularly interesting to find out how the books were used within the classroom. However, the latter would only be possible through a long-term study. Secondly, an interesting point is to look at the internal processes within the textbook publishers. Especially because of the changes regarding the year 2016, the publishing house policies of the Catalan textbook publishers would be an informative aspect of further research. Questions such as how to choose the content of the book and how these are linked to the state or to the *Generalitat*, could be important in this regard. This would provide more information about the extent to which the individual publishers are restricted or open in their ideological-political way of acting. Lastly, in addition to that, another informative aspect for future research would be to see the kind of textbooks used in which areas, i.e. urban or city areas, which textbooks are used. The results showed that the textbook publishers use different strategies and that Barcanova in particular makes much greater use of national motifs to construct a Catalan identity than Vicens Vives, but above all than Grup Promotor Santillana. It can be assumed that different regions or areas also prefer certain textbook publishers. This would reveal whether some regions, or urban or city areas, are more likely to promote the construction of a Catalan identity, or whether they are more concerned with integrating pupils into the central state community.

The comparison of all three publishers have brought up crucial results with regard to how Catalonia is represented in different textbooks. However, since this work is somewhat limited in terms of the amount of analyzed publisher houses, further research is needed in order to complement the key aspects of my findings. Building on my analysis, further research can be used to illuminate both more deeply and broadly.

## 6. Conclusion

"Catalunya is not Spain", a slogan that was presented in the introduction. This slogan, which hangs on banners written from many balconies and windows in Catalonia represents a profound tension between Catalan and Spanish nationalism. Over the last years, nationalistic movements in Catalonia that pursue the goal of gaining more autonomy or even complete independence within the nation-state Spain, have increased significantly. The origin of these Catalan nationalist movements is set far back in the historiography of Catalonia. Therefore, the further course of these efforts is often understood as something that continues naturally. Catalan nationalism thereby represents a form of nationalism that not only results in 'hot' nationalist movements, but also operates daily and tends to go unnoticed, because of its familiarity. However, in the context of nationalism theories of Catalonia, it is not questioned enough how these nationalist tendencies, which lead to a split between the identity of Spaniards and Catalans, are maintained once they are established. Additionally, education studies, in particular curriculum studies, does not question the essential concepts of nations and their construction of a Catalan or Spanish citizen. In order to refer to this research gap, this thesis investigated how the education system with a focus on textbooks as a materialization of curricula was used in Catalan schools after the Franco regime to educate a Catalan loyal citizen.

The findings of the textbook analysis clearly have shown that the Catalan and Spanish education system, and in particular Catalan educational textbooks, serve as a significant instrument to construct a national identity. Nevertheless, it could be concluded that Catalan textbooks have not only been used to educate a future Catalan citizen. Rather, it was shown that Catalan textbooks also aim, depending on the publisher and its ideological-political orientation, to show pupils that Catalonia is not a distinct nation that can pursue the right to form its own state. With these findings the thesis was able to demonstrate that an understanding of nationalist discourses as well as certain conditions of the curriculum can only be achieved by considering the strong connection and interface between nationalism and curriculum studies.

Moreover, the findings of the research contribute significantly to explaining the current situation in Catalonia, which is characterized by many nationalistic, often violent independence movements. To be able to understand the origin as well as the development of the current Catalan nationalism, the case of Catalonia has shown the need to widen the term nation and nationalism. By analyzing nationalist discourses in textbooks, the thesis made it apparent that it is not only forms of violent nationalism but (rather) also the banal forms, such as the

discursive representation of national motifs in textbooks, that build and maintain a common identity. Therefore, for the future study of the development of Catalan nationalist movements, and other cases as well, textbooks as one source where discursive-constructiveness practices are mapped, offer a fruitful insight.

Regarding the future of Catalonia, it remains exciting to observe the consequences of the controversial *LOMLOE* law, passed by the left-wing liberal political party at the end of 2020. Having seen the importance attached to education by the various political parties, with the aim of establishing stability in the desired political system, it is not surprising that this controversial law is already clearly increasing the tension between Catalan and Spanish nationalism. Thus, the question of a Catalan nation will remain not only in politics, but also in the whole of Spanish and Catalan society and will continue to be the pivotal point of future disputes.

## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Table of textbooks (utilized for analysis)

<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Authors</b>
Barcanova	1995	Ciències socials Descobri -ments i revolucions	C.-A. Trepà, D. Freixenet, I. Ribas, E. Tatché
Barcanova	1995	Ciències socials - Els temps del nostres dies	C.-A. Trepà, D. Freixenet, I. Ribas, E. Tatché
Barcanova	2003	Ciències socials	C.-A. Trepà, S. Campamà, J. Vidal
Barcanova	2008	Ciències socials Socials -geografia i història	C.-A. Trepà, S. Campamà, J. Vidal
Barcanova	2016	Socials	C.-A. Trepà, S. Campamà, J. Vidal
Vicens Vives	1998	Ciències socials Història	M. García Sebastian, C. Gatell Arimot, A. Fernández, M. Llorens Serrano, F. Molinero, R. Ortega, J. Roig
Vicens Vives	2006	Ciències socials Història, Marca	M. García Sebastian, C. Gatell Arimot, M. Llorens Serrano, R. Ortega Canadell, J. Roig Obiol
Vicens Vives	2012	Ciències socials Història, Nou Polis	M. García Sebastian, C. Gatell Arimont
Vicens Vives	2016	Geografia i Història	M. G. Sebastian, C. Gatell Arimot
Grup Promotor Santillana	1996	Ciències socials, Geografia - Història	J. Casassas Ymbert, J. Tusell, C. Santacana
Grup Promotor Santillana	1998	Ciències socials, Història: Els segles XVIII i XIX	J. Casassas Ymbert, C. Dardé, A. Ghanimé, T. Grence, J. M. Marín, S. Sueiro
Grup Promotor Santillana	2001	Ciències socials, Geografia – Història: El mon actual	J. Casassas Ymbert, J. Tusell, C. Santacana, S. Sueiro, E. Juan, T. Grence
Grup Promotor Santillana	2005	Ciències socials Història	J. M. Cabarello Martínez, J. Casassas Ymbert, O. C. Ruibal, A. G. Rodríguez, T. Grence Ruiz, P. Moralejo Mateos, A. Perales Álvarez, D. Ramírez Muriana, R. Rubalcaba Bermejo
Grup Promotor Santillana	2016	Ciències socials Història	D. Cao Costoya, O. C. Ruibal, A. G. Rodríguez, E. de Martín Rojo

**Appendix 2: Table of textbooks (not utilized for analysis)**

<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Authors</b>
Cruïlla	1999	Milleni. Historia	J. Santacana, G. Zaragoza
Cruïlla	2003	Geografia i història	J. Fernández-Mayoralas Palomeque, C. Cortés Salinas
Cruïlla	2017	Geografia i història	I. Buzo Sánchez, J. Tébar Arjona, M. Lázaro Arbués, J. Araujo Ponciano
Teide	1990	Ciències socials	P. Comes, F.X. Hernández
Teide	2000	Societats historiqués 2	A. Alcoberro, J. Castillo, J. Cortada, J. Llorens, E. Ferreres
Teide	2016	Ciències socials, Geografia - Història	J. Cortada, E. Ferreres, J. Llorens, M. Pantaleón, A. Alcoberro, J. Castillo
Teide	2016	Ciències socials, Història	J. Cortada, E. Ferreres, J. Llorens, M. Pantaleón, A. Alcoberro, J. Castillo

### Appendix 3: From preliminary dictionary to national motifs

Narratives based on theories <sup>23</sup>	National discourses about Catalonia	National motifs	Examples
Common Culture	Understanding of Catalonia of being a cultural nation	Catalonia as a distinct nation	<p><u>Barcanova:</u>            “The term nation refers to a group of men and women united by a set of common elements such as history, language, traditions, religion, law, and so on. The state, on the other hand, is the political and administrative organization” (Barcanova, 2003, p. 99).</p>
Political present and future	Understanding of being an own/independent nation		<p><u>Vicens Vives:</u>            “Although there are different ideas, the nation can be defined as a group of individuals who have a set of cultural characteristics (religion, language, traditions, past ...) and want to live together” (Vicens Vives, 2012, p. 29).</p>
Continuity over time	Regaining and recovering of Catalonia		Historical achievements of Catalonia
National heroes	Supporters and proponents of the Catalan autonomy or independence movement	<p><u>Vicens Vives:</u>            “In this context, Suarez immediately took the initiative in 1977 and negotiated directly with Tarradellas for the reestablishment of the Generalitat de Catalunya” (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 295).</p>	
			<p><u>Grup Promotor Santillana:</u>            “Without an absolute majority, the new government pursued a policy of consensus in agreement with the various political forces to solve the country's problems. The commitments focused on these measures: Political decentralization with the granting of the first Statutes of Autonomy to Catalonia and the Basque Country” (Santillana, 2005, p. 288).</p>

<sup>23</sup> The theories on which the preliminary dictionary is built are listed in appendix 4

Characteristics of superiority	Catalonia as the engine of Spains economy	Catalonia as superior to Spain	<p><u>Barcanova:</u>  “At the end of the 19th century, only Catalonia seemed to be transforming at a pace similar to that of other Western European countries. By 1900, Catalonia was already an industrial society with a strong and powerful bourgeoisie and a large number of workers. Catalonia was a country with high-growth urban centers and became the factory of Spain” (Barcanova, 2003, p. 144).</p>
			<p><u>Vicens Vives:</u>  “By mid-century, Catalonia was among the small group of European regions that had industrialized. In Spain as a whole, as in many southern and eastern European countries, the economy was significantly changed but not fully industrialized, so that the late 19th century remained essentially an agricultural country” (Vicens Vives, 2016, p. 95).</p>
			<p><u>Grup Promotor Santillana:</u>  Spanish industry in the 19th century was mainly concentrated in Catalonia and the Basque Country, while agriculture and crafts dominated the rest of the country” (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 159).</p>
External threat	Spain as the external threat	Spain as the ancient enemy	<p><u>Barcanova:</u>  “Despite their heroism [...] on September 11 of 1714, Philip V had to surrender after suffering a very heavy siege” (Barcanova, 2003, p. 74).</p>
Historical memory	Victim myth: shared history of oppression		<p><u>Vicens Vives:</u>  "Catalonia decided to defend itself against the occupation by Philip's troops without external help for a long time" (Vicens Vives 2012, p. 16).</p>
			<p><u>Grup Promotor Santillana:</u>  “The fall of Barcelona and the subsequent surrender of Cardona left the entire principality in the hands of the troops of Philip V” (Grup Promotor Santillana, 2005, p. 80).</p>

#### Appendix 4: Table of enacted education laws between 1970 and 2020

Abbreviation	Name of the law	Year of enactment	Enacted under the (Spanish) government of
LEG	Ley General de Educación	1970	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
LOGSE	Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo	1990	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
LOCE	Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación	2002	Partido Popular
LOE	Ley Orgánica de Educación	2006	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
LEC	Ley de Educación de Catalunya	2009	Catalan governemnt: Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Convergència i Unió
LOMCE	Ley Orgánica para la Mejora del a Calidad Educativa	2013	Partido Popular
LOMLOE	Ley Orgánica de Modificación de la LOE	2020	Partido Socialista Obrero Español

#### Appendix 4: Underlying theories of preliminary dictionary

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## Abstract: English

The Catalan population's call for more autonomy is being heard within historical and especially at current debates. For years Catalans have been highly dissatisfied with the Spanish central government and have therefore formulated demands for more autonomy or even independence. Historical defeats and conflicts as well as the current economic situation are thereby favoring the secessionist tendencies of Catalonia. Following the discovery of a research gap in the intersection between theories of nationalism and curriculum studies the case of Catalan nationalism is used as an example to bridge this gap. As most of the academic research on this gap refers to established nation-states, Catalonia as a nation without a state presents a special case. Therefore, this master thesis investigates the role of schools in creating a Catalan loyal citizen adding the aspect of education on political and social perspectives of the process of nation building. As a materialization of the curriculum, I am focusing on textbooks of secondary education of the subject social sciences from the transition to democracy after the Franco-Regime until now (1990-2016). To achieve this goal, the theoretical framework is based on M. Billig's (1995) theory of *banal nationalism* and U. Özkirimli's (2017) proposition to understand nationalism as discourse. Through this understanding of nationalism and a specific shift of *reconceptualism* in the field of curriculum studies, it is possible to uncover underlying national ideologies. Leaning on Pocock (1997) and Skinner (1969) the methodical framework is developed in order to examine utterances deriving from Catalan national discourses. Following the hypothesis that the increased autonomy in the Catalan education system has been instrumental in forming an even stronger Catalan national identity, four national motifs were uncovered in 14 selected textbooks: (1) Catalonia as a distinctive nation, (2) Historical achievements of Catalonia, (3) Spain as the ancient enemy of Catalonia and (4) Catalonia as superior to Spain. Although the discursive representation of these four motifs do not only aim at constructing a Catalan identity, but also opens the conflict between Catalan and Spanish nationalism, the thesis still, or precisely because of it, demonstrates that an understanding of nationalist discourses as well as certain conditions of the curriculum can only be achieved by considering the strong connection and interface between nationalism and curriculum studies.

## Abstract: German

Der Ruf der katalanischen Bevölkerung nach mehr Autonomie ist in historischen und vor allem in aktuellen Debatten zu hören. Die Katalanen sind seit Jahren sehr unzufrieden mit der spanischen Zentralregierung und haben deshalb Forderungen nach mehr Autonomie oder gar Unabhängigkeit formuliert. Historische Niederlagen und Konflikte sowie die aktuelle wirtschaftliche Situation begünstigen dabei die secessionistischen Tendenzen Kataloniens. Nach der Entdeckung der Forschungslücke in der Schnittstelle zwischen Nationalismus und Curriculum Studien wird der Fall des katalanischen Nationalismus als Beispiel verwendet, um diese Lücke zu schließen. Da sich die meisten wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zu dieser Lücke auf etablierte Nationalstaaten beziehen, stellt Katalonien als Nation ohne Staat einen Sonderfall dar. Daher untersucht diese Masterarbeit die Rolle der Schulen bei der Schaffung eines loyalen katalanischen Bürgers, indem sie den Aspekt der Erziehung zu politischen und sozialen Perspektiven des Prozesses der Nationenbildung hinzufügt. Als Materialisierung des Curriculums konzentriere ich mich auf Schulbücher der Sekundarstufe im Fach Sozialwissenschaften vom Übergang zur Demokratie nach dem Franco-Regime bis heute (1990-2016). Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, basiert der theoretische Rahmen auf M. Billig's (1995) Theorie des banalen Nationalismus und U. Özkirimli's (2017) Vorschlag, Nationalismus als Diskurs zu verstehen. Durch dieses Verständnis von Nationalismus und eine spezifische Verschiebung des Rekonzeptualismus im Bereich der Curriculumstudien ist es möglich, die zugrunde liegenden nationalen Ideologien aufzudecken. In Anlehnung an Pocock (1997) und Skinner (1969) wird der methodische Rahmen entwickelt, um Äußerungen aus dem katalanischen Nationaldiskurs zu untersuchen. Ausgehend von der Hypothese, dass die zunehmende Autonomie im katalanischen Bildungssystem zur Herausbildung einer noch stärkeren katalanischen nationalen Identität beigetragen hat, wurden in 14 ausgewählten Schulbüchern vier nationale Motive aufgedeckt: (1) Katalonien als eigenständige Nation, (2) Historische Errungenschaften Kataloniens, (3) Spanien als der alte Feind Kataloniens und (4) Katalonien als Spanien überlegen. Obwohl die diskursive Repräsentation dieser vier Motive nicht nur auf die Konstruktion einer katalanischen Identität abzielt, sondern auch den Konflikt zwischen katalanischem und spanischem Nationalismus eröffnet, zeigt die Arbeit dennoch, oder gerade deshalb, dass ein Verständnis nationalistischer Diskurse sowie bestimmter Bedingungen des Curriculums nur unter Berücksichtigung der starken Verbindung und Schnittstelle zwischen Nationalismus Studien und Bildungswissenschaften erreicht werden kann.